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Fall 2002

## **International Relations of Southeast Asia**

Epsy C. Farrell PhD

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**Diplomacy 6011 and 4196—Fall 2002**  
**International Relations of Southeast Asia**

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**Introduction**

This course is designed to introduce the student to the international relations system of Southeast Asia and the foreign policies of the Southeast Asian states. Throughout the course three levels of interaction will be examined: the Southeast Asian states as autonomous actors, the regionalization of Southeast Asian foreign policies, and the states' and region's relations in the IR environment external to Southeast Asia.

The course will begin with a review of the major environmental and historical factors shaping the regional international system. A review of the principal interests and capabilities of the system's actors will follow. A major emphasis of the course will be regionalism in an analysis of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). The background to this is the changes in the post-Cold War security environment in Southeast Asia, in particular the new, emerging regional distribution of power. The course also will give consideration to emerging problem areas in the region, including ethno-religious conflict, the environment and human rights.

**Required Texts**

Acharya, Amitav. The Quest for Identity: International Relations of Southeast Asia. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Neher, Clark D. Southeast Asia in the New International Era. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2002.

**Supplemental Texts on Reserve in Library**

Acharya, Amitav. Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia. New York: Routledge, 2001. (1 copy)

Ellings, Richard J. and Sheldon W. Simon, eds. Southeast Asian Security in the New Millennium. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1996. (1 copy)

McCloud, Donald G. Southeast Asia: Tradition and Modernity in the Contemporary World. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995. (1 copy)

Wurfel, David and Bruce Burton, eds. Southeast Asia in the New World Order. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996. (2 copies)

Wurfel, David and Bruce Burton, eds. The Political Economy of Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia. London: Macmillan, 1990. (1 copy)

In addition, journal articles and book chapters will be supplied by the instructor for each segment of the course or will be available online through Academic Search. There will be choice among those articles listed in the syllabus.

### **Course Requirements**

The course is taught as a seminar for advanced undergraduate and graduate students. It involves reading a significant bibliography which can be shaped according to individual interests in consultation with the instructor. Supplemental bibliography is included in the syllabus. Reading assignments will be adjusted for undergraduates.

#### *Midterm and final exams*

A one-hour midterm exam will be given on Oct. 22 (tentative) and the final exam will be Dec. 17.

#### *Term paper*

The undergraduate term paper should be at least ten pages plus bibliography and the graduate term paper should be at least 15 pages plus bibliography. Either Chicago/Turabian or APA style may be used for citation. Each student will give a 15-20 minute oral summary of his/her paper during the final class meeting Dec. 10. Paper topics should be agreed upon with the instructor no later than the third week of the course and a first draft of the paper must be given to the instructor Nov. 26 for comment. Final versions of papers are due Dec. 10.

#### *Class participation*

All students are expected to hand in eight journal entries of no more than two pages summarizing/analyzing the material read for that week. (You may choose which weeks to skip.)

All students are expected to bring to class at least one current event item pertaining to the region for discussion every week. Examples of good sources include the Far Eastern Economic Review, Asian Wall Street Journal, Singapore Straits Times, Bangkok Post and The Nation (Bangkok).

Graduate students will be asked to be prepared to take the lead in class discussion two times during the semester, and undergraduates will take the lead one time. This generally will involve reading an extra source that week.

#### *Grading*

Graduate and undergraduate students are graded by separate standards.

Grading distribution:

Class participation	15%
Mid-term exam	10%

Final exam	35%
Term paper	30%
Term paper presentation	10%

## **COURSE CALENDAR AND ASSIGNMENTS (TENTATIVE)**

Please note that all dates are approximate and may change depending upon discussion time and students' interests. They should be treated as a guide to keeping up with the reading. Study questions and required reading are included in each section.

### **1. The Foundations of the Contemporary IR System in Southeast Asia. (Sept. 10-24)**

- a. *Introduction: The Study of Southeast Asian IR.*  
Justification for the study. What makes Southeast Asia a region? What is the course's intellectual underpinning? The problem of policy continuity and discontinuity.
- b. *The environmental and historical background to Southeast Asian IR.*  
Attention will be given to geostrategic variables, ethnicity, culture and history, both precolonial and colonial. Emphasis will be placed on Southeast Asia as a maritime region. The impact of the struggle for independence will be addressed. What real material and psychological factors persist in influencing contemporary Southeast Asia?
- c. *The Cold War and Southeast Asia.*  
Southeast Asia will be situated as a theater of competition for influence and power between the contending superpowers. The alternatives of alliance and alignment will be addressed. Mao's China as an actor will be introduced. The impact of the American war in Vietnam will be assessed.

