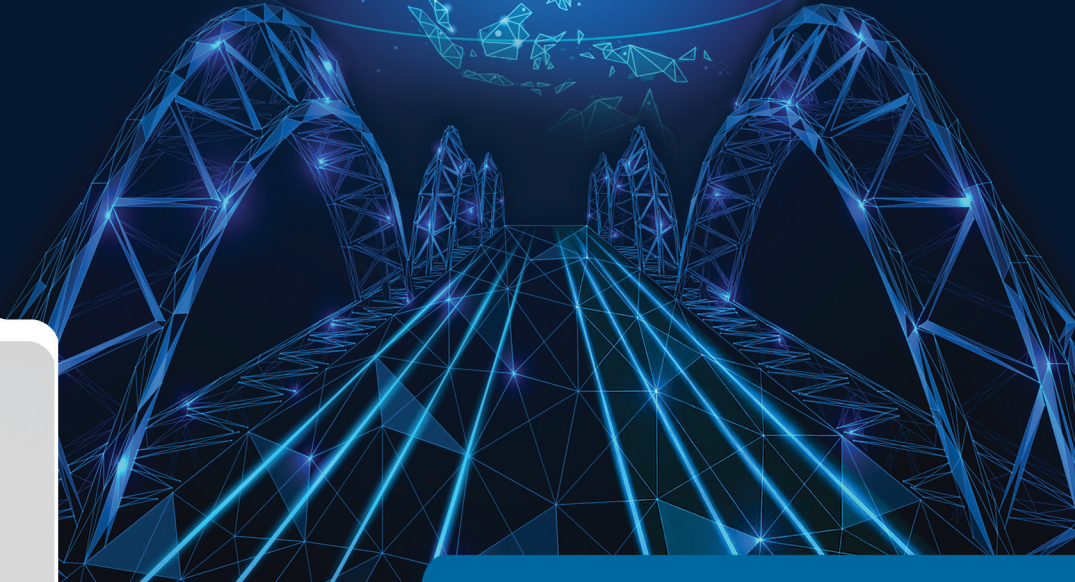


2026 – 2027

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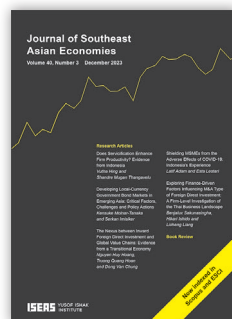
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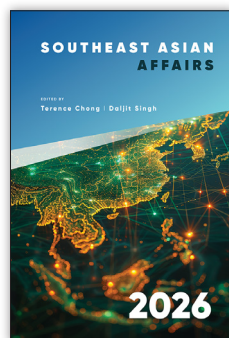
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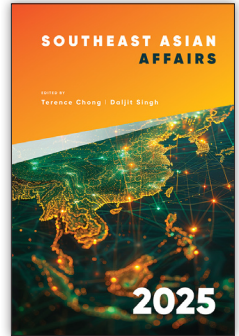
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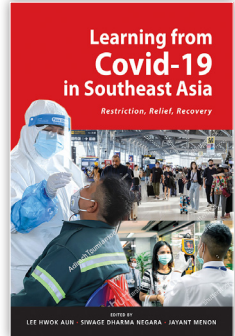
Senior Fellow, Co-Coordinator of the Indonesia Studies Programme, and Coordinator, Singapore APEC Study Centre, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

Jayant Menon, editor

Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

“The Covid-19 pandemic was unprecedented in its impact and repercussions which are still being felt today. The Southeast Asian region is no exception with the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, economic contraction, and increased poverty. The impact varied across the region. Some countries were more effective than others at implementing lockdowns and delivering public health interventions. Pandemic responses were also differentiated by the efficacy of communication, policy coordination, and leadership. Policy evaluations have highlighted the need to improve institutional capacity as well as global and regional cooperation to respond to future public health crises. This timely and crucial volume, authored by leading regional scholars, thoroughly explores these issues and more. It is indispensable reading for anyone interested in Southeast Asia and broader international development challenges.”

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Mari Pangestu,

*Managing Director of Development Policy and Partnerships, World Bank (2020–23);
Former Minister of Trade and Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy, Indonesia*

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Rising China: Chinese Culture and Its Transformation in Southeast Asia

Leo Suryadinata, editor

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The study of China's culture in Southeast Asia is particularly significant as some observers misconceive Chinese culture in Southeast Asia as purely "Chinese", as if it had not been influenced by local conditions, including nationalism. In reality, Chinese culture in Southeast Asia is imbued with distinct differences that set itself apart from that in mainland China.

Nevertheless, the question remains whether the rise of China has made the further transformation of local Chinese culture difficult, if not impossible. This book aims to examine the following: the current status of Chinese religions, language, literature, music and performing arts in Southeast Asia, their local characteristics, their position in both local Chinese and non-Chinese local society, and their problems and prospects.

Seventeen scholars have been invited to present papers to deal with the above themes and with one exception, their revised papers are eventually included in this book. This is the most up-to-date publication that addresses the topic of Chinese culture and its transformation in Southeast Asia.

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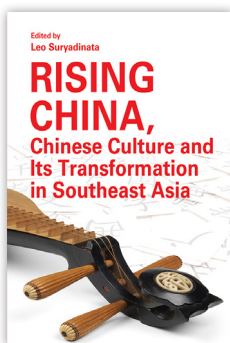
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My Turbulent Life and 21 Years of Exile in the People's Republic of China

Pridi Banomyong

Thai Statesman and Professor who served as regent and as the Seventh Prime Minister in Thailand.

Ruth Banomyong, editor

Faculty, Department of International Business, Logistics, and Transport, Thammasat Business School, Thailand.

Benjamin Ivry, translator

Writer on the arts, Broadcaster and Translator.

In this deeply personal and historically significant memoir, Pridi Banomyong, former regent and prime minister of Siam (Thailand), takes readers on a journey through one of the most turbulent periods in modern Southeast Asian history. Forced into exile in the People's Republic of China, Pridi reflects on his life's work as a democratic leader, his involvement in the 1932 Siamese Revolution, and his experiences with key figures such as Mussolini, Emperor Hirohito and Mao Zedong. This memoir offers a unique perspective on the geopolitical landscape of Southeast Asia during the mid-twentieth century, the challenges of leading a nation through war and conflict, and the personal sacrifices of a life dedicated to the pursuit of democracy and justice.

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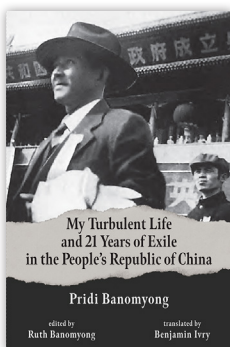
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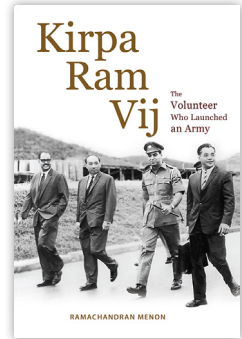


Kirpa Ram Vij: The Volunteer Who Launched an Army new

Ramachandran Menon

One of the inaugural cohort of infantry officers commissioned at the Singapore Armed Forces Training Institute (SAFTI) in 1967 when Kirpa Ram Vij was director.

For the first ten years of the history of the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF), one soldier dominated its build-up. Mobilized by Defence Minister Dr Goh Keng Swee after Singapore's expulsion from Malaysia on 9 August 1965, Kirpa Ram Vij, then a captain in the Singapore Volunteer Artillery, established the Singapore Armed Forces Training Institute (SAFTI) with Israeli Defence Force advisors. Together with them, he also formulated many SAF operational doctrines that still underlie SAF land forces' training today. He launched advanced leadership training establishments including the School of Advanced Training for Officers (SATO) and the Goh Keng Swee Command and Staff College (CSC). He attained the then top uniformed appointment of Director, General Staff, as a Brigadier General. Overtaken by numerous cohorts of younger administrative service officers for senior civil service posts while in the SAF, he quit government service to join Neptune Orient Lines (NOL) where he mastered computer freight services as General Manager, Administration, among other top management jobs. On retirement from NOL, he was initially appointed Consultant and later Chief Executive Officer of Gateway Distriparks Limited (GDL, a Singapore consortium) and installed India's first foreign-owned computer freight service terminal in Navi Mumbai, later to be listed in both India and New York with great success.



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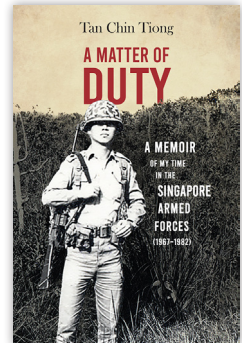
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Tan Chin Tiong

Senior Advisor, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, and Ambassador-at-Large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore.

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Brian Farrell, Professor of Military History at the History Department, National University of Singapore, and author of The Defence and Fall of Singapore



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K.C. Vijayan

Senior Law Correspondent with The Straits Times.

