

*This is a preliminary syllabus and it is subject to change by the instructor before the start of Fall 2018 semester*

**MA Program in Political Science – United Nations and Global Policy Studies**

**Politics, Economics and Security in East Asia**

**Course 790-553**

**Syllabus**

**Fall 2018, Thursday 8-9.40**

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### **Course Outline**

The world comprises some 200 Westphalian states. The Westphalian model is the basis of the international system and Westphalian states are the core actors in international law. But the Westphalian system is vulnerable from strategic, geographic and economic perspectives and is under challenge from globalization, cosmopolitanism and regionalism. This course will examine the politics, economics and security of East Asia challenge from the perspective of regionalism. The rationale for regionalism has a mix of political, economic and strategic factors and the course will examine each. While the central institution is the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), aspects of regionalism also encompass the other East Asian nations of China, Japan and Korea. And various regional mechanisms such as APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) also involves Oceania, North America, Russia and the Pacific countries of South America.

While the course will focus on East Asia, students will be able to apply the concepts employed to the study of other experiments with regionalism including the European Union, the East African Community, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, the Caribbean Community and Common Market, the Andean Community and even the North American Free Trade Area.

### **Course Objectives**

Students who complete the course will:

- Gain a deeper understanding of the international system and the tensions within
- Understand the role of regionalism within the international system

- Become familiar with the institutional architecture of East Asia
- Understand the political dimension of East Asian regionalism
- Understand the economic dimension of East Asian regionalism
- Understand the strategic dimension of East Asian regionalism

## Primary Texts

The primary text book used in this course is:

Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) (2012) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge. Students are encouraged to obtain a copy.

For the most recent analysis of developments, students are also encouraged to consult and subscribe (free) to East Asia Forum of the Australian National University: <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/>

Another useful reference point for news and commentary is ASEAN Focus published by the Institute for Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore: <http://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/aseanfocus>

## Assignments

The course will require students to complete three Assignments each of 4-5000 words, each worth 30% of the final course grade. The other 10% will be for class participation.

Assignment 1: Select one of the members of ASEAN and describe its goals and concerns in relation to East Asian regionalism including participation in ASEAN, ARF, APEC and other regional mechanisms. **Due Date: 8 October**

Assignment 2: Does East Asia need a new design for its regional economic architecture? Consider this question by contrasting the intended impact of the formerly USA sponsored Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Chinese supported Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). **Due Date: 5 November**

Assignment 3: How should each great power, USA, China, Japan and Russia develop its policy towards East Asian regionalism? **Due Date: 3 December**

The course is divided between lectures, presentations and discussions. Students will be expected to make several presentations during the course.

## **Course Outline**

### **Week 1. Overview and Introduction**

The course will begin with a discussion of the Westphalian system and the challenges it faces. The challenge from globalization is taking both a capitalist and an Islamist form. The challenge from cosmopolitanism is quite insidious. The challenge from regionalism is more discreet because Westphalian units comprise the regional building blocks.

The assignments will be explained. The assignments are focused on particular issues but within that field there is room for selection of topics and several sessions will be dedicated to student presentations of their assignment findings.

### **Week 2. Colonial legacies, Vietnam War, China's influence**

East Asia was heavily colonized. England, France, Portugal, Spain, The Netherlands, Japan and the United States were all colonial powers at one time. Even countries that were not fully colonized like Thailand and China felt the considerable impact of colonialism. East Asia has shrugged off colonial legacies more easily than other regions but deep scars nevertheless remain. Long before colonialism, Imperial China's tributary system established a Sino-centric regional order that continues to have an impact particularly as China rises. The modern defining event of East Asian history is the Vietnam War that divided the region along Cold War lines. The end of the Vietnam War allowed East Asian regionalism to blossom.

Nicholas Tarling (1998) *Nations and States in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge University Press, 47-63

Hans van de Ven (2002) "The Onrush of Modern Globalization in China", A. G. Hopkins *Globalization in World History*, Pimlico London, 167-183

Roland Rich (2007) *Pacific Asia in Quest of Democracy* (2007) Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Chapter 2, 23-30

### **Week 3. Precedents and Alternatives**

One cannot understand regionalism without focusing on the European Union from which we derive concepts of shared sovereignty, economic integration and political unity. In an important sense, every other attempt at regionalism is judged against the

progress made in Europe whether or not it shares the same goals. Students will make presentations on the East African Community, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, the Caribbean Community and Common Market and the Andean Community. There are also interesting alternative ideas such as cosmopolitanism, civilizational division, organization based on religious belief and notions of center and periphery.

