



**Calhoun: The NPS Institutional Archive**  
**DSpace Repository**

---

Dudley Knox Library

Bibliographies

---

2013-07

## Claude Albert Buss: A Selective Bibliography

Marlatt, Greta E.

Monterey, California: Naval Postgraduate School.

---

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/38485>

---

*Downloaded from NPS Archive: Calhoun*



Calhoun is the Naval Postgraduate School's public access digital repository for research materials and institutional publications created by the NPS community. Calhoun is named for Professor of Mathematics Guy K. Calhoun, NPS's first appointed -- and published -- scholarly author.

**Dudley Knox Library / Naval Postgraduate School**  
**411 Dyer Road / 1 University Circle**  
**Monterey, California USA 93943**

<http://www.nps.edu/library>

**DUDLEY KNOX LIBRARY**



Claude Albert Buss:  
A Selective Bibliography

Prepared by Greta E. Marlatt  
Dudley Knox Library  
July 2013

**Table of Contents**

Dr. Claude Albert Buss ..... 3  
Books by Dr. Buss ..... 4  
Articles by Dr. Buss ..... 7  
Book Reviews by Dr. Buss of Others Works..... 9  
Book Reviews of Works by Dr. Buss..... 13  
Newspaper Articles by Dr. Buss ..... 16  
Theses Advised by Dr. Buss..... 17

## **Dr. Claude Albert Buss**

Dr. Claude Albert Buss

b. Sunbury, PA - November 29, 1902

d. Palo Alto, CA - November 17, 1998

### Education

Washington Missionary College – B.A. (1922)

Susquehanna University – M.A. (1924)

University of Pennsylvania – PhD (1927)

University of Southern California – L.L.D

Memorial Resolution: Claude A. Buss

<http://news.stanford.edu/news/1999/april21/membuss-421.html>

Obituary – San Francisco Chronicle, November 23, 1998

<http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Claude-Albert-Buss-2977257.php>

## Books by Dr. Buss

Buss, Claude Albert. *The Arc of Crisis: Nationalism and Neutralism in Asia Today*. New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1961.

**DKL DS 33.3 .B9 GENERAL**

———. *Asia in the Modern World. (A History of China, Japan, South and Southeast Asia.)*. New York; London: Macmillan Co; Collier-Macmillan, 1964.

———. *Asia in the Modern World: A History of China, Japan, South and Southeast Asia* 4th Print ed. New York: MacMillan, 1969.

———. *Asia in the Modern World: A History of China, Japan, South and Southeast Asia*. 3rd Print ed. New York: Macmillan, 1968.

———. *Asia in the Modern World: A History of China, Japan, South and Southeast Asia*. 2nd Print ed. New York: Macmillan, 1964.

**DKL DS 511 .B9 GENERAL**

———. *China: The People's Republic of China and Richard Nixon*. San Francisco: Freeman, 1972.

———. *China: The People's Republic of China and Richard Nixon*. San Francisco: Freeman, 1974.

**DKL E 183.8 .C5 B95 GENERAL**

———. *Conflicts of Interest in East Asia and the Pacific: The United States and China*. Revised Report. Palo Alto, CA: [the author], July 1994.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/30742>

———. *Conflicts of National Security Interests in East Asia and the Pacific: At the Turn of the Twenty-First Century..* Monterey, CA: [the author], July 1995.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/30743>

———. *Conference on Northeast Asia in the 1980s: Tensions in the Korean Peninsula*. Conference on Northeast Asia in the 1980s; (1984 : Hoover Institution, Stanford); Hoover Institution Conference Report. Stanford: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, 1985.

———. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. New York, NY: van Nostrand Reinhold Co, 1970.

- . *Cory Aquino and the People of the Philippines*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Alumni Assoc., 1987.  
**DKL DS 686.614 .B87 1987 GENERAL**
- . *The Far East: A History of Recent and Contemporary International Relations in East Asia*. New York: Macmillan, 1955.  
**DKL DS 511 .B89 GENERAL**
- . *The Far East: A History of Recent and Contemporary International Relations in East Asia*. New York: Macmillan, 1957.
- . *The Far East: A History of Recent and Contemporary International Relations in East Asia*. 3<sup>rd</sup> print ed. New York Macmillan: 1960.
- . *Genealogy of the Meyer/Moyer Family*. Indianapolis, IN: the author, 1994.
- . *Hong Kong and Beijing: Trip Report*. (NPS-NS-92-009) Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 1992. <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/28742>
- . *The People's Republic of China*. Princeton, NJ: van Nostrand Anvil Books, 1962.  
**DKL DS 777.55 .B83 1962 GENERAL**
- . *The People's Republic of China*. New Delhi: Eurasia Pub. House, 1965.
- . *The People's Republic of China. [with Maps and a Bibliography.]*. Princeton, NJ; London: 1963.
- . *Power Politics in Eastern Asia*. 1st draft ed. 1941.
- . *Power Politics in Eastern Asia*. 2nd draft ed. 1941.
- . *The Relation of Tariff Autonomy to the Political Situation in China*. Philadelphia: PA, 1927.
- . *Some Contemporary Problems in World Affairs*. Los Angeles: 1940.
- . *Southeast Asia and the World Today*. Princeton, NJ: van Nostrand Company, 1958.  
**DKL DS 503 .B9 GENERAL**
- . *The United States and the Philippines: Background for Policy*. Hoover Institution Studies, 59. Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Research, 1977.  
**DKL E 183.8 .P5 B87 GENERAL**  
**DKL E 183.8 .P5 B94 GENERAL**

———. *The United States and the Republic of Korea: Background for Policy*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1982.

**DKL E 183.8 .K6 B87 1982 GENERAL**

———. *War and Diplomacy in Eastern Asia*. New York, NY: Macmillan, 1941.

Buss, Claude Albert and Jane M. Chai. *Pacific Security*. Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 1998.

**DKL UA 830 .B877 1998 GENERAL**

Buss, Claude Albert (ed.). *National Security Interests in the Pacific Basin*. Hoover Press Publication; 319; Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1985.

**DKL UA 830 .N38 1985 GENERAL**

Buss, Claude Albert, Michael Paul Onorato. *Claude A. Buss in Manila, 1941-1942*. Fullerton, CA: Oral history program, California State University, Fullerton, 1986.

Jenkins, Shirley. *American Economic Policy Toward the Philippines [Introduction by Claude A. Buss]*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1954.

———. *American Economic Policy Toward the Philippines*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1979.

Jenkins, Shirley. *American Economic Policy Toward the Philippines. [Introduction by Claude A. Buss]* Filipiniana Reprint Series; 11. Stanford: Calif. Stanford Univ. Press, 1985.

Peffer, Nathaniel. *The Far East: A Modern History*. The University of Michigan History of the Modern World. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1968.

Peffer, Nathaniel and Claude A. Buss. *The Far East*. The University of Michigan History of the Modern World; Variation: University of Michigan History of the Modern World. New ed., rev. and enl. by Claude A. Buss ed. Ann Arbor, MI: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1968.

———. *The Far East: A Modern History*. University of Michigan History of the Modern World; Variation: University of Michigan History of the Modern World. New ed., rev. and enl. by Claude A. Buss ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958.

## Articles by Dr. Buss

- Buss, Claude A. "American Foreign Policy." *World Affairs Interpreter* 11, (July 1940): 159-178.
- . "The British Imperial Conference [London, May 15-June 15, 1937]." *World Affairs Interpreter* 8, (July 1937): 122-134.
- . "The Chinese Eastern Railroad." *World Affairs Interpreter* 6, (July 1935): 163-173.
- . "Economic and Social Planning in China." *Sociology and Social Research* 22, no. 6 (July-August, 1938): 520-527.
- . "The Far East and the System of Collective Security." *World Affairs Interpreter* 8, (January 1938): 340-352.
- . "Governmental Reconstruction in China." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 193, (September, 1937): 150-153.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1021986>.
- . "Influence of the Russo-German Pact on the Situation in Eastern Asia." *World Affairs Interpreter* 10, (January 1940): 352-367.
- . "Jap Civilians Short on Food, Metal, Rubber, Oil; Japan Stockpiling." *Commonwealth* 20, (April 17, 1944): 78.
- . "Japan in China." *World Affairs Interpreter* 9, (July 1938): 125-141.
- . "Nationalization in the Philippines: Some Things are going on there that have U.S. Businessmen Worried." *Fortune* (February 1949): 80-82.
- . "The New Order in Greater East Asia." *World Affairs Interpreter* 11, (October 1940): 267-286.
- . "Overseas Chinese and Communist Policy." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 277, (September, 1951): 203-212.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1030266>.
- . "The Philippines in World Politics [the Succession of Unfavorable Events since Independence in 1946]." *World Affairs* 5, (January 1951): 37-47.
- . "The Problems of the United States in the Pacific." *World Affairs Interpreter* 18, (April 1947): 9-33.



