Subject Outline and Introduction

INTR13-305: Australia and the Asia-Pacific

Semester 2, 2017

NB This Guide updates all earlier guides and subject descriptions

1. INTRODUCTION

This subject investigates the new dynamics in foreign policy, economics, culture, and security issues that are affecting Australasia in the broader Asian, Pacific and Indian Ocean contexts. The subject begins with a brief outline of Australian foreign affairs and defense policy, then moves on to Australia’s contemporary international setting. Australia has sought to deepen its ties with East and Southeast Asia but in recent years has also become aware of the future impact of India and South Asia as a whole. Changing security concerns have also complicated dialogue with Indonesia and China, transformed within the context of relations with a United States that is re-engaging the region. In recent years, too, Australia has experienced radically changing responsibilities in regard to energy security, climate change, economic security and its global role. Relations with small and developing nations within the Asia-Pacific are also noted, e.g. with the Pacific Islands and Southeast Asian states.
The subject looks at regional organizations such as APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation), ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations), the ASEAN Regional Forum, CSCAP (Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific), and the East Asia Summit (EAS) process. Recent initiatives such as IORA (the Indian Ocean Regional Association) and the China’s OBOR (One-Belt-One-Road) are also addressed. Economic, environmental and strategic concerns are interlinked in this region, needing careful calibration of resource and energy policies.

No pre-requisites are needed. This subject outline updates earlier short guides.

2. LECTURE AND SEMINAR TIMETABLE:

Coordinator: Dr R. James Ferguson (Ph. 55 952520, e-mail: james_ferguson@bond.edu.au)

Lecturers: Dr R. James Ferguson and guest lecturers.

Lecture: Wednesday 14:00 – 16:00, Rm 04_4_39  (Please confirm in your latest timetable.)

Tutorials: 1 hr. Please check your latest timetable and check emails for updates.

Lecture Program

Week 1: A 21st Century Agenda for the 'Indo-Pacific' Region

Week 2: Australia’s International Relations: Shifting Trends in Foreign Policy

Week 3: The Transformation of Indonesia (1997-2017) and its Regional Significance

Week 4: An Asia-Pacific 'Concert-of-Powers' or Strategic Imbalance?


Week 6: ASEAN-Plus: The Drivers of Open Regionalism

Week 7: Asia-Pacific Transitions: Environmental, Economic and Energy Challenges

Week 8: South Asia and the Indian Ocean: Cooperation or Institutionalized Conflict?

Week 9: The Not-So-Peaceful South Pacific
Week 10: China’s One-Belt-One-Road (OBOR) Initiative and Its Regional Impact

Week 11: Regional Diversity, Asian Globalization and Competitive Regionalism

Week 12: Future-Directed Policies for the Indo-Pacific Region

Seminar Program

The seminar sessions will focus on student presentations (25 minutes inclusive of video and class discussion, no more than 2 per session, see further below for guidelines). Students will be booked into the seminar timetable through weeks 1-2 when topics are selected. Beyond this, lecturer-prepared seminars and worksheets will be presented to extend and complement the lecture series. This will be done in long and short formats, depending on the time available. Approximately 8-10 topics will be presented out of the following:

1. Australia and the Region: What Region and Which Processes?
2. Australia's International Relations in an Age of ‘Strategic Partnerships’?
4. Avoiding Conflict Escalation: Different Strategies, Divergent Thinking
5. Cooperative Security Versus Competition in the Indian Ocean
6. ASEAN – Deficits in Human Rights and Human Security
7. Environmental Diplomacy: Regional Implications of the Haze
8. Indian Ocean Developmental Networks: IORA
10. Multi-Track Diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific: Agenda Setting
11. Security Risks: Adapting the Status Quo or a New Cold War?

3. INITIAL READINGS AND RESOURCES

Textbooks:

No single text-book is up to date on this range of issues. Lecture notes and readings will be distributed to students throughout the subject (via iLearn, the web, and in hardcopy).

