



ROUTLEDGE
Routledge in ASIA

NEW EDITION

MICHAEL
LEIFER

Dictionary of the
Modern Politics
of SOUTH-EAST ASIA

ROUTLEDGE



Dictionary of the Modern Politics of South-East Asia

Michael Leifer



London and New York

First published in 1995
by Routledge
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

This paperback edition first published in 1996

Routledge is an International Thomson Publishing company

© 1995, 1996 Michael Leifer

Phototypeset in Palatino by
Intype London Ltd

Printed on acid-free paper

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
TJ Press (Padstow) Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Leifer, Michael.

Dictionary of the modern politics of South-East Asia / Michael
Leifer. — New ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

(pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Asia, Southeastern—Politics and government—1945—

—Dictionaries. I. Title.

DS526.7.L45 1996

959.05'3—dc20 96-11509

ISBN 0-415-13821-3

Contents

Introduction	1	APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) 1989- (Brunei/Indonesia/Malaysia/Philippines/Singapore/Thailand)	52
Brunei, Sultanate of	3	Aquino, Benigno (Philippines)	53
Burma/Myanmar	7	Aquino, Corazón (Philippines)	54
Cambodia, Kingdom of	11	Archipelago Declaration 1957 (Indonesia)	54
Indonesia, Republic of	17	ARF (Brunei/Cambodia/Indonesia/Laos/Malaysia/Philippines/Singapore/Vietnam/Thailand) <i>see</i> ASEAN Regional Forum 1994-	
Laos, People's Democratic Republic of	21	Arthit, General Kamlang-Ek (Thailand)	54
Malaysia, Federation of	23	ASA (Association of South-East Asia) 1961-7 (Malaya/Philippines/Thailand)	55
Philippines, Republic of	27	ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations) 1967- (Brunei/Indonesia/Malaysia/Philippines/Singapore/Thailand/Vietnam)	55
Singapore, Republic of	31	ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) 1994- (Brunei/Cambodia/Indonesia/Laos/Malaysia/Philippines/Singapore/Thailand/Vietnam)	57
Thailand, Kingdom of	35	Asian-African Conference, Bandung 1955 (Indonesia)	57
Vietnam, Socialist Republic of	39	Asri, Datuk Mohamad Muda (Malaya/Malaysia)	58
<i>Abangan</i> (Indonesia)	43	Association of Muslim Intellectuals (Indonesia) <i>see</i> ICMI	
ABIM (Malaysia)	43	August Revolution 1945 (Vietnam)	58
ABRI (Indonesia)	43	Aung San (Burma/Myanmar)	59
Abu Sayyaf (Philippines)	44	Aung San Suu Kyi (Burma/Myanmar)	60
Aceh Independence Movement (Indonesia)	45	Azahari, A. M. (Brunei)	60
AFTA (Association of South-East Asian Nations Free Trade Area) 1993- (Brunei/Indonesia/Malaysia/Philippines/Singapore/Thailand/Vietnam)	45	Badawi, Abdullah Ahmad (Malaysia)	62
<i>Al-Arqam</i> (Malaysia)	46	BAKORSTANAS (Indonesia)	62
Alatas, Ali (Indonesia)	47	Bali Summit (ASEAN) 1976 (Indonesia/Malaysia/Philippines/Singapore/Thailand)	62
Alex Boncayao Brigade (Philippines)	47	Baling Talks 1955 (Malaya)	63
<i>Aliran</i> (Malaysia)	48	Ban Me Thuot Offensive 1975 (Vietnam)	63
All-Malaya Council of Joint Action (Malaya)	48	Bandung Conference 1955 <i>see</i>	
Alliance Party (Malaya/Malaysia)	48		
Anand Panyarachun (Thailand)	49		
Ananda Mahidol, King (Thailand)	49		
<i>Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia</i> (Malaysia) <i>see</i> ABIM			
<i>Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah</i> (Malaysia)	50		
Anglo-Malayan/Malaysian Defence Agreement 1957-71 (Malaya/Malaysia/Singapore)	50		
Anh, Le Duc (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Le Duc Anh			
Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) (Burma/Myanmar)	50		
Anwar Ibrahim (Malaysia)	51		
ANZAM (Malaya)	52		

