Fall 2006

International Relations in Southeast Asia

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Introduction

This course is designed to introduce students at the graduate level to the international relations system of Southeast Asia and the foreign policies of the Southeast Asian states. Throughout the course three levels of interaction will be examined: the Southeast Asian states as autonomous actors, the regionalization of Southeast Asian foreign policies, and the states’ and region’s relations in the IR environment external to Southeast Asia. A major focus of the examination of the issues and dynamics of Southeast Asia’s international relations will be the impetus toward and impediments to the development of regionalism. A subtheme will be analysis of conflict and conflict resolution within the regional international relations environment.

Required Text


Supplemental Texts

Additional readings are listed under the appropriate class meeting date and subject heading. The materials are available online through Academic Search or will be supplied by the instructor or placed on reserve in Walsh Library. Instructor will discuss required and optional sources.

Useful web sites:

www.state.gov has a search engine for U.S. government sources. The Department of State Asia and Pacific Bureau is www.state.gov/p/eap.

For ASEAN and related structures, the home page is www.asean.org.id. The ASEAN site map will guide you to ASEAN, ARF, etc. and also links to the official www sites of the member governments. Go to www.aseansec.org for links to member countries’ foreign ministries.
The home page for the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Pacific Forum is www.csis.org/pacfor. It contains many useful policy and security sources, especially the PacNet Newsletter and the e-journal Comparative Connections.

Other good sources for current events and reports:
BBC News
ABC-Asia web site
VoA regional service
Yahoo Asia News
www.asiasource.net
asia today

English-language newspapers such as the Bangkok Post and The Nation, and the Jakarta Post can be accessed by going to Paperboy and checking by country.

Course Requirements

The course is taught as an elective graduate seminar. No prior knowledge of the Southeast Asian region is expected. The course involves reading a significant bibliography, full class participation, two short projects and a major research paper.

Projects

Sept. 13—each student will present a brief (no more than 5 minutes) country update focusing on the immediate issues in the international relations of an individual Southeast Asian country. A bibliography of at least 3 sources will be provided to the instructor.

Oct. 18—each student will give a 10-minute briefing on a non-traditional security issue. A 2-page briefing paper and bibliography of at least 3 sources will be provided to the instructor.

Research Paper

A research paper of 20-25 pages in length, plus bibliography, is a major component of this course. Paper topics will be decided in consultation with the instructor and are expected to deal with specific conflict situations, modes of conflict resolution, and significance for the international relations environment of the region.

Timetable:
Sept. 20—final decision on paper topic
Oct. 11—detailed outline due
Nov. 8—rough draft due
Dec. 6—10-15 minute presentation of research findings to seminar and updated draft to instructor
Dec. 13—final draft due
Style. Bibliography and footnotes or endnotes in both the projects and research paper must follow either Style A or Style B as given in Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6th ed. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996), or the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association. Proper bibliographic usage will be counted in the grading, as will proofreading for spelling and grammatical errors. Written work must be submitted in hard copy, double-spaced with one-inch margins in 12-point type.

Class Participation

Attendance at every class is expected. Any student who is too ill to attend should notify the instructor in advance. There will be no class on Oct. 25 since the instructor will be attending the Thailand Institute for Strategic and International Studies 25th anniversary conference in Bangkok.

All students are expected to bring for class discussion each week at least one item concerning an important Southeast Asian current event. Students are expected to be fully prepared to discuss the concepts and substance of the assigned material at each class session.

Grading

Grading standards are set in the Graduate Catalogue. For this course, letter grades translate numerically as follows:

- A 94-99
- A- 90-93
- B+ 87-89
- B 83-86
- B- 80-82
- C+ 77-79
- C 72-76
- F below 72

Grading distribution:

- Class participation 20%
- Project 1 10%
- Project 2 20%
- Research paper 50%

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is an extremely serious offense and will be dealt with accordingly. At the first class meeting the instructor will review plagiarism and provide written examples. The School of Diplomacy written policy has been provided to all students and is quoted in part here:
"All forms of dishonesty, whether by act or omission including, but not limited to, cheating, plagiarism and knowingly furnishing false information to the university are prohibited. Intentional disruption or obstruction of teaching, research or administrative proceedings is prohibited. University sanctions may extend to suspension and dismissal."

