

6RXWK &KLQD (DVW 9LHWQDP RU
&RPSDUDWLYH)UDPLQJ \$QDO\VLV
1HZV &RYHUDJH RI 6RXWKHDVV
'LVSXWHV

Bradley &)UHHPDQ

\$VVRFLDWH 3URIHWRUQRI,ORRBRQWDRQHWEGOHVVKLIG 6FKRR
&RPPXQLFDWLRQ \$RHLQFDQDQ&QHWMLG\$UDE (PLUDW

\$EVWUDRW \HDUV WKH ZRUOG SDLG VFDQW DWWHQW
VNLUPLVKHV DQG VRYHUHLJQW\ VTXDEWKHV LQ ZKDW
6RXWK &KLQD 6HD +RZHYHU LQ WQHVSDMWDIHZ \HDUV
QRWHZRUKW\ KDSSHQLQJV WKDW KDYHDSWZQ WKH D
LQFOXGLQJ D &KLQPHQVRLQHDUJ9SDHQDP D 3KLOLS
LQWHUQDWLRQDO \$FRXUW XFDPLHW DDSDP BWLQVH UHFO
SURMHFWV ODQ\ RI WKH FRXQWULHV RLDYROYHG DUH
JURXSLQJ NQRZQ DV \$(\$1 \$VVRFLDWRQ RI 6RXWK
7KLV VWXG\ H[DPLQJLQV \$DQJXDUH SUKHWV ORNLQJ
DPRXQW SDWWHUQDJH DQGYWBRQWRRWHGLYSDXWH
5HVXOWV LQGLFDWHWKDWRXWKRIKWKD 6HD\ SUHYDLQ
FRXQWULHV H[FHSW 9LHWQDP 7KH \$VHDQ QHZVSDS
FRQVLVWHQW DQG VXEVDQWLDO DPRXQW RI VSDFH
,QGRQJHakattPost WHQGHG WR XVH QHXWUDO RU SRVLWLY
PHQWLRQLQJ \$VHDQDQ&KLVQHVSZ PFEUWLRJOWLYH DVV
LQ WKH FRYHUDJH)XUWKHU UHVHDQWK RDVVXJJHVWH
FRPPXQLFDWLRQ WKHRULHV DQG SHUVSHFWLYHV

,QWURGXFWRQ

7R DQ\ FDXDO REVHUYHU RI ZRUOG HYHQWV DQG LQV
GLIILFXOW LQ WKH SDVW IHZ \HDU\LSXWYHRLGHODZWHGV
RIWHQ UHIHUHG WR DV WKH 6RXWK &KLQD 6HDKDYJLRIQ
PDQ\ GHFDGHV DQG UHVHDUFKHUVLDDYFRQDQVHW \$RQYI
@ LQWHUQDWLRQDO QHZV PHGLWHKUDYLVW RUHQGHGLW\$X
WKH OHQV RI HDFK LQFLGHQFHV\ QHZVZRUKLQHVV :K
PDQ\ \HDUV WKH UHFHQW LQFUHDVHDLQ WQHDQDORXQLW
FKDQJH LQ WKH VLWXDWLRQ

