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**International Relations of Southeast Asia
Spring 2022**

Thursday 14:00-17:00 p.m.
Building 140, Room 105

Instructor: Yoon Ah Oh (yoonah.oh@snu.ac.kr)
Office Hours: By appointment
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Course Description

This seminar provides an intensive study of international relations of Southeast Asia, including the process of regional integration under the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It examines foreign policies of individual Southeast Asian countries with special attention to their historical evolution, domestic determinants, and contemporary issues. Regional integration both at the ASEAN and subregional level, in addition to interactions with external powers will be also studied. Every semester will focus on a different set of countries and issues. This course is also designed to equip students with abilities to work seriously with both qualitative and quantitative data while informed by historical context of the region.

Instructional Methods (subject to change based on University guidance related to COVID-19)

The default mode of instruction: In-person classes

Synchronous online classes on Zoom when necessary

Course Requirements and Evaluation

1	Class attendance and participation	20 %
2	Research proposal and presentation	30 %
3	Mid-term	20 %
4	Final exam (Cumulative)	30 %

1. Attendance and participation: Students are expected to do the readings and **prepare questions** before they come to class and engage discussions.
2. **Research proposal:** Students will write a research proposal on the topics related to international relations of Southeast Asia. Detailed instructions will be provided at the beginning of the semester. Toward the end of the semester, students will make in-class presentations about their proposal. Submit the proposal via eTL.
3. Mid-term: Students will take a **3-hour take-home exam**.
4. Final exam: Students will take a cumulative **24-hour take-home exam**. Detailed instructions will be provided.

Course Reading

There is no single text for this course. The reading materials except ASEAN documents and national constitutions will be made available through ETL.

ASEAN Documents

ASEAN instruments and documents are available at CIL treaties database www.cil.nus.edu.sg or www.asean.org.

Bangkok Declaration (1967)
The Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality Declaration (1972)
The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (1976)
The Declaration of ASEAN Concord (1976)
Agreement on the Establishment of the ASEAN Secretariat (1976)
Bali Concord I (1976)
Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (1995)
ASEAN Vision 2020 (1997)
Hanoi Plan of Action (1998)
Bali Concord II (2003)
Vientiane Action Programme (2004)
ASEAN Charter (2007)
Report of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) on the ASEAN Charter (2007)
ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint (2007)
ASEAN Political Security Community Blueprint (2009)
ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint (2009)
IAI Framework (2009)

National Constitutions

The Constitute Project at <https://www.constituteproject.org/>

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a serious offense and will not be treated lightly. It will result in lowered or failing grades as well as the possibility of more serious punishments.

Use of Electronic Devices for In-person Classes

You may use laptops or tablets in class to take notes or consult readings. Any other use of electronic devices is prohibited. Violating this policy will negatively impact your participation grade.

Recording Policy

Video and/or audio recording of any course activity is prohibited as a general rule. Students with approved accommodations from the Center for Students with Disabilities permitting the recording of class meetings must present the accommodation letter to the instructor in advance of any recording being done.

Acknowledgement

I gratefully acknowledge ASEAN Law Academy at the Centre for International Law of the National University of Singapore for some of the ideas and course material on ASEAN used in this course.

Course Schedule

Week 1 (3/3): Introduction and Course Overview

No readings

Week 2 (3/10): Historical Background I

Emmerson, Donald K. 1984. ““Southeast Asia”: What’s in a Name?” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 15(1): 1-21.
Tarling, Nicholas. 1999. *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia: Volume 2, Part 2, From World War II to the Present*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters TBC

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Week 3 (3/17): Historical Background II

Tarling, Nicholas. 1999. *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia: Volume 2, Part 2, From World War II to the Present*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters TBC
Weatherbee, Donald E. 2014. *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle for Autonomy*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. Chapters TBC
Heng, Yee-Kuang. 2013. “A Global City in an Age of Global Risks: Singapore’s Evolving Discourse on Vulnerability” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 35(3):423-446.
Pongsudhirak, Thitinan. 2016. “An Unaligned Alliance: Thailand-US Relations in the Early 21st Century.” *Asian Politics & Policy* 8(1): 63-74.