**COURSE CALENDAR AND ASSIGNMENTS**

1. **September 6—Introduction**  
   Explanation of syllabus  
   Discussion of rationale for studying Southeast Asia, levels of analysis, theoretical Argument  
   Reading: Weatherbee, Ch. 1; Acharya, *The Quest for Identity*, Introduction

2. **September 13—Actors in Southeast Asia**  
   The state as primary actor  
   Background discussion and updates on immediate issues in international relations of the 11 states in Southeast Asia  
   Student briefings  
   Reading: Weatherbee, Ch.2 (pp.24-41); chapters on individual Southeast Asian states in either Neher or Funston (Walsh reserve); Cotton, "The Emergence of an Independent East Timor," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (CSA)22, no. 1 (April 2000); country articles in *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2006 (Walsh reserve)

3. **September 20—Southeast Asia and the International Environment**  
   Extra-regional state actors and non-state actors  
   Legacies of precolonial and colonial Southeast Asia  
   The Cold War and post-Cold War eras  
   Reading: Weatherbee, Ch. 2 (pp. 41-56) and Ch. 3; McCloud, Ch. 6, 7 and 8 (Walsh reserve); Wurfel and Burton, Ch.1, 6-11 (Walsh reserve); abridged articles from *The Second ASEAN Reader* (provided by instructor); *Comparative Connections* articles; Acharya, *The Quest for Identity*, Ch. 1 and 2 (Walsh reserve); Kuik, "Multilateralism in China's ASEAN Policy," *CSA* 27, no. 1 (April 2005); Roy, "Southeast Asia and China: Balancing or Bandwagoning?" *CSA* 27, no. 2 (August 2005); Lam, "Japan's Human Security Role in Southeast Asia," *CSA* 28, no. 1 (April 2006) (provided by instructor); Hughes, "Nationalism and multilateralism in Chinese foreign policy: implications for Southeast Asia," *Pacific Review* 18, no. 1 (March 2005); Tsutomu Kikuchi, "Japan in an Insecure East Asia: Redefining Its Role in East Asia," *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2006 (Walsh Reserve); Lym, "Australia: Contributing to Regional Equilibrium," *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2005; Chung, "Southeast Asia-China Relations: Dialectics of 'Hedging' and 'Counter-Hedging,'" *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2004; Tow,
4. September 27—Regionalism in Southeast Asia
Theoretical approaches to concept of regionalism
Impetus towards and impediments to regionalism
Development of ASEAN and impact of ASEAN expansion
Significance of wider regional frameworks
Southeast Asian subregionalism

Reading: Weatherbee, Ch. 4; Weatherbee, “ASEAN’s Identity Crisis,” forthcoming book chapter (distributed by instructor); Acharya, The Quest for Identity, Ch. 3 (Walsh reserve); Acharya, Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia, Introduction, Ch. 1, 2 and 4 (Walsh reserve); Shaun Narine, Explaining ASEAN, Ch. 1, 2, 4 and 5 (provided by instructor); Emmers, Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF, Ch. 3 (Walsh reserve); seminal ASEAN documents at ASEAN home page www.asean.org.id; Acharya, “Do norms and identity matter? Community and power in Southeast Asia’s regional order,” Pacific Review 18, no. 1 (March 2005); Emmers, “The Indochinese enlargement of ASEAN: security expectations and outcomes,” Australian Journal of International Affairs 59, no. 1 (March 2005); Than and Than, “ASEAN Enlargement and Myanmar,” The 2nd ASEAN Reader (provided by instructor); McKay, “APEC: Successes, Weaknesses, and Future Prospects,” Southeast Asian Affairs 2002; Weatherbee, “Indonesian Foreign Policy: A Wounded Phoenix,” Southeast Asian Affairs 2005; Vathana Pholsena, “Laos in 2004; Towards Subregional Integration: 10 Years On,” Southeast Asian Affairs 2005; Ferguson, “ASEAN Concord II,” CSA 26, no. 3 (December 2004); Smith, “ASEAN’s Ninth Summit,” CSA 26, no. 3 (December 2004); Katsumata, “Why is ASEAN Diplomacy Changing? From ‘Non-interference’ to ‘Open and Frank Discussions,’” Asian Survey 44, no. 2 (March/April 2004); Hund, “ASEAN Plus Three: towards a new age of pan-Asian regionalism? A skeptic’s appraisal,” Pacific Review 16, no. 3 (September 2003); Dent, “The Asia-Europe Meeting and Inter-Regionalism,” Asian Survey 44, no. 2 (March/April 2004)

