

# INDEX

## A

- Abdul Haris Nasution, 346
- Abdullah Badawi, 298
- Abdurrahman Wahid, 144, 164
  - delegation of authority to Megawati, 166
  - installation of National Economic Council, 165
- Abu Sayyaf, 270
- Acheson, Dean, 316
- Act of Integration, 218
- adult literacy, 51
- Action Plan, 305
- Ad-Hoc Interdepartmental Committee on Indonesia, 317
- Adam Malik, 335
- Afghanistan, U.S. attack on, 270
- Afro-Asian Conference, 316
- Agency for International Development (AID), 328, 345
- Agency for Research and Application of Technology (BPPT), Indonesia, 159
- Agent Orange, 100
- agriculture
  - gross domestic product, 9
  - percentage of GDP, 10
- Agriculture Development Council (ADC), 188
- agricultural taxes, 123
- agriculture, Philippines, 135
- Air Asia, 10
- Al-Jazeera, 12
- Al-Qaeda, 271
- Alagappa, Muthiah, 62
- Albright, Madeline, 226, 228
- Aldrich, George H., 224
- Ali Sastroamidjojo, 316, 345
- Ali Wardana, 15
- All-Inclusive Intra-East Timor Dialogue, 232
- American Congress, 227
- American Declaration of Independence, 75
  - quoted by Ho Chih Minh, 73
- American donor strategy, 238
  - disparate components, 217
  - inconsistency in, 227
- American independence struggle, 74
- American War, 73
- Amir Machmud, 326
- Annamite mountain chain, 84
- Annan, Kofi, 222
- annual ministerial meetings (AMMs), 289
- anti-Chinese programs, Indonesia, 140
- Anwar Ibrahim, 269
- APEC Summit, 269
- Appeal for Freedom of Political Association, 102

- Aquino, Benigno, 13, 117
- Aquino, Corazon (Cory), 60, 142, 144, 262
- Aquino government, 118
- Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), 120
- Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI), 38
- Army of the Republic of Vietnam, 81
- Arroyo, Gloria Macapagal, approval for U.S. troop aid, 270
- ASEAN
- challenges faced by, 22
  - cooperation with India, 295
  - opposition to Vietnamese aggression, 287
  - refugee crisis, 276
  - role in Japan's relations with Southeast Asia, 210–12
  - strategic cooperation with China, 288
  - support of anti-Vietnamese Khmer resistance, 260
  - U.S. relations with, 274
- ASEAN Business and Investment Summit, 292
- ASEAN Dialogue Partners, 258
- ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA), 211
- ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), 289
- U.S. support of, 266
  - U.S. hopes for, 273
- ASEAN Summit, 205
- ASEAN-China senior officials meetings (SOMs), 289
- ASEAN-China Summit, 294
- ASEAN-Japanese cooperation, evolution of, 199
- ASEAN+3, 211, 292–93, 296
- development, 208
- ASEAN-4, 263
- Ashcroft, John, 271
- Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD), 294
- Asia Foundation, 226
- Asia-Pacific Philanthropy Consortium (APPC), 192
- Asia Society, 17
- Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), 96, 228, 266
- Bogor Declaration, 162
- Asian Berlin, Saigon, 74
- Asian Development Bank (ADB), 191, 293
- funding from Japan, 200
- Asian financial crisis, 13, 18, 57, 119, 121
- China's promise not to devalue currency, 292
  - effect on FDI flows, 209
  - effect on Japanese banks, 198
  - funded projects, 304
  - impact of, 7, 47
  - impact on Indonesia, 151, 268
  - impact on Philippines, 143
  - lacklustre U.S. response, 267–69
  - Indonesia, 162
  - Indonesia's recovery, 167
  - Programs Department, 233
  - triggering political crisis in Indonesia, 220
  - trigger for democratization, 31
  - vulnerability of Soeharto regime exposed, 141
- Asian-African Conference, Bandung, 283
- Asian Monetary Fund (AMF), Japan's proposal, 268
- Asian Institute of Management (AIM), 188
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 41, 255, 337
- creation, 3, 285
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations-Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS), 191

- Association of Southeast Asian Nations  
 Free Trade Area (AFTA), 162  
 Aung San Suu Kyi, 266  
 Australian-Indonesian Security  
 Agreement, 303  
 authoritarian rule, 30  
 economic performance, link with, 56  
 gross domestic product per capita, 55  
 authoritarianism, 46  
 creeping, 38–44  
 Autonomous Region of Muslim  
 Mindanao, 125  
 avian flu, 250, 300
- B**
- Bali, 97  
 Bali bombings, 271, 343  
 Bali Summit, 258  
 Bali-gate, 166  
 Balikpapan, 270  
 Bambang Yudhoyono, 144  
 Bandung Spirit, 283  
 Bangkok  
 Ford Foundation office, 186  
 megacity, 10  
 Bangkok Declaration, 285  
 Bank Bali scandal, 164–65, 175  
 bank credits, expansion in Indonesia,  
 161  
 Bank Duta, 161  
 Bank Indonesia, 155–56  
 Governor, 68, 175  
 independence of, 172  
 Bank of Thailand, 142  
 banks, in Indonesia, 160  
 BAPPENAS, 169, 176  
 Barnett, Robert, 329  
 Basuki Rachmat, 326  
*becaks*, 10  
 Belo, Carlos Filipe Ximenes, 219  
 Benny Murdani, 332, 336, 338, 342,  
 348  
 Benteng programme, 154  
 Berlin blockade (1948), 77  
 Betts, Richard, 18  
 bilateral free trade agreements, 207  
 bilateral relationships, importance of,  
 262  
 Binh Duong province, 101  
 Blair, Dennis, 227  
 Board of Investment (BOI), 142  
 boat people, 261  
 Boediono, 167  
 Coordinating Minister for Economic  
 Affairs, 171  
 Bresnan, John, 14–19  
 Asia Society, 17  
*Crisis in the Philippines*, 17–18  
 Director of Pacific Basin Studies  
 Programme, 17  
 Indonesia's economic transformation,  
 151  
 recipient of *Bintang Jasa Pratama*, 19  
 recognition by Megawati  
 Sukarnoputri, 19  
 retirement from Ford Foundation,  
 17  
 return to New York, 17  
 Senior Research Fellow, 17  
 Broderick, Edwin, 335  
 Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 259  
 boat people, 87  
 bond issues, Japanese local-affiliate  
 domestic currency, 210  
 Brown, Frederick Z., 19  
 Brunei, 30, 53, 303  
 economic prosperity, 8  
 exceeding Przeworski's \$6000 per  
 capita threshold, 59  
 no officially reported poverty, 53  
 population, 5  
 resistance to human rights  
 protection agreements, 41  
 resource depletion, 48  
 budget airlines, 10  
 Bunker, Ellsworth, 320