Asian-African Conference, Bandung 1955		Chatichai Choonhavan, General (Thailand)	80
Bangkok Declaration (ASEAN) 1967 (Indonesia/Malaysia/Philippines/ Singapore/Thailand)	63	Chavalit Yongchaiyuth, General (Thailand)	80
Bangkok Summit (ASEAN) 1995 (Brunei/Burma/Cambodia/ Indonesia/Laos/ Malaysia/ Philippines/Singapore/Thailand/ Vietnam)	64	Chea Sim (Cambodia)	81
Banharn Silpa-archa (Thailand)	64	Chiam See Tong (Singapore)	81
Bank Bumiputera Crisis (Malaysia)	64	Chin (Burma/Myanmar)	82
Bao Dai, Emperor (Vietnam)	65	Chin Peng (Malaya/Malaysia)	82
<i>Barisan Nasional</i> (Malaysia)	65	Chinh, Truong (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Truong Chinh	
<i>Barisan Sosialis</i> (Singapore)	66	Christmas Bombing 1972 (Vietnam)	83
<i>Barisan Tiga</i> (Malaysia/Sarawak)	67	Chuan Leekpai (Thailand)	83
<i>Bayan</i> (Philippines)	67	Clark Air Base (Philippines)	84
<i>Berjasa</i> (Malaysia)	67	Cobbold Commission 1962 (Malaysia)	84
<i>Berjaya</i> (Malaysia/Sabah)	68	Cobra Gold Military Exercises (Thailand)	84
Bhumibol Adulyadej, King (Thailand)	68	Collective Security in Asia: Soviet Proposal 1969	85
Boat People (Vietnam)	70	Commonwealth Strategic Reserve (Malaya/Malaysia)	85
Bolkiah, Prince Mohamed (Brunei)	70	Communism in South-East Asia	85
Bolkiah, Sultan Hassanah (Brunei)	71	Confrontation (Indonesia/Malaysia)	89
Brevié Line (Cambodia/Vietnam)	71	Constitutional Crises (Malaysia)	89
Brunei Revolt 1962 (Brunei)	71	Contemplacion, Flor: Hanging 1995 (Philippines/Singapore)	90
Buddhism (Burma/Cambodia/Laos/ Thailand/Vietnam)	72	Corregidor Affair 1968 (Philippines)	91
Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party (Cambodia)	72	Crocodile Hole (<i>Lubang Buaya</i>) (Indonesia)	92
<i>Bumiputera</i> (Malaysia)	73	Daim Zainuddin, Tun (Malaysia)	93
Burhanuddin Al-Helmy (Malaya/ Malaysia)	73	<i>Dakwah</i> (Malaysia)	93
Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) (Burma/Myanmar)	74	<i>Darul Arqam</i> (Malaysia) <i>see</i> <i>Al-Arqam</i> <i>Darul Islam</i> (Indonesia)	93
Burmese Way to Socialism (Burma/ Myanmar)	74	Declaration of ASEAN Concord 1976 (Indonesia/Malaysia/Philippines/ Singapore/Thailand)	94
Buy British Last Policy (Malaysia)	75	Declaration on the South China Sea (ASEAN) 1992 (Brunei/Indonesia/ Malaysia/Philippines/Singapore/ Thailand)	94
Cam, Nguyen Manh (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Nguyen Manh Cam		Democracy Forum (Indonesia) <i>see</i> <i>Forum Demokrasi</i>	
Cam Ranh Bay (Vietnam)	77	Democrat Party (Thailand)	95
Cambodian People's Party (CPP) (Cambodia)	77	Democratic Action Party (DAP) (Malaysia)	95
<i>Cao Dai</i> (Vietnam)	78	Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia)	96
Cham (Cambodia/Vietnam)	78	Democratic Kampuchea, Coalition Government of, (CGDK) 1982-90 (Cambodia)	96
Chamlong Srimuang, General (Thailand)	78	Democratic Soldiers (Thailand)	97
Chang Shee-fu (Burma/Myanmar) <i>see</i> Khun Sa			
Chart Thai Party (Thailand)	79		

