Reproduced from The U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement: An American Perspective on Power, Trade, and Security in the Asia Pacific by Eul-Soo Pang (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011). 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 >

## References

#### **BOOKS AND ARTICLES**

- Abbott United States. 2009 (20 January). "Abbott Opens New Pharmaceutical Research Laboratory in Singapore". <a href="http://www.abbott.us/us/url/pressRelease">http://www.abbott.us/us/url/pressRelease</a> (accessed 5 May 2009).
- Abernethy, David B. 2000. *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires* 1415–1980. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Abramowitz, Morton, and Stephen Bosworth. 2006. *Chasing the Sun: Rethinking East Asian Policy*. New York: The Century Foundation Press.
- Abu-Lughod, Janet L. 1989. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D.* 1250–1350. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Acharya, Amitav. 2001. Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order. London: Routledge.
- AFL-CIO. 2008 (11 September). "Immigration Laws, U.S. Trade Policy Hurts All Workers". <a href="http://blog.aflcio.org/2008/09/page/9/">http://blog.aflcio.org/2008/09/page/9/</a> (accessed 5 May 2009).
- ——. 2009 (18 March). "Trade Experts: Renegotiate NAFTA". <a href="http://blog.aflcio.org/2009/03/page/6/">http://blog.aflcio.org/2009/03/page/6/</a> (accessed 5 May 2009).
- American Chamber of Commerce in Japan (ACCJ). 2006. "Working Together, Winning Together". Tokyo.
- American Chamber of Commerce in Singapore. 2007 (April). "United States Singapore Free Trade Agreement: 2007 Review". Singapore.
- Amin, Samir. 2003. *Obsolescent Capitalism: Contemporary Politics and Global Disorder.* London: Zed Books.
- Amsden, Alice H. 2001. The Rise of "The Rest": Challenges to the West from Late Industrializing Economies. New York: Oxford University Press.
- ——. 2007. Escape from Empire: The Developing World's Journey through Heaven and Hell. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Anderson, Lisa, ed. 1999. *Transition to Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Armacost, Michael H. 1996. Friends or Rivals? The Insider's Account of U.S.-Japan Relations. New York: Columbia University Press.

Bacevich, Andrew J. 2002. *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- "Back to the Countryside". 2009 (16 February). Time.
- Baker, Jim. 2005. *The Eagle in the Lion City: America, Americans and Singapore*. Singapore: Landmark Books.
- Balaam, David, and Michael Veseth. 1996. *Introduction to International Political Economy*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Baldwin, Robert, and Christopher Magee. 2000. *Congressional Trade Votes: From NAFTA Approval to Fast-Track Defeat*. Washington, DC. Institute for International Economics.
- Barkley, Tom. 2010 (June 23). "US Trade official: Ready to draft for Pacific trade deal". *The Wall Street Journal*. <a href="http://bilaterals.org">http://bilaterals.org</a>> (accessed 3 November 2010).
- Barr, Michael D. 2002. *Cultural Politics and Asian Values: The Tepid War*. London: Routledge/Curzon.
- Barro, Robert J. 1996. *Getting It Right: Markets and Choices in a Free Society*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Barry, Ellen. 2009 (27 November). "Russia Seeks Naval Upgrade, to Neighbors' Dismay". *The New York Times*.
- Bates, Robert H. 2001. *Prosperity & Violence: The Political Economy of Development*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Behrman, Greg. 2007. The Most Noble Adventure: The Marshall Plan and the Time When America Helped Save Europe. New York: Free Press.
- Bello, Walden. 2004 (14 December). "ASEAN Is Sadly Lacking in Relevance". The Bangkok Post.
- Bercuson, David, and Holger Herwig. 2005. *One Christmas in Washington: The Secret Meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill That Changed the World.* Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press.
- Bergsten, C. Fred, ed. 1997. Whither APEC? The Progress to Date and Agenda for the Future. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.
- Bernstein, William J. 2008. A Splendid Exchange: How Trade Shaped the World. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Bhagwati, Jagdish. 2004. In Defense of Globalization. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Biers, Dan. 1998. *Crash of '97: How the Financial Crisis Is Reshaping Asia*. Hong Kong: Review Publishing Company.
- Bobbitt, Philip. 2002. *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Briody, Dan. 2003. *The Iron Triangle: Inside the Secret World of the Carlyle Group*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Brooks, Stephen G. 2005. *Producing Security: Multinational Corporations, Globalization, and the Changing Calculus of Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brown, Drusilla K., Alan V. Deardorff, and Robert M. Stern. 2002. *Multilateral, Regional, and Bilateral Trade-Policy Options of the United States and Japan*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.

- Brown, Raj. 2006. "The Emergence and Development of Singapore as a Regional/ International Financial Center". A paper presented at the XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki.
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. 1983. Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Advisor 1977–1981. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
- Bumiller, Elizabeth. 2002 (7 August). "Bush Signs Trade Bill, Restoring Broad Presidential Authority". *The New York Times*.
- Burks, Ardath W. 1961. The Government of Japan. New York: Cromwell.
- Cahiles-Magkilat, Bernie. 2010 (29 September). "RP Notifies US of Intention to Join TPP". *Bilaterals.org*. <a href="http://www.bilaterals.org">http://www.bilaterals.org</a> (accessed 3 November 2010).
- "Capital Controls Will Not Affect Trade: Rafidah". 1998 (4 September). *Business Times* (Singapore).
- Center for International Environmental Law. 2003 (9 July). "Chile and Singapore Free Trade Agreements Are Wrong Models for the Environment". Washington, DC.
- Center for Responsive Politics. N.d.[a]. "Annual Lobbying by Covington & Burling: Total Lobbying Income". <a href="http://www.opensecrets.org">http://www.opensecrets.org</a> (accessed 7 May 2009).
- —. N.d.[b]. "Client (Organization Paying for Lobbying) Lookup". <a href="http://www.opensecrets.org">http://www.opensecrets.org</a> (accessed 7 May 2009).
- —. N.d.[c]. "Reelection Rates Over the Years". <a href="http://www.opensecrets.org">http://www.opensecrets.org</a> (accessed 7 May 2009).
- ———. 2008. "2008 Overview: Most Expensive Races". <a href="http://www.opensecrets.org">http://www.opensecrets.org</a> (accessed 7 May 2009).
- ———. 2009. "Top Spenders: All Years (1998–2009)". <a href="http://www.opensecrets.org">http://www.opensecrets.org</a> (accessed 1 December 2009).
- Chan, Heng Chee. 2004. "Lobbying for the United States-Singapore Free Trade Agreement". In *The United States Singapore Free Trade Agreement: Highlights and Insights*. Edited by Tommy Koh and Chang Li Lin, pp. 163–76. Singapore: Institute of Policy Studies.
- Chang, Ha-Joon. 2002. Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective. London: Anthem Press.
- Chang, Ha-Joon, and Ilene Grabel. 2004. *Reclaiming Development: An Alternative Economic Policy Manuel*. London: Zed Books.
- Chang, Li Lin. 2005. "Eight Lessons from the United States-Singapore Free Trade Agreement". Unpublished paper.
- Chhon, Keat, and Aun Porn Moniruth. 1999. *Cambodia's Economic Development: Policies, Strategies and Implementation*. London: ASEAN Academic Press.