5LYDO FRXQWULHVXHDYH RDYHJX HWV UDWWRQDF/ ULQHWKIDQG
ZDWHUV RI WKH 6RXWK &KLQD 6HDUW RDUWKEDSDZLDFH

&RUHVS RQGLQELHDPVQKQ#DXG HGX

FRYHULQJ DQ DUHD IURP WKH 0D 00DF F2 \ 60VUZD LMVQGWGX MW
 WR WKH LQFUHDVHG QHZV FRYHUDRPIX QHPPEBUM RRVKIH
 ZLWK WKH LVVXH DW VWDNH LQHWKKNYDIHRRPH MRRVDEB
 &KLQD TV³ GDVK OLQH VHYHUDOVLQVBIWPGWFDHOFD VGR
 ZKHUH &KLQD FODLPHYHURBYOHERXQQWILGQ FKDYHP RYHRJODS
 DUHD QDPHO\ 9LHVQDVP %WIKH BKLLODSDQGLDQ GFDQZDQD
 8QLWHG 6WDWHV KDV DOVR EHFRRPHKHQYVVOYHGRILQDWHK
 PDULWLPWUDGH URXWHV LWV KLVWRULFDO SUHVHQF
 FRXQWULHV 2WKEDDVRKQVUDHWDKEDRQORQHLODWHLURQD
 -DSDQ &DPERGLD ,QGLD DQG PRURI FRWQWOLHWKXHQRE
 \$VVRFLDWLRQ RI 16RVRKQDVKHQVHQRUWK \$VHDQ
 &RXQWULHV XVH PDQ\ GLIIHUHQW WHHPSW WR DJGVRBY
 'LSORPDWLF FKDQQHOV OHJDO FDOH EDGXJKFRWRPEFI
 LVVXH ZLWK PLOLWDU\DFWLRQROWNHDFRQVOSU&KHQDH
 PRUH DVVHUYLYH UHJDUGLQJ LWVLRQDDQV UDPSHLRQD
 SDWUROV 7KHVH DFWLYLWLHV KDYLHEHHQVHWPZGWLD
 KDV IROORZHG)RU H[DPSOH D IURXW\SDJH THDQQUH
 Manila Times GHFODUHG³&KLQD WDNLQJ GH IDF3KR OLSLS LFRHQ
 UHTXHVWHG WKDW DQ LQWHUQDWDRIQRPHQW VEDODLQVW
 DFWLYLWLHV \$W D³⁸⁶ ± \$VHDQ 6XPZLW QIKYHQDPVHE
 MRLQW VWDWHPHQW WKH³⁶XQQ\SDHFW R'HFODFKDQDR
 VRYHUHLJQW\ DQG IRU LQWHUQDWLRQDO ODZ' > @ ,Q -
 DIHZ PRQWKV ODWHU 3KLOLSSLQH ZLWKLEB&QW'KXWHGV
 DW WKH VDPH WLPH 3UHVLGHQW ZEDPD FDOOHG WKH U
 ,Q WKH LQIRUPDWLRQ DJH FRXQWDLVVRXWHLQZVWKH WH
 KDYH DQ HIIHFW VRQLDZDGHVQ HDQ/GPSR QLFWHVYOZDLVHEHLW
 PHGLD FRYHUDJH QDQDFRHHVRIW ISHWVWBSAQ BQVDDQGRQK
 JRYHUQPHQWV UHQSWHDEQ GDSHDSR Q&ZKHQWK B DV RPXFKW
 3KLOLSSLQHV IRU H[DPSOH PLJKWQVHD³EGVQHDJSBHDH
 RSLQLRQ' LQ WKHLU GLVDJUHHPHQW ZLWK &KLQD > @
 ZD\ WZR³FRXUWV' LQYROYHG WKH RQQWZU QDQGLRQWBU
 UHODWLRQV DQG WKH VR FDOOHGRFRXKHV FRHGSDEDDQ
 FRPPXQLFDWLRQ UHVHDUFKHUV 71KHV KRUPHJQGW DW KLQV
 LPDJLQHG FRPPXQLW\ PDGH XS RI GRXIVLWQIFHDQ G7KLQW
 H[DPLQHV WKH ZD\ WKDW WKH GLV\$XMQH \$VHDQ QVH QHFZV
 DQG GLVFXVVHV ZKDW LW PD\ PHDQ ZHRQOWKH VFRXQJOD
 FRPPXQLW\

