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Title: Change and Continuity: Foreign Policy Change in Singapore-Indonesia Bilateral Relationships

Abstract

The aim of this research paper is to investigate the Foreign Policy changes between Singapore and Indonesia mainly through the comparative study of 3 major events; the Konfrontasi launched against Singapore and Malaysia (1963), the execution of the 2 Marines responsible for the MacDonald House bombing (1968) and the naming of Indonesian Navy Ship Usman Harun, after the 2 Marines (2014). It aims to identify foreign policy changes and discover whether the change in national leadership is the most prominent factor for the Change and Continuity in Foreign Policies and bilateral relationships between the two countries.

Chapter 1: Introductory Chapter

1.1 Background

The importance of maintaining positive bilateral relationships with other countries, especially South-East Asian countries has been a major focus for Singapore's development and progress onto the international stage. Singapore strives to be 'a friend to all and enemy to none' and this principle is the core of Singapore's bilateral relationships, especially with geographically larger countries surrounding Singapore. However, with the advancement of Singapore as a prominent player in ASEAN and in the world, a new diplomatic approach has to be adopted,

one that maintains positive bilateral relations in our region and internationally without compromising sovereignty and natural interest. The approach of *realpolitik*, a realistic approach of situational diplomacy is employed to provide Singapore with a form of economic and political breathing space. (Cheong, 2017)

In the Singapore-Indonesia bilateral relationship, both parties have shown to be constantly influencing the relationship through decisions made by respective leaderships to protect their countries' national interest while providing sufficient space to cooperate and work together. The bilateral relationship between these countries is one that has been described to be a fluctuating bilateral relationship. This is largely due to the shifting of times of tense relationships between countries and times of cooperation in terms of political agenda and economy. The *Konfrontasi* in 1963, a resistive movement launched by the Indonesian government against Malaysia and Singapore, can be considered a period of hostility between the countries, especially with the MacDonald's house bombing and the subsequent execution of the Marines. Cooperation and positive relations were also present in the bilateral relationship between these countries from 1973 to 1998, marking the end of Sukarno's 'New Order' government. The resurgence of *Konfrontasi*, through the Navy Ship named *Usman Harun* sparked growing tensions between the 2 countries in the 21st century. The Change and Continuity in bilateral relationships between Singapore and Indonesia is a source of concern, with potential to cause major discord and political instability between the two ASEAN neighbours. It is necessary to isolate a major factor in the changes in relations between countries to understand more about the diplomatic ties between countries.(Hart, 2009)

1.2 Rationale

This research seeks to identify changes in foreign policy in Singapore-Indonesia bilateral relationship and to find out if the change of leadership in governments is the major influencing factor.

1.3 Research Questions

1. Using Hermann's 4 Levels of foreign policy change, was there Change or Continuity of foreign policy in the 2 events?
2. To what extent was there change of foreign policy in the 2 events?
3. To what extent do the 3 factors, proposed by Rosati, Hagan and Sampson, influence Change and Continuity of Foreign Policy in the Singapore-Indonesia Bilateral Relationship?

1.4 Thesis Statement

Throughout Singapore's history and its relations with Indonesia, many factors such as International Position of States, Domestic/Political Alignment of Governments along with the change in leadership as well as policy making process all have played a part in the change and continuity of foreign policy. However, despite the many factors, the change in leadership remains the most influential factor involved in decision making processes and maintaining foreign relations.

1.5 Scope of Research / Delimitation(s)

The perspective of my research would be mainly on the focus of Singapore, as it is easier, with access to national resources, to analyse this issue from the perspective of Singapore. Also, This research would only be looking at specific events that have are to be considered significant in the history SG-Indo bilateral relationships; Konfrontasi, Execution of Marines and the Naming of Navy Ship: Usman Harun. These events are all either events that have

resulted ultimately in a redirection of foreign policy or a continuity and thus will be used for analysis. The research will not be a progressive study and I will not be focusing on events that have happened between my focuses of study.