"China dismisses resumption of talks". 2010 (30 October). Xinhua News. <a href="http://news.xinhuanet.com">http://news.xinhuanet.com</a>> (accessed 3 November 2010).

- "China Foreign-Exchange Reserves Jump to \$2.65 Trillion". 2010 (13 October). Bloomberg News <a href="http://www.bloomberg.com">Bloomberg News <a href="http://www.bloomberg.com">http://www.bloomberg.com</a> (accessed 12 March 2011).
- "Chinese premier wants immediate, unconditional release of boat captain". 2010 (22 September). CNN.com <a href="http://edition.cnn.com">http://edition.cnn.com</a> (accessed 1 October 2010).
- "Citibank Offers First Travel Card in Region". 2007 (18 August). The Straits Times.
- Clarke, Richard A. 2004. Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror. New York: Free Press.
- Clarkson, Stephen. 2008. Does North America Exist? Governing the Continent after NAFTA and 9/11. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Clines, Francis X. 1998 (29 January). "The President's Trial. The Scene: Some Friendly Mingling in the Chamber Despite a Day of Hard Party Division". *The New York Times*.
- Collins, Alan. 2003. *Security and Southeast Asia: Domestic, Regional, and Global Issues*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Covington & Burling, LLP. 2008. "Lobbying Report". Filed by Mark E. Plotkin, Partner, 21 April 2008, 17 July 2008, 17 October 2008, and 21 November 2008 (amending the October report).
- Dallek, Robert. 2007. Nixon and Kissinger: Partnership in Power. New York: HarperCollins.
- Dam, Kenneth W. 2001. *The Rules of the Global Game: A New Look at US International Economic Policymaking.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Daquila, Teoflilio C., and Le Huu Huy. 2003. "Singapore and ASEAN in the Global Economy". *Asian Survey* (Nov./Dec.): 908–28.
- Das, Bhagirath Lal. 2004. *The WTO and the Multilateral Trading System: Past, Present and Future.* London: Zed Books.
- Davis, Kenneth S. 2000. FDR: The War President 1940–1943: A History. New York: Oxford University Press.
- De Castro, Renato Cruz. 2004. "The Revitalized Philippine-U.S. Security Relations: The Triumph of Bilateralism over Multilateralism in Philippine Foreign Policy". In *Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation: National Interests and Regional Order.* Eds. See Seng Tan and Amitav Acharya. Amonk NY: M.E. Sharpe. pp. 154–71.
- "Democrats question U.S. Chamber of Commerce money spent on Buck". 2010 (9 October). *The Denver Post* <a href="http://www.denverpost.com">http://www.denverpost.com</a> (accessed 3 November 2010).
- Dent, Christopher. 2008. East Asian Regionalism. London: Routledge.
- ——. 2006. New Free Trade Agreements in the Asia-Pacific. Basingstoke, Eng. PalgraveMacmillan.

———, ed. 2003. *Asia-Pacific Economic and Security Cooperation: New Regionalism Agendas*. Basingstoke, Eng.: PalgraveMacmillan.

- Destler, I.M. 1995. *American Trade Politics*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.
- Dicken, Peter. 2007. *Global Shift: Mapping the Changing Contours of the World Economy*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. London. Sage Publications.
- Dieter, Heribery. 2009. "Bilateral Economic Arrangements in the Asia-Pacific: Implications for Competitiveness". In *Southeast Asia in the Global Economy: Securing Competitiveness and Social Protection*. Edited by Helen E. S. Nesadurai and J. Soedradjad Djwandono, pp. 89–113. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- "Don't internationalise South China Sea issue". 2010 (31 July). The Straits Times.
- East-West Center. 2008. "U.S. Exports to Asia (Merchandise Exports 2008)". <a href="http://www.asiamattersforamerica.org">http://www.asiamattersforamerica.org</a> (accessed 6 May 2009).
- Economist Intelligence Unit. 1999. Country Report. Indonesia: 1st Quarter 1998. London: EIU.
- "Editorial: Pacific Free Trade Pact". 2010 (5 October). *The Asahi Shimbun*. <a href="http://wwww.bilaterals.org">http://wwww.bilaterals.org</a> (accessed 3 November 2010).
- "Election Spending Sets Record: No Recession Here", 2010 (7 September). *The Huffington Post.* <a href="http://www.huffingtonpost.com">http://www.huffingtonpost.com</a> (accessed 8 September 2010).
- Emmott, Bill. 2003. 20:21 Vision: Twentieth-Century Lessons for the Twenty-First Century. New York: Farr Strauss Giroux.
- ——. 2008. Rivals: How the Power Struggle between China, India, and Japan Will Shape Our Next Decade. New York: Harcourt.
- Evans, Peter, and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds. [1985] 1987. *Bringing the State Back In*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fackler, Martin. 2010 (29 May). "Attack Bares South Korea's Complex Links to North". *The New York Times* <a href="http://www.nytimes.com">http://www.nytimes.com</a>> (accessed 2 June 2010).
- Fallows, James. 1994. Looking at the Sun: The Rise of the New East Asian Economic and Political System. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Feinberg, Richard E., ed. 2003. *APEC as an Institution: Multilateral Governance in the Asia-Pacific.* Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies.
- Felsenthal, Carol. 2008. Clinton in Exile: A President Out of the White House. New York: William Morrow.
- Fforde, Adam. 2009. *Coping with Facts: A Skeptic's Guide to the Problem of Development.* Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.
- Finkel, Caroline. 2005. Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire. New York: Basic Books.
- Frankel, Jeffrey A. 1997. *Regional Trading Blocs in the World Economic System*. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.

Frieden, Jeffrey A. 2006. *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*. New York: W.W. Norton.

- Fukue, Natsuko. 2010. (14 November). "Foreign media search for signs future stance on TPP". *The Japan Times online*. <a href="http://search.japantimes.co.jp">http://search.japantimes.co.jp</a> (accessed 14 November 2010).
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2006. After the Neocons: America at the Crossroads. London: Profile Books.
- Gaddis, John Lewis. 1997. We Know Now: Rethinking Cold War History. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gelb, Leslie. 2009. Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy. New York: Harper.
- Gereffi, Gary and Donald L. Wyman, eds. 1990. *Manufacturing Miracles: Paths of Industrialization in Latin America and East Asia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gill, Stephen, and David Law. 1988. *The Global Political Economy: Perspectives, Problems and Politics.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- "Global 500". 2005 (18 July). Fortune.
- Goldman Sachs. 2003 (1 October). "Dreaming with BRIC: The Path to 2050". Global Economics Paper No. 99. New York.
- Goldsmith, Sir James. 1994. The Trap. New York: Caroll & Graf Publishers.
- Gordon, Beate Sirota. 1997. The Only Woman in the Room. Tokyo: Kodansha International.
- Haacke, Jurgen. 1999. "The Concept of Flexible Engagement and the Practice of Enhanced Interaction Intramural Challenges to the 'ASEAN Way'". *The Pacific Review*: pp. 581–611.
- Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Harrison, Lawrence E. 1985. *Underdevelopment Is a State of Mind: The Latin American Case.* Lantham, MD: Madison Books.
- Hart, Natasha Hamilton. 2002. Asian States, Asian Banks: Central Banking in South East Asia. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Herring, George C. 2008. From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hertz, Noreen. 2001. *The Silent Takeover: Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy.* New York: Free Press.
- Hettne, Bjorn. 2000. "The New Regionalism: A Prologue". In *The New Regionalism and the Future of Security and Development*. Edited by Bjorn Hettne, Andras Inota, and Osvaldo Sunkel, vii–xxvi . New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Hinds, Michael Decoure. 1994 (23 June). "Teen-Ager Caned in Singapore Returns Home". New York Times.
- Hirschman, Albert. 1963. *Journeys toward Progress: Studies of Economic Policy Making in Latin America*. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund.