/LWHUDWXUH 5HYLHZ

7KH OLWHUDWXUH RQ WKLV WRSLLFL\$OYLQVW DSHG HFRPH
 LQWHUQDWLRQDO UHODWLRQV PLOLWDU\ VWXGLHV GL
 \$VLDQ VWXGLHV DQG RWKHUV KDYHDDGDV\$XMMWHQH
 SURPLQHGW ERNV KDYH EHHQ SXEOLVKHG LQ WKLV DU
 7KHUH LV QRW VR PXFK LQ WKH ZDKRW FKDYH FRDPRQL
 VXEMHFW \$V WKLV VWXG\ GHDOV ZLWK QHZV FRYHUD
 FRPPXQLFDWLRQ WKHRULHV PLJKW EDVHSSOVLQGG DQGRZ
 SULPLQJ DQG PHGLD IUDPLQJ > O\ QHH@ DQKHQWURK
 2YHU WKH SDVW VHYHUDO \HDUV WKHQ FKDYH VVH-XGLKXW
)UDPLQJ LQ SDUWKDFWODUJZLPSOVLHFKKHV ZDQUHODXHQIS
 LVVXH EDVHG RQ WKH ZD\ WKDW ,QKDI ZDQIRUW DLWLWQHHLW

WKDW D PHGLD RXWOHW RU LQGLJQGRDOXQRØBØDOLJW
SLHFH RI LQIRUPDWRQHEKLSKØWJQWLDQ/KGRZDSVODULEXV
DUH PDQ\ GLIIHUHQW LQIOXHQFHVDLQGWKGEFKHHDVHLRQ
QHZV > @ ,Q FDVHV ZKHUH WKH JRYHGLQPHFQW\KBN DQ
ZH H[SHFW WKDW IRUHLJQ SROLF\ ZRXOG SOD\ D UROH
XOWLPDWHO\ ZULWVHQVLFQWR QHQZVSDSRUWHHJEDWG\ DSHL
³IUDPLQJ VXJJHVVV PRUH LQWHQWDEQG DLOHLDVWRQV VPRHUH
WR SROLWLFDO VWUDWHJ\ > @

6WXGLHV UHIHUHQFLQJ WKHVVH WKHHRU IDQV KDV IHO M DNG
PHWKRGRORJLHV LQ DQ DWWHPSW WR QGHFRQVWXQGWQ
VXEMHFW PDWWHU RI PHGLD FRYHUDJH DQG QDWLRQDQ
PHGLD ,QYHVWLJDWLRQV RI WKH QYHGLQGFRRYVHLOOHVWRFRRI
DUH PRUH FRPPRQ WKDQ RQ FROOHFWLY@ UGRJLR SDSXO
UHODWLRQV VWXGLHV KDYH DOVR DQVWVHG FZRYHUKHUH
VLJQLILFDQW ZD\ > @ :DQJ ZURQGLFKDWRUVRQIH DRK
UHSXWDWLRQ LV WKH RSLQLRQ RI WKH JLYHQ QDWLRQ
*UDI DQG :LOQDW DFNQRZOHGJHG WR DJVSKHRSQIBHIB
DERXW LQWHUQDWLRQDO DIIDLULWQDQGF DV WHWRORUHQ WK
SHUFHSWLRQV RI RWKHU QDWLRQV EIUHQWVIRULPDJ
WHOHYLVLRQ DQG SUHVU UHSRUWQNDQYRQGLHWVXVH
IRUHLJQ ILOPV WR EULHI VHHPLQJRXQVQVQREQRXVSFIRPH
WHOHYLVLRQ GUPPD VHULHV DODLSSSGHWH @RXDF
UHSUHVHQWV DQ DWWULEXWH RQIRUPV DWGLHDFORIZKØM
DQG KRZ WR WKLQN DERXW IRUHLJQWODQGRZVRRUWRZKE
SLFWXUHV WRDFRXYQVSHGLQ \$PHULFDQV KHDGV > @

,Q H[DPLQLQJ WKH OLWHUDWXUHQRV DQ DWRH ZKLFK HLDUH
EHVW GHWHUPLQH RU SUHGLFW QHZQWRYLHQDQRVQSUW
VSHFLILF FLUFXPVWRQVWULBIQZKLDQVXWVSHHWRIDFQHG DO
PLJKW EH DIIHFWHG E\ RU HYHQFLZKQW RU IR
DFWLYLWLHV > @)RU WKH SUHVQMLVHG E\ QDNHIDDF
6HPHWR > @ DUH XWLOLJHG WKHFRQBALFFRQSDFFWPK
DQG UHVSQVLELQW\ %DVHG RQVSHFYLIRXW ROLWKH DWR
6HD GLVXWHV WKH IROORZLQJ UHVHDFK TXHVWLRQV

