

Index

-
- Abdul Rahman, Tunku, 7, 12, 56,
58, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 244, 249,
432, 440, 449, 451, 455, 457,
461, 465, 469, 475, 496, 500,
506, 507, 508, 509, 678
elections, 1969, 443
- Abdul Razak, 68, 432, 453, 455,
456, 459, 460, 461, 462, 464,
469, 678
achievements, 457
death, 458
visit to China, 460
visit to United States, 246
- Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, 483
- Abdurrahman Wahid, 550, 563, 564
- Achmad Subarjo, 606
- Adam Malik, 594, 608
- Afghanistan
Soviet invasion, 312
- Agus Salim, 606
- Ahmad Rithaudeen, 533
- Albright, Madeleine, 588
- Ali Alatas, 291, 292, 620, 625, 626
- Ali Moertopo, 122
- Ali Sastroamijoyo, 606
alliance, 153
- Anand Panyarachun, 690
- Anh, Le Duc, 645, 646
- Anwar Ibrahim, 109, 479, 480, 482,
484
- Aquino, Benigno, 16
- Aquino, Corazon, 16, 131, 174, 527
- Arab–Israel relations
Camp David agreement, 610, 611
- Arafat, Yasser, 292, 293, 532, 666
- Asia, East
and China, 157
democracy, 582
economic achievement, 338
maritime jurisdiction, 330–31
regional order, 354
security and order, 149
maritime dimension, 325–55
tradition, 582
- Asia, South
regional co-operation, 128
- Asia, Southeast, 3–19
alliance, 153
antagonism, 79
historical, 47–48
arms procurements, 156
balance of power, 154
and China
one-China policy, 273
Chinese residents, 258
colonialism, 4–9, 79

- Communist
 - insurrection, 9
 - movements, 63, 64
- economic
 - crisis, 546
 - successes, 16
- external actors, 239–295
- foreign policy, 363
- functionalist endeavour
 - limits of, 78–86
- internal conflict
 - revolutionary social challenge, 38–41
- international status, 79
- intervention
 - competitive, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96
- irredentism, 43–44
- and Israel, 289–95
- military co-operation
 - bilateral, 41
- minorities, 44–47
 - dissidence, 42
- nation-building, 44–47
- nationalism, 5–8
- neutralization, 128, 140
- political boundaries, 42
- regional conflict
 - sources of, 37–50
 - state identity, 37–47
- regional order, 87, 102, 103, 354
- regional security, 152, 201–5, 204
- regionalism, 91–97
- sea-lanes
 - threat to, 326
- separatism, 42–43
- sovereignty, 79
 - transfers from colonial powers, 49–50
- and Taiwan, 241, 275
 - limits to pragmatic diplomacy, 272–81
 - overseas Chinese, 277, 278
 - tensions, 204
 - term, 3
- Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM), 181–82, 309, 315, 316, 540, 541
- Co-operation Framework, 315
- objective, 181
- Asia–Latin American forum, 553
- Asia-Pacific
 - balance of power, 160
 - security, 158
 - regional co-operation, 161
- Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC), 19, 147, 175, 177, 540, 620–21
- expansion, 318
- Asian Highway Project, 84
- Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), 13, 73–74, 76, 77, 81–82, 100, 133, 166, 673
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 13–14, 15, 17–19, 77, 82, 87, 470, 525, 539, 638, 679
- achievements, 161, 164
- alliance, 95, 104, 170, 302
- ASEAN Concord, Declaration of, 168, 169, 170, 597
- in ASEAN Regional Forum role, 161–62
- ASEAN Way, 323
- and Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM), 181–82, 286, 287
- centrality, 298, 545
- balance of power, 113, 141, 142, 143, 153
- and Cambodia, 182–83, 184, 288
- intervention, 182–83
- membership, 165
- Cambodian conflict, 89, 120, 142, 150, 298, 321, 368, 551
- alliance, 142, 143
- corporate diplomatic role, 301
- diplomatic pressure, 196

- dissension, 142
- peace process, 129
- peacekeeping, 113, 126, 174, 182
- resolution, 318
- China relations, 127, 184–85, 203, 219, 260–61, 269, 276–77, 322, 618, 619
- ASEAN Regional Forum, 265–67, 268
- Cambodian conflict, 262
- code of conduct, 179
- constructive engagement, 154
- dialogue partner, 270
- diplomatic relations, 274
- Mischief Reef, 267, 268, 353, 619
- one China policy, 276
- Post-Ministerial Conferences, 270
- security dialogue, 179, 619
- South China Sea, 351, 353
- Spratlys, 262–65
- over Taiwan, 241
- in United Nations, 168
- Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, 265
- cohesion, 106, 166
- confidence-building, 164, 169, 323
- conflict
 - avoidance, 138, 304
 - management, 164
 - resolution, 121
- consensus, 107, 148, 164, 184, 298, 304, 319, 543, 551
- credibility, 323
- foreign policy, 107
- constitutional propriety, 132
- consultation, 301, 323
 - culture of, 137
- co-operation, 101, 148, 150
 - bilateral, 134
 - corporate
 - entity, 299
 - identity, 103, 112, 170, 666
 - credibility, 165
 - currency speculation, 322
 - decision-making, 304
 - defence
 - community, 138
 - co-operation, 117, 170, 302, 665
 - democratization
 - division, 320
 - dialogues, 106, 186
 - bilateral, 128
 - external, 175
 - multilateral, 134, 551
 - norm-setting, 123
 - partners, 172
 - diplomatic community, 88, 105, 112, 113, 124, 125–27, 138–39, 140, 164, 169, 172, 186, 261, 297, 298, 302, 321, 551, 598
 - limitations, 140, 180
 - preventive diplomacy, 119, 120
 - security role, 142
- disarray, 150
- discord, 77
- dispute settlement, 120, 123
 - high council, 123–24
- and East Asia, 322
- on East Timor, 298, 322, 323
- economic
 - co-operation, 171, 544, 665
 - crisis, 132–33, 165, 319
- enlargement, 121, 123, 130, 166, 179–83, 184, 298, 318, 319–323, 619
- change, 321–23
- deepening, 323
- problem, 319–20
- environmental pollution, 165
- established, 4, 69
- European Union relations, 305, 307, 308–16

- on Cambodian conflict, 305, 313
- Co-operation Agreement, 298, 305, 310, 311, 313, 314
- corporate identity, 312
- declaratory diplomacy, 305
- divergence, 314
- East Timor issue, 311, 313
- economic policies, 308
- economic relationship, 312
- Generalised System of Preferences (GSP), 311
- human rights, 286, 314
- international standing, 312
- investment, direct, 311
- Joint Cooperation Committee, 286
- meetings
 - economics ministers, 311
 - senior officials, 315
- mutual-admiration society, 305
- Myanmar issue, 286–88, 322
- political co-operation, 311
- politics of exclusion, 286–88
- Post-Ministerial Conference, 287, 310, 312, 314
- relationship, 316
- representations, 314
- trade, 311, 312
- Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, 313
- expectations, 553
- external threat, 95, 105, 138
- failure, 165
- foreign policies, 304
 - corporate, 299–306
- formation
 - reconciliation, 300, 318
 - regional environment, 300
 - sovereignty, 300
- founding declaration, 99–100, 101, 128, 129, 141, 167, 300, 596, 665
- goal, 318
 - preamble, 167
- fragmentation, 320
- Free Trade Area (AFTA), 19, 175
 - tariff reductions, 320, 322
- haze, 133, 298, 321
 - and Indochina, 170, 406
 - seeking new balance, 111–18
- institutional coherence, 169
- international standing, 165, 172, 319, 551
 - diminished, 184
- intimacy, 543
- investments, foreign, 169
- Japan relations, 224, 226
 - co-operation, 224
- judgement on, 150
- Laos relations, 204
- Kampuchea relations, 210, 211, 213
- marginality, overcoming, 176–79
- meetings
 - foreign ministers, 310
 - heads of government, 168, 169, 174, 175, 205
 - senior officials (SOM), 168
 - summits, annual informal, 181–82
- membership, 4
 - Cambodian, 131–32, 166, 319, 321
 - diverse, 164
 - enlargement, 121, 123, 130, 166, 179–83, 184, 298, 318, 319–323, 543, 551
 - and Myanmar, 544
 - constructive engagement, 182, 287
 - membership, 319, 321
 - neutralization, 102
 - peace process, 119–34
 - political
 - community, 137
 - co-operation, 103, 301, 544

- defence, 320
- defence, collective, 167, 666
- diversity, 543
- solidarity, 551
- political leadership
 - continuity, 321
- Post-Ministerial Conference (PMC), 172, 175, 205, 620
- precepts, 123
- problem solving
 - ASEAN Way, 122
- prospects, 150–51, 184–87
- reconciliation, 100, 108, 121, 137, 153, 166
- regional co-operation, 297
- regional decision-making, 299–306
- regional functionalism, 83
- regional order, 87–187, 138, 140, 164, 165, 167, 176
 - search for, 98–109
- regional peace-keeping, 322
- regional solutions, 145–51
- regionalism, 297–323
- relations
 - intra-ASEAN, 303
 - personal, 169
 - strained, 43, 46
- resilience, 169
- role
 - expanding, 167, 168
 - limits, 164–87
- secretariat
 - national, 300
 - permanent, 169
- security, 41, 112, 117, 118, 153, 164
 - changing environment, 174–76
 - co-operative, 122–25, 164, 165, 167, 186
 - external, 302
 - limitations, 129, 170
 - regional, 18, 141, 153, 157, 164, 166, 167, 170, 186, 303
 - relationships, external, 105, 303
 - role, 142, 143
 - security community, 88–89, 90, 100, 105, 121, 131
 - intra-mural model, 138
 - model, 136–44, 166–69
 - and Sino–Soviet conflict, 105
 - on South China Sea, 114, 117, 142, 143, 184–85, 298, 322
 - code of conduct, 127
 - Manila Declaration, 139, 175, 176, 205, 262
- Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone (SEANWFZ), 618
- sovereignty, national, 123, 132, 137, 139, 298, 320, 526, 543, 544, 665, 666
 - “flexible engagement”, 132
 - non-interference, 131, 319, 321, 322, 612
- Soviet Union relations, 228, 230, 231
- Standing Committee
 - rotating, 304
- tensions, 124, 125, 168–69, 184
 - managing intra-mural, 665
- territorial disputes
 - international arbitration, 171
- Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), 103, 112, 113, 123, 125, 127, 129, 139, 170–71, 204, 300–1, 665
 - accession, 103, 139, 170
 - code of conduct, 170, 301
 - confidence-building, 170
 - dispute settlement, 139–40, 146, 170, 171
 - sovereignty, 170, 301, 302
- unilateral initiatives, 101
- United States relations, 221, 285
- Vietnam relations, 105, 115, 116, 124, 125, 170–71, 204