——. 1971. Bias for Hope: Essays on Development and Latin America. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Hoadley, Stephen. 2002. *Negotiating Free Trade: The New Zealand-Singapore CEP Agreement*. Wellington: New Zealand Institute of International Affairs.
- Hong, Mark. 2006. "East Asian Integration: FTAs and Policy Implications". Paper presented at the Conference on Regional Cooperation Experience in Europe and Practices in East Asia, Beijing.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 2004. Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Ikenberry, G. John, and Michael Mastanduno, eds. 2001. *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- "Japan faces dilemma over civilian nuke pact with India" 2009 (25 October). The Mainichi Daily News <a href="http://mdn.mainichi.jp">http://mdn.mainichi.jp</a> (accessed 3 November 2010).
- "Japan's PM announces resignation". 2010 (20 June). *Politico.com* <a href="http://www.politico.com">http://www.politico.com</a> (accessed 20 June 2010).
- "Japanese comments torpedo meeting". 2010 (30 October). *People's Daily Online* <a href="http://enlgish.people.com.cn">http://enlgish.people.com.cn</a> (accessed 3 November 2010).
- Joffe, Josef. 2009. "The Default Power". Foreign Affairs (September/October): pp. 21–35.
- Johnson, Chalmers. 1995. *Japan: Who Governs? The Rise of the Developmental State*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- ——. 2000. *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire.* New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Jomo, K.S, ed. 1998. Tigers in Trouble: Financial Governance, Liberalisation and Crisis in East Asia. London: Zed Books.
- Kang, David. 2003. "Hierarchy and Stability in Asian International Relations". In *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*. Edited by G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, 164–89. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kaplan, Robert D. 2009. "Center Stage for the Twenty-first Century: Power Plays in the Indian Ocean". *Foreign Affairs* (March/April): pp. 16–32.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. 2005. *A World Region: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kesavapany, K. 2001a (27 June). "Singapore FTA Initiatives Not a Backdoor to AFTA". Business Times.
- ——. 2001b (11 July). "Singapore's FTAs Can Benefit All". New Straits Times.
- Khanna, Parag. 2008. The Second World: Empires and Influence in the New Global Order. New York: Random House.
- Kim Dae Jung. 1994. "Is Culture Destiny? The Myth of Asia's Anti-Democratic Values". *Foreign Affairs* (November/December): pp. 189–194.
- Kim, Eun Mee. 1997. *Big Business, Strong State: Collusion and Conflict in South Korean Development* 1960–1990. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Kisluik, Bill. "The Who, When, and How Much of Hiring a Lobbyist". <a href="http://www.lobbysearch.com">http://www.lobbysearch.com</a> (accessed 7 May 2009).

- Kissinger, Henry. 1979. White House Years. New York: Little, Brown.
- Kissinger, Henry A. 2001. *Does America Need a Foreign Policy? Towards a Diplomacy for the 21st Century.* New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Koh, Tommy. 1998. *The Quest for World Order: Perspectives of a Pragmatic Idealist*. Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- . 2004. "The USSFTA: A Personal Perspective". In *The United States-Singapore Free Trade Agreement: Highlights and Insights*. Edited by Tommy Koh and Chang Li Lin. pp. 3–22. Singapore: Institute of Policy Studies.
- Kohli, Atul. 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kollmorgen, Walter M. 1945. "Crucial Deficiencies of Regionalism". *The American Economic Review* (May): pp. 377–389.
- Krugman, Paul R. 1990. *Rethinking International Trade*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Krugman, Paul R., ed. 1993. *Strategic Trade Policy and the New International Economics*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- LaVine, Dom, and Kathleen Conners. 2006. "Public Submission for the Proposed U.S.-Malaysia Free Trade Agreement (USMFTA)". Kuala Lumpur: American Chamber of Commerce in Malaysia and U.S. Chamber of Commerce.
- Lee, Kuan Yew. 2000. From Third World to First: The Singapore Story: 1965-2000: Memoir of Lee Kuan Yew. Singapore: Singapore Press Holdings.
- Lim, Jessica. 2009 (1 August). "More Land for Growing Food". The Straits Times.
- Lincoln, Edward J. 2004. East Asian Economic Regionalism. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Jason M. Lakin. 2004. *The Democratic Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- List, Friedrich. 1983. *The Natural System of Political Economy 1837*. Translated by W.O. Henderson. London: Frank Cass.
- ——. 1991. The National System of Political Economy. Translated by Sampson S. Lloyd. Fairfield, NJ: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers.
- Macmillan, Margaret. 2001. Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World. New York: Random House.
- McNamara, Robert S., and James G. Blight. 2001. Wilson's Ghost: Reducing the Risk of Conflict, Killing, and Catastrophe in the 21st Century. New York: Public Affairs.
- Mahan, A. T. 1987. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783.* New York: Dover Press.
- Mahathir, Mohamad. 2000. *Politics, Democracy and the New Asia*. Subang Jaya, Malaysia. Pelanduk Publications.

Mahbubani, Kishore. 2008. *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East*. New York: Public Affairs.