<i>Demokrasi Terpimpin</i> (Indonesia) <i>see</i> Guided Democracy		Harris Mohamad Salleh, Datuk (Malaysia/Sabah)	117
Dhanabalan, Suppiah (Singapore)	98	Hatta, Mohammad (Indonesia)	118
Diem, Ngo Dinh (Vietnam)	98	Heng Samrin (Cambodia)	118
Dien Bien Phu, Battle of, 1954 (Vietnam)	99	Hertogh, Maria: Riots 1950 (Singapore)	119
Do Muoi (Vietnam)	99	Herzog Affair 1986 (Singapore)	119
<i>Doi Moi</i> (Vietnam)	100	Hmong (Laos)	119
Domino Theory (Cambodia/Laos/ Vietnam)	100	Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam)	120
Dong, Pham Van (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Pham Van Dong		Ho Chi Minh Trail (Vietnam)	120
Duan, Le (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Le Duan		Hoa Hao (Vietnam)	121
<i>Dwi Fungs</i> i (Indonesia)	101	Horsburgh Lighthouse (Malaysia/ Singapore)	121
East Asian Economic Caucus (Malaysia)	102	<i>Hukbalahap</i> Movement (Philippines)	122
East Timor (Indonesia) <i>see</i> Timor, East		Hun Sen (Cambodia)	122
EDSA (Epifanio de los Santos Avenue) (Philippines)	102	Hussein Onn, Tun (Malaysia)	123
Elysée Agreement 1949 (Vietnam)	103	ICMI (Indonesia)	124
Emergency 1948-60 (Malaya)	103	Ieng Sary (Cambodia)	124
Enrile, Juan Ponce (Philippines)	103	Independence of Malaya Party (IMP) (Malaya)	125
Estrada, Joseph (Philippines)	104	Indochina Wars (Cambodia/Laos/ Vietnam)	125
Five Power Defence Arrangements 1971- (Malaysia/Singapore)	106	Indo-Chinese People's Conference 1970 (Cambodia/Laos/Vietnam)	128
<i>Forum Demokrasi</i> (Indonesia)	106	International Conference on Cambodia, New York 1981 (Cambodia)	128
Free Papua Movement (Indonesia)	107	International Conference on Cambodia, Paris 1989 (Cambodia)	129
<i>Fretilin</i> (Indonesia)	107	International Conference on Cambodia, Paris 1991 (Cambodia)	129
Fuad, Tun Mohammad (Donald Stephens) (Malaysia/Sabah)	108	Irian Jaya (Indonesia)	130
FUNCINPEC (Cambodia)	108	Islam (Brunei/Burma/Cambodia/ Indonesia/Malaysia/Philippines/ Singapore/Thailand)	131
Geneva Agreements on Indochina 1954 (Cambodia/Laos/Vietnam)	110	Islamic Youth Movement (Malaysia) <i>see</i> ABIM	
Geneva Agreements on Laos 1962 (Laos)	111	Jakarta Conference on Cambodia 1970 (Cambodia/Indonesia)	135
<i>Gerakan Ra'ayat Malaysia</i> (Malaysia)	112	Jayakumar, Professor S. (Singapore)	135
<i>Gestapu</i> (Indonesia)	112	Jeyaretnam, J. B. (Singapore)	135
Ghafar Baba, Tun Abdul (Malaysia)	113	Johor, Strait of (Malaysia/Singapore)	136
Ghazali Shafie, Tan Sri Mohamad (Malaysia)	113	Kachin (Burma/Myanmar)	137
Giap, General Vo Nguyen (Vietnam)	114	Kampuchea, People's Republic of, (PRK) (Cambodia)	137
Goh Chok Tong (Singapore)	114	Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) (Cambodia)	138
Goh Keng Swee (Singapore)	115	Karen (Burma/Myanmar)	138
<i>Golkar</i> (Indonesia)	115		
Guided Democracy (Indonesia)	116		
Gulf of Tonkin Incident 1964 (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Tonkin Gulf Incident			
Habibie, Dr B. J. (Indonesia)	117		

viii Contents

Kasem S. Kasemsri (Thailand)	139	Le Duc Tho (Vietnam)	151
Kaysone Phomvihana (Laos)	139	Lee Hsien Loong (Singapore)	152
<i>Ketahanan Nasional</i> (Indonesia) <i>see</i> National Resilience		Lee Kuan Yew (Singapore)	152
Khamtay Siphandon (Laos)	140	Liberal Party (Philippines)	154
Khieu Samphan (Cambodia)	140	Lim Kit Siang (Malaysia)	155
Khin Nyunt (Burma/Myanmar)	141	Lim Yew Hock (Malaysia/Singapore)	155
Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) (Cambodia)	142	Limbang Claim (Brunei/Malaysia)	155
Khmer Republic (Cambodia)	142	Linh, Nguyen Van (Vietnam)	156
Khmer Rouge (Cambodia)	142	Loi Tack (Malaya)	156
Khun Sa (Burma/Myanmar)	143	Lon Nol (Cambodia) <i>see</i> Nol, Lon	
Kiet, Vo Van (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Vo Van Kiet		<i>Lubang Buaya</i> (Indonesia) <i>see</i> Crocodile Hole	
<i>Kilusang Bagong Lipunan</i> (Philippines) <i>see</i> New Society Movement		Macapagal, Diosdado (Philippines)	157
<i>Kit Sangkhom</i> (Thailand) <i>see</i> Social Action Party		Madiun Revolt 1948 (Indonesia)	157
Kitingan, Datuk Joseph Pairin (Malaysia/Sabah)	144	Magsaysay, Ramón (Philippines)	158
<i>Konfrontasi</i> (Indonesia/Malaysia) <i>see</i> Confrontation		Mahathir Mohamad, Datuk Sri Dr (Malaysia)	158
Kong Le, Captain (Laos)	145	Malacca Strait (Indonesia/Malaysia/ Singapore)	159
KOPKAMTIB (Indonesia)	145	<i>Malari</i> Affair 1974 (Indonesia)	160
Kriangsak Chomanan, General (Thailand)	146	Malayan Democratic Union (Malaya/ Singapore)	161
Kuala Lumpur Declaration 1971 (Indonesia/Malaysia/Philippines/ Singapore/Thailand)	146	Malayan Union Proposal 1946 (Malaya)	161
Kuala Lumpur Summit (ASEAN) 1977 (Indonesia/Malaysia/Philippines/ Singapore/Thailand)	147	Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) (Malaya/Malaysia)	161
Kuantan Statement 1980 (Indonesia/ Malaysia)	147	Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) (Malaya/Malaysia)	162
Kukrit Pramoj (Thailand)	148	Malik, Adam (Indonesia)	163
<i>Kwam Wang Mai</i> (Thailand) <i>see</i> New Aspiration Party		Manglapus, Raul (Philippines)	163
<i>Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino</i> (LDP) (Philippines)	149	Manila Agreements 1963 (Indonesia/ Malaya/Philippines)	164
<i>Lakas-NUCD</i> (Philippines)	149	Manila Pact 1954 (Cambodia/Laos/ Philippines/Thailand/Vietnam)	165
Lam Son 719 (Laos/Vietnam)	150	Manila Summit (ASEAN) 1987 (Brunei/Indonesia/Malaysia/ Philippines/Singapore/Thailand)	166
<i>Lanzin</i> (Burma/Myanmar) <i>see</i> Burma Socialist Programme		Maphilindo (Indonesia/Malaya/ Philippines)	166
<i>Lao Dong</i> (Vietnam)	150	Marcos, Ferdinand (Philippines)	167
Lao Patriotic Front (Laos) <i>see</i> <i>Neo Lao Hak Sat</i>		Marcos, Imelda (Philippines)	167
Lao People's Revolutionary Party (Laos)	150	Marhaenism (Indonesia)	168
Le Duan (Vietnam)	151	Marshall, David (Singapore)	169
Le Duc Anh (Vietnam)	151	<i>Masyumi</i> (Indonesia)	169
		May 13 Racial Riots 1969 (Malaysia)	170
		<i>Mayaguez</i> Incident 1975 (Cambodia)	170
		Mekong Project (Cambodia/Laos/ Thailand/Vietnam)	171
		<i>Melayu Islam Beraja</i> (MIB) (Brunei)	172

