Reproduced from Reinventing Thailand: Thaksin and His Foreign Policy by Pavin Chachavalpongpun (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Individual articles are available at http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg >

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abhisit Vejjajiva. *Karnmuang Thai Lang Ratthapraharn* [Post-Coup Thai Politics]. Bangkok: Khor Kid Duai Khon, 2007.
- Achara Ashayagachat. "Academics Slam PM's Foreign Policy Agenda: Thaksin Helping His Personal Ambitions". *Bangkok Post*, 30 September 2004.
- _____. "Ministry Pledges to be More Responsive to External Needs". Bangkok Post, 16 October 2004.
- ——. "Backing Sought for Surakiart: U.N. Post to be Raised during Chirac Visit". *Bangkok Post*, 17 February 2006.
- Adulyasa Soonthornrojana. "The Rise of U.S.-Thai Relations, 1945–1975". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Akron, 1986.
- Ahearn, Raymond J. and Wayne M. Morrison. "CRS Report for Congress: U.S.-Thailand Free Trade Agreement Negotiations". Congressional Research Service, 4 February 2005.
- Ake-Aroon Auansakul. "Thailand-India FTA: The Impact So Far". *International Institute for Trade and Development*, 2007. http://www.itd.or.th/en/node/526>. Accessed 6 December 2008.
- Alagappa, Mutiah. *The National Security of Developing States: Lessons from Thailand*. Massachusetts: Auburn House Publishing Company, 1987.
- Ampa Santimatanedol. "Surakiart Testifies He Opposed Burma Loan". Bangkok Post, 1 May 2007.
- Amrit Rashmisrisethi. "U.N. Chief: Thai-Cambodian Conflict Resolved Bilaterally". National News Bureau, Public Relations Department of Thailand, 30 September 2008. http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/thailand/un-chief-thai-cambodian-conflict-resolved-billaterally_2100101687.html. Accessed 17 May 2009.

- Anoma Srisukkasem and Wichit Chaitrong. "Olarn Worried about Liquidity amid Global Squeeze". *The Nation*, 1 October 2008.
- Anucha Paepanawan. *Exclusive: Kanmuang Ruang Khao Phra Viharn* [Exclusive: The Political Case of Khao Phra Viharn]. Bangkok: Kleung Aksorn, 2008.
- Anuraj Manibhandu and Saritdet Marukatat. "Full Circle in Five Years". *Bangkok Post*, June 2002. http://www.bangkokpost.com/midyear2002/foreignpolicy.html. Accessed 1 March 2009.
- Anuson Chinvanno. *Thailand's Policies towards China, 1949–1954*. Oxford: St. Anthony's College, 1992.
- Arjaree Sriratanaban. "Continuity, Opportunity for Diplomacy". *The Nation*, 10 October 2006.
- Arnold, Wayne. "Thailand Sets Path to a Better Economy". New York Times, 24 October 2003.
- Asda Jayanama. "Karnthood Yuk Thaksin: Thaksiplomacy" [Diplomacy in the Thaksin Era]. In *Ru Than Thaksin* [One Step ahead of Thaksin], edited by Chermsak Pinthong. Bangkok: Khor Kid Duai Khon, 2004.
- Askew, Marc. Conspiracy, Politics, and a Disorderly Border: The Struggle to Comprehend Insurgency in Thailand's Deep South. Policy Studies 29, East-West Centre, Washington. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007.
- Baker, Chris. "Ayutthaya Rising: From Land or Sea?". *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, no. 42 (1993).
- Ball, Desmond. "Security Development in the Thailand-Burma Borderlands". Working Paper no. 9. Sydney: Australian Mekong Resource Centre, University of Sydney, October 2003.
- Batson, Benjamin. "Siam and Japan: The Perils of Independence". In Southeast Asia Under the Japanese Occupation, edited by Alfred W. McCoy. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1980.
- Beasley, Ryan K., Juliet Kaarbo, Jeffrey S. Lantis and Michael T. Snarr, eds. Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behaviour. Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2001.
- Bidhya Bowornwathana, "Thaksin's Model of Government Reform: Prime Ministerialization through 'a Country is my Company' Approach". *Asian Journal of Political Science* 12, no. 1 (June 2004).
- Brandon, John. and Nancy Chen, eds. *Bilateral Conference on United States-Thailand Relations in the 21st Century*. Washington, D.C.: The Asia Foundation, 2002.
- Busakorn Chantasasawat. "The Burgeoning Sino-Thai Relations: Seeking Sustained Economic Security". *China: An International Journal* 4, no. 1 (March 2006): 86–112.
- Buszynski, Leszek. "Thailand's Foreign Policy: Management of a Regional Vision". *Asia Survey* 34, no. 8 (August 1994).