54 :KDW JHRJUDSKLF WHUP LV SUHZKHQDGHGWLQRWKM
UHSRUWLQJ RQ WKHD PDKLJWQDQVHRD VWVHVPXHUURX
:KDWV LQ D QDPH" \$V WKR VH ZRUNMCHJODRVRXRDOCH
7KHUH DUH PDQ\ DGRYDULQKWKKI ZRSHQDNTDUMPXOQV V
8VH RI WKH QDPH 36RXWK &KLQD 6HD > L@ RQWKRFXK
UHFHQW ODOD\VLQD QHZVSDSHU VXJUIHQVFBGWKDVV
6RXWKHDVW \$VLD 6HD PRVW RI WKHH ZRLLWGHVHIGRUKW
6HD (DVW 6HD DQG :HVW 3KLOLS SHQW 6HD 3\$RFXWV
6HD LV FOHDUO\ WRKHQGRIPQVQVH(QVQVLEKO OSUJXWD JZIL
EH WUXH IRU \$VHDQV QHZVSDSHUV"

54 :KDW DUH WKH FRYHUDJH SDWVHHJQJ LQJN H RIRV
&KLQD 6HD GLVXWHV" 3XW VLPSONKIRZH LPLSFRVXQDQ
7KH H[SHFWDWLRQ LV WKDW QHZVSDSKLQFRVYHLQFVHH
7KXV KRZ PDQ\ DUWLFOHV KDYH EVHHQZVWLVGWSHQLQV
RXWOHWV GXULQJ WKH SDVW ILQVHHUHVWVHGLVQUMKH
LQYROYHG ZLWK WKH XQGHUVWDQGLQJ RQWKYDQVDRK
WRZDUGV XQGHUVWDQGLQJ WKH VLWXDWLRQ

54 :KDW DUH WKH GRPLQDQW W The Baran Post's DPHV
FRYHUDJH ZKHQ LW FRPHV WR WKUHDPHV BLVSWVEHVSU
LQ WKH VWRULHV \$OWKRXJK DUJXWEDW , QGRQDLVQD
UHDFKHG D OHYHO RI ELODWHUDO JXQKXWK V&KQGDQ6
LVVXHV +RZHYHU ZLWK WKH ILVKLQH HFRPHV WLR FELG D
VKLIW LQ WKH VLWXDWLRQ

54 +RZ The Jakarta Post's FRYHUDJH GHSLFWV WKH WKUH
&KLQD \$VHDQ DQG WKH 8QTHYOMI@VSDMthV-"DSSDQ DUW
VWDWHG WKDW &KLQD YLHZHG WKBOQLWHDG H6'WIDQV HW
&KLQD 6HD' DQG UHIXVHG WR DFFQSW @ 6<HLQWWKXVH
DUWLFOH UHSRUWHG RQ WKH 86 \$(SKHQKQPLM DQG
EHWZHHQ WKH 8 6 DQG \$VH The Jakarta Post's FRYLH PDJHWWHQ
WR DJUHH ZLWK WKLVDSRNLSLFRQDVKRQHWKDW LW GR

0HWKRG

7KLV VWXG\ LV EDVHG RQ D FRQWQHJW SDSDH\W LLQ RML\$ UR
\$((\$1 PHPEHU FRXQWULH The Manila Bulletin LISILV Qidra±
News Agency Bulletin 0DOD\New Straits Times , QGRQ The Jakarta Post
6LQJD STR Straits Times DQG 7K Bangkok Post ±7KH QHZVSDSHUV DU
DQG YDOXHG LQ WKHLU UHVSHFWLYH DQG D V D ULMHW
GHVFULSWLYH LQ 2007 WKH HIRHISRHVWLLW PD\ DQG OKFF W F
SRVLWLRQV