Assignment: Read Acharya, *Quest for Identity*, Ch. 1 and 2; Neher, Ch. 1 and 2. Read McCloud, Ch. 1-9, esp. Ch. 1 and 5-9, for important background to understanding Southeast Asia today.

### **2. Southeast Asia's Subregions. (Oct. 1-15)**

Read McCloud, Ch. 10-12; Neher, Ch. 3-13, taking the chapters in order of the country lists for the maritime and continental cores.

The maritime states:

**Indonesia:** Weatherbee, "Indonesia: From Pivot to Problem;" Crouch,

“Indonesia: Democratization and the Threat of Disintegration;” Smith, “Indonesia’s Foreign Policy under Abdurrahman Wahid: Radical or Status Quo State,” *CSEA* 20:3, December 2000, pp. 498-526; Emmerson, “Will Indonesia Survive?” *Foreign Affairs* 79:3, May/June 2000, pp. 95-106; Smith, “Indonesia’s Role in ASEAN: The End of Leadership?” *CSEA* 21: 2, August 1999, pp. 238-60; Storey, “Indonesia’s China Policy in the New Order and Beyond: Problems and Prospects,” *CSEA* 22:1, April 2000, pp.145-74; Wanandi, “Indonesia: A Failed State?” *Washington Quarterly* 25:3, Summer 2002, pp. 135-46.

**East Timor:** Smith, “Timor Leste...;” Sebastian and Smith, “The East Timor Crisis;” Cotton, “The Emergence of an Independent East Timor,” *CSEA* 22:1, April 2000, pp. 1-22; Dickens, “The United Nations in East Timor,” *CSEA* 23: 2, August 2001, pp. 213-32; Traub, “Inventing East Timor,” *Foreign Affairs* 79:4, July/August 2000, pp. 74-89.

**Malaysia:** Ganesan, “Malaysia-Singapore Relations: Some Recent Developments,” *Asian Affairs* 25:2, Spring 1998, pp. 21-37; Beeson, “Mahatir and the Markets...,” *Pacific Affairs* 73:3, Fall 2000, pp. 335-51; Stubbs, “The Foreign Policy of Malaysia,” in Wurfel and Burton, eds. (1990); Long, “Desecuritizing the Water Issue in Singapore-Malaysia Relations,” *CSEA* 23:3, December 2001, pp. 504-32; Nathan, “Malaysia-Singapore Relations: Retrospect and Prospect,” *CSEA* 24:2, pp.385-410; Martinez, “The Islamic State or the State of Islam in Malaysia,” *CSEA* 23:3, December 2001, pp. 474-503.

**Singapore:** Koh and Ling, “Singapore: A Home, A Nation?;” Dent, “Singapore’s Foreign Economic Policy,” *CSEA* 23:1, April 2001, pp. 1-23; Tay, “Island in the World: Globalization and Singapore’s Transformation,” *CSEA* 20:3, December 1998, pp.319-36; Lim, “Foreign Policy of Singapore,” in Wurfel and Burton, eds. (1990), on reserve in Library.

**Brunei:** Instructor will expand on Neher chapter on Brunei.

**The Philippines:** Almonte, “New Directions and Priorities in Philippine Foreign Relations;” San Pablo-Baviera, “Security Challenges of the Philippine Archipelago;” Storey, “Creeping Assertiveness: China, the Philippines and the South China Sea Dispute,” *CSEA* 21:1, April 1999, pp. 95-117; Wurfel, “Philippine Foreign Policy,” in Wurfel and Burton, eds. (1990); Rodell, “The Philippines: Gloria *in Excelsis*;” Buszynski, “Realism, Institutionalism, and Philippine Security,” *Asian Survey* 42:3, May/June 2002, pp. 483-501.