_____. "Russia and Southeast Asia: A New Relationship". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 28, no. 2 (August 2006).

- Chanda, Nayan. *Brother Enemy: The War After the War*. California: Harcourt Brace Jonanovich, 1986.
- Charivat Santaputra. *Thai Foreign Policy* 1932–1946. Bangkok: Thai Khadi Research Institute, Thammasat University, 1986.
- Charnvit Kasetsiri. "Thailand-Cambodia: A Love-Hate Relationship". *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia* 3 (March 2003).
- Charoen Khampiraphap. "Kor Toklong Karnkha Seri: Lod Phasee Lue Lod Atipatai" [Free Trade Agreements: Tariff Reduction or Sovereignty Reduction]. In *Kor Toklong Kedkarnkha Seri Ponkratop Ti Mee Tor Prathetthai* [Free Trade Agreements and their Impacts on Thailand], edited by Kannikar Kittivejakul. Bangkok: Pimdee Publishing, 2004.
- Chockanand Bussracumpakorn. *BID: Case Study of a Design Innovation Network Model in Thailand*. Bangkok: King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi, 2008.
- Chonticha Satyawattana, ed. *Botrian Chak Khwamroonraeng Nai Kampucha* [Lessons from Violence in Cambodia]. Bangkok: Thai-Asia Studies Centre, Thammasat University, 2003.
- Chula Chakrabongse. *The Twain Have Met, or an Eastern Prince Came West.* London, 1956.
- Chulacheeb Chinawanno. "Thai Views on Japan's Role in the Region". In *Thailand, Australia and the Region: Strategic Developments in Southeast Asia*, edited by Cavan Hague. Canberra: National Thai Studies Centre, Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2002.
- Ciorciari, John D. "Thaksin's Chance for Leading Role in the Region". *Straits Times*, 10 March 2004.
- Cochrane, Joe. "An Annoying Neighbour". Newsweek International, 21 February 2006.
- Connors, Michael K. *Ideological Aspects of Democratisation in Thailand: Mainstreaming Localism.* SEARC Working Paper Series no. 12. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong (2001).
- _____. "Thailand and the United States of America: Beyond Hegemony". In *Bush and Asia: The US's Evolving Relationships with East Asia*, edited by Mark Beeson. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Corrine Phuangkasem, *Thailand's Foreign Relations*, 1964–80. Occasional Paper No. 74. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1984.
- Crispin, Shawn W. "Shooting for the Stars". Far Eastern Economic Review, 30 May 2002.

- Croissant, Aurel. "Unrest in South Thailand: Contours, Causes and Consequences Since 2001". *Strategic Insights* 4, no. 2 (February 2005).
- Daley, Matthew P. "Development in Burma, Testimony before the U.S. House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific and Subcommittee on International Terrorism, Non-proliferation and Human Rights". Washington D.C.: Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 25 March 2004. http://www.state.gov/p/eap/rls/rm/2004/30789.htm. Accessed 7 December 2008.
- "Developing an Asian Bond Market: Rationale, Concerns and Roadmap". A PECC Finance Forum Report on Institutional-Building in a World of Free and Volatile Capital Flows Stemming from the PECC Finance Forum Work 2002–04. http://www.pecc.org/finance/papers/ff_asianbondmarket(2004).pdf. Accessed 1 March 2009.
- Direk Jayanama. *Thailand and World War II*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2008.
- Don Pathan. "Megaphone PM Tests Kantathi's Diplomacy". *The Nation*, 1 November 2005.
- _____. "Surayud Apologises for Government's Abuses in South". *The Nation*, 3 November 2006.
- _____ and Supalak Ganjanakhundee. "A Tale of Unrealised Global Ambitions". *The Nation*, 11 April 2006.
- and Supalak Ganjanakhundee. "Thaksin's Vanishing Act: Precious Little Remains of Five Years of Foreign Policy". *The Nation*, 12 April 2006
- Doyle, Michael. "Does Thailand Want Foreign Investment?". *The Nation*, 21 September 2007.
- Dyer, Gwynne. "Thaksin Shinawatra could be the Peron of Thailand". http://www.straight.com/article-160848/gwynne-dyer-thaksin-shinawatra-could-be-peron-thailand. Accessed 9 December 2008.
- Eichenberg, Richard C. "Domestic Preferences and Foreign Policy: Cumulation and Confirmation in the Study of Public Opinion". *Mershon International Studies Review* 42, no. 1 (May 1998).
- Eichengreen, Barry. "What to do with the Chiang Mai Initiative". *Asian Economic Paper*. Centre for International Development and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology 2, no. 1 (Winter 2003).
- Erasey, Ashley. "Response to 'Cultural Clash: Rising China Versus Asian Democratisation". *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 3, no. 1 (July 2007).
- Evans, Grant. "Laos: Situations Analysis and Trend Assessment". Writenet Independent Analysis, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Protection Information section (DIP), May 2004. http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/40c723992.pdf>. Accessed 29 December 2009.