5. October 4—Political Economy of Southeast Asia
Pattern of economic regionalism
International economic environment
ASEAN response
ASEAN and external arrangements

Reading: Weatherbee, Ch. 7; Weatherbee, “Strategic Dimensions of Economic Interdependence in Southeast Asia,” forthcoming book chapter (distributed by instructor); Narine, Explaining ASEAN, Ch. 6 and 7 (distributed by instructor); Lee, Quah and Foo, “Southeast Asian Economies: A Year of Exogenous Shocks,” Southeast Asian Affairs 2006 (Walsh reserve); Bhaskaran, “The Economic Impact of China and India on Southeast Asia,” Southeast Asian Affairs 2005; Cai, “The ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement and East Asian Regional Grouping,” CSA 25, no. 3 (December 2003); Wong and Chan, “China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement: Shaping Future Economic Relations,” Asian Survey 43, no. 3 (May/June 2003); Daquila and Le, “Singapore and ASEAN in the Global Economy: The Case of Free Trade Agreements,” Asian Survey 43, no. 3 (May/June 2003); Pang, “The Financial Crisis of 1997-98 and the End of the Asian Developmental State,” CSA 22, no. 3 (December 2000); Narine, Explaining ASEAN, Ch. 6 and 7 (provided by instructor); De Castro, “Politics in Command: The case of the US Proposal for an FTA with the Philippines,” CSA 27, no. 3 (December 2005); Yoshimatsu, “Collective Action Problems and Regional Integration in ASEAN,” CSA 28, no. 1 (April 2006) (provided by instructor); Tay, “ASEAN and East Asia: A New Regionalism?” in Tay, Estanislao and Soesastro, eds, Reinventing ASEAN (provided by instructor)

6. October 11—Security, Conflict and Conflict Resolution
Security and conflict defined
Traditional and non-traditional security issues
Levels of analysis
Categories of conflict resolution
Regional and international ramifications
Is ASEAN a ‘Security Community’?

Reading: Weatherbee, Ch. 5; Emmers, Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF, Ch. 1 (pp. 30-39) and Ch. 5 (Walsh reserve); Acharya, Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia, Ch.5, 6 and Conclusion; Sharpe, “An ASEAN way to security cooperation in Southeast Asia?” Pacific Review 16, no. 2 (June 2003); Nischalke, “Does ASEAN measure up? Post-Cold War diplomacy and the idea of regional community,” Pacific Review 15, no. 1 (March 2002); Askandar, “A Regional Perspective of UN Peace Operations in Southeast Asia,” International Peacekeeping 12, no. 1 (Spring 2005); Aspinall and Berger, “The break-up of Indonesia? Nationalisms after decolonisation and the limits of the nation-state in post-cold war Southeast Asia,” Third World Quarterly 22, no. 6 (2001); Haacke, “The concept of flexible engagement and the practice of enhanced interaction: intramural challenges to the ‘ASEAN way,”’ Pacific Review 12, no. 4 (December 1999); Heller, “The

7. October 18—Non-traditional Security Issues
Seminar reports on issues
Impediment or impetus toward regionalism?
Cooperation mechanisms
Impact on external environment

Reading: Weatherbee, Ch. 6 (pp.172-86), 8 and 9; Simon, ed., The Many Faces of Asian Security, Ch. 6 (Weatherbee, "Environment, Development, and Security in Southeast Asia") and Ch. 7 (Neher, "Democracy, Human Rights, and Security in Asia") (Walsh reserve); Wurfel and Burton, eds., Ch. 5 (Robinson, "Human Rights in Southeast Asia: Rhetoric and Reality") and Ch. 4 (Clad and Sy, "The Emergence of Ecological Issues in Southeast Asia") (Walsh reserve); Tan and Boutin, eds., Non- Traditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia, Ch. 14 (Elliott, "Regional Environmental Security: Pursuing a Non-Traditional Approach"), Ch. 15 (Goh, "The Hydro-Politics of the Mekong River Basin: Regional Cooperation and Environmental Security"), Ch. 16 (Ganesan, "Illegal Fishing and Illegal Migration in Thailand’s Bilateral Relationships with Malaysia and Myanmar") (distributed by instructor); Mohamad, "Towards a Human Rights Regime in Southeast Asia,” CSA 24, no. 2 (August 2002); Osborne, "The Strategic Significance of the Mekong,” CSA 22, no. 3 (December 2000); Liebman, "Trickle-down Hegemony? China’s ‘Peaceful Rise’ and Dam Building on the Mekong,” CSA 27, no. 2 (August 2005)
8. October 25—No Class  
Term paper research week