- "Malaysian cabinet gives green light to join TPP". 2010 (2 August). TWN FTA Info <a href="http://www.bilaterals.org">http://www.bilaterals.org</a> (accessed 3 November 2010).
- "Malaysia's Controls May Not Delay Reforms, says IMF". 1998 (29 October). New Straits Times.
- Malone, David M., and Yuen Foong Khong, eds. 2003. *Unilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy: International Perspectives*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Mann, James. 2004. Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet. New York: Vikings.
- Margariti, Roxani Eleni. 2007. Aden & the Indian Ocean Trade: 150 Years in the Life of a Medieval Arabian Port. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Martin, Peter-Hans, and Harald Schuman. 1997. *The Global Trap: Globalization and the Assault on Democracy and Prosperity*. New York: Zed Books.
- Mauzy, Diane, and R. S. Milne. 2002. *Singapore Politics under the People's Action Party*. London: Routledge.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 2001. The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Mearsheimer, John, and Stephen M. Walt. 2008. *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- "Media Spending Surges toward Record". 2010 (6 October). *Politico.com*. <a href="http://www.politico.com">http://www.politico.com</a>> (accessed 10 October 2010).
- "Mild-mannered American Takes the Market by Surprise". 2009 (7 February). *Financial Times*.
- Mitchell, Alison. 1998 (20 December). "Impeachment: The Overview, Clinton Impeached". *The New York Times*.
- ——. 1999 (13 February). "The President's Acquittal: The Overview: Clinton Acquitted Decisively: No Majority for Either Charge". *The New York Times*.
- Moghadam, Mashaallah Rahnama, Hedayeh Smavati, and David A. Ditz. 2002. "An Analysis of Capital Flight from East Asian Emerging Economies". In 2002 Proceedings of Midwest Business Economics Association, 14–17.
- Mohan, C. Raja. 2009 (16 April). "Sino-India Naval Engagement". Singapore: Institute of South Asian Studies.
- Moller, Jorgen Orstrom. 2008. *European Integration: Sharing of Experiences*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. 1968. Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations. 3 vols. New York: Pantheon.
- Nathan, S. R. 1994 (31 March). "Caning in Singapore: Letters to the Editor". *International Herald Tribune*.
- Nau, Henry. 1990. *The Myth of America's Decline: Leading the World Economy into the* 1990s. New York: Oxford University Press.

North, Douglass C. 2005. *Understanding the Process of Economic Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Nye, Jr., Joseph S. 2004. *Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization*. New York: Routledge.
- O'Brien, Robert, and Marc Williams. 2004. *Global Political Economy: Evolution and Dynamics*. New York: PalgraveMacmillan.
- "Ohata eyes multilateral Asia FTA". 2010 (22 September). *Kyodo News.* <a href="http://www.bilaterals.org">http://www.bilaterals.org</a>> (accessed 3 November 2010).
- Ohmae, Kenichi. 1995. *The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies*. New York: Free Press.
- Ostry, Sylvia. 1997. *The Post-War Trading System: Who's on First?* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Pang, Eul-Soo. 2000. "The Financial Crisis of 1997–98 and the End of the Asian Developmental State". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (December): pp. 570–93.
- ——. 2002. The International Political Economy of Transformation in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile since 1960. Basingstoke, Eng.: PalgraveMacmillan.
- ——. 2007. "Embedding Security into Free Trade: The Case of the United States–Singapore Free Trade Agreement". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (April): pp. 1–32.
- Pang, Eul-Soo, and Laura Jarnagin. 2009. "MERCOSUR: The Elusive Quest for Regional Integration". In *MERCOSUR Economic Integration: Lessons for ASEAN*. Edited by ASEAN Studies Center. pp. 87–130. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Passavant, Paul A., and Jodi Dean, eds. 2004. *Empire's New Clothes: Reading Hardt and Negri*. New York: Routledge.
- Paus, Eva. 2005. Foreign Investment, Development, and Globalization: Can Costa Rica Become Ireland? New York: PalgraveMacmillan.
- Peebles, Gavin, and Peter Wilson. 2002. Economic Growth and Development in Singapore: Past and Future. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Pei, Minxin. 2009. "Asia's Rise". Foreign Policy (July/August): pp. 32–36.
- Pempel, T. J. 2005. "Emerging Webs of Regional Connectedness". In *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region*. Edited by T.J. Pempel, 1–28. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- ——. 2006. "Challenges to Bilateralism: Changing Foes, Capital Flows, and Complex Forums". In *Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.-Japan Relations in the New Asia-Pacific*. Edited by Ellis S. Krauss and T. J. Pempel. pp. 1–28. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Perlstein, Rick. 2008. *Nixonland: The Rise of a President and the Fracturing of America*. New York: Scribner.
- Peterson Institute for International Economics. 2008. "A Report to the President-Elect and the 111th Congress from the Trade Policy Study Group, December 2008". Washington, DC: 2008.

Petras, James. 2003. The New Development Politics: The Age of Empire Building and New Social Movements. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

- Petras, James, and Henry Veltmeyer. 2001. *Globalization Unmasked: Imperialism in the 21st Century*. New York: Zed Books.
- Phillips, Nicola. 2005. "State Debates in International Political Economy". In *Globalizing International Political Economy*. Edited by Nicola Phillips, pp. 82–84. Basingstoke, Eng.: PalgraveMacmillan.
- Powell, Colin. 2004. "A Strategy of Partnership". Foreign Affairs (January/February): pp. 22–34.
- Quilan, Joseph. 2000. *Global Engagement: How American Companies Really Compete in the Global Economy*. New York: Contemporary Books.
- Quinlan, Joseph, and Marc Chandler. 2001. "The U.S. Trade Deficit: A Dangerous Obsession". Foreign Affairs (May/June): pp. 87–97.
- "Rafidah: Asean Members Not Permitted to Enter into FTA". 2001 (10 June). New Straits Times.
- "Rafidah: New Controls Won't Drive Away Investment". 1994 (4 September). New Straits Times.
- Ravenhill, John. 2001. *APEC and the Construction of Pacific Rim Regionalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reyes, Alejandro. 1994 (25 May). "Rough Justice". Asia Week.
- Ricks, Thomas E. 2006. *The Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq.* New York: Penguin.
- ———. 2009. The Gamble: General David Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq 2006–2008. New York: Penguin.
- Rosenberg, Justin. 2000. The Follies of Globalization Theory. London: Verso.
- Rothkopf, David. 2008. Superclass: The Global Power Elite and the World They Are Making. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008.
- Rubin, Robert E, and Jacob Weisberg. 2003. *In an Uncertain World: Tough Choices from Wall Street to Washington*. New York: Random House.
- Sachs, Jeffrey. 1998. "International Economics: Unlocking the Mysteries of Globalization". Foreign Policy (Spring): pp. 97–111.
- Safire, William. 1994 (19 May). "President Doormat". The New York Times.
- Sally, Razeen. 2004. Southeast Asia in the WTO: From Hanging Together to Bowling Alone. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- ——. 2006. "FTAs and the Prospects for Regional integration in Asia". Brussels: European Center for International Political Economy.
- Sassen, Saskia. 2001. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo.* 2nd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schott, Jeffrey. 2003. "Unlocking the Benefits of World Trade". *The Economist* (30 Oct.). <a href="http://www.economist.com">http://www.economist.com</a> (accessed 5 May 2009).
- Schott, Jeffrey J. 2004. *Free Trade Agreements: US Strategies and Priorities.* Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.
- Schultz, Michael, Fredrik Soderbaum, and Joakim Ojendal, eds. 2001. Regionalization

in a Globalizing World: A Comparative Perspective on Forms, Actors and Processes. London: Zed Books.