Fairbank, John K. and Teng Ssu-yu. "On the Ch'ing Tributary System". In *Chi'ng Administration: Three Studies*, edited by John K. Fairbank and Teng Ssu-yu. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.

- Fifield, Russel H. *Southeast Asia in United States Politics*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963.
- Fineman, Daniel. A Special Relationship: The United States and Military Government in Thailand, 1947–1958. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997.
- Forbes, Andrew D. "Thailand's Muslim Minorities: Assimilation, Secession, or Coexistence?". *Asian Survey* 22 (1982).
- "Foreign Ministers' Meeting of 4 Nations on Economic Cooperation Strategy, Bangkok". *Buakaew* 19 (July–September 2003).
- Four Years of Repair for All Thais and Thailand under the Government of Prime Minister Dr Thaksin Shinawatra (2001–2005). Bangkok: The Secretariat of the Cabinet Printing Office, 2004.
- Friedman, George. "Foreign Policy and a President's Irrelevance". *The Straits Times*, 9 February 2008.
- FTA Watch Group. *Thailand's Free Trade Agreements and Human Rights Obligations* (March 2005) Accessed 11 April 2009">April 2009.
- Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Avon Books, 1992.
- Fullbrook, David. "So Long U.S., Hello China, India". *Asia Times*, 4 November 2004.
- Funston, John. "Thailand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Managing Domestic and Global Turmoil". *International Insights* 14, special issue (1998).
- _____. "Thai Foreign Policy: Seeking Influence". Southeast Asian Affairs (1998).
- _____. "Thailand's Diplomacy on Cambodia: Successes of Realpolitik". Asian Journal of Political Science 6, no. 1 (June 1998).
- _____. "Thailand: Thaksin Fever", *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2002. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002.
- _____. Conflict in Southern Thailand: Causes, Agents and Trajectory, The Islam Syari'ah and Governance Background Paper Series 2. Melbourne: Melbourne Law School 2008.
- ______, ed. *Divided over Thaksin: Thailand's Coup and Problematic Transition*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009.
- Ganesan, N. "Myanmar's Foreign Relations: Reaching out to the World". In *Myanmar: Beyond Politics to Social Imperatives*, edited by Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Robert H. Taylor, and Tin Maung Maung Than. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.

- _____. "Appraising Democratic Consolidation in Thailand under Thaksin's Thai Rak Thai Government". *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 7, no. 2 (2006).
- Ghosh, Jayati. "Is Contract Farming Really the Solution for Indian Agriculture?" MacroScan, 15 May 2007. http://www.macroscan.com/cur/May07/cur150507Indian_Agriculture.htm. Accessed 4 January 2010.
- Ghosh, Nirmal. "About that Spat with Singapore Last Year...". *Straits Times*, 7 March 2008.
- _____. "Thaksin Still Holds Sway up North". *Straits Times*, 22 October 2008.
- Global Partnership for Development: Thailand's Contribution to Millennium Development Goal 8. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand and United Nations Country Team in Thailand, 2005. http://www.undg.org/archive_docs/6597-Thailand_MDG_Goal_8_Report.pdf. Accessed 7 April 2009.
- Gundzik, Jephraim P. "Thaksin's Populist Economics Buoy Thailand". *Asia Times*, 3 August 2004.
- Hall, D.G.E. A History of Southeast Asia. London: Macmillan, 1955.
- Harding, Andrew James. "A Turbulent Innovation: the Constitutional Court of Thailand 1998–2006". Unpublished conference paper, 2007 http://works.bepress.com/andrew_harding/2.
- Harris, Nick. "Liverpool Close on Deal with Thai PM". *The Independent*, 11 May 2004.
- Heinlein, Peter. "ASEAN Nations Back Thai Foreign Minister as Next Secretary-General". *Voice of America*. 30 September 2004. http://payvand.com/news/04/sep/1256.html. Accessed 13 December 2009.
- Heinz, John P. et al., eds. *The Hollow Core: Private Interests in National Policy Making*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Hidayat, Greenfield. "After Thaksin: The CEO State, Nationalism, and U.S. Imperialism". *The Global South* 120 (12 June 2006).
- Inbaraj, Sonny. "Thailand's 'Tail' Wags ASEAN 'Dog' Over Myanmar". *Asia Times*, 10 December 2004 http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/FL10Ae03.html (accessed 7 December 2008).
- Jakrapob Penkair. "Khon Lahlok Diew Khan: Aek-akkarachathood CEO" [In a Different World: CEO Ambassadors]. *Phuchadkan*, 5 September 2003
- Jeerawat Na Thalang. "PM Bangs the War Drums of TRT's Triumph". *The Nation*, 2 August 2003.
- Jory, Patrick. "Multiculturalism in Thailand: Cultural and Regional Resurgence in a Diverse Kingdom". *Harvard Asia-Pacific Review* 4, no. 1 (2000).