Recommended reading:

You might like to look at one of the following (via Bond Library resources): -

ACHARYA, Amitav Constructing A Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order, Abingdon, Routledge, 2014
BALDINO, Daniel et al. (eds) Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates, South Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2014
BERMAN, Evan & SHAMSUL HAQUE, M. *Asian Leadership in Policy and Governance*, Bingley, Emerald Publishing Group, 2015
CARR, Andrew *Winning the Peace: Australia’s Campaign to Change the Asia-Pacific*, Carlton, Melbourne, 2015

The lecturer will direct you to other materials to supplement these items, as posted on iLearn, via the databases, the web or held in Bond University Library. See the 'Research Bibliography and Resources' below for a selection that will give you an idea of some of the materials available that will help you in seminars. Material can be found in on-line databases found via the Bond 'Library Search', or by searching particular electronic resources (especially Ebsco, Australian Public Affairs, Oxford Journals Online, and Ebrary), the reserve, loan and reference shelves, and specialised Internet sites (though these need to be used critically).

The following journals and papers will also be useful (most are available via the web or Library resources): -

- *ABC News Online*
- *ASEAN News*
- *The Asia and Pacific Review*
- *Asia-Pacific Defence-Reporter*
- *The Asia Times Online*
- *Asian Affairs*
- *Asian Survey*
- *Asian Wall Street Journal*
- *The Australian*
- *Australian Defence Force Journal*
- *Australian Journal of International Affairs*
- *China Daily*
- *China Quarterly*
- *Comparative Connections*
You will also find a range of television programs useful, e.g. SBS News, Dateline, and Foreign Correspondent. Online news services such as the ABC, BBC, Al Jazeera English and CNN provide coverage of some issues. However, it is important not to rely just on general Internet sources, which are of varying quality.

Useful web resources include:

A wider range of material will be found under by Library Search or via E-Resources option of the Bond University Library Webpage, e.g. Oxford Journals Online, Australian Public Affairs, Ebsco, and Ebrary.

The ABC (Australia) has a useful international and regional news page located at http://abc.net.au/news/world/default.htm

The APEC webpage, with a range of news and research, can be found at http://www.apec.org/

The ASAN Forum provides a wide range of IR commentary on Asian affairs at http://www.theasanforum.org/

The official website of ASEAN will be found at http://www.asean.org/
The Asia Foundation has a wide range of data on Asia and Asian issues at http://asiafoundation.org/ as well as weekly analysis at http://asiafoundation.org/in-asia/

The Asia Pacific Forum, an organization focused on regional human human rights, has a range of material at http://www.asiapacificforum.net/

Asia Times Online provides an alternative view of Asian and global affairs, located at http://www.atimes.com/

The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Homepage provides a range of useful documents and links, at http://www.dfat.gov.au

The Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) has a wide range of analysis on foreign affairs, security and defence issues, located at http://www.aspi.org.au/

The Brookings Institution has a wide range of news and analysis, accessible via http://www.brookings.edu/ and http://www.brookings.edu/research/topics/asia-and-the-pacific

The Center for Strategic & International Studies (CIS) has a range of publications on East Asia, the Pacific, South Asia and US defense and security issues, access via http://csis.org/ and http://csis.org/region/asia

The CSCAP (Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific) homepage provides a range of useful information on its roles and Asia-pacific affairs via http://cscap.org/

The Diplomat provides a range of topical analysis on Asia Pacific Affairs at http://thediplomat.com/

The East Asia Forum has a range of news and short articles accessible via http://www.eastasiaforum.org/

The International Relations and Security Network (ISN ETH Zurich) has a range of useful articles and videos on global and Asia-Pacific security issues, access via http://www.isn.ethz.ch/

The Interpreter provides detailed coverage of Australian and regional international relations at http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/

The Lowy Institute has a wide range of articles and policy papers on Australia, Asia and regional affairs, accessible via http://www.lowyinstitute.org/

Noria Research provides wide-ranging analysis of international affairs at http://www.noria-research.com/

The online page of the Parliament of Australian Parliamentary Library has a number of useful research papers (and other publications), focusing on
Australian politics and international relations, located at http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs

The Radio Australia Website has useful audio materials, transcripts and Mp3s, located at http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/asiapac/

RSIS (S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies) in Singapore has a wide range of research commentaries and paper, access via http://www.rsis.edu.sg/


Other useful sites will be indicated in lecture handouts during the subject.