The continental states:

**Thailand:** Funston, “Thailand: Thaksin Fever;” Snitwongse, “Thai Foreign Policy in the Global Age: Principle or Profit?” *CSEA* 23:2, August 2001, pp. 189-212; Battersby, “Border Politics and the Broader Problems of Thailand’s International Relations in the 1990s,” *Pacific Affairs* 71:4, Winter 1998-1999, pp. 473-88; Funston, “Thai Foreign Policy: Seeking Influence;” Chaya-choke, “Thailand’s Relations with the New ASEAN Members...”

**Burma (Myanmar):** Seekins, “Myanmar: Secret Talks and Political Paralysis;” Steinberg, “Burma/Myanmar and the Dilemmas of U.S. Foreign Policy,”

CSEA 21:2, August 1999, pp. 283-311; Malik, "Myanmar's Role in Regional Security: Pawn or Pivot?" CSEA 19:1, June 1997, pp. 52-73; Malik, "Sino-Indian Rivalry in Myanmar..."; Steinberg, "Myanmar: Regional Relationships and Internal Concerns;" McCarthy, "Ten years of chaos in Burma: Foreign investment and economic liberalization under the SLORC-SPDC, 1988 to 1998," Pacific Affairs 73:2, Summer 2000, pp. 232-62; Maung Aung Myoe, "The National Reconciliation process in Myanmar," CSEA 24:2, August 2002, pp. 371-84.

**Cambodia:** Lizee, "The Evolution of Great Power Involvement in Cambodia," in Wurfel and Burton, eds. (1996), ; Kevin, "Cambodia's International Rehabilitation, 1997-2000," CSEA 22:3, December 2000, pp.594-612; Kao Kim Hourn, "Cambodia and the International Community: The Road Ahead;" Moller, "Cambodia and Burma: The ASEAN Way Ends Here," Asian Survey 38:12, December 1998, pp. 1087-1103.

**Laos:** Freeman, "Laos: No Safe Haven from the Regional Tumult;" Freeman, "Laos: Sedately Seguing into the Twenty-first Century;" Fox, "Laos: Toward Subregional Integration."

**Vietnam:** Thayer, "Vietnamese Foreign Policy: Multilateralism and the Threat of Peaceful Evolution;" Chang Pao Min, "Vietnam and China: New Opportunities and New Challenges," CSEA 19:2, September 1997; Amer, "The Territorial Disputes Between China and Vietnam and Regional Stability," CSEA 19:1, June 1997; Ang Cheng Guan, "Vietnam-China Relations Since the End of the Cold War," Asian Survey 38:12, December 1998, pp. 1122-41; Nguyen Vu Tung, "Vietnam-ASEAN Co-operation after the Cold War and the Continued Search for a Theoretical Framework," CSEA 24:1, April 2002, pp. 106-20; Pierre, "Vietnam's Contradictions," Foreign Affairs 79:6, November/December 2000, pp. 69-86.

Supplemental readings on Library reserve:

Emmerson, in Ellings and Simon, eds., Southeast Asian Security in the New Millenium, pp. 34-88; Neher, in Ellings and Simon, eds., pp. 149-74; Turley, in Ellings and Simon, eds., pp. 175-226; Lizee, in Wurfel and Burton, eds., Southeast Asia in the New world Order, pp. 221-43.

**a. The Maritime Core:** Indonesia, East Timor, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines

**Study Questions:**

1. Why has Indonesia been considered the pivot of regional international relations? Is this still the case?
2. What are the major foreign policy interests of the maritime countries?
3. What are the areas of interest competition between them?
4. What role does Islam play in their foreign policy?

5. What would be the foreign policy consequences of a breakup of the Indonesian state? Is this still likely?
6. What has been the impact of East Timor's independence?
7. What are the roots of poor relations between Malaysia and Singapore?
8. Why are Malaysian-Philippine relations coolly distant?
9. How has the Philippines adjusted to the discontinuity in its relations with the United States?
10. How has "democratization" impacted relations among the maritime core states?

**b. The Continental Core: Thailand, Myanmar (Burma), Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam**

**Study Questions:**

1. What is the Thai view of the continental subsystem?
2. What are the concerns of Thailand's neighbors about Thai policy?
3. What is meant by resource diplomacy?
4. What is the role of "democracy" and "human rights" in Myanmar's and Cambodia's foreign relations?
5. Are there "threats" in the continental core?
6. What are the policy differences between "upstream" and "downstream" Mekong River riparian states?
7. How is the role of China different in the continental core as opposed to the maritime core?
8. What is the role of minorities in the foreign relations of the continental core states?
9. In what sense has Cambodia's foreign policy been "internationalized?"
10. How "independent" is Laos as a sovereign actor?