- Burhanuddin Abdullah, 168, 176  
 Burhanuddin Harahap Cabinet, Indonesia, 154  
 Burma, Japanese occupation, 4  
 Buru Island, 331  
 Bush  
   visit to Bangkok, 295  
   visit to Hanoi, 102  
 Bush administration, 249
- C**
- Cable News Network (CNN), report of Thailand as a silent partner, 271  
 cacique democracy, 130  
 Cam Ranh Bay, 82  
 Cambodia, 253, 287  
   limited economic achievement, 47  
   population, 5  
   rule by communist government, 72  
   Third Indo-China War, 259–63  
   UN peace operations, 72  
   Vietnamese invasion, 260  
 Cambodian crisis, solution to, 263  
 CARE, 189  
 Carter Administration, 258  
   lower priority to Indonesia, 331  
 Catholic Church  
   influence of, 127  
   influence in Philippines, 122  
 Catholic Relief Service (CRS), 332, 334–36  
 Catholicism, spread of, 126  
 cellphones, increase in sales of, 11  
 Central Bank, 130  
 Central Bank Law, Indonesia, 168  
 Central Institute of Economic Management, 192  
 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 317  
   *The World Factbook*, 107  
 Central Luzon, 35  
 Central Office for South Vietnam (COSVN), 88
- Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 176, 191  
 Cepu, development of, 170  
 Chambers, Michael, 21  
 Chan Kwok Bun, 62  
 Chandra Asri, 161  
 China  
   approach by Nixon, 257  
   capital-intensive high-tech industries, 291  
   containment policy, 274  
   economic competition from, 145  
   economic revolution, 90  
   emergence as great power, 299  
   emergence as regional and global power, 281  
   establishment of relations with Southeast Asian countries, 287  
   evolving relationship with Southeast Asia, 281–307  
   focus on economic development, 286  
   foreign direct investment, 290  
   “good neighbour” policy, 281, 292–94  
   growth of economy, 290  
   ideological agenda, 282  
   influence of, 21–22  
   informal alliance with Thailand, 286  
   Japanese investments in, 209  
   Kilo-class submarines, 290  
   Kissinger’s visit, 256  
   managing the rise of, 290–91  
   military budget, 290  
   Ministry of Commerce, 293  
   move towards capital intensive products, 299  
   in need of resources for expanding economy, 300  
   non-traditional security threats, 299  
   peaceful coexistence with Malaya, 284  
   pledging of funds for Thailand, 292  
   promotion of “zone of peace”, 301

- reducing influence of U.S., 300
- relations with Japan, 213
- removal of great powers, 282
- Sovremenny-class guided missile destroyers, 290
- Spratlys, issue of, 289
- strategic cooperation with ASEAN, 286, 288
- support for Indonesia's "crush Malaysia" campaign, 284
- trade deficit, 293
- China challenge, 291
- Chinese Cultural Revolution, 283
- China-ASEAN free trade area, 299
- Chinese retailers, Philippines, in, 128
- Chulalongkorn University, Thailand, 12, 191
- civil-military reform, 217
  - Indonesia, 237
- civil societies, vibrancy of, 32
- Clark Air Base, 252
- Clark Field Air Base, 265
- Clear, Annette, 21
- Clinton administration, 229, 263
  - attitude towards multilateralism, 266
- Clinton, Bill, 225
  - announcement of normalization of relations with Vietnam, 267
  - stern warning to Habibie, 227
- Club of Former Resistance Fighters, 89
- Cold War
  - end of, 46, 302
  - Euro-centricity, 75
  - increasing authoritarian rule, 38
  - realpolitik, 75
  - Vietnam, 74–75
- Coalition Government for Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK), 260
- Cobra Gold, military exercises, 261
- Cohen, William, 226–28
- Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development, 198
- colonial disinterest, 34
- Cold War system
  - maintenance of non-alignment, 255
  - zero sum, 251
- Comintern, 76
- communism
  - China opposing expansion of, 285
- communist "dominoes", 4
- Communist Party Indonesia (PKI), 38, 285, 315
- Communist Party of France, 75
- Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), 117
- Communist Party of Thailand (CPT), 283
- communist regimes, disintegration of, 89
- constitutional monarchy, 35
- communists
  - Indonesia, 318
  - Philippines, 129
- Consultative Group on Indonesia, 226, 329
- Consumer Price Index (CPI), Vietnam, 93
- consumerism, rise in, 11
- Convention Against Torture, 42–44
- Convention Discrimination Against Women, 42–44
- Convention Protection Migrant Workers, 42–44
- Convention Rights of Child, 42–44
- corruption, Estrada government, 119
- cottage industries, 9
- Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), 87
- Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), 289
- Council on Foreign Relations, 18
- Council on Living Traditions in the Philippines, 190
- counter-terrorism, 273
- Covenant Civil and Political Rights, 42–44

- Covenant Economic, Social, Cultural Rights, 42–44
- Crouch, Harold, 324
- crude oil exports, Vietnam, 92
- Cultural Revolution, 284
- Cumming, Hugh, 316–17
- D**
- Danang, 99
- decision-making, gridlock in, 33
- Declaration on the Conduct of Parites in the South China Sea, 294, 305
- Declaration on the South China Sea, 289
- decolonialization, 30, 34–38
- Defence Department, 228
- democracy, 30
- effect of development on, 31
  - elections as main form of participation, 36
  - impact on, 32
  - introduction of, 36–37
  - positive impact on development, 33
  - record of, 29
  - threshold level of income, 31
- democracy and development, 53–57
- theoretical overview, 31–34
- democratic governance, limited elite support for, 58
- Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), 79, 252
- democratic transformation, inconsistencies in, 46
- democratization, 29–66
- disparate, *see* disparate democratization
  - Indonesia, 217
  - pattern of, 45
- Deng Xiaoping, 90, 262, 302
- development
- effect on democracy, 31
  - success with diversity, 47–53
- Derian, Pat, 331
- Dick, Howard, 166
- Diem
- removal of, 80
  - struggle with deteriorating political situation, 81
- Dien Bien Phu, 77
- defeat of French, 35, 252
  - victory in, 13
- Dili massacre, 219, 264
- Dipa Nusantara Aidit, 346
- disparate democratization, 30, 44–47
- GDP per capita, 56
  - gross domestic product, 56
- doi moi*, 91, 95, 102–03, 262, 266
- Vietnam, 20
- Dorodjatun Kuntjoro-Jakti, 15, 167, 175
- Duiker, William, 85
- Dulles, Allen, 317
- Dulles, John Foster, 317
- Dutch corporations
- nationalization, 154
  - operations in Indonesia, 153
- Dutch donor strategy, 238
- Dutch East Indies, 313
- Dutch government, rule of Indonesia, 313
- Dutch New Guinea, 316
- E**
- early democracies, gross domestic growth during, 54
- early harvest programme, 304
- East Asia, economic integration of economies, 211
- East Asia, regionalization of, 300
- East Asia Security Initiative (EASI), 265
- East Asian economic cooperation, 212
- East Asian international system, 297
- East Asian Summit, 274, 296
- December (2005), 211