7KH VWXG\ LQYROYHG WZR GLVWLQFW [SKDHWHS DGS HW
H[DPLQH WR DGGUHV UMKHHDVFRRTQXSWDRQV
DUWLFOHV ZHUH UHYLakata Post Q , QGRQMRLDTCGUHV UH
TXHVWLRQV DQG ,W LV DQWVZISDQV XGQVHJUR WRKGLQ
UHSUHVHQVV WKH QH[W VWHS LQ WHQLW DQDQDWLFK DSUR
XVHG WR H[DPLQH FRYHUDJH EDVHG RQ VHQJH WDKH NDF
GDWDEDVH ZHUH FDUULHG RXW XVLGJHG LPHQVHV VHNH\Z
3:HWV 3KLSSLQH 6HD' 7R LQYHVWLSDWVHGRY6MDDW
LQYROYHPHQW UHOHYDQW WHUPV ZHUH DQGGFRUSQ6 R/H
GXULQJ WKH VFRQG SKDVH ZKLFK , DGRLOakata Post FWHG D
,Q WKLV SKDVH DUWLFOHV ZHUH ULQLVLDLQDQW FURLOOH
DUWLFOHV ZHUH GHWHUPLQH WR EWKPRVUH DQGLQJDQV
SURFHVV

7KH XQLW RI DQDO\LV LV WKH KHWHQVHQV KHDMFRB
\$VWHUWLRQV ZLWKLQ HDFK DUWLFOH DZHOH YBQWLRWLRW
FRQIHUHQFH SD\$SDFDQDQGXVLPFRQRPVDDWIDRQVHVRQD
DQG DUH UHSRQWHGFRQHFRRQOLFV KXPQ LQWHUHV
PRUDOLW\ DQG UHVSQVLELOLW\ DV X\$QG LQ @DQDQHQ
HJ WRQH RI FRYHUDJH WRZDUGV WKUHH SULQFLSD
GLFWLRQDU\ RI ZRUGV DV VXJJHVW@IG E\ SUHYLRXV UHV

5HVXOWV DQG ILQGLQJV

7KH ILUVW SKDVH RHDQK WIRDQKRSWV DQLWKH UFRZDQV SU
LQ \$VHDQ QHZVSD\$ORFDGLPHDOLWVWV &KWKD VHDU PZ D6R XV
UHFHLYLQJ WKH PRVWLXKHODQ \$XDJHQHQHZVSDSHU(FH)SLWLR
IRXQG LQ WKH QHZVSDSHUV RI 9LHWQDPHDQJ DWKHU3KLV

WHUPV ³(DVW 6HD' DQG ³:HVW 3KLOLQSSVLQHH F6DHDH B HV
3KLOLSSLQHV WKH WHUP ³6RXWK & WK Q Q 6:HD'WL 3 KLV L S
6HD' ,Q 9LHWQDP ³(DVW 6HD' GRPLSSDLWQHVV6 H D Q GL W QHH Y
DW DOO 7KXV LQ DQVZHULQJ 54 8\WKHQ D H6\KD WMVL Q\KLF
WHUP RXWVLGH RI 9LHWQDP DQG WR D OHVVHU H[WHQW

Fig.1 3UHIHUHG JHRJUDSKILQ WDWGRURULDO (\$

)LJXUH : KD W HZ YSLNDL Q LQ HFHR YSEUDHU 19 MRRQ DHP
FRYHUDJH ZHQW XS LQ ± DQG WKILW VZRX GR DE FRHQSVH
ULJ LQ WKH ZDWHUV RII RI 9LHWQDP 10 FSDWV QLRMLF+SD
ODUJH QXPEHU RI DUWLFOH The Strait of Malacca 2 QHQBD SKRW HV S DSHU
RQO\ XVLQJ RQH QHZVSDSHU SHU FRXQWUH VPLYK O\ QR RV
ZKHQ ZH DGGHG VHFRQG QHZV VRXUFYHVU WRH VZOHV RILPLZ
RWKHU SDSHUV 7KXV IRFXVLQJ RQ RQH VQH ZLVSLDSHU IIF
SXUSRVHV RI WKH VWXG\