- Scissors, Derek. 2009. "Deng Undone: The Cost of Halting Market Reform in China". Foreign Affairs (May/June): pp. 24–30.
- Scott, Alan J. 2003. Regions and the World Economy: The Coming Shape of Global Production, Competition, and Political Order. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Seagrave, Sterling. 1995. Lords of the Rim: The Invisible Empire of the Overseas Chinese. New York: C.P. Putnam's Sons.
- Serra, Jaime, Guillermo Aguilar, Jose Cordoba, Gene Grossman, Carla Hills, John Jackson, Julius Katz, Pedro Noyola, and Michael Wilson. 1997. *Reflections on Regionalism: Report of the Study Group on International Trade.* Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Severino, Rodolfo C. 2006. Southeast Asia in Search of an ASEAN Community. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- ——. 2010. *The ASEAN Regional Forum*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Shamshul, Amri Baharuddin. 2004. "Creating an ASEAN Identity". In *Towards Building an ASEAN Community*. Edited by Ilango Karuppannan, Rahmat Mohamad, and Umminajah Salleh. pp. 111–21. Shah Alam, Selangor, Malaysia: Universiti Teknologi MARA.
- Sideri, S. 1970. *Trade and Power: Informal Colonialism in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*. Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press.
- Skidelsky, Robert. 2000. *John Maynard Keynes: Fight for Freedom, 1937–1946.* New York: Viking.
- Soderberg, Nancy. 2005. The Superpower Myth: The Use and Misuse of American Might. New York: Wiley & Sons.
- Srisamorn, Komsa Tontermvasana. 2006 (30 January). "More Questions than Answers at Shin". *The Bangkok Post*.
- Stallings, Barbara, and Robert Kaufman, eds. 1989. *Debt and Democracy in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Staples, Anthony J. 2006. "Japanese Foreign Direct Investment and the Transformation of the East Asian Political Economy: Comparative Strategy in the Automotive Sector". In *Emerging Multiplicity: Integration and Responsiveness in Asian Business Development*. Edited by Sten Soderbaum. pp. 89–115. Basingstoke, Eng.: PalgraveMacmillan.
- Stein, Peter, and Kostas Paris. 2009 (21 July). "Goodyear Won't Be Temasek CEO," *The Wall Street Journal*.
- Stott, David Adam. 2008. "The Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership: Agreement between Equals?" *Bilaterals.org*. (25 July). <a href="http://www.bilaterals.org">http://www.bilaterals.org</a> (accessed 7 May 2009).

Strange, Susan. 1996. The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Talbott, Strobe. 2008. *The Great Experiment: The History of Ancient Empires, Modern States, and the Quest for a Global Nation*. New York. Simon & Schuster.
- Thatcher, Margaret. 1993. The Downing Street Years. New York: HarperCollins.
- "The China Blog: Unemployment Numbers: II". 2009 (3 February). Time.
- "Three GOP candidates spend \$243 million". 2010 (24 October). *Politico.com*. <a href="http://www.politico.com">http://www.politico.com</a> (accessed 2 November 2010).
- Tsuchiyama, Jitsuo. 2007. "War Renunciation, Article 9, and Security Policy". In *Japan in International Politics: The Foreign Policies of an Adaptive State.* Edited by Thomas U. Berger, Mike E. Mochizuki, and Jitsuo Tuschiyama. pp. 47–73. Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner.
- "2010 Election Spending Makes It the Most Expensive Mid-term Election Ever". 2010. <a href="http://www.savings.com">http://www.savings.com</a> (accessed 20 November 2010).
- "Unleashing the Trade Winds: Achieving Free Trade across the Globe Is a Daunting Task. But America is Committed, says Robert Zoellick". 2003 (5 December). *The Economist* <a href="http://www.economist.com">http://www.economist.com</a> (accessed 7 May 2009).
- "US praises Japan for FTA plan". 2010 (25 October). *Reuters*. <a href="http://www.bilaterals.org">http://www.bilaterals.org</a> (accessed 3 November 2010).
- "U.S. Presence Necessary for Korean Security, Officials Say". 2010 (16 September).

  \*American Forces Press Service. <a href="http://www.defense.gov/news">http://www.defense.gov/news</a> (accessed 10 October 2010).
- Volcker, Paul A., and Toyoo Gyohten. 1992. Changing Fortunes: The World's Money and the Threat to American Leadership. New York: TimesBooks.
- Wade, Robert. 1990. Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974. The Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origin of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century. New York: The Academic Press.
- Weidenbaum, Murray, and Samuel Hughes. 1996. The Bamboo Network: How Expatriate Chinese Entrepreneurs Are Creating a New Economic Superpower in Asia. New York: Free Press.
- Weintraub, Stanley. 2007. 15 Stars: Eisenhower, MacArthur, Marshall: Three Generals Who Saved the American Century. New York: Free Press.
- Weiseman, Alan. 2007. Prince of Darkness: Richard Perle: The Kingdom, the Power and the End of Empire in America. New York: Union Square Press.
- Weiss, Linda. 1998. The Myth of the Powerless State. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wolf, Martin. 2004. Why Globalization Works. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Woo, Jung-En. 1991. *Race to the Swift: State and Finance in Korean Industrialization*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Yahuda, Michael. 2003. *The International Politics of the Asia Pacific*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

- Yergin, Daniel, and Joseph Stanislaw. 1998. The Commanding Heights: The Battle between Government and the Marketplace That Is Remaking the Modern World. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Zakaria, Fareed. 1994. "Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew". Foreign Affairs (March/April): pp. 109–126.
- Zoellick, Robert. 2002 (14 April). "Falling Behind on Free Trade". The New York Times.
- ——. "Letters: Free Trade". 2003 (4 December). *The Economist*. <a href="http://www.economist.com">http://www.economist.com</a> (accessed 7 May 2009).

#### INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

## **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**

International Monetary Fund. 2006. *Integrating Poor Countries into the World Trading System*. Washington, DC: IMF.

## Organization of American States (OAS)

- Organization of American States. Sistema de Información para Comércio Exterior. 2000. "Joint Statement by the United States and Singapore on the US-Singapore Free Trade Agreement Negotiations, 21 December 2000". <a href="http://www.oas.org/sice">http://www.oas.org/sice</a> (accessed 5 May 2009).
- ——. 2001a (25 May). "Joint Statement by Singapore and the United States on the US-Singapore Free Trade Agreement, 25 May 2001". <a href="http://www.oas.org/sice">http://www.oas.org/sice</a> (accessed 5 May 2009).
- ——. 2001b (20 Jul.) "Joint Statement of Singapore and the United States on the US-Singapore Free Trade Agreement, 20 July 2001". <a href="http://www.oas.org/sice">http://www.oas.org/sice</a> (accessed 5 May 2009).
- ——. 2001c (26 Oct.). "Joint Statement of Singapore and the United States on the US-Singapore Free Trade Agreement, 26 October 2001". <a href="http://www.oas.org/sice">http://www.oas.org/sice</a> (accessed 5 May 2009).

#### United Nations (UN)

- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). 2006. World Investment Report 2006: Transnational Corporations and the Internationalization of R&D. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). 2007. Human Development Report 2007/2008: Fighting Climate Change: Human Solidarity in a Divided World. New York: PalgraveMacmillan.

#### World Bank (WB)

World Bank. 1998. 1998 World Development Indicators. Washington, DC.

——. 2002. *Globalization: Growth and Poverty: Building on Inclusive World Economy.* New York: Oxford University Press.

