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School of Diplomacy and International
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Fall 2021

DIPL 6611 International Relations of Southeast Asia

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Seton Hall University

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

**DIPL 6611
FALL 2021**

Professor: Ann Marie Murphy

Wed. 2-4

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

This class examines the international politics of Southeast Asia from a systems perspective. As secondary states geographically located in an area of great power interest, Southeast Asian countries have traditionally operated in an international system in which the "rules of the game" were largely written by great powers. These rules, in turn, create the context within which Southeast Asian states operate. This course explores how and why Southeast Asia evolved from a region of Western colonies to Cold War dominoes and later to one of economic dynamism. It then examines the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, changes in the balance of power between the United States, China and Japan, and the rise of transnational challenges such as terrorism, environmental challenge and pandemic disease. The course attempts to determine how these contemporary events affect the ability of Southeast Asian countries to pursue key political, economic, and security interests, both individually and collectively through regional institutions such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the ASEAN Regional Forum, and the East Asian Summit.

REQUIREMENTS

All students are expected to do the required reading, answer the discussion board questions by 11:59 the day before class, and come to class prepared to participate in class discussions.

Home to eleven very different states, Southeast Asia is one of the world's most diverse regions. Southeast Asian states vary in size, regime type, political history, economic development, religion and ethnicity. Southeast Asia is also a microcosm for many of the international issues and challenges facing the global community: managing great power transitions; crafting regional institutions; mediating maritime disputes and grappling with transnational issues such as terrorism, climate change and pandemic disease. For students unfamiliar with the region and the broader Asia-Pacific, getting up to speed on both the individual countries as well as the diverse issue areas can be challenging. Therefore, each student should pick at least two key Southeast Asian countries to explore throughout the course of the semester and develop expertise on them. One of the countries students choose must be a party to the South China Sea Conflict because all students will make a presentation on some aspect of the South China Sea conflict during class 9. This presentation will account for 5% of your final grade.

All students must submit an original research or policy paper of approximately 20 pages. Papers may focus on the foreign policy of a Southeast Asian country, the foreign policy of an outside power toward Southeast Asia, a transnational issue that impacts Southeast Asia or a more specific Southeast Asian topic. Topics should be chosen after consultation with the instructor and discussions should begin early in the semester. The paper is due December 13th. During the class meetings on December 1st and December 8th, students will present their research findings to the class. The presentation and final paper

will account for 7.5% and 40%% of the final grade respectively. Class attendance and participation will account for 7.5% of your final grade. The discussion board posts will account for 40% of your final grade.

Grading Scale

A>=94	A-=90 B+=87	B>=84	B-=80	C+=77
C>=74	C-=70 D+=67	D>=64	D-=60 F<=59	

Coronavirus Safety:

As of right now, our mask mandate is mandatory for indoors (unless you're alone or eating) and in effect until further notice. The language was clear last year: No mask, no class. Updates can be found here: <https://www.shu.edu/health-intervention-communication/>.

CAPS:

As part of our commitment to the health and well-being of all students, Seton Hall University's Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) offers initial assessments, counseling, crisis intervention, consultation, and referral services to the SHU community. The CAPS office is located on the second floor of Mooney Hall, room 27. Appointments can be made in-person or by calling 973-761-9500 during regular business hours, Monday-Friday, 8:45 a.m. - 4:45 p.m. In case of a psychological emergency, call CAPS (973-761-9500) at any time to speak to a crisis counselor. For more information, please visit: <https://www.shu.edu/counseling-psychologicalservices/index.cfm>

Computer Use Policy

The use of computers for discrete notetaking is permissible in class. The use of computers for other purposes such as checking e-mail or surfing the internet is not permissible. Inappropriate computer use is not only disruptive to fellow students who are attempting to concentrate on class discussion, but it also tends to lead to lower grades for students engaged in non-class activity. Students who choose not to abide by this policy will be asked to leave class.

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. A guide to avoiding plagiarism is available in the information section of the class blackboard site. See University and School standards for academic conduct here:

<<https://www.shu.edu/student-life/upload/Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf>>

<<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>>

Students with Disabilities

It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the

New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.

Policy on Incompletes

Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor *before* the date of the final paper submission. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an "FI" (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.

Citation Style

The School of Diplomacy has adopted the Chicago citation style for all class. Papers should utilize one of the *Chicago Manual of Style* citation formats: Author-Date or Notes and Bibliography. The guidelines for these formats are on the course Blackboard site in the

Sept. 1 Class 1: What is Southeast Asia and what is an international system?

Required:

Robert Jervis, "Systems Theories and Diplomatic History" in Paul Gordon Lauren, ed., *Diplomacy: New Approaches to History, Theory and Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1979) pp. 212-239.

Donald Weatherbee, *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle for Autonomy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), Chapters 1 & 2.