Frederick Söderbaum (2012) "Theories of Regionalism", Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (2012) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 11-21

Andreas Staab (2008) *The European Union Explained: Institutions, Actors, Global*, Indiana University Press, 3-28

Enrico Spolaore (2013), What Is European Integration Really About? A Political Guide for Economists, Tufts,

<http://sites.tufts.edu/enricospolaore/files/2012/08/Euro-June-2013.pdf>

Anna Szofucha (2010) "The EU and Enlargement Fatigue: Why has the European Union not been able to counter enlargement fatigue?" *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, Volume 6, Issue 1, 1-16

For those interested in the legal basis of EU construction: Constanze Semmelmann (2013) "General Principles of EU Law: The Ghost in the Platonic Heaven in Need of Conceptual Clarification" *Pittsburgh Papers on the European Union*, Vol. 2, August 2013, 1-30, <http://pgheupapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/pgheupapers/article/view/7/6>

For those interested in China's tribute system: David Kang (2012) "East Asia when China was at the centre: the tribute system in early modern East Asia", Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 58-73

#### **Week 4. Origins of the Association of South East Asian Nations**

Post-WWII East Asia was a region of poverty, tension and latent conflict. The war against Japan had left much of the region in ruins. Decolonization was often accompanied by conflict as in Indonesia and Indochina. Cold War ideological contestation added to the frictions. ASEAN was born in 1967 but the end of the Vietnam War allowed for a reconceptualization of SE Asia.

The 1967 ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration) Bangkok, 8 August 1967

<http://asean.org/the-asean-declaration-bangkok-declaration-bangkok-8-august-1967/>

1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia signed on 24 February 1976 in Bali, Indonesia,

<http://asean.org/treaty-amity-cooperation-southeast-asia-indonesia-24-february-1976/>

C. M. Turnbull (1992) "Regionalism and Nationalism", Nicholas Tarling (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia: Volume 2 – The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Cambridge University Press, 615-631

Gilbert Rozman (2012) "East Asian Regionalism", Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 22-32

### **Week 5. ASEAN's various expansions, past and future**

The Bali Treaty speaks of the "ties of history, geography and culture" which have bound together the peoples of Southeast Asia. But the end of the war in Vietnam led to new tensions in Cambodia which pitted the original ASEAN members against Vietnam and its suzerain partner Laos. Only with the UN intervention in Cambodia could the region contemplate a broader union which eventuated in the 1990s with all Southeast Asia nations participating including the problematic case of Burma. ASEAN seems to have reached its geographic limits though membership by Timor Leste and Papua New Guinea remain slim possibilities.

C. M. Turnbull (1992) "Regionalism and Nationalism", Nicholas Tarling (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia: Volume 2 – The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Cambridge University Press, 631-645

Nguyen Vu Tung (2007) "Vietnam's Membership of ASEAN: A Constructivist Interpretation" *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 29, Number 3, December 2007, 483-505

Stephen McCarthy (2007) "The Black Sheep of the Family: How Burma Defines its Foreign Relations with ASEAN", Griffiths Asia Institute Regional Outlook Paper No. 7, 2006, [https://www.griffith.edu.au/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0018/18234/regional-outlook-volume-7.pdf](https://www.griffith.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0018/18234/regional-outlook-volume-7.pdf)

Amitav Acharya (2009) *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Routledge, xxii-xxiii, 267-277

### **Week 6. Regional architecture: political, security, economic**

One of ASEAN's strategies is to disallow any form of regional organisation without ASEAN at its core, an international relations example of the veto player phenomenon. This veto has been imposed in the political, economic and security contexts where the various architectural designs all start with the ten ASEAN member states. ASEAN thus has a disproportionate influence on regional affairs which in turn enhances ASEAN prestige and legitimacy.