"My mum was told to abort the foetus after doctors told her the baby was stillborn. She refused to accept the opinions of three doctors consulted... (and) made the trip to Singapore where she consulted a doctor named Benjamin Sheares. He examined her, then reassured her with a smile: 'Madam, your baby is alive, and fine.' I would like to remember my mum and Dr Sheares, I would not be here today without either of them."

Michael Chiang, prominent Singaporean playwright, born 1955

"For once Mahathir agrees with him! We are mighty proud of Harry Lee's choice of a president."

*Tun Dr Siti Hasmah Mohamad Ali, 29 December 1970,
on learning Lee Kuan Yew would nominate Benjamin Sheares as Singapore's President.*

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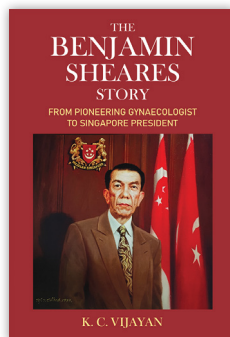
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Wee Kim Wee: President, Diplomat, Journalist and a True Singaporean

Cheong Suk-Wai

A lawyer by training, and a writer by choice. A former ASEAN Scholar and Thomson Foundation Scholar, she has been a construction litigator, a journalist and a public servant.

Dr Wee Kim Wee was a pioneering Singaporean journalist and diplomat with a most improbable rise and rise in life. Among his many other accomplishments, he helped end a regional war; kept one of the world's oldest newspapers alive till today; and rescued the presidency of the Republic of Singapore from a spell in the gutter. Just as water softens stone, he overcame the grimmest odds with his winsome ways and unimpeachable character. This meticulously researched book brims with fresh insights about the man most Singaporeans claimed as "my President". They include telling facets from the author's interviews with more than 30 people who knew Dr Wee best in every decade of his storied life.

Dr Wee started out being too poor to complete secondary school to holding Singapore's highest office. His lightly worn shrewdness and genuine regard for all living things plucked him out of obscurity and thrust him into moments that shook Singapore, eventually making him a beloved household name. Dr Wee was the embodiment of Singapore exceptionalism, and this biography is the last word on a sort of man that Singapore will rarely, if ever, encounter again.

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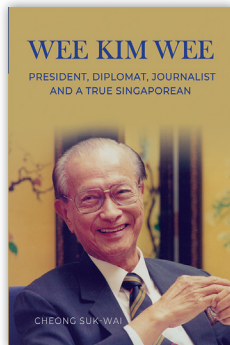
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The Jokowi Presidency: Indonesia's Decade of Authoritarian Revival

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Eve Warburton

Senior Lecturer, Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, The Australian National University.

The rise of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) to the presidency in 2014 marked an optimistic turn in Indonesia. At a time when politics were dominated by oligarchs, New Order-era holdovers and corrupt politicians, Jokowi's populist style and humble origins embodied the change that many Indonesians desired. He promised the public a cleaner style of government and fast-paced development, and his progressive allies believed he would protect Indonesia's young democratic institutions. Yet when Jokowi stepped down from office a decade later, he left behind a fragile economy and a hollow democracy. This volume examines Jokowi's political evolution and the mark he left on Indonesia. It casts Jokowi's decade in office as one of authoritarian revival that saw the return of statist developmentalism in the economic sphere, and the resurrection of New Order-era tactics of co-optation and repression in the political sphere. The volume brings together experts from a wide range of fields, including foreign policy, security, economics, politics, law and human rights. In different ways, all contributors view Jokowi as a disruptive president, whose ambitious developmental agenda came at a high cost for Indonesia's democracy.

2025 : 311 pp : BM648

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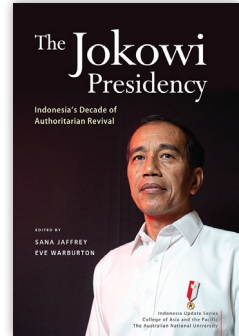
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Putin's Russia and Southeast Asia: The Kremlin's Pivot to Asia and the Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War

Ian Storey

Senior Fellow, ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute in Singapore.

In the first major study of Russia-Southeast Asia relations since the end of the Cold War, Ian Storey traces the dramatic shifts in Moscow's interests in the region under President Vladimir Putin. He skillfully assesses the long-lasting legacy of the Soviet Union, traces the evolution of Putin's foreign policy and identifies the driving forces behind the Kremlin's Pivot to Asia. With expert insights, Storey examines Russia's political, economic and military engagement with ASEAN and each of the eleven Southeast Asian countries over the past quarter of a century. He also delivers an in-depth analysis of how Southeast Asia responded to Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022, and what the Russia-Ukraine War means for Moscow's great power ambitions in the region and beyond.

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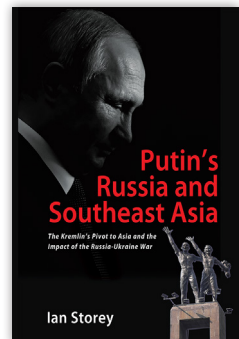
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new



Towards the Indonesian Republic: Marxist Lineages in the National Revolution

Geoffrey Gunn

Adjunct (Visiting) Professor, University of Macau, China, and Emeritus Professor at Nagasaki University, Japan.

Drawing on little known archival sources, this work brings to the fore the salience of a schism in the Indonesian communist movement between pro-Moscow loyalists and "national-communists" reaching back to the 1920s, which survived even the Japanese occupation and surfaced in the throes of the National Revolution (1945–49). At the heart of the rift lay contrasting visions of revolutionary tactics, the salience of Islam in an Islamic majority society, the vexed question of alliance between leftists and other anti-colonial forces, and even the concept and definition of state and national ideology. As such, we cannot ignore the lineages of Marxism in the National Revolution, which trace their roots to the pioneer actions on Java by Dutch communists, themselves influenced by the Bolshevik Revolution. Contrary to the image of a non-revolutionary peasantry and a nationalist leadership broken or tamed by colonial carceral practices, the picture that emerges is one of acute agency on the part of an awoken population at a critical historical moment at the end of World War II.

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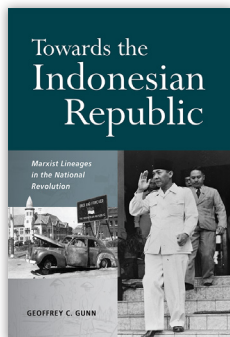
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ISBN 9789815203011 (EBK)

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new



Blue Pawn, Red Pawn and the Communist Party of Vietnam's Gambit for Legitimacy

Nguyen Hoang Thanh Danh

Currently teaches Politics of Southeast Asia at Hosei University and Vietnamese at Showa Women's University, both located in Tokyo, Japan.

"This is a long-awaited book discussing systematically the political system in Vietnam: Why has the present political regime continued for such a long period, and what are the resources of legitimacy concerning the communist rule. The book also covers the recent development in the political scene, including the anti-corruption campaign and the frequent changes in the top leadership."

Shiraishi Masaya, Emeritus Professor, Waseda University, Former Chairman, Japan Society for Vietnamese Studies

"As a business journalist at *Forbes Vietnam*, understanding shifts in socioeconomic trends and policymaking processes is crucial for my work. I am pleased to endorse this research book on Vietnam politics and the legitimacy-building of the one-party state's leadership. The book delves into the intricate dynamics of the Communist Party of Vietnam's legitimacy, which are instrumental in understanding the economic policies and reforms that have shaped Vietnam's growth, especially since the *Doi Moi* era. The exploration of current challenges, including Western influence, corruption, governance issues and territorial disputes, offers a comprehensive understanding of the pressures faced by the CPV. While the book may not be an easy read for the general public, it remains a valuable and rare contribution to the study of Vietnam politics, an area that, in my opinion, has not been covered well or frequently enough."

Nguyen Trong Nam, Journalist, Forbes Vietnam

2025 : 338 pp : IU42

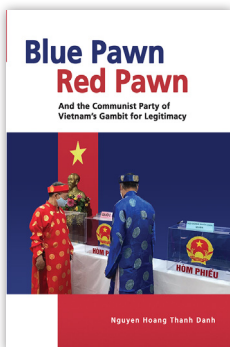
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Plundering Security? The Economic Power of Thailand's Military

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Senior Research Fellow, ANU Philippines Institute and Professor of Political Science at De La Salle University.

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Ceasefire Aspirations and Anxieties Among the Karen in Myanmar

forthcoming

Justine Chambers, editor

Social-Cultural Anthropologist who specializes in Myanmar. Her research primarily focuses on the country's Karen people and explores themes of morality, ethics and ethnic conflict.

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Associate Professor of Comparative Political Theory in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. He is an expert on the intersection of religion, politics and ethnicity in Southeast Asia, with a specific focus on Buddhism in Myanmar.

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Managing Borderless Threats Across Regions

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Naila Maier-Knapp

University lecturer and researcher in Political Science. Her research focuses on regionalism and interregionalism within the context of the European Union (EU) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). She was the 2014 SEATIDE postdoctoral fellowship recipient at the Center for History and Economics at the University of Cambridge.