Julawadee Worasakyothin. FTA a Year after: Does Thailand Win or Lose?". International Institute for Trade and Development, 2006. http://www.itd.or.th/th/node/234. Accessed 10 April 2009.

- Kate, Daniel Ten. "Thaksin's Score Card". *Asia Sentinel*, 3 July 2007. http://www.asiasentinel.com/index.php?option=com_content-bask=view&id=563&Itemid=185. Accessed 9 December 2008.
- Kavi Chongkittavorn. "Tradition of Thailand's Foreign Policy is at Risk". *The Nation*, 21 March 2005.
- _____. "Thailand Relished its New Image: Donor Country". *The Nation*, 31 October 2005.
- _____. "Thailand has Lost its Voice and Influence on Burma". *The Nation*, 6 March 2006.
- _____. "Burma: Thai Diplomacy's Biggest Travesty". *The Nation*, 4 December 2006.
- _____. "Thai Diplomacy an Utter Failure over Past Year". *The Nation*, 26 November 2007.
- _____. "Thaksin Doesn't Deserve that Red Passport". *The Nation*, 12 February 2008.
- _____. "Big Shifts Changing the Way Foreign Policy is Made". *The Nation*, 11 August 2008.
- Kesavapany, K. "ASEAN in Disarray?". Straits Times, 29 October 2008.
- Kham Prasai Lae Kham Banyai Khong Pon Tamruad Tree Thaksin Shinawatra Nayok Ratthamontri Lem Thi Nueng [Speeches and Lectures of Police Lieutenant Colonel, Volume 1] Department of Public Relations, Bangkok, Thailand (n.d.).
- Khien Theeravit, ed. *Khwamsamphan Thai-Lao Nai Saita Khong Khon Lao* [Thai-Lao Relations in Laotian Perspective]. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 2001.
- Kislenko, Arne. "Bending with the Wind: The Continuity and Flexibility of Thai Foreign Policy". *International Journal* (Autumn 2002).
- Kitti Wasinondh. "Thai Foreign Ministry's Continuous Thread". *The Nation*, 12 April 2006.
- Kobkua Sawannathat-Pian. *Nayobai Tangprathet khong Rattaban Phibun Songkhram 1938–1944* [Thai Foreign Policy under the Phibun Songkhram Government 1938–1944]. Bangkok: Thai Khadi Research Institute, Thammasat University, 1989.

- _____. *Thailand's Durable Premier: Phibun through Three Decades,* 1932–1957. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Kratoska, Paul and Ben Batson. "Nationalism and Modernist Reform". *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia: From C.1800 to the 1930s*, edited by Nicholas Tarling 2, part 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Krit Garnjana-Goonchorn. "Thai-U.S. Relations in the Regional Context". *Southeast Asian Bulletin*. Centre for Strategic and International Studies (March 2008).
- Koh, Priscilla. "Thailand's Myanmar Roadmap under Fire". *Asia Times*, 14 August 2003. http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/EW14Aeoz.html. Accessed 13 December 2009.
- Kudo, Toshihiro and Fumiharu Mieno. "Trade, Foreign Investment and Myanmar's Economic Development during the Transition to an Open Economy". Institute of Developing Economies (IDE) Discussion Paper, No. 116 (August 2007).
- Kurlantzick, Joshua. "China's Charm: Implications of Chinese Soft Power". *Policy Brief* 47 (June 2006).
- Kusuma Snitwongse. "Thai Foreign Policy in the Global Age: Principle or Profit?". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 23, no. 2 (August 2001).
- Lach, Donald F. and Edwin J. Va Kley. *Asia in the Making of Europe: A Century of Advance* 3. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Levine, David P. *Normative Political Economy: Subjective Freedom, the Market and the State.* London and New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Likhit Dhiravegin. Siam and Colonialism (1855–1909): An Analysis of Diplomatic Relations. Bangkok: Thai Watana Panich, 1975.
- Lim, P. Pui Huen. *Through the Eyes of the King: The Travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009.
- Lintner, Bertil. *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2000.
- Lock, Edward. "International Politics as Politics: Changing U.S. Policy Discourse". Paper Presented at the Oceanic Conference on International Studies, Australia National University, Canberra, 14–16 July 2004. http://rspas.anu.edu.au/ir/Oceanic/OCISPapers/Lock.pdf. Accessed 14 December 2008.
- Long, Colin, Marc Askew, and William Logan. "Reshaping Vientiane in a Global Age". In *Vientiane: Transformations of a Lao Landscape*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Lynch, Daniel C. Rising China and Asian Democratisation: Socialisation to "Global Culture" in the Political Transformations of Thailand, China, and Taiwan. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Macridis, Roy. Foreign Policy in World Politics. New Jersey: Longman, 1991.