1.6 Significance of Research / Usefulness

This research is relevant as the issue pertaining to it, bears great relevance to our present lives, especially as Singaporeans. Indonesia is a vital neighbour and a central member of ASEAN thus the importance of maintaining positive bilateral relationships cannot be neglected. By evaluating the most prominent factor in SG-Indo relationships, more literature can be added to this field in history. Furthermore, the frameworks and theories that I am implementing in my research have not been used often and not in these specific events that I will be analyzing. Thus, a new perspective can be added on to existing literature.

1.7 Limitations

For this research, I will only be looking at specific events that have been by deemed by myself and other established researchers as significant in the history of Singapore-Indonesia Foreign Policy relationships. The Konfrontasi, is central to my research and subsequent issues that I will be looking at after the Konfrontasi(1963-1966) are all related to this first major setback in the bilateral relationship. The Konfrontasi saga is essential in analysing the foreign policy changes. (Chua, 2015) Although I am analysing important events in history, my study will not be able to analyse all events that affected Singapore-Indonesia IRs, due to factors of time constraints and word count. This would lead to a lack or research scale in terms of depth or research but allow for more focus on the critical events that are recognised. The time gap between the 1960s - 1970s to 2014 that will not be covered in my research also

contains events that plays a part in defining and changing the foreign policies of Singapore to Indonesia that will unfortunately be overlooked in my research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Foreign Policy

Defining Foreign Policy

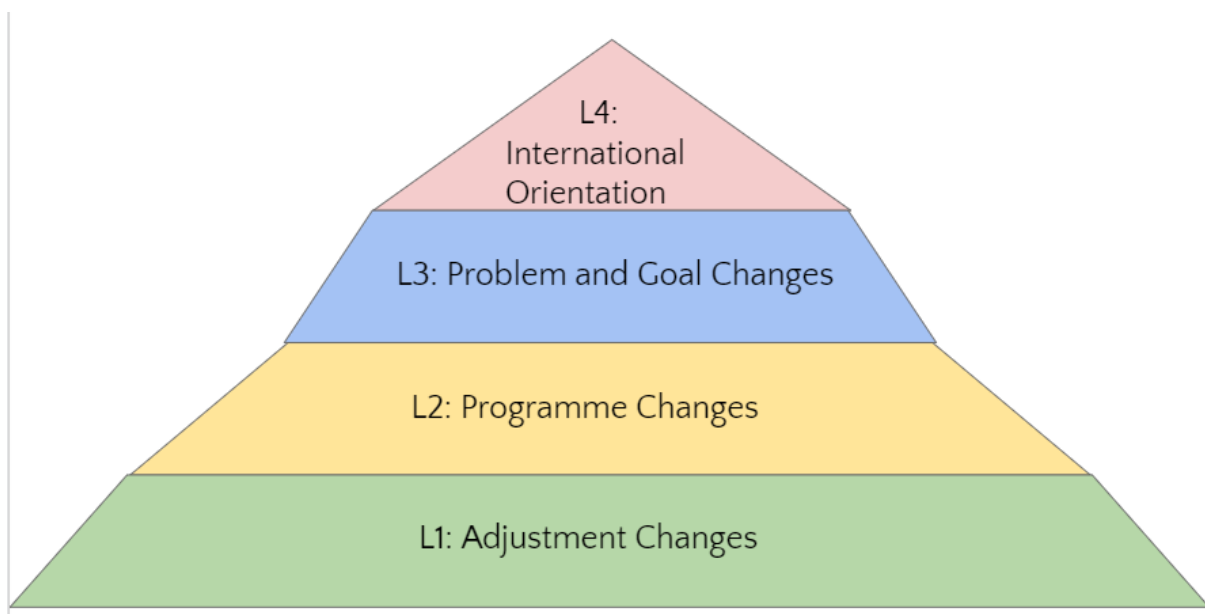
The definition of Foreign Policy, as presented by Cohen and Harris 1975, is defined by a set of goals, the ultimate aims of the country as well as their intentions behind it. They are formulated by persons in official authority and are directed at a particular actor or condition in the environment, intentionally affecting the target in a manner desired by policy makers. (Gustavsson, 1998) Christopher Hill defines foreign policy as ‘the sum of external relations conducted by an independent actor’, this actor is often representative of a state in international relations.(Hill, 2016) This is still a broad definition of what foreign policies are, as it does not encompass the internal policy making processes of actors and does not explain the relationship between different actors. With the term of ‘foreign policies’ being a loose one, in my research I will define it in accordance to the definition suggested by Cohen and Harris. (Beach, 2012)

