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Fall 2006

International Relations in Southeast Asia

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Diplomacy 6611AA—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

Weatherbee, Donald E. International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle for Autonomy. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

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

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,

“Southeast Asia in the Sino-U.S. Strategic Balance” CSA 26, no. 3 (December 2004); Narine, Explaining ASEAN, Ch. 4 and 5 (provided by instructor); Stuart-Fox, “Southeast Asia and China: The Role of History and Culture in Shaping Future Relations,” CSA 26, no. 1 (April 2004); De Castro, “Managing ‘Strategic Unipolarity’: The ASEAN States’ Responses to the Post-Cold War Regional Environment,” in da Cunha, ed., Southeast Asian Perspectives on Security (provided by instructor)

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.or.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; Vatthana 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

Relevance of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) for Regional Security in the Asia-Pacific," CSA 27, no. 1 (April 2005); Abad, "A Nuclear Weapon-Free Southeast Asia and Its Continuing Strategic Significance," CSA 27, no. 2 (August 2005); Bristow, "The Five-Power Defence Arrangements: Southeast Asia's Unknown Regional Security Organization," CSA 27, no. 1 (April 2005); St. John, "Democracy in Cambodia—One Decade, US\$5 Billion Later: What Went Wrong?" CSA 27, no. 3 (December 2005); Vatikiotis, "Resolving Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia: Domestic Challenges and Regional Perspectives," CSA 28, no. 1 (April 2006) (provided by instructor); Ogilvie-White, "Non-proliferation and Counter-terrorism Cooperation in Southeast Asia," CSA 28, no. 1 (April 2006) (provided by instructor); Croissant, "Unrest in South Thailand," CSA 27, no. 1 (April 2005); Nathan, "Malaysia-Singapore Relations: Retrospect and Prospect," CSA 24, no. 2 (August 2002); Long, "Desecuritizing the Water Issue in Singapore-Malaysia Relations," CSA 23, no. 3 (December 2001); Ringuet, "The Continuation of Civil Unrest and Poverty in Mindanao," CSA 24, no. 1 (April 2002); Tan, ed. Non-Traditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia, Ch. 12 (Sukma, "The Achenese Rebellion: Secessionist Movement in Post-Suharto Indonesia") and Ch. 5 (McDougall, "Regional Institutions and Security: Implications of the 1999 East Timor Crisis"); Collins, The Security Dilemmas of Southeast Asia Ch. 3 (provided by instructor)

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 Siy, "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

Reading: Emmers, Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF, Ch. 6 (Walsh reserve); Tivo Kivimaki, ed., War or Peace in the South China Sea, Ch. 3, 7 and 8 (provided by instructor); Amer and Thao, “The Management of Vietnam’s Border Disputes: What Impact on Its Sovereignty and Regional Integration?” CSA 27, no. 3 (December 2005); Schofield, “A ‘Fair Go’ for East Timor? Sharing the Resources of the Timor Sea,” CSA 27, no. 2 August 2005); Amer, “Assessing Sino-Vietnamese Relations through the Management of Contentious Issues,” CSA 26, no. 2 (August 2004); Buszynski, “ASEAN, the Declaration on Conduct, and the South China Sea,” CSA 25, no. 3 (December 2003); Yu, “The Chinese (Broken) U-shaped Line in the South China Sea: Points, Lines, and Zones,” CSA 25, no. 3 (December 2003); Rowan, “The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance, ASEAN and the South China Sea Dispute,” Asian Survey 40, no. 3 (May/June 2005); Leavitt, “The Lack of Security Cooperation between Southeast Asia and Japan: Yen Yes, Nippon No,” Asian Survey 40, no.

2 (March/April 2005); Bradford, "Japanese Anti-Piracy Initiatives in Southeast Asia," *CSA* 26, no. 3 (December 2004); Wang, "Bridge over troubled waters; fisheries cooperation as a resolution to the South China Sea conflicts," *Pacific Review* 14, no. 4 (December 2001); Valencia, "Building Confidence and Security in the South China Sea: The Way Forward," Ch. 17 in Tan, *Non-traditional Security issues in Southeast Asia* (provided by instructor); Zou Keyuan, *Law of the Sea in East Asia*, Ch. 5 ("Maritime boundary delimitation in the Gulf of Tonkin") and Ch. 7 ("Sino-Vietnamese Fishery Agreement in the Gulf of Tonkin"); Farrell, *Vietnam and the Law of the Sea* (Walsh reserve) for law of the sea background and background on bilateral and multilateral issues in Southeast Asia

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

Reading: James, "Myanmar's International Relations Strategy," CSA 26, no. 3 (December 2004); Than and Than, "ASEAN Enlargement and Myanmar," The 2nd ASEAN Reader (distributed by instructor); Seekins, "Burma and U.S. Sanctions," Asian Survey 45, no. 3 (May/June 2005); Holliday, "Rethinking the United States's Myanmar Policy," Asian Survey 45, no.4 (July/August 2005); Thawngmung, "Preconditions and Prospects for Democratic Transition in Burma/Myanmar," Asian Survey 43, no. 3 (May/June 2003); Oishi and Furuoka, "Can Japanese Aid Be an Effective Tool of Influence? Case Studies of Cambodia and Burma," Asian Survey 43, no. 6 (November/December 2003); Haacke, "Enhanced Interaction" with Myanmar and the Project of a Security Community: Is ASEAN Refining or Breaking with its Diplomatic and Security Culture?," CSA 27, no. 2 (August 2005); South, "Political Transition in Burma: A New Model for Democratization," CSA 26, no. 2 (August 2004)

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)