- Markar, Marwaan Macan. "Thaksin's Visit to Measure Ties with US". *The Irrawaddy*, 23 May 2003.
- _____. "Thai-Cambodian Tension Gives Rise to Schools with Bunkers". *The Irrawaddy*, 25 November 2009.
- May, Reginald le. *The Culture of Southeast Asia: The Heritage of India.* London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1956.
- McCargo, Duncan. "Can Thaksin Lead Southeast Asia?". *Time*, 31 January 2005.
- _____. "Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand". *Pacific Review* 18, no. 4 (December 2005).
- _____. "Thailand: State of Anxiety". In *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2008. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008.
- _____ and Ukrist Pathmanand. *The Thaksinisation of Thailand*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2005.
- McCarten, Brian. "Hmong Still Hinder Lao-Thai Links". *Asia Times*. http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/KA21Ae02.html>. Accessed 21 April 2009.
- McLean, Robert T. "Change is Slow at Turtle Bay". *American Spectator*, 18 April 2006.
- Minder, Raphael. "Cambodia's Transforming Tycoon". Financial Times, 18 August 2008.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand. *Karn Thood Yook Mai Hua Jai Kue Prachachon* [New-Age Diplomacy with the People at its Heart] Bangkok: Cyber Print, 2003.
- Miscellaneous Articles Written for the JSS by His Late Highness Prince Damrong. Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1962.
- Moe, Wai. "Will Thailand Create a Friendly Burma Policy?". *The Irrawaddy*, 7 February 2008.
- Montesano, Michael J. "Contextualising the Pattaya Summit Debacle: Four April Days, Four Thai Pathologies". *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 31, no. 2 (August 2009): 217–48.
- Naing, Saw Yan. "No Freedom, No Independence". *The Irrawaddy*, 4 January 2008 http://www.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art_id=9816 (accessed 8 February 2009).
- Narine, Shaun. *Explaining ASEAN: Regionalism in Southeast Asia*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002.
- Nathan, S. R. *Singapore's Foreign Policy: Beginnings and Future*. Singapore: MFA Diplomatic Academy, 2008.

- Nelson, Michael H., ed. *Thai Politics: Global and Local Perspective.* King Prajadhipok's Institute Yearbook no. 2, 2002–2003. Nonthaburi: King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2004.
- Nongnuch Singhadecha. *Pon Saehai Rairaeng Khong Karnthood Prachaniyom* [Disastrous Implications of Populist Diplomacy]. *Matichon*, 19 October 2005.
- Nopporn Wong-Anan. "Temple Tantrums Stalk Thai-Cambodia Relations". *Reuters*, 20 July 2008.
- Oh, Kap-Soo. "Promoting the Asian Bond Market". *Asian Bond Market: Issues and Prospects*. Basel: Bank for International Settlements, No. 30 (November 2006).
- Olarn Chaipravat. *Developing the Asian Bond Market*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- Oplas, Nonoy. "Killing in Thailand during the Military Crackdown". 16 April 2009. http://funwithgovernment.blogspot.com/2009/04/killings-in-thailand-during-military.html. Accessed 18 May 2009.
- Pachara Lochindaratn. The Evolution of Thailand's Preferential Trading Agreements with Australia, New Zealand, Japan, China and India The CGE Approach, The Global Trade Analysis Project, Centre for Global Trade Analysis, Department of Agricultural Economics, Purdue University. 10 April 2008. https://www.gtap.agecon.purdue.edu/resources/download/3726.pdf>. Accessed 26 April 2009.
- Palmer, R. R. and Colton, Joel. *A History of the Modern World*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1965.
- Pasuk Phongpaichit. "A Country is a Company, a PM is a CEO". Paper presented at the seminar on "Statesman or Manager? Image and Reality of Leadership in Southeast Asia", organized by the Bangkok Office of the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS), Kyoto University, Political Economy Centre, Faculty of Economics and Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand, 2 April 2004.
- ______. "Thailand Under Thaksin: A Regional and International Perspective". Core University Project, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, 6–8 September 2004.
- _____ and Chris Baker. *Thaksin: The Business of Politics in Thailand*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004.
- _____ and Chris Baker. *The Only Good Populist is a Rich Populist: Thaksin Shinawatra and Thailand's Democracy*. Southeast Asia Research Centre



