

collusion with the “plunderers” of the regime? It was strange that most of them opted to stick it out with the regime even when they were constantly overruled or ignored by the political warlords. Because of their honest backgrounds and sophisticated academic training, the technocrats were expected by most Filipinos to have had some self-respect instead of remaining apologists for the regime to the bitter end.

In any case, the book is a welcome addition to the increasing literature on the Marcos years. One only wishes, however, that it was better edited and organized more coherently because there is much substance and analysis in the individual articles. This plus the addition of the suggestions above could have made this book a solid postscript to the Marcos era.

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ISIS Research Notes: Hans H. Indorf, *Strategies for Small-State Survival* (1985, 54pp); Muthiah Alagappa, *US-ASEAN Security Co-operation: Limits and Possibilities* (1986, 31pp); Mohamed Noordin Sopiee, *The Russian Threat: Between Alarm and Complacency* (1985, 15pp).

ISIS ASEAN Series: Chin Kin Wah and Narciso G. Reyes, *Two Views on Summit Three* (1986, 39pp); J.N. Mak, *Directions for Greater Defence Cooperation* (1986, 32pp); Sukhumbhand Paribatra, *Kampuchea without Delusion* (1986, 27pp); J. Soedjati Djwandono, *Southeast Asia as a Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone* (1986, 7pp).

ISIS Seminar Papers: Robert C. Horn, *The Soviet Threat in Southeast Asia: Illusion or Reality?* (1985, 16pp); Michael Yahuda, *The China Threat* (1986, 41pp); J.R. Pouvatchy, *The Vietnamisation of Cambodia* (1986, 14pp).

As a recent study* by John Chipman of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) emphasizes, in recent years the diffusion of economic and military power to the Third World has been matched by the proliferation of institutes and centres concerned with the analysis of local and regional strategic and political issues. This logical development should be welcomed. The London-based IISS and its European and North American cohorts have, unsurprisingly, generally failed to break out of their NATO-oriented “mind-set”, notwithstanding recent efforts by the IISS to broaden the scope of its “regional” studies. The North Atlantic remains the focus of these Institutes’ interests, with Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America cast in the roles of peripheral “regions”.

All the ASEAN countries (except Brunei) now have strategic studies centres of one sort or another: one of the more recently established is the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia, in Kuala Lumpur. Like most such institutes, ISIS has started its own publications programme and by the end of 1986 it had produced a score or more of monographs in three series: ISIS Research Notes; ISIS ASEAN Series; and ISIS Seminar Papers. The ten titles reviewed here are all concerned with international security issues; several others have dealt with domestic politics and economic matters. One wonders

*John Chipman, *Survey of International Relations Institutes in the Developing World* (London: IISS, 1987).

why ISIS chose to adopt the somewhat confusing technique of dividing its publications between different series, each of which includes papers covering a range of strategic and international issues and varying greatly in length and level of analysis. Surely a more sensible arrangement would have been to allocate the various papers to a "Security Series", an "Economics Series", and so on.

Despite their diversity, a common feature of many of the ISIS monographs is that they are essentially argumentative "think-pieces" on contemporary issues rather than closely researched, dispassionate analyses. Three of the papers under review (one from each series) have no footnotes or references whatsoever, but are nevertheless interesting enough. In a rare attempt to look at arms control in a Southeast Asian context, J. Soedjati Djijawandono argues the case for the declaration of the region as a "Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone" (NWFZ). Unfortunately, Soedjati fails to present a convincing rationale for a NWFZ, apart from conveying a vague notion that the very act of declaring such a Zone might help to sustain ASEAN'S political momentum in the face of a continuing failure to resolve the Cambodian problem. Mohamed Noordin Sopiee's monograph on *The Russian Threat* is really more an extended editorial than a Research Note; nevertheless, it is a well-balanced and sensitive piece. Robert C. Horn's Seminar Paper on the same topic is similarly judicious, and his conclusion that "Moscow is unlikely to reduce its attempts at establishing influence . . . in Southeast Asia" reads well in the light of Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech of 28 July 1986.