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Andrew Selth

Adjunct Professor, Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University. Dr Selth has been studying international security issues and Asian affairs for forty-five years, as a diplomat, strategic intelligence analyst and research scholar.

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ISBN 9789815306590 (SC)

ISBN 9789815306606 (EBK)

Malaysia's 2022 General Election: Crafting Power in a Crowded Arena

forthcoming

Lee Hwok-Aun, editor

Senior Fellow, Regional Economic Studies Programme, and Coordinator, Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Francis E. Hutchinson, editor

Senior Fellow, Regional Economic Studies Programme, and Co-coordinator, Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

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forthcoming

Douglas Kammen

Associate Professor and Dean's Chair in the Department of Southeast Asian Studies at the National University of Singapore. His research has focused on labour and protest, military politics, and political violence in Indonesia, and on the history and politics of Timor-Leste from the 19th century to the present.

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ISBN 9789815361131 (SC)

ISBN 9789815361148 (EBK)

Ethics of Belonging: Education, Religion, and Politics in Manado, Indonesia

Erica M. Larson

Research Fellow, Religion and Globalisation Cluster, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore.

"Larson presents an interesting case study about how educators attempt to teach the values of pluralism to high school students in North Sulawesi, a Christian majority region of Indonesia. These efforts at teaching and instilling the values of inclusivism are consistently challenged by the tendency in Indonesia to view things through the lens of majoritarianism when it comes to religion. Her work is a welcome addition to the literature on pluralism and religious diversity in that discussions of pluralism in Indonesia overwhelmingly focus on Islam and how Islamic segments of society contribute to or hinder efforts at creating a more inclusive Indonesia."

Christopher Duncan, Rutgers University

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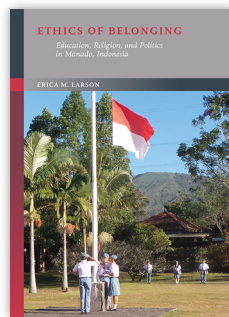
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Melayu, People, Place: Ethnohistories from the Riau-Lingga Islands, Indonesia

Vivienne Wee

Managing Director, Ethnographica Private Limited, Singapore.

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2026 : BM639

ISBN 9789815306217 (SC)

ISBN 9789815306224 (EBK)

forthcoming

Digital Disruptions: How Digital Technology has Changed Social and Cultural Life in Indonesia

forthcoming

Hui Yew-Foong, editor

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Ibnu Nadzir, editor

PhD Student, University College London, United Kingdom.

Ahmad Najib Burhani, editor

Visiting Senior Fellow, Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

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2026 : PIC310

ISBN 9789815306767 (SC)

ISBN 9789815306774 (EBK)

Social Welfare over the Life Course in Brunei Darussalam

forthcoming

Aris Ananta, editor

An Economist-Demographer and has been Professor at Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Indonesia since 1995.

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Assistant Professor, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS) and Director of the Centre for Advanced Research (CAre) at Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

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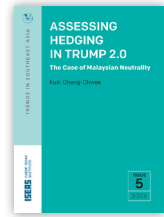
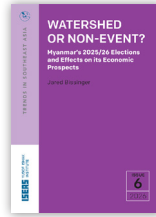
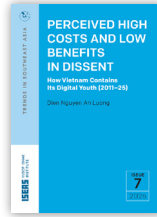
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Trina Fizzanty

Principal Researcher in Management of Innovation and R&D, National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), Jakarta.

The establishment of Indonesia's National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) in 2021 was intended to address issues related to Indonesia's research ecosystem. Officially, BRIN has three mandates: integrate research and innovation resources (human, infrastructure, budget); create an open (inclusive) and collaborative global standard research ecosystem; and establish the foundation for a strong and sustained research and innovation-based economy.

In its first two years, BRIN absorbed human resources from five research institutions (BPPT, BATAN, LAPAN, LIPI and the Ministry of Research and Technology) and researchers from more than forty research units in various ministries and other government institutions. Overall, BRIN now has around eleven thousand researchers and four thousand support staff.

However, only around Rp7 trillion from the expected Rp26 trillion of national research funds previously scattered in various research units or institutions and ministries were successfully allocated to BRIN's 2023 annual budget. Thus, government research funding shrank after the merger to about only 30 per cent of its pre-BRIN level.

2026 : 30 pp : TRS1/26

ISBN 9789815361346 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815361353 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



A Set of Trump Cards for Trump's Tariffs: Perspectives from Thailand

Bank Ngamarunchot

Director of the Science, Technology, and Innovation Policy Institute (STIPI) at King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi (KMUTT), Thailand.

The United States began imposing tariffs in February 2025, resulting in a clear 19 per cent reciprocal tariff rate for Thailand by August. In return, Thailand is obligated to eliminate tariffs on 99 per cent of US products imported into the country.

The US tariff will raise prices for Thai goods, consequently reducing US demand for them. But Thailand's zero tariff will have two-pronged effects. On the one hand, it will put pressure on Thai farmers and some local producers. On the other, it will lower costs for Thai manufacturers who use US raw materials, potentially boosting their cost competitiveness.

The tariffs imposed by the United States on other countries could partly offset the negative effects on Thailand and create opportunities for Thai exporters to expand their market share, particularly where competitors face higher tariff barriers.

Global competition will intensify as most countries seek non-US markets to offset lost sales. Crucially, the US-China conflict diverts cheap, high-volume Chinese goods into Thailand, harming local manufacturers and creating a severe transshipment risk that could lead to an additional 40 per cent tariff on Thai exports.

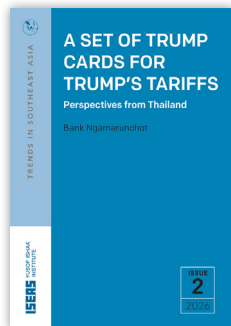
2026 : 24 pp : TRS2/26

ISBN 9789815361360 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815361377 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Decolonizing the North, Cracking the Federation: Inside PAS's History War (and Madani's Response)

Amrita Malhi

Visiting Fellow in the Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. She is a research affiliate at the Australian National University, and Murdoch and Flinders universities.

This report examines how the Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS) is converting its regional strength in the northern peninsular states into a new politics infused with a historical sensibility—a “Green Wave” that blends electoral strategy, cultural production and historical revisionism.

Through two detailed case studies—Sanusi Nor’s Penang claim and the film *Mat Kilau*—the report shows how PAS reframes local grievances within a racialized narrative that depicts itself as a decolonizing force and its opponents as colonial legatees. It leverages social media and popular culture to popularize this narrative, shifting the battlefield from electoral contests to national historical narratives where legitimacy and belonging are determined. Recent announcements suggest it will soon attempt to use the courts, too, to prosecute Sanusi’s Penang claim.

PAS’s strategy operates on three linked fronts: narrating economic and territorial grievances within a continuous “decolonial” storyline; converting cinematic and visual symbolism into widely circulated historical “knowledge”; and mobilizing claims developed by external fellow travellers to produce political action.

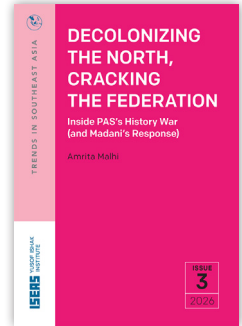
2026 : 30 pp : TRS3/26

ISBN 9789815361384 (SC)

\$9.00 (\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815361391 (EBK)

\$9.00 (\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Navigating the Hype: An Evaluation of Stablecoin Use Cases for Policy Development in Southeast Asia

David Lam

Visiting Fellow with the Regional Economic Studies Programme at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Stablecoins have generated significant enthusiasm through offering instant settlement, low costs and the promise of launching the “Web3” era. But they also present significant risks from illicit finance and financial and monetary instability.

To navigate between policies promoting stablecoin adoption and enacting strict regulations to mitigate their risks, it is imperative to evaluate the utility of actual stablecoin use cases in Southeast Asia.

None of the major stablecoin use cases analysed in this paper—trading and speculation, payments, and participating in the crypto ecosystem—provide a compelling justification for their widespread, unchecked adoption. Moreover, more attractive, regulatory-compliant alternatives exist, such as the QR-enabled instant payment systems widely adopted across Southeast Asia.

Given the limited productive use cases for stablecoins in the region, policymakers should err on the side of caution. Cautious stablecoin regulation could entail enacting strict rules pertaining to foreign issued stablecoins or limiting their adoption to parties with demonstrated productive utility from their use, such as professional investors.

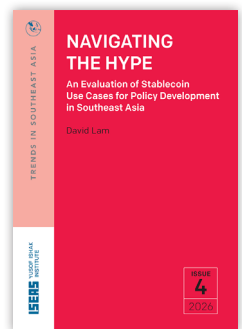
2026 : 24 pp : TRS4/26

ISBN 9789815361438 (SC)

\$9.00 (\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815361445 (EBK)

\$9.00 (\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Trends in Southeast Asia Series

Assessing Hedging in Trump 2.0: The Case of Malaysian Neutrality

Kuik Cheng-Chwee

Professor in International Relations, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), National University of Malaysia (UKM), and was a Visiting Senior Fellow at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute..