4. ASSESSMENT

Grades are awarded on the standard Bond University scale. Students are expected to meet normal academic criteria.

Standard referencing techniques, as found in the footnote or author-date systems, or formatted via Endnote, Flow or Refworks software, are acceptable.

Students may use either the footnote or author-date system of referencing so long as this is done consistently. Paraphrasing can be checked through Turnitin software, which must be used (this is run via the iLearn webpages). Remember, however, that even when paraphrased ideas borrowed from sources must still be referenced within the body of the paper (either by footnote or author-date methods). Seminar papers must include bibliographies, with adequate referencing and citations within the body of the paper. Assignments that do not provide citations within the body of the paper will receive a fail grade. (See further http://bond.libguides.com/referencing-styles).

Plagiarism, which is the unacknowledged use of another person's words or ideas, verbatim or paraphrased, will result in severe penalties. University policy on plagiarism defines plagiarism as taking and using another person's thoughts, ideas or writings and passing them off as one's own. The University considers the act of plagiarising to be a breach of the Student Conduct Code and, therefore, subject to a range of penalties including the reduction of marks or grades, fines and suspension from the University (details are listed in Plagiarism and Academic Dishonesty Policy at https://bond.edu.au/plagiarism-policy)

Students who wish to improve their research skills should sign on to Library tutorials which take you through Bond University research resources.

Assessment Breakdown (Undergraduate):
Undergraduate students are encouraged to take an active part in class discussion and seminars, whose content is examinable. Seminar materials comprise approximately one third of the exam assessment. Suggested effective attendance is 80% of total contact time (if you have problems reaching this level please contact the lecturer).

Note that the seminar presentation and seminar paper are on the same topic, unless otherwise approved by the lecturer.

Undergraduate – INTR13-305

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>% Weight</th>
<th>Due Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Seminar Presentation weeks 2-11</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>Booked in via Seminar Schedule</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Seminar Paper 3,000-3,500 words</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>Friday 4pm, Week 12</td>
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<td>3. Exam (Closed Book)</td>
<td>40%</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Participation Mark</td>
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Note:

Assignments are to be submitted electronically via iLearn (by Friday of Week 12 before 4 pm), and in hardcopy to the Assignment Drop Box located in the Multifunction Learning Centre (MLC) near the lifts, by Friday of Week 12 before 4 pm. (Coversheets can be downloaded from https://bond.edu.au/hss-assignment-coversheet.) Note that assignments which have not been submitted by both iLearn and a signed hardcopy will not be marked till this has been rectified.

Assignments should be in 1.5 or double spacing, with page numbers added. Students should attach a cover sheet, and keeping the bottom section for their own records. Copies of assignments should be kept on their computers by students.

Extensions and Late Submission: Late assignments without a certified extension will receive a penalty, depending on circumstance, and may not be marked until the end of the subject. Assignments without adequate grounds will not be accepted after the end of week 13. However, if you have a genuine reason for handing your assignment in late (illness, accident, unforeseen and serious family issues) your case will be treated with understanding. You must request an extension, in writing or via email, before the due date or as soon as possible thereafter. These requests must be accompanied or followed-up by supporting documents, such as a medical certificate, counsellor's letter, or funeral notice.