- balance of power, 104
- membership, 318
- Vietnam's invasion of
 - Cambodia, 104, 105, 114, 124, 125, 126, 172–74, 190, 368
- and Vietnam War, 64, 101
- weaknesses, 137–38
- Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), 17, 88, 102, 103, 105, 123, 128, 129, 130, 140, 141, 167, 168, 171, 180, 318, 319, 338, 596, 602
- negative initiative, 140
- neutralization of Southeast Asia, 168
- objections, 180
- regional preconditions, 103
- ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), 18, 89, 115, 118, 129–30, 147, 148, 153, 154, 176–77, 178, 180, 186, 309, 310, 318, 319, 321, 540, 544, 545, 620, 621
- adverse interpretations, 148–50
- arms control, 158
- ASEAN's diplomatic centrality, 149–50, 178, 179, 180, 318, 319, 545
 - resistance to, 150, 180
- and balance of power, 159–60, 177
 - contribution, 161
- challenge, 162
- and China, 178
 - engaging, 157
- confidence-building, 552
- conflicts
 - addressing, 157
 - management, 161
- consensus-building, 148
- development, 161
- dialogue
 - Asia-Pacific powers, 552
 - diplomatic instrument, 156, 157, 159
 - limitations, 161
 - and European Union, 287, 312, 314
 - on Afghanistan, 312
 - expansion, 318
 - Inter-Sessional Support Group on Confidence-Building, 147
 - Korean conflict, 158
 - multilateralism, 155–62
 - security dialogue, 318
 - object, 155, 158, 161
 - prospects, 150–51
 - regional tensions, 158
 - relationships
 - contribution, 158
 - security
 - co-operative, 159
 - regional, 156, 160–61
 - on South China Sea, 147, 158, 353
 - stable relationships, 155
 - structural problems, 160
 - Taiwan issue, 158
 - tension, structural, 149
 - and United States, 285
 - view of, 150
 - workings, 161
- Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM), 286, 287
- Aung San, 5, 7
 - assassination, 7
- Aung San Suu Kyi, 17
- Australia, 67, 248
 - and East Timor, 322
 - Indonesia relations, 563, 600
 - continental shelf, 329
 - security agreement, 266, 623
 - Timor Sea, 353
 - Malaysia relations, 474
 - security, 256
 - United States relations
 - defence co-operation, 624

- balance of power, 141, 146
 - ambiguity, 152
 - global, 91, 92–93
 - meanings, 153
 - multilateral form, 156
 - truth about, 152–54
- Bandung Conference, 10, 64, 80–81, 606, 607
- Bao Dai, Emperor, 8
- Bentley, William, 475
- Bhumibol Adulyadej, King, 16, 687, 690
- Brezhnev, Leonid
 - collective security in Asia, 94, 228
 - Doctrine, 92
- Britain, 75
 - in Asia
 - power balance, 240, 256
 - Brunei relations, 654, 655, 656, 658, 659, 663, 664
 - Gurkha deployment, 41
 - protection, 658
 - Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, 658, 659, 661
 - Burma relations
 - colonial, 7
 - Cambodia relations, 427
 - colonial, 4, 7–8
 - Malaya, 7
 - Falklands
 - Argentina’s invasion of, 304
 - foreign policy
 - ethical dimension, 288
 - Indonesia relations, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249
 - Confrontation settlement, 248
 - Malaysia relations, 240, 243–50
 - alienation, 472–87, 489
 - Anglo-Malaysian Defence Agreement, 41, 67, 142, 244
 - “Buy British Last” policy, 474–77
 - Confrontation, 239, 245, 248
 - defence procurements, 477, 478, 479, 480
 - economic assistance, 255
 - education, 476
 - Five-Power Defence Agreement, 41, 142
 - military presence, 251–57
 - Pergau Dam, 477–79
 - political repair, 485–87
 - tendering exclusion, 473, 479–82
 - trade, 472, 476
 - Netherlands relations
 - Anglo–Dutch treaty, 1824, 49
 - North Borneo, 672–73
 - British North Borneo Company, 673
 - Overseas Aid Acts, 478
 - Singapore relations
 - military presence, 251–57
 - and Southeast Asia, 243
 - regional security, 256
 - United States relations
 - over Malaysia, 243–50
- Brooke, Charles, 658
- Brunei
 - armed forces, 662, 663, 667, 670
 - ASEAN membership, 105, 125, 166, 301, 664–65
 - Britain relations, 654, 655, 658, 659, 664
 - Gurkha deployment, 41
 - Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, 658, 659, 661
- Chinese
 - discrimination against, 668
 - constitution, 659, 661
 - decolonisation, 654, 655, 656
 - democracy, 660
 - diplomatic relationships, 666
 - dissidence, 657, 658

- elections
 - 1962, 660
 - 1965, 660
- emergency powers, 661
- essential services, 654
- expatriate community, 654
- foreign policy, 657–70
- government, 661
- Gurkha Reserve Unit, 662, 669
- Gurkha Rifles, 659, 663
- identity, 660
- income tax, 661
- independence, 301, 632, 655, 658, 659
- Indonesia relations, 657, 659, 660, 666
- internal security, 662, 664
- international
 - legitimacy, 666, 667
 - recognition, 666
 - status, 654, 655, 656, 658, 660
- Islamic symbolism, 661
- Legislative Council, 669
- Malaysia relations, 654, 657, 660, 666, 668
 - boundary issues, 49
 - Limbang dispute, 658, 660, 669
 - at United Nations, 655
- monarchy, 667
- nationalism, 668
- Pakistan relations, 666
- palace, 662
- Partai Ra'ayat, 655, 660, 667
- police force, 662
- political
 - change, 655
 - dissatisfaction, 655
 - participation, 667
- politics, domestic, 661
 - and foreign policy, 657–70
- population, 667
- predicament, 654–56
- revolt, 11, 56, 75, 245, 657, 669
- Royal Brunei Armed Forces, 661
- royal family, 667
- Singapore relations, 664
 - economic relationship, 664
 - Herzog's visit, 107, 108, 531, 533
 - military co-operation, 664
- social policies, 655
- South China Sea claims, 352
- sovereignty, 658
- survival, 47
- in United Nations, 666, 670
- vulnerability, 655, 656
- wealth, 667
- welfare state, 661
- Buddhism, 5
- Burma, 9, 10, 17, 94
 - Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, 7
 - Buddhist order, 383
 - Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), 17
 - Communist party
 - insurrection, 9, 38, 39, 40
 - India relations
 - Indian minorities, 45
 - and Indochina, 406
 - nationalism, 5, 7
 - Thailand relations, 42, 47
 - on Vietnam War, 63, 64, 69–70
 - See also* Myanmar
- Cambodia, 5, 65, 112, 367–429
 - administration, 392
 - aid, 403–4
 - anguish, 411–22
 - antagonism, traditional, 51–54
 - Army, 379, 390–91, 397, 415, 416, 420
 - rout, 416
 - ASEAN membership, 121, 131–32, 166, 182–83
 - authoritarian, 419

- authority
 - problems, 388–92
- Battambang, 395
 - violence, 385
- bomb in Royal Palace, 400
- Britain relations, 427
- Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party, 234
- Buddhist order, 375, 383
- bureaucracy, 381
- Cambodian People's Party (CPP), 234, 235, 236, 380, 425, 426, 428, 643
- cease-fire, 420
- centre-rightists, 381
- challenges, 424–26
- Chenla I, 416
- Chenla II, 416, 419
- China relations, 261, 368, 386, 389, 391, 395, 397 401, 414
 - aid, 403
 - recognition, 400
- civil service, 391
 - corruption, 391
- colonial rule, 372
- communist, 400
 - victory, 13
- Constituent Assembly, 235
- constitution, 235, 373
 - reform, 372
- corruption, 395
- coup, 131, 182–83, 235, 368
- crisis, 427–29
- Democratic Party, 373, 374
- dissidence, 396, 400
- economy, 392
- education policy, 381
- elections, 419, 425, 428
 - 1955, 373, 374
 - 1966, 380, 381,
- elite, inter-
 - dissension, 382
- financial stringency, 381
- foreign policy, 364, 389
 - France relations, 427
 - aid, 403
- FUNCINPEC, 233, 234, 235, 425
- grievances, 395–96
- High Political Council, 420
- identity, 399
- independence, 11, 367, 373, 374, 411
 - balance of power game, 367
 - preserve, 402
 - referendum, 374
- insurgent activity, 379
- Kambuja, 377
- Kampot province, 395
- Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, 428, 643
- Khmer Empire, 51
- Khmer Nation Party, 429
- Khmer Rose*, 380
- Khmer Rouge, 13, 14, 15, 70, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 207, 208, 214, 215, 232, 233, 234, 236, 368, 415, 421
 - decline, 428
 - killings of Vietnamese, 648
 - Mayaguez* seizure, 338
 - military capability, 236
- Khmer Serai*, 379
- Khmers Viet Minh, 394
- Kompong Thom
 - siege, 416
- Laos relations, 402
- leftist intellectuals, 380, 381, 382
 - opposition, 395
- legitimacy, 383–84
 - shallow, 384
- monarchy, 372–73, 388
 - constitutional, 373
 - reverence for, 372
 - royal absolutism, 372
 - royal prerogative, 372
- Montagnard, 396