- East Timor, 216–17, 332, 335  
 American reaction to conflict, 223  
 before 1999, 217  
 Dutch reaction to conflict, 235–38  
 Governor Araujo, 336  
 hope of international aid, 238  
 hope of political change, 238–40  
 Indonesian occupation, 218–21  
 Indonesian rule, 219  
 invasion by Indonesia, 223  
 invasion of, 235  
 Japanese reaction to conflict, 229–34  
 local militants, 219  
 as Portuguese colony, 218  
 removal of closed status, 219  
 special autonomy package, 220  
 support of United Nations, 221–23  
 U.N. sponsored referendum on, 269
- East Timor Action Network (ETAN), 225
- East Timor conflict, Fretilin resolution, 336
- East Timor referendum, 220
- Easter Offensive in Military Region I (1972), 85
- Eastern Europe, disintegration of  
 communist regimes, 89  
 economic competition, 145  
 economic crisis, discussion on, 61  
 economic development, 29–66  
 economic growth, 29  
 authoritarian rule, as, 30  
 economic integration, East Asian  
 economies, 211  
 economic performance, authoritarian  
 rule, link with, 56
- Economic Planning Unit (EPU), Ford  
 Foundation assistance, 187
- economic policy-making, Indonesia, 158
- Economic Stabilization Council,  
 Indonesia, 157
- economic technocrats, 16
- Economic Urgency Plan, Indonesia, 154
- educational achievements, 50–51
- Eisenhower, Dwight, 82, 316
- election, Philippines, 37
- elections, 37–38  
 legitimizing power of, 130
- Electricity Law, Indonesia, 176
- elites  
 lack of support for democracy, 59  
 powerful, 144
- elitist democracies, 34–38
- Emil Salim, 16
- engagement advocate, Bresnan, 14
- Enrile, Juan Ponce, 117
- Estrada, presidency, 57
- Estrada administration, 119, 132
- Estrada, Joseph, 119
- ethnic diversity, management of, 13
- ethnic identity, 58
- Expanded International Military  
 Education and Training  
 (E-IMET), 225
- export growth, Vietnam, 92
- export subsidy programme, Indonesia, 160
- Export-Import Bank of Japan, 197
- export-oriented growth, adoption of, 34
- exports, Philippines, 135
- Exxon Mobil, dispute with Pertamina, 170
- F**
- Fall, Bernard, 82
- Falun Gong, 291  
 cancellation of conference in  
 Thailand, 298
- family planning programmes,  
 Indonesia, 5
- Fargo, Thomas (Admiral), 271
- Federal Republic of Germany, 79
- fertility rates, 6

- Final Declaration of the Conference, 78
- financial sector, liberalization of, 130
- First Indo-China War, 77
- First World governments, channelling of assistance through NGOs, 189
- Five Power Defence Agreement, 255
- food production, rise in, 9
- Ford, Edsel, 182
- Ford Foundation, 15–16, 181–94
  - activities in northern Thailand, 189
  - Asia-Pacific Division, 17
  - assistance to central planning agencies, 187
  - establishment of faculties of economics, 187
  - establishment of, 182
  - evolution in programme priorities, 187–93
  - experience in Southeast Asia, 193–94
  - genesis of international engagement, 182–84
  - governance and civil society, 190
  - grants to HIV/AIDS prevention, 192
  - implementing new mission, 184–85
  - Jakarta office, 15
  - lessons learnt, 193–94
  - offer of assistance to Sukarno, 185
  - office in Jakarta, 185
  - offices in Southeast Asian region, 186
- Official Development Assistance, 187
- Overseas Development Programme, 184
- ownership of non-voting stock in Ford Motor Company, 183
- presence in Southeast Asia, 185–86
- Programme for International Studies in Asia (PISA), 193
- programmes, 183
- representative and programme officers, 185
- support for work on population and development, 190
- work in relation to international affairs, 192
- Ford Motor Company, 183
- foreign direct investment (FDI)
  - China, 290
  - growth, 207
  - inflows into Southeast Asia, 121
  - Japanese, 196, 208
- foreign policy
  - dilemmas, 275
  - towards Southeast Asia, 252
- fragile democracies, 38
- France, defeat of, 77
- Franklin, Benjamin, 74
- free market, 95
- Freedom House, 29
  - Freedom in the World Report, 61
  - Ratings, 45
- French Communist Party, 76
- Fretilin resolution, East Timor, 336
- Friend, Theodore, personal reflections of, 22
- Fukuda Doctrine, 199
- Fukuda, Takeo, 199
- Fullbright Economics Training Programme, 192
- Fullbright programme, 99
- G**
- Gaddis, John Lewis, 254
- Gadjah Mada University, 182
  - establishment of faculty of economics, 188
- Gaither Committee Report, 183
- Gaither Jr., H. Rowan, 183
- Galang Island, 338
- Galbraith, Frank, 319
- Gardner, Paul, 315
- Gates, Bill, 98
- GDP, *see* Gross Domestic Product
- Geertz, Clifford, 16, 189



- Geithner, Peter, 20
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 207
- Geneva Conference, 83, 283
- Geneva Conference (1954),  
consequences, 77–83
- Gilks, Anne, 302
- Ginandjar Kartasmita, 234  
Coordinating Minister for the  
Economy (Indonesia), 164
- glasnost, 89
- global war on terror (GWOT), 249  
driving imperative of U.S. foreign  
policy, 270
- Golkar party, members implicated in  
scandal, 164
- good government, not synonymous  
with democracy, 103
- Gorbachev, 262
- Gore, Al, 269
- governance, effectiveness of, 32
- governments, legitimization of, 37
- GMS Program, 304
- Greater Mekong Subregion, 182, 293,  
304–05
- Green, Marshall, 325, 330
- Green Revolution, 16
- green revolution technology, 87
- Gross Domestic Product, 6, 134  
growth, 47  
per capita, 8  
share of agriculture, 9  
steady growth in 1960s, 54
- gross national income (GNI), 47  
Singapore, 207
- gross national product, per capita  
(1950 to 2003), 49
- Guam doctrine, 286, 302
- Guided Democracy, 38, 54
- Guided Economy, 155, 172
- Gulf of Tonkin, 254
- Gulf War, 118
- Gus Dur, 164
- Gusmao, Xanana, 226
- ## H
- Habibie, B.J., 159, 174, 233  
accountability report, 164  
East Timor referendum, 220  
lack of legitimacy, 163  
nomination as Vice President, 163  
permission from UN to hold  
referendum on East Timor, 269  
stern warning from Clinton, 227  
transitional government, 163
- Hadi Soesastro, 20
- Halim Air Base, 321
- Hanoi  
fast growing city, 10  
Ford Foundation office, 186
- Hatta, advocacy of collectivism, 172
- Henry Ford II, 183
- Henry Luce Foundation, 182
- Hill, Christopher, 272
- Ho Chi Minh, 73, 79  
communist or nationalist, 76  
diplomatic relations with USSR, 252  
guerilla activities, 75  
inaugural address, 75  
public personality, 86  
struggle against French, 80  
Ho Chi Minh City, 101  
Political Academy, 192  
Thought, 96  
trails, 256
- Hue, 78
- Hoffman, Paul G., 183
- Hoi Nam, 9
- Honshu, 230
- House International Relations  
Committee, 224
- Howland, Richard, 321, 324
- Hu Jintao, 296, 298
- Huks, 126  
Central Luzon, 35  
defeat of, 129

- human development index (HDI), 49
- human rights  
instruments of, 42  
Netherlands agenda, 235
- Human Rights Declaration (1948), 41
- Human Rights Watch (HRW), 225
- Huntington, Samuel  
second wave of democratization, 34  
third wave, 44
- Hun Sen government, 262
- I**
- Ibnu Sutowo, 157, 159
- Iman Taufik, 233
- import licensing scheme, Indonesia, 159
- import tariffs, Indonesia, 160
- import-substitution industrialization, 123
- income distribution, nature of, 59
- income inequality, 9, 52
- incomes, distribution of, 58
- independence, struggle for, 34
- India, economic competition from, 145
- Indo-China Federation, 287
- Indo-China War, Second, 257
- Indo-Chinese refugees, Indonesia, 337
- Indo-China Communist Party, 76, 78
- Indonesia, 41, 226  
1930 census, 313  
Act of Integration, 218  
Agency for Research and Application of Technology (BPPT), 159  
agreement with Portugal, 221  
amendment of Oil and Gas Law, 176  
anti-Chinese programs, 140  
Army Command School, 174  
Asian financial crisis, 220  
assistance from IMF, 152, 154  
assistance from IMF during Asian financial crisis, 268
- banks, 160
- BAPPENAS, 169
- Benteng programme, 154
- Broad Outline of State Policy, 169
- cabinet of Burhanuddin Harahap, 154
- capitalization of resources, 143
- Central Bank Law, 168
- centralized economic policy-making, 157
- CGI Working Group on Investment, 168
- colonisation under Dutch, 313
- compatibility of Islam and democracy, 311
- concentration of power, 40
- conflict with Netherlands over West Irian, 154
- Constitution, 172, 176
- Constitutional Court, 176
- Council for Economic and Financial Stabilization, 163
- debt rescheduling, 327–28
- democracy, 13
- democratic transition, 53
- democratization, 217
- deregulation package, 160
- direct presidential elections, 173
- direction of economic transformation, 168–72
- domestic support for civil-military reform, 237
- East Timor referendum, 220
- economic challenges, 20
- economic issues, 338
- economic policy-making, 158
- economic transformation during New Order, 156–63
- economic transformations, 151–76
- Economic Urgency Plan, 154
- economy, contraction of, 7
- Eight-Year Comprehensive Development Plan, 155