Memali Incident 1985 (Malaysia)	172	Ngo Dinh	
Missing in Action (MIA) (Cambodia/ Laos/Vietnam)	172	Nguyen Ai Quoc (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Ho Chi Minh	
Misuari, Nur (Philippines)	173	Nguyen Co Thach (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Thach, Nguyen Co	
Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Professor (Indonesia)	173	Nguyen Manh Cam (Vietnam)	188
Mok, Ta (Cambodia) <i>see</i> Ta Mok		Nguyen Tat Thanh (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Ho Chi Minh	
Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) (Philippines)	174	Nguyen Van Linh (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Linh, Nguyen Van	
Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) (Philippines)	174	Nguyen Van Thieu (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Thieu, Nguyen Van	
<i>Muhammadiyah</i> (Indonesia)	176	Nixon Doctrine 1969 (Vietnam)	188
Muoi, Do (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Do Muoi		Nol, Lon (Cambodia)	189
Murdani, General L. B. (Indonesia)	176	Norodom Ranariddh (Cambodia) <i>see</i> Ranariddh, Norodom	
Murtopo, General Ali (Indonesia)	177	Norodom Sihanouk (Cambodia) <i>see</i> Sihanouk, Norodom	
Musa Hitam, Tan Sri (Malaysia)	177	Norodom Sirivudh (Cambodia) <i>see</i> Sirivudh, Norodom	
Muslim Unity Front (Malaysia) <i>see</i> <i>Angkatan Perpaduan Malaysia</i>		Nouhak Phoumsavan (Laos)	189
Mustapha bin Datuk Harun, Tun (Malaysia/Sabah)	178	Nu, U (Burma/Myanmar)	189
Nacionalista Party (Philippines)	179	Old Established Forces (OLDEFOS) (Indonesia)	191
<i>Nahdatul Ulama</i> (NU) (Indonesia)	179	Ong Boon Hua (Malaya/Malaysia) <i>see</i> Chin Peng	
Nair, Devan (Singapore)	180	Ong Teng Cheong (Singapore)	191
Najib Tun Razak, Datuk Sri Mohamad (Malaysia)	180	<i>Organisasi Papua Merdeka</i> (OPM) (Indonesia) <i>see</i> Free Papua Movement	
Nam Thai Party (Thailand)	181	Overseas Chinese	191
<i>Nasakom</i> (Indonesia)	181	<i>Palang Dharma</i> (Thailand)	194
Nasution, General Abdul Haris (Indonesia)	181	<i>Pancasila</i> (Indonesia)	194
National Democratic Front (NDF) (Philippines)	182	Papua Freedom Movement (Indonesia) <i>see</i> Free Papua Movement	
National League for Democracy (Burma/Myanmar)	182	Paracel Islands (Vietnam)	195
National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF) (Vietnam)	183	Paris Peace Agreements 1973 (Vietnam)	195
National Resilience (Indonesia)	183	<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia</i> (PDI) (Indonesia)	196
National Unity Party (Burma/ Myanmar)	183	<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> (PPP) (Indonesia) <i>see</i> United Development Party	
<i>Nawaphon</i> Movement (Thailand)	184	<i>Partai Ra'ayat Brunei</i> (Brunei) <i>see</i> People's Party	
Ne Win, General (Burma/Myanmar)	184	<i>Parti Bangsa Dyak Sarawak</i> (Malaysia/ Sarawak)	197
<i>Neo Lao Hak Sat</i> (Laos)	185		
New Aspiration Party (Thailand)	185		
New Economic Policy (Malaysia)	185		
New Emerging Forces (NEFOS) (Indonesia)	186		
New Order (Indonesia)	186		
New People's Army (Philippines)	187		
New Society Movement (Philippines)	187		
Ngo Dinh Diem (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Diem,			