- . "Realities in World Affairs." *World Affairs Interpreter* 10, (July 1939): 165-176.
- . "Report from Manila: Independence is a Hot Issue, with a Reverse Twist." *Fortune* (July 1945): 134-139.
- . "Russia in Eastern Asia." *World Affairs Interpreter* 9, (October 1938): 244-264.
- . "Strategic Choices and Emerging Power Centers in the Asia-Pacific Region." *Naval War College Review*, Spring 1990, v. 43, no. 2, p. 64-76
- . "The U.S.S.R. in World Affairs." *World Affairs Interpreter* 6, (January/April 1936): 368-374.
- . "The United States in Eastern Asia." *World Affairs Interpreter* 10, (April 1939): 32-51.
- . "US Policy on the Japan Treaty." *Far Eastern Survey* 20, no. 12 (June 13, 1951): 113-119. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3024088>.
- . "Waking from a Dream." *The Wilson Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (Summer, 1986): 106-115. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40257030>.
- . "Western Europe and the Baltic." *World Affairs Interpreter* 11, (April 1940): 42-55.
- . "What Follows Liberation? In the Philippines We are Pledged to Free and Help Rebuild a Country Whose Independence from Us We Ourselves have Promised." *Fortune*, 30, no. 6 (December 1944): 126-129.

## Book Reviews by Dr. Buss of Others Works

- Buss, Claude A. "Book Review - *America Encounters Japan: From Perry to MacArthur* by William L. Neumann." *Science* 144, no. 3614 (April 3, 1964): 44.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1713533>.
- . "Book Review - *American-Russian Rivalry in the Far East* by Edward H. Zabriskie." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 247, (September, 1946): 190-191. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/242855>.
- . "Book Review - *America's Future in the Pacific* by John Carter Vincent." *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (November, 1948): 118-119.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2049491>.
- . "Book Review - *Bayanikasan: The Effective Democracy for all* by Salvador Araneta." *Pacific Affairs* 51, no. 1 (Spring, 1978): 154-155.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2757049>.
- . "Book Review - *China in Revolution: The First Phase, 1900-1913* by Mary Clabaugh Wright." *The American Historical Review* 75, no. 3 (February, 1970): 900-902.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1854617>.
- . "Book Review - *China's Destiny* by Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Chung-Hui." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 257, (May, 1948): 220.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1026670>.
- . "Book Review - *The China Story* by Freda Uteley." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 278, (November, 1951): 191-192.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1029556>.
- . "Book Review - *Crises in U.S. Foreign Policy: An International History Reader* by Michael H. Hunt." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (November, 1996): 966-967.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2646536>.
- . "Book Review - *Dissolving the Colonial Bond: American Ambassadors to the Philippines, 1946-1984*. by Lewis E. Gleeck,; *The Philippine Presidents: Memoirs of Carlos P. Romulo*. by Carlos P. Romulo; Beth Day Romulo." *Pacific Affairs* 62, no. 4 (Winter, 1989): 577-578. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2759704>.
- . "Book Review - *East and West* by C. N. Parkinson." *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 6, no. 2 (September, 1965): 134-136. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20172805>.

- . "Book Review - *Economic Reconstruction Problems in the Philippines* by Andres V. Castillo; *Some Effects of the War on the Philippines* by Jose P. Apostol; *A Critique of Postwar Financial Policies in the Philippines*. by Eduardo Z. Romualdez." *Pacific Affairs* 21, no. 1 (March, 1948): 70-71. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2751921>.
- . "Book Review - *Economic Reconstruction Problems in the Philippines*. by Andres V. Castillo; *some Effects of the War on the Philippines*. by Jose P. Apostol; *A Critique of Postwar Financial Policies in the Philippines*. by Eduardo Z. Romualdez." *Pacific Affairs* 21, no. 1 (March, 1948): 70-71. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2751921>.
- . "Book Review - *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1939. Volume III, the Far East. Volume IV, the Far East, the Near East and Africa*." *The American Historical Review* 61, no. 3 (April, 1956): 610-611. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1847603>.
- . "Book Review - *From Pusan to Panmunjom* by Paik Sun Yup." *Pacific Affairs* 66, no. 2 (Summer, 1993): 287-288. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2759390>.
- . "Book Review - *Government and Politics in Japan: The Road to Democracy* by John M. Maki; *the Japanese People and Foreign Policy: A Study of Public Opinion in Post-Treaty Japan* by Douglas H. Mendel; *Edwin O. Reischauer; Parties and Politics in Contemporary Japan* by Robert A. Scalapino; *Junnosuke Masumi*." *The Journal of Modern History* 35, no. 2 (June, 1963): 219-221. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1899310>.
- . "Book Review - *A History of Communism in East Asia* by Malcolm Kennedy." *The American Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (January, 1958): 422-423. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1849594>
- . "Book Review - *Japan Today, Reluctant Ally* by James Cary. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 22, no. 4 (August, 1963): 484-485. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2049871>.
- . "Book Review - *Japan's American Interlude* by Kazuo Kawai. *Science* 131, no. 3408 (April 22, 1960): 1211-1212. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1706199>
- . "Book Review - *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State*." *Far Eastern Survey* 15, no. 15 (July 31, 1946): 239-240. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3023331>.
- . "Book Review - *Nationalism and Communism in East Asia* by W. Macmahon Ball." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 16, no. 4 (August, 1957): 600-601. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2941646>.
- . "Book Review - *North Vietnam Today: Profile of a Communist Satellite* by P.J. Honey." *Pacific Historical Review* 32, no. 4 (November, 1963): 450-451. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4492257>.

- . "Book Review – *The Philippines and the United States* by Garel A. Grunder and William E. Livezey." *American Political Science Review* 46, no. 3 (September, 1952): 909-910. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1952306>
- . "Book Review - *Romulo: Voice of Freedom* by Cornelia Spencer." *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (November, 1953): 108. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2942399>.
- . "Book Review - *Southeast Asia Today-and Tomorrow* by Richard Butwell." *Science* 136, no. 3515 (May 11, 1962): 511-512. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1708888>.
- . "Book Review - *Soviet Far Eastern Policy 1931-1945* by Harriet L. Moore." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 245, (May, 1946): 185-186. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1024822>.
- . "Book Review - *The Economic Development of Southeast Asia Studies in Economic History and Political Economy* by C. D. Cowan." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 358, (March, 1965): 227. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1036422>.
- . "Book Review - *The Far East: A History of the Impact of the West on Eastern Asia* by Paul H. Clyde." *Far Eastern Survey* 17, no. 16 (August 25, 1948): 195. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3022318>.
- . "Book Review - *The Far East: A Modern History* by Nathaniel Peffer." *Science* 130, no. 3375 (September 4, 1959): 561-562. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1758152>.
- . "Book Review - *The Foreign Relations of North Korea: New Perspectives* by Jae Kyu Park; Byung Chul Koh; Tae-Hwan Kwak." *Pacific Affairs* 61, no. 1 (Spring, 1988): 167-168. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2758104>.
- . "Book Review - *The Good Fight* by Manuel Luis Quezon." *Pacific Affairs* 19, no. 4 (December, 1946): p. 434. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2752465>.
- . "Book Review - *The Hispanization of the Philippines, Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses 1500-1700* by John Leddy Phelan." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 19, no. 1 (November, 1959): 89-90. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2943464>.
- . "Book Review - *The Road to Pearl Harbor; the Coming of the War between the United States and Japan* by Herbert Feis." *American Political Science Review* 45, no. 2 (June, 1951): 554-555. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1951488>.
- . "Book Review - *The United States and Japan* by Edwin O. Reischauer." *The American Historical Review* 57, no. 1 (October, 1951): 169-171. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1849524>.

- . "Book Review - *Truman's Two China Policy* by June M. Grasso." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47, no. 2 (May, 1988): 346-347. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2056190>.
- . "Book Review - *Two Years with the Chinese Communists* by Claire Band and William Band." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 258, (July, 1948): 138-139. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1027765>.
- . "Book Review - *Why China? Recollections of China, 1923-1950* by C. P. Fitzgerald." *Pacific Affairs* 60, no. 1 (Spring, 1987): 107-108. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2758841>.
- . "The Building of a Nation [Book Review of *Philippine Freedom* by Robert Aura Smith]." *New York Times*, June 29, 1958.
- . "Cold War Focal Point [ Book Review of *Southeast Asia Today-and Tomorrow* by Richard Butwell]." *Science* 136, no. 3515 (May 11, 1962): 511-512. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1708888>.
- . "The Dream of the Philippines: Marcos, Aquino and the Future. [Book Review of *Impossible Dream: The Marcoses, the Aquinos, and the Unfinished Revolution* by Sandra Burton]." *The Washington Post*, April 25, 1989.
- . "Second American Revolution: Reeling Establishment Must Take the Offensive. Russia: Confident Presence in S.E. Asia." *Los Angeles Times*, December 29, 1968.