- Moulinaka, 234
- National Assembly, 235, 376, 378, 381, 382, 419, 420
 - stripped of powers, 419
 - suspended, 420
- National Congress, 376, 378
 - special, 376
- National Salvation Front for National Liberation, 207
- National United Front, 421, 422
- National Unity Party, 234
 - and neighbours, 399–402
 - non-alignment, 64
 - peasant uprising, 395
- Phnom Penh
 - attack, 416
 - food riot, 420
 - siege, 420
- plot, foreign sponsored, 400, 403
- political
 - agreement, 199
 - conflict, 373
 - discontent, 381
 - liberality, 372
 - life, 417
 - succession, 367
- political activity
 - modes, 376–79
- political institutionalization, 385–86
 - failure, 371–86
- political leadership
 - style, 376–79
- political life
 - bickerings, 419
- political opposition
 - inner, 380–82
 - nature, 379–83
 - outer, 379–80
- political succession
 - problems, 388–92
- political system, 371, 392
 - electoral, 373
 - monarchical, 377
 - shaping, 372–74
- politics
 - constituencies, 374–76
- Popular Socialist Community, 374, 375, 376, 380, 381, 382
- Pracheochon party, 401
- Preah Vihear province, 395
- rassemblement*, 374
- Ratanakiri province, 396
- rebellion, 367
 - or subversion, 394–97
- repression, 419
- rice, 395
- rural areas
 - dwellers, 375, 383
 - social grievances, 395
- Sangha*, 419
- Sangkum*
 - division, 375, 376
- Social Republic Party, 419
- sovereignty, 364
- Soviet Union relations
 - aid, 403
- Stung Treng province, 396
- Supreme National Council (SNC), 233
- survival
 - balance of power game, 368
- Thailand relations, 51–53, 379, 399, 400, 403
- United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), 15, 174, 424, 425, 643
 - elections, 15, 232–36
 - intimidation, 232
 - mandate, 233
 - shortcomings, 233
- United States relations, 368, 379, 400, 401, 402, 412, 413, 420, 421, 427

- assistance, 389, 390, 391, 403, 419
- economic assistance, 381
- military intervention, 415, 420, 422
- uprisings, 396
- Viet Minh, 396, 400, 401
- Vietnam relations, 51, 52, 53–54, 112, 379, 380, 391, 395
 - boundary issues, 49
 - North, 400, 401, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 419, 421
 - occupation, 14, 47, 125, 126, 172–74, 207–14, 215, 368
 - South, 399, 400, 403, 415
 - withdrawal, 14
- and Vietnam War, 70
 - bombing, 66
- Vietnamese minority, 401, 402
- See also* Kampuchea
- Cambodian conflict, 142, 172–74, 189–236, 313, 320, 528
- external powers
 - interests and roles, 216–31
- Khmer Rouge, 424, 425, 637, 643
- origins, 195–96
- Paris accords, 182, 424
- Paris Conference, 142, 425
- peace agreement, 111
- peace process, 424, 425, 426
- peacekeeping, 126
- resolution, 201–5, 313, 318, 335
- settlement, 198, 200, 201–2, 226, 232, 635, 637, 643
- in United Nations, 173
 - peace plan, 202
- Carrington, Lord, 476
- Carter, Jimmy, 220, 221
- Chakrapong, Norodom, 235
- Chatichai Choonhavan, 690
- Chea Sim, 235
- Chen Shui-bian, 273
- Cheng Heng, 420
- Cheng Wei-yuan, 280
- Chhuon Mchulpich, 400
- Chiang Ching-kuo, 278
- Chiang Kai Shek, 8, 263, 647
- Chin Peng, 454
- China, 81, 89, 94, 103, 104, 112, 113, 116, 117, 125, 126, 154, 172, 177, 178, 180, 190, 200, 245
- ascendancy, 130
- ASEAN relations, 127, 158, 178–79, 184–85, 203, 219, 260–61, 269, 276–77, 322, 350, 351
- Cambodian conflict, 127, 262
- code of conduct, 179
- dialogue partner, 270
- diplomatic relations, 274
- Mischief Reef, 267, 268, 353, 619
- multipolarity, 618
- Post-Ministerial
 - Conferences, 270
- security dialogue, 179, 619
- South China Sea, 351, 353
- Southeast Asian Nuclear
 - Weapons-Free Zone, 618
- Spratlys, 262–65
- over Taiwan, 241
- Zone of Peace, Freedom and
 - Neutrality, 265, 618
- and ASEAN Regional Forum, 149, 150, 157, 158–59, 162, 178–79, 185, 265–67, 268, 350, 621
- assertiveness, 88
- Cambodia relations, 199, 200, 201, 261, 368, 386, 389, 391, 395, 397, 400, 401, 414
- aid, 403
- and Cambodian conflict, 196, 202, 643
- political settlement, 226
- on Chinese minorities in
 - Southeast Asia, 45–47, 220

- on colonial boundary, 354
- Communism, 93
 - international, 64, 194
- and East Asia, 157
- economic
 - development, 621
 - modernization, 648
 - reform, 259, 260
- engaging, 283–85
- European Union relations, 288
- foreign policy, 351
- Hong Kong reversion, 626
- Indonesia relations, 76, 559, 601, 616–28
 - Chinese minorities, 45–46, 626
 - diplomatic relations, 545, 610
 - middle kingdoms, 619
 - Natuna Islands, 266, 268
 - trade, 626
 - visits from Taiwanese, 626
- international position, 203
- investment, direct foreign, 259, 281
- Israel relations, 289, 290
- Japan relations, 260, 261, 263, 269
 - Diaoyutai Islands, 330, 335, 337
- Kampuchea relations
 - Chinese minorities, 46
- in Korean War, 194, 208
- Malaysia relations, 266
 - diplomatic relations, 107
 - Spratly Islands, 335
- maritime
 - jurisdiction, 203
 - passage, 332
- military
 - modernization, 259
 - power, 284
- Myanmar relations, 266
 - border concessions, 261
- nationalism, 264
- naval capability, 335
 - Philippines relations, 266, 268
 - Mischief Reef, 266, 271, 352–53
 - Spratly Islands, 266, 335
 - regional balance of power, 620
 - regional order, 203
 - rising, 148, 149, 156, 157, 184, 546
 - security dialogue
 - multilateral, 319
 - self-interest, 621, 622
 - Singapore relations, 266, 277, 279, 528, 545–46
 - diplomatic relations, 545
 - one China policy, 277
 - socialism, 199
 - South China Sea claims, 18, 143, 158, 184, 185, 240, 259, 268, 325, 326, 349–51, 546, 621, 644
 - archipelagic principle, 350
 - force, use of, 335–37, 341
 - joint development, 351
 - Mischief Reef, 127, 176, 350, 351, 352, 353
 - Paracel Islands, 18, 185, 271, 350, 644, 646
 - Spratly Islands, 174, 262–65, 267, 268, 271, 330, 335, 337, 350, 628, 644
 - and Southeast Asia, 39, 40, 217–20, 240, 622
 - balance of power, 217, 220
 - Chinese communities, 261
 - difficulties, 259
 - diplomatic relations, 261, 274
 - interdependence and accommodation, 258–70
 - one-China policy, 273
 - policy towards, 261
 - political interference, 261
 - sovereignty, 158
 - Soviet Union relations, 94, 195, 197, 217, 220, 227, 228, 229, 230, 259, 332, 350

- antagonism, 334
- rapprochement*, 335, 643
- Taiwan relations, 147, 158, 159, 160, 203, 264, 273-74, 336, 546
- intimidation, 552
- invasion, 284
- maritime implications, 331
- territorial waters
 - law on, 644
- Thailand relations, 105, 219, 688
- in United Nations, 101, 102, 168, 272, 273
 - Convention on Law of the Sea, 268, 351
- United States relations, 151, 157, 203, 217, 221, 222, 259, 260, 350, 552
- issues, 260, 261, 263, 269
- opposition, 151
- rapprochement*, 195, 223, 334, 647
- over Taiwan, 241
- tensions, 200
- Vietnam relations, 18, 47, 48, 117, 173, 197, 198, 200, 203, 213, 217-220, 235, 262, 335, 337, 601, 602, 631-32, 635, 638, 639, 640, 642-52
- boundary issues, 49
- Chinese minorities, 46, 218
- Chinese refugees, 601
- naval clash, 197, 352
- oil-drilling dispute, 619
- Paracel Islands, 263, 268, 334, 335, 350
- punitive expedition, 14, 114, 143, 173, 218, 643
- rapprochement*, 195, 198, 199, 232, 644
- in South China Sea, 262
- Spratly Islands, 263, 334, 335, 351, 644, 645, 646
- Taiwan relationship, 646
- tension, 196
- territorial differences, 645
- Tonkin, Gulf of, 337
- Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, 190
- Chinese
 - in Southeast Asia, 217, 220
 - minorities, 44, 45-47
- Choo, Winston, 527
- Chou En-lai, 687
- Chuan Leekpai, 632, 690
- Chulalongkorn, King, 6
- civil society
 - concept, 579-80, 582
 - definition, 580
- Clinton, Bill, 160, 177, 621, 635
 - democracy, enlarging, 284, 583
- Cold War, 10, 64, 93, 190, 193, 259, 399
 - end, 112, 126, 165, 173, 193, 200, 290, 313, 349, 635, 638
 - balance, 349-52
 - Second, 126, 195, 312
- Collective Defence Treaty for Southeast Asia, 64, 65, 67
- Communism, 586
 - insurgency, 38-40, 42
- conflict
 - sources of, 51-61
- constitution, 435-36, , 442
- Cook, Robin, 288
- defence co-operation
 - multilateral, 156
- democracy, 582, 584
 - divisions, 584
- Deng Xiaoping, 221
- Dhanabalan, Suppiah, 524
- Diem, Ngo Dinh, 11
 - murdered, 12
- Dong, Pham Van, 39, 414, 644
- East Asia. *See* Asia, East