Seminar Presentation Guidelines

Seminar Presentation

The aim of the seminars is to 1) expose students to a wide range of topics, data, research and viewpoints 2) to stimulate thought and discussion on the topic 3) to get feedback from other students and the tutor 4) to act as a 'low risk' run through of your paper 5), and 6) to cover subjects in more detail than can be done in the lectures.
Any ideas or areas for improvement which have been pointed out by the lecturer or other students should be incorporated into the final version of your paper.

**A range of seminar topics are listed below.** You will need to do individual research to interpret these, using current books, databases, magazines, papers and academic journals to cover the issues. Do not just rely on general Internet sources. See the lecturer, tutor or the librarian for help in identifying some of these resources. **Topics not on the list below will need written approval from your lecturer/tutor in advance.** Individualized seminar topics which have not been approved in advance will not be graded.

In the presentation, it is best to provide students with a 'base' information sheet, outlining your topic, the central question, the key facts, and a summary of your conclusion. In your handout or slides include and initial list of references. **You will need to have prepared some key questions to lead this class discussion.** You may use power-point, internet or video sources, or audio materials. If you are using video, select short and appropriate film sections. Bearing in mind the time-limits (**circa 25 minutes**), you may need to present a slightly shortened version of your fuller, and more detailed seminar paper.

**Seminar presentations are a professional engagement. If you have booked in for a week ensure that you present at that time.** If you need to re-book a time, contact your tutor in advance, but a new time cannot be guaranteed. Material presented in seminars is an integral part of the subject.

**Seminar Paper Guidelines**

In the seminar paper, please consider the following general guidelines:

1. **Clarity of introduction:** Key issues and/or hypothesis stated explicitly and coherently. The structure should be clearly outlined, and related to broader context.
2. **Selection of appropriate content:** Content should be tightly focused on the question and linked to support the overall argument, demonstrating an advanced understanding of key concepts and terms.
3. **Quality of argument:** Arguments should reflect a high level of analysis, and/or evaluation. They need to integrate research materials and examples effectively. They should show an understanding of the major assumptions and theories relevant to the paper.
4. **Writing and expression:** Paragraphs should be linked in a logical fashion, and ideas expressed clearly. Avoid errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar and sentence structure. Avoid exact repetition of set phrases (unless technical terms).
5. **Effective conclusion:** Should demonstrate outcome of research, based on concise assessment of evidence and arguments given in the paper.
6. **Citations and Bibliography:** Any standard style acceptable, but needs to cite materials in body of paper (author/date or footnote method) as well provide bibliography or list of references at the end. Should demonstrate extensive and appropriate reading and research.
5. SEMINAR TOPICS

The following are seminar topics that you can begin to research. **Students will not be allowed to present on exactly the same topic that has already been chosen by another member of the same seminar group** - the tutor will direct the student to related or alternative seminar topics in this case. Author-date references refer to works in the Research Bibliography (below).

1. Outline the role of regional development banks (e.g. the ADB and newer AIIA) in the wider Asia-Pacific and some of their projects. Why have the operations of such institutions become more important, and controversial, in recent years?

2. Outline Australia's comprehensive engagement with Indonesia as it has evolved from 2005. How has this relationship been complicated through 2014-2017 and does this indicate an underlying problem in national perceptions?

3. Outline the ‘Freedom of Navigation Exercises’ run by the U.S. in the South China Sea. What are the aims, benefits, and risks of such operations?

4. Has Japan already ‘normalised’ its international role, including a greater role in peace-keeping and ‘peace support’ operations? Critically discuss in the light of constitutional debates over the last decade and the new capacities being developed by Japan’s Self-Defense-Forces.

5. Outline current debates (2013-2017) concerning the capability gaps of the Australian Defense Force, given emerging funding parameters. How has the 2016 Defence White Paper sought to address this problem?

6. Has East Timor (Timor-Leste) become a viable state and sustainable economy within the Asia-Pacific region? Critically analyze, noting trends over the last decade.