Recommended:

Author(s): Donald K. Emmerson, "Southeast Asia": What's in a Name?" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (March., 1984), pp. 1-21.

Sept. 8 Class 2: The Cold War Comes to Southeast Asia

Required:

Andrew Rotter, *The Path to Vietnam* (Cornell University Press, 1987). Available as an ebook through Walsh library electronic reserves.

Recommended:

William S Borden, *The Pacific Alliance: United States Foreign Economic Policy and Japanese Trade Recovery, 1947-1955* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

Key Questions: What role did Southeast Asia occupy in Western colonial policy? What impact did the Japanese interregnum have on Southeast Asia? What was American policy toward Southeast Asia in the immediate postwar period? How did the Cold War come to Southeast Asia and what role did Southeast Asia occupy within it? How was Southeast Asia connected to broader American strategic goals? Once the Cold War system began, what rules governed the relations between Southeast Asian countries and well as their relations with the superpowers?

Sept. 15 Class 3: The Height of the Cold War in Southeast Asia: The Second and Third Indo-China Wars & ASEAN's Response

Required:

Donald Weatherbee, *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle For Autonomy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), chapter 3, pp. 63-90, "The Cold War in Southeast Asia."

Read this first as a broad overview.

D. R. Sar Desai, *Vietnam: Past and Present*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998) pp. 65-91. Very general history of the Second Vietnam War.

M. Rajendran, *ASEAN's Shift to Collective Action (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia 1985)* Chapter 3 on the Refugee Crisis, p.88-130. A discussion of the Indochinese refugee crisis, and how that led ASEAN, hitherto a consultative diplomatic organization into one of collective action to solve this regional problem.

Amitav Acharya, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2000) read "ASEAN and the Cambodian Conflict: pp.80-98. ASEAN's role in helping to broker the Paris Peace Accords that ended the Cambodian standoff.

Recommended:

For a controversial assessment of the lessons of Vietnam for U.S. foreign policy writ large by the Defense Secretary

Robert McNamara, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam* (New York: Random House, 1995) pp. 2-16.

On the Third Indochina War: Nayan Chanda, *Brother Enemy*, Nayan Chanda, *Brother Enemy* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1986). Chapters 3, 5, 7, 9, pp.75-107, 137-160, 192-230. 263-293

Key Questions: What were key obstacles to the success of the American war effort in Vietnam? What was the logic of the U.S. bombings of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia? Did the bombings accomplish their

objectives? Why did some states believe U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia was in their interests while others did not? Was conflict between the ASEAN states and Vietnam inevitable after 1975? Why did Vietnam invade Cambodia? Why did ASEAN react so strongly to Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia? Was this conflict driven by external Cold War dynamics or by factors indigenous to Southeast Asia? How did the interests of the U.S., China, and the Soviet Union toward the Cambodian crisis differ from their interests toward the Vietnam War? Why does Rajendran argue that the Indochinese refugee crisis produced a shift toward collective action in ASEAN?

Sept. 22 Class 4: ASEAN Regionalism, Conflicts and Conflict Resolution in Southeast Asia

Required:

Donald Weatherbee, *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle For Autonomy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014). Chapters 4&5, pp, 91-125; and 122-163.

Amitav Acharya, The Myth of ASEAN Centrality, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2017, pp. 273-279.

Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounders on the Rohingya Crisis, January 20, 2020.

"ASEAN Must do More to Help the Rohingya" Kasit Piromya, *The Diplomat*, March 2020.

"ASEAN: Overhaul Policy Toward the Rohingya" Human Rights Watch, June 26, 2020.

Amy Freedman and Ann Marie Murphy, *Non-Traditional Security Challenges in Southeast Asia: the Transnational Dimension* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2018) pp. 181-188.

Reading on the February 1, 2021 Myanmar Coup and its challenges for ASEAN

Key Questions:

What the norms and principles of ASEAN Regionalism? To what extent do these norms and ASEAN's institutional structure limit its effectiveness? What is the relationship between ASEAN as a conflict management tool for intra-ASEAN conflicts, and ASEAN's relations with outside actors? What is meant by ASEAN centrality? To what extent has ASEAN been able to respond to the Rohingya genocide and 2021 military coup? How do changes in the global refugee regime influence the willingness of Southeast Asian countries to accept Rohingya?

Sept. 29 Class 5: SEA Economies in the 21st Century

Required: Weatherbee, Chapter 8, Southeast Asia in the Regional and Global Economies, pp. 223-54.

T.J Pempel, *The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), chapter 3, "Regional Ups, and Regional Downs"

On the Regional Efforts to Promote Trade, Investment and Integration"

William Wilson, Beating the Middle Income Trap, Heritage Foundation, August 2014.

- a. Good 15 page on what the Middle Income Trap is, and how countries can try to beat it, focusing on V, M, I and P.