- ——. 2003. Regional Integration and Development. Washington, DC.
  - ——. 2007. 2007 World Development Indicators. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2008. 2008 World Development Indicators. Washington, DC.

#### World Trade Organization (WTO)

- World Trade Organization. N.d. "List of All RTAs in Force, by Date of Entry into Force. Regional Trade Agreements Notified to the GATT/WTO and in Force by Date of Entry and into Force". <a href="http://www.wto.org/english/tratop\_e/region\_e/region\_e.htm">http://www.wto.org/english/tratop\_e/region\_e.htm</a> (accessed 14 May 2007).
- ——. 1997 (17 April). "WTO Director-General's Address to the Korean Business Association." <www.wto.org/English/news\_e/pres97\_e/seoul.htm> (accessed 14 May 2007).
- ——. 2007. International Trade Statistics 2007. Geneva.
- ——. 2009. International Trade Statistics 2009. Geneva.

#### **INTERVIEWS**

- Koh, Tommy, Ambassador at Large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore. 2008. Interview by author. 22 July. Singapore.
- Loh, Derek K.Y., Hunton & Williams International Law Firm, Singapore. Interview by author. 14 July. Singapore.
- Overmyer, Phillip, Chief Executive, Singapore International Chamber of Commerce. 2008. Interview by author. 23 July. Singapore.
- Simmons, Dana, Supervisory Archivist, William J. Clinton Presidential Library. 2008. Interview by author. 8 October Little Rock, Arkansas.
- Tietjen, Jim, Colonel, U.S. Air Force, Ret., Military *Attaché*, U.S. Embassy, Singapore. 2008. Interview by author. 12 July. Singapore.

#### **LETTERS**

(N.B.: Entries arranged alphabetically by surname of letter's author.)

Abrams, Elliott, Richard L. Armitage, William J. Bennett, Jeffrey Bergner, John Bolton, Paula Dobriansky, Francis Fukuyama, Robert Kagan, Zalmay Khalilzad, William Kristol, Richard Perle, Peter W. Rodman, Donald Rumsfeld, William

Schneider Jr., Vin Weber, Paul Wolfowitz, R. James Woosley, and Robert B. Zoellick to The Honorable William J. Clinton, President of the United States. 1998 (26 January). <a href="http://www.newamericancentury.org/Iraqclintonletter.htm">http://www.newamericancentury.org/Iraqclintonletter.htm</a> (accessed 4 December 2009).

- Gladden, Brian T., Vice President and General Manager, GE Plastics Global LEXAN Business to Barbara Weisel, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative. 2006 (14 September). <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 15 February 2008).
- Janisnowski, Jerry to George W. Bush, Jr. 2003 (27 February). With a document, "The U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement (FTA): The Report of the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations (ACTPN)".
- Morris, Armond (Chairman, Georgia Peanut Commission), Carl Sanders (President, Alabama Peanut Producers Association), Michael Davis (President, Florida Peanut Producers Association), and Joe Morgan (President, Mississippi Peanut Growers association) to Susan C. Schwab, United States Trade Representative. 2006 (24 August). <a href="http://www.americanpeanuts.com/082406trade.pdf">http://www.americanpeanuts.com/082406trade.pdf</a> (accessed 15 February 2008).
- Murray, Sean T., Miller & Company to Joni Jensen, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. 2006 (20 September). <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 15 February 2008).
- Rumer, Roger, Vice President, Bayer-Makrolon Polycarbonates to Barbara Weisel, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative. 2006 (15 September). <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 15 February 2008).
- Schwab, Susan C., U.S. Trade Representative, and Carmen C. Suro-Bredie, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative to Daniel R. Pearson, Chairman, U.S. International Trade Commission, Washington DC. 2006 (23 October). <a href="http://www.usitc.gov/publications/docs/pubs/332/singapore\_request\_letter.pdf">http://www.usitc.gov/publications/docs/pubs/332/singapore\_request\_letter.pdf</a> (accessed 15 February 2009).
- Suro-Bredie, Carmen C., Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Policy Coordination to Lyn Schlitt, Director, Office of External Relations, International Trade Commission. 2006 (7 November). <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 15 February 2008).
- Walker, Robert C., Vice President and Site Operation, Texas Operations, The Dow Chemical Company to Barbara Weisel, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative. 2006 (13 September). <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 15 February 2008).
- Yeo, George, Minister for Trade and Industry, Singapore, to Robert B. Zoellick, United States Trade Representative. 2003 (6 May). <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 15 February 2008).

#### PUBLIC DOCUMENTS: SINGAPORE

#### Competition Commission of Singapore (CCS)

Competition Commission of Singapore. N.d. "Competition Act (Chapter 50B):

Background". <a href="http://www.ccs.gov.sg/Legislation/CompetitionAct/index.">http://www.ccs.gov.sg/Legislation/CompetitionAct/index.</a> html> (accessed 25 May 2009).

## Government of Singapore (GOS)

Government of Singapore. 2001 (2 January). "Joint Press Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Trade and Industry".

## Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2007. "Speech by George Yeo, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the OAV Liebesmahl Dinner in Hamburg on 13 March 2007". Media Resources Center, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. <a href="http://www.mfa.gov.sg">http://www.mfa.gov.sg</a> (accessed 22 May 2009).

## Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI)

- Ministry of Trade and Industry. N.d. "Integrated Sourcing Initiative." <a href="http://www.fta.gov.sg">http://www.fta.gov.sg</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).
- ——. 2003. "Speech by George Yeo, Minister for Trade and Industry, Singapore. 'At the Bintan Industrial Estate-Expanding for Growth' Event in Bintan, Indonesia on 29 January 2003 at 11:00am".
- ——. 2004. "Competition Bill".

## Monetary Authority of Singapore (MAS)

Monetary Authority of Singapore. 2003. "Singapore and US Reach Agreement on the Issue of Free Transfer of Capital, 16 January 2003". <a href="http://www.mas.gov.sg">http://www.mas.gov.sg</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).

## National Archives of Singapore (NAS)

- Goh, Chok Tong. 2001. At the Reception of the WTO Informal Ministerial Meeting on Saturday, 13 October 2001, at 12 Noon at the Shangri-La Hotel. National Archives of Singapore. Singapore Government Press Release. Media Relations Division. Ministry of Information and the Arts.
- ——. 2003a. "Challenges for Asia". Speech by Singapore Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong at the Research Institute for Economy, Trade and Industry (RIETI) in Tokyo, Japan, on Friday, 28 March 2003". National Archives of Singapore. Singapore Government Press Release. Media Relations Division. Ministry of Information and the Arts.
- 2003b. "East Asia in 2025". Key note Address by Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong at the World Economic Forum East Asia Economic Summit Opening Dinner on Sunday, 12 October 2003, 7:30PM, at Shangri-La." National Archives of Singapore. Singapore Government Press Release. Media Relations Division. Ministry of Information and the Arts.
- ———. 2003c. "ASEAN Economic Community", Keynote Address by Singapore Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong at the APEC CEO Summit on 18 October 2003,

Sunday, at 2:30PM (Thailand Time), in Bangkok, Thailand. National Archives of Singapore. Singapore Government Press Release. Media Relations Division. Ministry of Information and the Arts.