In contrast to the two papers on the Soviet threat, Michael Yahuda's Seminar Paper on *The China Threat* is a fairly substantial monograph. Although Yahuda does not say anything startlingly new, his careful analysis of the relationship between the People's Republic of China and the ASEAN states does contain some refreshing insights, especially his concluding reflection that "it may be more helpful to think of China as a problem for rather than as a threat to Southeast Asia".

Two of the ISIS monographs look at Vietnam's relationship with Cambodia, but adopt very different approaches to the issue. J.R. Pouvatchy projects an unashamedly partisan line, claiming that Cambodia is being "Vietnamised" in a sense broader than the presence of substantial Vietnamese military forces in the country. According to Pouvatchy, Hanoi has also tampered, to its own advantage, with the delineation of the Cambodian-Vietnamese border, has encouraged the settlement of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese in Cambodia, and has posted Vietnamese advisers throughout the Cambodian civil service. This "Vietnamisation" allegedly also has an economic dimension: according to Pouvatchy, ethnic Vietnamese dominate the distribution of fish and rice, and "Cambodian provinces are linked in sister province arrangements which demand that they forward part of their agricultural production to overpopulated areas in Vietnam". But Pouvatchy does not claim that this "Vietnamisation" is a novel phenomenon: on the contrary, he traces its historical origins as far back as the eighteenth century, with the invasion at the end of 1978 as merely the latest stage in an apparently inexorable Vietnamese quest for *lebensraum*. This is a sobering argument, but perhaps Pouvatchy is overly pessimistic in expressing the fear that "Cambodia's Vietnamisation will soon be completed". It could just as plausibly be argued that, even if Hanoi and the Heng Samrin regime succeed in defeating the resistance coalition (which is by no means a foregone conclusion), Cambodia would have as much chance of retaining its national individuality in relation to Vietnam as Poland has had in relation to the Soviet Union over the last forty years. Incidentally, Pouvatchy's argument is weakened by his failure to provide authoritative sources for most of his claims regarding recent Vietnamese immigration into Cambodia.

Sukhumbhand Paribatra's ASEAN Series paper is essentially a critique of ASEAN policy towards the Cambodian problem, coupled with a suggestion for an alternative policy. Sukhumbhand's argument that ASEAN should reappraise the assumptions underlying its Cambodian policy, and as a result effectively moderate its goals, is not likely to meet with approval in several of the region's foreign ministries. But his suggestions are by no means outrageously impracticable, and are representative of a growing "alternative conventional wisdom". While clearly not a "hawk" in his attitude towards the Cambodian issue, Sukhumbhand is apparently more an "owl" than a "dove".

Some critics of ASEAN's position on the Cambodian problem have, as Chin Kin Wah points out in his essay on "The Question of a Third ASEAN Summit" in *Two Views on Summit Three*, wondered whether there is a danger of the Association "becoming a one-issue organisation". The possibility of ASEAN losing sight "of the other pressing demands for intra-regional resilience and domestic welfare through functional co-operation", coupled with "the challenges posed by the economic downturn", the need to arrest "institutional drift" within the Association, the instability in the Philippines, and the relatively recent accession of Brunei to ASEAN membership, collectively provide a plausible rationale for a third conference of the ASEAN states' heads of government. Chin points out the possible pitfalls of such high-level summitry, but appears optimistic that a new summit could perform a useful function provided that its goals are modest. Narciso Reyes, the former ASEAN Secretary-General, whose paper entitled "The ASEAN Summit Syndrome" forms the second part of *Two Views on Summit Three*, is more enthusiastic than Chin Kin Wah about the prospect of a new summit, arguing that it is at the level of the summit "that the solution to the political and economic dilemmas which beset the association must be found". Regretfully, one suspects that Chin Kin Wah's view may be more realistic.