**5. Southeast Asia as a Post-Cold War Regional Subsystem. (Oct. 22-Nov. 12)**

Read Acharya, Ch. 3,4 and 5; McCloud, Ch. 13 and 14; supplemental reading, Wurfel and Burton, eds. (1996) Ch. 2 and 3. Tay and Estanislao, "The Relevance of ASEAN: Crisis and Change;" Hernandez, "Challenges for Society and Politics;" Tay, "Institutions and Processes: Dilemmas and Possibilities;" Soesastro, 'ASEAN in 2030: The Long View;'' Khoo How San, "ASEAN as a Neighborhood Watch Group," CSEA 22:2, August 2000, pp. 279-301; Quigley, "ASEAN: How It Works and Why it matters," Weatherbec, "ASEAN and the Political Challenges of Expansion;" Acharya, "The evolution of ASEAN norms and the emergence of the 'ASEAN Way'" and "Extending ASEAN norms," in Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia; Kurlantzick, "Is East Asia Integrating?" Washington Quarterly 24:4, Autumn 2001, pp. 19-28; Ramcharan, "ASEAN and Non-interference: A Principle Maintained," CSEA 22:1, April 2000, pp. 60-88; Nischalke, "Insights from ASEAN's foreign Policy Co-operation: The 'ASEAN Way,' a Real Spirit or a Phantom?" CSEA 22:1, April

2000, pp. 89-112.

**Economic:** Rosenberger, "The Changing Face of Economic Security in Asia;" Ariff, "Trade, Investment, and Interdependence;" Soesastro, "Toward an East Asian Trading Arrangement;" Anwar, "The Role, Significance, and Prospects of APEC;" Pang, "The Financial Crisis of 1997-98 and the End of the Asian Developmental State," *CSEA* 22:3, December 2000, pp. 570-93; Weatherbee, "Subregional Growth Zones as a Development Strategy: The Mini-ASEANS," *Journal of Asian Business* 13:3, 1997, pp. 47-68

**Mekong Subregion:** Hourn and Chanto, "The Greater Mekong Subregion: An ASEAN Issue;" Weatherbee, "Cooperation and Conflict in the Mekong River Basin," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 20, 1997, pp. 167-84.

**Environmental:** Weatherbee, "Environment, Development, and Security in Southeast Asia;" Osborne, "The Strategic Significance of the Mekong," *CSEA* 22:3, December 2000, pp. 429-44.

**Human Rights:** Neher, "Democracy, Human Rights, and Security in Asia;" Mohamad, "Towards a Human Rights Regime in Southeast Asia...", *CSEA* 24:2, August 2002, pp. 230-51.

**Ethno-Religious Conflict:** Searle, "Ethno-Religious Conflicts: Rise or Decline? Recent Developments in Southeast Asia," *CSEA* 24: 1, April 2002, pp. 1-11; Davis, "Laskar Jihad and the Political Position of Conservative Islam in Indonesia," *CSEA* 24:1, April 2002, pp. 12-32; Ringuet, "The Continuation of Civil Unrest and Poverty in Mindanao," *CSEA* 24:1, April 2002, pp. 33-49; Banlaoi, "The Role of Philippine-American Relations in the Global Campaign Against Terrorism...", *CSEA* 24:2, August 2002, pp 294-312; Tan, "Armed Muslim Separatist Rebellion in Southeast Asia: Persistence, Prospects, and Implications," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 23:4, October-December 2000, pp. 267-88; Chalk, "Separatism and Southeast Asia: The Islamic Factor in Southern Thailand, Mindanao, and Aceh," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 24:4, July-August 2001, pp. 241-69; Ravich, "Eyeing Indonesia through the Lens of Aceh," *Washington Quarterly* 23: 3, Summer 2000; Gershman, "Is Southeast Asia the Second Front?" *Foreign Affairs* 81:4, July/August 2002, pp. 60-74.

