



Mahidol University
International College

ICIR 302 ASEAN and Southeast Asian Regionalism

Course Description & Aims:

A study of ASEAN reveals both progress in the development of a Southeast Asian security community and the numerous impediments that remain to further regional integration. Principal among the latter is the continued importance attached to national governance in the region. Of comparatively recent origin, the national polities of Southeast Asia remain the dominant players in regional affairs. Although regional integration has made significant progress, national sovereignty remains a paramount concern. In this course, we examine the shared trajectories and conflicts that have shaped Southeast Asian states; the growth of ASEAN as a political and economic organization and a range of contemporary regional issues and concerns. Southeast Asia in the context of global politics in the period since World War II. The impact of the Cold War and its ending. The international relations of the Southeast Asian states. ASEAN. Students will assess, analyze; evaluate ASEAN regionalism.

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Office hours: Appointments can be made via email

Assessment

Quiz 1 (Take home, short answer): 15%

Midterm exam (Take home, multiple short answers): 30%

Quiz 2 (Take home, short answer): 15%

Final essay (Take home, complete academic essay with proper in-text citations and reference list): 40%

Course Learning Outcomes

After completing the course, the student will be able to:

1. examine the norms, history, dynamics and contemporary developments of ASEAN
2. evaluate theories and debates in regionalism and regional organizations, with a particular focus on Southeast Asia.
3. construct a comparative regional analysis and conduct research on topics in Southeast Asian regionalism
4. critique the roles of key states in the development of ASEAN, and the role of ASEAN in the broader Asia-Pacific region

| Week | Topic |
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| 1 | What is a region anyway? |
| 2 | Colonialism, WW2, and nationalist independence struggles |
| 3 | The historical development of ASEAN in a Cold War context |
| 4 | ASEAN enlargement and the formation of an economic community |
| 5 | Regional infrastructure development: transport, communications and growth corridors |
| 6 | The Plus Dialogues: China and ACFTA |
| 7 | ASEM: Managing Relations with the EU |
| 8 | ASEAN and the “Asian Values” Debate |
| 9 | Democracy, Human Rights and Civil Society in ASEAN |
| 10 | Conflict Management and Regional Disputes |
| 11 | Emerging Security Agendas |
| 12 | Summary and Review |

Assessment Methods & Criteria

Quiz 1 (Take home, short answers): 15%

Midterm exam (Take home exam): 30%

Quiz 2 (Take home, short answers): 15%

Final essay (Take home, complete academic essay with proper in-text citations and reference list): 40%

1. What is a region anyway?

Topic description: In week one, students will be introduced to the development of Southeast Asia as a region and field of study, and discuss the concepts of nation-states, sovereignty and regionalism in a Southeast Asian context.

Expected learning outcomes: An understanding of expectations for the course, an introduction to the historical development of “Southeast Asia” as a concept and object of study, the usefulness of the mainland/maritime divide, and a discussion about the viability of a shared Southeast Asian identity under ASEAN.

Readings:

- Amitav, A. (2012). *The Making of Southeast Asia: International Relations of a Region*, Cornell University Press
- Tarling, N. (2006). *Regionalism in Southeast Asia: To Foster the Political Will*, Routledge

- Reid, A. (2015). *A History of Southeast Asia : Critical Crossroads*, Wiley Blackwell

2. Colonialism, WW2, and nationalist independence struggles

Topic description: In week two, we will focus on the political development of Southeast Asia throughout the era of colonialism, war and independence.

Expected learning outcomes: An understanding of the historical backdrop of modern Southeast Asia, particularly how the modern, Westphalian nation-states of the region came into being

For student research and class discussion: How might these early experiences with global powers have shaped the diplomatic relations of Southeast Asian states? Can any of the region's current tensions and security dilemmas be traced back to this period?

Readings:

- Tarling, N. (2004) *Nationalism in Southeast Asia*, Routledge
- Reid, A. (2009) *Imperial Alchemy: Nationalism and Political Identity in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge University Press
- Tarling, N. (2001) *A Sudden Rampage: The Japanese Occupation of Southeast Asia, 1941-1945*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press
- Anderson, B. (2005) *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946*, Equinox

3. The historical development of ASEAN in a Cold War context

Topic description: In week three, students will look at the evolution of ASEAN as a sub-regional political lobby in the period leading up to Vietnam's decision to end its military occupation of Cambodia.

Expected learning outcomes: An understanding of: how Cold War concerns transformed ASEAN into an effective political lobby while immediately precluding the possibility of a broader regional grouping; the complex foreign policy arrangements that arose in response to the Vietnamese occupation; and the extent to which China assumed a new importance in ASEAN regional affairs.