2.2 Changes in Foreign Policy

2.2.1 Hermann’s 4 Levels of Foreign Policy Change

Hermann’s 4 Levels of Foreign Policies is a research and analytical model, tools used for empirical studies and are not hypothetical or theoretical. The use of such research models, like those developed by Kalevi Holsti, allow for a broad approach, applicable in countless scenarios as well as their specificity and detail in the explicit descriptions of scenarios and variables. (Gustavsson, 1998) The disadvantages among such models are existent; for Holsti’s model, in its application, has proven to have too many explanatory factors, being too confusing especially for my research, which is already a condensed research paper.

Hermann's model suffers from the lack clarity in the definition of a 'leader' or individual actor, which he does not provide a absolute definition for. However, Hermann's model has been used in scenarios such as by Jakob Gustavsson in 'Swedish Reorientation of EC membership' as he identifies his research with Hermann's proposed model and levels, and categorises his study based on Hermann's 4 Levels of Foreign Policy Change.



Hermann's theory categorises the 4 changes as follows. They are in no order of progression, ie a country does not need to experience L1 to experience L4. They are, however, arranged in degree/extent of change in foreign policy.

2.2.2.1 Level 1, Adjustment Changes:

Hermann defines adjustment changes as the least drastic of foreign policy changes. In adjustment changes of foreign policy, the ultimate motive and purpose of actions are unchanged. Methods to achieve such aims remain the same and only the degree and

magnitudes of efforts are adjusted. In Hermann's 'Changing Course, Government's Choose to change Foreign Policy', Hermann applies his theory on the US Policy towards Vietnam in the Vietnam War. During the 1950s to 1960s, to assist South Vietnam in its independence and alignment with the USA, the US government increased its deployment of weapons, resources and military advisors in hopes to increase war efforts. Adjustment changes are always quantitative. (Hermann, 1990) Vardam's research on the US security policy towards Russia also adopts Hermann's theory in his research. He supports Hermann's definitions and categorizes the US' National Security Strategy of 2010 as a form of adjustment change as it beared great resemblance the the previous 2006 strategy with the only changed factor being the level of dedication put in by the US. (Vardam, 2017)

2.2.2.2 Level 2, Program Changes

Programme Changes are changes made to address problems that occur when trying to reach one's ultimate goal. Unlike the aforementioned adjustment changes, Program Changes are qualitative and involve new instruments of statecraft; for example diplomatic negotiations rather than force. In the Vietnam war, Hermann identifies 2 instances where the US displayed the second level of policy change. In 1965, with the introduction of American combat forces and later on with the withdrawal of combat forces are both program changes as the US changes their methods of achieving their goal without compromising on their ultimate goal, protecting South Vietnam and prevent the spread of Communist Ideologies. 'What is done and how it is done changes, but the purpose and what it is done for remains unchanged'.(Hermann, 1990)

2.2.2.3 Level 3, Problem and Goal Changes

Problem and Goal changes occur when the original problem/goal that the policy is addressing is replaced or forfeited. Unlike the previous 2 changes, the purpose of the policy is changed. Hermann identifies the third level of change in the Vietnam war incident when the US questioned its ability to resist the North Vietnamese forces and opted to accept outcomes rather than fighting the war. The original purpose of fighting the war was forfeited and a Problem/Goal Change has occurred. (Hermann, 1990)

2.2.2.4 Level 4, International Orientation

International Orientation changes occur when a country's entire orientation in world affairs has been redirected. It is the most extreme form of foreign policy change and results in a basic shift in an actor's role and activities internationally, involving simultaneous change of multiple policies. Hermann identifies the highest level of foreign policy change being present in US foreign policies after the Vietnam war. According to Hermann, there is at least a decided shift in its willingness to use large-scale combat forces in its conduct of its foreign policy (Hermann, 1990)

I intend to identify and categorise the foreign policy change apparent in the Singapore-Indonesia bilateral relations using Hermann's 4 levels of foreign policy change as it has been proven to be effective as it has been applied in multiple research papers by other researchers in the field of foreign policy analysis.