**Islam:** Nakamura Mitsuo, "Introduction" to *Islam and Civil Society in Southeast Asia*; Bajunid, "Islam and Civil Society in Southeast Asia: A Review," in *ibid.*

#### a. ASEAN: An Overview

##### Study Questions:

1. What is the cement that holds ASEAN together? What are the different theoretical approaches to this issue?
2. How are decisions made in ASEAN?
3. Do the "qualitative" political differences among the ASEAN states affect their interactions?



4. Do the economic differences among the ASEAN states affect their interaction?
5. Is there an autonomous regional "interest" as opposed to an aggregation of ten separate national "interests"?
6. What are the "mini-ASEANs" and what is their impact on the region?
7. What was the ASEAN reaction to the 1997 economic crash? What has been the recovery pattern?
8. Is there any reason to amend the common judgment that ASEAN is the most successful example of Third World regionalism?
9. What are the links between ASEAN and other regional groupings? APEC, EU?
10. What was the challenge of the EAEG (EAEC) and has it been met?
11. Does "flexible engagement" or variants thereof have a chance?
12. What is the impact of ethno-religious unrest, particularly that associated with Islamic fundamentalism?
13. How important are ecological issues in the ASEAN framework?

**b. ASEAN and the Powers.**

In general, read Wurfel and Burton, eds., (1996) Part III, pp. 103-218; Ganesan, "ASEAN's Relations with Major External Powers," *CSEA* 22:2, August 2000, pp. 258-78; Stubbs, "ASEAN Plus Three," *Asian Survey* 42:3, May/June 2002, pp. 440-55.

**China:** Hernandez, "ASEAN Responses to an Emerging China;" Sebastian, "Southeast Asian Perceptions of China;" Christoffersen, "The Role of East Asia in Sino-American Relations," *Asian Survey* 42:3, May/June 2002, pp. 369-96.

**Japan:** Lam Peng Er, "Perceiving Japan: The View from Southeast Asia;" Singh, "ASEAN's Perception of Japan," *Asian Survey* 42:2, March/April 2002, pp. 276-96; Okamoto, "Japan and the US: The Essential Alliance," *Washington Quarterly* 25:2, Spring 2002, pp. 59-72.

**Europe:** Godement, "Europe and Asia: Is ASEM a Model for the Future?" Langhammer, "The Face Value of ASEAN-EU Economic Cooperation after the crisis...;" Dosch, "The ASEAN-EU Relations: An Emerging Pillar of the New International Order?"; Bridges, "Western Europe and Southeast Asia," in Wurfel and Burton, eds. (1996).

**Australia:** Chalk, "Australia and Indonesia: Rebuilding Relations After East Timor," *CSEA* 23:2, August 2001, pp. 233-53; McDougall, "Australia and Asia-Pacific Security Regionalism: From Hawke and Keating to Howard," *CSEA* 23:1, April 2001, pp. 81-100.

**Study Questions:**

1. What kind of differences do we find between bilateral and multilateral interactions among the external powers and ASEAN?

2. What were the reactions of the external powers to the ASEAN economic crisis?
3. How has the "human rights" question played out differently in terms of external power relations with ASEAN?
4. What are the major differences in the post-Cold War great power relations distinguishing them from the Cold War environment?

**c. Southeast Asian Strategic and Military Security. (Nov. 19-Dec. 10)**

Simon, "Asian Armed Forces...;" de Castro, "Managing 'Strategic Unipolarity'...;" Bandoro, "The Prospects of ASEAN Military Cooperation;" Tagliacozzo, "Border Permeability and the State in Southeast Asia: Contraband and Regional Security," CSEA 23:2, August 2001, pp. 254-74; Catley, "The Bush Administration and Changing Geopolitics in the Asia-Pacific Region," CSEA 23:1, April 2001, pp. 149-67; Simon, "Realism and neoliberalism: international relations theory and Southeast Asian security," Pacific Review 8:1, 1995, pp. 5-24.

**Study Questions:**

1. What are the "threat perceptions" in Southeast Asia?
2. Can we differentiate between economic security and political security?
3. Is there a new balance of power in Southeast Asia?
4. What were the security consequences of the termination of the U.S. bases in the Philippines?
5. Is the Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone a "real" security policy?
6. What is the status of defense alliances and alignments in Southeast Asia?
7. What are the prospects for any future Southeast Asian collective defense agreement?