Malaysia's decades-long neutrality position is quintessentially a hedging policy, an insurance-seeking policy aimed at mitigating risks by not taking sides, while diversifying partnerships with all powers and cultivating fallback measures.

However, Malaysia's Agreement on Reciprocal Trade with the United States, signed in October 2025, entails "poison pill provisions" that may enable Washington to unilaterally terminate that position and prevent Malaysia from forging close ties with China. Some observers have asserted that, amidst the intensifying US-China rivalry and growing big-power pressure, Malaysian neutrality and small-state hedging is no longer possible.

Malaysian neutrality, as a typical form of small-state hedging, is active, inclusive and adaptive rather than passive, isolative and static. These longstanding features have played out with greater scope and scale under the Anwar Ibrahim administration. Anwar's charisma has coloured Malaysia's strategic neutrality, but the country's diplomatic disposition derives from multiple factors beyond the leader—specifically, historical reasons, structural logic and domestic fundamentals.

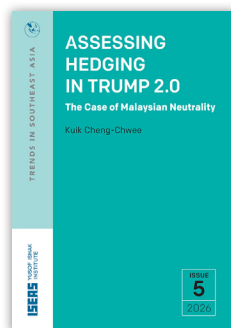
2026 : 24 pp : TRS5/26

ISBN 9789815361452 (SC)

ISBN 9789815361469 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Watershed or Non-event? Myanmar's 2025/26 Elections and Effects on its Economic Prospects

Jared Bissinger

Visiting Fellow with the Myanmar Studies Programme at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore and the Research Lead at Catalyst Economics.

Few economic actors see Myanmar's election as fundamentally changing the country's political situation. However, views on its potential economic effects are more nuanced. For economic actors, a scenario in which an election—however illegitimate—improves stability and predictability is preferable to a scenario in which Myanmar neither returns to democracy nor sees an improvement in stability.

Despite the lack of democratic credentials, Myanmar's election may provide a limited economic recovery. This could come from increased clarity about the configuration of power and the key people in decision-making roles, which could help some projects move forward. It could also be driven by increased support from allied countries such as China and Russia. Myanmar may also see new investment in some areas, including cut-make-pack garments and sectors reliant on state contracts, like power production.

Myanmar's election is, however, unlikely to transform the country's economy in the way the 2010 election did. Key constraints—including capital controls, foreign exchange requirements, trade licences, logistics, and electricity shortages—will likely remain, though some relaxations and improvements are possible. A large wave of FDI in internationally competitive sectors, capital-intensive sectors, and sectors with long payback periods is unlikely.

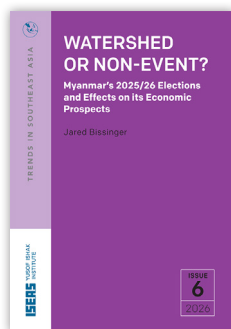
2026 : 24 pp : TRS6/26

ISBN 9789815361476 (SC)

ISBN 9789815361483 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Perceived High Costs and Low Benefits in Dissent: How Vietnam Contains Its Digital Youth (2011–25)

Dien Nguyen An Luong

Visiting Fellow at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Vietnam's youth appear politically quiescent despite possessing the same digital capacity, demographic weight and grievances that fuelled major youth-led protest waves across Southeast Asia. This paper argues that Vietnam's outlier status on this front reflects not apathy but a distinct incentive structure engineered by the state.

A cost-benefit lens best explains this divergence. Vietnam inflates the perceived costs of dissent through calibrated coercion that includes selective punishment, legal ambiguity and socially amplified deterrent signals, while simultaneously dampening the perceived benefits of protest via prosperity narratives, stability messaging and state-curated patriotic channels.

Calibrated coercion has evolved across three phases—signalling, system-building and socialization—to create a high, steady and predictable cost environment that deters mobilization long before collective action can emerge. Uncertainty and control parables magnify these effects, making the risks of dissent feel omnipresent.

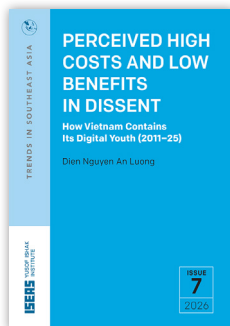
2026 : 34 pp : TRS7/26

ISBN 9789815361056 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815361490 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



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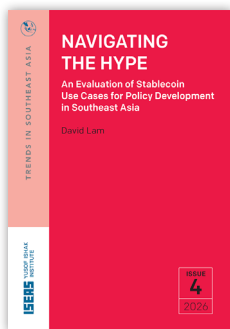
2026 : 24 pp : TRS4/26

ISBN 9789815361438 (SC)

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ISBN 9789815361445 (EBK)

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Trends in Southeast Asia Series

Youth and Civic Engagement in Southeast Asia: A Survey of Undergraduates in Six Countries

Norshahril Saat

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Lim Halimatusa'diyah

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, Deputy Director, Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM), and Senior Lecturer, Islamic State University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

Panarat Anamwathana

Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, and Lecturer, Thammasat University, Thailand.

Syaza Shukri

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, and Associate Professor, International Islamic University Malaysia.

Youths in Southeast Asia have been active in making their voices heard in politics and in society, both online and offline. However, comparative studies on their civic engagement across the region remain wanting.

This pilot study, conducted by the Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme (RSCS) at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, gathers insights from educated youths across selected Southeast Asian countries. Between August and October 2024, the team surveyed undergraduates from six Southeast Asian countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

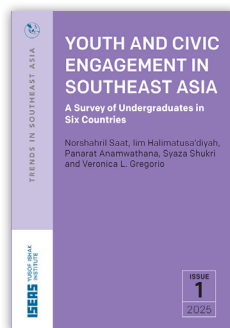
2025 : 75 pp : TRS1/25

ISBN 9789815306194 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306200 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Retelling the Tale of Two Democracies: How Shifting Urban-Rural Dynamics Shaped Thailand's 2023 General Election

Napon Jatusripitak

Visiting Fellow and Coordinator, Thailand Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

Thailand's 2023 general election reveals a political landscape undergoing significant transformation, where the traditional Bangkok-versus-countryside political dichotomy has given way to more nuanced urban-rural electoral dynamics unfolding within individual provinces and constituencies.

As urbanization spreads across Thailand, political candidates adapt their campaign strategies to appeal to voters across the urban-rural divide in their constituencies, leveraging the resources and competitive advantages that come with their party affiliation.

Parties with strong ideological stances and popular prime ministerial candidates who took clear positions on political reform performed better in urban constituencies than rural ones. Conversely, parties that specialized in candidate-centred, locally driven campaigns—including vote-canvassing networks—saw greater success in rural constituencies.

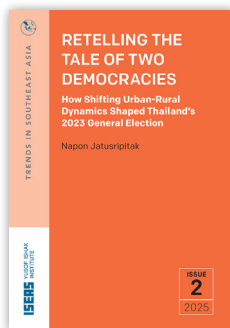
2025 : 36 pp : TRS2/25

ISBN 9789815306293 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306309 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



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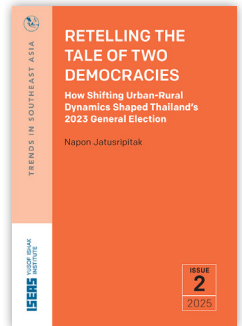
2025 : 36 pp : TRS2/25

ISBN 9789815306293 (SC)

\$9.00 (\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306309 (EBK)

\$9.00 (\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Indonesia's Political Volunteer Organizations: Tools of Mobilization and of Patronage

Made Supriatma

Visiting Fellow, Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The concept of political volunteerism in Indonesia differs markedly from that in established democracies. In Indonesia, it is less about civic engagement or strengthening democracy and more about serving as a tool for candidates to mobilize voters and win elections.

The relationship between candidates and their volunteers is reciprocal but often imbalanced, fostering opportunities for patronage within electoral politics.

Volunteers emerge from an electoral system requiring candidates to meet high thresholds to participate. In Indonesia's multiparty system, where most parties fail to meet these thresholds, coalition-building becomes essential as support for the singular candidate.

As a result, candidates often lack strong ties to a party or coalition. Volunteer groups, operating independently from party structures and directly under candidates' control, provide an alternative mechanism for voter mobilization.

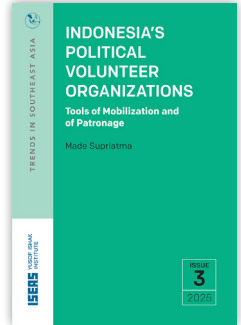
2025 : 30 pp : TRS3/25

ISBN 9789815306408 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306415 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Revolutionary Regimes: Emerging Forms of Governance in Post-Coup Myanmar

Ardeth Thawngmung

Professor of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Lowell.

Ashley South

Senior Research Fellow, Chiang Mai University, Centre for Ethnic Studies and Development.