2.3 Rosati, Hagan and Sampson's Change and Continuity Framework.

Rosati, Hagan and Sampson in their book, *Foreign Policy Restructuring: how countries respond to foreign policy change*, outlines 3 main factors that have a major impact in the

foreign policy change in international relations. These factors are, International Orientation of State, Policy Making Processes and Domestic/Political Realignment that occur with change of Leadership. (Rosati, Hagan, Samson, 1994) In Nils Knudsen Vardam's analysis of the Continuity and Change of US foreign policy decision, he uses these 3 factors in his theoretical framework. In his framework, he incorporates both Hermann's and Rosati and Cos' framework, considering both domestic and foreign elements in regards to the 3 major factors and defines the 3 factors as casual dynamics that influence foreign policy change. I will be basing my research heavily on Vardam's derived theoretical framework as he incorporates both of the major theories I intend to apply on my case study. (Vardam, 2017)

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Method of Research

The subject of foreign policy change cannot be quantified in terms of raw statistics and in my research the factors I would be analysing are also qualitative. To aid in the quantifying of extent of foreign policy change, I have decided to use theoretical frameworks to guide my research and categorise change based on select criteria. Firstly in my research, I will be selecting 2 events in the history of Singapore-Indonesia bilateral relations that have proven to be significant in its history. The Ship Naming Usman Harun in 2014 and the Bombing of the Macdonald House 1965(with the hanging of marines in 1973) are the events I have chosen as they share a reasonable amount of similarities. Indonesia plays an aggressive role in both situations demanding for their policies and actions to be accepted by Singapore. They are also connected by the same event with the Ship Naming being a repercussion of the original hanging. The events are significant as they are well known publicly and have both caused major public backlashes in the Singapore community. The difference in outcomes, whether there is change of continuity in the foreign policy, will be the focus of my research and I will be using 3 factors to analyse it.

3.2 Sources

I will be obtaining my sources of research mainly from the National Archives of Singapore, along with other government websites. Most sources from these sites would be first-hand sources such as newspapers, interviews. I will also be using different academic papers written on the issues I will be analysing, as second-hand sources.

Chapter 4: Discussion and Analysis

4.1 Change or Continuity of Foreign Policy(Konfrontasi)

Study	Singapore's Foreign Policy Change during and after events of the Konfrontasi
Level 1(Adj Chg)	1963: Deployed Military assistance to the Malaysia governing body, placing Singapore battalion units under their control (1 and 2 SIR). They were deployed to assist in fending off Indonesian forces abroad in other parts of Malaysia. (Vijayan, 1997)
Level 2 (Prg Chg)	The creation of Local Defence. In the absence of the regular battalions that were responsible for defending Singapore, organisations such as Singapore Volunteer Corps (SVC) and the Vigilante Corps (VC) were tasked with defending the country, (Vijayan, 1997)
Level 3 (Goal/Prob Chg)	The MacDonald House bombing was a turning point in Singapore's enforcement and goal of its foreign policy. The execution of the 2 marines despite the pressure of Indonesian authorities was necessary to assert Singapore's independence. (Chua, 2015)
Level 4 (Intl Ortnn Chg)	It is debatable as Singapore has displayed similar actions of impartiality in carrying out its foreign policy. The Michael Fay incident in 1994 is such an example. (Chew, 2009)

There was drastic change in Singapore's Foreign Policy due to events that happened during the Konfrontasi. Although during events of the Konfrontasi, the main government of

Malaysia had the main authority in deciding and executing policies, the main event of foreign policy change that I will be analysing, which would be the decision of executing the 2 marines, happened after Singapore's independence. This asserted Singapore's basis of foreign policy on the international stage especially when faced with larger countries. (Boey, 2014)