x Contents

<i>Parti Bersatu Sabah</i> (Malaysia/Sabah) see Sabah United Party		<i>Pulau Batu Puteh</i> (Malaysia/Singapore) see Horsburgh Lighthouse	
<i>Parti Islam Se-Malaysia</i> (PAS) (Malaysia)	198	Rahman, Tunku Abdul (Malaya/ Malaysia)	212
<i>Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu</i> (Malaysia/Sarawak)	198	Rajaratnam, Sinnathamby (Singapore)	212
<i>Pathet Lao</i> (Laos)	199	RAM (Philippines) see Reform the Armed Forces Movement	
Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO) (Thailand)	199	Ramos, Fidel (Philippines)	213
Pedra Branca (Malaysia/Singapore) see Horsburgh Lighthouse		Ranariddh, Prince Norodom (Cambodia)	213
<i>Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik</i> Indonesia (PRRI) (Indonesia) see Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia		Razak, Tun Abdul (Malaysia)	214
Pentagon Papers (Vietnam)	200	Razaleigh Hamzah, Tengku (Malaysia)	214
People Power (Philippines)	200	Red Gaur Movement (Thailand)	214
People's Action Party (PAP) (Singapore)	201	Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM) (Philippines)	215
People's Consultative Assembly (Indonesia)	202	Rendel Commission (Singapore)	215
People's Party (Brunei)	202	Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia 1958-61 (Indonesia)	216
<i>Permesta</i> (Indonesia)	202	Rizal, José (Philippines)	216
<i>Persatuan Aliran Kesedaran Negara</i> (Malaysia) see <i>Aliran</i>		Rohingyas (Burma/Myanmar)	217
<i>Pertamina</i> Crisis (Indonesia)	203	Rómulo, Carlos (Philippines)	217
<i>Peta</i> (Indonesia)	203	Rómulo, Roberto (Philippines)	217
Petition of Fifty (Indonesia)	203	Roxas, Manuel A. (Philippines)	218
<i>Petrus</i> (Indonesia)	204	<i>Rukunegara</i> 1970 (Malaysia)	218
Pham Van Dong (Vietnam)	204	Sabah United Party (Malaysia/Sabah)	220
Phibul Songkram, Field Marshal (Thailand)	204	Saloth Sar (Cambodia) see Pol Pot	
Philippines' Claim to Sabah (Malaysia/Philippines)	205	Samphan, Khieu (Cambodia) see Khieu Samphan	
Pol Pot (Cambodia)	206	Samrin, Heng (Cambodia) see Heng Samrin	
<i>Prachakorn Thai</i> (Thailand)	207	San Yu, General (Burma/Myanmar)	220
<i>Prachathipat</i> (Thailand) see Democrat Party		<i>Sangkum Reastre Niyum</i> (Cambodia)	221
Praphas Charusathien, Field Marshal (Thailand)	208	Sann, Son (Cambodia) see Son Sann	
Prasong Soonsiri (Thailand)	208	<i>Santi Asoke</i> (Thailand)	221
Preah Vihear Temple Dispute (Cambodia/Thailand)	209	<i>Santri</i> (Indonesia)	221
Prem Tinsulanond, General (Thailand)	209	Sarawak National Party (SNAP) (Malaysia/Sarawak)	221
<i>Pribumi</i> (Indonesia)	210	Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP) (Malaysia/Sarawak)	222
Pridi Phanomyong (Thailand)	210	Sarit Thanarat, Field Marshal (Thailand)	222
Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam (PRG) 1969-76 (Vietnam)	210	Sary, Ieng (Cambodia) see Ieng Sary	
		Sastroamijoyo, Ali (Indonesia)	223
		Sawito Affair (Indonesia)	223
		SEATO (South-East Asia Treaty Organization) 1955-77 (Thailand)	224
		<i>Semangat '46</i> (Malaysia)	224