**1) ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)**

Singh, "Evolution of the Security Dialogue Process in the Asia-Pacific Region;" Evans, "Assessing the ARF and CSCAP;" Emmers, "The Influence of the Balance of Power Factor within the ASEAN Regional Forum," CSEA 23:2, August 2001, pp. 275-91; Garofano, "Power, Institutions, and the ASEAN Regional Forum," Asian Survey 42:3, May/June 2002, pp. 502-21.

**Study Questions:**

1. Is ARF all bark and no bite?

2. Should ARF be delinked from ASEAN?
3. What is the contribution of ARF's "track two"?
4. Can ARF move to the higher stage of "preventive diplomacy"?
5. Even without preventive diplomacy, does ARF have functional relevance?

## 2) The South China Sea Conflict and Maritime Zone Issues.

Read Chien Chung, "Confidence-Building Measures in the South China Sea;" Hassan, "Disputes in the South China Sea;" Tonnesson, "Vietnam's Objective in the South China Sea," CSEA 22:1, April 2000, pp. 199-220; Odgaard, "Deterrence and Co-operation in the South China Sea," CSEA 23:2, August 2001, pp. 292-306; Ch. 13 (Valencia) in Wurfel and Burton, eds. (1996).

### Study Questions:

1. What are the legal, political and economic issues involved in the South China Sea disputes?
  2. What is the U.S. position?
  3. Why may this be considered a test of China's long term ambitions?
  4. What are the differences between multilateral and bilateral efforts to resolve the problem peacefully?
  5. What are the security, political and economic implications of other maritime boundary disputes in the region?
  6. What, if any, solutions are being found to these disputes?
6. **Presentation of Term Papers (Dec. 10)**
  7. **Final exam (Dec. 17)**

### **Possible Term Paper Topics**

These are examples of possible topics. Many other topics on regionalism and regional issues or foreign policies of individual states may be developed. Topic must be chosen within the first three weeks of the semester to allow time for acquisition of research materials.

1. What are the prospects for East Timor, the world's newest state?
2. Is there a role for Australia in Southeast Asia's future?
3. How important is Islamic fundamentalism in Southeast Asia?
4. Is China's policy towards Southeast Asia a classic "divide and rule" strategy?
5. Can the growing divide between "democratic" ASEAN and "non-democratic" ASEAN be narrowed?
6. Is it true that there is no American "strategic vision" with respect to Southeast Asia?
7. Why can't the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation's dispute settlement mechanisms be given substantive content?
8. What are the prospects of ARF moving to preventive diplomacy?
9. Can ASEAN survive a failure of the Indonesian state?
10. AFTA, APEC, EAEC, or WTO: what basket are the ASEAN eggs really in?
11. Can Japan establish a political role in Southeast Asia congruent with its economic role?
12. How important is environmental/resource security in Southeast Asia's future?
13. What is the impact of human rights issues in Southeast Asia?

## BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCES

### Official Sources

The starting point for U.S. government agencies is the Department of State's East Asia and Pacific Bureau at [www.state.gov/p/eap](http://www.state.gov/p/eap). Through its index you can access both country and topic data as well as links to other U.S. agencies.

The home page for ASEAN and related structures is [www.asean.or.id](http://www.asean.or.id). The ASEAN site map will guide you to ASEAN, ARF, etc., and also links to the official www sites of the member governments.

The home page for the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Pacific Forum is [www.csis.org/pacfor](http://www.csis.org/pacfor). It contains many useful policy and security sources, especially the PacNet Newsletter and the e-journal Comparative Connections.

### Specific Titles

The supplemental bibliography below has been grouped more or less by course segment, though there is overlap. It is very extensive, though not comprehensive, so that students will have an idea of the range of materials available for term papers. Much of the bibliography will be available from the instructor but not in the Seton Hall library in paper, though many sources are available through Academic Search or Lexis-Nexis. The following cited periodicals are available in the library: Asian Affairs (AA), Asian Survey (AS), Foreign Affairs, Pacific Affairs (PA) and the Washington Quarterly. Regional newspapers, in particular the Singapore Straits Times and the Bangkok Post, are valuable sources and may be accessed through the Internet.