Fig.2 6RXWK & KLQD HFDWDSUMDQGMZVSDSHU

7KH UHVXOWV RI WKH FRGLQJ Jakarta/PSH DUDPLFVO FRXQGRZL W KEL
UHVXOW)LJXUH 7KH IUDPHV RI ZBBBIOKFW IV DRQ GW KDMV SIRI
SURPLQHQWO\ LQ 3\KW SDKIH FRQÀWLWR UHÀFF W HFQIÀ GFW DQG
DPRQJ SULQFLSDO DFWRUV 7KH μ 5 HDV SDQ VLVDO UWWHEMS B Q MLEV
IRU >D@ FDXVH RU VROXWLRQ WRYHGW B BUR W KHU RRS H B Q B H Q R C
RQ DOO DUWLFOHV E\ ERWK FRGHIUV ZLWK VDKIHL Q B OD D VULFHOP
VOLJKW \HW QRWLFHDEOH WHQGLQD VRRU D V FULHE XMQH UHMSVRLQ
,W VKRXOG EH QRWHG WKDW GXWLRQ W, KGH WQ FMLSHEJDR GK WQ B I
ERDW LQ LWV WHUULWRULD.O ZDWHUV RII RI WKH 1DWXQD LVO

Fig.3 'RPLQDQW)UDPH\$SDNDUWDW&R\$/WLO 1

,Q WKH VWXG\¶V FROOHFWHG DUWLZFRUHG/V WIRHDVSHQDU
DURXQG WKH VHQWHQFHV WKDW PXIOWLRQKLG/ WKDS SFRQHC
RIWHQ WKDQ ZDV WKH FDVH IRU QHXWUDVHHSZDWW
µ\$VHDQ¶ DQG µWKH 8QLWHG 6WDWGHSIDLZKQUN QH&WQDR
LV FOHDU WKRXJKHNDQDWH&KLDQDGDQGV\$ILQDWHKHF R M Q WD J

Fig.4 9DULDEOH NDDMDFSR V-WV R\$ \$SILUO 1

'LVFXVVLQRQ DQG FRQFOXVLRQ

7KHUH LV QR GRXEW WKDW WKH LVHDXHVUHVXJDU R X Q G LFRJ
PRUH DWWHQWLRQ IURP VFKRODUM DQ&GRIRXQDQOWKDW
µ6RXWK &KLQD 6HD¶ LV WKH GRPLQDQWL RQDQDQXVHLGKL
QHZVSDSHUV ± ZLWK WKH H[FHSWLRQH¶ 9LVH\$QD¶UUS
PLJKW H[SHFW WKDW WKH 3KLOLSS\$ILQRSDVSHLSW ZERXSUGH
XVH WKH WHUP µ:HVV 3KLOLSSLQH 6HD ¶ 8VH RI FHU
µEUDQGLQJ¶ HIIHFWDDQGS EDDQORDDGHDPHGLDQDQGD V H
ZKHUH WKH XVH RI RQH WHUP RYHU DQRWKHU PD\ FRPH
7KH \$VHDQ QHZVSDSHUV FOHDUO\ DIIRIUSDWRSLDQVORX
FRYHUDJH ,QWHUHVWLQJO\ 6LQJD&RWHRV QRYZVSDSHUC
9LHWQDP WKRXJK LW GRHV QRWLQDYHQDWHKHFURDWWHUD
EH D IHZ UHDVRQV IRU WKLV 6LQJDSRUQDQDXQLTXHLSR
FRPPHQW RQ WKLV PDWWHU 6LQJDSRUB RYHMWQKGDWHFU
3HGUD %UDQFD ,QWHUQDWWLRQDQ &RXU 7KH FDVH EHWZ
&KLQD LV XQOLNHO\ WR VHWWOH LVVXHV DV VXFFLQFWC
)ROORZLQJ WKLV SUHOLPLQDU\ VWXGWRPQRIWHGHHSHDU
VSHFLILFV RI WKXQFRYHUWKH ±S VOF LR/HWKDWHXWHQHYDQW
7KH DUWLFOHV KDMREHMKHFRODQDQSHRUIV RQDQJWLKH
WR SURFHG 7KH GHJUHH WR ZKLK WKDQWRLPDUHFK
VSHFLILF FDVHV WEDQVWRXWKZLWKKQDQJRM WRWHD\ 7K