## Book Reviews of Works by Dr. Buss

- Ball, W. Macmahon. "Book Review - *The Far East: A History of Recent and Contemporary International Relations in East Asia.*" *Pacific Affairs* 30, no. 1 (March, 1957): p. 72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2752664>.
- Barnett, Robert W. "Book Review - *War and Diplomacy in Eastern Asia.*" *Pacific Affairs* 14, no. 4 (December, 1941): 493-495. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2752273>.
- Bettwy, Samuel. "Book Review - *National Security Interests in the Pacific Basin.*" *The American Journal of International Law* 81, no. 1 (January, 1987): 288-291. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2202174>.
- Braisted, William R. "Book Review - *The Far East: A History of Recent and Contemporary International Relations in Eastern Asia.*" *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (November, 1955): 111-112. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2942107>.
- Clyde, Paul H. "Book Review - *War and Diplomacy in Eastern Asia.*" *The American Historical Review* 47, no. 4 (July, 1942): 872-874. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1841549>.
- Cohen, Alvin P. "Book Review - *China: The People's Republic of China and Richard Nixon* by Claude A. Buss." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 96, no. 3 (July - September, 1976): 457. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/599109>.
- Fifield, Russell H. "Book Review - *The Arc of Crisis.*" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 341, (May, 1962): 142-143. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1034184>.
- Friend, Theodore. "Book Review - *Cory Aquino and the People of the Philippines.*" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19, no. 2 (September, 1988): 378-379. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20071028>.
- Goldman, Rene. "Book Review - *The People's Republic of China.*" *Pacific Affairs* 36, no. 4 (Winter, 1963): 441-442. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2754691>.
- Hart, Donn V. "Book Review - *The United States and the Philippines: Background for Policy.*" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 437 (May, 1978): 152-153. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1042509>.
- Howard, Harry N. "Book Review - *Asia in the Modern World: A History of China, Japan, South and Southeast Asia.*" *Middle East Journal* 18, no. 4 (Autumn, 1964): 517. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4323791>.

- Jones, F. C. "Book Review - *The Far East: A History of Recent and Contemporary International Relations in East Asia*." *International Affairs* 32, no. 2 (April, 1956): 255. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2625905>.
- Keefer, Edward C. "Book Review - *The United States and the Republic of Korea: Background for Policy*." *The Public Historian* 5, no. 1 (Winter, 1983): 107-111. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3376957>.
- LaFuze, G. Leighton. "Book Review - *War and Diplomacy in Eastern Asia*." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 217, (September, 1941): 185-186. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1023455>.
- Lande, Carl H. "Book Review - *Cory Aquino and the People of the Philippines*." *Pacific Affairs* 61, no. 2 (Summer, 1988): 382-383. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2759355>.
- Linebarger, Paul M. A. "Book Review - *War and Diplomacy in Eastern Asia*." *The Journal of Modern History* 14, no. 2 (June, 1942): 250-251. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1871270>.
- Loescher, G. D. "Book Review - *the United States and the Republic of Korea*." *Pacific Affairs* 55, no. 3 (Autumn, 1982): 509-511. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2757141>.
- MacDougall, Colina. "Book Review - *China: The People's Republic of China and Richard Nixon*." *The China Quarterly* no. 66 (June, 1976): p. 405. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/652850>.
- MacNair, Harley Farnsworth. "Book Review - *War and Diplomacy in Eastern Asia*." *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (November, 1941): 71-73. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2049077>.
- Major, John. "Book Review - *The United States and the Republic of Korea: Background for Policy*." *International Affairs* 59, no. 1 (Winter, 1982): p. 133. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2620215>.
- Milne, R. S. "Book Review - *The United States and the Philippines: Background for Policy*." *Pacific Affairs* 51, no. 3 (Autumn, 1978): p. 537. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2757993>.
- P., B. R. "Book Review - *Southeast Asia and the World Today*." *International Affairs* 35, no. 3 (July, 1959): 397. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2612395>.
- Quan, L. King. "Book Review - *The Far East, A History of Recent and Contemporary International Relations in East Asia* by Claude A. Buss." *World Affairs* 118, no. 3 (Fall, 1955): 88. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20669114>.

- Quigley, Harold S. "Book Review - *War and Diplomacy in Eastern Asia*." *The American Political Science Review* 35, no. 5 (October, 1941): 999-1001. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1948281>.
- Roper, John. "Book Review - *National Security Interests in the Pacific Basin*." *The China Quarterly* no. 113 (March, 1988): 126-127. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/654284>.
- Rose, Saul. "Book Review - *The Arc of Crisis. Nationalism and Neutralism in Asia Today*." *Pacific Affairs* 35, no. 4 (Winter, 1962): 425-426. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2753173>.
- Segal, Gerald. "Book Review - *National Security Interests in the Pacific Basin*." *International Affairs* 62, no. 2 (Spring, 1986): 342-343. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2618443>.
- Willoughby, W. W. "Book Review - *War and Diplomacy in Eastern Asia*." *The American Journal of International Law* 35, no. 4 (October, 1941): 746-747. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2192586>.
- Wolf, Charles, Jr. "Book Review - *The Far East: A History of Recent and Contemporary International Relations in East Asia*." *Stanford Law Review* 8, no. 2 (March, 1956): 321-322. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1226913>.
- Zagoria, Donald S. "Book Review - *National Security Interests in the Pacific Basin*." *Foreign Affairs* 64, no. 2 (Winter, 1985): 379. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20042646>.



## Newspaper Articles by Dr. Buss

- Buss, Claude A. "Neutralism Now is a Dead-End Road." *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1967. F1
- . "Our Stake in Asia: A Special Report on the Long Past and Uncertain Future as American Presence in the Pacific Gets Deeper and Bigger," *Los Angeles Times*, October 23, 1966. F1
- . "Second American Revolution: Reeling Establishment Must Take the Offensive. Russia: Confident Presence in S.E. Asia." *Los Angeles Times*, December 29, 1968. F1
- . "U.S. Must Study Asian Viewpoints." *Los Angeles Times*, January 29, 1967. I3
- . "U.S. Walks in Thin Ice in Asia." *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 1967. F2
- . "Vietnam Lesson for U.S.: No Military Meddling in S.E. Asia Powderkeg." *Los Angeles Times*, December 8, 1968. G1
- . "Vietnamese Ask: Why is U.S. Here?" *Los Angeles Times*, January 1, 1967. F1
- . "What are Peking's Intentions?" *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 1967. A5

## Theses Advised by Dr. Buss

Arnold, Thomas Edward. "Japan's Roles in U.S. National Security Strategy: Strategic Ally and Economic Adversary." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1991.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/28324>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA247246>

**Abstract:** This thesis examines the conflict between contradictory but coexisting American views of Japan's roles in U.S. national security strategy: strategic ally and economic adversary. Its central hypothesis is that postwar American policy toward Japan has, of necessity, placed strategic imperatives over economic interests but that a continuation of such an approach in the emerging post-Cold War environment both harms U.S. interests and risks a breakdown in U.S. -Japan relations. The thesis assesses the rationales for a continued strategic emphasis in the relationship and an alternative economic emphasis. It concludes with a set of policy recommendations aimed at shifting the relative emphasis placed on the two sets of interests by maintaining but downgrading the strategic relationship, including the security alliance, while increasing the priority given to U.S. economic and competitiveness interests. The ultimate goal is to establish a more stable and enduring U.S. -Japan relationship based on a new set of common interests.

Ashford, Russell P. "Time for a Change in the U.S.-Japan Security Relationship?" Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1996.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/9077>

**Abstract:** The United States - Japan Security relationship continues to exist in its present form because both sides have become used to it, and are wary to let it die in the face of future uncertainties. Without a threat of the proportions the Soviet Union once posed, Japanese and American officials are unable to find a solid strategic foundation upon which to justify the current level of military integration. Yet, the "Japan - United States Joint Declaration on Security" made by President Clinton and Prime Minister Hashimoto in April 1996 talks about reaffirming and deepening these ties based on the need to maintain regional stability. At the same time neither side is willing to outline what changes in the current security environment are required to obviate the need for such a relationship. The problems with deepening the level of security cooperation between the United States and Japan are manifest. Even when a clear, common threat served as the basis for their coordinated efforts during the Cold War, the Japanese did not view their security relationship with the United States as a full fledged alliance. During that period, Japanese policy makers were careful to avoid any increased military commitment, or foreign policy alignment with the United States that was not absolutely essential to the maintenance of the relationship. Now, both countries require more flexibility in dealing with other Asian countries than their current bilateral relationship allows. In a multipolar world, both Japan and the United States must individually decide how to defend their interests as they are challenged. This thesis examines both the origins and current status of the United States - Japan security relationship. It also appraises the relationships and conflicts of interests that both nations have with other powers in the Asian arena. The ultimate purpose of this thesis is to provide some insight into the making of the current and future policies of both Japan and the United States.