- end of New Order regime, 143
- establishment of Revolutionary Fund, 156
- expansion of bank credits, 161
- export performance, 137
- export subsidy programme, 160
- family planning programmes, 5
- fertility rates, 6
- Fifth Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita V), 152
- Five-Year Development Plans (Repelita), 169, 172
- fighting Dutch aggression, 153
- First Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita I), 152
- foreign investments from Japan, 158
- foreign policy, 311
- free categorization, 29
- GDP growth, 134
- geographical size, 5
- government's White Paper on economic recovery, 167
- Guided Democracy, 155–56
- Guided Economy, 155
- human rights, 331
- IMF-organized financial package, 162
- impact of Asian financial crisis, 162
- import licensing scheme, 159
- Indo-Chinese refugees, 337
- instability and violence, 46
- insufficiency of macroeconomic stability, 169
- International Military Education and Training (IMET), 296
- invasion of East Timor, 218, 223
- land seizures, 318
- large-scale nationalization, 156
- largest Muslim democracy, 3
- liberalism to socialism, 155–56
- Megawati's administration, 171
- military dual functionalism, 139
- mistreatment of East Timor, 239
- Muslim political parties, 38
- National Car Project, 162
- National Economic Council, 165
- Natsir Cabinet, 154
- New Order, 152
- New Order policies, 173
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 152
- non-oil economy, 159
- non-tariff barriers, 159
- One-Third Formula, the, 329
- overpopulation of Java, 154
- parliamentary democracy, 153
- Partai Demokrat, 169
- people's economy, 163
- People's National Assembly (MPR), 223
- period after independence, 153
- Pertamina, 157
- PNI, 38
- post-Soeharto challenges, 163–68
- post-Soeharto reforms, 152
- poverty, 138
- pribumis*, 40
- profound changes in, 13
- protection of newly-developed industries, 159
- Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara), 156
- public primary education, 41
- ranking democracy, 60
- recovery from Asian financial crisis, 167
- reduction of import tariffs, 160
- reform fatigue, 161
- relations with U.S., 311–48
- removal of military officers, 226
- removal of non-tariff barriers, 160
- rent-seeking activities, 159
- repayment of loans, 203
- repressive Dutch rule, 313

- request for United Nations arbitration, 251
  - rich body of scholarship on, 4
  - role of military, 33
  - shooting of students, 140
  - significant economic transformation, 152
  - Soeharto era, 139
  - state enterprises, 160
  - struggle for independence, 315
  - success story, 47
  - target of terrorists, 343
  - technocratic ministers, 142
  - unification of multiple exchange rate system, 157
  - use of oil revenues, 136
  - U.S. rice imports, 339
  - Warta Bakti*, 322
  - winning war against colonial power, 13
  - World Bank, 166
  - Indonesian Banking Restructuring Agency (IBRA), 165
  - Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN), 168, 233
  - Indonesian Consumers Association, 190
  - Indonesian Debt Restructuring Agency (INDRA), 165
  - Indonesian Environmental Forum, 190
  - Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association, 188
  - industrialization
    - focus on, 8
    - rapid migration of population, 10
  - industry, percentage of GDP, 10
  - Institute of International Relations, 193
  - Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 191
  - Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), 191
  - Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), 236, 328
  - International Centre for Maize and Wheat Improvement (CYMMT), 188
  - International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 334
  - International Conference on Kampuchea, 260
  - International Financial Operations (IFO), 203
  - International Force for East Timor (INTERFET), 223, 228, 269
  - international human rights instruments, 42–44
  - International Military Education and Training (IMET), 224, 296
  - International Monetary Fund (IMF) Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), 164
    - financial package to Indonesia, 162, 266
    - Indonesia, 152, 154
    - loan disbursement to Indonesia, 165
    - negotiations with Philippines, 117
  - International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), 188
    - Philippines, 16
  - international trade flows, 3
  - Internet
    - rising use of, 11
    - Vietnam, 96
  - investment flows, 12
  - Isihikawa, Shigeru, 198
  - Islam
    - presence of democracy, 311
- J**
- Jackson, Andrew, 104
  - Jakarta, megacity, 10
  - Jakarta Initiative Task Force (JITF), 165
  - Jakarta Post, 239
  - Jakarta telegram, 333

- Japan
- bilateral ODA, 200
  - budget deficits, 212
  - bursting of economic bubble, 289
  - business relations with Southeast Asia, 204
  - concessionary yen loans, 200
  - DIET Members' Forum on East Asia, 231
  - Diet's role, 231
  - foreign direct investment, cumulative outflows of, 208
  - foreign direct investment in Southeast Asia, 199, 210
  - foreign direct investment to Southeast Asia, 196
  - foreign policy, formulation of, 231
  - investment in China, 209
  - investment in Indonesia, 158
  - major general trading companies, 198
  - Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, 197, 206
  - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 197, 212
  - multinationals, 213
  - New Miyazawa Initiative, 199
  - ODA disbursements, 200
  - ODA disbursements to Southeast Asia, 201–02
  - Official Development Assistance, 195–214
  - ongoing focus of ODA in Southeast Asia, 211
  - Overseas Development Assistance Policy, 198
  - preferential loan aid, 203
  - proposal for Asian Monetary Fund, 268
  - reaction to conflict in East Timor, 229–34
  - relations with China, 213
  - role in international donor community, 234
  - Self-Defence Forces, 197
  - synergy between aid and economic interests, 212
  - trade with Southeast Asian countries, 205
  - trading companies, 209
  - White Paper on International Economy and Trade (2005), 206
- Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), 197, 203
- survey of overseas production activities of Japanese firms, 210
- total cumulated loan commitments and outstanding balances, 204
- Japan International Cooperation Agency, 197
- Japan NGO Network on Indonesia (JANNI), 231
- Japanese local-affiliate domestic currency bond issues, 210
- Japan's Official Development Assistance, White Paper (2003), 200
- Japanese aid, 21
- Japanese donor strategy, 230
- Japanese NGO Centre for International Cooperation (JANIC), 231
- Japanese occupation
- end of, 4
  - period after, 13
- Japanese Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), 230
- Java, overpopulation, 154
- Javasche Bank, 155
- Jefferson, Thomas, 104
- Jemaah Islamiyah, 271
- Jerry Falwell's 700 Club, 12
- Johnson, Lyndon, 82, 254
- Johnson administration, 83
- Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET), 224
- Jones, David, 58

