Fall 2002

DIPL 6011/4196 International Relations of Southeast Asia

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Introduction

This course is designed to introduce the student 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.

The course will begin with a review of the major environmental and historical factors shaping the regional international system. A review of the principal interests and capabilities of the system’s actors will follow. A major emphasis of the course will be regionalism in an analysis of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). The background to this is the changes in the post-Cold War security environment in Southeast Asia, in particular the new, emerging regional distribution of power. The course also will give consideration to emerging problem areas in the region, including ethno-religious conflict, the environment and human rights.

Required Texts


Supplemental Texts on Reserve in Library


Wurfel, David and Bruce Burton, eds. Southeast Asia in the New World Order. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996. (2 copies)

In addition, journal articles and book chapters will be supplied by the instructor for each segment of the course or will be available online through Academic Search. There will be choice among those articles listed in the syllabus.

Course Requirements

The course is taught as a seminar for advanced undergraduate and graduate students. It involves reading a significant bibliography which can be shaped according to individual interests in consultation with the instructor. Supplemental bibliography is included in the syllabus. Reading assignments will be adjusted for undergraduates.

Midterm and final exams

A one-hour midterm exam will be given on Oct. 22 (tentative) and the final exam will be Dec. 17.

Term paper

The undergraduate term paper should be at least ten pages plus bibliography and the graduate term paper should be at least 15 pages plus bibliography. Either Chicago/Turabian or APA style may be used for citation. Each student will give a 15-20 minute oral summary of his/her paper during the final class meeting Dec. 10. Paper topics should be agreed upon with the instructor no later than the third week of the course and a first draft of the paper must be given to the instructor Nov. 26 for comment. Final versions of papers are due Dec. 10.

Class participation

All students are expected to hand in eight journal entries of no more than two pages summarizing/analyzing the material read for that week. (You may choose which weeks to skip.)

All students are expected to bring to class at least one current event item pertaining to the region for discussion every week. Examples of good sources include the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *Asian Wall Street Journal*, *Singapore Straits Times*, *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation* (Bangkok).

Graduate students will be asked to be prepared to take the lead in class discussion two times during the semester, and undergraduates will take the lead one time. This generally will involve reading an extra source that week.

Grading

Graduate and undergraduate students are graded by separate standards.

Grading distribution:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class participation</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-term exam</td>
<td>10%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Final exam 35%
Term paper 30%
Term paper presentation 10%

COURSE CALENDAR AND ASSIGNMENTS (TENTATIVE)

Please note that all dates are approximate and may change depending upon discussion time and students' interests. They should be treated as a guide to keeping up with the reading. Study questions and required reading are included in each section.

1. The Foundations of the Contemporary IR System in Southeast Asia. (Sept. 10-24)
   a. Introduction: The Study of Southeast Asian IR.
      Justification for the study. What makes Southeast Asia a region? What is the course's intellectual underpinning? The problem of policy continuity and discontinuity.
   b. The environmental and historical background to Southeast Asian IR.
      Attention will be given to geostrategic variables, ethnicity, culture and history, both precolonial and colonial. Emphasis will be placed on Southeast Asia as a maritime region. The impact of the struggle for independence will be addressed. What real material and psychological factors persist in influencing contemporary Southeast Asia?
   c. The Cold War and Southeast Asia.
      Southeast Asia will be situated as a theater of competition for influence and power between the contending superpowers. The alternatives of alliance and alignment will be addressed. Mao's China as an actor will be introduced. The impact of the American war in Vietnam will be assessed.

Assignment: Read Acharya, Quest for Identity, Ch. 1 and 2; Neher, Ch. 1 and 2. Read McCloud, Ch. 1-9, esp. Ch. 1 and 5-9, for important background to understanding Southeast Asia today.

2. Southeast Asia's Subregions. (Oct. 1-15)

Read McCloud, Ch. 10-12; Neher, Ch. 3-13, taking the chapters in order of the country lists for the maritime and continental cores.

The maritime states:
Indonesia: Weatherbee, "Indonesia: From Pivot to Problem;” Crouch,


Brunei: Instructor will expand on Neher chapter on Brunei.