A variety of governance forms have emerged in Myanmar's post-coup landscape, bringing together established Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) with dynamic new actors from a broad spectrum of elected lawmakers, youth, women and civil society in Myanmar's "Spring Revolution" against the 2021 coup and military rule.

Experiments with new forms of governance have had varying degrees of success, with wide swathes of territory across the country coming under the control of groups opposed to the State Administration Council (SAC). Governance in non-SAC areas ranges from union-level claims, through regional, township and village tract arrangements. We identify five main types of governance in non-SAC areas:

1. Direct EAO governance—generally an (often benign) one-party state, in the name of a specific ethnic group.
2. Emergent (post-coup) state or area-based governance with more inclusion of civilians and local minorities, in a specific area.
3. Transitional governance arrangements, moving from model 1 to model 2.
4. Local resistance administrations in non-EAO areas—often aligned with the National Unity Government.
5. Indigenous local governance—at organic village/community-level, but also radical initiatives such as the Salween Peace Park in northern Karen State.

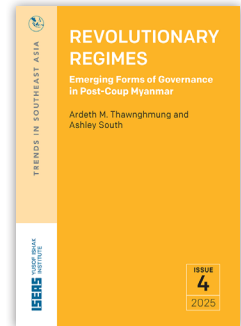
2025 : 26 pp : TRS4/25

ISBN 9789815306446 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306453 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Higher Education in Malaysia: A History Plagued by Fluctuations

Wan Chang Da

Former Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, and former Director of Malaysia's National Higher Education Research Institute (IPPTN).

Higher education has been a coveted policy domain in Malaysia. Political dynamics and shifting emphasis in policy not only shape the higher education system but hold deep implications for the institutional and educational life of universities.

The first four decades after independence saw the government tightening its control over universities and corporatizing and liberalizing the higher education sector before elevating the importance of higher education by establishing the Ministry of Higher Education in 2004.

However, since becoming a stand-alone ministry, the Ministry of Higher Education has twice oscillated between a merger with and separation from the Ministry of Education; this inevitably brought about organizational and governance confusion.

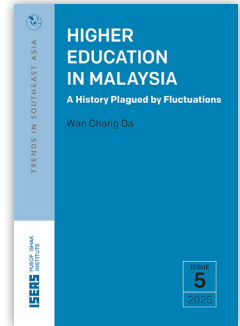
2025 : 27 pp : TRS5/25

ISBN 9789815306460 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306477 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Current Perspectives on Geopolitics among Southeast Asian Youths

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Eugene R. L. Tan

Research Officer, Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Youths are becoming an increasingly significant political force in Southeast Asian countries. As a collective, young Southeast Asians aged 18–35 have the potential to exert greater sway over their respective national foreign policymaking landscapes.

They will also occupy key positions in their respective countries and societies in the future; thus, understanding the views of young Southeast Asian opinion leaders on geopolitics can provide valuable insight into the future of foreign policymaking in the region.

Using mixed purposive and open sampling methods, this series of Focus Group Discussions engaged thirty-three youths from the ASEAN-6 countries—Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam—between September and October 2024. Semi-structured interview questions and polling methods were used, and the results were aggregated and comparisons made for all age groups found in *The State of Southeast Asia 2024* survey.

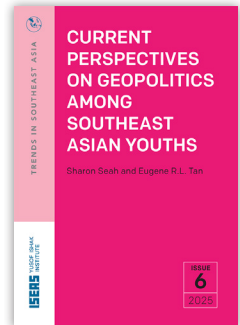
2025 : 46 pp : TRS6/25

ISBN 9789815306507 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306514 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Localization of the United States-China Rivalry: Cases from the Philippines

Aries A. Arugay

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Miguel Antonio V. Hermo

Graduate Student, Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines, Diliman.

Edcel John A. Ibarra

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines, Diliman.

Aletheia Kerygma B. Valenciano

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines, Diliman.

The intensified rivalry between the United States and China has put small states like the Philippines in a precarious position, given its relative importance in the regional geo-strategy of both big powers.

Since foreign and security policymaking tend to be formulated in a top-down manner, existing analyses have not paid sufficient attention to what extent this big-power competition has affected local political dynamics and local governance.

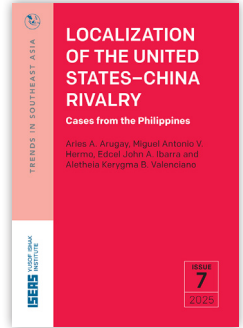
2025 : 68 pp : TRS7/25

ISBN 9789815306521 (SC)

\$9.00 (\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306538 (EBK)

\$9.00 (\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Striking While the Iron Is Hot: Sarawak and Federal-State Dynamics in Today's Malaysia

Francis E. Hutchinson

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Lee Poh Onn

Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Malaysia's federal system is asymmetric, as the East Malaysian territories of Sarawak and Sabah have more autonomy and prerogatives than their West Malaysian counterparts. This reflects their incorporation into the Malaysian Federation in 1963 and distinct ethnic and religious composition.

Despite this, many East Malaysians do not feel that their position within Malaysia has been beneficial. Because of their natural resource wealth, these states generate a substantial proportion of federal government revenue and yet suffer high rates of poverty and insufficient infrastructure investment.

Furthermore, since their inclusion into Malaysia, the federal government has gradually encroached on the rights and responsibilities initially accorded to the Sarawak and Sabah governments. This was enabled by Barisan Nasional's commanding majorities in parliament and strict control over component parties—including those from East Malaysia.

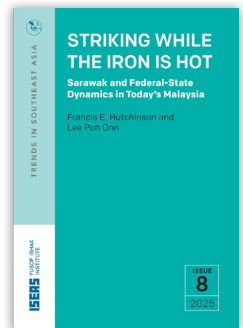
2025 : 54 pp : TRS8/25

ISBN 9789815306545 (SC)

\$9.00 (\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306552 (EBK)

\$9.00 (\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Economic Governance of Non-State Authorities in Myanmar: Potentials and Pitfalls

Jared Bissinger

Visiting Fellow, Myanmar Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, and Research Lead, Catalyst Economics.

Since Myanmar's 2021 military coup, the reach and influence of non-state authorities have spread considerably, providing them with greater scope to govern economic activity in parts of Myanmar.

Taxation is among non-state authorities' most widespread aspects of economic governance. Numerous groups rely on checkpoints and road tolls, with other common taxes covering natural resource extraction, agricultural production, and business activity. At least one non-state authority collects monthly household taxes, with higher rates for wealthier households.

Other forms of economic governance implemented by non-state authorities include land titling and regulation, business licensing, business registration, and infrastructure repair/development. Numerous groups have authority over aspects of trade, and some have either stated policies or informal engagement with foreign investors.

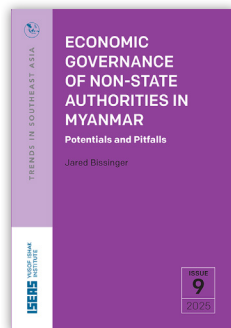
2025 : 29 pp : TRS9/25

ISBN 9789815306620 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306637 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Disinformation and Election Propaganda: Impact on Voter Perceptions and Behaviours in Indonesia's 2024 Presidential Election

Maria Monica Wihardja

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Burhanuddin Muhtadi

Professor of Political Science, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University.

Lee Sue-Ann

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme, and directs the Media, Technology and Society Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

This study analyses the impact of social media election campaigning, disinformation and election propaganda on voters' perceptions and behaviours in Indonesia's 2024 presidential election. It assesses the influence of social media platforms and chat messaging apps as sources of election-related information on voters and their level of trust in these mediums. The study also assesses how exposed and susceptible voters have been to various disinformation and election propaganda narratives.

Our findings affirm traditional sources of communication like television (TV) and direct conversations with friends and family as being among the top sources of election-related news. The social messaging platform WhatsApp ranked second across all demographic groups. Significantly, the youth segment (15–24 years old) showed markedly different consumption habits, citing TikTok as its topmost important source of election-related news, followed by WhatsApp, TV and Instagram.

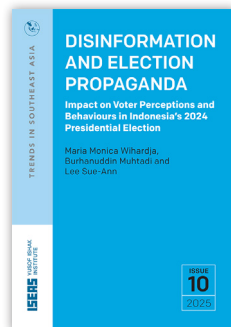
2025 : 49 pp : TRS10/25

ISBN 9789815306675 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306682 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



A Historical Note on Economic Reforms in Myanmar, 2006 to 2016

Lex Rieffel

A Retired US Treasury Department economist and Brookings Institution scholar who has been closely following Myanmar's economic development since 2005.

This historical note seeks to provide some markers for economists and policymakers interested in Myanmar's woeful experience over seven decades when it fell from being one of the most prosperous and promising countries in East Asia at the end of World War II to one of the poorest now.

The most encouraging period of economic progress after Burma's independence in 1948 was the decade of quasi-democratic governance under the Thein Sein administration from 2011 to 2016 and the National League for Democracy (NLD) administration (led by Aung San Suu Kyi) from 2016 to 2021. On 1 February 2021, a military coup plunged the country back into another chaotic period of civil strife and economic suffering, with no end in sight.