- East Timor, 282, 562
 - independence, 318
 - Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of East Timor, 40
 - statehood, 323
- Eisenhower
 - domino theory, 65
- English Revolution, 582
- Enlightenment, 580
- Europe, Eastern, 92
- Europe, Western
 - union, 77
- European Community (EC)
 - reconciliation, 137
 - Treaty of Rome, 1957, 137
- European Community/Union
 - ASEAN relations, 305, 307, 308–16
 - on Afghanistan, 305
 - Asia strategy, 309
 - Cambodian conflict, 313
 - Co-operation Agreement, 298, 305, 310, 311, 313, 314
 - declaratory diplomacy, 305
 - divergence, 314
 - East Timor issue, 311, 313
 - economic policies, 308
 - economic relationship, 312
 - Generalised System of Preferences (GSP), 311
 - human rights, 286, 313, 314
 - inconsistent, 309
 - investment, direct, 311
 - Joint Co-operation Committee, 286
 - meetings
 - economics ministers, 311
 - senior officials, 315
 - mutual-admiration society, 305
 - Myanmar issue, 286–88, 322
 - policies towards, 309
 - political co-operation, 311
 - politics of exclusion, 286–88
 - Post-Ministerial Conference, 287, 310, 312, 314
 - relationship, 316
 - representations, 314
 - trade, 311, 312
 - Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, 313
- and ASEAN Regional Forum, 287, 312, 314
- and Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM), 181–82
- Asia strategy, 314, 315
 - political dialogue, 314
- China relations, 288
- confrontation, 304
- consensus, 304, 305
- corporate entity, 299
- Council of Ministers, 298
- democracy, 288
- economic integration
 - institutionalizing, 302
- economic issues, 306
- foreign policies
 - co-ordination, 297
 - corporate, 299–306
- formation
 - reconciliation, 300
- Human Rights resolution, 287
- integration, 297, 300
 - widening and deepening, 317
- international issues, 306
- Myanmar relations, 287
 - sanctions, 286
- political
 - co-operation, 301, 302, 303–4
 - decision-making, 297
 - integration, 304
- regional decision-making, 299–306
- regional security, 303
- regionalism, 297–323
- Secretariat, 302
 - rotating, 304

- socialization process, 302
- on Vietnam, 314
- France, 137
 - Cambodia relations, 399, 427
 - aid, 403
 - colonial, 4
 - Indochina, 8, 10, 51, 52
 - political system, 371–72
 - Vietnam relations
 - colonial, 5
- functionalism, 79–80
 - alternative, 78
 - pseudo-, 80, 81, 82
 - regional, 83
- Garcia, Carlos, 59
- Germany, 137
- Ghafar Baba, 484
- Ghazali Shafie, 122, 668, 669
- Goh Chok Tong, 290, 293, 294, 309, 518–19, 520, 521, 522, 525, 529, 538, 541, 547, 553, 624
 - compassionate, 521
- Goodlad, Alastair, 478
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 197
 - new political thinking, 338, 636
 - visit to China, 197
- government
 - legitimacy, 582
- Greater Malay Confederation, 74, 75
- Habibie, B.J., 550, 562, 588, 617
 - discredited, 589
 - eccentric economic views, 589, 590
 - mistrusted, 589
- Harun Idris, 463–64
 - corruption, 463, 464
 - notoriety, 463
- Hatta, Mohammad, 8, 575, 620
- Heng Samrin, 368, 406, 407, 409
- Ho Chi Minh, 5, 8, 11, 647
- Hobbes, Thomas, 524
- Holbrooke, Richard, 222
- Hun Sen, 131, 132, 182, 183, 190, 199, 200, 201, 235, 368, 369, 406, 427, 428
- Hurd, Douglas, 478, 483, 486
- Hussein Onn, 432, 458, 461, 464, 465–66, 597, 660
 - retirement, 473
- In Tam, 420
- India
 - and ASEAN Regional Forum, 149, 150
 - Burma relations
 - Indian minorities, 45
 - China policy, 80
 - Indonesia relations, 600–1
 - Israel relations, 290
 - naval capability, 340
- Indians
 - minorities in Southeast Asia, 44, 45
- Indochina, 8
 - and ASEAN, 406
 - seeking new balance, 111–18
 - balance of power, 203, 642
 - and Burma, 406
 - Communist Party of Indochina, 5, 38–39
 - Communist successes, 169
 - conflict, 124
 - Geneva Conference, 1954, 373
 - meeting, 320
 - natural entity, 208
 - problem, 193–205,
 - balance of power, 204
 - constraint, 204
 - nature, 194–95
 - political settlement, 197–201
 - revolutionary struggles, 49

- strategic coherence, 638
- Indochina Wars, 194, 208, 216
 - First, 10, 39
 - ceasefire agreements, 10
 - Second, 39, 102
 - Third, 14, 223
 - Vietnam War, 12–13
 - Paris Peace Agreements, 66, 69
 - response of Southeast Asian countries, 62–71
 - Tet Offensive, 12
- Indonesia, 9, 10, 12, 15, 99, 101, 243, 557–628
 - Afghanistan relations
 - Soviet invasion, 611
 - Arab-Islamic states relations, 604, 606, 609, 610, 614
 - archipelagic
 - principle, 597
 - sea lanes, 329
 - status, 330
 - armed forces, 570, 571, 576, 577, 588, 589, 590, 591, 594, 595, 596
 - corporate identity, 576
 - dissent, 566, 567
 - dual function, 571, 572, 573, 577, 585
 - factionalism, 572
 - and Islam, 605
 - national institution, 577
 - political entitlement, 595
 - on presidential succession, 576
 - professional, 577
 - arms purchase, 627
 - in ASEAN, 166, 551, 596, 627
 - enlargement, 619
 - role, 128, 133
 - security dimension, 619
 - and ASEAN Regional Forum, 622, 624, 627
 - Asian Games, 1962
 - Israeli exclusion, 607
 - Australia relations, 563, 600
 - continental shelf, 329
 - security agreement, 266, 623, 624
 - Timor Sea, 353
 - balance of power, 623
 - Bank Duta, 567
 - Britain relations, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249
 - Confrontation settlement, 248
 - Brunei relations, 659
 - Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 608
 - China relations, 76, 246, 559, 593, 598, 601
 - Chinese minorities, 45–46, 626
 - containment, 622
 - dialogues, multilateral, 617
 - diplomatic relations, 545, 601, 610, 617, 618, 620, 623
 - engagement, dilemmas of, 616–28
 - Natuna Islands, 266, 268
 - perspective, adverse, 617
 - security threat, 628
 - trade, 626
 - visits from Taiwanese, 626
 - Chinese, 601
 - ill-treated, 261
 - language, 618
 - resentment of, 245
 - victimisation, 590
 - civil service, 570
 - civil society, 558
 - concept, 583
 - creating, 579–87
 - Communist Party of Indonesia, 6, 38, 76, 245, 246, 566, 568, 607
 - insurrection, 9
 - constitution, 588
 - coup, 76
 - abortive, 566, 568, 673

- currency, 568
- diversity, 604
- East Timor, 562, 564
 - annexation, 10, 44, 282
 - issue, 595
- economic
 - adversity, 133, 134, 319
 - dependence, 562
 - development, 581, 582, 638
 - discontent, 569
- economy, 602
- Egypt relations, 607
- elections, 570
 - 1999, 563
- foreign policy, 363, 558, 592–602, 627
 - independent and active, 592, 593
 - Islamic factor, 597, 603–14
 - non-Islamic, 558
- geographical configuration, 597
- Golkar, 570–71
- Guided Democracy, 11, 592, 593, 595, 597, 607
- haze, 133, 165, 184
- hegemony, 153, 167
- independence, 8
 - recognition, 606
 - revolt, 6
 - struggle, 594
- India relations, 600–1
- international
 - confidence, 590
 - role, 291
- intervention, external, 594
- Iran relations
 - revolution, 611
- Irian Jaya, 10, 43, 44, 593, 594
 - claim, 606
 - coercive diplomacy, 607
 - free choice, 594–95
- irredentism, 43
- Islam, 604, 613
 - dissatisfaction, 569
 - political, 363, 569, 607, 613
 - resurgence, 613
- Islamic United Development Party, 569
- Israel relations, 289–90, 291, 292, 293, 295, 606, 607, 609, 612
- Japan relations, 593, 600
- Java, 604
 - cultural tradition, 605
- Java-centric view, 594
- leadership role, 363
- and major powers, 599
- Malaysia relations, 76, 246, 252, 293, 593
 - archipelagic status, 332
 - breach, 500
 - Confrontation, 12, 55–57, 82, 121, 245, 248, 249, 252, 505, 595, 596, 607, 657, 660, 673
- middle class, 568, 584
- Muslim United Development Party, 601
- Muslims, 603
 - divisions, 604
- Nahdatul Ulama, 569
- nation-building, 569
- national identity, 561
- national resilience, 598
- national unity, 566
- nationalism, 558, 561–64
 - civic, 561
 - muted, 562
 - robust expressions, 562
- Natunas
 - protection of, 624–25
- Netherlands relations
 - West Irian dispute, 248
- on neutralization of Southeast Asia, 140, 627
- New Emerging Forces, 592

- New Order, 571, 584, 593, 597, 607
 security, 584
- Non-Aligned Movement, 294, 562, 618
- Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), 581
- and Organization of the Islamic Conference
 Islamic Charter, 608, 609
- and Palestinians, 606
 cause, 611, 612
 Palestine Liberation Organization, 611, 612
- Pancasila*, 569, 583
- Parliamentary Democracy, 593, 597
Dar ul-Islam insurrection, 605
 prime ministers, 605
- People's Consultative Assembly, 570, 571
- Philippines relations, 612, 613
- philosophical bases, 604, 605
- political identity, 6
- political system, 570, 578, 592
 depoliticisation, 550, 585
 opposition parties, 570
 public participation, 568, 570, 571
 succession, 574, 585–86
- politics, 558, 563
 political reform, 563
 of succession, 565, 566, 567, 572, 577
- population, 565, 603
- poverty, 568
- power transfer, 562
- presidency, 570
 Javanese monarch, 572
 resignation, 588
 succession, 566
- on regional association, 76, 77
- regional balance of power, 620
 regional context, 563
 regional diplomatic role, 564
 regional entitlement, 561, 594, 620
 regional leadership, 82, 551
 on regional order, 102, 167, 618, 620
 on regional security, 141
 regional vision, 602
 revolt, 8
 rights of individuals, 583
 security doctrine, 622
 self-reliance, 598
 separatist movements, 566
 –Singapore relations, 56, 57–58, 293, 527, 550, 551
 Herzog's visit, 107, 108, 531, 533
 trade, 500, 510
 social tensions, 598
 South China Sea claims, 49
 –Soviet Union relations, 44, 246, 593, 600
 stability, 584
 statehood, 561
 stresses, 569
 –Taiwan relations, 275, 276
 –Thailand relations, 612
 uncertainty, 565–78
 in United Nations, 562, 593
 and U.N. Convention on Law of the Sea, 328–29
 –United States relations, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 593, 599, 600, 606
 aid, 247
 facilities, 142, 623
- Unity in Diversity, 584, 597, 604
- urbanization, 568
- Vietnam relations, 203
 continental shelf, 329
 Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, 172, 173