7. Outline India’s recent naval and military acquisition programs, which include aircraft carriers, 'stealth' frigates and new combat aircraft. What influence will this have on India’s relative power in the Indian Ocean and the Asia-Pacific region, and how will it impact on relations with the U.S. and China?

8. Has New Zealand been able to maintain an independent policy towards the Asia-Pacific region? How has it balanced its relations with Australia and the United States?

9. Why has Australia sought to engage strongly in the East Asia Summit (EAS) process? To what degree is the EAS replacing, or supplementing, the roles of the wider ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)?

10. Outline the strategic choices involved in the Australian Navy acquiring 12 new long-range submarines as a core part of its future naval force. What roles are these submarines expected to play and what impact will their acquisition have on major Asian states?
11. Outline Australia's cyber-defence capabilities. To what extent do these services provide an effective defense for Australians against cyber-attack. Outlines gaps or problems with existing policies and their implementation.

12. Has a stable pattern of 'nuclear deterrence' and 'transparency' evolved in South Asia? If not, what are the regional implications? (NB - note the technical usage of these terms and their theoretical basis).

13. Profile Singapore’s foreign policy in relation to Southeast Asia. To what extent has Singapore been a ‘pace setter’ in regional integration in order to reduce its own relative vulnerability?

14. Outline Myanmar’s ongoing democratic transition. To what degree have human rights problems been addressed by Myanmar’s government through 2015-2017?

15. To what degree can Australia and Japan coordinate their aid, foreign affairs and security policies to support a more stable and peaceful Asia-Pacific? Outline opportunities and limitations for deepened cooperation between these two countries.

16. Is ‘mutually-assured restraint’ (MAR) a useful mechanism to reduce US-China tensions? Explain this concept and how it might be applied in the current decade.

17. Outline the changing relationship between the Republic of the Philippines and the PRC through 2015-2017. To what degree do disputed maritime disputes still undermine this relationship?

18. Has the U.S. forged a new understanding with China from April 2017? What outstanding issues limit this bilateral relationship?

19. To what decree has Russia emerged as a major power in the Indo-Pacific? What factors constrain its engagement with the wider region?

20. Outline the development of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) negotiations since 2012. What are the implications for Australia?

21. In what ways can Australia expand its ‘defence relationship’ with China, as framed by the ‘Comprehensive Strategic Partnership’ (established in 2014)? Will this help reduce US-China tensions?

22. Should Australia engage further in China’s One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative, beyond its existing investment in the AIIB (the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank)? What steps has the Australian government made in this direction?

24. What critical challenges does Fiji face in the 21st century? Outline international and foreign relations initiatives that Fiji might mobilize to support its national development and economic sustainability.
25. Outline cooperative trends towards humanitarian and disaster relief in the Asia-Pacific region through 2004-2017, including ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) initiatives such as the ASEAN Emergency Rapid Assessment Team. Do these trends provide the basis for wider security cooperation against non-traditional threats?

26. Indonesia remains a firm supporter of ASEAN (and related organizations) as the key driver of regionalism in the Asia-Pacific. Why has ASEAN been historically important to Indonesia and what are the implications for the region?


28. "One of the most underdeveloped relationships in the Indo-Pacific region is that between Australia and India. In terms of trade, defense and regional influence, the two countries could benefit from closer ties." Critically discuss, noting trends over the last decade and current prospects.

29. Can cooperation among 'middle powers' shape a more stable Asia-Pacific? Outline the way 'middle power' states such as South Korea, Canada and Australia have sought in enhance their regional influence via alternative paths of diplomatic engagement.

30. Should Australia's 'immediate neighbourhood' remain a strategic priority for national defence policy? What are the implications of Australia's leadership aspirations for Southeast Asia, PNG, Timor-Leste and the South Pacific?

31. Outline the strengths and weakness of the framework treaty negotiated between Australia and the EU (evolving from 2008). What might Australia gain by this agreement?