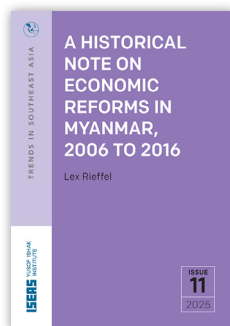
2025 : 57 pp : TRS11/25

ISBN 9789815306729 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306736 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Malaysia Chairs ASEAN at a Strategic Crossroads: Priorities, Opportunities and Challenges

Joanne Lin

Senior Fellow and Co-Coordinator, ASEAN Studies Centre, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Kristina Fong

Lead Researcher for Economics Affairs, ASEAN Studies Centre, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Melinda Martinus

Lead Researcher for Socio-Cultural Affairs, ASEAN Studies Centre, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Malaysia's ASEAN chairmanship in 2025, under the theme "Inclusivity and Sustainability", draws from the Madani concept and Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim's long-standing vision of an Asian renaissance. It reflects Malaysia's aspiration to promote a forward-looking, values-based leadership grounded in sustainability, inclusivity and regional solidarity.

Malaysia's chairmanship takes place amid heightened geopolitical volatility, including intensifying major power rivalry, ongoing tensions in the South China Sea, and the deepening political and humanitarian crisis in Myanmar. Malaysia is expected to lead with a more pragmatic and action-oriented approach to the South China Sea and more structured engagement with Myanmar's opposition groups and humanitarian actors, while managing ASEAN's internal divisions and external pressures.

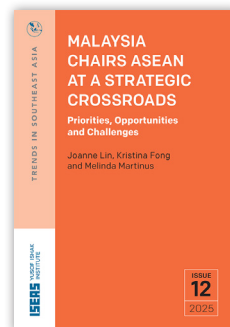
2025 : 37 pp : TRS12/25

ISBN 9789815306743 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306750 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Reviving UMNO: Party Institutionalization and Coalition Management in Selangor and Malacca

Tricia Yeoh

Associate Professor of Practice at the School of Politics and International Relations, University of Nottingham Malaysia, and Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Since Malaysia's independence in 1957 until 2018, the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) was the single dominant party in control of an authoritarian regime, having been the main party within the long-ruling National Front (Barisan Nasional, or BN). Since its fall from power in 2018, key events have reshaped its party structure, leadership and overall support. Today, it sits in a large-tent coalition at the federal level, is part of the state government in seven states, and of these, controls the position of chief minister in three.

Using the states of Malacca and Selangor as case studies, this paper examines UMNO's current state of leadership, how the PH-BN coalition is being managed and how this relationship is being communicated to the grassroots, and how these key elements contribute to the deinstitutionalization of the party.

2025 : 37 pp : TRS13/25

ISBN 9789815306835 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306842 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Nuclear Energy Developments in Southeast Asia

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Christopher Len

Visiting Senior Fellow and Co-Coordinator, Climate Change in Southeast Asia Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

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Senior Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore.

Southeast Asian countries are once again showing renewed interest in nuclear energy as a means to bolster energy security and meet decarbonization goals.

Countries in this region have been exploring the use of civilian nuclear energy since the late 1950s, but their commitment has fluctuated over the decades, influenced by factors such as government support for nuclear energy, and global nuclear events affecting public opinion.

The latest interest follows the revival of global interest in nuclear energy and progress in the development of advanced nuclear reactors as well as small modular reactors (SMRs). SMRs are regarded as a potential entry point for nations new to nuclear energy because of advantages such as lower upfront costs, enhanced safety, flexible power generation, and a less disruptive impact on existing electricity grids.

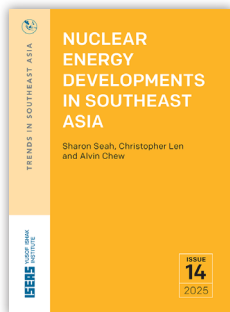
2025 : 25 pp : TRS14/25

ISBN 9789815306859 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306866 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Obstacles to Reform in Myanmar: Lessons from the Past, for a Better Future

Winston Set Aung

Former Deputy Minister, Ministry of Planning and Finance, Myanmar.

Myanmar experienced a decade of reforms from 2011 to 2021 under the administrations of the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) and the National League for Democracy (NLD). But policymakers in both administrations were often ill-prepared to push the economy to its potential, and they were hindered by a lack of resources and beset by obstacles at every turn. Challenges have persisted into the efforts of the current State Administration Council (SAC) military regime to administer the country after the 2021 coup.

Obstacles include bureaucratic inertia resisting reforms; lack of experience, exposure and technical knowledge; deep-rooted corruption; hasty decision-making to show strong leadership; and overconfident bureaucrats with narrow perspectives.

Past and present experiences of obstacles must transform into valuable lessons for the future. This requires acknowledging issues and obstacles, carefully analysing them to understand their origins, and implementing thoughtful reforms that address both symptoms and underlying causes.

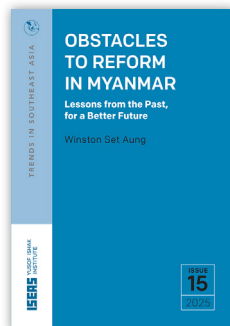
2025 : 32 pp : TRS15/25

ISBN 9789815306873 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306897 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Myanmar's Uncharted Territories: Pitfalls and Prospects in Emergent Forms of Governance

Ardeth Thawngmung

Professor of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Lowell.

Gwen Robinson

Editor-at-Large, Nikkei Asia, and Senior Fellow, Chulalongkorn University's Institute of Security and International Studies, Thailand.

An escalation of violence in Myanmar has led to a significant loss of territories by the Myanmar junta and reconfigured the country's political terrain. The territories can presently be characterized broadly into Junta-controlled areas with low resistance, junta-controlled areas with high resistance, active armed conflict areas, areas controlled by highly vulnerable non-state armed groups, areas controlled by non-state armed groups that are not as vulnerable, and border areas sheltering internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees.

Each of these are evolving on a weekly or monthly basis, igniting both optimistic and pessimistic responses from Myanmar civilians and policy/scholar communities.

Negative concerns originated from the proliferation of armed actors and a growing conflict among non-state armed actors and inter- and intra-communal hostilities, while positive responses are drawn from emerging bottom-up local governing practices.

The SAC has various options. It can intensify repression, it can divide and rule, or it can negotiate settlements on the terms set by the National Unity Government (NUG) and its coalition partners. Any of these could perpetuate the status quo or lead to negotiations that may either revert to civil war or result in further negotiations for "federal democracy".

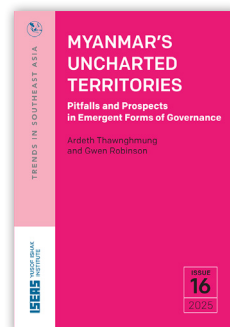
2025 : 26 pp : TRS16/25

ISBN 9789815306880 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306903 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Youth Perceptions of Income Inequality in Six Southeast Asian Countries

Im Halimatusa'diyah

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, Deputy Director, Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM), and Senior Lecturer, Islamic State University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

Syaza Shukri

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, and Associate Professor, International Islamic University Malaysia.

While much research has explored how perceptions of income inequality influence political outcomes—such as political participation, behaviour, and support for democracy—less attention has been given to how a country's economic and political conditions shape these perceptions. This article argues that economic outlook and political stability play a crucial role in shaping how youths perceive income inequality.

A youth and civic engagement survey conducted by the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute between August and October 2024 found that Indonesian, Filipino and Thai youths are the most pessimistic about the economic prospects and political conditions of their countries. This bleak outlook aligns closely with their negative perceptions of income inequality.

In contrast, youths in Singapore and Vietnam exhibit higher levels of optimism, underpinned by the strong economic growth and political stability of their countries. These favourable conditions, in turn, contribute to more positive perceptions of fairness in wealth distribution in their respective countries.

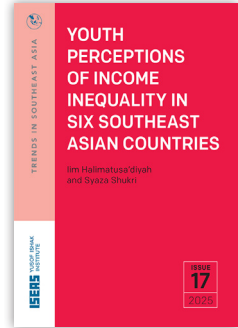
2025 : 30 pp : TRS17/25

ISBN 9789815306910 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306927 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



The Democratic Action Party at Sixty: Struggles over Seniority, Structure, and Strategy

Francis E Hutchinson

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Traditionally an opposition outfit, the Democratic Action Party (DAP) has evolved to become a mainstream operation. A consequential player in Malaysian politics, it now has forty members of parliament and ninety state assembly representatives.

Because of its cadre-based structure, the DAP usually has orderly party elections. Nonetheless, foundational issues have caused some disagreements to bubble to the surface—most recently at the 2025 National Party Congress.

The first is the managing of generational change and the fostering of greater inclusiveness. Senior leaders are retiring, not always willingly; and while the party is multiracial in outlook, it has struggled to diversify its leadership.