- on Vietnam War, 63, 69, 70
- vulnerability, 617
 - intrinsic, 594, 595
- wealth distribution, 569
- yayasan*, 570
- See also* Netherlands East Indies
- International Commission for
 - Supervision and Control, 69, 373, 374, 386
- International Maritime Organisation, 329
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 588
- international order, 91–92
- intervention
 - definition, 207
 - military, 211, 212
- Iran
 - Indonesia relations
 - revolution, 611
- Ireland, 303
- Ireland, Northern
 - communal violence, 448
- Islam, 5, 6
- Israel, 242, 531
 - Arab relations
 - 1967 war, 608
 - Camp David agreement, 610, 611
 - and Asia, 241
 - Brunei relations, 291
 - China relations, 289, 290
 - Indonesia relations, 612
 - Malaysia relations, 291, 295, 469
 - and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 289, 294, 295
 - Philippines relations
 - diplomatic relations, 291
 - Singapore relations, 290, 293–94, 531, 532, 534, 535
 - diplomatic relations, 290
 - economic co-operation, 294
 - Herzog's visit, 290, 293, 294
 - military co-operation, 290
 - Rabin's visit, 290, 293–94
- and Southeast Asia, 289–95
 - Thailand relations
 - diplomatic relations, 291
- Japan, 94, 177, 191, 600
 - ASEAN relations, 224, 226
 - co-operation, 224
 - China relations, 260, 261, 263, 269
 - Diaoyutai Islands, 330, 335, 337
 - Indonesia relations, 600
 - maritime passage, 332
 - militarism, 156, 157
 - Pacific War, 3, 5, 6, 7, 260
 - Southeast Asia, 6–7
 - rearmed, 284
 - sea lane defence strategy, 339
 - South Korea relations
 - diplomatic row, 159
 - Liancourt Rock, 330
 - and Southeast Asia, 223–27
 - mutual economic dependence, 223
 - priorities, 223
 - Soviet Union relations, 225, 227
 - Northern Territories, 331
 - Spratly Islands, 263, 333
 - United States relations
 - security relationship, 160, 547
 - Vietnam relations
 - economic assistance, 224, 225, 226
 - economic co-operation, 224
 - Vietnamese invasion of
 - Cambodia, 224–27
- Jayakumar, S., 132, 178, 183, 522, 543
- Jeyaretnam, J.B., 515, 516, 517
- Jiang Zemin, 645
- Johnson, Lyndon, 244, 247

- Kampuchea, 39, 40
 in 1980
 politics of attrition, 405–10
 –China relations
 Chinese minorities, 46
 Communist Party, 40
 conflict, 405–10
 political settlement, 405
 –East Germany relations, 406
 human rights violations, 208
 Khmer Rouge, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409
Khmer Sereika, 407
 Khmers People's National Liberation Front, 407
 People's Revolutionary Council, 406, 407
 relief operations, international, 408–9
 –Soviet Union relations, 406
 in United Nations, 210, 211, 212, 214
 –Vietnam relations, 47
 occupation, 405–10
 Vietnamese minorities, 45
See also Cambodia
- Keating, Paul, 474
 Kennedy, John, 245
 Kennedy, Robert, 244, 247, 248, 249, 250
 Khieu Samphan, 233, 234, 408
 Khrushchev, 682, 683, 686
 Kiet, Vo Van, 203, 648, 650
 Kissinger, Henry, 420
 Koh, Tommy, 211
 Korea, North, 147
 Korea, South, 147
 –Japan relations
 diplomatic row, 159
 Liancourt Rock, 330
 Korean Peninsula, 147
 issues, 552
 Kriangsak Chamanand, 221
- Lankester, Tim, 477, 478
- Laos, 65
 –ASEAN relations, 112, 115, 116, 125, 204
 membership, 131, 166
 Treaty of Amity and Co-operation, 638
 –Cambodia relations, 402
 communist control, 13
 crisis, 81
 economy, 15
 reform, 115
 ethnic problems, 55
 independence, 11
 Pathet Lao, 39, 402
 –Vietnam relations, 112
 and Vietnam War, 64, 66, 70
- League of Nations
 Covenant, 146
- Lee Hsien Loong, 521, 522, 525, 528, 529, 548
 abrasive self-assertion, 521
 on Malay loyalty, 533, 536
- Lee Kuan Yew, 14, 16, 58, 68, 214, 215, 240, 252, 253, 264, 277, 278, 279, 290, 293, 294, 438, 439, 440, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 527, 528, 533, 534, 535, 538, 541, 542, 546, 550, 553–54
 achievement, 513
 backseat driver, 520–23
 determination, 520
 excellence, pursuit of, 518
 foreign policy, 555
 on Herzog's visit, 532
 Malaysian Malaysia, 450
 political maintenance, 517, 518
 political pessimism, 515, 525
 political succession, 520
 qualities, 514
 regional change

- unpredictability, 526
 - ruthlessness, 520
 - as senior minister, 522
 - stepping aside, 513–19
 - on Taiwan Strait, 159
 - vindictive, 513
 - voting system, 517
- Lee Teng-hui, 273, 275, 277, 278
- Li Peng, 266, 337, 645
- Libya, 43
- Lien Chan, 277, 278
- Lim Kim San, 538
- Lim Kit-siang, 453
- Linh, Nguyen Van, 636, 639
- Liu Chao-Ch'i, 246
- Lon Nol, 368, 381, 382, 385, 413, 417, 419, 420
 - illness, 417, 418
 - resignation, 418
- Lon Non, 418, 419, 420
 - removal, 420
- Luong, Tran Duc, 646

- Macapagal, Diosdado, 59, 74, 75, 247, 249, 672, 678
- Mahathir Mohamad, 107, 110, 295, 345, 432–33, 533, 534, 535, 550
 - abrasive, 345
 - anti-Semitism, 467–71
 - Britain relations
 - alienation, 472–87
 - controversial, 465
 - foreign policy, 363
 - on Herzog's visit, 532, 533, 535
 - irascibility, 474
 - "Look East", 476
 - political embarrassment, 293
 - political reverse, 484, 485
 - in UMNO, 484
- Mai, Le, 648
- Major, John, 478, 481, 483
- Malacca Straits
 - collisions, 345, 346
 - legal status, 332
 - maritime regime, 345
 - navigation, 326
 - not protected, 345–47
 - traffic, 346
 - separation, 338, 346
- Malaya, 13, 73, 81
 - Anglo–Malayan Defence Agreement, 67
 - Chinese, 7
 - citizenship, 7
 - Commonwealth Strategic Reserve, 248
 - Constitution, 437
 - amendment, 438
 - emergency powers, 438
 - foreign policy, 68
 - independence, 7, 55
 - Malayan Communist Party, 7
 - insurrection, 7, 9, 38
 - Malayan Union, 7
 - Malays, 7
 - nationalism, 6
 - political order, 448
 - politics
 - inter-communal arrangement, 437
 - opposition parties, 438
 - Reid Constitutional Commission, 437
 - United Malays National Organization (UMNO), 7, 448
 - founded, 448
- Malaysia, 9, 11, 15, 50, 243–50, 431–89
 - Alliance, 446, 449, 452, 455, 497, 499, 502, 503
 - elections, 1959, 443
 - elections, 1964, 443
 - elections, 1969, 442–43
 - rejection, 447
 - Australia relations, 474
 - Britain relations, 244–45

- alienation, 472–87, 489
- Anglo-Malaysian Defence Agreement, 41, 142, 244
- “Buy British Last” policy, 474–77
- Confrontation, 239
- defence procurements, 477, 478, 479, 480
- economic assistance, 255
- education, 476
- Five-Power Defence Agreement, 41, 142
- military presence, 251–57
- Pergau Dam, 477–79
- political repair, 485–87
- tendering exclusion, 473, 479–82
- trade, 472, 476
- Brunei relations, 654, 655, 657, 660
 - boundary issues, 49
 - international status, 660
 - Limbang dispute, 658, 660, 669
 - at United Nations, 655, 656, 660
- bumiputra* policy, 459, 476
- China relations, 266
 - diplomatic relations, 107
- Chinese, 432, 439, 447, 449, 452, 454, 458, 459, 460, 461, 468, 476
 - alienation, 459
 - economic dominance, 439
- common market, 252, 255
- communal
 - antagonism, 447–49
 - inter-, association, 431, 432
 - tensions, 457–66
 - violence, 432, 446, 447, 448, 452–56, 458, 459
- communal roles
 - conflicting perceptions of, 450
- communalism
 - and politics, 458–60
- communist
 - insurgency, 38, 39, 460–61
 - conceptions, adverse, 446–56
 - Constitution, 437, 438, 440, 441, 442, 455, 456
 - amendments, 442
 - Democratic Action Party (DAP), 452, 453, 454
 - economy, 473
 - education, 455
 - elections
 - 1964, 450, 502
 - 1969, 442–43, 452
 - 1974, 458
 - emergency, 442, 452–53
 - powers, 443
 - employment, 455
 - foreign policy, 363, 470
 - anti-British, 432–33
 - anti-Semitism, 363, 432, 467–71
 - formation, 99, 438, 496
 - challenge, 11, 75
 - inauguration, 252
 - Malaysia Agreement, 252, 439, 496, 503
 - official proclamation, 498
 - Gerakan, 452
 - Indians, 459, 468, 476
 - alienation, 459
 - Indonesia relations, 76, 246
 - archipelagic status, 332
 - breach, 500
 - Confrontation, 12, 55–57, 82, 121, 245, 248, 249, 252, 657, 660, 673
 - Internal Security Act, 473, 534
 - Israel relations, 291, 295, 469
 - language, official, 449
 - enforcement, 509
 - Malay Malaysia
 - discontent with, 449–51
 - Malay state, 458

- Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), 446, 449, 450, 497, 500, 501, 502, 503, 510
elections, 1969, 443, 446–47
- Malayan Communist Party (MCP), 432, 460, 464
- Malayan Indian Congress (MIC), 444, 449
- Malayan People's Liberation Army, 54
- Malayan States
constitutional powers, 439
- Malays, 439, 447, 449, 450, 468
economic demands, 455
in economy, 459
grievance, 458, 459
intrMalay politics, 107
militants, 455
political dominance, 449, 451, 452, 455, 458, 459, 461, 496
population, 508
privileges, 503, 509
special position, 458
special rights, 449, 455
- monarch
rotating, 449
- multi-racial, 509
- National Consultative Council, 453, 456
- National Front, 458, 464
- National Operations Council, 443, 452, 453, 455
- National Youth Development Corps, 455
- neutralization of Southeast Asia, 101, 102, 128, 140, 168
- New Economic Policy, 458–59, 476
resentment, 459
- Non-Aligned Movement, 469
- North Borneo, 669
conflict, 244, 247, 248
state, 655
and Organization of the Islamic Conference, 608
and Palestine Liberation Organization, 469, 611
Palestinian cause, 468, 469
Pan Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP)
elections, 1969, 443, 452
parliamentary practices, 10
Penang, 453
communal violence, 448
–Philippines relations, 76, 246
Corregidor affair, 674–75, 676–78
diplomatic relations, 673, 679
reconciliation, 673
Sabah claim, 43, 49, 58–60, 74, 75, 77, 82, 120, 124, 632, 672–80
- politics
Alliance pattern, 431, 436–38, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444
and constitutional stability, 435–44
powers, distribution of, 439
Privy Council, 441
racial
animosity, 58
tension, 534
regional order, 101
religion, state, 449
riots, racial
1969, 431, 443, 458, 475, 476
Royal Malay Regiment, 455
Sabah, 8, 438–39, 440, 450, 462–63, 498, 672
Berjaya, 463
elections, 441, 485
politics, 436
Sabah United Party, 485
United Sabah National Organisation (USNO), 463
Sarawak, 8, 438–39, 440, 450, 498
constitution, 440, 441

- elections, 441
- emergency, 440, 441
- politics, 436, 438
- Sarawak Alliance manifesto, 445
- Singapore relations, 43, 58, 134, 142, 251-57, 254-55, 290, 293, 450, 526-27, 550-51, 553
- defence council, joint, 254
- federation politics, 495-509
- Herzog's visit, 107, 108, 468, 469-70, 531-36
- Malaysia Agreement, 495
- row, 542
- separation, 253, 254, 255, 451
- structural tension, 542, 550
- water agreement, 534
- Socialist Front, 501, 502
- South China Sea claims, 352
- Spratly Islands, 330
- Taiwan relations
 - diplomatic relations, 274
- Thailand relations, 42, 54-55
- boundary issues, 49
- United Malays National
 - Organization (UMNO), 444, 446, 452, 455, 457, 458, 461, 464, 471, 476, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 534
 - elections, 1969, 443
 - support for, 432
- United States relations
 - Confrontation, 239
 - facilities, 142
 - and Vietnam War, 68
- MaoTse-tung
 - dictum, 683
- Maphilindo, 74, 75
- Manila Accord, 75
- Marcos, Ferdinand, 10, 16, 59, 60, 131, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 679, 680
- maritime regime, 327-30
- coastal state, 333-34
- interdiction of sea lanes, 332
- threats to regional security, 331-32
- Marxism, 580
- Mekong River basin
 - development, 54
 - Lower Mekong Project, 84-85, 86
- Mitrany, David
 - functional alternative, 78, 79, 85, 86
- Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, 109, 609, 610, 611
- Moerdani, Benny, 575-76
- Moerdiono, 289, 291, 626
- Mohammed Khir Johari, 507
- Muda Hassanal Bolkiah, 661
- multilateralism
 - merits, 155-62
- Musa Hitam, 470, 512
- Muslims
 - meeting
 - foreign ministers, 608
 - heads of government, 608
- Mustapha, Tun, 462-63
- resignation, 463
- Myanmar
 - and ASEAN, 322
 - membership, 130-31, 166, 180, 181
 - China relations, 266
 - border concessions, 261
 - European Union relations, 287
 - sanctions, 286
 - National League for Democracy, 17
 - National Unity Party, 17
 - State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), 17
- See also* Burma
- Nair, Devan, 517
- Naradipo, 384, 389, 390

- navigation
 - freedom of, 333, 334, 338–39
- Ne Win, 17, 70
- Nehru, 606
- Netherlands, 594
 - Britain relations
 - Anglo–Dutch treaty, 1824, 49
 - colonial, 4, 8
 - Indonesia relations, 8, 44
 - West Irian dispute, 8, 248
- Netherlands East Indies
 - Islamic Union, 5
 - nationalism, 5–6
 - revolutionary struggles, 49
 - See also* Indonesia
- neutralization, 102, 140
- New Zealand, 67, 248
 - security, 256
- Nien, Nguyen Dy, 645
- Ningkan, Stephen, 440, 441
- Nixon, Richard, 93
 - on Cambodia, 421
 - Doctrine, 93, 94, 222, 421
 - visit to China, 93
- Non-Aligned Movement, 64, 102, 289, 291, 292, 294, 295
 - conference, 139, 171
- Non-Government Organisation (NGO), 581
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 138, 303
- Omar Ali Saifuddin, 669
- Ong Teng Cheong, 522
- Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), 608
- Pacific Asia
 - co-operative security, 148
 - regional solutions
 - dialogue, 148
 - security dialogue
 - multilateral structure, 149
- Pacific Pact
 - Baguio conference, 80
- Pacific War, 3, 5, 6, 7
 - Japanese Peace Treaty, 1951, 348
 - precipitating, 157
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 292
 - and Israel, 289, 294, 295
 - in Malaysia, 469
- Pehin Abdul Aziz Umar, 661
- Pelaez, Emmanuel, 75
- Pen Sovan, 407, 408
- Phibun Songkhram, 6
- Philippines, 13, 65, 73, 80, 81
 - archipelagic
 - sea lanes, 329
 - status, 330
 - China relations, 266, 268
 - Mischief Reef, 266, 271, 352
 - Spratly Islands, 266, 330
 - Communist party
 - insurrection, 9, 38, 39
 - constitution, 435
 - democracy, 10
 - democratization, 16
 - election fraud, 182
 - independence, 5, 7
 - Indonesia relations, 613
 - international position, 59
 - Israel relations
 - diplomatic relations, 291
 - Malaysia relations, 76, 246, 252
 - Corregidor affair, 674–75, 676–78
 - diplomatic relations, 673, 679
 - reconciliation, 673
 - Sabah claim, 43, 49, 58–60, 74, 75, 77, 82, 120, 124, 337, 632, 672–80, 681
- Muslim
 - rebellion, 43, 462
- nationalism, 5

- Operation Merdeka, 677
 political upheaval, 131
 politics, 435
 –Singapore relations, 527
 furore, 542
 South China Sea claims, 352
 –Soviet Union relations, 230
 Spanish–American War, 5
 Sulu, Sultan of, 673, 676, 680
 –Taiwan relations
 diplomatic relations, 274
 –United States relations
 anti-American feeling, 59
 Mutual Security Agreement,
 41
 withdrawal, 352
 and Vietnam War, 63, 65, 67
 Phouma, Souvanna, 70
 Pibun Songkhram, 686
 Pol Pot, 13, 209, 219, 222, 368, 407,
 408
 political
 authority, 387
 community, 137
 succession, 387
 Portugal
 colonial, 4, 8, 44
 on East Timor, 298
 Pote Sarasin, 686
 Prabowo Subianto, 625
 Praphas Charusathien, 685, 686
 Prem Tinsulanond, 410

 Qian Qichen, 263, 267, 268, 271,
 351, 620
 Quirino, Elpidio, 80

 Rabin, Yitzhak, 242
 visits, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293,
 294, 295
 Raffles, Stamford, 524
 Rafidah Aziz, 482
 Rajaratnam, Sinathamby, 527, 539

 Ramos, Fidel, 16
 Ranariddh, Norodom, 131, 132,
 182, 183, 191, 202, 233, 235,
 236, 425, 428
 regional
 associations, 73–77, 79
 balance, 93
 order, 96, 98
 maritime dimension, 340
 obstacles, 98
 promoting, 98
 organization
 diplomatic community, 317
 partnership, 96, 97
 solutions
 myth, 147–48
 notion, 146
 regionalism
 expansion
 perils and benefits, 317–23
 and international order, 91–92
 Roxas, Manuel, 7
 Russia
 and ASEAN Regional Forum, 149,
 150
 See also Soviet Union

 Sam Rainsy, 429
 Sam Sary, 400
 Sandys, Duncan, 253
 Sarit Thanarat, 682, 683, 684
 corruption, 684, 685
 death, 682
 mother-in-law, 684–85
 widow, 684
 Saudi Arabia, 608
 sea lanes
 interdiction of, 338, 339
 sea-space
 jurisdiction, 337
 security
 collective, 122, 146
 cooperative, 122, 146, 148

- Sihanouk, Norodom, 11, 15, 39, 40, 47, 48, 52, 70, 190, 199, 200, 201, 202, 228, 233, 234, 235, 236, 249, 261, 364, 367, 368, 369, 373, 388–92, 401, 403, 407, 408, 425, 427, 643
- abdication, 372, 373, 386
- anti-imperialist, 381
- arbiter, 383
- authority, 417
- character, 417
- constituency, 375
- depression, 389
- family
- corrupt, 418
- head of state, 376, 388, 389
- on monarchy, 388
- neutral zone, 402
- overthrow, 13, 53, 64, 70, 368, 412, 414, 415, 417, 419, 420, 421, 422
- personal resources, 392
- political order, 382
- political practice, 397
- political style, 392
- Court, 377
 - plebiscitary, 378, 385
- in politics, 374–86
- popular appeal, 376
- power broker, 425
- qualities, 383–84
- reign, 428
- religious ceremonies, 383
- revered, 383
- on subversion, 395, 396
 - successor, 384, 389, 390
- Singapore, 7, 14, 15, 76, 82, 85, 101, 244, 491–555, 596
- accomplishments
- material, 538
- adverse circumstances, 538
- and ASEAN, 525, 526, 532, 543–44
- collective diplomacy, 551
 - security structure, 544
- and ASEAN Regional Forum, 544–45
- and Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM), 545
- balance of power, 113, 539, 541, 548, 554
- Britain relations
 - military presence, 251–57
 - Brunei relations, 540, 664
 - economic relationship, 664
 - Herzog's visit, 531, 533
 - military co-operation, 664
 - business confidence, 542
 - Cambodia relations
 - ASEAN membership, 543, 544
 - Cambodian conflict, 540, 543, 544
 - campaigns, 514
 - China relations, 266, 277, 279, 528–29
 - diplomatic relations, 277
 - one-China policy, 277
 - Chinese, 515
 - culture, 515
 - Communist party, 38, 39
 - competitiveness, 537
 - defence, 525, 539, 540, 554
 - expenditure, 549–50
 - democracy, 516
 - development model, 538
 - dissenting views, 517
 - foreign press, 517
 - driving the region, 541–45
 - economic adversity, 549
 - economic crisis
 - Asian, 541
 - economic policy, foreign, 553
 - education
 - performance, 518
 - efficiency and excellence, 518
 - elections
 - 1959, 496