Bouchard, Joseph Frederick. "United States Security Interests in China: Beyond the "China Card"." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1981.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/26825>

**Abstract:** The relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China is developing rapidly in the realm of military and security affairs. The thesis of this paper is that, although the Sino-American relationship has been founded upon a mutual interest in opposing the Soviet military threat, the long-term development of the relationship will depend on the extent to which the scope of mutual interests can be broadened and the many latent sources of tension between China and America alleviated. A broad definition of national security, encompassing political and economic as well as military factors, and an alternative conceptual framework for analyzing international politics are proposed for defining security interests. Security issues examined include the Soviet threat to China; the U.S. interest in the security of China; China's role in Soviet-American relations, cooperation on world order issues, and Asian security; and American interests in a military relationship with China, including naval operations.

Boudreau, Robert Nelson. "Vietnam and the Soviet Union: Implications for Europe and American Foreign Policy Options." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1983. <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/20031>.

**Abstract:** This thesis concludes that Soviet expenditures in Indochina, particularly Vietnam, have significantly reduced assets and options available to the USSR in Europe. Economic, military, and political expenditures are assessed. Tradeoffs between the Soviet Union's Indochina resource commitments and European limitations are established. Based on these tradeoffs, three policy options for the United States in South-East Asia are formulated -- hardline, low key, and minimal involvement. A 'low key' option, with emphasis on diplomatic and economic instruments, is recommended as preferable to military means.

Brown, Donald Philip. "United States Interests in China: A Post-Normalization Analysis." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1981. <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/20701>  
<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA104078>

**Abstract:** This thesis analyzes the origin and evolution of United States economic and strategic interests in China, showing how they have been affected by the progressive political and economic developments within China. Special attention is paid to the problems of arms transfers from the U.S. in the light of their probable effects on China's future and on U.S. diplomatic relations in other parts of the Asian region.

Butler, Claudia S. "The Role of Guanxi in Chinese Politics." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1994. <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/30804>  
<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA297136>

**Abstract:** This thesis addresses the problem of Guanxi or personal relations as a fundamental factor in the exercise of power in China. The author's research follows two lines. The first is the role of the bureaucracy - the primary source of political power - in the traditionalist, Maoist, and Dengist eras. The second is the importance of Guanxi or personal relations, and what part these networks play in creating and maintaining power. Finally, a case study of piracy or smuggling in the South China Sea examines the bureaucracies involved and how guanxi has been factored into their policies and procedures.

Camacho, Edward C. "Emerging Micronesian Island Nations: Challenges for United States Policy." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1995. <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/31409>  
<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA302960>

**Abstract:** This thesis is a study of Micronesia and its various peoples. It is an introduction to the geography and history of a region that is not well known, but rendered strategically important, at one

time to Japan, and presently to the United States. Micronesia is one of three major regions of the Pacific. The others are Melanesia and Polynesia. The region's inhabitants, Micronesians, are a diverse group of people with a blend of several different ethnicities, languages, and cultures. Over half of these people are Americans, and they occupy a place of importance in the national interest of the United States. For both historic and strategic reasons, the United States stands to gain by increasing its present level of support to the Micronesian Islands, including its territories, and their inhabitants as they pursue a better future of peace, quiet, and prosperity. Without an enhanced American support, the islanders will lag further in development and will look more attractive to other nations, particularly Japan, China, and Korea.

Chiaravallotti, Joseph R. "Southeast Asian Perceptions of U.S. Security Policy in the Post-Cold War Era." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1993.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/33997>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA272772>

**Abstract:** The end of the Cold War has changed the political environment in Southeast Asia and the parameters in which United States policy makers previously worked within are no longer the same. The United States' strategies are based on assumptions of how the rest of the world perceives it, but the views of other nations may not concur with the United States policy maker's assumptions. This thesis is concerned with the United States policy in Southeast Asia and brings to light the Southeast Asians' perceptions of the issues in which the United States is formulating its national security policies; how the negative perceptions differ from American assumptions; and offer suggestions on how to deal with the differences. The aim of this thesis is to provide security policy makers with information that could be used in exercising judgment to find solutions to current, and prospective, policy problems in Southeast Asia. It produces policy-relevant information that may be used to resolve specific policy problem, and pursue preferable courses of action in the region. This thesis shows a single policy towards Southeast Asia is misguided. Each state in the region has its own interests, and American policies must be formulated with each individual state, one by one.

Domingo, Ruben G. "The Muslim Secessionist Movement in the Philippines: Issues and Prospects." Master of Science (Resource Planning and Management for International Defense), Naval Postgraduate School, 1995.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/31433>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA298651>

**Abstract:** The Muslim Secessionist Movement in Southern Philippines was for a time the most serious threat to the stability of the country. It started in the late 1960s with the formation of the Muslim Independence Movement. In the 1970s, the Moro National Liberation Front emerged as the lead secessionist organization. It waged a furious war against central authority. The objective of the MNLF is to establish a separate state comprising the islands of Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi and Palawan. The hostilities reached its peak in the mid 70s when the MNLF received support from Libya and Sabah. Peace negotiations between the government and the MNLF resulted in the signing of the Tripoli Agreement in 1976. A divergent interpretation of the autonomy issue caused a breakdown in negotiations and a resumption of hostilities. Negotiations conducted during President Aquino's incumbency did not resolve the problem. The secessionist issue continues to be a daunting problem of the government in the 1990s. The government of President Ramos renewed peace negotiations with the MNLF. Spearheading the government reconciliation effort is the NUC. This thesis will examine the issues and prospects of the Secessionist Movement in light of the developments in the country and in the international scene.

Donovan, Joseph R., Jr. "The Effect of Leadership Changes in Taipei and Beijing on the Cross Straits Relationship." Master of Science (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1993.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/33998>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA273194>

**Abstract:** It is unlikely that the fast growing relationship between Taiwan and the China mainland will lead to political re-unification. The operational codes of new leaders in Taipei and Beijing will be shaped by the distinct forces at work on both sides of the straits and by the dynamic of the contacts themselves. Taiwan leaders will be selected by an increasingly pluralistic system but one which remains biased heavily in favor of the ruling KMT. A new generation of Taiwanese KMT leaders will pursue policies that contribute first to the island's security and prosperity and only secondly benefit any notion of a greater China. Power in Beijing is shifting to a generation that is the product of the Chinese Communist system. Beijing leadership contenders' pressing need to: consolidate factional networks in the absence of an institutionalized succession process; strengthen the legitimacy of the Communist Party; and re-integrate Hong Kong into China suggest that they may place low priority on re-unification with Taiwan. Despite the absence of a compelling interest in political re-unification, the increasing scope and complexity of cross straits ties constitutes a dynamic that will stimulate greater cooperation between Taiwan and the mainland.

Erickson, Michael R. "Integrated Stability: Northeast Asian Security for the New Millennium." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1994.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/34069>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA290785>

**Abstract:** With the end of the Cold War alignment paradigm, Asian states have lost, or perceive the threat of losing their political patrons. In lieu of traditional alliances, many states are embracing multilateral security arrangements. Placing an increased emphasis on economic security instead of military security. These states appear to be ranking economic development ahead of traditional security concerns. By focusing on economic growth, these nations would seem to be subordinating military security as a matter of foreign policy. To this end, nations in the region are increasingly viewing multilateral arrangements as a means to effect cooperative ventures. The Cold War strategies of nuclear deterrence, military predominance, and cooperation within the U.N. and within other bilateral alliances no longer adequately address America's national interests. In the rapidly evolving security environment, the United States is called upon to reaffirm these interests and to formulate additional policies to meet the challenge of a rapidly changing international environment. The need for a nuclear deterrent continues. The end of the Cold War and the budgetary restraints of the United States calls for a limited downsizing of American military capabilities. The increasing importance of economic factors in the security equation, particularly the proliferation of transnational organizations, shows clearly the need for a greater degree of multilateralization-both in political and economic activities. The United States watches closely the proliferation of multilateral institutions in North America, Europe, Northeast and Southeast Asia.

Evans, Mary R. "Case Studies in East Asian Economic Development: The Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1995.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/31308>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA306820>

**Abstract:** Since the end of the Cold War, economic strength has become the leading symbol of power and means of achieving peace and stability. East Asia is widely viewed as the up-and-Coming economic power center. Examination of East Asian economic development can provide some useful insights into overall patterns of development and influence, and suggest the path to a post-Cold War world future of peace and prosperity. This thesis provides two representative case studies: the Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China. These studies emphasize the importance of external (foreign) development assistance to modernization in lesser developed countries (LDCs) and the roles played by

the United States and Japan as the world's major sources of such assistance. Findings include: (1) LDCs can make extensive use of foreign development assistance without losing control -- or sovereignty -- over their economies of the direction of their development; (2) mature, industrialized economies can provide large amounts of assistance to LDCs without destroying their own economic futures.