The second stems from it evolving from having a small group structure into a larger and more complex organization. No longer a uniquely nationally focused party, the DAP's leaders are increasingly nourishing support bases at the state level—shifting power within the party structure outwards and downwards.

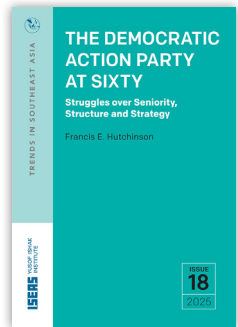
2025 : 31 pp : TRS18/25

ISBN 9789815306934 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306941 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Nahdlatul Ulama and its Political Engagement with Indonesian Presidents

A'an Suryana

Visiting Senior Fellow, Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme (RSCS), ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, and Lecturer, Political Science, Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia (UIII), Depok, Indonesia.

Since Indonesia adopted a direct presidential election in 2004, which applies a one-man, one-vote system, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the country's largest Muslim organization, has played an increasingly significant role in elections.

Candidates actively develop ties with the organization's leaders and vast voter base to improve their chances of winning elections.

Factors driving the political engagement between Indonesia's presidents and NU are arguably contingent on the dynamics of the existing political situation. Whereas material or transactional factors defined the political engagement between NU and presidents Soeharto, Megawati Soekarnoputri and Prabowo Subianto, the relationships were driven mainly by ideological factors under the administrations of Soekarno and Joko Widodo.

This article seeks to trace, albeit briefly, the political engagement between Indonesia's presidents and NU throughout the presidencies of Soekarno to Prabowo Subianto. This longitudinal research seeks to give readers a more comprehensive understanding of NU's political engagement with different presidents throughout Indonesia's history.

2025 : 26 pp : TRS19/25

ISBN 9789815306958 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815306965 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Re-Examining the Five-Point Consensus and ASEAN's Response to the Myanmar Crisis

Tang Siew Mun

Senior Fellow, Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The Five-Point Consensus (5PC) encapsulates ASEAN's response to the Myanmar crisis precipitated by the military's seizure of power on 1 February 2021.

As criticism about the effectiveness of ASEAN continue to mount, the current chair of the association has proposed the appointment of a "permanent" special envoy by extending its term beyond one year. In addition to revisiting its tenure, ASEAN should also consider providing the special envoy with the necessary political backing, adequate funding and efficient administrative support. More importantly, ASEAN needs to expand its mandate from an exclusive focus on conflict management to conflict resolution.

Notwithstanding valid criticisms of the 5PC, it remains a significant development as the singular ASEAN document agreed upon by all the ASEAN Leaders, including the concurrence of Myanmar's Senior General Min Aung Hlaing.

The 5PC is by no means a perfect framework. It lacks a clear "end game" beyond the advocacy for dialogue. From a strategic perspective, ASEAN made few attempts to leverage on "carrots and sticks" and relied heavily on persuading a disinterested Myanmar leadership on the implementation of the 5PC. The ability of the AHA Centre (ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on disaster management) to deliver humanitarian assistance to Myanmar is constrained by its limited resources.

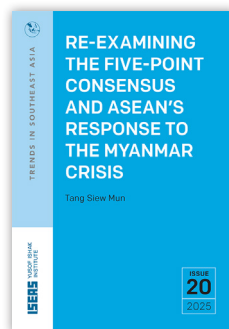
2025 : 25 pp : TRS20/25

ISBN 9789815361018 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815361025 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Malaysia's Fatwa Institution: Reform or Relic?

Mohd Faizal Musa

Visiting Senior Fellow, Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, and Research Fellow, Institute of Malay World and Civilization (ATMA), National University of Malaysia (UKM).

Educational trajectories, jurisprudential affiliations and political interests decisively influence the outlooks of individual muftis, often provoking debates and controversies within society.

Personal experiences and religious leanings of muftis shape fatwas, and these are subject to critique, sometimes eroding public confidence in both the mufti and the fatwa institution. Sustaining legitimacy requires self-reflection and forward-looking reinterpretation.

More studies are needed that examine both past and present muftis, focusing on their backgrounds, political affiliations, theological orientations, contributions to Islamic development, and the structural or situational constraints that circumscribe their authority.

Comparative analysis of six states reveals distinct orientations: Perlis with its Ahlus Sunnah identity, Perak with monarchy-linked traditionalism, Sabah with relative independence, and urban centres like Selangor, Penang and the Federal Territories, where multi-religious contexts might demand flexibility but remain tethered to conventional training.

Despite perceptions of conservatism, muftis can develop context-sensitive jurisprudence, as illustrated by the Mufti of Sabah's Fiqh Sabahi. The trajectory of Islamic development in Malaysia hinges on the adaptability and willingness of the mufti institution to transcend rigid traditionalism.

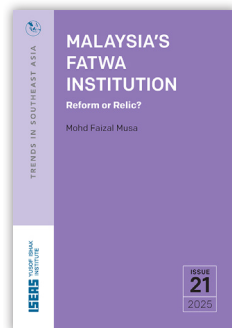
2025 : 35 pp : TRS21/25

ISBN 9789815361285 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815361292 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Batam After Covid: Cross-Border Business as Usual?

Siwage Dharma Negara

Senior Fellow, Regional Economic Studies Programme, Co-coordinator of the Indonesia Studies Programme and Coordinator of the Singapore APEC Study Centre, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Francis E. Hutchinson

Senior Fellow, Regional Economic Studies Programme and Coordinator of the Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Originally established to capture investment spillovers from Singapore, the neighbouring island of Batam has grown into one of Indonesia's key manufacturing-for-export hubs.

Over the past thirty years, Batam's economy has undergone a structural transformation, and it now houses clusters of electrical and electronics firms, large-scale shipyards, and a wide array of tourism and business travel operators.

Involvement by the central government in Batam's economic management has undeniably aided this rapid development. But it has also entailed some complications, such as frequent leadership changes, overlapping incentive regimes, and competition between central and local government agencies.

The last few years have tested Batam's economic model. Its electronics and shipbuilding sectors have been through deep slumps, and the Covid pandemic eviscerated its tourism industry. These challenges coincided with a period of rapid leadership changes in key agencies, but little attention was being paid to the island's underlying challenges.

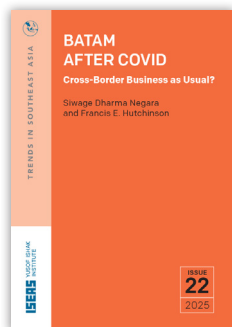
2025 : 44 pp : TRS22/25

ISBN 9789815361308 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

ISBN 9789815361315 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00



Vietnam's New Industrial Policy Under To Lam

Nguyen Khac Giang

Visiting Fellow, Vietnam Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Vietnam's industrial policy has passed through three phases since the adoption of Doi Moi in 1986: liberalization with ownership bias (1986–2010), failed state-led industrialization (2000s–2010), and strategic neglect (2011–24). Each phase was marked by fragmented implementation and achieved only limited progress in structural industrial transformation.

The rise of To Lam as general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) in 2024 marks a potential inflection point—namely, the introduction of Vietnam's most comprehensive industrial policy framework to date through institutional restructuring, ownership-neutral incentives and targeted sectoral investments.

To Lam's strategy concentrates on eleven high-tech domains and, for the first time, recognizes the private sector as the economy's "one most important force". It seeks to balance attracting major foreign investors such as Samsung and Intel with cultivating domestic "champions" like Viettel, Vingroup and FPT.

Vietnam's new industrial toolkit emphasizes domestic instruments—such as tax reform, R&D incentives and procurement preferences—over traditional border measures, reflecting both trade commitments and lessons from past failures.

The strategy confronts formidable constraints, including bureaucratic rent-seeking, weak human capital, energy and infrastructure gaps, persistent FDI enclave dynamics, and shrinking policy space under trade agreements.

Success hinges on managing three interlocking tensions: reconciling opposing ideologies (socialist orientation versus market mechanisms), balancing temporal horizons (current FDI dependence versus future domestic capability) and managing geopolitical pressures (integration with global value chains versus national strategic autonomy).

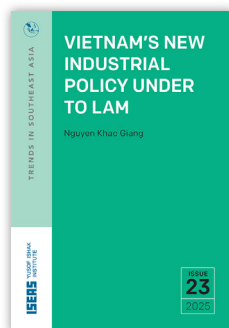
2025 : 40 pp : TRS23/25

ISBN 9789815361322 (SC)

ISBN 9789815361339 (EBK)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00

S\$9.00 (S\$9.81)/US\$7.00





The ASEAN Studies Centre is devoted to research on issues that pertain to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as an institution and a process. Through research, conferences, consultations, and publications, the Centre seeks to illuminate ways of promoting ASEAN's purposes of political solidarity, economic integration and regional cooperation, and finding pragmatic solutions to the challenges on the path to achieving this. The Centre conducts studies and provides inputs and ideas to ASEAN member states and the ASEAN Secretariat on issues and events that call for collective ASEAN actions and responses, especially those pertinent to building the ASEAN Community.