4.2 Change or Continuity of Foreign Policy(2014 Usman Harun)

Study	Singapore's Foreign Policy Change in the Usman Harun Ship incident in 2014
Level 1(Adj Chg)	
Level 2 (Prg Chg)	Defence Minister Ng Eng Hen declared that the warship was not allowed in Singapore waters in February 2014. The name of the ship has reopened wounds of Singaporeans. Singapore Armed Forces would not be executing any military exercises with the ship. (Sebastian, 2014)
Level 3 (Goal/Prob Chg)	
Level 4 (Intl Ortnn Chg)	

In April 2014, the head of Indonesian Forces, General Moeldoko apologised publicly for the incident. He stated that the naming was final and that the Indonesian government had no

intention of stirring negative emotions in Singapore. The matter was discussed with Singapore's Defence Minister, and the saga was resolved diplomatically. The ties between the Singapore and Indonesian armed forces resumed. There was minimal foreign policy change in Usman Harun ship naming incident, the incident was also resolved quickly in 2 months. (Hussain, 2014)

4.3 Factors affecting Change and Continuity

I will be comparing the 2 events and their respective stakeholders(Singapore) based on the 3 outlined factors.

4.3.1 Bilateral Orientation of State

In my research, to analyse the bilateral orientation of Singapore towards Indonesia, I will be looking into relative strengths of states(Singapore to Indonesia) in aspects such as military, economy and strength of the state as a whole. I will also be analysing the political climate of Indonesia during the 2 separate events. Singapore in 1970s, were especially weak in terms of its military. With the only newly born Singapore Armed Forces with limited weaponry and the withdrawal of the British Troops in 1971, it would be extremely disadvantageous for Singapore to spiral into a head-on conflict with Indonesia, with a way more dominant military force. With Singapore a budding nation at that point in time, it would be more beneficial, temporarily, to appease its strong neighbouring nations. As Lee Khoo Choy mentioned in his account of the incident, Singapore could not afford to not understand its largest immediate neighbour. (Koh, 2005) The political climate in the South East Asian region and Indonesia was also violent and uncertain. Sukarno initiated the aggressive expansionist policy, the Konfrontasi and 'crush Malaysia' movement. Suharto also

demonstrated his aggressive nature in the invasion of East Timor in 1975. It was clear that Indonesia was not afraid to engage in full fledged military invasions. (Frost and Cobb,1999)

In the 2014 parliament discussion of the Usman Harun ship naming, the ‘abang-adik’ term in referring to the Singapore-Indonesia bilateral relationship was discussed. The Big Brother-Little Brother description of Indonesia and Singapore respectively has been used to compare the different sizes of the countries and emphasize the strength of Indonesia as compared to Singapore. However, that may no longer be necessarily the case. Singapore in 2014 ranked 2nd worldwide in the Global Information Technology Report, that identifies countries generating the greatest economic impact in investments in information and communications technologies. Singapore also ranked 3rd out 187 countries in its GDP (PPP) per capita. The rapid advancements in Singapore’s economy strengthen its negotiating ability in its bilateral relationships with Indonesia as the countries stand on level playing field. This would allow for fair diplomatic negotiations to take place with Singapore’s national interest not being compromised by the supposed ‘abang-adik’ relationship with Indonesia.

4.3.2 Policy Making Processes

In comparing the effect policymaking processes had on the degree of change in Singapore’s foreign policy, I will be looking at both the foreign policy principles of Singapore at that period in time as well as important stakeholders in the governmental body that supported or conflicted with the policies proposed.