#### **PUBLIC DOCUMENTS: UNITED STATES**

## Congressional Research Service (CRS)

- Congressional Research Service. 1997 (13 June). "CRS Report for Congress. NAFTA: Economic Effects on the United States after Three Years". By Arlene Wilson. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2002a (13 May). "CRS Report for Congress. The U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement". By Dick K. Nanto. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2002b (June). "CRS Report for Congress. NAFTA Labor Side Agreement: Lessons for the Workers Rights and Fast-Track Debate". By Mary Jane Bolle. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2003a (2 April) "CRS Report for Congress. Trade Promotion Authority (Fast-Track Authority for Trade Agreements): Background and Developments in the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress". By Lenore Sek. Washington, DC.
- ———. 2003b (22 May). "CRS Report for Congress. The U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement". By Dick K. Nanto. Washington DC: CRS.
- ——. 2005a (12 January) "CRS Report for Congress. The U.S.-Australian Free Trade Agreement: Provisions and Implications". By William H. Cooper. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2005b (8 February) "CRS Report for Congress. Why Certain Trade Agreements Are Approved as Congressional-Executive Agreements Rather than as Treaties". By Jeanne J. Grimmett. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2005c (7 October) "CRS Report for Congress. Uzbekistan's Closure of the Airbase at Karshi-Khanabad: Context and Implications". By Jim Nichol. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2006 (4 April) "CRS Report for Congress. China-Southeast Asia Relations: Trends, Issues, and Implications for the United States". By Bruce Vaughn and Wayne M. Morrison. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2007a (22 January) "CRS Report for Congress. U.S. Strategic and Defense Relationship in the Asia-Pacific Region". By Bruce Vaughn. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2007b (15 March). "CRS Report for Congress. Trade Agreements: Impact on the U.S. Economy". By James K. Jackson. Washington, DC.
- 2007c (18 July). "CRS Report for Congress. The Proposed South Korea
   U.S. Free Trade Agreement (KORUS FTA)". Updated. By William H. Cooper and Mark E. Manyin. Washington, DC.
- ———. 2007d (12 December). "CRS Report for Congress. The U.S.-Australia Treaty on Defense Trade Cooperation". By Bruce Vaughn. Washington, DC.

——. 2008a (4 January). "CRS Report for Congress. China's Soft Power in Southeast Asia". By Thomas Lum, Wayne M. Morrison, and Bruce Vaughn. Washington, DC.

- ——. 2008b (4 January). "CRS Report for Congress. East Asian Regional Architecture: New Economic and Security Arrangements and U.S. Policy". By Nick K. Nanto. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2008c (7 January). "CRS Report for Congress. Emerging Trends in the Security Architecture in Asia: Bilateral and Multilateral Ties Among the United States, Japan, Australia, and India". By Emma Chanlett-Avery and Bruce Vaughn. Washington, DC.
- ———. 2008d (7 January). "CRS Report for Congress. The U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement: Effects after Three Years". By Dick K. Nanto. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2008e (30 January). "CRS Report for Congress. Agriculture in U.S. Free Trade Agreements: Trade with Current and Prospective Partners, Impact, and Issues". By Remy Jurenas. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2008f (26 February). "CRS Report for Congress. Guam: U.S. Defense Deployment". By Shirley A. Kan and Larry A. Niksch. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2008g (28 April). "CRS Report for Congress. Korea U.S. Relations: Issues for Congress". By Larry A. Niksch. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2008h (26 November). "U.S. International Trade: Trends and Forecasts". By Dick K. Nanto, Shayerah Dias, and J. Michael Donnelly. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2008i (18 December). "Singapore Background and U.S. Relations". By Emma Chanlett-Avery. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2008j (31 December). "CRS Report for Congress. Membership of the 111th Congress: A Profile". By Mildred Amer and Jennifer E. Manning. Washington, DC.
- ———. 2009a (3 June). "Agriculture in Pending U.S. Free Trade Agreements with Colombia, Panama, and South Korea". By Remy Jurenas. Washington, DC.
- ———. 2009b (17 June). "CRS Report for Congress. China's Currency: A Summary of the Economic Issues". By Wayne M. Morrison and Marc Labonte. Washington, DC.
- ——. 2010 (26 March). "The U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement: Effects After Five Years". By Dick N. Nanto. Washington, DC.

#### U.S. Congress (USC)

(N.B.: Entries for USC/H/CWM 2003 [10 June] are arranged alphabetically by testifier's surname.)

- U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Ways and Means (USC/H/CWM). 2003a (10 June). "Statement of Thomas J. Donohue, President and Chief Executive Officer, U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Free Trade Deals".
- ——. 2003b (10 June). "Statement of Selina E. Jackson, UPS. Free Trade Deals".

——. 2003c (10 June). "Statement of Gawin Kripke, Senior Policy Advisor, Oxfam America: Testimony before the Subcommittee on Trade of the House Committee on Ways and Means".

- ——. 2003d (10 June). "Statement of L. Maury, President, Business Round Table. Free Trade Deals".
- ——. 2003e (10 June). "Statement of Harold McGraw III, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, McGraw-Hill Companies, New York and Chairman, Emergency Committee for American Trade. Free Trade Deals".
- ———. 2003f (10 June). "Statement of Kristin E. Paulson, American Chamber of Commerce in Singapore. Free Trade Deals".
- ——. 2003g (10 June). "Statement of the Honorable Pete Sessions, a Representative in Congress from the State of Texas. Testimony before the Subcommittee on Trade of the House Committee on Ways and Means".
- ——. 2003h (10 June). "Statement of Daniel K. Tarullo, Professor, Georgetown University Law Center. Free Trade Deals".
- ——. 2003i (10 June). "Statement of William Weiler, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Purafil, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. Free Trade Deals".
- ——. 2008[?] "Statement of Charles D. Lake II, American Chamber of Commerce in Japan".
- U.S. Congress. House. Subcommittee on Commerce, Trade, and Consumer Protection on Trade in Services and E-Commerce (USC/H/SCTCPTSE). 2003 (14 May). "Testimony of Thea M. Lee, Chief International Economist, AFL-CIO. The Significance of the Singapore and Chile Free Trade Agreements".

## U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDoA)

U.S. Department of Agriculture. FAS Online. 2000. "Singapore: Destination and Gateway for U.S. Exports to Southeast Asia. By Dale Good. <a href="http://www.fas.usda/gov/info/agexporter/2000/September/singapo.htm">http://www.fas.usda/gov/info/agexporter/2000/September/singapo.htm</a> (accessed 5 April 2009).

#### U.S. Department of Commerce (USDoC)

U.S. Department of Commerce. 2009 (August). "Survey of Current Business". <a href="http://www.bea.gov/scb/pdf/2009/08%20August/D-Pages/0809dpg\_g.pdf">http://www.bea.gov/scb/pdf/2009/08%20August/D-Pages/0809dpg\_g.pdf</a> (accessed 15 September 2009).