For student research and class discussion: impact of the Cold War in Southeast Asia; the role of external powers (US, USSR, PRC) in the region

Readings:

- Cornejo, R. (2000). When Sukarno Sought the Bomb: Indonesian Nuclear Aspirations in the mid-1960s. *Nonproliferation Review*. pp 31-43.
<https://www.nonproliferation.org/wp-content/uploads/npr/72corn.pdf>
- Doyle, K. (2014). Vietnam's Forgotten Cambodia War.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-29106034>
- Grant, R. (2004). Dien Bien Phu. *Air Force Magazine*. pp 78-84.
<http://www.airforcemag.com/MagazineArchive/Documents/2004/August%202004/0804dien.pdf>
- Jones, L. (2012). *ASEAN Sovereignty and Intervention in SEA*, Palgrave Macmillan.

- Wey, A. (2016). The War that Gave Birth to ASEAN. *The Diplomat*. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/09/the-war-that-gave-birth-to-asean/>

4. ASEAN enlargement and the formation of an economic community

Topic description: In week four students examine the process by which ASEAN assumed its current form: a ten-member body committed to the peaceful development of the region and the evolution of an ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

Expected learning outcomes: An understanding of: how ASEAN was reconstituted as regional economic community; the difficulties and successes of regional economic integration; the AEC's place in global trade.

For student research and class discussion: the process of economic integration; factors hindering full integration; principal beneficiaries of integration

Readings:

- Capannelli, G. (2014). "The ASEAN Economy in the Regional Context: Opportunities, Challenges, and Policy Options". Asian Development Bangkok.
- Kiyoshi Kobayashi et al (eds) (2018). *Economic Integration and Regional Development: The ASEAN Economic Community*, Routledge.
- Kurlantzik, J. (2012). ASEAN's Future and Asian Integration. Council on Foreign Relations. New York.

5. Regional infrastructure development: transport, communications and growth corridors

Topic description: In week five, students examine the ongoing physical integration of the ASEAN region, with particular attention given to the development of new communication networks, transport corridors, high-speed rail systems and special growth zones.

Expected learning outcomes: the extent to which infrastructure development and collaborative economic zones contribute to regional cooperation and economic integration as well as outstanding issues that have arisen from such developments

For student research and class discussion: the likely impacts, positive and negative, of improved transport and communications infrastructure; the future of high-speed rail infrastructure

Readings:

- ADB (2009). *Build it and They Will Come: Lessons from the Northern Economic Corridor*, Manila.
- ADBI (2015). *Connecting South and Southeast Asia*, Tokyo.
- Medina, A. F. (2019). Special Economic Zones in ASEAN. *ASEAN Briefing*,
- Wu, S. and Chong, Alan. (2018). Developmental Rail Politics: The Political Economy of China's High-Speed Rail Projects in Thailand and Indonesia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. 40. 503-526.

6. The Plus Dialogues, China and the ACFTA

Topic description: In week six, students will examine ASEAN partnership agreements outside the region, including but not limited to relations with China, the US and the EU

Expected learning outcomes: an understanding of the growing economic relationship between China and ASEAN as well as recognition of some of the possibilities and problems arising from these economic ties

For student research and class discussion: the impact of the ACFTA on regional trade relations in the period after 2010; the impact on land use

Readings and activities:

- Chen, I. and Yang A. (2013). A harmonized Southeast Asia? Explanatory typologies of ASEAN countries' strategies to the rise of China, *The Pacific Review*, 26:3, 265-288.
- Kim (ed) (2016). *Chinese Global Production Networks in ASEAN*, Springer.
- Leong and Ku (eds) (2005). *China in Southeast Asia*, ISEAS, Singapore.
- Mills, E. (2015). "Chinese Agricultural and Land Investments in Southeast Asia: A Preliminary Overview of Trends"
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308785593_Chinese_Agricultural_and_Land_Investments_in_Southeast_Asia_A_Preliminary_Overview_of_Trends/download
- Sheng, Y. et al. (2012). *The Impact of ACFTA on People's Republic of China-ASEAN Trade*. ADB, Manila

7. ASEM and EU-ASEAN Relations

Topic description: In week seven students will examine the ongoing dialogue between ASEAN, the EU and other ASEM member states with attention given to a range of related political, economic, cultural topics.

Expected learning outcomes: understanding the dynamics of EU-ASEAN relations, collaborative efforts and points of contention.

For class discussion: Mid-term essay results

Readings and activities:

- Robles, A. (2008) *The Asia-Europe Meeting: Theory and Practice of Interregionalism*. Routledge, NY.
- Spandler, K. (ed), (2019). *Regional Organizations in International Society: ASEAN, the EU and the Politics of Normative Arguing*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Welfens, P. et al (eds) (2009). *EU-ASEAN: Facing Economic Globalization*, Springer, Singapore.

8. ASEAN and the "Asian Values" Debate

Topic description: The "Asian values" debate that raged in the 1990s was largely of Southeast Asian origin. The main proponents of the idea that there was a unique set of "Asian values" that different from universalist values were leaders of Southeast Asian countries: Mahathir, Lee Kuan Yew, Suharto. In what ways did these ideas shape ASEAN?

Expected learning outcomes: Students will be introduced to the historical debate around Asian values, looking at arguments from both sides of the debate, and consider how these ideas have shaped politics in the region and the workings of ASEAN.

