<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Southeast Asian Studies (2016), 5(1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>2016-04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="http://hdl.handle.net/210527">http://hdl.handle.net/210527</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rights</td>
<td>© Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textversion</td>
<td>publisher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kyoto University
POLITICAL NETWORKS IN ASIA

KHOO BOO TEIK and ONIMARU TAKESHI
Introduction: A Place for Networks in Asian Politics

PASUK PHONGPAICHIT et al.
Very Distinguished Alumni: Thai Political Networking

TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM
The Rise and Fall of Virata's Network: Technocracy and the Politics of Economic Decision Making in the Philippines

KHOO BOO TEIK
Networks in Pursuit of a “Two-Coalition System” in Malaysia: Pakatan Rakyat’s Mobilization of Dissent between Reformasi and the Tsunami

NARUEMON THABCHUMPON
Contending Political Networks: A Study of the “Yellow Shirts” and “Red Shirts” in Thailand’s Politics

ONIMARU TAKESHI
Shanghai Connection: The Construction and Collapse of the Comintern Network in East and Southeast Asia

MICHI KEN
Looking at Links and Nodes: How Jihadists in Indonesia Survived

BOOK REVIEWS
Southeast Asian Studies

Since its first publication in 1963, the bilingual quarterly Southeast Asian Studies (SEAS), Kyoto University has reflected the Center for Southeast Asian Studies’ strong commitment to publishing the best of empirically grounded, multidisciplinary, and contemporary research on Southeast Asia and related areas.

In 2012, we re-launched Southeast Asian Studies as an all-English journal, alongside its Japanese sister journal, Tonan Ajia Kenkyu. Intended for a regional as well as global readership, Southeast Asian Studies is published three times a year.

The new journal aims to promote excellent, agenda-setting scholarship and provide a forum for dialogue and collaboration both within and beyond the region. Southeast Asian Studies engages in wide-ranging and in-depth discussions that are attuned to the issues, debates, and imperatives within the region, while affirming the importance of learning and sharing ideas on a cross-country, global, and historical scale. An integral part of the journal’s mandate is to foster scholarship that is capable of bridging the continuing divide in area studies between the social sciences and humanities, on the one hand, and the natural sciences, on the other hand. To this end, the journal welcomes accessibly written articles that build on insights and cutting-edge research from the natural sciences. The journal also publishes research reports, which are shorter but fully peer-reviewed articles that present original articles that build on insights and cutting-edge research from the natural sciences. The journal also engages in extended research in the natural sciences, social sciences, and the humanities. Peer-reviewed by a broad range of specialists, the journal accepts articles for review all year round.

The new journal also engages in extended research in the natural sciences, social sciences, and the humanities. Peer-reviewed by a broad range of specialists, the journal accepts articles for review all year round.

Editorial Board

Nathan Badenoch (Editor)
Caroline By Hai
Mario I. Lóez
Okamoto Masaaki
Shimizu Hiromu
Yanagisawa Masayuki
Julian Baettesta (Book Review Editor)
Shutara Narumi (Managing Editor)

International Advisory Board

Anthony Reid (Australian National University, Australia)
Christopher John Baker (Independent Researcher, Thailand)
Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr. (Ateneo de Manila University, the Philippines)
Guy François Théret (Centre de coopération internationale en recherche agronomique pour le développement, France)
Hjelkev Ithin Jónsson (Arizona State University, USA)
Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao (Academia Sinica, Taiwan)
Jefferson M. Fox (East-West Center, USA)
Lai Hong (Nanyang Technological University, Singapore)
Pan Khuong (Chulalongkorn University, Thailand)
Paul H. Kratochka (NUS Press, Singapore)
Shibasaka Takashi (Institute of Developing Economies Japan External Trade Organization, Japan / National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Japan)
Sugihara Kauri (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Japan)
Tanaka Koji (Kyoto University, Japan)
Yunita Triwardani Winarto (University of Indonesia, Indonesia)

Notice to Contributors

(1) Published as a sister journal of Tonan Ajia Kenkyu, Southeast Asian Studies (SEAS) is an English journal that reflects the Center for Southeast Asian Studies’ strong commitment to publishing the best of empirically grounded, multidisciplinary, and contemporary research in the natural sciences, social sciences, and the humanities. Peer-reviewed by a broad range of specialists, the journal accepts articles for review all year round.

(2) Manuscripts, book reviews, and research reports submitted for publication undergo rigorous peer review. This is based on initial screening by the editorial committee before anonymous refereeing. Manuscripts are treated as confidential documents and any information about a submitted manuscript will not be shared with individuals other than the corresponding author, reviewers, potential reviewers, and other editorial advisers as appropriate. Submitted manuscripts will not be returned to the author.

(3) Submissions must be original research not previously published in other journals, or as chapters in edited volumes. Only submissions not being reviewed in other journals will be accepted. Authors are responsible for ensuring the accuracy of the information they present in their submitted manuscripts, and may be asked to submit supporting data in connection with submitted papers under editorial review.

