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SOUTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS 1982

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Established as an autonomous organization by an act of the Parliament of the Republic of Singapore in May 1968, the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies is a regional research centre for scholars and other specialists concerned with modern Southeast Asia. The Institute's research interest is focused on the many-faceted problems of development and social change in Southeast Asia.

The Institute is governed by a twenty-four-member Board of Trustees comprising representatives from the National University of Singapore, appointees from the Government, as well as representatives from a broad range of professional and civic organizations and groups. A ten-man Executive Committee oversees day-to-day operations; it is chaired by the Director, the Institute's chief academic and administrative officer.

FOREWORD

Southeast Asian Affairs 1982, like its eight predecessors, is a review of significant developments and trends in Southeast Asia, with special emphasis on the ASEAN countries. Readable and easily understood, the publication aims at giving the enquiring reader a broad grasp of major political, economic, social and strategic developments within the region.

The contents of *Southeast Asian Affairs 1982* fall into two broad categories. There are those of a background nature, which attempt to review and where necessary comment upon and explain significant developments during 1981 in the individual countries of Southeast Asia and in the region generally. Then there are the articles of more specialized current interest. These are not necessarily focused on events in 1981 alone. They deal with topical problems of concern to those who desire to know more about the region and its affairs than is possible from background articles. The emphasis has been on background papers, including regional surveys. These, however, have been supplemented by topical articles of the type described above.

To the best of our knowledge, *Southeast Asian Affairs* is the only publication of its kind wholly devoted to Southeast Asia. It is, perhaps, also unique in that, unlike many other annuals, its discussion of issues is from the vantage point of the area, most of the contributors being in and of the region. Moreover, though scholarly in their approach and analyses, the authors have been encouraged to aim at accuracy and readability, and to handle their subjects in a direct manner. Footnotes and tables have been kept to a minimum and a conscious effort has been made to avoid too ponderous a style. If *Southeast Asian Affairs 1982* helps to generate and enliven interest in, and a better understanding of, the affairs of the region, then its purpose would have been well served.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the authors and the members of the Editorial Committee, as well as others who have, in one way or another, helped to make this publication possible. While the Institute encourages all points of view, needless to say, the individual authors are exclusively responsible for the facts and opinions expressed in their respective contributions, and their interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views and policies of the Institute itself or its supporters.

Kernal S. Sandhu
Director

Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

15 January 1982

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INTRODUCTION

Nineteen eighty-one, unlike previous years, was relatively calm for Southeast Asia. For a strife-torn region such as Southeast Asia, this was an unusual blessing. The year witnessed no major upheavals and none of the traumatic events which for the past few decades placed this region in the forefront of world attention. Perhaps as a function of this political stability, the region also enjoyed continued economic prosperity: for instance, while ASEAN proved to be one of the fastest growing areas, there were signs that the economic troubles of the Indochinese states too may have "bottomed out", and there are prospects for improvement.

This, however, is not to say that all problems have been solved and that we can look forward with confidence to seeing in the near future a secure, stable Southeast Asia with states coexisting peacefully. This remains an aspiration, realization of which depends on the sagacity of the leaders of the region and their ability to withstand external pressures and overcome mutual suspicions. As in the preceding years, the Kampuchean problem remains unresolved.

For those of us in the *Southeast Asian Affairs 1982* Committee, too, nineteen eighty-one was a lucky year. We were able to assemble together twenty-two articles, covering different aspects of the region. The authors, the great majority of whom are in and of the region, are all seasoned observers of the local political and economic scene. Despite the limits imposed by time and space, they have responded with most welcome and appreciated speed and co-operation. On our part, while exercising the usual firm control over the choice of the material to be included, we consciously did nothing to inhibit the free flow of ideas and views. This volume, like its eight predecessors, is thus not primarily a record of events; rather, it is concerned with interpreting trends of events and of forces which have shaped and are continuing to shape the diverse societies and situations of the region. As usual, we had hoped that in addition to five or six articles reviewing the general issues of the region as a whole, we would have two articles for each country: one a background/overview — a relatively lengthy piece which would cover the highlights of the country concerned during the past year — and the other a feature article focusing on an issue of some significance to that country. We have been able to achieve our goals in most cases, though unfortunately for reasons beyond our control we failed to receive the additional article for four countries — Brunei, Burma, Singapore and Vietnam — in time for publication.

As stated earlier, though there has been no conscious attempt on our part to artificially impose a pattern on the analysis of events during 1981 nor present a thematic coherence to the volume as a whole, readers will find that certain themes — political stability, economic prosperity, and the unresolved Kampuchean issue — recur. With the exception of two pieces which take us further afield — one by M.S. Rajan who provides a perspective from New Delhi on the prospects of the non-aligned movement, and the other by Donald Zagoria on the strategic environment of East and Southeast Asia which extends the analytical vision beyond Southeast Asia to cover the Northeast Asian countries as well — the articles focus on this region.

Political stability and the persistence of institutions which have been established since the end of World War II are explicitly or implicitly emphasized in several articles: in the overview on the region written by Huynh Kim Khanh and Hans Indorf, the piece on Laos co-authored by Joseph J. Zasloff and MacAlister Brown, and the article on Viet-

Introduction

nam by Ng Shui Meng. Related to this is the theme of continuity in change — or rather questions of leadership succession and/or unsuccessful challenges to established authority. The situation in Indonesia is discussed in two articles, by Sediono Tjondronegoro and by Donald Weatherbee; the Malaysian political scene is examined separately by V. Selvaratnam and Chin Kin Wah; the situation in the Philippines is reviewed in two articles, one co-authored by Jesucita Sodusta and Artemio Palongpalong and the other by Gabriel Alvarez; developments in Singapore are analysed by Chua Beng Huat, and those in Thailand by Hong Lysa and Chantima Ongsuragz. The article by Pushpa Thambipillai concerns the prospects of Brunei becoming a member of ASEAN.

Economic development, continued prosperity, and related issues are treated in several articles in this volume. Hans Christoph Rieger's survey paints an encouraging picture of the economic scene in the region: the boom in the ASEAN economy is a fact at least for the present. The problems of the socialist economy of Laos are examined by Martin Stuart-Fox, and those of Burma's agricultural development by Khin Maung Kyi. The management of ASEAN's energy resources is the subject of the article by Corazón Siddayao.

Finally, there is the Kampuchean issue. Six years after the end of the Vietnam War, the conflict in Kampuchea remains a serious threat to peace and stability in the region. Kampuchea is the focus of no less than three articles in this volume, with all the authors involved — Michael Leifer, Ben Kiernan, and Sheldon Simon — having previously written on the country.

As in previous issues of *Southeast Asian Affairs*, in seeking and bringing various contributions and perspectives on the region together, it is always our hope that they would promote a deeper understanding of Southeast Asia. This year's effort is no exception and we present it as such.

Huynh Kim Khanh
Editor

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