Frankenberger, Dale Thomas. "The Growth of the Japanese Economy: Challenges to American National Security." Master of Arts (National Security Studies), Naval Postgraduate School, 1991.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/28251>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA245475>

**Abstract:** As the Japanese economy has grown more powerful over the last two decades, there has been an increasing number of influential Americans who have voiced the fear that sharp economic competition from Japan is beginning to threaten the health of the US economy. There is a wide-spread perception that Japan is a "neomercantilist" nation which engages in predatory and unfair trade practices. Japan-bashers maintain that the Japanese believe that there is little distinction between economic security and national security and that their mercantilist approach to doing business threatens American national security by weakening critical elements of the US economy. By examining the extent and the nature of the Japanese economic presence in the world marketplace, this thesis will show that this Japanese economic challenge poses no real danger to American economic interests except in one critical area—the development and control of high technology.

Freeseaman, Douglas D. "U.S. National Security Strategy in Southeast Asia: A Reappraisal." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1995.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/31437>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA303111>

**Abstract:** The United States found itself at the end of the Cold War with a predominately military national security strategy that has been less relevant in coping with the residue of the bi-polar world. Furthermore, the general diffusion of power in the international system from military capability towards economic might highlights the need for a general reappraisal of U.S. interests, objectives, and strategy. This thesis begins with a definition of global U.S. national interests and then defines the specific objectives of the national strategy as applied to the Asia-Pacific region and Southeast Asia. In following chapters, it analyzes the security environment of Southeast Asia, the enduring and developing conflicts within the region and with external powers, as well as mechanisms for conflict resolution. Finally, it asks whether official U.S. strategy adequately promotes and protects the national interests of the United States. It concludes that the current U.S. national security strategy of 'engagement and enlargement' is flawed and must not confuse the national interests, such as the survival of the United States and its prosperity, or put international relationships at risk for the sake of national values, such as the promotion of democracy and human rights abroad.

Fujimura, Paul N. "Peacemaking in Cambodia: Blueprint for a New World Order?" Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1993.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/27201>

**Abstract:** This thesis examines the peacemaking process as it has unfolded in Cambodia. The end of the Cold War has engendered a new spirit of multi-lateral activism in the international community. Intervention in the domestic affairs of a sovereign country is deemed legitimate, necessary, and desired to secure more worldly goals of peace, stability and respect for human rights. The United Nations-sponsored peacemaking process brought to Cambodia sought to achieve these goals by establishing a cease-fire and setting Cambodia upon the road of a comprehensive political settlement through democratic self-determination in the form of elections in May 1993. The analysis of this study has identified the Cambodian peace plan as flawed in content and context as an externally imposed solution to an internal problem entrusted to an institution without the ability to enforce peace and order. The

mandate establishing the UN mission in Cambodia simply did not vest it with the proper authority to enforce compliance with the terms of the peace plan. Cambodian political culture possesses a dynamic which is resistant to national reconciliation. The winner-take all mentality of the Khmer deva-rajās is poor soil for democratic pluralism to take root.

Gallagher, Daniel I. "Sea Lane Defense: Japanese Capabilities and Imperatives." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1987.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/22467>

**Abstract:** Japan has significant capabilities to protect its sealanes out to 1000 nautical miles to the south of its main ports. By concentrating military expenditures on forces to improve air defense, strait control, and convoy operations, Japan could have a credible defense, even in the worst possibility: global war and a Soviet attack. The Japanese should concentrate on improving the air defense of Japan and the ocean between Iwo Jima and Okinawa, increasing their stockpile of mines and their mine warfare forces, and increasing the numbers of their long-range maritime patrol aircraft and surface escort ships. These improvements all maintain the defensive nature of Japanese forces and are attainable within the next decade.

Garcia, Carlos F. "Negotiating Peace with the Reform the Armed Forces Movement." Master of Science (International Resource Planning and Management), Naval Postgraduate School, 1995.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/31556>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA300082>

**Abstract:** President Fidel V. Ramos in his first State of the Nation address on July 27, 1992, emphasized that the advancement of peace and reconciliation shall be among the priorities of his administration. Presently, the Government is holding peace negotiations with the Reform the Armed Forces Movement/Soldiers of the Filipino People/Young Officers Union (RAM/SFP/YOU) after both parties have signed a peace agreement on December 23, 1992 to pave way for the peace process. The primary purpose of this paper is to analyze the crucial negotiating issues and positions to arrive at an educated estimate of what could derail the peace process and what could the government do about it. It will also attempt to determine the RAM/SFP/YOU intentions and probable courses of action during the peace process and to formulate the best possible courses of action the government panel may take in terms of issues to be raised, bargaining positions, negotiation procedures, and other related matters based on a set of negotiation guidelines. Lastly, the study will present possible scenarios anticipating the RAM/SFP/YOU likely courses of action and the recommended government countermoves.

George, Douglas E. "The Low-Rodgers Expedition: A Study in the Foundations of U.S. Policy in Korea." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1988.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/23292>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA205100>

**Abstract:** This thesis reveals the origin and significance of the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 in the evolution of a conscious foreign policy of the United States in East Asia. It deals with the Low-Rodgers Expedition not as an isolated event, but as both an outcome and antecedent of other closely interrelated events in an unbroken time continuum. Concentrating on the fundamental regional issues of the times and the national character and interests of the United States and the Kingdom of Korea, this thesis: (1) Reveals, for the first time, the original 1871 diary of U.S. Minister to China, Frederick Ferdinand Low, and the wealth of new historical data therein: his misgivings and motivations; his plans and failings; and his appreciation for the historical importance of the mission which today bears his name; (2) Provides deeper analysis of the contemporary events bearing on the Low-Rodgers Expedition and gives a deeper appreciation of the obstacles which worked against its success from the very moment of its inception; (3) Shows why misconceptions about the expedition and some peripheral events have remained unchallenged for over a century; and (4) Explains why Low's efforts to open Korea before the 1882

Shufeldt mission failed, yet still played a more important role in the development of U.S. policy in Korea and the opening of Korea to the Western world than has been recognized.

Graf, Virginia B. "The Russians Debate the Kuril Islands Territorial Dispute: An Aspect of Russo-Japanese Relations in the Post-Cold War World." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1993.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/24225>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA269714>

**Abstract:** The objectives of this thesis will be to analyze Russia's political, economic, strategic, and social perspectives of the Kuril Islands debate, during 1992, as an indication of the post-Cold War international relations between Moscow and Tokyo. It is the hypothesis of this thesis that although the breakup of the Soviet Union has eased tensions between the "West" and "East," international relations between Moscow and Tokyo continue to reflect Soviet philosophies and policies. This not only hurts the Russian Federation's future development in the Pacific Rim but acts as an obstacle for cooperative, interdependent ties between all the countries of the world.

Greenwald, Peter T. "The United States and Environmental Security: Deforestation and Conflict in Southeast Asia." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1992.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/23802>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA258057>

**Abstract:** In the post Cold War era, the East-West conflict may be succeeded by a new confrontation which pits an industrialized North against a developing South. In June 1992, world attention was fixed on the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. This event marked a milestone in global environmental awareness; but just as the end of the Cold War has provided new opportunities for the US, the world is now faced with new sources of conflict which have advanced to the forefront of the national security debate. Among the new sources of conflict, environmental problems are rapidly becoming preeminent. Within national security debates, those environmental problems which respect no international boundary are of particular concern. Worldwide deforestation, and the related issues of global warming and the loss of biodiversity, represent a clear threat to national security. Two percent of the Earth's rainforests are lost each year; one 'football field' is lost each second. Deforestation has already led to conflict and instability within several regions of the world including Southeast Asia. The United States must recognize the character and dynamics of these new sources of conflict in order to successfully realize its policy aims in national security. The US should preempt conflict through cooperation and develop a shared concern for the environment throughout the world. The US military may play a key role in this effort.

Gunerman, Todd A. "U.S. Naval Presence in Southeast Asia: Is it Necessary?" Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1993.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/33999>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA273188>

**Abstract:** This thesis is an examination of the need for a U.S. Naval presence in Southeast Asia. With the rapid changes in the world geopolitical order following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, the need for American military presence in all parts of the world is being reexamined. This thesis examines the most recent policy and strategy statements of both the President and the Pentagon and how Southeast Asia might fit in to this new strategy. U.S. national interests in Southeast Asia are reevaluated for the post-Cold War era, concluding that the United States does indeed have strong interests, primarily economic, in the region. There are several potential threats to U.S. interests in Southeast Asia, both



internal and external to the region. The internal threats are the traditional rivalries within the region. Potential external threats are from China and Japan seeking regional hegemony. A strong U.S. naval presence will be superior to any regional navy and is essential to ensuring U.S. national interests in the region remain secure.