For student research and class discussion: Is there such a thing as “Asian values”? Did the idea of “Asian values” ever really go away? How have these proposed values shaped the politics of the region?

Readings:

- Barr, M (2002) *Cultural Politics and Asian Values*, Routledge
- Surain Subramaniam (2000) *The Asian Values Debate: Implications for the Spread of Liberal Democracy*, *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 27:1, 19-35,
- Emmerson, Donald K. "Singapore and the "Asian Values" Debate." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 6 no. 4, 1995, p. 95-105. Project MUSE
- Zakaria, F. (2021). *Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew*, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (1994), pp. 109-126
- Sen, A (1997) *Human Rights and Asian Values*, Morgenthau Memorial Lecture, https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/archive/morgenthau/254/res/id=Attachments/index=0/254_sen.pdf

9. Democracy, Human Rights and Civil Society in ASEAN

Topic description: A long-standing criticism of ASEAN has been its failure to seriously address various human rights and democracy issues. This week, students will look at some of the region’s major shortcomings, as well as the ways in which civil society, both national and transnational, have pursued agendas in the region, and how the association has responded.

Expected learning outcomes: An understanding of the major human rights and democracy issues in the region, as well as the role of civil society groups and how ASEAN relates to these groups

For student research and class discussion: In what ways might apparent contradictions in the ASEAN charter impede progress on human rights issues? In what ways have events in the region forced us to re-consider our understanding of civil society?

Readings:

- Hannah, B. (2021). Myanmar Coup Puts the Seal on Autocracy’s Rise in Southeast Asia. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/12/world/asia/myanmar-coup-autocracy-democracy.html>
- Langois, A. (1997). *The Politics of Justice and Human Rights: Southeast Asia and Universalist Theory*
- Langlois, A. (2021). Human rights in Southeast Asia: ASEAN’s rights regime after its first decade, *Journal of Human Rights*, 20:2, 151-157

- Auethavornpipat, R. (2019) Fixing ASEAN's partnership with civil society. *East Asia Forum*. ANU, Canberra.
- Gerard, K. (2014). ASEAN and civil society activities in created spaces: the limits of liberty *The Pacific Review*, 2014 Vol. 27, No. 2, 265–287;
- Gerard, K. (2014). *ASEAN's Engagement of Civil Society*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hewison, K. (2017), "Rethinking Civil Society in Southeast Asia". <https://www.newmandala.org/illiberal-civil-society/>

10. Conflict Management and Regional Disputes

Topic description: In week eight, we focus upon strategies and mechanisms for regional conflict management while considering some of ASEAN's outstanding territorial, marine and resource disputes.

Expected learning outcomes: an understanding of the "ASEAN Way" to resolve regional disputes and the manner in which this has been utilized to resolve (or at least avoid direct confrontation over) a number of outstanding disputes

For student research and class discussion: rival territorial claims on Borneo; the South China Sea dispute; issues surrounding hydroelectric developments on the Mekong

Readings

- Amitav Acharaya (2001). "Security communities and ASEAN in theoretical perspective" in *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the problem of regional order* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge. pp 1-16. Crisis Group (2015). *Stirring up the South China Sea (III): A Fleeting Opportunity for Calm*. International Crisis Group, Brussels.
- Jenne, N. (2017). Managing Territorial Disputes in Southeast Asia. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*. 36, 3, 35–61.
- Oishi, M. (ed) (2016). *Contemporary Conflicts in SE Asia: Towards a New ASEAN Way of Conflict Management*. Springer, Singapore.
- Russel, M. (2018). *Water Disputes in the Mekong Basin*. European Parliamentary Research Service, Brussels.

11. Emerging Security Agendas

Topic description: In week ten, we examine ASEAN efforts to address a number of new security agendas arising from uneven developing, climate change and resource depletion.

Expected learning outcomes: an understanding of recent ASEAN efforts to rework earlier understandings of community security

For student research and class discussion: shifting regional land use, food security and intra-regional migration.

Readings:

- Alles, D. (2019) Premises, Policies and Multilateral Whitewashing of Broad Security Doctrines: A Southeast Asia-Based Critique of “Non-traditional” Security. *European Review of International Studies*, Issue 1-2019, pp. 5-26.
- China-ASEAN Environmental Outlook (2018). China-ASEAN Environmental Cooperation Center.
- Harkins, B. et al (2017). Risks and rewards: Outcomes of labour migration in South-East Asia, ILO.
- OECD (2017). *Building Food Security and Managing Risk in Southeast Asia*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- Prakash, A. (2018). *The Impact of Climate Change in Southeast Asia*. IMF.

Summary and review

Topic description: In the final week of the course, students will reflect back upon the main themes of the course and summarize course content. They will also work together to develop and collectively answer potential essay topics for their final assessment.

Expected learning outcomes: an understanding the main themes of the course as well as likely final essay topics.

Activities:

- Small Group Review Session