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Week 4 (3/24): ASEAN’s Formation

Weatherbee, Donald E. 2014. *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle for Autonomy*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. Chapters TBC
Acharya, Amitav. 2003. *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*. London: Taylor & Francis. Chapter 2. The Evolution of ASEAN Norms and the Emergence of the ASEAN Way.
Lee, Ji-Young. 2019. “Contested American Hegemony and Regional Order in Postwar Asia: The Case of Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 19(2): 237-267.
Narine, Shaun. 2008. “Forty years of ASEAN: A Historical Review.” *Pacific Review* 21(4): 411-29.
Ooi, Kee Beng. Sanchita Basu Das, Terence Chong, Malcolm Cook, Cassey Lee, Michael Chai Ming Yeo 2015. *The 3rd ASEAN Reader*. ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute. Section I.
Desker, Barry. 2017. “Is ASEAN a Community?” RSIS Commentary No.145, 2 August 2017
History of ASEAN <http://asean.org/asean/about-asean/history>

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Week 5 (3/31): ASEAN Institutionalization

- Chesterman, Simon. 2008. "Does ASEAN Exist: The Association of Southeast Asian Nations as an International Legal Person." *Singapore Year Book of International Law* 12: 199-211.
- Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal. 2020. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *International Organization* 54(3): 421-56.
- Jetschke, Anja. 2009. "Institutionalizing ASEAN: Celebrating Europe through Network Governance." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22(3): 407-426.
- Thuzar, Moe. 2017. "What Does It Take to Join ASEAN?" ISEAS Perspective 36.

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Week 6 (4/7): ASEAN Norms

- Nasu, Hitoshi. 2013. "Revisiting the Principle of Non-Intervention: A Structural Principle of International Law or a Political Obstacle to Regional Security in Asia." *Asian Journal of International Law* 3: 25-50.
- Ginbar, Yuval. 2010. "Human Rights in ASEAN—Setting Sail or Treading Water?" *Human Rights Law Review* 10 (3): 504-518.
- Jones, Lee. 2010. "ASEAN's Unchanged Melody? The Theory and Practice of 'Non-Interference' in Southeast Asia." *The Pacific Review* 23(4): 479-502.
- Weatherbee, Donald E. 2014. *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle for Autonomy*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. Chapter 5: Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Southeast Asia

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Week 7 (4/14): ASEAN Economic Community-Building

- Pekkanen, Saadia M., John Ravenhill, and Rosemary Foot. eds. 2014. *Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of Asia*. Oxford University Press. Chapters TBC
- Chia, Siow Yue. 2013. "The ASEAN Economic Community: Progress, Challenges, and Prospects." ADBI Working Paper No. 440. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute.
- Menon, Jayant, and Anna Cassandra Melendez. 2017. "Realizing an ASEAN Economic Community: Progress and Remaining Challenge." *The Singapore Economic Review* 62(3): 681-702.
- Jones, Lee. "Explaining the failure of the ASEAN economic community: the primacy of domestic political economy." *The Pacific Review* 29, no. 5 (2016): 647-670.
- Müller, Lukas Maximilian. "Governing Regional Connectivity in Southeast Asia: The Role of the ASEAN Secretariat and ASEAN's External Partners." *Asian Studies at the University of Freiburg Occasional Papers* 42 (2018).
- Ooi, Kee Beng. Sanchita Basu Das, Terence Chong, Malcolm Cook, Cassey Lee, Michael Chai Ming Yeo 2015. *The 3rd ASEAN Reader*. ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute. Chapters 41-51. pp. 215-270.

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Week 8 (4/21): ASEAN and East Asian Regionalism

- Acharya, Amitav. 2017. "The Myth of ASEAN Centrality?" *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 39(2): 273-279.
- Jones, David Martin, and Nicole Jenne. 2016. "Weak States' Regionalism: ASEAN and the Limits of Security Cooperation in Pacific Asia." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 16(2): 209-240.

- Goh, Evelyn. 2008. "Great Powers and Hierarchical Order in Southeast Asia: Analyzing Regional Security Strategies." *International Security* 32(3): 113-157.
- Ravenhill, John. "East Asian Regionalism: Much Ado about Nothing?" *Review of International Studies* 35, no. S1 (2009): 215-235.
- Jones, David Martin, and Michael LR Smith. 2007. "Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order." *International Security* 32(1): 148-184.
- Ba, Alice D. 2016. "ASEAN's Stakes: The South China Sea's Challenge to Autonomy and Agency" *Asia Policy* 21: 47-53.
- Beeson, Mark. 2019. "The Great ASEAN Rorschach Test." *The Pacific Review* 33(3-4): 574-581.

