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International Relations of Southeast Asia Fall 2024

Wednesday 10:00 am -1:00 pm
Building 140-1, Room 102

Instructor: Yoon Ah Oh (yoonah.oh@snu.ac.kr)
Office Hours: Monday 1:30 pm to 2:30 pm
TA: Chu Yin Chang (chloe34@snu.ac.kr)

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.

Course Requirements and Evaluation

1	Class attendance and general participation	20 %
2	Weekly paper and discussion	30 %
3	Country comparison table	10 %
4	Conference observation report	10 %
5	End-of-semester presentation	30 %

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, including presenting generative AI software content as your own, is a violation of academic integrity. It 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 Digital Devices for In-Person Classes

No off-topic usage: You may use electronic devices in class to take notes, consult readings or find information. 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.

Attendance Policy

Three unexcused absences lead to a failing grade. If a student arrives late three times, this will count as one absence.

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: Introduction and Course Overview

Emmerson, Donald K. 1984. ““Southeast Asia”: What’s in a Name?” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 15(1): 1-21.

Week 2: Historical Background

Tarling, Nicholas. 1999. *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia: Volume 2, Part 2, From World War II to the Present*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5

Weatherbee, Donald E. 2014. *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle for Autonomy*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. Chapter 3

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.

Week 3: ASEAN’s Architecture

Jayant, Menon and Cassey Lee. 2019. “The Evolution of ASEAM: An Overview” *In An Evolving ASEAN: Vision and Reality*, eds. Jayant Menon and Cassey Lee. Asian Development Bank. Pp 4-20.

Thuzar, Moe. 2017. “What Does It Take to Join ASEAN?” ISEAS Perspective 36.

Bangkok Declaration (1967)

Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (1976)

1976 Agreement on the Establishment of the ASEAN Secretariat (1976)

Bali Concord I (1976)

* Recommended:

History of ASEAN <http://asean.org/asean/about-asean/history>

Narine, Shaun. 2008. “Forty years of ASEAN: A Historical Review.” *Pacific Review* 21(4): 411-29.

Weatherbee, Donald E. 2014. *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle for Autonomy*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. Chapter 4

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

Week 4: ASEAN Institutionalization I

Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal. 2000. “Hard and Soft Law in International Governance.” *International Organization* 54(3): 421-56.

ASEAN Charter (2007)

Report of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) on the ASEAN Charter (2007)

Week 5: ASEAN Institutionalization II

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.

Jetschke, Anja. 2009. "Institutionalizing ASEAN: Celebrating Europe through Network Governance." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22(3): 407-426.

ASEAN Charter (2007)

Report of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) on the ASEAN Charter (2007)

* Recommended:

Lee, Hyo Won, and Sijeong Lim. 2020. "Public Feelings toward ASEAN: One Vision, One Identity, One Community?" *Asian Survey* 60 (5): 803-829.

Week 6: ASEAN Norms: Non-Interference and ASEAN Way

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.

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.

Jones, Lee. 2010. "ASEAN's Unchanged Melody? The Theory and Practice of 'Non-Interference' in Southeast Asia." *The Pacific Review* 23(4): 479-502.

ASEAN Charter (2007)

Report of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) on the ASEAN Charter (2007)

* Recommended:

Ginbar, Yuval. 2010 "Human Rights in ASEAN—Setting Sail or Treading Water?" *Human Rights Law Review* 10 (3): 504-518.

Week 7: ASEAN and Regional Problem Solving: Transboundary Haze

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

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.

ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution (<https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ASEANAgreementonTransboundaryHazePollution-1.pdf>)

* Recommended:

Acharya, Amitav. 2012. *Foundations of Collective Action in Asia: Theory and Practice of Regional Cooperation*. ADBI Working Paper 344.

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.

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.
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.

Week 8: ASEAN Economic Community-Building

Menon, Jayant, and Anna Cassandra Melendez. 2017. “Realizing an ASEAN Economic Community: Progress and Remaining Challenge.” *The Singapore Economic Review* 62(3): 681-702.

Tan, Danielle. 2014. "The Greater Mekong Subregion Programme: Reflections for a Renewed Paradigm Of Regionalism. *Asia Europe Journal* 12: 383–399.

*** Recommended:**

Jones, Lee. 2016. “Explaining the failure of the ASEAN economic community: the primacy of domestic political economy.” *The Pacific Review* 29(5): 647-670.

Chia, Siow Yue. 2013. “The ASEAN Economic Community: Progress, Challenges, and Prospects.” ADBI Working Paper No. 440. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute.

Pekkanen, Saadia M., John Ravenhill, and Rosemary Foot. eds. 2014. *Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of Asia*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 12

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.

Week 9: Conference TBA

Week 10: ASEAN's External Relations: Architecture, Aspirations and Challenges

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.

**** Recommended:**

Ravenhill, John. “East Asian Regionalism: Much Ado about Nothing?” *Review of International Studies* 35, no. S1 (2009): 215-235.

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.

Yunling, Zhang. 2016. “China and its Neighbourhood: Transformation, Challenges and Grand Strategy” *International Affairs* 92(4): 835–848.

Oh, Yoon Ah. 2021. “Southeast Asian Public Perceptions of China: Clusters and Gaps." *The Korean Journal of International Studies*. 19(3): 377-403.

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.

Ba, Alice D. 2016. “ASEAN's Stakes: The South China Sea's Challenge to Autonomy and Agency” *Asia Policy* 21: 47–53.

Week 11: ASEAN's External Relations: Great Powers and ASEAN Centrality

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.

* Recommended:

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.

Goh, Evelyn. 2008. "Great Powers and Hierarchical Order in Southeast Asia: Analyzing Regional Security Strategies." *International Security* 32(3): 113-157.

Beeson, Mark. 2019. "The Great ASEAN Rorschach Test." *The Pacific Review* 33(3-4): 574-581.

Week 12: Foreign Policies of Individual Countries: Indonesia and Vietnam

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.

Womack, Brantly. 2006. *China and Vietnam*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

National Constitutions

** Recommended:

Rizal Sukma. 1997. "Indonesia's Bebas-Aktif Foreign Policy and the 'Security Agreement' with Australia." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 51(2): 231-241.

Emmers, Ralf. 2014. "Indonesia's Role in ASEAN: A Case of Incomplete and Sectorial Leadership" *The Pacific Review* 27(4): 543-562.

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.

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>

Leng, Thearith. 2017. "Small State Diplomacy: Cambodia's Foreign Policy Towards Vietnam." *The Pacific Review* 30(3): 328-347.

Pongsudhirak, Thitinan. 2016. "An Unaligned Alliance: Thailand-US Relations in the Early 21st Century." *Asian Politics & Policy* 8 (1): 63-74.

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.

Teo, Ang Guan, and Kei Koga. 2022. "Conceptualizing Equidistant Diplomacy in International Relations: The Case of Singapore." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*. 22(3): 375-409.

Week 13: Mini-Conference

Week 14: Mini-Conference

Week 15: Review: Approaching Southeast Asia from a Global Perspective

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