- Jones, Howard, 321  
 U.S. ambassador to Jakarta, 319  
 Jusuf Kalla, 171
- K**
- Kahin, George, 315  
 Kasetsart University, 182  
 Kawai, Masahiro, 212  
 Kawakami, Takeo, 233  
 Kelantan, 59  
 Kennedy (President), authorization of  
 additional combat advisors, 254  
 Kennedy administration, 82  
 Khmer People's National Liberation  
 Front (KPNLF), 260  
 Khmer Rouge, 39, 87–88  
 defeat by Vietnamese, 72  
 support from China, 259  
 King Bhumibol, 140  
 reign, 141  
 Kissinger, 256, 258  
 Komura, 234  
*konfrontasi*, 155  
 Korean boom, 154  
 Krakatau Steel, 158  
 Krushchev, 254  
 Kuala Lumpur, Ford Foundation office,  
 186  
 Kwik Kian Ge, 165
- L**
- labour law, Indonesia, 176  
 land distribution, Philippines, 135  
 land reform  
 Philippines, 119  
 Vietnam, 80  
 land seizures, Indonesia, 218  
 Laos, 287  
 limited economic achievement, 47  
 outbreak of civil war, 301  
 population, 5  
 trapped between Thai culture and  
 political pressures, 72
- Latin America, 30  
 Law on the Territorial Sea and  
 Contiguous Zone, 289  
 Le Duan, 82, 88  
 Lee Hsien Loong, visit to Taiwan, 298  
 Lee Kuan Yew, 14, 33, 39, 60, 131  
 Lee Teng-hui, visit to U.S., 303  
 Lenin, Theses on the National and  
 Colonial Question, 76  
 Lewy, Guenter, 85  
 liberalism, post-Cold War era, 263  
 life expectancy, 6  
 loans, concessionary, 200  
 Lombok, 9  
 Lon Nol's (1970) coup, 283
- M**
- McCloy, John J., 183–84  
 Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria, 120, 132,  
 141  
 MacInyre, Andrew, 161  
 macroeconomic indicators, 47  
 economic performance, 48  
 Madiun, 315  
 Mahathir Mohamad, 14, 39, 60, 300  
 critical of Wall Street, 268  
 Mahidol University, 182  
*Mainichi Shimbun*, 243  
 Malacca Straits, *see* Strait of Malacca  
 Malacca Straits Coordinated Patrol  
 (MALSINDO), 272  
 Malaya  
 communist insurgency, 77  
 negotiated independence, 35  
 Malayan Communist Party (MCP),  
 284  
 Malaysia, 303  
 conservative political parties, 13  
 destination of boat people, 261  
 emergency rule, 38  
 establishment of relations with  
 China, 287  
 inequality, 8

- Internal Security Act (ISA), 269
  - konfrontasi*, 155
  - lack of political freedoms, 264
- Malay empowerment, 41
- multi-ethnic coalitions, 32
- New Economic Policy, 40
- Proton, 10
- reduced poverty, 53
- repayment of loans, 203
- rise in GDP, 57
- success story, 47
- UMNO, 59
- Manila
  - Ford Foundation office, 186
  - megacity, 10
  - social protests in, 46
- Marcos, Ferdinand, 13, 39, 115
  - abandoned by U.S., 262
  - approach to economic development, 116
  - declaration of martial law, 140
  - re-election, 116
  - use of state funds, 40
- Mari Pangestu, 176
- maritime countries, 34
- market, role of, 34
- Marshall Plan, 251
- martial law, 38
  - declaration by Marcos, 140
- Marxism-Leninism, 91
- Masters, Edward, 22, 311–48
  - arrival in Jakarta, 312
  - first posting to Jakarta, 318–27
  - National War College, 312
  - return to Indonesia, 330–42
  - return to Washington, 327–30
- Mass Rapid Transit (MRT), Singapore, 48
- Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), 188
- Masserschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm, 174
- Matsushita, 209
- Mechai Viravaidya, 190
- Megawati Sukarnoputri, 144, 164
- Megawati's administration, White Paper issued on resolving microeconomic problems, 171
- Mekong Delta, 87
- Mekong Region Development Programme, 211
- merchandise exports, 136
- Metro Manila, 125
- MIAs
  - Americans, 258
  - resolution of issue, 266
- micro-finance programmes, 16
- middle class
  - aspirations, 144
  - importance of, 32, 54
  - lack of sharply defined, 58
  - rapid expansion, 58
  - role of, 57
- military
  - dual function of, 139
  - importance of, 32
  - role in Thailand, 13
- military disengagement, Southeast Asia, 256
- Ministry of Agriculture, 16
- Ministry of Finance, 142
- minorities, relationship between, 13
- Mischief Reef, 265, 289, 303
- Miyazawa, 231
- mobile phones, rise in sales of, 11
- Mohammad Hatta, 153
- Mohammad Jusuf, 326, 347
- Mohammad Sadli, 16, 347
- Mondale, Walter, 268, 332, 334
- Moore, Barrington, 32
- Morley, James, 18
- Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), 145
- Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), 118
- Mount Pinatubo, 118
- multi-ethnic coalitions, 32

- multinationals, Japanese, 213  
 Murdani, 334  
 Murphy, Anne Marie, 21  
 Muslim insurgencies, Philippines, 116, 126  
 Muslim insurgency, Philippines, 129  
 Muslim Mindanao, 139  
 Muslims, Indonesia, in, 318  
 Mutual Security Act, 253  
 Mutual Security Agreement, 316  
 Myanmar  
     Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), 36  
     democracy in, 13  
     economic underperformance, 7  
     elections before military takeover, 38  
     impoverishment of, 41  
     limited economic achievements, 47
- N**
- Nasution, 321  
 National Car Project, Indonesia, 162  
 National Democratic Front, 117  
 National Economic Development Agency (NEDA), Ford Foundation assistance, 187  
 National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), 142  
     Ford Foundation assistance, 187  
 National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, 83  
 National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA), 188  
 National Institute for Economic and Social Research (LEKNAS), 188  
 National League for Democracy (NLD), 266  
 National Liberation Front, 86  
 National Party of Indonesia (PNI), 36  
 National Planning Board (BAPPENAS), Ford Foundation assistance, 187  
 National Security Archives, 333–34  
 National Security Council, 251  
 National Sovereignty and Security in the Strait of Malacca, 278  
 National War College, 312  
 nationalism  
     Indonesian attitudes towards, 275  
     support of democracy, 37  
     variation in, 63  
 Natsir Cabinet, 154  
 Natuna Island, 303  
 Naypyidaw, 12, 46  
 Ne Win, 40, 186  
 negotiated independence, 34  
 NEKOLIM, 316, 321  
 Netherlands  
     human rights agenda, 235  
     Human Rights and Foreign Policy memorandum, 236  
     reaction to East Timor conflict, 235–38  
 New Economic Policy, Malaysia, 40  
 New Industrialized Economies, 209  
 New Order, 152  
     collapse of, 232  
     economic transformations, 156–63  
     economy, 173  
     end of, 143  
     developmental success, 152  
 New Miyazawa Initiative, 199  
 New People's Army (NPA), 117  
 Newsom, David, 331  
 Ngo Dinh Diem, 80, 254  
 Nguyen Dynasty, 78  
 Nguyen Minh Triet, 98, 101  
 Nguyen Tam Dung, 98  
 Nguyen Van Linh, 88–89  
 Nguyen Van Thieu, 84  
 Niblock, Tom, 338  
 Nishimoto, Shoji, 233  
 Nixon Doctrine, 256–57, 302  
 Nixon, Richard, 254, 286  
     resignation of, 84