(4) Manuscripts must be written in English. Manuscripts should not be less than 6,000 words nor exceed 15,000 (excluding figures, charts, maps, and tables). An abstract of about 200 words and a list of no more than 8 keywords should be appended to each manuscript. Book review should be limited to about 1,200 words. Contributors should consult the Editorial Office if their manuscripts include special letters or symbols or a large number of figures, charts, or other material that may require special attention in the production process.

(5) Manuscripts must be submitted in electronic format (Microsoft Word) either by e-mail or by regular mail. American spelling and punctuation (including quotation marks) are preferred. The entire document should be double-spaced and use 12-point Times New Roman font. Figures, charts, maps, and photos should be provided in a digital format as separate files, with clear placement indicators in the text. All images should include captions and sources. SEAS requires high-resolution images along with permission to use them when included with articles for publication. As SEAS uses an anonymous refereeing system, authors are requested to omit their names and all references to their identities in the main text of their article. Please submit an abstract with author name, affiliation, and contact details in a separate Word document.

(6) Copyright of all manuscripts published in SEAS will be assigned to the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University. For inquiries about republication, translation, or use of manuscripts published in SEAS please contact the Editorial Office.

(7) Authors will not be charged or remunerated for publication of manuscripts. But in cases whereby color charts, maps, or photos are indispensable for understanding the contents, authors will be charged at cost price. A PDF copy will be provided free of charge. Up to 30 copies of reprints can be prepared on request; additional copies can be ordered at cost price.

(8) Guidelines on the bibliographic format to be employed for English and foreign-language references can be found on our journal’s homepage (english@kyoto-seas.org) or can be requested from the Editorial Office.

(9) Manuscripts and editorial communications should be sent to the Editorial Office, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 46 Shimoosachi-cho, Yoshida, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto 606-8501, Japan.

Tel: +81-75-753-7344
Fax: +81-75-753-7356
e-mail: enlish-editorial@cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp

Printed by Nakanishi Printing Company
©Copyright 2016 Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University
CONTENTS

Political Networks in Asia
Guest Editors: ONIMARU Takeshi and KHOO Boo Teik

KHOO Boo Teik
ONIMARU Takeshi

Introduction: A Place for Networks in Asian Politics ..................................... (3)

PASUK Phongpaichit
NUALNOI Treerat
Chris BAKER

Very Distinguished Alumni: Thai Political Networking ........................... (19)

Teresa S.
Encarnacion TADEM

The Rise and Fall of Virata’s Network: Technocracy and
the Politics of Economic Decision Making in the Philippines
...................................................................................................................... (35)

KHOO Boo Teik

Networks in Pursuit of a “Two-Coalition System” in Malaysia:
Pakatan Rakyat’s Mobilization of Dissent between Reformasi
and the Tsunami ........................................................................................ (73)

NARUEMON Thabchumpon

Contending Political Networks: A Study of the “Yellow Shirts”
and “Red Shirts” in Thailand’s Politics .................................................. (93)

ONIMARU Takeshi

Shanghai Connection: The Construction and Collapse of
the Comintern Network in East and Southeast Asia ...................... (115)

MIICHI Ken

Looking at Links and Nodes: How Jihadists in Indonesia Survived
.................................................................................................................... (135)

Book Reviews

Victor T. KING


Hsin-Huang PARK Seung Woo and Victor T. King, eds. The Historical Construction of Southeast Asian Studies: Korea and Beyond. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013, xviii+468p. ............................................................... (157)

Michael G. VANN


Gerard SASGES

Vivek Neelakantan  

Pierre Brocheux  

Tony C. Lee  

Kevin Hewison  

Pavin Chachavalponpun  

Nathan Badenoch  
Southeast Asian Studies

Since its first publication in 1963, the bilingual quarterly Southeast Asian Studies (SEAS), Kyoto University has reflected the Center for Southeast Asian Studies’ strong commitment to publishing the best of empirically grounded, multidisciplinary, and contemporary research on Southeast Asia and related areas.

In 2012, we re-launched Southeast Asian Studies as an all-English journal, alongside its Japanese sister journal, Tonan Ajia Kenkyu. Intended for a regional as well as global readership, Southeast Asian Studies is published three times a year.

The new journal aims to promote excellent, agenda-setting scholarship and provide a forum for dialogue and collaboration both within and beyond the region. Southeast Asian Studies engages in wide-ranging and in-depth discussions that are attuned to the issues, debates, and imperatives within the region, while affirming the importance of learning and sharing ideas on a cross-country, global, and historical scale. An integral part of the journal’s mandate is to foster scholarship that is capable of bridging the continuing divide in area studies between the social sciences and humanities, on the one hand, and the natural sciences, on the other hand. To this end, the journal welcomes accessibly written articles that build on insights and cutting-edge research from the natural sciences. The journal also publishes research reports, which are shorter but fully peer-reviewed articles that present original findings or new concepts that result from specific research projects or outcomes of research collaboration.