The continental states:


Burma (Myanmar): Seekins, "Myanmar: Secret Talks and Political Paralysis;" Steinberg, "Burma/Myanmar and the Dilemmas of U.S. Foreign Policy;"


Supplemental readings on Library reserve:

a. The Maritime Core: Indonesia, East Timor, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines

Study Questions:
1. Why has Indonesia been considered the pivot of regional international relations? Is this still the case?
2. What are the major foreign policy interests of the maritime countries?
3. What are the areas of interest competition between them?
4. What role does Islam play in their foreign policy?
5. What would be the foreign policy consequences of a breakup of the Indonesian state? Is this still likely?
6. What has been the impact of East Timor’s independence?
7. What are the roots of poor relations between Malaysia and Singapore?
8. Why are Malaysian-Philippine relations coolly distant?
9. How has the Philippines adjusted to the discontinuity in its relations with the United States?
10. How has "democratization" impacted relations among the maritime core states?

b. The Continental Core: Thailand, Myanmar (Burma), Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam

Study Questions:
1. What is the Thai view of the continental subsystem?
2. What are the concerns of Thailand’s neighbors about Thai policy?
3. What is meant by resource diplomacy?
4. What is the role of “democracy” and “human rights” in Myanmar’s and Cambodia’s foreign relations?
5. Are there “threats” in the continental core?
6. What are the policy differences between “upstream” and “downstream” Mekong River riparian states?
7. How is the role of China different in the continental core as opposed to the maritime core?
8. What is the role of minorities in the foreign relations of the continental core states?
9. In what sense has Cambodia’s foreign policy been “internationalized?”
10. How “independent” is Laos as a sovereign actor?

5. Southeast Asia as a Post-Cold War Regional Subsystem. (Oct. 22-Nov. 12)

2000, pp. 89-112.  

### a. ASEAN: An Overview

**Study Questions:**

1. What is the cement that holds ASEAN together? What are the different theoretical approaches to this issue?
2. How are decisions made in ASEAN?
3. Do the “qualitative” political differences among the ASEAN states affect their interactions?
4. Do the economic differences among the ASEAN states affect their interaction?
5. Is there an autonomous regional “interest” as opposed to an aggregation of ten separate national “interests”?
6. What are the “mini-ASEANS” and what is their impact on the region?
7. What was the ASEAN reaction to the 1997 economic crash? What has been the recovery pattern?
8. Is there any reason to amend the common judgment that ASEAN is the most successful example of Third World regionalism?
9. What are the links between ASEAN and other regional groupings?
10. What was the challenge of the EAEG (EAEC) and has it been met?
11. Does “flexible engagement” or variants thereof have a chance?
12. What is the impact of ethno-religious unrest, particularly that associated with Islamic fundamentalism?
13. How important are ecological issues in the ASEAN framework?

b. ASEAN and the Powers.


Study Questions:

1. What kind of differences do we find between bilateral and multilateral interactions among the external powers and ASEAN?
2. What were the reactions of the external powers to the ASEAN economic crisis?
3. How has the “human rights” question played out differently in terms of external power relations with ASEAN?
4. What are the major differences in the post-Cold War great power relations distinguishing them from the Cold War environment?

c. Southeast Asian Strategic and Military Security. (Nov. 19-Dec. 10)


Study Questions:

1. What are the “threat perceptions” in Southeast Asia?
2. Can we differentiate between economic security and political security?
3. Is there a new balance of power in Southeast Asia?
4. What were the security consequences of the termination of the U.S. bases in the Philippines?
5. Is the Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone a “real” security policy?
6. What is the status of defense alliances and alignments in Southeast Asia?
7. What are the prospects for any future Southeast Asian collective defense agreement?

1) ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)


Study Questions:
1. Is ARF all bark and no bite?
2. Should ARF be delinked from ASEAN?
3. What is the contribution of ARF's "track two"?
4. Can ARF move to the higher stage of "preventive diplomacy"?
5. Even without preventive diplomacy, does ARF have functional relevance?

2) The South China Sea Conflict and Maritime Zone Issues.


Study Questions:

1. What are the legal, political and economic issues involved in the South China Sea disputes?
2. What is the U.S. position?
3. Why may this be considered a test of China's long term ambitions?
4. What are the differences between multilateral and bilateral efforts to resolve the problem peacefully?
5. What are the security, political and economic implications of other maritime boundary disputes in the region?
6. What, if any, solutions are being found to these disputes?

6. Presentation of Term Papers (Dec. 10)

7. Final exam (Dec. 17)
Possible Term Paper Topics

These are examples of possible topics. Many other topics on regionalism and regional issues or foreign policies of individual states may be developed. Topic must be chosen within the first three weeks of the semester to allow time for acquisition of research materials.