Sen, Hun (Cambodia) <i>see</i> Hun Sen		Sutan Syahrir (Indonesia) <i>see</i> Syahrir, Sutan	
Sen, Son (Cambodia) <i>see</i> Son Sen		Sutrisno, General Try (Indonesia)	247
Seni Pramoj (Thailand)	225	Syahrir, Sutan (Indonesia)	248
Shan (Burma/Myanmar)	225	Ta Mok (Cambodia)	249
Shared Values (Singapore)	226	Taib Mahmud, Datuk Patinggi Abdul (Malaysia/Sarawak)	249
Shwe, Than (Burma/Myanmar) <i>see</i> Than Shwe		Tan, Tony (Singapore)	249
Siazon, Domingo L. (Philippines)	226	Tanjung Priok Riot 1984 (Indonesia)	250
Siddhi Savetsila (Thailand)	226	Tet Offensive 1968 (Vietnam)	250
Sihanouk, King Norodom (Cambodia)	227	Thach, Nguyen Co (Vietnam)	251
Sim, Chea (Cambodia) <i>see</i> Chea Sim		Thammasat University Massacre 1976 (Thailand)	251
Sin, Cardinal Jaime (Philippines)	229	Than Shwe (Burma/Myanmar)	252
Singapore Democratic Party (SDP) (Singapore)	230	Thanat Khoman (Thailand)	252
Singapore Strait (Indonesia/Malaysia/Singapore)	230	Thanh, Son Ngoc (Cambodia) <i>see</i> Son Ngoc Thanh	
Singapore Summit (ASEAN) 1992 (Brunei/Indonesia/Malaysia/Philippines/Singapore/Thailand)	231	Thanin Kraivichian (Thailand)	252
Sipadan-Ligitan (Indonesia/Malaysia)	232	Thanom Kittikachorn, Field Marshal (Thailand)	253
Sirivudh, Prince Norodom (Cambodia)	232	Thieu, Nguyen Van (Vietnam)	253
Sisón, José María (Philippines)	232	Tho, Le Duc (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Le Duc Tho	
Social Action Party (Thailand)	233	Timor, East (Indonesia)	253
Son Ngoc Thanh (Cambodia)	234	Timor Gap Cooperation Treaty 1989 (Indonesia)	255
Son Sann (Cambodia)	234	Tonkin Gulf Incident 1964 (Vietnam)	256
Son Sen (Cambodia)	235	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (ASEAN) 1976 (Brunei/Burma/Cambodia/Indonesia/Laos/Malaysia/Philippines/Singapore/Thailand/Vietnam)	256
Souphanouvong, Prince (Laos)	236	Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 1977 (Laos/Vietnam)	257
South China Sea (Brunei/Indonesia/Malaysia/Philippines/Vietnam)	236	Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 1978 (Vietnam)	257
South-East Asia Command 1943-6	237	Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation 1979 (Cambodia/Vietnam)	257
Souvanna Phouma, Prince (Laos)	237	Tripoli Agreement 1976 (Philippines)	258
Spratly Islands (Brunei/Malaysia/Philippines/Vietnam)	238	Truong Chinh (Vietnam)	258
State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) (Burma/Myanmar)	240	Tuol Sleng (Cambodia)	258
Stephens, Donald (Malaysia/Sabah) <i>see</i> Fuad, Tun Mohammad		UMNO (United Malays National Organization) (Malaya/Malaysia)	260
Subandrio (Indonesia)	240	Ung Huot (Cambodia)	261
Subic Bay Naval Base (Philippines)	241	United Development Party (Indonesia)	261
Suchinda Krapayoon, General (Thailand)	242	United Nations: Cambodia 1991-3 (Cambodia)	262
Sudharmono, Lt-General (Indonesia)	242		
Suharto, President (Indonesia)	243		
Sukarno, President (Indonesia)	244		
Sunda Strait (Indonesia)	245		
Supersemar (Indonesia)	246		
Supreme National Council (Cambodia)	246		
Surabaya, Battle of, 1945 (Indonesia)	247		

xii Contents

United Nations: Irian Jaya 1962-9 (Indonesia)	264	Vietnam War (Cambodia/Laos/ Vietnam)	269
United Nations: Northern Borneo 1963 (Indonesia/Malaya/ Philippines)	264	Vietnamization (Vietnam)	273
United Sabah National Organization (USNO) (Malaysia/Sabah)	265	Vo Nguyen Giap, General (Vietnam) <i>see</i> Giap, Vo Nguyen	273
UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) (Cambodia)	266	Vo Van Kiet (Vietnam)	274
Vajiralongkorn, Prince Maha (Thailand)	267	Wahid, Abdurrahman (Indonesia)	274
Vang Pao, General (Laos)	267	Workers Party (Singapore)	274
Ver, General Fabian (Philippines)	267	Yakub, Tun Abdul Rahman (Malaysia/Sarawak)	276
Vientiane Agreement on the Restoration of Peace and Reconciliation in Laos 1973 (Laos)	268	<i>Yang di-Pertuan Agong</i> (Malaysia)	276
Viet Cong (Vietnam)	269	Yeo, George (Singapore)	276
Viet Minh (Vietnam)	269	Young Turks (Thailand)	277
		ZOPFAN (Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality) 1971 (Indonesia/ Malaysia/Philippines/Singapore/ Thailand)	278
		Further Reading	279
		Index by Country	283

Introduction

In the decades since the end of the Pacific War in August 1945, South-East Asia has evolved from a category of convenience employed by a military command for dispossessing Japan of its wartime gains into a distinctive region with a growing sense of coherence and self-confidence. That coherence owes much to the institutional performance of the seven-member Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) which, from an inauspicious beginning in August 1967, has developed a corporate culture of close consultation and cooperation which has begun to influence and attract the other states of the region. Self-confidence has arisen from remarkable economic performances by almost all ASEAN states based on export-led growth which its newest member, Vietnam, has sought to emulate.

South-East Asia comprises those states situated to the east of the Indian sub-continent, to the south of the People's Republic of China and to the north of Australia. The region is a mixture of mainland and island zones within which waves of migration and cultural and religious flows have left variegated imprints. It registers cultural and religious diversity, while political boundaries, in the main the legacy of colonialism, do not always fit the societies that they encompass. And yet despite an incipient separatism, there has not been a successful act of secession since the transfers of sovereignty; the case of Singapore is an exception which proves the rule, so far. Irredentism has been more successful, although the most recent act of political union, when Indonesia annexed East Timor in December 1975, was one of territorial aggrandisement. There is no standard model of political system, although authoritarian governments prevail. Within the region, however, there has been a consistent trend towards market-driven economies which is producing in its wake social changes that will have political consequences.