Editorial Board
Nathan Badenoch (Editor)
Caroline By Ha\i
Mario I. Lóez
Okamoto Masaaki
Shimizu Hiromu
Yanagisawa Masayuki
Julian Battista (Book Review Editor)
Shutara Narumi (Managing Editor)

International Advisory Board
Anthony Reid (Australian National University, Australia)
Christopher John Baker (Independent Researcher, Thailand)
Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr. (Ateneo de Manila University, the Philippines)
Guy François Théry (Centre de coopération internationale en recherche agronomique pour le développement, France)
Hjorleifur Rafn Jóhannesson (University of Iceland, Iceland)
Jefferson M. Fisher (East-West Center, USA)
Lai Hong (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Singapore)
Pasuk Phongpaichit (Chulalongkorn University, Thailand)
Paul H. Kratoska (NUS Press, Singapore)
Shirasii Takashi (Institute of Developing Economies Japan External Trade Organization, Japan / National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Japan)
Sugihara Kaoru (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Japan)
Tanaka Koji (Kyoto University, Japan)
Yunita Triwardani Winarto (University of Indonesia, Indonesia)

Notice to Contributors

(1) Published as a sister journal of Tonan Ajia Kenkyu, Southeast Asian Studies (SEAS) is an English journal that reflects the Center for Southeast Asian Studies’ strong commitment to publishing the best of empirically grounded, multidisciplinary, and contemporary research in the natural sciences, social sciences, and the humanities. Peer-reviewed by a broad range of specialists, the journal accepts articles for review all year round.

(2) Manuscripts, book reviews, and research reports submitted for publication undergo rigorous peer review. This is based on initial screening by the editorial committee before anonymous refereeing. Manuscripts are treated as confidential documents and any information about a submitted manuscript will not be shared with individuals other than the corresponding author, reviewers, potential reviewers, and other editorial advisers as appropriate. Submitted manuscripts will not be returned to the author.

(3) Submissions must be original research not previously published in other journals, or as chapters in edited volumes. Only submissions not being reviewed in other journals will be accepted. Authors are responsible for ensuring the accuracy of the information they present in their submitted manuscripts, and may be asked to submit supporting data in connection with submitted papers under editorial review.

(4) Manuscripts must be written in English. Manuscripts should not be less than 6,000 words nor exceed 15,000 (excluding figures, charts, maps, and tables). An abstract of about 200 words and a list of no more than 8 keywords should be appended to each manuscript. Book reviews should be limited to about 2,000 words. Contributors should consult the Editorial Office if their manuscripts include special letters or symbols or a large number of figures, charts, or other material that may require special attention in the production process.

(5) Manuscripts must be submitted in electronic format (Microsoft Word) either by e-mail or by regular mail. American spelling and punctuation (including quotation marks) are preferred. The entire document should be double-spaced and use 12-point Times New Roman font. Figures, charts, maps, and photos should be provided in a digital format as separate files, with clear placement indicators in the text. All images should include captions and sources. SEAS requires high-resolution images along with permission to use them when included with articles for publication. As SEAS uses an anonymous refereeing system, authors are requested to omit their names and all references to their identities in the main text of their article. Please submit an abstract with author name, affiliation, and contact details in a separate Word document.

(6) Copyright of all manuscripts published in SEAS will be assigned to the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University. For inquiries about republication, translation, or use of articles published in SEAS please contact the Editorial Office.

(7) Authors will not be charged or remunerated for publication of manuscripts. But in cases whereby color charts, maps, or photos are indispensable for understanding the contents, authors will be charged at cost price. A PDF copy will be provided free of charge. Up to 30 copies of reprints can be prepared on request; additional copies can be ordered at cost price.

(8) Guidelines on the bibliographic format to be employed for English and foreign-language references can be found on our journal’s homepage (englishkyoto-seas.org) or can be requested from the Editorial Office.

(9) Manuscripts and editorial communications should be sent to the Editorial Office, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 46 Shimoadachi-cho, Yoshida, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto 606-8501, Japan.

Tel. +81-75-735-7344
Fax. +81-75-735-7356
e-mail: english-editorial@cesas.kyoto-u.ac.jp

Printed by Nakanishi Printing Company

©Copyright 2016 Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University
Political Networks in Asia

Khoo Boo Teik and Onimaru Takeshi
Introduction: A Place for Networks in Asian Politics

Pasuk Phongpaichit et al.
Very Distinguished Alumni: Thai Political Networking

Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem
The Rise and Fall of Virata’s Network: Technocracy and the Politics of Economic Decision Making in the Philippines

Khoo Boo Teik
Networks in Pursuit of a “Two-Coalition System” in Malaysia: Pakatan Rakyat’s Mobilization of Dissent between Reformasi and the Tsunami

Naruemon Thabchumpon
Contending Political Networks: A Study of the “Yellow Shirts” and “Red Shirts” in Thailand’s Politics

Onimaru Takeshi
Shanghai Connection: The Construction and Collapse of the Comintern Network in East and Southeast Asia

Michi Ken
Looking at Links and Nodes: How Jihadists in Indonesia Survived

Book Reviews