9. November 1—Three Indochina Conflicts  
First Indochina war—French  
Second Indochina war—American  
Third Indochina war—Vietnam/Cambodia  
Level of analysis issue  
Modes of conflict resolution  
Implications for regionalism and international relations  
Reading: Hess, Vietnam and the United States: Origins and Legacy of War, pp. 1-55 and Ch. 7 (provided by instructor); Kattenburg, The Vietnam Trauma in American Foreign Policy, 1945-75, Ch. 1 and 2 (provided by instructor); Morley and Nishihara, eds., Vietnam Joins the World (Ch. 6, Tomoda, “Detaching from Cambodia,” Ch. 8, Soeya, “Vietnam in Japan’s Regional Policy,” and Ch. 9, Brown, “U.S.-Vietnam Normalization—Past, Present, Future”) (provided by instructor); Acharya, Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia, Ch. 4 (Walsh reserve); Emmers, Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF, Ch. 4 (Walsh reserve); Narine, Explaining ASEAN, Ch. 3 (provided by instructor)

10. November 8—Maritime Conflict  
International law background  
South China Sea issues  
Bilateral boundary and resource issues  
Conflict settlement mechanisms  
The role of the ARF  
11. November 15—Terrorism

Definitions

Root causes

Transnational or local?

Case studies

Reading: Weatherbee, Ch. 6 (pp.156-72); Suzaina Kadir, “Mapping Muslim politics in Southeast Asia after September 11,” Pacific Review 17, no. 2 (June 2004); Bilveer Singh, “The challenge of militant Islam and terrorism in Indonesia,” Australian Journal of International Affairs 58, no. 1 (March 2004); Joseph Chinyong Liow, “The Mahatir administration’s war against Islamic militancy: operational and ideological challenges,” Australian Journal of International Affairs 58, no. 2 (June 2004); Sidney Jones, “The changing nature of Jemaah Islamiyah,” Australian Journal of International Affairs 59, no. 2 (June 2005); Abuza, Militant Islam in Southeast Asia, Ch. 2 and 5 (distributed by instructor); Abuza, ”Tentacles of Terror: Al Qaeda’s Southeast Asian Network,” CSA 24, no. 3 (December 2002); Abuza, “Funding Terrorism in Southeast Asia,” CSA 25, no. 2 (August 2003); Smith, ed., Terrorism and Violence in Southeast Asia, Ch. 2 (Chalk, “Militant Islamic Extremism in Southeast Asia”), Ch. 5 (Thayer, “Al-Qaeda and Political Terrorism in Southeast Asia”), Ch. 7 (Rodell, “The Philippines and the Challenge of International Terrorism”) (distributed by instructor); Croissant, “Unrest in South Thailand: Contours, Causes and Consequences Since 2001,” CSA 27, no. 1 (April 2005); Vatikiotis, “Resolving Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia: Domestic Challenges and Regional Perspectives,” CSA 28, no. 1 (April 2006) (provided by instructor); Harish, “Ethnic or Religious Cleavage? Investigating the Nature of the Conflict in Southern Thailand,” CSA 28, no. 1 (April 2006) (provided by instructor); Ogilvie-White, “Non-proliferation and Counter-terrorism Cooperation in Southeast Asia: Meeting Global Obligations through Regional Security Architectures?” CSA 28, no. 1 (April 2006) (provided by instructor); Collier, “Terrorism: Evolving Regional Alliances and State Failure in Mindanao,” Southeast Asian Affairs 2006 (Walsh reserve)
12. **November 29—Myanmar (Burma)**
Conflict avoidance and intra-state conflict
Minority issues
Efficacy of sanctions
Effect on future of ASEAN
International ramifications


13. **December 6—Presentation of Student Research Papers**

14. **December 13—Conclusions and Wrapup**

Reading: Weatherbee, Ch. 10; Soesastro, “ASEAN in 2030: The Long View,” in Tay, Estanislao and Soesastro, eds. Reinventing ASEAN (provided by instructor)