1. What are the prospects for East Timor, the world’s newest state?

2. Is there a role for Australia in Southeast Asia’s future?

3. How important is Islamic fundamentalism in Southeast Asia?

4. Is China’s policy towards Southeast Asia a classic “divide and rule” strategy?

5. Can the growing divide between “democratic” ASEAN and “non-democratic” ASEAN be narrowed?

6. Is it true that there is no American “strategic vision” with respect to Southeast Asia?

7. Why can’t the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation’s dispute settlement mechanisms be given substantive content?

8. What are the prospects of ARF moving to preventive diplomacy?

9. Can ASEAN survive a failure of the Indonesian state?

10. AFTA, APEC, EAEC, or WTO: what basket are the ASEAN eggs really in?

11. Can Japan establish a political role in Southeast Asia congruent with its economic role?

12. How important is environmental/resource security in Southeast Asia’s future?

13. What is the impact of human rights issues in Southeast Asia?
BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCES

Official Sources

The starting point for U.S. government agencies is the Department of State's East Asia and Pacific Bureau at www.state.gov/p/eap. Through its index you can access both country and topic data as well as links to other U.S. agencies.

The home page for ASEAN and related structures is www.asean.or.id. The ASEAN site map will guide you to ASEAN, ARF, etc., and also links to the official www sites of the member governments.

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.

Specific Titles

The supplemental bibliography below has been grouped more or less by course segment, though there is overlap. It is very extensive, though not comprehensive, so that students will have an idea of the range of materials available for term papers. Much of the bibliography will be available from the instructor but not in the Seton Hall library in paper, though many sources are available through Academic Search or Lexis-Nexis. The following cited periodicals are available in the library: Asian Affairs (AA), Asian Survey (AS), Foreign Affairs, Pacific Affairs (PA) and the Washington Quarterly. Regional newspapers, in particular the Singapore Straits Times and the Bangkok Post, are valuable sources and may be accessed through the Internet.

All articles cited in Wurfel and Burton, eds., are in Wurfel, David and Bruce Burton, eds., The Political Economy of Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990. A copy is in the library. Articles cited in Broinowski, ed., are in Broinowski, Alison, ed., ASEAN into the 1990s, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990, which is not in the library (see instructor).

I. Country Articles

Indonesia


King, Dwight. “Indonesia’s Foreign Policy.” In Wurfel and Burton, eds., pp. 74-100.


Sjryadinata, Leo. “Islam and Suharto’s Foreign Policy: Indonesia, the Middle East and Bosnia.” AS 35:3 (March 1995), pp. 291-303.


East Timor


Malaysia and Singapore


Lim, Linda. “Foreign Policy of Singapore.” In Wurfel and Burton, eds.


Stubbs, Richard. “The Foreign Policy of Malaysia.” In Wurfel and Burton, eds.


Myanmar

Badgely, John. “The Foreign Policy of Burma.” In Wurfel and Burton, eds.


Thailand


Neher, Clark D. “The Foreign Policy of Thailand.” In Burton and Wurfel, eds.


Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam


The Philippines

Almonte, Jose T. "New Directions and Priorities in Philippine Foreign Relations." In David G. Timberman, ed., The Philippines: New Directions in Domestic Policy and
II. ASEAN and Southeast Asian Regionalism

A. Overview


Cotton, James. “The ‘Haze’ Over Southeast Asia: Challenging the ASEAN Mode of Regional Engagement.” PA 72:3 (Fall 1999).


a. Economic Cooperation


b. ASEAN and the European Union

Dent, Christopher M. "ASEM and the 'Cinderella complex' of EU-East Asian economic relations." PA 74:1 (Spring 2001), pp. 25-52.


D. ASEAN and Pacific Regionalism


III. Southeast Asian Security

A. Security (in general)


Huxey, Tim. “ASEAN’s role in the emerging East Asian security architecture.” In Ian Cook et al. eds., Fragmented Asia: Regional Integration and National Disintegration. Aldershot, Eng.: Avebury/Ashgate, 1996.


Nischalke, Tobias Ingo. “Insights from ASEAN’s Foreign Policy Cooperation: The ‘ASEAN Way,’ a Real Spirit or a Phantom?” CSEA 22:1 (April 2000).

Simon, Sheldon. “ASEAN’s Security in the 1990s.” In Broinowski, ed.


Stuart, Douglas T. “Toward a Concert in Asia.” AS 38:3 (March 1997), pp. 229-44.


B. ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)


C. South China Sea


IV. China, Japan and Australia

A. China


B. Japan


C. Australia