- Nobel Peace Prize, Ramos-Horta, Jose, 224
- non-alignment  
 maintenance during Cold War, 255  
 Sukarno, 36
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 217  
 Indonesia, 152
- non-tariff barriers, removal in  
 Indonesia, 160
- non-tariff barriers, Indonesia, 159
- Nong Duc Manh, 100
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 207
- North Korea, invasion of South Korea, 77
- North Vietnam, 254, 284
- Numata, Sadaaki, 232
- O**
- Oak Mutiny, 120
- Obuchi, 233
- oil prices  
 rise in, 118, 171  
 weakening, 159
- oligarchs, Philippines, 63
- one China policy, 298
- Open Society Institute, 182
- Operation Cold Storage, 38
- Orderly Departure Programme, 261
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 207
- overpopulation, Java, 154
- overseas contract workers (OCWs), Philippines, 124
- Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), 195–214  
 evolution of, 198–200  
 Japan, 21  
 major Japanese players, 197–98  
 objective, 196–97  
 revised charter, 212–13  
 Third World governments, 187
- Overseas Development Programme, Ford Foundation, 184
- Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, 197
- Oxfam, 189
- P**
- Pacific Basin Studies Programme, 17
- Papua, 46
- Paris Agreements, 84
- Paris International Conference on Cambodia (PICC), 263
- Paris Peace Accords, 257, 263
- Paris Peace Agreements, 83, 258
- Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), 253
- party-switching, Philippines, 131
- Patrick, Hugh, 21
- patrimonial nature of state, 58
- patrimonial state, 33  
 critical role of, 59
- Peace Corps, 99, 320
- Pelita Air, 158
- People Power, 58, 117
- peace process, 39
- People's Action Party (PAP), 38–39, 59
- People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), special session, 163
- People's Republic of China (PRC), 251, *see also* China
- People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), 260
- perestroika*, 89
- Pertamina, 157  
 dispute with Exxon Mobil, 170  
 resources, 158
- Pham Hong Son, 96
- Phan Chu Trinh, 76
- Phan Van Khai, 98, 100, 273
- Philippines, 20, 58, 303  
 1986 presidential elections, 262  
 Aquino government, 118

- agriculture, 123, 134  
 agricultural taxes, 123  
 Bangko Sentral Pilipinas, 142  
 cacique characterisation, 130  
 capital flight from, 116  
 cause of poor performance, 126–30  
 Central Bank (Bangko Sentral Pilipinas), 119, 130  
 Chinese retailers, 128  
 Commission on Elections (COMELEC), 132  
 communism, growth of, 115  
 communist insurgency, 77, 118  
 Central Luzon, 35  
 consequences of poor performance, 124–26  
 damaged culture, 127  
 decline in tax collection and investment, 119  
 defeat of Huks, 129  
 education system, 124  
 effect of Asian financial crisis, 143  
 electoral violence, 140  
 erratic economic performance, 121–22  
 establishment of relations with China, 287  
 Estrada administration, 132  
 Estrada government, 119  
 export performance, 137  
 exports, 134  
 factionalism, 131  
 failure of democracy, 130  
 fertility rates, 6  
 foreign creditors, 117  
 GDP growth, 133–34  
 gross domestic savings, 123  
 gross national product (1980), 116  
 import substitution manufacturing, 116  
 influence of Catholic Church, 127  
 International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), 16  
 Japanese occupation, 4  
 legitimizing power of elections, 130  
 liberalization of financial sector, 130  
 management of political change, 139–41  
 Marcos' use of state funds, 40  
 martial law, 38  
 mediocre economic performance, 113  
 member of SEATO, 275  
 missing foundation for growth and development, 122–24  
 Muslim insurgencies, 116, 126  
 non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 128  
 Oakwood Mutiny, 120  
 oligarchs, 63  
 opening of regime, 57  
 overseas contract workers, 124  
 people power, 58, 117  
 population growth, 122, 124  
 poverty, 138  
 public debt, 119  
 rate of poverty reduction, 125  
 relations with U.S., 115  
 reliance on borrowing, 123  
 repayment of loans, 203  
 review of performance, 114–21  
 role of Catholic Church, 117, 122  
 selected indicators, 115  
 selling of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), 123  
 skewed land distribution, 126, 135  
 Spanish colonialism, 126  
 structural transformation, 125  
 terrorism in, 270  
 trade liberalization, 118  
 trade reforms (1980), 121–22  
 traditional landed elites, 128  
 troops to Iraq, 270  
 underperformance in comparative perspective, 113–47  
 unemployment, 124

- U.S. colonialism, 126  
 U.S. withdrawal from, 265  
 Philippines Social Council (PSSC), 189  
 Phnom Penh, fast growing city, 10  
 piracy, problem in Strait of Malacca, 271  
 PNI, 38  
 political changes, Southeast Asia, 216–43  
 political factors, development and democracy, 32  
 political space, creation of, 33  
 Pope, Allen, 317  
 Population and Community Development Association (PDA), 190  
 population growth, Philippines, 122–24  
 populism, 144  
 Portugal, agreement with Indonesia, 221  
 post-Cold War era, liberalism, 263  
 post-Soeharto challenges  
   people's economy, 163  
   pledge of assistance from IMF, 164  
   social safety net programmes, 164  
   Special Session of MPR, 163  
 poverty, incidence figure for (2003), 146  
 poverty incidence, 138  
   methodologies for calculation, 147  
 poverty levels, rise in, 7  
 Prajogo Pangestu, 161  
 Pramoj, Kukrit, 257  
 preferential loan aid, Japan, 203  
 preferential trade agreements, 207  
 presidential elections, Indonesia, 173  
 premocracy, Thailand, 141  
 private financial flows, Japan and Southeast Asian countries, 204  
 Pronk, Jan, 236  
 property rights, protection of, 34  
 Proton, 10  
 Provincial Development Programme, 339  
 Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara), Indonesia, 156  
 Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG), 83, 86  
 Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI), 317  
 Przeworski, Adam, 31, 54  
 public primary education, Indonesia, 41
- Q**
- Quigley, Craig, 229
- R**
- Racial Discrimination Covenant, 42–44  
 Ramos, Fidel, 117–18, 121, 144  
 Ramos government, surplus budget, 123  
 Ramos-Horta, Jose, 219, 224  
 RAND Corporation, 184  
 Rangoon, Ford Foundation office, 186  
 re-education camps, 87  
 Reagan administration, 261  
 reform fatigue, Indonesia, 162  
 refugees, Vietnam, from, 261  
 regime change, 29–66  
   periods of change, 34–38  
 regional communist parties, 282  
 Republic of Vietnam (RVN), 78  
 rent-seeking activities, Indonesia, 159  
 repayment of loans, 203  
 resource depletion, effect on Brunei, 48  
 rights, prioritization, 40  
 Rice, Condoleezza, 274, 343  
 Rizal Ramli, 161, 166