- Petchanet Pratraungkrai. "ACMECS Cooperation: 50% Rise in Mekong Region Trade Expected". *The Nation*, 13 October 2005.
- Petty, Martin. "Too Much Diplomacy for Surakiart". *International Herald Tribune*, 16 February 2006.
- _____. "Standoff Exposes Discontent in Foreign Ministry". *Thai Day*, 26 March 2006.
- Pheaktra, Neth. "Koh Kong to Become Second Hong Kong". *Mekong Times*, 26 May 2008.
- Phochana Phichitsiri. "Litany of Woes". The Nation, 19 September 2007.
- Phon Ngan Daan Karn Tangprathet Khong Rattaban Pol-Ek Surayud Chulanont, Tulakhom 2549–Mokkarakhom 2551 [Foreign Policy Performance of the Surayud Chulanont Government, October 2006–January 2008]. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand. Bangkok: Aroon Printing, 2008.
- Pisanu Sunthraraks. "Luang Wichit Watakan: Hegemony and Literature". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1986.
- Piyanart Srivalo. "Newin Shares His Hand as Blue-Shirts' Boss", *The Nation*, 9 April 2009.
- Pleaw See Ngern. *Uttaprawat Badsop Thaksin Maethap Daeng* [Disreputable Biography: The Red Army Chief Thaksin]. *Thai Post*, 26 March 2009.
- Postlewaite, Susan. "Real Estate Boom in Cambodia's Capital". *Business Week*, 3 June 2008.
- Pranee Chantrakul. "Surakiart Peud Chai Kiewkap Karn Ronnarong Tamnaeng Laykhathikarn Sahaprachachart" [Surakiart Opens His Heart on the UNSG Campaign]. *Kaosod*, 1 March 2006.
- Prasong Visuth. "Kuen Tamnieb Torrara" [Becoming Tyrant], *Matichon Online*, 10 October 2008. http://www.matichon.com.th/news_detail.php?newsid=1223646263&catid=01. Accessed 7 January 2010.
- Prizzia, Ross. *Thailand in Transition: The Role of Oppositional Forces*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1985.
- Pronina, Lyuba. "Thailand Inks Deal for 12 Fighters", *Moscow Times*, 19 December 2005.
- Puangthong Rungswasdisub. *Thailand's Response to the Cambodian Genocide*, Genocide. Working Programme Working Paper no. 12. Connecticut: Yale University, 1999.
- Raman, B. "My Southeast Asia Diary I: Thai Agitation: Focus on Thaksin's Indian Visits". Paper published by Southeast Asia Analysis Group. http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/%5Cpapers18%5Cpaper1749. html>. Accessed 27 April 2009.
- Rana, Kishan S. *Asian Diplomacy: The Foreign Ministries of China, India, Japan, Singapore and Thailand*. Washington D.C.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.
- Randolph, Sean. The United States and Thailand: Alliance Dynamics, 1950-

1985. Berkeley: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, 1986.

- Rao, P. V., ed. *India and ASEAN: Partners at Summit.* New Delhi: KW Publishers Book, 2008.
- Reynolds, E. Bruce. *Thailand and Japan's Southern Advance, 1940–1945*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- ______. Thailand's Secret War: OSS, SOE and the Free Thai Underground During World War II. California: San José State University, 2004.
- Roberts, John. "Repression in Southern Thailand Fuels Diplomatic Tensions with Malaysia". *Asian Tribune*, 18 October 2005
- Rosenau, James N. Linkage Politics. New York: The Free Press, 1969.
- Roughol, Isabelle. "1980s Thai-Lao Border Conflict Bears Resemblance to Preah Vihear". Cambodian Daily, 24 October 2008.
- Sajin Prachason. "Thailand-US FTA: Whatever we have to sacrifice must be sacrificed, if that helps get a better deal". Focus on Global South, 26 April 2005. http://www.bilaterals.org/article.php3?id_article=1753. Accessed 12 December 2009.
- Sarasin Viraphol. *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652–1853.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977.
- Schmidt, Johannes Dragsbaek. "From Thaksin's Social Capitalism to Self-Sufficiency Economics in Thailand". Paper presented at the workshop "Autochthoneity or Development? Asian 'Tigers' in the World: Ten Years after the Crisis", organized by the Working Group "Transformations in the World System Comparative Studies of Development" under EDAI (European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes) Vienna, 19–21 September 2007. . Accessed 22 August 2009.
- Severino, Rodolfo C. Southeast Asia in Search of an ASEAN Community: Insights from the Former ASEAN Secretary-General. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006.
- Sirin Phathanothai. *The Dragon's Pearl*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994. Smith, Anthony. "Thailand's Security and the Sino-Thai Relationship". *China Brief* 5, no. 3. Washington D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 1 February 2005.
- Somkiart Tangkitvanich. "Toon Niyom Thai Bon Naewthang Thaksinomics Lae Pontor Nayobai Karnpattana" [Thai Capitalism à la Thaksinomics and Its Impact on Development Policy]. In *Fah Daew Kan* [Same Sky]