South-East Asia comprises ten states with

a combined population close to 500 million. Parliamentary systems of varying kinds obtain in Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines; Cambodia has begun a new experiment in constitutional monarchy but democratic in form only. Indonesia's constitutionalism is a thin veneer on an authoritarian system underpinned by a military establishment, while military rule is blatantly exercised in Burma, now officially Myanmar. Monopoly rule by Communist parties has been sustained in Vietnam and Laos, while Brunei provides the only example of a ruling monarchy. Resistance to democratization is a common feature of many states in the region justified in the name of economic development and social and political order.

There is great irony in the fact that during the early phase of the Cold War, South-East Asia was often described as the Balkans of the Orient in an analogy with the turbulent and foreboding condition of south-eastern Europe before the outbreak of the First World War. At the end of the Pacific War, nationalism and communism, often opposite sides of the same political coin, contended with colonialism. The process of decolonization became drawn into global conflict, especially in Indochina, which was to be afflicted by successive wars over more than four decades. By the 1990s the challenge of revolutionary communism had been overcome, while Communist governments in Vietnam and Laos had been obliged to give up economic dogma in the interest of sustained development. South-East Asia overall in the mid-1990s suggests a zone of peace by contrast with contemporary south-eastern Europe with which it was once compared. Such a picture is both valid and misleading. It is valid for reasons indicated above. But it is also invalid because such a picture fails to take full account of the disturbing implications of rapid social change driven by economic development and of an uncertain strategic environment attendant on the end of the Cold War. That environ-

2 Introduction

ment is notable for the shadow cast by a military modernizing and irredentist China against the background of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the uncertain regional posture of the United States. ASEAN's attempt to cope with that new environment has involved an expansion of strategic horizons beyond South-East Asia's bounds.

This dictionary of politics and international relations of South-East Asia attempts to encapsulate the changing nature and experience of the region through individual entries arranged in alphabetical order. Information, analysis and commentary are provided about significant episodes and treaties, indigenous concepts and political parties, and movements and regional organizations. Biographical data are included on principal political figures, past and present, without any claim to being exhaustive. In the opening section, there are short essays dealing with each of the ten states of the region. A guide to further reading, both general for the region and particular to individual states, has been provided to aid further study.

This undertaking was begun in a fit of absence of mind in the expectation that a

political dictionary could be readily completed in so-called discretionary time while engaged in non-academic duties. In the event, the undertaking was easier to begin than to complete. That it has been completed is due in great part to the patience of Mark Barragry and Alex Clark at Routledge, the forbearance of John Ashworth, the Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, and the loving support of my wife, Frances. Christine Firth has been an understanding as well as a meticulous copy-editor. Helpful advice has been provided by Kathleen Kazer, Duncan McCargo, Derwin Pereira, James Putzel and Michael Vatikiotis. Errors of fact are, of course, my own.

Michael Leifer
London, May 1994

This revised paperback edition owes much to the advice and encouragement of Colville Wemyss and Victoria Smith.

M.L.

Brunei, Sultanate of

The Sultanate of Brunei or *Brunei Darussalam* (Abode of Peace), which is located on the northern coast of Borneo, is the only ruling monarchy in South-East Asia. Its head of government and state, Sultan **Hassanal Bolkiah**, celebrated twenty-five years on the throne in October 1992. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Brunei exercised suzerainty over much of Borneo (giving its name to the island) and into the Philippines archipelago. Its territorial extent has been whittled down considerably over the centuries and its separate identity was preserved only through British colonial intervention, albeit with further loss of territory. Brunei, which became a protected state in 1888, acquired internal self-government in 1959, with additional powers transferred in 1971 when Britain gave up its automatic defence commitment. It became fully independent in January 1984 when Britain transferred its residual power over foreign affairs. Brunei then comprised two territorial enclaves of some 5,765 square kilometres in total accessible from one another only by water and surrounded on the landward side by the Malaysian state of Sarawak. Its population is estimated at around 280,000, of whom 200,000 are Malays who dominate the political and bureaucratic life of the sultanate. Ethnic Chinese, most of whom are stateless, number around 50,000, while expatriates, including skilled professionals from Europe and construction workers from other parts of South-East Asia, amount to some 20,000. Non-Malay indigenous people add up to about 10,000. The official religion is **Islam**, while the state is represented as a Malay Islamic Monarchy (*Melayu Islam Beraja*) in the interest of political conservatism. The sultan, by combining religious and royal roles, seeks to contain resurgent Islam, which is viewed as a threat to the established political order.