32. Outline Australia’s historical diplomacy in relation to the status of Antarctica. Will new geopolitical factors begin to change this policy in coming decades?

33. Has Australia successfully mobilized ‘soft power’ in its relations with Asia? Critically analyze two major examples where Australia could further develop its ‘soft power’ in regional relations.

7. Thematic Research Bibliography and Resources

This is a small sample of the some of the items that are related to the course subject matter. Most of these materials will be found on the loan shelves, in library databases, e-access via the library catalogue, or via online journals and web sites. When beginning to research your seminar topic this list can suggest the kind of material and sources to explore.

Introduction and Background


### Australian Foreign, Defence and Security Policies


Baldino, Daniel et al. (eds) *Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates*, South Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2014


CARR, Andrew *Winning the Peace: Australia's Campaign to Change the Asia-Pacific*, Carlton, Melbourne, 2015

Conley Tyler, Melissa H. et al. “Is international affairs too ‘hard’ for women? Explaining the missing women in Australia's international affairs”, *Australian...


FROST, Frank Engaging the Neighbours: Australia and ASEAN Since 1974, Canberra, ANU Press, 2016


HEALEY, Justin (ed.) Australia’s Engagement with Asia, Thirroul, Spinney Press, 2013


MACINTYRE, Stuart A Concise History of Australia, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1999


OKAMATO, Jiro Australia’s Foreign Economic Policy and ASEAN, Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010
PATIENCE, Allan “Imagining middle powers”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs, Volume 68, Number 2*, March 2014, pp210-224

REILLY, Benjamin "Australia as a Southern Hemispheric Power", *Strategic Insights (ASPI)*, no 61, July 2013


WANG, Yi *Australia-China Relations Post-1949: Sixty Years of Trade and Politics*, Farnham, Burlington VT, 2012


ZAMMIT, Andrew *Australian Foreign Fighters: Risks and Responses*, Sydney, Lowy Institute, April 2015

**Great Power Politics**


EUAN, Graham “Southeast Asia in the US Rebalance: Perceptions from a Divided Region”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol. 35 Issue 3*, 2013, pp305-332


GILLEY, Bruce Middle Powers and the Rise of China, Washington, Georgetown University Press, 2014

GLASER, Charles "Will China's Rise Lead to War?", Foreign Affairs, Vol. 90 no. 2, March/April 2011, pp80-91


**Indonesia and Southeast Asia**

ABUZA, Zachary "Funding terrorism in Southeast Asia: the financial network of Al Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiya", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 25 no. 2, August 2003, pp169-199


BUDIMAN, Arief et al. (eds.) *Reformasi: Crisis and Change in Indonesia*, Clayton, Monash Asia Institute, 1999


EKLOF, Stefan Indonesia Politics in Crisis: The Long Fall of Suharto, Copenhagen, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 1999


GLOVER, David & JESSUP, Timothy (eds) Indonesia's Fires and Haze: The Cost of Catastrophe, Singapore, ISEAS, 1999

HAMID, Ahmad Fauzi Abdul “Islamist Realignments and the Rebranding of the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia.”, Contemporary Southeast Asia, August 2008, Vol. 30 Issue 2, pp215-240


NATHAN, K.S. & KAMALI, Mohammad Hashim (eds.) Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social and Strategic Challenges for the 21st Century, Singapore, ISEAS, 2005


STUART-FOX, Martin. "Southeast Asia and China: the role of history and culture in shaping future relations", Contemporary Southeast Asia, 26 no.1, April 2004, pp116-139

YOUNG, Adam J. & VALENCIA, Mark J. "Conflation of Piracy and Terrorism in Southeast Asia: Rectitude and Utility", Contemporary Southeast Asia, 35 no. 2, August 2013, pp269-283