While a third summit may not prove to be a panacea for ASEAN's problems in furthering political and economic collaboration, there are grounds for anticipating that co-operation in these areas may gradually intensify over the years. Can the same also be said of military co-operation within ASEAN? In *Directions for Greater Defence Co-operation*, J.N. Mak rehearses the well-known reasons (particularly in terms of the lack of a common perception of external threat) for the lack of institutionalized, multilateral defence co-operation between the Association's members. Having investigated the potential for greater military co-operation in the spheres of training, C³I (Command, control, communications and intelligence), maritime surveillance, the sharing of base facilities, the rationalization of equipment and logistics, arms and equipment production, and commanders' conferences, Mak concludes that any upgrading of collaboration in even these limited areas is effectively dependent on the development of a greater sense of political and economic purpose within ASEAN. Mak's paper is an interesting and worthwhile study, despite its rather downbeat (but entirely sensible) conclusion.

Muthiah Alagappa's Research Note investigates another aspect of the ASEAN states' international security relationships. Muthiah's paper (like Mak's) is carefully researched, and contains not only useful data on U.S. military assistance to, and exercises with, the ASEAN states' armed forces, but also some interesting conclusions relating to the future of this collaboration, especially in terms of the possible impact on the region of a future relocation of the United States' Philippine bases.

In contrast to the other papers reviewed here, which all examine particular foreign policy issues of current importance in Southeast Asia, Hans Indorf's *Strategies for Small-State Survival* is a theoretical (but stimulating and topical) investigation of a major and

perennial problem in international relations. Probably because it has a more universal and timeless significance than the other papers, it is also the most impressive. Whereas the present "Cambodian problem" will probably be resolved in one way or another within the next decade, Cambodia (and other Southeast Asian countries) will have to cope with the problems of surviving as small states indefinitely. The main thrust of Indorf's argument is that a "carefully selected synthesis" of aspects of various survival strategies (emphasizing sovereignty; seeking safety in international linkages; military defence; "domestic preparation for survival"; and "trans-nationalism") may be the answer to the security problem of small states. Although Indorf claims that his paper is merely an analysis of observations and that he has no desire "to follow in Machiavelli's footsteps by providing prescriptions for rulers", many small states' policy-makers would probably find much of interest in *Strategies for Small-State Survival*. The chapter on "Strategies for Defence — the Military Dimension of Security" is particularly valuable, and Indorf's comments on smaller states' reluctance "to initiate steps for the exclusion of advanced conventional weapons in their immediate environment" are especially apposite.

All in all, the ISIS monographs are stimulating and valuable additions to the literature on Southeast Asian security issues. They cover a broad range of important topical issues, and their analyses are generally of high quality. If future papers were based on rather more substantial research than most of those reviewed here, they would be well on the way towards becoming Southeast Asian equivalents to the International Institute for Strategic Studies' *Adelphi Papers*.

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Ressources, problèmes et défis de l'Asie du Sud-Est. Edited by Rodolphe de Kononck and Jean Nadeau. Travaux du Département de Géographie de l'Université Laval: 7. Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1986.

This collection of papers originated from the fifteenth annual gathering of the Conseil Canadien des Etudes sur l'Asie du Sud-Est held at the Université Laval in November 1985. Fifty-three papers were presented at this conference, dealing with a broad range of subjects relating to Southeast Asia. The conference sessions touched on culture and society, development problems, politics, contemporary Islam, religion and philosophy, and on Southeast Asian minorities in Canada. Twenty-four of the papers were submitted for publication, and fourteen were accepted. This work is made up of seven papers in English, and seven in French, although three of the latter papers were translated from English into French for this publication. The Foreword, explaining the background to the conference and the subsequent publication of this work, and the Introduction, giving some background on Southeast Asia, are in French only. Surely in such a work as this, the Foreword and Introduction should have been given in both French and English. As it is, the Introduction is brief and does not tie together this very diverse range of papers. The only common thread is that all papers are related to some aspect of Southeast Asia. A paper such as "International