Modern Brunei is bound up with the discovery and exploitation of oil and natural gas. Onshore production of oil began in 1929 with

the active involvement of the Shell Oil Company, which in time became the joint venture Brunei Shell in which the government of Brunei owns a 50 per cent share. Offshore production of oil began in 1963 and natural gas production in 1973 with the involvement of Mitsubishi. There are six offshore oil and gas fields which account for virtually the total of the sultanate's great wealth, either directly or indirectly through overseas investments funded initially from oil and natural gas revenue. Reserves from oil and gas revenue have never been disclosed (but are believed to amount to around US\$30 billion) nor has the great personal wealth of the sultan and other members of the royal family. The huge resources at the disposal of the state, which give it (at US\$19,000) one of the highest average per capita incomes in the world, have enabled the introduction of a unique system of social welfare in South-East Asia. Free education and health care as well as other benefits, including guaranteed pensions, are provided on a generous basis. Economic planning has concentrated on developing alternative forms of employment to the oil and gas industry and government service in the interest of political stability. Only limited success has been achieved in this enterprise.

The government of Brunei is literally a family business with the sultan as prime minister and minister of defence, one brother, **Prince Mohammed**, as foreign minister and another, Prince Jefri, as finance minister. During the British protectorate, the current sultan's father, the late Omar Ali Saifuddin, was persuaded to introduce a measure of democratic politics. Elections in September 1962 gave the majority of elective seats to the radical **People's Party** (*Partai Ra'ayat*) with links to President **Sukarno's** Indonesia. When the sultan refused to convene the Legislative Council, in December 1962 the People's Party, led by **A. M. Azahari**, launched a revolt which was put down with British military inter-

4 Brunei, Sultanate of

vention from Singapore. Brunei has been ruled by decree ever since without any reversion to electoral politics and with all political parties effectively proscribed. Moreover, in order to hold off British pressure for democratization, Sultan Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin abdicated in favour of his son Hassanal Bolkiah in October 1967 shortly before he was due to graduate from the British Military Academy at Sandhurst. Sir Omar remained a powerful and decisive influence behind the throne until his death in 1986. Following his father's death, Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah sought to throw off the playboy image depicted in western media and to demonstrate a seriousness of political purpose in the absence of political change. Despite the neo-conservatism associated with the sultan, expressed in a ban on the public consumption of alcohol in January 1991, social delinquency has grown among a young unemployed sector. The vulnerability of monarchical rule is well understood in royal circles, especially to a military coup arising from social discontent. For that reason, the armed forces, on whom some 10 per cent of the national budget is spent, are well paid and provided for in modern equipment. The officer corps is also monitored and personal interests balanced in a way that ensures loyalty. Since the revolt was crushed in 1962, a battalion of British Gurkha Rifles has been deployed in the sultanate on rotation from their brigade headquarters in Hong Kong under a secret exchange of letters, ostensibly in a training role. In addition, the sultanate recruits an additional battalion of retired Gurkhas directly from Nepal. These forces serve as a deterrent against any challenge by rebellious elements.

In September 1984, shortly after independence, Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations maintaining: 'We wish to be left alone and free from foreign intervention'. Brunei had been reluctant to assume full independence from Britain because of an acute sense of vulnerability arising from experience of hostile relations with both Indonesia and Malaysia. At one stage, Brunei had contemplated joining the Federation of Malaysia on its inception in 1963 but decided against political union. The

Brunei Revolt had served as Indonesia's pretext for its campaign of **Confrontation**, while, during the mid-1970s, Malaysia had sought to destabilize the sultanate in part to consolidate its control in northern Borneo. It was only in the late 1970s that the evident cohesion of **ASEAN** (Association of South-East Asian Nations), to which Indonesia and Malaysia were strongly committed, encouraged Brunei to assume full independence and place its security in membership of ASEAN; which was openly pledged to uphold the sanctity of national sovereignty. Even then, independence was accomplished through a treaty of friendship with Britain in 1979 which contained a unique five-year grace period before the transfer of full sovereign status in January 1984. On independence, Brunei joined the Commonwealth and the Organization of the Islamic Conference as well as the United Nations and ASEAN. Diplomatic relations have been gradually expanded beyond Britain, the United States, ASEAN and other major powers to the Islamic world and the People's Republic of China. Tensions still obtain with Malaysia, with whom Brunei is in dispute in its **Limbang Claim**: the district of Limbang was incorporated into Sarawak in 1890 after Britain's protectorate had been established. In addition, there are differences with Malaysia over maritime jurisdiction in Brunei Bay and also with China and Vietnam over a peripheral reef of the **Spratly Islands** which falls within Brunei's continental shelf. Among its neighbours, Brunei has enjoyed a special relationship with Singapore with which a common vulnerability over size and location has been shared. Singapore bases an infantry battalion in the Temburong enclave, while military exercises are conducted with Australian forces. Relations have improved significantly with Indonesia, which has assumed a protective regional role, while an underlying coolness remains in the relationship with Malaysia. A residual relationship has been maintained with Britain, which still plays an important role in training and servicing the Royal Brunei Armed Forces. An agreement to deploy the Gurkhas beyond 1998 was concluded between the Sultan and Britain's prime minister in London in

December 1994, when they also signed a memorandum on defence sales. In addition, limited military links have been established with the United States.

see also: APEC; ASEAN; ASEAN Regional

Forum; Azahari, A. M.; Bolkiah, Mohamed; Bolkiah, Hassanah; Brunei Revolt 1962; Confrontation; Islam; Limbang Claim; *Melayu Islam Beraja*; People's Party; Spratly Islands.