S Rajaratnam, foreign affairs minister of Singapore in the time of independence and nation building, outlined the key principles of Singapore’s Foreign Policy. “For one thing we want peace simply because we have not the capacity to make war on anybody. We are surrounded

by bigger and more powerful neighbours... We want to live in peace with all our neighbours simply because we have a great deal to lose by being at war with them” Singapore adopts an approach of ‘non -alignment’ in its enactment of foreign policy. However there is need for ‘identification of the state’ and not evading on taking a stand on issues that the country finds vital. The main emphasis of these foreign policy principles was to ensure the security of Singapore, especially considering that it was a budding nation.(Rajaratnam, 1965)

Comparing the 1965 Singapore to the 2014 Singapore, vast growth of Singapore’s economy and military has been observed. The Scientific American Biotechnology rankings has Singapore 2nd overall in economy with a growing military in the Singapore Armed Forces, that started off as a single battalion unit in the, 1960s. Singapore has evolved into a stronger state and a new set of foreign policy principles. Although core principles such as defending national sovereignty, protecting the people and advancing our economy remain the same, the circumstances and priorities that Singapore has results in the change of enactment of foreign policy. The previous need to assert and clearly define Singapore’s international policy is no longer there as Singapore has developed into an international presence through its vast expansion in its economy and participation in international recognized events and organisations, ASEAN and United Nations. There is also a greater emphasis on maintaining the positive bilateral relations with a close neighbour Indonesia, especially considering the 50 years of diplomatic relations that have been built, to ensure economic progress as partners. (Shanmugan, 2014)

Next I will be looking at important stakeholders in the Singapore governmental bodies that played significant roles in resolving the disputes between Singapore and Indonesia. I will be looking into the different roles played by the following 2 individuals: foreign ambassador to

Indonesia during the Konfrontasi Saga, Lee Khoo Choy as well as Defence Minister, Ng Eng Hen.

Lee Khoo Choy was the foreign ambassador to Indonesia during the post-Konfrontasi period. Lee was tasked with repairing broken ties between the 2 countries, particularly after events of the execution of the marines. As the foreign ambassador to Indonesia in the 1970s, Lee had a difficult task in appeasing the angered Indonesian community and Indonesian leaders who had 'lost face' after their appeals to release the marines had been rejected. Ultimately Lee was able to arrange a meeting between Lee Kuan Yew and President Suharto. Using of his profound knowledge of Indonesian culture, he urged Lee Kuan Yew to visit the graves of the marines and scatter flowers. Lee Khoo Choy was able to resolve the issue by regaining the pride lost by Indonesians. He allowed the bilateral relations to advance immediately after the entire incident had been resolved, with Singapore's foreign policy principles not being betrayed. As the ambassador Lee facilitated the foreign policy change and played a major role in repairing the relations between countries.(Koh, 2005)

Ng Eng Hen expressed his concerns of the Ship Naming in parliament on February 2014. Singapore would not allow the military ship Usman Harun to call at its ports and naval bases. 'It would not be possible for the SAF, as protectors of this nation, to sail alongside or exercise with this ship.' The consequences to bilateral relations between Singapore and Indonesia will be severe, setting back many decades of relationship building in diplomatic ties between the nations. There must be mutual respect and trust for strong defence ties to be forged. The actions of Ng were reciprocated by his Indonesian counterparts. The Indonesia Armed Forces, commander in chief, General Moeldoko issued a public statement and apologised that the ship naming was final. He stated that there was no ill intention to stir

negative emotions among the Singaporean community. Ng's role as a defence minister deferred from Lee's as an ambassador. Ng stood firm expressing clearly Singapore's stand on the situation, without any miscommunication and confusion occurring between the leaders of both countries. This allowed for the matter to be resolved quickly and diplomatically after Indonesia issued the apology and clarified the incident. (Chow, 2014)

Both the foreign policy principles and the different stakeholders in the governmental body of Singapore significantly influenced the execution and change of foreign policy. Comparing the 2 events, the different circumstances resulted in the Singapore government employing different forms of actions and stands in its enactment of its policies. Singapore's different approach to its foreign policy, one that more heavily prioritises the economic and business ties between Singapore and Indonesia, would result in a diplomatic approach that would prefer the conflict to be resolved as soon as possible. The stakeholders as individuals also influence the extent of foreign policy change based on their actions, however, I believe that their influence is minimal compared to the single leader with the highest authority.