Harbin, Kenneth S. "The Expanding Sino-Thai Military Relationship: Implications for U.S. Policy in Thailand." Master of Arts (National Security Studies), Naval Postgraduate School, 1990.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/27592>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA242300>

**Abstract:** Prior to 1987, the U.S. was the major supplier of ground, air, and naval weapons, and other military equipment to Thailand. Since 1987, Thailand has turned to the PRC for the purchase of weapons and equipment required for many of its armed forces modernization and force restructuring programs. In addition to the acquisition of large quantities of ground forces equipment for the Royal Thai Army (RTA), Thailand has also investigated the acquisition of PRC fighter aircraft for the Royal Thai Air Force (RTAF) and is in the process of acquiring six frigates for the Royal Thai Navy (RTN) from the PR. The objective of this thesis will be to examine the improved and improving Sino-Thai military relationship and analyze the key variables responsible for changing Thai political and military attitudes towards the PRC. The thesis also examines Thai willingness to actively pursue supplier diversification strategies with respect to major arms acquisition contracts. Finally, the thesis will also consider the impact of the Sino-Thai military relationship on current and short term U.S. policy objectives in Thailand.

Hasselmann, Karen A. "The National Interests of the United States in Southeast Asia: Policy Changes for their Protection and Promotion since the Withdrawal from the Naval Base at Subic Bay." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1993.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/33995>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA276940>

**Abstract:** In November 1992, the United States withdrew its military forces from facilities in the Republic of the Philippines. The United States must now reassess its commitments, and the means and policies it will employ in protecting and promoting national interests in the post-Cold War era. This thesis examines the author's perceived global national interests of the United States in the post-Cold War era, based upon the Preamble of the United States Constitution. United States national interests abroad include protection of American lives and property, economic prosperity, and international goodwill. The perceived national interests of the United States in the East-Asia/Pacific (EA/P) region, with particular emphasis placed on the Southeast Asian sub-region, are discussed. This thesis then examines the political, social, and economic evolution of the Southeast Asian sub-region, including the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and historical United States national interests in the Southeast Asian sub-region. Past means and policies of the United States to protect and promote its interests in the Southeast Asian sub-region are reviewed. Finally, the opportunities and challenges now facing the United States in devising future means and policies to promote and protect United States national interests, as well as those of other nations, in the EA/P region are explained.

Hendrix, Henry J. "The Roots of Japanese Militarism." Master of Arts (National Security Studies), Naval Postgraduate School, 1994.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/34001>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA293660>

**Abstract:** Militarism in pre-World War Two Japan was a product of Japan's culture, manifested within its distinctive internal domestic institutions, stimulated by the encroaching external pressures, and is distinct from militarism anywhere else in the world. The culture of Japan emphasized the group over the individual, a strong sense of hierarchy, and a profound pride in the divine nature of the national essence.

The abrupt intrusion of the technologically advanced Western civilization triggered an "insider-outsider" mentality within Japan that rejected participation in the Western diplomatic, and economic cabals which denied Japan its true equal (or, to some, superior) position in the community of nations. Japan's pre-war militarism clearly can be defined as the mobilization of the entire society, drawing upon an essentially homogeneous outlook, to achieve a position within the international system which reflected the cultural perception of Japan's "chosen" status (derived from centuries of Shinto influence) within the family of man. The martial segments within Japanese society used the "alien" international system, largely defined at the time in Imperial colonial military terms, to buttress the martial segments within Japanese society and to justify the expansion of their influence.

King, Kurt Wesley. "Sino-U.S. Economic Relations: Problems and Perspectives." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1991.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/26770>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA246949>

**Abstract:** U.S.-China economic relations are currently strained as a direct result of the Chinese crackdown of demonstrators in Tiananmen square on June 4, 1989. However, the brutal suppression of the demonstrators is only one aspect of the overall Sino-U.S. economic relationship. This thesis examines the economic relationship beginning in 1978, when China embarked on its modernization effort. Though China has made many improvements in these efforts their modernization effort does not necessarily coincide with United States' desires. Instead, China is concerned with maintaining its socialist character for the foreseeable future. This thesis examines divergent Sino-U.S. economic relations, and offers some various recommendations for American policy-makers depending on the course that China's leadership decides to take.

Kubera, John M. "The United States - Japan Treaty Relationship: Japan's Perspective on Renewed U.S. Commitment." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1995.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/7572>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA304202>

**Abstract:** With the ending of the Cold War in Europe decreasing the tensions between East and West, the United States Japan security relationship developed after World War II has come under continuous reexamination. In order to rectify possible misperceptions as to U.S. resolve for this alliance in the Pacific, the Department of Defense has currently initiated the U.S.-Japan Security Dialogue. Although the United States and Japan security relationship has a long history throughout the Cold War, it is the recent changes in the strategic environment in Northeast Asia and the world which prompts a reassessment of Japan's own role. The issues that now influence Japan in its reassessment of its desired international role also influence its perspective towards its security relationship with the United States. The constraints placed upon Japan by its history of anti-military policies, domestic budgetary problems and present political alignment do not allow it enough freedom to take a hardline in negotiations with the United States.

Lista, Reuben S. "The Role of the Philippine Navy Towards Sustaining Environmental and Ecological Integrity for the Philippines." Master of Science (International Resource Planning and Management), Naval Postgraduate School, 1995.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/31458>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA304254>

**Abstract:** With the end of the Cold War, most countries enjoy stable borders without threat of military conflict. International treaties have provided an assurance of relative safety. A multipolar world will bring in new and unexpected problems in the International arena. But even as most countries enjoy stable borders, the threat of nuclear conflict is disappearing and International treaties and organizations provide assurances of protection - we are seeing in this era a realignment of interests, new alliances, and

new forms and causes of regional violence. Rising population, over harvesting of fish, depletion of forests and the overuse of ground water reserves will lead to unemployment, inflation and declining productivity in many countries and such conditions will threaten world stability. These are in addition to the traditional concerns we have and farther aggravated as we enter a period of unrestrained population growth, inequitable and wasteful use of natural resource, and the degradation of critical environmental services will increasingly affect international behavior and relations and threaten the goal of common security. Being an archipelagic country, it is only natural for the Philippines to take special and vital interests over its water and aquatic resources. Also, ecological disorder is increasingly viewed in National Security terms and related conflict and violence around the world, raising the issue of the role of the military in responding to the problem of environmental degradation and marine pollution. This study addresses the role of the Philippine Navy in the environmental security of the Philippines.

Little, John William, Jr. "Vietnam in U.S. Foreign Policy: An Association for the Strategic Balance in Southeast Asia." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1991.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/26834>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA243124>

**Abstract:** This thesis asserts that it is critical for the U.S. to re-evaluate its foreign policy towards Vietnam and to begin viewing that country's strategic potential for meeting future threats to Southeast Asia: specifically the Chinese military threat, a threat based on China's territorial claims in the South China Sea and an aggressive program of modernization of China's military; and the Japanese economic threat, a threat reinforced by Japan's use of conditional aid, financial control of major industries throughout the region, and a structural dependency on imports of critical raw materials, primarily from Southeast Asia. America's relations with Vietnam have remained virtually unchanged since U.S. forces were withdrawn in April, 1975. However, the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union have released the U.S. from its need to view Vietnam as an extension of Moscow's influence in Southeast Asia. A policy of constructive engagement with Vietnam permits the U.S. to maintain the balance of power in Southeast Asia against encroaching Chinese and Japanese threats. America's economic interests in Asia, now one-third larger than in Europe, also create an imperative for change and the potential of Vietnam, in resources, manpower, and strategic location, should be made a factor in future policy formation.

Locke, Charles E., Jr. "The Heirs of Angkor: An Analysis of Khmer Rouge Viability." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1995.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/31459>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA303175>

**Abstract:** The purpose of this thesis is to address the question: "What accounts for Khmer Rouge viability?" One approach, which will be used in this thesis, is to analyze the Khmer Rouge through their 'self definitions' -- located in their myths, rituals, and symbols -- to better understand how they perceive themselves, their cause, and their future and how those perceptions can be used to defeat adversaries. This study focuses on insurgent activity as a battle of ideas using the Khmer Rouge as a case study To analyze the application of this plane to insurgent viability, this study looked to the 'symbolic dimension,' a medium of political exchange that defines reality through symbolic means, To provide linkage between symbols and viability, the symbolic actions of the Khmer Rouge are applied to five elements of insurgent viability: legitimacy, popular support, organization, external support, and defeating adversarial response. All five elements are covered from the origins of the insurgency in the 1950s, through their victory in 1975 and demise in 1979, concluding with their actions today. This thesis demonstrates that the Khmer Rouge insurgency relies on symbolic activity as one mean of viability. Using ethnic discrimination myths and nationalist rituals, the insurgents swept to power in a rural based movement. However, fanatical beliefs in myths of common blood ties and racial purity drove the regime to destruction. To resurrect the movement, the Khmer Rouge play on the weakness of the present

government utilizing democratic symbols as well as former racist themes to replace the malevolent image of their governing years with an image of their perception as heirs to rulership.