- 2, no. 1 (January–March 2004). http://www.thailandelite.com/home.php>. Accessed 11 April 2009.
- Sopon Onkgara. "Secret of Thaksin's Burma Trip might be in the Skies". *The Nation*, 6 August 2006.
- "Sovereignty Not for Sale", Say Thailand's Civil Society in Opposing the Government's Free Trade Agreements (FTAs). FTA Watch Group. ">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id=5>">http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=21&s_id=5&d_id
- Storey, Ian. "China and Vietnam's Tug of War over Laos". *China Brief* 5, no. 13. Washington D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 7 June 2005.
- _____. "A Hiatus in the Sino-Thai Special Relation". *China Brief* 6, no. 19 Washington D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 20 September 2006.
- Suchat Sritama. "Thailand Elite Card Holders Reassured". *The Nation*, 17 January 2009.
- Suchit Bunbongkarn. "National Security and the Contemporary Political Role of the Thai Military". Paper presented at the International Conference on Thai Studies at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 22–24 August 1983.
- Sukhumbhand Paribatra. "From Enmity to Alignment: Thailand's Evolving Relations with China". ISIS paper no. 1. Bangkok: Institute of Security and International Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1987.
- _____. Beyond Cambodia: Some Thoughts on Southeast Asia in the 1990s. Bangkok: Institute of Security and International Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1989.
- Sunai Phasuk. Nayobai Tang Prathet Khong Thai: Suksa Krabuankarnkamnod Nayobai Khong Ratthaban Pon-ek Chatichai Choonhavan Tor Panha Kumphucha, Si Singhakom 1988–23 Kumphaphan 1991 [Thai Foreign Policy: A Study of Foreign Policy-making Process under the Chatichai Choonhavan Government, 4 August 1988–23 February 1991]. Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, 1997.
- Supalak Ganjanakhundee. "Drug-Related Killing: Verify the Toll, Says Diplomat". *The Nation*, 4 March 2003.
- _____. "Retired Diplomat Nitya to Retain Foreign Policy". *The Nation*, 10 October 2006.
- _____. "Sompong Faces Twins Tasks in New York". *The Nation*, 29 September 2008.
- Surachia Sirikrai. "Thai-American Relations in the Laotian Crisis of 1960–1962". Ph.D. dissertation, Western Michigan University, 1979.

Surapong Jayanama. *Karn Thood Karn Muang Maichai Ruang Suantua* [Diplomacy and Politics are not Personal Issues]. Bangkok: Siam Publishing Company, 2007.

- Suwinai Paranawalai. *Kaeroi Thaksinomics Kapkhwamchampen Khong Thangluekthisam* [Tracing Thaksinomics: the Necessity of the Third Option]. Bangkok: Openbooks, 2004.
- Tanner John C. "Braced for Change". *Telecom Asia*, October 2004. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0FGI/is_10_15/ai_n8563863/. Accessed 21 April 2009.
- Tej Bunnag. *The Provincial Administration of Siam, 1892–1995: The Ministry of the Interior under Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.* Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Thailand: Calming the Political Turmoil, Policy Briefing, Asia Briefing no. 82. Bangkok and Brussels: International Crisis Group, 22 September 2008.
- "Thailand's Free Trade Agreements and the Human Rights Obligations". Paper prepared by FTA Watch Thailand for submission to the 84th Session of the UN Human Rights Committee, March 2005. http://www.ftawatch.org/autopage1/show_page.php?t=22&s_id=3&d_id=3. Accessed 12 April 2009.
- Thak Chaloemtiarana. *Thailand: The Politics of Despotic Paternalism*. Cornell Southeast Asia Publications, 2007.
- Thamsook Numnonda. *Fyn Adit* [Reconstructing the Past]. Bangkok, 1979. Thanong Khanthong. "Thaksin and Bush are Like Two Peas in a Pod". *The Nation*, 19 November 2004.
- Thiradej Iamsamran and Ram Indaravichit. *Thodsalak Khadi Prasat Phra Viharn: Wiwatha Guru Sudyod Haeng Thosawad* [Decoding the Phra Viharn Temple Case: Opinion of the Guru, The Best of the Decade]. Bangkok: Matichon Publishing House, 2008.
- Thitinan Pongsudhirak. World War II and Thailand after Sixty Years". In *Legacies of World War II: South and East Asia*, edited by David Koh Wee Hock. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007.
- _____. "Thai Foreign Policy under the Thaksin Government: Out of the Box for Whom", 29 September 2004. http://www.thaiworld.org/en/thailand_monitor/answer.php?question_id=70. Accessed 14 November 2008.