The Mango Flavour: India and ASEAN After a Decade of the Act East Policy

new

Gurjit Singh

Former Ambassador of India to Indonesia, Timor-Leste and ASEAN

"This book captures the essence of India-ASEAN partnership and reflects the values Ambassador Singh has long championed—dialogue, mutual respect and a commitment to peace and shared prosperity. I am confident that readers will find valuable insights and enduring lessons from one of India's foremost diplomatic voices in these pages."

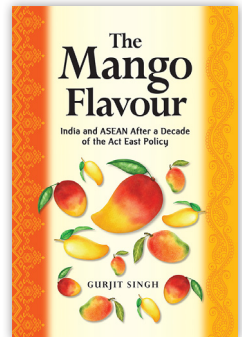
*Dato Erywan Pehin Yusof, Second Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Brunei Darussalam*

"Ambassador Gurjit Singh was India's Ambassador to ASEAN during my tenure as ASEAN Secretary General. This book provides a profound insight into how the India-ASEAN relationship has evolved and how it may further develop in the new phase of a comprehensive strategic partnership."

Lê Luong Minh, Former ASEAN Secretary General (2013–17)

"Ambassador Gurjit Singh has written an accessible and analytical account of the India-ASEAN relationship and its recent evolution. With his personal experience of shepherding this relationship, which has the potential to be one of India's most significant external engagements, his account and insights deserve a close reading. This is a book that I would highly recommend to all those interested in the course of this rapidly evolving and increasingly significant part of the world."

Shankar Menon, Former National Security Advisor of India



2025 : 284 pp : ASC18

ISBN 9789815203981 (SC)

ISBN 9789815203998 (EBK)

S\$35.90 (S\$39.13)/US\$29.90

S\$29.00 (S\$31.61)/US\$24.00

Energy and Decarbonization in Southeast Asia, volume 2

Mirza Sadaqat Huda, editor

Lead Researcher, Climate Change in Southeast Asia Programme (CCSEAP), ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Sharon Seah, editor

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Climate Change in Southeast Asia Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Qiu Jiahui, editor

Research Officer, Climate Change in Southeast Asia Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

“Southeast Asia is poised to play a pivotal role in global energy decarbonization, driven by its rapidly expanding economies and growing populations. However, the region remains heavily reliant on fossil fuels to meet its energy demand. Energy and Decarbonization in Southeast Asia delves into the critical research topics shaping the region’s path towards sustainable energy transformation. From regional interconnectivity via the ASEAN Power Grid to advancements in solar and wind energy, carbon capture and storage, low-carbon hydrogen, and green financing, this book provides a comprehensive exploration of innovative strategies and pressing challenges. Featuring contemporary case studies across three key themes—socio-economic and environmental challenges, technological and political pathways, and strategies to foster regional cooperation—this volume offers actionable insights for Southeast Asian policymakers, researchers and practitioners. By addressing fundamental questions surrounding the region’s evolving climate priorities, the authors present a forward-looking analysis of the energy sector’s transition and its implications for the future.”

Beni Suryadi, Acting Executive Director, ASEAN Centre for Energy

“The volume captures very important political and economic nuances involved in transitioning from a heavy dependence on fossil fuels to renewable energy, resource nationalism and the challenges involved in driving decisions to carry out cross-border trade between countries, and the importance of understanding the role of energy financing in promoting the mitigation of greenhouse gases in Southeast Asia. An indispensable collection of articles for readers to quickly grasp many important energy issues all in one compendium.”

Lee Poh Onn, Senior Fellow with the Regional Economic Studies Programme and Malaysia Studies Programme at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

“This compendium presents a detailed examination of decarbonization topics relevant to Southeast Asia, offering insights into the region’s energy transition.”

Thang Nam Do, Fellow in the Zero-Carbon Energy for Asia-Pacific Grand Challenge Program; the Resources, Environment and Development Program, Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University, Canberra.

2025 : 259 : ASC19

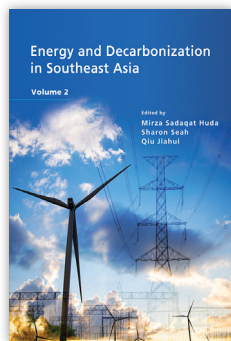
ISBN 9789815306019 (SC)

ISBN 9789815306026 (EBK)

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Transitioning to Climate Resilient and Decarbonized Agrifood Systems in Southeast Asia

forthcoming

Elyssa Kaur Ludher

Visiting Fellow in the Climate Change in Southeast Asia Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute..

Qiu Jiahui

Research Officer in the Climate Change in Southeast Asia Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute..

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3. Assessing the Effectiveness of Raising Backyard Chickens as a Household Food Waste Management Strategy in Indonesia: A Quantitative and Qualitative Study *by Atika Salma Dahlan*
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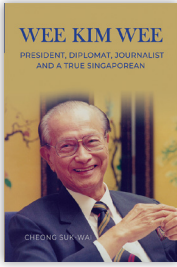
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2026 : ASC20

ISBN 9789815361254 (SC)

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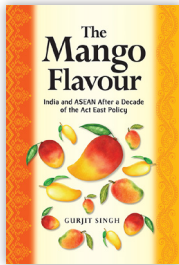
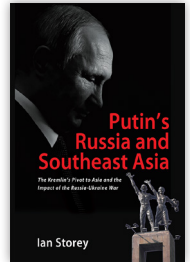


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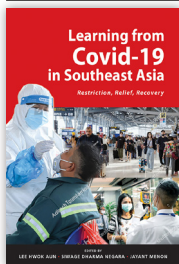
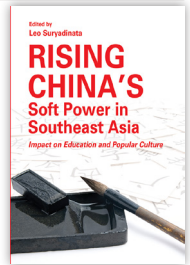


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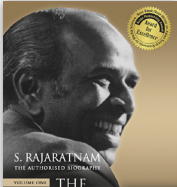
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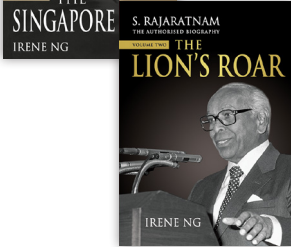
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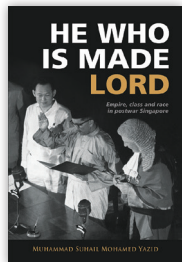
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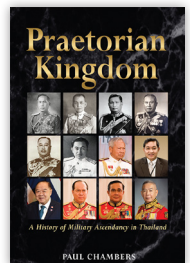


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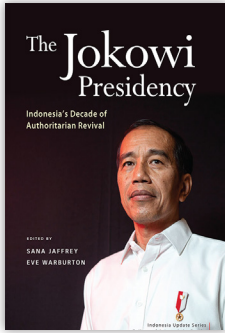
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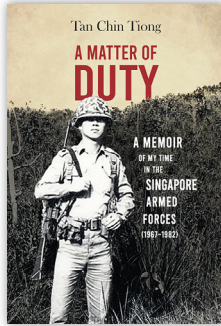
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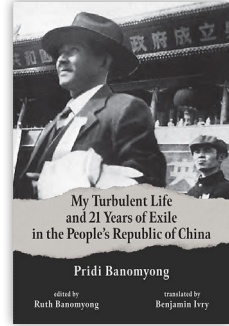
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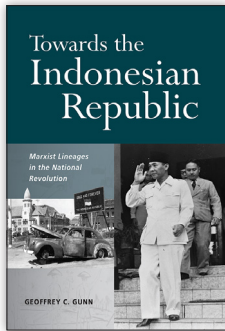
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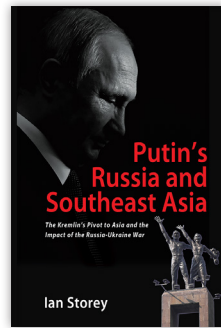
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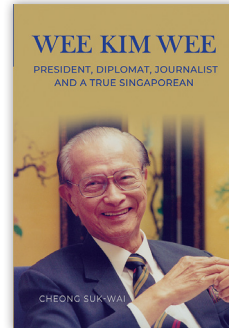
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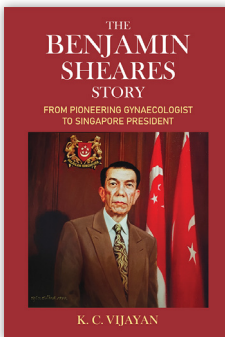
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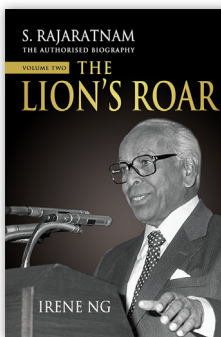
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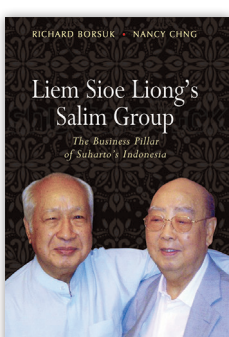
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