4.3.3 Individual Leader

The Individual Leader, in my research, refers to the highest ranking individual of utmost power. As such, I will be analysing Lee Kuan Yew, the prime minister of Singapore during the execution of marines in 1972 as well as Lee Hsien Loong, prime minister of Singapore in 2014. Leaders play important roles in international relations and foreign policy making as they hold the greatest ability to alter the foreign policy direction and greatest overall influence of the state. Comparing Leaders to the respective stakeholders in the governmental body mentioned in 4.3.2, the leaders outweigh the strength of supporting ministers and ambassadors due to their position. (Nunswantaro, 2010) In Grove's Political Leadership in

Foreign Policy 2007, the leader was described as the most important actor in times of crisis according to the 'Great Man' approach to political psychology tradition. The 'Great Man' approach emphasises on the charisma, personality and historical and political background of leaders. These traits of leaders allow them to create the greatest impact on foreign policy change as they can garner the greatest respect and trust of the people and the government. (Grove, 2007)

Lee Kuan Yew was a charismatic and firm leader. He, through events like the caning of American Teenager Michael Fay in 1994 and strong aggression towards those that opposed his government, displayed his assertive nature as the main leader of Singapore. He was a charismatic and emotional speaker that rallied the people and had always been seen as the great leader of Singapore by both the people and fellow ministers. (Sigdya, 2018) Lee strongly emphasised on his views on Singapore's foreign policy and the direction he believes it should take. Lee had an active interest in external affairs even during semi-autonomous rule in Britain and subsequently Malaysia. Lee strived for identification of Singapore with non-alignment and anti-colonialist ideology of Afro-Asian countries. He played a strong role in standing firm against Indonesia's appeal to release the marines and ultimately rectified the relations between the countries when he visited Indonesia in 1973 and officially resolved the tense relations. Indonesia viewed the visit of Lee Kuan Yew as an action of respect and 'face' more so than Lee Khoon Choy. (Chan, 1969)

Lee Hsien Loong the current Prime Minister and then Prime Minister of Singapore in 2014 has been described to be living in Lee Kuan Yew's shadow, a political and intellectual giant. He lacks the strong and imposing image of his father and with acting as a Prime Minister of Singapore at times where the nation has already been steadily advancing in all aspects such as economy, Lee Hsien Loong appears as a softer leader who has tried in all situations to resolve

matters diplomatically. He has contributed significantly in the strengthening of ties with traditional allies Singapore, such as the United States and nations in ASEAN, along with rising powers of Russia and China. Lee has affirmed his contributions in extrospective areas and his style of handling conflicts is clearly displayed in the Usman Harun Ship naming in 2014. The matter was solved swiftly and military relations reconciled as soon as possible. (Krishnadas, 2014)

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In the beginning of my research, in my literature review, I researched on the concept of Foreign Policy and its change. Hermann's 4 Levels of Foreign Policy Change was adopted as a 'lens' and a way to measure degree of foreign policy change which was used to determine the Change or Continuity in Foreign Policies. After analysing the 3 factors proposed by Rosati, Hagan and Sampson, various interpretations have been reached regarding the significance of the various factors. It is safe to conclude that all 3 factors all directly influence the extent of foreign policy change. International/ Bilateral orientations of states would influence decision making of leaders. Leaders act differently based on political climate and would choose the best decision. As such, bilateral orientation can be seen as a factor that does not have direct influence as the ultimate decision lies in the hands of policy makers. This is the case for the hanging on marines in 1968, where the importance of policymaking processes, the assertion of Singapore internationally, outweighed the tense relations of the countries at the time and resulted in drastic foreign policy changes. Policymaking Processes and the individual Leader involve the decision making in international affairs, directly pivoting the direction of foreign policies. As can be seen when comparing the 2 events where greater change in foreign policy was observed in the hanging of marines incident and greater continuity of foreign policy was observed in the 2014 ship naming, the stark contrast in leadership styles and their greater weight in decision making fleshes out. The styles of the leaders and their political history explain how the foreign policies were decided and enacted upon, in the end offering varying results.

Thus, the individual leaders of the countries play the greatest role and is the most significant factor in deciding the degree of change and continuity in foreign policy.

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