- _____. "A Win-Win-Win Proposition for Thaksin". *The Irrawaddy*, 17 August 2005.

- Thongchai Winichakul. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation.* Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.
- Udom Deth, Sok. "The Geopolitics of Cambodia during the Cold War Period". *Explorations*, vol. 9 (Spring 2009).
- Ukrist Pathmanand. "The Thaksin Shinawatra Group: A Study of the Relationship between Money and Politics in Thailand". *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 13 (1998).
- _____. Thai Kap Asia: Karnmuang Toon Lae Khwammankong Yuk Lang Wikrit Setthakit [Thailand and Asia: Politics, Capitals and Security in Post-Crisis Era]. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 2003.
- Usa Pichai. "Thaksin Wanted Leniency Towards Burmese Junta", *Mizzima*, 23 December 2009. http://www.mizzima.com/news/regional/3798 -thaksin-wanted-leniency-towards-burmese-junta.html>. Accessed 2 January 2010.
- Veera Prateepchaikul. "Does Hun Sen Want to Play in One Political Sandbox". *Bangkok Post*, 26 October 2009.
- Warr, Peter. "The Economy under the Thaksin Government: Stalled Recovery". In *Divided over Thaksin*, edited by John Funston. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009.
- Wassana Nanuam. "Thaksin Set to Invest Big Time in Cambodia". *Bangkok Post*, 19 June 2008.
- ______, Thanida Tansubhapon and Prasit Tangprasert. "Thailand Shuts Tourist Spots after Fatal Clashes". *Bangkok Post*, 4 April 2009.
- Weatherbee, Donald E. and Emmers, Ralf. *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle for Autonomy*. Lanham: Rowman annd Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2005.
- White, George W. Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2000.
- Withaya Sucharithanarugse. "Concept and the Function of ACMECS". *South Asian Survey* 13, no. 2 (2006).
- Wyatt, David K. *A Short History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984. Yos Santasombat. "Power and Personality: An Anthropological Study of the Thai Political Elite". Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 1985.

Yusuf, Imtiyah. Faces of Islam in Southern Thailand. East-West Centre Washington Working Paper no. 7 (March 2007).

- Zahariadis, Nikolaos. *Emotion and Manipulation in Comparative Foreign Policy*. New York: Peter Lang, forthcoming.
- Zaw, Aung. "Thai, Burmese Troops Clash near Tachilek". *The Irrawaddy*, 2 January 2001.

- Zola, Anthony M. Contract Farming for Exports in ACMECS: Lessons and Policy Implications. Paper presented at the meeting on "Investment, Trade and Transport Facilitation in ACMECS", Bangkok, Thailand, 13 March 2007.

Printed and Electronic Media

Agence France-Presse (AFP)

American Spectator

Asia Sentinel

Asia Times

Asian Tribune

Associated Press (AP)

Bangkok Post

Bernama

Boston Globe

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)

Business Week

Cable News Network (CNN)

Cambodian Daily

Daily Digest

Deutsche Presse-Agentur

Economic Times

Financial Times

Hua Hin Today

International Herald Tribune

International Press Report

International Press Service

Japan Times

Kaosod

Korea Herald

Matichon

Mekong Times

Mizzima

Newsweek International

New Light of Myanmar

New York Times

Opinion Asia

People's Daily

Phuchadkan

Prachathai

Press Trust of India

Project Syndicate

Reuters

Straits Times

Telecom Asia

Thai Daily Digest

Thai Day

Thai Post

Thai Rath

The Economist

The Hindu

The Independent

The Irrawaddy

The Moscow Times

The Nation

Time

USA Today

Weekend Standard

Xinhua