All articles cited in Wurfel and Burton, eds., are in Wurfel, David and Bruce Burton, eds., The Political Economy of Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990. A copy is in the library. Articles cited in Broinowski, ed., are in Broinowski, Alison, ed., ASEAN into the 1990s, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990, which is not in the library (see instructor).

### I. Country Articles

#### Indonesia

Chalk, Peter. "Australia and Indonesia: Rebuilding Relations After East Timor." CSEA 23:2 (August 2001), pp. 189-212.

Johnson, Douglas. "Drawn into the Fray: Indonesia's Natuna Islands Meet China's Long Gaze South." AA 24:3 (Fall 1997), pp. 163-79.

King, Dwight. "Indonesia's Foreign Policy." In Wurfel and Burton, eds., pp. 74-100.

Kivimaki, Timo. "U.S.-Indonesian Relations During the Economic Crisis: Where Has Indonesia's Bargaining Power Gone?" *CSEA* 22:3 (December 2000), pp.527-49.

Ravich, Samantha F. "Eyeing Indonesia through the Lens of Aceh." *Washington Quarterly* 23:3 (Summer 2000), pp. 7-20.

Rizal Sukma. "Recent Developments in Sino-Indonesian Relations: An Indonesian View." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (CSEA) 16:1 (June 1994), pp. 35-45.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Evolution of Indonesian Foreign Policy: An Indonesian View." *AS* 35:3 (March 1995), pp. 304-15.

Smith, Anthony. "Indonesia's Foreign Policy under Abdurrahman Wahid: Radical or Status Quo State?" *CSEA* 22:3 (December 2000), pp. 479-97.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Indonesia's Role in ASEAN: The End of Leadership." *CSEA* 21:2 (August 1999), pp. 238-60.

Storey, Ian James. "Indonesia's China Policy in the New Order and Beyond: Problems and Prospects." *CSEA* 22:1 (April 2000), pp. 145-74.

Suryadinata, Leo. "Islam and Suharto's Foreign Policy: Indonesia, the Middle East and Bosnia." *AS* 35:3 (March 1995), pp. 291-303.

Vatikiotis, Michael R.J. "A Giant Treads Carefully: Indonesia's Foreign Policy in the 1990s." In Ross, Robert S., ed., *East Asia in Transition: Toward a New Regional Order*. Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Indonesia's Foreign Policy in the 1990s." *CSFA* 14:4 (March 1993), pp. 362-67.

### **East Timor**

Dickens, David. "The United Nations in East Timor: Intervention at the Military Operational Level." *CSEA* 23:2 (August 2001), pp.213-32.

Gorjao, Paulo. "The End of a Cycle: Australian and Portuguese Foreign Policies and the Fate of East Timor." *CSEA* 23:1 (April 2001), pp. 101-21.

Hill, Hal. "East Timor's Future: Southeast Asian or South Pacific?" *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2001. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001. Pp. 82-92.

Sebastian, Leonard C. and Anthony L. Smith. "The East Timor Crisis: A Test Case for Humanitarian Intervention." Southeast Asian Affairs 2000. Pp. 64-83.

### **Malaysia and Singapore**

Beeson, Mark. "Mahatir and the markets: Globalisation and the pursuit of economic Autonomy in Malaysia." PA 73:3 (Fall 2000), pp. 335-51.

Dent, Christopher M. "Singapore's Foreign Economic Policy: The Pursuit of Economic Security." CSEA 23:1 (April 2001), pp. 1-23.

Ganesan, N. "Malaysia-Singapore Relations: Some Recent Developments." AA 25:2 (Spring 1998), pp. 21-37.

Lim, Linda. "Foreign Policy of Singapore." In Wurfel and Burton, eds.

Margolin, Jean-Louis. "Singapore: New Regional Influence, New World Outlook." CSEA 20:3 (December 1998), pp. 319-36.

Stubbs, Richard. "The Foreign Policy of Malaysia." In Wurfel and Burton, eds.

Tay, Simon S.C. "Island in the World: Globalization and Singapore's Transformation." Southeast Asian Affairs 2001. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001. Pp. 279-309.

Zakaria Haji Ahmad. "Malaysian Foreign Policy." In Brian Hocking, ed., Foreign Ministries: Adaptation and Change. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

### **Myanmar**

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