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Week 9 (4/28): Mid-term

Week 10 (5/5): A Case Study: ASEAN and Transboundary Haze (Public holiday but we will meet online)

- Varkkey, Helena. 2014. "Regional cooperation, patronage and the ASEAN Agreement on transboundary haze pollution." *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 14(1): 65-81.
- Daniel, Heilmann. 2015. "After Indonesia's Ratification: The ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution and Its Effectiveness as a Regional Environmental Governance Tool," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 34, 3, 95-121.
- Huang, Chin-Hao, and Arjun Jayaraman. 2021. "Nudging through Consensus: ASEAN's Role in Haze Mitigation and Environmental Governance" *Asian Survey* 61 (6): 883-916.
- Hurley, Arran and Taedong Lee. 2021. "Delayed ratification in environmental regimes: Indonesia's ratification of the ASEAN agreement on transboundary haze pollution." *The Pacific Review*, 34(6): 1108-1137.
- Nguitragool, Paruedee. 2011. "Negotiating the haze treaty: rationality and institutions in the negotiations for the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution." *Asian Survey* 51(2): 356-378.

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Week 11 (5/12): The Rise of China and International Relations of Southeast Asia

- Ciorciari, John. 2020. "Distance and Dominance: China, America, and the Northern Tier" In *The Deer and the Dragon: Southeast Asia and China in the 21st Century*, edited by Donald K. Emmerson Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center/ ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Haacke, Jürgen. 2019. "The Concept of Hedging and Its Application to Southeast Asia: A Critique and a Proposal for a Modified Conceptual and Methodological Framework." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 19(3): 375-417.
- Chen, Ian Tsung-Yen, and Alan Hao Yang. 2013. "A Harmonized Southeast Asia? Explanatory Typologies of ASEAN Countries' Strategies to the Rise of China." *The Pacific Review* 26(3): 265-288.
- Song, Jiyeoun. 2021, "Japan's Official Development Assistance in Southeast and South Asia: Strategy for Economic Revitalization and Regional Security Cooperation", *Journal of International and Area Studies*, vol.28, no.1 pp.1-19. <http://doi.org/10.23071/jias.2021.28.1.1>
- Oh, Yoon Ah. 2021. "Southeast Asian Public Perceptions of China: Clusters and Gaps." *The Korean Journal of International Studies*. 19(3): 377-403.

** Recommended:

- Thayer, Carlyle A. 2013. "ASEAN, China and the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea." *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 33(2): 75-84.

Jenne, Nicole. 2017. "Managing Territorial Disputes in Southeast Asia: Is There More than the South China Sea?" *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 36(3): 35–61.

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Week 12 (5/19): Indonesia

Hatta, Mohammad. 1953. "Indonesia's Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 31(3): 441-52.
Fealy, Greg, and Hugh White. 2016. "Indonesia's 'Great Power' Aspirations: A Critical View." *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* 3(1): 92-100.
Emmers, Ralf. 2014. "Indonesia's Role in ASEAN: A Case of Incomplete and Sectorial Leadership" *The Pacific Review* 27(4): 543-562.
Rizal Sukma. 1997. "Indonesia's Bebas-Aktif Foreign Policy and the 'Security Agreement' with Australia." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 51(2): 231-241.

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Week 13 (5/26): Vietnam and Cambodia

Womack, Brantly. 2006. *China and Vietnam*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Chapter 1. General Overview.
Leng, Thearith. 2017. "Small State Diplomacy: Cambodia's Foreign Policy Towards Vietnam." *The Pacific Review* 30(3): 328-347.
Vu, Tuong. 2016. "State Formation on China's Southern Frontier: Vietnam as a Shadow Empire and Hegemon." *HumaNetten* 37 (December): 39-65. <https://open.lnu.se/index.php/hn/article/view/388/335>
Liao, Jessica C. and Ngoc-Tram Dang. 2020. "The Nexus of Security and Economic Hedging: Vietnam's Strategic Response to Japan–China Infrastructure Financing Competition" *The Pacific Review* 33(3-4): 669-696.

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Week 14 (6/2): Student Presentations

Week 15 (6/9): Final Exam

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