3KLOLSSLQHV EURXJKW WKH LQWHUODVWEHRQD & HFRXUWUF
 9LHWQDPHVH SURWHVWHG WKH & KLQHUHVH BRQGLLQJ SLODFR
 FRYHUDJH RI WKH PDWWHU , Q UNFHQWDVHODU LQWKHHDVH
 LQ WKH 6RXWK & KLQD 6HD UHJLRQ
 \$V LV W\SLFDO IRU WKH QHZV PHGLDD JUSFRPHQD FWWKDM
 RU DURXQG DQ LVVXH ZDV VKRZQ WRI EHXD FVNDRU ZDK
 PDWFKHG E\ WKH IUDPH RI μ5HVSQRVLELQW\ ↑ , W ZLOO
 KROGV WUXH IRU RWKHU \HDUV DQG FRUURHVKHV VSDSHU
 D SUHOLPLQDU\ DMRUWKWR 6RQWKV&MLQD 6HD LVVXH IUI
 PHGLD QHZVSDSHU FRYHUDJH \$JOLFRYXUWQIHULVQZDULU
 SDUWLFXODUO\ ZKHQPHGLD FRQNUHDJHQBFRQVSRZHUHODV
 NQRZQ WR LPSDFWFRQDQGLSRVXGIALDOO\ SXEOLF SROL

5HIHUHQFHV

- 0 - 9DOHQFLD 6RXWKV & QMQD QGHDSR VHQWLDO FRDV
 FRQI Ocean Management,
- 0 6 6DPOHES for the South China Sea. HZ <RUN 0HWKXHQ
 & . /China's Policy towards territorial disputes: the case of the South China Sea
 Islands. 1HZ <RUN 5RXWOHGJH
 & KLQD WR VHFUXH & KLQD WR VHFVNDH 8SHADREWB OFR
 France Presse.)HEUXDU\ XV6QWMLKH HGFWLYD GDWDE
 5 0XUSK\ - 0DU[2EDPD V \$6(\$1 VXFPLW WTSDFZLW
 Desert Sun.)HEUXDU\ 5HKWUMSHYZGZIGRPHUWVXQ
 QHZV VXQQ\ODQGV REDPD \$VHDQ VWDWHPHQ
 + < 7DQ 7ULEXQDO UXOLQJ RQ 6RXWKE THE SCDS 6HD LV
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 KWWS ZZZ VWUDLWUWV&QDVO FUXPODQVFRQGLQJ QD UHVV
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- 5 ' . D S Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific.
 1HZ <RUN GRP +RXVH
 % + D\W The South China Sea: The struggle for power in Asia DOH 8QLYHUV
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- 7 * L The whole world is watching. % HUNOH\ & \$ 8QLYHUVLW\ RI &
- 5 0 (QWPDQ)UDPLQJ 7RZDUG FODUJPLFDW&LRPQR I
 43
- : 7DQNDUG 7KH DIPSLWRFDQHDVSLQV RIQPHGLDHD P
 * DQG\ DQG \$ * UDQW (GV Framing public life: Pers
 understanding of the social world 1HZ <RUN 5RXWOHGJH
 ' + : HDYHU 7KRXJKWV RQ DJHQGD VHWWLQJ IUDPL
 ' \$ 6FKHXIHOH)UDPLQJ DV D WKHRU RI PHGLD HII
- 3 - 6KRHPDNH Mediating the Message UGHG 7KRXVDQG 2DNV &
- 6 ' 5HHVH 7KH IUDPLQJ SURMHFW HDEBKGUHQLVPRG
 & RPP 37Q