- Robinson, Mary, 222
- Rockefeller Foundation, Education for Development Program, 182
- Rodan, Garry, 58
- Roosevelt, Franklin, 75, 250  
Four Freedoms, 75, 184
- Rostow, Walter, 31
- Rumsfeld, Donald, 272
- rural areas, cottage industries in, 9
- S**
- Saigon, 74  
Ford Foundation office, 186
- Sainteny, Jean, 75
- Santa Cruz, 219
- Santa Cruz massacre, 230, 235, 238
- Sarwo Edhy, 326, 347
- Save the Children, 189
- schools, gross enrolment ratio, 50–51
- SEATO, members, 275
- security approach, Indonesian military measures, 218
- Semen Gresik, 170
- Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), 12, 250, 300
- Shangri-La Dialogue, 272
- Sharma, C.L., 49
- Shelton, Henry H., 227–28
- Shinawatra, Thaksin, 294
- Siam Society, 190
- Sihanouk, Norodom, 253, 283  
non-alignment policy, 253
- Singapore  
conservative political parties, 13  
economic prosperity, 8  
exceeding Przeworski's \$6000 per capita threshold, 59  
gross national income per person, 207  
important city, 10  
lack of defined middle class, 58  
lack of political freedom, 264  
least democratic, 30  
level of economic development, 206  
most developed, 30  
newly industrialized countries, 47  
referred to as Newly Industrialized Economy, 209  
rise in GDP, 57  
Operation Cold Storage, 38  
role of Lee Kuan Yew, 32–33
- Singapore Technologies Telemedia (ST Telemedia), 170
- Sino-Southeast Asian relations, changes in, 297–301
- Sino-Soviet relations, normalization of, 288
- Sino-Soviet rivalry, 284
- Sino-Vietnamese relations, 302
- Sino-Vietnamese summit, 273
- Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, 153, 155
- Sjahrir Sabirin, Governor of Bank Indonesia, 175
- SkyTrain, Bangkok, 48
- social inequality, 32
- social structure, importance of, 32
- Societe generale de Surveillance (SGS), Indonesian custom service, 160
- Soedjatmoko, 17
- Soeharto, 14–15, 38, 133, 323  
aftermath, 217  
assessment of era, 341–42  
Bank Indonesia seen as funds provider, 176  
chair of the Council for Economic and Financial Stabilization, 163  
chair of Economic Stabilization Council, 157  
dealing with, 339–41  
decline of, 152  
direct involvement in business affairs, 161  
emphasis on economic stabilization, 327  
maintenance of pre-eminence, 141

- New Order, 152
- political economy of development, 17
- power struggle with Sukarno, 325
- power struggle with military, 219
- resignation, 235, 237
- sogo shosa*, 198
- South China Sea
  - China's claims, 303
  - issues on, 289
- South Korea, invasion by North Korea, 77
- South Vietnamese, boat people, 87
- South Vietnamese army, 257
- Southeast Asia (1946) to (2006), 4–14
  - converging trajectories in
    - democratic, 143–45
  - evolving relationship with China, 281–307
  - Ford Foundation's presence in, 185
  - foreign direct investment in, 209
  - goals of independence, 251
  - hedging strategy, 295–97
  - international aid, 216–43
  - Japan as donor, 200
  - life expectancy, 6
  - military disengagement from, 256
  - new emphasis on maritime, 299
  - relationship with revolutionary
    - China, 282–85
  - second front in war on terror, 269–72
- Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organization, Special Programme in Archaeology and Fine Arts, 190
- Southeast Asian nations
  - achievements under-analysed, 3
  - economies, transformation of, 7
  - extensions of India and China, 3
  - strategy vis-à-vis China, 282
- Southeast Asian societies,
  - transformation, 5
- Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), 252, 316
- Soviet Union, 74, 80, 257
  - collapse of, 73, 289
  - Gorbachev, under, 89
  - restructuring under *Perestroika*, 89
- Spanish colonialism, 126
- special arrangements, theorists call for, 32
- Spratly Islands, 289
  - China's claims, 303
  - dispute, 294
- Spratlys, *see also* Spratly Islands
- Sri Mulyani Indrawati, 169, 176
  - Finance Minister, as, 171
- Stalin, 80
- Standard Chartered Bank, proposed
  - acquisition of Bank Bali, 175
- state enterprises, Indonesia, 160
- state-owned enterprises, Philippines, 123
- stock market, Vietnam, 92
- Strait of Malacca, 294, 298
  - threats, 271
- Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity, 293
- struggle for independence, distinct forms, 34
- Suara Timor*, 226
- Subandrio, 15, 319, 325, 345
- Subardjo, 253
- Subic Bay Naval Base, 252, 265
- Sukarno, 321
  - downfall of, 324
  - failure as an administrator, 326
  - Ford Foundation offer of assistance, 185
  - Guided Democracy, 38, 155
  - Guided Economy, 172
  - militant anti-Westernism, 15
  - non-aligned position under, 35
  - opposition of U.S., 319
  - power struggle with Soeharto, 325

- Sukiman government, 253  
 Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, 153  
 Super 301 trade law, 267  
 SUPERSEMAR, 326  
 Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, 153, 168, 343  
   visit to Saudi Arabia, 344
- T**
- Tacitus, 85  
 Tagaki, Shinji, 212  
 Taiwan, 284  
   conflict over, 297  
   visit by Lee Hsien Loong, 298  
 Taiwan Strait, tensions in, 297  
 Taiwan Strait crisis, 289  
 Tammasat University, 182  
 Tanaka, Japanese Prime Minister, 158  
 tax collection, 123  
 technology flows, Japan and Southeast Asian countries, 204  
 technology-driven programmes, criticism, 189  
 territorial markings, 5  
 Tet Mau Than offensive, 86  
 Tet Offensive, 84, 254  
 Thai baht, free fall during Asian financial crisis, 267  
 Thai Binh, 109  
 Thai Muslim insurgency, 139  
 Thai-American cooperation, 295  
 Thailand, 40, 46, 58, 142  
   advocate of ASEAN's cooperation with India, 294  
   authority of Bank of Thailand, 142  
   bloody coup, 40  
   Board of Investment, *see* Board of Investment (BOI)  
   cancellation of conference by Falun Gong, 298  
   capitalization of resources, 143  
   Chulalongkorn University, 12  
   communist insurgency, 77  
   comparative advantage in agriculture, 135  
   constitutional monarchy, 35  
   deployment of troops to Iraq, 270  
   economic growth (1986 to 1990), 147  
   economy, contraction of, 7  
   establishment of relations with China, 287  
   expansion of democracy, 57  
   export performance, 137  
   GDP growth, 134  
   IMF support package, 274  
   inequality, 8  
   informal alliance with China, 286  
   Kasetsart University, 182  
   Mahidol University, 182  
   member of SEATO, 275  
   middle class, 140  
   military, 38  
   military exercises with U.S. armed forces, 261  
   parliamentary system, 36  
   poverty, 138  
   reduced poverty, 53  
   reform-mind monarchy, 133  
   reign of King Bhumibol, 141  
   reinvigoration of relations with U.S., 260  
   role in Chinese relations with Southeast Asia, 306  
   role of military, 13, 33  
   shift to export oriented industrialization, 136  
   success story, 47  
   Thammasat University, 182  
   U.S. refusal to contribute to bailout, 268  
 Thailand Association of Social Sciences (SSAT), 189  
 Thanin government, overthrow of, 190  
*The World Economy*, historical statistics, 5