Southeast Asia at the Crossroad: Three Paths to Prosperity, McKinsey Global Institute, November 2014. Long, but read the Executive Summary p. 1-11, this is a more commercial view of the Middle Income Trap and ways to overcome it.

Impact of Trump/Biden Tariffs and supply chain diversification, TBD

Is Sino-American Economic and Technical Competition Forcing the Countries of SEA to Decouple? TBD

Impact of COVID-19 on Economic Development in Southeast Asia, TBD

Key Questions:

What policies did Southeast Asian Countries adopt to become the most economically successful region of the developing world? Some observers used to say that Southeast Asia's economic success was made in Japan, and now in China. To what extent were regional dynamics important to the economic development of many Southeast Asian states? What is the middle-income trap and to what extent are Southeast Asian countries poised to overcome it? What challenges and opportunities has the U.S.-trade war and COVID-19 created for Southeast Asian countries?

Oct 6 Class 6: Contemporary Chinese Relations with Southeast Asia

Murray Hiebert, *Under Beijing's Shadow: Southeast Asia and the Rise of China* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020). Read the Introduction and Epilogue.

China's BRI TBD

Ann Marie Murphy, "China's Grand Strategy toward Southeast Asia: Assess the Response and Efficacy" in David Denoon, editor, *China's Grand Strategy: A Roadmap to Global Power*, pp. 121-145.

Sebastian Strango, *In the Dragon's Shadow: Southeast Asia in the 20th Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press: 2020).

Individual chapters on each Southeast Asian country in Hiebert and/or Strango.

Key Questions: How has the rise of China, decline of Japan and shifts in U.S. policy toward Southeast Asia altered the strategic environment facing Southeast Asian states? What are key Chinese interests in Southeast Asia? Do Southeast Asian states welcome these shifts in great power interest and attention to the region? What are the very diverse ways in which Southeast Asian states are responding to China's rise?

Oct. 13 Class 7: Contemporary U.S. -Relations with Southeast Asia

Required:

Joseph Liow, *Ambivalent Engagement: The United States and Regional Security after the Cold War* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2017)

Jonathan Stromseth, "Don't Make US Choose: Southeast Asia in the Throes of US-China Rivalry" Brookings Institution, October 2019.

Draft Chapters in Murphy, *Southeast Asia Views America: Perceptions, Policies and Prospects*

Key Questions:

What factors drove the Obama administration to promulgate the U.S. pivot to Asia? What were the key components of the pivot or rebalance and what role did Southeast Asia have within it? How does the Trump administration's Indo-Pacific policy differ from the rebalance? How have Southeast Asian states responded to the pivot and why?

Oct. 20 Class 8: Individual Meetings and Background Research for Final Paper

Oct. 27 Class 9: The South China Sea Conflict: Actors, Issues and Interests

Donald Weatherbee, *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle For Autonomy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014). Chapter 6.

For an excellent analysis of scenarios for the South China Sea issues in 2021, Ian Storey's September 8, 2020 opinion piece in the SCMP

<https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/opinion/article/3100563/us-china-tensions-rise-what-outlook-south-china-sea-dispute-2020>

China's interests and policy

The US interests and policy: Pompeo's Speech and Stillwell's discussion of it at CSIS

Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin's Fullerton Lecture, Singapore 2021

Key Questions:

What are the main interests of key actors such as China, the United States, Japan, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and ASEAN in the South China Sea dispute? What are the legal, political, and military changes over the past few years? What are grey zones operations? What the obstacles to the a cooperative solution? Students will choose a particular state and be responsible for presenting that countries' interests and policies in class. More instructions to follow.

Nov. 3 Class 10: Transnational Issues 1: Terrorism and Transnational Violence

Required:

Weatherbee, *Terrorism and Transnational Crime*, Chapter 7, p. 193-222.

Sidney Jones, *Isis in Indonesia*, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, vol 2015, pp. 154-163.

Joshua Kurlantzick, *Southeast Asia—The Islamic State's New Front?* Carnegie Council, 2016

Sidney Jones—updated APAC or NY Battling ISIS in Indonesia, January 28, 2016

November 10 Class 11 : Transnational Issues II Environment: Dams, Climate Change, Haze

Required:

Weatherbee, Environmental Issues in International Relations in Southeast Asia, p. 295-319.

Stimson Center Reports on Mekong

Asian Development Bank Report on the Economic Impact of Climate Change in Southeast Asia, Chapter 2 & 3, pp. 37-85.

November 17 Class 12: Transnational Issues III Human Security and the COVID 19 and its Impact on SEA

Required:

Weatherbee, Human Security in Southeast Asian International Relations, pp. 250-288.

Readings on COVID 19 TBD

November 24 Thanksgiving Holiday

Dec. 1 Class 13: Student Presentations on Research Paper

Dec. 8 Class 14: Student Presentations on Research Paper

Dec. 13 Papers Due