**ASEAN and Asia-Pacific Regionalism**

ACHARYA, Amitav Constructing A Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order, Abingdon, Routledge, 2014
ALLISON, Laura & TAYLOR, Monique “ASEAN’s ‘people-oriented’ aspirations: civil society influences on non-traditional security governance,” Australian Journal of International Affairs, March 2016, pp1-18
ASEAN ASEAN Economic Blueprint 2025, Jakarta, ASEAN Secretariat, 2015
BEESON, Mark Institutions of the Asia Pacific: ASEAN, APEC and Beyond, Milton Park, Routledge, 2009
BERMAN, Evan & SHAMSUL HAQUE, M. Asian Leadership in Policy and Governance, Bingley, Emerald Publishing Group, 2015
CHEN, Jingyang “TPP and RCEP: Boon or Bane for ASEAN?” In Asia, 9 September 2015 [http://asiafoundation.org/2015/09/09/tpp-and-rcep-boon-or-bane-for-asean/]
COLLINS, Alan “A People-Oriented ASEAN: A Door Ajar or Closed for Civil Society Organizations?”, Contemporary Southeast Asia, 30 no. 2, August 2008, pp313-331
CONNELLY, Aaron L. "Sovereignty and the Sea: President Joko Widodo's Foreign Policy Challenges", Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol. 37 no. 1, April 2015, pp1-28
HAFTEL, Yoram Z. “Conflict, Regional Cooperation, and Foreign Capital: Indonesian Foreign Policy and the Formation of ASEAN”, Foreign Policy Analysis, 6 no. 2, April 2010, pp87-106
HALL, Kenneth R. "The Roots of ASEAN: Regional Identities in the Strait of Malaka Region Circa 1500 C.E."., Asian Journal of Social Science, 29 no. 1, 2001, pp87-119
HENG, Michael S.H. “Advancing Community Building for ASEAN,” East Asia, Vol. 32, 2015, pp421-440
MA, Ratih “Cultural Diplomacy in ASEAN: Collaborative Efforts,” International Journal of Social Science and Humanity, Vol. 5 no. 4, April 2015, pp394-397


SIMON, Sheldon “ASEAN and Multilateralism: The Long, Bumpy Road to Community”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia, 30 no. 2*, August 2008, pp264-292 214


**South Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Indo-Pacific**


CHAUDURI, K.N. Asia *Before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge, CUP, 1990

DARBY, Philip (ed.) *Indo-Australian Relations: Encounters Beyond the State*, London: Routledge, 2017


McPHERSON, Kenneth *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1993


TIEZZI, Shannon “Can China Woo India to the Maritime Silk Road?”, *The Diplomat*, 7 April 2014 [http://thediplomat.com/2015/04/can-china-woo-india-to-the-maritime-silk-road/]

VENKATSHAMY, Krishnappa “The Indian Ocean Region in India’s Strategic Futures: Looking Out to 2030”, *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region, Vol. 9 no. 1, June 2013*, pp17-41


WASLEKAR, Sundeep & BHATT, Semu “India's strategic future: 2025”, *Futures, 36 nos. 6-7*, August-Sept 2004, pp811-21


**The South Pacific and Pacific Islands**


HAMEIRI, Shahar “The Region Within: RAMSI, the Pacific Plan and New Modes of Governance in the Southwest Pacific”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs, 63 no. 3*, September 2009, pp348-360


MOLLOY, Ivan (ed.), *Eye of the Cyclone: Issues in Pacific Security*, Pacific Islands Political Studies Association (PIPSA), University of the Sunshine Coast, 2004


ROBIE, David *Blood on Their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific*, Leichhardt, N.S.W., Pluto Press Australia, 1989


**Non-Traditional Security, Environmental, Energy and Other Issues**

ADVANI, Shri L.K. *New Approaches to Security and Development*, Singapore, ISEAS, 2003


BALL, Desmond & GUAN, Kwa Chong (eds) *Assessing Track 2 Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific Region: A CSCAP Reader*, Canberra, Strategic & DefenceStudies Centre SNU, 2010