### U.S. Department of Defense (USDoD)

- U.S. Department of Defense. 1998. The United States Security Strategy for the East Asia-Pacific Region 1998.
- ——. 2004. "2004 Statistical Compendium on Allied Contributions to the Common Defense Covers Allied Contributions in 2003". Washington, DC.
- ——. 2007 (27 September). "Admiral Details Tenets for New Maritime Strategy".

American Forces Press Service. By Jim Garamone. <a href="http://www.defenselink.gov">http://www.defenselink.gov</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).

——. Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense. 1998 (23 January). "Secretary Cohen's Remarks at the Navy Flag Officers Conference".

#### U.S. Department of State (DoS)

U.S. Department of State. 2005 (25 May). "U.S. to Resume Military Education Training with Indonesia". <a href="http://www.usinfo.state.gov">http://www.usinfo.state.gov</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).

## U.S. Embassy, Singapore

- U.S. Embassy, Singapore. 1998 (September). "Singapore's Banking Industry Report (September 1998)". <a href="http://singapore.usembassy.gov">http://singapore.usembassy.gov</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).
- ——. 1999 (May). "Reforming Singapore's Financial Services Sector: A Background & Progress Report (May 1999)". http://singapore.usembassy.gov (accessed 1 August 2008).
- ——. 2000 (June). "State-led Creative Destruction: Singapore Plans for a New Knowledge-Based Economy". June 2000. <a href="http://singapore.usembasy.gov">http://singapore.usembasy.gov</a> (accessed (accessed 1 August 2008).
- ———. 2005. "U.S. Singapore Relations: U.S. Singapore Trade Highlights 2005". <a href="http://singapore.usembassy.gov/trade\_2005.html">http://singapore.usembassy.gov/trade\_2005.html</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).
- ——. 2008. "Singapore: Trade Summary 2008". <a href="http://singapore.usembassy.gov">http://singapore.usembassy.gov</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).

# U.S. Government Accountability Office (USGAO; formerly Government Accounting Office)

- U.S. Government Accountability Office. 1989 (23 February). "Testimony. Statement by Joseph. E. Keller, National Security and International Affairs Division before Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competition, Committee on Energy and Commerce, House of Representatives. U.S. Military Aircraft Coproduction with Japan".
- ——. 1994 (July). "Report to the Congress. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade: Uruguay Round Final Act Should Produce Overall U.S. Economic Gains". Vol. 1.
- ——. 1995. "Report to the Congress. U.S.-Japan Cooperative Development Progress on the FS-X Program Enhances Japanese Aerospace Capabilities".
- ——. 2004 (January). "Report to Congressional Requesters. International Trade: Intensifying Free Trade Negotiating Agenda Calls for Better Allocation of Staff and Resources".

— 2007a (June). "Report to Congressional Requesters. Trade Adjustment Assistance. Industry Certification Would Likely Make More Workers Eligible, but Design and Implementation Challenges Exist".

- 2007b (14 June). "Testimony before the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives. Trade Adjustment Assistance. Changes Needed to Improve States' Ability to Provide Benefits and Services to Trade-Affected Workers. Statement of Sigurd R. Nilsen, Director, Education, Workforce, and Income Security Issues".
- . 2007c (November). "Report to the Chairman, Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate: International Trade. An Analysis of Free Trade Agreements and Congressional and Private Sector Consultations under Trade Promotion Authority".
- ——. 2008a (12 June). "Testimony before the Committee on Finance, United States Senate. International Trade. The United States Needs an Integrated Approach to Trade Preference Programmes".
- ——. 2008b (August). "Report to the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate. U.S. Multinational Corporations. Effective Tax Rates Are Correlated with Where Income Is Reported".
- ——. 2009a (17 March). "Testimony before the Subcommittee on Commerce, Trade, and Consumer Protection, Committee on Energy and Commerce, House of Representatives. International Trade. Effective Export Programmes Can Help in Achieving U.S. Economic Goals. Statement of Loren Yager, Director, International Affairs and Trade.
- ——. 2009b (April). "Report to Congressional Committees. 2008 Lobbying Disclosure. Observations on Lobbyists' Compliance with Disclosure Requirements".

#### U.S. International Trade Commission (USITC)

- U.S. International Trade Commission. 2007. "U.S.-Chile Free Trade Agreement: Key Market Access Results and Benefits". http://www.usitc.gov (accessed 11 February 2007).
- ——. 2008 (October). "Probable Economic Effect of Certain Modifications to the United States-Chile Free Trade Agreement Rules of Origin".

#### U.S. National Intelligence Council (USNIC)

U.S. National Intelligence Council. 2008 (November). "Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World". NIC 2008-003. Washington, DC.

#### U.S. Office of Trade Representative (USTR)

U.S. Office of Trade Representative. 2002 (13 December). "Trade Facts: Free Trade Agreement with Singapore: America's First Free Trade Agreement in Asia". <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).

——. 2003a (February). "Report of the Agricultural Technical Advisory Committee of Cotton, Peanuts, Planting Seeds and Tobacco". <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).

- ——. 2003b (27 February). "Dissenting Views of James P. Hoffa, General President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters". In "The U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement (FTA): The Report of the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations (ACTPN)". <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).
- ——. 2003c (28 February) "Report of the Labor Advisory Committee (LAC) for Free Trade Negotiations and Trade Policy. The U.S.-Chile and U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreements". <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).
- ——. 2003d (6 May). "Quick Facts: U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement, 05/06/2003". <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).
- ——. 2003e (6 May) "United States-Singapore Free Trade Agreement". <a href="http://www.ustr.gov">http://www.ustr.gov</a> (accessed 1 August 2008).
- ———. 2005 (31 March). "USTR Issues 2005 "1377" Review of Telecommunications Agreements. Renewed Focus on Identifying, Dismantling Tellecommunications Trade Barriers around the World.
- 2006 (March). "Goods Issues to Be Raised by Singapore at the 2<sup>nd</sup> USSFTA Review".
- ———. 2008. (8 April). "Schwab Announces Results of Annual 1377 Review".

#### The White House

- The White House. Office of the Press Secretary. 2000 (16 November). "Joint Statement by President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong on a United States-Singapore Free Trade Agreement". <a href="http://clinton6.nara.gov">http://clinton6.nara.gov</a> (accessed 2 April 2008).
- 2003 (6 May). "President Signed U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement, 6 May 2003 East Room". <a href="http://www.thewhitehouse.gov">http://www.thewhitehouse.gov</a> (accessed 2 April 2008).
- ——. 2009a (14 November). "In Tokyo, Our Common Future". <a href="http://www.thewhitehouse.gov">http://www.thewhitehouse.gov</a> (accessed 5 December 2009).
- ——. 2009b (15 November). "Remarks by President Obama and Prime Minister Abhist of Thailand after ASEAN-10 Meeting". <a href="http://www.thewhitehouse.gov">http://www.thewhitehouse.gov</a> (accessed 5 December 2009).
- ——. 2010 (May). *National Security Strategy*. Washington DC. <a href="http://www.thewhitehouse.gov">http://www.thewhitehouse.gov</a> (accessed 30 May 2010).