- 1963, 500
- 1984, 516
- 1988, 518
- emigration, 518
- entrepôt, 549
- external powers, 598
- foreign policy, 69, 524–29, 531, 537, 539, 548, 543, 553
 - bilateral arrangements, 551
 - conciliatory, 525
 - multilateralism, 551
 - political sensitivity, 542
 - pragmatism, 363, 525
- foreign service
 - professional, 540
- global city, 527, 539
- globalization, 541, 548, 549
- governance, 549
- government–people relationship, 514
- Herzog's visit, 88, 468, 469, 530–36
 - damage limitation, 532–36
 - protests, 107, 108, 109
- hinterland, 549
- independence, 9, 43, 253, 498, 526, 527, 538, 541, 549
- Indians, 515
- Indonesia relations, 56, 57–58, 293, 527, 540, 550, 551
 - Herzog's visit, 531, 533
 - trade, 500, 510
- industrialization, 255
- intellectual contribution, 542
- interest groups, 516
- international standing, 538, 545, 548
- Israel relations, 531, 532, 535
 - diplomatic relations, 290
 - economic co-operation, 294
 - Herzog's visit, 88, 290, 293, 294
 - military co-operation, 290
 - Rabin's visit, 290, 293–94
- Japan relations
 - security policy, 547
- Law Society, 517
- maintenance, constant, 514
- Malays
 - loyalty, 470, 515, 535
 - special privileges, 503, 505, 512
- Malaysia relations, 58, 134, 142, 251–57, 254–55, 290, 293, 438–40, 450, 526–27, 540, 550–51, 553
 - citizenship, 495, 510
 - defence council, joint, 254
 - federal representation, 502
 - federation politics, 495–509
 - financial terms, 498
 - Herzog's visit, 107, 108, 469–70, 531–36
 - Malayan Chinese Association, 497
 - Malaysia Agreement, 495, 503
 - Malaysian Malaysia, 440
 - Malaysian Solidarity Convention, 450
 - row, 542
 - separation, 253, 254, 255, 436, 440, 450
 - structural tension, 542, 550
 - UMNO, 500, 504, 505
 - water agreement, 534
- Marxist network, 517
- military support, 539
- multinational enterprises, 539
- parliamentary practices, 10
- People's Action Party, 438, 439, 440, 450, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 508, 509, 510, 511, 515, 538
 - electoral decline, 521
 - Manifesto, 510
 - ruling style, 516
- Philippines relations, 527
 - furore, 542

- political leadership, 538
- politics, 516
 - alienation, 516
 - constituency system, 534
 - opposition, 516
- population, 497, 541
 - trends, 515
- port, free, 347
- presidency
 - elected, 518, 522
- publications, foreign
 - ban, 517
- regional balance of power, 528
- in regional and global context
 - sustaining exceptionalism, 537–48
- regional locale, 539
 - multilateral engagement, 540, 541
 - regional policy
 - constructive, 540
- resentment, 542
- resilience, 549
- resolution, 514, 520
- riots
 - communal, 499, 503–5
- security
 - Five-Power Defence Agreement, 41, 142, 552–53
- self-assurance, 525
- shrimp, indigestible poison, 539
- sovereignty, 531
- Soviet Union relations, 231, 528
- survival, 527
- Taiwan relations, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279
- talent pool, 541
 - foreign, 541, 554
- tensions, 538
- trade
 - free, 528
- in United Nations
 - Security Council, 553
 - United States relations, 528, 546–47
 - alienation, 547
 - communitarian values, 546
 - cultural gap, 547
 - facilities, 142, 339, 546, 552, 623
 - security relationship, 546
 - Vietnam relations, 203
 - and Vietnam War, 68–69
 - vulnerability, 363, 514, 537–41
 - coping with, 549–55
 - and West, 547–48
 - wider world
 - coping with, 545–48
- Singapore Straits, 346
 - collisions, 345
 - legal status, 332
 - maritime regime, 345
 - not protected, 345–47
 - traffic, 346
 - separation, 338
- Sirik Matak, 418, 419, 420
 - forced from office, 419
- Sirivudh, Norodom, 428, 429
- Slater, Duncan, 480
- society of states, 212, 213
- Son Ngoc Thanh, 379, 400, 413, 420
- Son Sann, 234, 407
- South China Sea
 - claims, 88, 326, 330, 334–37
 - contention
 - overcoming, 353–54
 - expansionism, 349
 - frontier, last, 348–49
 - interdiction, 333
 - irredentism, 349
 - islands, 330
 - control, 333–34
 - islands and reefs
 - military presence, 349
 - oil exploration, 337

- Paracel Islands, 18
security and order
 maritime dimension, 325–55
- Spratly Islands, 18, 127, 143, 174,
 262–65, 330, 334–35, 336
 contentions, 349, 552
 jurisdiction, 333
 physical control, 330
 stalemate, 348–55
 workshops, 353
 preventive diplomacy, 280
- South-East Asia Command (SEAC),
 3–4, 8
- South-East Asia Treaty Organization
 (SEATO), 11, 64, 65, 81, 221
 disbanded, 41, 67
- Southeast Asia. *See* Asia, Southeast
- Southeast Asia Friendship and
 Economic Treaty (SEAFET), 73,
 81
- Soviet Union, 48, 81, 92, 93, 94,
 103, 126, 173, 190, 191, 195,
 196, 197, 259
 –ASEAN relations, 228, 230, 231
 Zone of Peace, Freedom and
 Neutrality, 228
 –Cambodia relations, 228, 368
 aid, 403, 406
 and Cambodian conflict, 196
 –China relations, 94, 197, 217,
 220, 227, 228, 229, 230, 350
 containment, 228
 rapprochement, 335
 coup, abortive, 199
 disintegration, 114, 129, 148, 174
 –Indonesia relations, 246, 600
 –Japan relations, 225, 227
 Northern Territories, 331
 maritime passage, 332
 –Philippines relations, 230
 and Southeast Asia, 227–31
 diplomatic ties, 228
 –Thailand relations, 230
 –United States relations, 195, 197,
 223, 227
 –Vietnam relations, 196, 197,
 198, 218, 219, 225, 226, 227,
 228, 229, 230, 231, 335, 405,
 635
 balance of power, 230
 China's intervention in
 Vietnam, 227, 229, 230
 military facilities, 229, 230
 security co-operation, 335
 Treaty of Friendship and
 Co-operation, 218, 229
 See also Russia
- state visit
 symbolism, 530
- Subandrio, 74, 245, 249
- Suchinda Kraprayoon, 689
- Sudharmono, 575
- Suharto, 12, 69, 153, 203, 289, 291,
 292, 293, 295, 533, 550, 551,
 558, 561, 562, 564, 593, 594,
 595, 597, 601, 602, 603, 609,
 611, 617, 621, 624, 625, 660
 and armed forces, 571, 572, 574,
 575, 577, 588, 589
 authoritarian, 568
 autobiography, 574
 capitalism
 inequities, 569
 and Chinese businesses, 573
 on democratization, 570
 divine intervention, 573
 downfall, 588–91
 grand larceny, 590
 family
 business activities, 567, 573,
 574
 history, place in, 574
 international role, 292
 Islamic constituency, 569
 leadership style, 571
 mission, 567

- and Muslims, 607
- national harmony, 565
- Non-Aligned Movement, 623
- patronage, 573
- political balance, 291
- presidency, 571
 - reluctance to leave, 573–75
- resignation, 133, 558, 563
 - petition, 574
- resilience
 - national, 169
 - regional, 169
- rule, system of, 577
- on security, 170
- stepping down, 567
- succession, 565–78, 574, 577
 - family security, 574
 - on Sukarno's historical fate, 575
- Sukarno, 6, 8, 11, 49, 55, 56, 69, 75, 82, 153, 245, 247, 248, 249, 562, 572, 593, 594, 597, 604, 605
- ambitions, 673
- China axis, 623
- downfall, 607
- greater Indonesia, 56
- Guided Democracy, 99, 571
- historical reputation, 574, 575
- and Muslims, 607
- New Emerging Forces, 380
- removal, 568, 574–75
- revolutionary nationalism, 561
- rule, 589
- tempestuous, 568
 - on Vietnam War, 63
- Sukiman, 605, 606
- Sunthorn Hongladorom, 685
- Suramarit, Norodom, 373
- Surin Pitsuwan, 132
- Syed Ja'afar Albar, 499, 503
 - agitation, 503, 504
- Taiwan, 147, 160
 - and ASEAN Regional Forum, 274
 - ASEAN relations, 276
- Asian Development Bank, 274
- Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC), 274
- China relations, 203, 264, 336, 546
 - intimidation, 552
- Council for Security Co-operation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), 274
- Democratic Progressive Party, 273
- democratization, 278
- diplomacy, pragmatic
 - evolution, 276–79
- Indonesia relations, 275
- international legitimacy, 273–76
- issues, 552
- Kuomintang, 273
- Malaysia relations
 - diplomatic relations, 274
- multilateral forums, 273–74
- Philippines relations
 - diplomatic relations, 274
- Singapore relations, 275, 276
- and South China Sea, 279–81, 330
 - Spratly Islands, 280
 - Taiping Island, 280
- and Southeast Asia, 241, 275
 - diplomatic ties, 274
 - limits to pragmatic diplomacy, 272–81
 - overseas Chinese, 277, 278
- tension, source of, 547
- Thailand relations, 277
 - diplomatic relations, 274
- United States relations
 - diplomatic relations, 273
 - mutual security treaty, 273
 - Taiwan Relations Act, 273
- Vietnam relations, 278
 - diplomatic relations, 274
- Tan, Tony, 550
- Tan Koon Swan, 527