Malin, Douglas A. "The American Factor in the Evolution of China's Maritime Doctrine." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1993.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/33996>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA276582>

**Abstract:** Since the birth of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, American military strategy, foreign policy, and naval presence in East Asia, have all had a significant effect on the evolution of China's naval development, strategy, and maritime doctrine. This thesis will explore the roles, direct and indirect, the United States played in the development of China's maritime doctrine. China is quickly becoming a regional maritime power and will continue to be a significant factor in the strategic equation of the Western Pacific. The commonly held perception, that China is primarily a continental power, is no longer true as the Chinese navy and merchant marine fleet are today among the largest in the world. As China's national interests expand beyond the Asia-Pacific region, understanding the natural maritime component of those interests will be necessary in the evaluation of China's global aspirations and national strength. This research will be relevant in the assessment of China's maritime doctrine in the 1990s and will allow planners of the Asia-Pacific region to better understand China's often pragmatic approach to naval development and strategy. It will be up to the planners and strategists alike to build on this study and make their own interpretations and applications to policy-making as the future unfolds.

Miranda, Enrique Franco. "The Efficacy of U.S. and U.S.S.R. Arms Transfers for the Maintenance of Regime Stability in the Third World." Master of Arts (National Security Studies), Naval Postgraduate School, 1990.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/33992>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA238798>

**Abstract:** The relationship between U.S. and U.S.S.R. arms transfers to Third World nations and its effects on the maintenance of regime stability was examined. This study uses the focused comparison approach to examine three U.S. cases (Vietnam 1960-1975, the Philippines 1950-1989, and El Salvador 1960-1989) and three U.S.S.R. cases (Afghanistan 1950-1989, Vietnam 1976-1989, and Nicaragua 1979-1989). The U.S. and the Soviet cases were chosen due to the intuitive similarities found in the supplier nation's involvement with the recipient Third World nation. The trend in the amounts of arms transfers was determined in each of the cases and compared to the resulting levels of internal threat, external threat, and overall level of regime stability.

Mosier, Jonathan D. "The National Interests of Singapore: A Background Study for United States Policy." Master of Science (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1993.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/24197>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA277352>

**Abstract:** With the loss of United States bases in the Philippines, the forward presence mission of the US military is moving into to a new phase. With fiscal restructuring at home and less unity of purpose among the nations of Asia, the United States is moving to a strategy of 'place not bases' in Southeast Asia. For the strategy to succeed, it is necessary to find like-minded partners in the region who will allow open access to facilities to provide the support needed for the US military to operate globally. The Republic Singapore has been a vocal advocate for a continuing presence of United States forces in the Asia-Pacific. In consonance with its views, Singapore has offered the United States military expanded access to its facilities, agreeing to allow the stationing of a limited number of US military personnel in the Republic. It behooves US policy planners to understand the views of the Government of Singapore. This thesis explores institutional development in Singapore, detailing the evolution of its political,

economic, diplomatic and defense structures. As a background study, it gives an appreciation of Singapore's world view and national interests.

Nagy, Sandra L. "Islamic Fundamentalism in Indonesia." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1996.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/32021>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA303488>

**Abstract:** This is a study of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia. Islamic fundamentalism is defined as the return to the foundations and principles of Islam including all movements based on the desire to create a more Islamic society. After describing the practices and beliefs of Islam, this thesis examines the three aspects of universal Islamic fundamentalism: revivalism, resurgence, and radicalism. It analyzes the role of Islam in Indonesia under Dutch colonial rule, an alien Christian imperialist power. Following independence in 1945, Islam became less influential in national politics. Focusing on the current situation, this thesis examines the ways in which Islamic fundamentalism could potentially threaten U.S. security interests. It concludes that growing Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia is inevitable but is not likely to pose a direct threat to U.S. interests in the near future. Nonetheless, it deserves close attention given Islam's propensity to mobilize mass support throughout Indonesia.

Olmo, Elizabeth D. "China's Nuclear Agenda and the Implications for United States Foreign Policy." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1993.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/25735>

**Abstract:** This thesis covers the history of China's nuclear development and examines the changes in its Nuclear policies over the past three decades. It examines the issues of China's nuclear and defense strategies, nuclear and defense policies, arms transfers policies, proliferation policies and its foreign policies. Implications for American foreign policy vis-a-vis China's evolving nuclear status are discussed.

Packard, Anthony M. "The U.S.-Indonesian Relationship in the 1990's and Beyond." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1993.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/26830>

**Abstract:** This thesis argues that while Indonesia and the United States are not the closest of allies, new approaches to the way both countries formulate foreign policy will lead to a stronger friendship. A summary of U.S.-Indonesian relations is placed within the context of Indonesian history, so as to provide an appropriate vantage point from which to view future developments. The national goals of each country are examined next, with the belief that any improvement in bilateral relations will naturally stem from the common interests of the two countries. Where differences are noted, it is often a case of similar underlying objectives driving incongruent policies. It is in these areas that modern approaches to American foreign policy will reap the largest rewards. This thesis contends that from the political, economic, and security points of view, both the United States and Indonesia have much to gain from an improved relationship. The domestic and foreign policies of the two countries can be furthered simultaneously; first, Indonesia must soften its anti-colonial rhetoric, and the United States must take post-Cole War approaches to formulate post-Cole-War foreign policy.

Pettigrew, Tenise L. "The Changing Role of Vietnam in Southeast Asia: Beyond the Cold War." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1991.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/33994>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA245944>

**Abstract:** This thesis examines the United States relationship with Vietnam in the aftermath of the Vietnam War and the end of the Cold War. Even though Vietnam's path toward progress and growth is hindered by internal and external security concerns, the direction is clear that she wants to be an integral player in the Southeast Asian region. Vietnam's dealings with the two regional major powers,

the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, are addressed in respect to the historical pasts, the present interests and what the future holds for continued relationships. A Vietnam in which the U.S. has a significant level of involvement and influence as a result of direct relations will help ensure that the Southeast Asian region, with all of its strategic importance, will be more favorably balanced toward U.S. interests.

Puopolo, Paul A. "Nationalism: The Centrifugal Force in Northeast Asia." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1995.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/31359>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA308918>

**Abstract:** The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union has prompted discussions regarding the possibility of a collective security format for the Asia-Pacific region. Constructing a 'new regional order' under a collective multilateral security organization will be an unrealistic task for policy makers as the world approaches the twenty-first century. Nationalism has resurfaced in the relations of the Northeast Asian countries and will be the primary obstacle to establishing such a security forum. The historical suspicions of these states is evident in their assertiveness regarding the complex territorial disputes, increased military expenditures, economic competition, and dependence on external natural resources. The security environment of Northeast Asia is significantly more hostile and vulnerable to conflict in the future. Although perceptions of a multilateral security framework have been expressed, no Northeast Asian state is willing to forfeit sovereignty in favor of collective security. To protect the United States' vital interests in the region will require acknowledgment of Northeast Asian nationalism and respect for regional insecurities. A reassessment of the existing bilateral alliances and the forging of new bilateral agreements will provide the greatest flexibility for the United States to adjust to the emerging 'new order' in East Asia.

Russell, Robin Ladd. "Changing Roles of the United States and Japan in the Security of Southeast Asia." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1994.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/34002>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA280471>

**Abstract:** The hypothesis of this study is that the United States and Japan have important and complementary roles to play in contributing to the peace and stability in Southeast Asia in spite of the end of the Cold War. Historical perspectives with regard to Southeast Asia since the withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam until the end of the Cold War are provided as the foundations for change. The national development of the nations of Southeast Asia, the implications of the rapid economic growth of China, and the military buildup in the region since the end of the Cold War are examined. Similarly, the rising transnational problems of Southeast Asia including piracy, drug abuse, a burgeoning population and environmental issues are addressed. The basic changes in American policies toward the region, including the implications of the withdrawal from the military facilities in the Philippines, and the impact of the reductions in the military budget are examined. Likewise, basic Japanese policies toward Southeast Asia, particularly in light of recent dramatic changes in Japanese internal politics, the effects of the Persian Gulf War, and the Cambodian experience, are discussed.

Sakoda, Robin H. "Economic Factors of Japan's National Security Policy." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1988.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/23022>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA200819>

**Abstract:** Economic and security ties comprise the fundamental links in US Japan relations, which have become strained by criticisms from both sides of the Pacific. As our two nations continue to pursue prosperity and security, the rates of domestic consumption, trade balances, overseas investment, and technology development have become tests of bilateral cooperation. Domestic demand, capital

formation, trade and development of science and technology are fundamental concerns of the economy which contribute to Japan's national security posture. With the formation of Comprehensive Security, economic assets, more than military spending alone, have become the pillars of Japan's national security framework.