- Thieu, inability to lead in political reform, 86
- Third Indo-China War, 259  
end of, 263
- third wave democracies, 46
- threshold level of income, 31
- Timberman, David G., 20
- Timor Leste, 46  
limited economic achievement, 47  
profound change in, 13
- Track Two dialogues, 191
- trade flows, Japan and Southeast Asian countries, 205
- trading companies  
Japanese, 198, 209
- Treaty of Amity and Concord (TAC), 258
- Tran Xuan Bach, 90
- Transition Indonesia project, 18
- transportation, move up in technology ladder, 10
- travel industry, within Southeast Asian countries, 11
- Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, 97, 293, 296, 305
- tsunami, 294
- tututs*, 10
- U**
- U Nu, 36
- U Thant, 40
- UN Commission on Human Rights, 225
- UN High Commission for Human Rights, 222
- UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 261, 338  
Orderly Departure Programme, 261
- UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), 263
- UN Trust Fund, 232
- Underhill, Frank, 320
- unemployment, Philippines, 124
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), 252
- United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), 39, 59
- United Nations  
peace operations in Cambodia, 72  
political consultation in East Timor, 217  
support of East Timor, 221
- United Nations Assistance Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), 222
- United Nations General Assembly, condemnation of invasion of East Timor, 218
- United Nations Development Programme, 66
- United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), 6
- United Nations Security Council (UNSC), 222
- United Nations Transitional Administration, 223
- United States  
access to Thai bases, 257  
accounting American MIAs, 258  
attack on Afghanistan, 270  
Bureau of European Affairs, 77  
Bush Administration, 249  
Clinton Administration, 229  
Congressional elections (1974), 84  
Council on Foreign Relations, 18  
Declaration of Independence, 316  
Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 317  
focus on democracy, 31  
global war on terror (GWOT), 249  
intervention in Southeast Asia, 254–56  
lack of engagement, 293  
military disengagement from Southeast Asia, 256  
military exercises with Thailand, 261  
news modes of engagement, 257–59  
normalization of relations, 258

- policy towards Southeast Asia, 21
  - predominance in Southeast Asia, 250–52
  - reaction to conflict in East Timor, 223–29
  - Reagan administration, 261
  - reinvigoration of relationship with Thailand, 260
  - relations with Indonesia, 311–48
  - relations with Southeast Asia, 249–78
  - relations with Vietnam, 97
  - strategic doctrine, 250
  - support of Vietnam's independence, 75–77
  - war on terrorism, 295
  - withdrawal from Philippines, 265
  - United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 225
    - funding of local civil society organizations, 226
    - mission director, 345
  - United States Security Strategy for the East Asia-Pacific Region, 263
  - United States-Indonesia Society, 344
  - University of California, 188
  - University of Indonesia, establishment of faculty of economics, 187
  - University of the Philippines, 182
  - urban areas, 10
  - U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, 99
  - U.S. Department of Defence
    - East Asia Security Initiative (EASI), 265
  - U.S. East Asian Strategy Review, 265
  - U.S. Freedom of Information Act, 333
  - U.S. Navy vessels, port calls in Ho Chi Minh City, 99
  - U.S.-Indonesia relations, 314, 343
  - U.S.-Indonesia Society (USINDO), 17
  - U.S.-Southeast Asian relations, 250
  - U.S.-Vietnamese relations
    - failed normalization, 276
    - normalization, 98
  - U.S.-Vietnamese trade, surge, 273
- V**
- Van, John Paul, 85
  - Vance, Cyrus, 17, 259
  - Versailles Conference (1919), 75
  - Vienna Summit, 254
  - Viet Cong, 81
    - infrastructure, 80
  - Viet Minh, 76, 282
    - guerillas, 80
  - Vietnam
    - Appeal for Freedom of Political Association, 102
    - bilateral trade agreement with U.S., 273
    - Bloc 8406, 102,
    - boat people, 261
    - Catholic elite, 81
    - Central Highlands, 96, 100
    - Cold War, and, 74–75
    - collateral damage, 74
    - communism redux, 100
    - Consumer Price Index (CPI), 93
    - Countries of Particular Concern, 99
    - crude oil exports, 92
    - demilitarized zone (DMZ), 79
    - democracy, 104
    - desperate situation after World War II, 73
    - doi moi*, 20, 89
    - early years of communist rule, 40
    - economic competition from, 145
    - export growth, 92
    - family planning programmes, 5
    - fertility rates, 6
    - Final Declaration of the Conference, 78
    - foreign direct investment, 92
    - foreign policy, 97–100



- GDP per capita, 91  
 great power friends, manipulation  
     by, 74  
 inclusion in ASEAN, 97  
 increasing diversity of groups,  
     association, and organizations,  
     94  
 inflation, 92  
 Internet, 96  
 isolation from ASEAN neighbours,  
     88  
 land reform programme, 80  
 majority Buddhist population, 81  
 Ministry of Culture, 96  
 National Assembly, 94  
 non-governmental organizations  
     (NGOs), 95  
 normalization of relations with U.S.,  
     98  
 officers' participation in educational  
     programmes abroad, 193  
 Orderly Departure Programme, 99  
 peaceful evolution, 91  
 peaceful evolution of political  
     liberalization, 273  
 positive change, 93–97  
 POW/MIA issue, 108  
 Production Management Unit 18  
     Affair, 93  
 Protestantism, growth of, 109  
 re-education camps, 87  
 relations with U.S., 97  
 rich body of scholarship on, 4  
 rise of communo-capitalist class,  
     102  
 socialist market economy, 91  
 socialist transformation, 97  
 South China Sea issues, 97  
 stock market, 92  
 success of family-based businesses,  
     91  
 Tet offensive, 84  
 Thai Binh province, 103  
 transformations, 72–109  
     two Vietnams, 79–83  
     U.S. reconciliation with, 258  
     U.S. withdrawal from, 256  
     unintended consequences, 74  
     winning war against colonial power,  
         13  
     withdrawal from Cambodia, 262  
 Vietnam Communist Party (VCP), 41  
 Vietnam Foreign Investment Agency,  
     92  
 Vietnam Household Living Standards  
     Survey, 91  
 Vietnam Permanent Normal Trade  
     Relations (PNTR), 98  
 Vietnam Quoc Dan Dang (VNQDD),  
     79  
 Vietnam War, 4, 73, 186, 285  
     escalation of, 283  
     exit from, 286  
     resolving legacy issues, 266  
     Vietnam-U.S. relations, 99  
     Vietnamese American community, 99  
     Vietnamese Communist Party, 73, 76,  
         89  
         Congresses, 90  
         one party rule, 94  
         Politburo, 89–90  
         separation of Party bureaucracy, 95  
         Sixth National Congress, 88  
         Seventh National Congress (1991),  
             89  
         Tenth National Congress, 100–01  
     Vietnamese influence, China's  
         opposition, 287  
     Vietnamization, 256–57  
     violent conflicts, 34
- W**  
*Warta Bakti*, 322  
 Washington Consensus, 263  
 Watergate scandal, 84  
 Weatherbee, Donald, 22

- Weatherhead East Asian Institute of  
Columbia University, 17
- Welsh, Bridget, 19
- West Irian, Indonesia conflict with  
Netherlands, 154
- Westmoreland, William, 83
- Widjojo Nitisastro (Prof), 15, 157,  
174–75
- Williamsburg conferences, 17
- Wiranto, 227–28
- World Bank, 191, 266  
1993 report, 61  
funding from Japan, 200  
Indonesia, 166  
president of, 184  
release of press statement regarding  
East Timor, 228
- Vietnam Household Living  
Standards Survey, 91
- World Bank Report, *The East Asian  
Miracle*, 262
- World Economic Forum, 294
- World Trade Organization (WTO),  
91, 207
- World War II  
change in territorial markings, 5  
independence after, 37
- Y**
- Yayasan HAK, 226
- yen, volatility, 203
- Z**
- Zhou Enlai, 283–84, 296
- Zhou Xiaochuan, 298