- Tan Siew-sin, 255
 Tang Wei, 280
 Thach, Nguyen Co, 199, 222, 639
 Thailand, 3, 4, 10, 13, 65, 73, 81, 125, 195, 196
 armed forces, 689, 690, 691
 in ASEAN
 expansion, 179
 –Burma relations, 42, 47
 –Cambodia relations, 51–53, 202, 399, 400, 403
 –China relations, 105, 219, 598, 618, 688
 Communist party
 insurgency, 38
 constitution, 686, 687
 constitutionalism, 372
 corruption, 683, 684–85
 coup, 686, 691
 1932, 372
 1991, 689, 690
 Degremont Company, 684, 685
 democracy, 16, 689–91
 diplomatic achievements, 61
 foreign policy, 687
 Golden Peninsula, 651
 –Israel relations
 diplomatic relations, 291
 Live-stock Trading Cooperative Company, 685
 Malay irredentist movement, 54
 –Malaysia relations, 42, 54–55
 boundary issues, 49
 military, 632
 Muslim
 separatists, 42, 43
 in south, 9
 Nakorn Luang Life Company, 684, 685
 nationalism, 6
 Pacific War, 6, 9
 political life
 military intervention, 686
 political parties, 686
 politics
 de-Stalinization, 682–87
 pork price, 685
 reforms, 6
 refugees, 45
 on regional association, 76
 sovereignty, 79
 –Soviet Union relations, 230
 –Taiwan relations, 277
 diplomatic relations, 274
 –United States relations, 9
 Manila Pact, 41, 221
 withdrawal, 220
 –Vietnam relations, 48, 203, 650, 651
 Vietnamese minorities, 45
 Vietnam's invasion of
 Cambodia, 104, 172
 and Vietnam War, 63, 65, 66, 70–71
 withdrawal, 66
 Thanat Khoman, 167, 320, 666, 687
 Thanom Kittikachorn, 632, 682–83, 684, 685, 686
 Thatcher, Margaret, 472, 476, 477, 478, 663
 Thorneycroft, Peter, 248
 Toh Chin Chye, 501, 508, 512
 Tonkin, Gulf of, 333
 Tri Sutrisno, 576, 577

 U Nu, 7, 606
 U Thant, 70
 United Nations
 and Brunei, 654, 655, 656
 Cambodian conflict, 173, 174, 198, 368, 369, 425, 426, 427, 428, 637
 Charter, 212
 Convention on the Law of the Sea, 326, 327–30

- continental shelf, 327, 328, 329
- customary status, 328
- exclusive economic zone, 327, 328, 329
- internal waters, 327, 328, 329
- navigation, freedom of, 338
- ratification, 328
- terms, applying
 - factors, 329
- territorial sea, 327, 328, 329
- transit passage, 346
- Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), 83–85
- membership, 212
- Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), 126, 174, 191, 424, 425
 - elections, 15, 232–36
 - intimidation, 232
 - mandate, 233
 - shortcomings, 233
- in Yugoslavia, 584
- United States, 80, 89, 114, 121, 126, 154, 177, 190, 245, 284, 303, 326, 339, 540
 - alliances, bilateral, 149
 - ANZUS Agreement, 248
 - and ASEAN Regional Forum, 149, 160, 285, 627
 - ASEAN relations, 221
 - Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone, 618
 - in Asia, 222
 - policy, 222
 - strategic retreat, 220
 - in Asia-Pacific
 - balance of power, 160, 269
 - Australia relations
 - defence co-operation, 624
 - Britain relations
 - over Malaysia, 243–50
 - Cambodia relations, 368, 379, 400, 401, 402, 412, 413, 420, 421, 427
 - assistance, 389, 390, 391, 403, 419
 - economic assistance, 381
 - military intervention, 415, 420, 422
 - and Cambodian conflict, 196, 222
 - China relations, 151, 157, 203, 217, 221, 222, 259, 260, 350, 552
 - containment, 223
 - engagement, 616
 - issues, 260, 261, 263, 269
 - rapprochement*, 195, 647
 - over Taiwan, 241
 - tensions, 200
 - colonial, 4
 - constitution, 435
 - countervailing power, 325, 341
 - democracies, enlarging, 546
 - dialogue
 - multilateral, 149
 - and East Asia, 93, 94, 157
 - security policy, 285
 - engaging, 284, 285
 - human rights, 313
 - in Indochina, 10, 11, 194
 - Indochina wars, 601
 - Indonesia relations, 11, 44, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 606
 - aid, 247
 - facilities, 623
 - Japan relations
 - security relationship, 160, 547
 - Malaysia relations, 243–50
 - Confrontation, 239
 - maritime passage, 332
 - military, 284
 - disengagement, 339
 - failure, 124

- intentions, 340
- limitations, 171
- staying power, 166
- North Korea relations, 285
- Pacific power, 339
- Philippines relations
 - colonial, 5, 7
 - Mutual Security Agreement, 41
 - withdrawal, 18, 148, 174
- retreat, 130
- Singapore relations, 528, 546-47
 - alienation, 547
 - communitarian values, 546
 - cultural gap, 547
 - facilities, 142, 339, 546, 552, 623
 - security relationship, 546
- shortcomings, 284
- on South China Sea, 143, 175, 285
- and Southeast Asia, 93, 94, 190, 220-23, 243
- débâcles*, 220
- policy towards, 222, 223
- waning regional role, 204, 205
- Soviet Union relations, 195, 197, 223, 227, 259
- superpower, 285
- Taiwan relations
 - diplomatic relations, 273
 - mutual security treaty, 273
 - Taiwan Relations Act, 273
- Thailand relations, 9
 - Manila Pact, 41, 221
 - withdrawal, 220
- and U.N. Convention on Law of the Sea, 328
- unipolar pretensions, 149
- Vietnam relations, 222, 223
 - diplomatic relations, 221
 - embargo, 198, 199
 - normalization, 635-36, 637
 - Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, 143, 173
 - withdrawal, 634
- Vietnam War, 12-13, 62-71
- Vance, Cyrus, 221, 222
- Vietnam, 10, 102, 114, 195, 528, 598
 - ASEAN relations, 103, 112, 115, 116, 125, 170-71, 204, 602, 650
 - membership, 130, 166, 171, 650
 - Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, 228
- Cambodia relations, 47, 51, 52, 53-54, 112, 202, 368, 379, 380, 391, 395, 642, 648
- boundary issues, 49
- invasion, 14, 47, 48, 103, 104, 114, 125, 126, 143, 172-73, 190, 195-97, 200, 207-14, 215, 368, 405-10, 602, 631, 634
- Treaty of Friendship, 208, 209
- withdrawal, 14, 214, 637, 642
- China relations, 18, 47, 48, 173, 197, 198, 200, 203, 213, 217, 227, 228, 229, 235, 262, 335, 337, 631-32, 635, 638, 639, 640, 642-52
- boundary issues, 49
- Chinese minorities, 46, 218
- naval clash, 197, 352
- oil-drilling dispute, 619
- Paracel Islands, 263, 268, 334, 335, 350, 644
- punitive expedition, 14, 218
- rapprochement*, 195, 198, 199, 232, 644
- in South China Sea, 262, 644
- Spratly Islands, 263, 644, 645, 646
- Taiwan relationship, 646
- tensions, 196, 265
- territorial differences, 645
- Tonkin, Gulf of, 337

- Vietnamese invasion of
 - Cambodia, 190
 - Club of Resistance Fighters, 636
 - Cold War
 - end, 635
 - colonial, 5
 - communist movement, 9
 - Communist Party, 39, 40, 636, 649
 - continental shelf, 351
 - divided, 10
 - Doi Moi*, 15, 115, 198, 631, 636, 637, 649
 - dong, 649
 - economic growth, 649
 - foreign policy, 633–40, 642–52
 - accommodation, 634
 - debate, 639
 - pragmatism, 633
 - predicament, 642
 - Ho Chi Minh City, 649
 - Ho Chi Minh Trail, 11
 - income, per capita, 650
 - independence, 8, 50
 - India relations, 650
 - in Indochina, 203, 638
 - strategic perspective, 634–35
 - Indonesia relations, 203
 - continental shelf, 329
 - inflation, 649
 - infrastructure, 650
 - investment, foreign, 650
 - isolation, 634
 - Israel relations, 650
 - Japan relations
 - economic assistance, 224, 225, 226
 - economic co-operation, 224
 - Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, 224–27
 - Laos relations, 112, 637
 - loans, foreign, 650
 - military, 648
 - North, 81
 - Cambodia relations, 400, 401, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 419, 421
 - peace settlement, 420
 - Politburo
 - tension, 639
 - political
 - dissent, 636
 - reform, 649
 - population, 651
 - regional acceptance, 638
 - rice, 649
 - South, 12, 402
 - Cambodia relations, 399, 400, 403, 415
 - South China Sea claims, 18, 330, 352
 - Paracel Islands, 18, 351
 - Spratly Islands, 351
 - South Korea relations, 650
 - in Southeast Asia, 203
 - regional rehabilitation, 203, 204
 - Soviet Union relations, 196, 197, 198, 218, 219, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 335, 635
 - balance of power, 230
 - China's intervention in Vietnam, 227, 229, 230
 - military facilities, 229, 230
 - security co-operation, 335
 - Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, 218, 229
- status, 104
- Taiwan relations, 278
 - diplomatic relations, 274
 - Thailand relations, 48, 650
 - Vietnamese minorities, 45
 - trade, 649
 - unification, 10, 43
 - reunification, 13
 - United States relations, 222, 223
 - confrontation, 635

- diplomatic relations, 221
- embargo, 198, 199, 649
- normalization, 635–36, 637
- Viet Minh, 8, 194
- vulnerability, 631, 632
 - confronting, 636–40
 - coping with, 633–40
 - overcoming, 647–52
- Vietnamese
 - minorities in Southeast Asia, 44–45
- Weber, Max
 - on legitimacy, 383–84
- Wee Kim Wee, 277, 522, 530
- West
 - democracy, 582
 - political tradition, 582
- Wilson, Harold, 256
- Wimol Wongvanich, 689, 690
- Wiranto, 589
- Wismoyo Arismunandar, 573
- Yeo, George, 522
- Younger, George, 478
- Yugoslavia, 584
- Yusof bin Ishak, 527