Schieck, George Foster. "Chinese-Middle East Relations and their Implications for U.S. Policy." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1992.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/23830>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA258018>

**Abstract:** China and the Middle East have engaged in various interactions throughout the post-war period. This thesis looks at those interactions and postulates a purposeful intent underlying Chinese-Middle Eastern activity. Purposeful intent is deduced from a consideration of extant and subsequently probable Chinese and Middle Eastern foreign policies. Vehicles for examining these foreign policies include: aspects of applicable domestic fabrics; those fabrics' perceptions of international requirements; external realities of the countries involved; the regional interaction itself. Economic, cultural, security and diplomatic issues are included. Likely goals and objectives of China and the Middle East through continued interaction are discussed. Israel and the other Levantine states comprise the two primary foci used to identify the Middle East region. China is discussed first from the period beginning with 1949 through to the ascendancy of Deng Xiaoping, then from the Four Modernizations and reform through to the present. Implications for U.S. policy regarding both China and the Middle East conclude the study.

Scott, Patricia A. "Preserving the American Interest in Hong Kong after 1997." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1993.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/26709>

**Abstract:** On 01, July, 1997, Hong Kong will revert back from British rule to Chinese sovereignty, becoming a Special Administrative Region (SAR) under the Central people's Government of the People's Republic of China. The United States and its citizens have a tremendous investment in the British colony that could be placed at risk by the change in sovereignty. This thesis reviews the development of United States' interest in the colony and defines the current interests in the colony. The retrocession developments are then examined as are the current attempts to modify the Basic Law of miniconstitution for Hong Kong. Alternative scenarios are suggested for post- 1997 Hong Kong. The thesis is optimistic about the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and about the United States' ability to continue its involvement in and with China, to include Hong Kong.

Semple, Bernadette Marie. "China-African Connection: Implications for United States Foreign Policy." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1992.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/23565>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA256832>

**Abstract:** Over the past 40 years the central theme and organizing principle of global political, military and economic existence has been the East-West conflict. Now with the ending of the Cold War and international economic restructuring, the primary global struggle may very well be transformed into a North-South Conflict. This thesis examines the role of the Peoples Republic of China in Third World affairs and the use of its self-proclaimed "Third World Leader" posture as a mechanism for achieving its own goal of becoming a full-fledged global power by the 21st century. In particular the thesis focuses on China-Africa relations. China views the prospect of a "New World Order" as a threat to the interests of the Third World. Consequently China has embarked upon a diplomatic offensive designed to strengthen political, economic and strategic relations with Africa as well as other Third World nations. With nation states and politico economic alliances changing faster than many could imagine the PRC-Third World relations especially PRC-African relations deserve focus and attention.

Shanahan, Teresa L. "The United States and India: Strategy for the 1990's." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1989.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/26316>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA215143>

**Abstract:** This thesis recommends a policy shift based on evidence which shows that the United States could benefit from an improvement in relations with India. The problematic US-Indian relationship is traced from its inception in 947. Political, economic and strategic benefits available through a policy shift are outlined. The most significant gain would be in the strategic sense, with India as a dominant regional actor maintaining regional peace and stability while keeping trade and communication lanes open. A concomitant and almost equally important benefit of such a policy shift would be the added political prestige or influence for the United States, especially within the Third and Non-Aligned Worlds. Finally, India represents significant economic potential for U.S. investments and export. This study also examines the risks inherent in the policy recommended.

Smith, Michael Edward. "From Forward Deployment to Forward Presence: A New National Strategy for the Pacific." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1990.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/30721>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA226612>

**Abstract:** This thesis analyzes the changing strategic environment in East Asia and the Pacific. Despite sweeping foreign policy initiatives, the Soviets maintain a significant military capability. Even as the likelihood of the Soviet threat diminishes, low-intensity type conflict threaten U.S. regional interests. Additionally, changing regional perceptions are undermining traditional U.S. security arrangements. Rising Asian nationalism questions the need for forward deployment of U.S. forces within regional states. A policy of forward presence via maritime assets is the solution. U.S. naval assets would allow for a reasonable power projection capability in time of crisis, yet would meet fiscal constraints during peacetime through a scaling down of deployed assets. Other U.S. forces will maintain their ability to meet regional responsibilities through training exercises with regional forces and a build-up of the U.S. sealift capability. Now is the time to encourage regional states to assume greater responsibilities for their own defense. A regional maritime organization must be developed to maintain open trade routes. With a focused mandate, such an organization would not threaten individual national sovereignties and would promote regional cooperation and stability. An expansion of the U.S. Navy's peacetime mission will certainly serve the national interest. Increased port visits to economically less developed regions should be coordinated to support on-going or planned U.S. assistance programs.

Stephens, William Dale. "The Roots of Social Protest in the Philippines and Their Effects on U.S.-R.P. Relations." Master of Arts (National Security Studies), Naval Postgraduate School, 1990.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/27679>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA242312>

**Abstract:** The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe in 1989 and the necessity to establish a new world order has presented a challenge to the United States (U.S.) to reformulate its foreign policy. Future U.S. policy in the Asia Pacific Region will inevitably affect the U.S. relationship with the Republic of the Philippines (R.P), and this thesis provides a framework for understanding that relationship better. This thesis traces the roots of social unrest in Philippines and demonstrates how the conflict between the elite and the common people has been the cause of rebellion, revolt, revolution and insurgency from the beginning of the Spanish colonial era until today. It concludes that the special relations which have characterized traditional U.S. policy in the Philippines are no longer in the best interest of either the U.S. or the R.P. It recommends that the U.S. withdraw its military forces from the Philippines before the end of the century and substitute directed economic assistance for military assistance as the best method of promoting democracy and contributing to the removal of causes of insurgency in the Philippines.



Tate, Samuel L. "Toward Multilateral Cooperative Security in Northeast Asia." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1994.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/30546>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA292011>

**Abstract:** The U.S. military preponderance of power in Northeast Asia, based on the Cold War systems of collective defense, is no longer adequate to cope with the complex threats to peace that have reemerged since 1990. It may be preferable to move beyond the old Cold War division of the Soviet Union, China and North Korea on the one side and the U.S., Japan and South Korea on the other, toward a system of multilateral cooperative security. The nations of Northeast Asia are searching for new modes of ensuring their security in the era of uncertainty marking the post-Cold War period. There is a need for cooperative security in Northeast Asia that is aimed at engaging all of the nations in dialogue and cooperation. A cooperative system would focus on reducing tensions, preventing war and diffusing the potential threats to regional stability. Although there are no clear and immediate dangers in Northeast Asia, there are many unresolved problems of security that warrant multilateral cooperation. Due to the importance of the seas and growing concern about maritime issues, maritime security could be a catalyst for establishing multilateral cooperative security. The United States is in a unique position to cooperate with Northeast Asian nations in maritime cooperative security. Finally, multilateral cooperative security will allow all of the nations involved to spend less on defense and concentrate more on the goal of creating an environment conducive to modernization and prosperity.

Taylor, Mark J. "From Alliance to Acquaintance: Australia's Security Relationship with the United States." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1991.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/27063>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA247337>

**Abstract:** This thesis explores the development of Australian concepts of national security, in the context of traditional and continuing psychological dependency upon its links of alliance to the West. The Government claims that Australia's policy of defence self reliance within an alliance framework is a 'conceptual watershed' that has 'liberated' Australian foreign policy; but it is an old theme in defence policy. Australia still awaits a real revolution in its security concepts and sense of regional and world identity. ANZUS, symbol of Australia's ties to the western community, and the false impressions and expectations it creates, now acts more to inhibit than to assist Australia's future growth as a nation.

Thompson, Richard D. "Pragmatism in the East Asian Policy of the United States." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1987.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/22427>

**Abstract:** There is an ongoing debate between political theorists as to whether "realism" or "idealism" should guide the formulation and implementation of America's foreign policy. In general, policymakers have been characterized by one or the other of these labels based upon a loose conception of their overall policy objectives. Such generalities, however, give inadequate weight to the fact that a policymaker's most solemn commitment is to pursue the national interest, regardless of any other personal inclination. It is the hypothesis of this paper that the foreign policy process is a pragmatic one, based on practical assessments of the best and most likely methods of achieving national objectives, rather than adherence to an underlying commitment to realism or idealism. This paper demonstrates this fact in a survey of significant instances in the history of America's relations with Asia where presidents and other senior officials were compelled to make pragmatic foreign policy decisions despite reputations or personal inclinations toward either realism or idealism.

Walker, Glenn Ronald, Jr. "The Evolution of Civil-Military Relations in Vietnam." Master of Arts (National Security Affairs), Naval Postgraduate School, 1994.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10945/28192>

<http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA283605>

**Abstract:** The mere mention of the name 'Vietnam' conjures up a multitude of conflicting images and emotions in the hearts and minds of individual Americans. The current move toward a normalization of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) demands a new perspective be taken on this traditional ambivalence. By exploring the geographical, cultural, and historical development of political and military organizations in Vietnam, this thesis goes beyond the focus of most sociological models that begin their examination of civil-military relations in Vietnam with the Communist lead revolution of 1945. One such model, that of the Revolutionary Professional Soldier, is used by this author to examine the evolutionary nature of civil-military relations in Vietnam, from their earliest manifestations during the colonial period to the present.