Anja Jetschke (2012) "ASEAN" Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 327-337

Jörn Dosch (2012) "ASEAN and the challenge of regionalism in the Asia Pacific", Michael Connors, Rémy Davison and Jörn Dosch (eds.) *The New Global Politics of the Asia Pacific*, 121-139

Amitav Acharya (2009) *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Routledge, 1-16

## **Week 7. Political Architecture overview**

It is best to look at the political architecture from sub-regional, regional and global perspectives. From the rather narrow sub-regional perspective, ASEAN simply has the goal of avoiding conflict and enhancing cooperation among close neighbors. The institutionalization of the ASEAN dialogue processes with China, Japan, Korea and Australia, establishes a regional dynamic mainly because no other process can compete with bringing this group of countries together regularly in a formal process. The inclusion of the United States in the political process (largely through the economic and strategic windows) elevates the system into one of global significance.

Takeshi Terada (2012) "ASEAN plus three: becoming more like normal regionalism?" Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 364-374

David Camroux (2012) "The East Asian Summit: Pan-Asian multilateralism rather than intra-Asian regionalism" Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 375-383

Christopher Roberts (2012) *ASEAN Regionalism: Cooperation, Values and Institutionalisation*, Routledge, chapter 7 "Regionalism anew?" 147-173

## **Week 8. Economic Architecture overview**

The one piece of regional architecture that does not carry “ASEAN” in its title is the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (fill in the blank – community, family, forum, group...). At its infancy in the early 1990s, the rationale for APEC centered largely on Japan’s economy as the locomotive of the region but it didn’t take long before China replaced it in that role. The growth of APEC to include countries as far-flung as Russia and Chile and the competition from new forums such as the G20 group are creating doubts about its relevance and longevity. The newest bit of architecture, the ASEAN Economic Community, is not causing much excitement. The TPP was intended to be a major overhaul but it now looks like RCEP may play that role.

Yoichi Funabashi (1995) *Asia Pacific Fusion: Japan’s Role in APEC*, Institute for International Economics, Washington DC, 1-14

Nick Bisley (2012) “APEC: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation” Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 350-363

Nicholas Thomas (2012) “China-ASEAN relations: The core of Asian regionalism” Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 138-151

The Conversation (2015) “Trans Pacific Partnership” <https://theconversation.com/us/topics/trans-pacific-partnership> (there are a few analyses of TPP around but most are advocacy papers – this is the least biased of the various analyses)

Ankit Panda (2017) “Trump Killed TPP. What’s Next For Trade in Asia?” The Diplomat, <http://thediplomat.com/2017/01/trump-killed-tpp-whats-next-for-trade-in-asia/>

Anthony Fensom (2018) “The US the Biggest Loser as Asia Inks TPP-11” The Diplomat, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/03/us-the-biggest-loser-as-asia-inks-tpp-11/>

## **Week 9. Political Architecture – Human Rights, much ado about nothing**

Asia has long been the only region without an institutionalized human rights framework. One of the themes of this course is the centrality of ASEAN to any regional institution building. Accordingly, any new human rights institution must begin within ASEAN. The first attempt at a regional institution, the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights, is a disappointment.

Mathew Davies (2012) "The Perils of Incoherence: ASEAN, Myanmar and the Avoidable Failures of Human Rights Socialization?" *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 34, Number 1, April 2012, 1-22

Anthony Langlois (2012) "ASEAN regionalism and human rights: The case of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights" Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 216-235

Roland Rich (2011) "An Appreciation of the Human Rights Situation in Southeast Asia" in Aurel Croissant and Marco Bünte (eds.), *The Crisis of Democratic Governance in Southeast Asia. Critical Studies of the Asia-Pacific Series*, Palgrave Macmillan, 171-189

### **Week 10. Security Architecture overview**

The fundamental goal of the building of European regionalism was the avoidance of yet another Franco-German war. The fundamental goal of establishing ASEAN was the avoidance of war between its members. Though security is fundamental, its success is measured in the negative – the absence of war. The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) is also a mechanism to avoid war but it does so through a system of dialogue rather than any elaborate institutional architecture.

Jörn Dosch (2012) "Regional Security: Legacies and new challenges", Michael Connors, Rémy Davison and Jörn Dosch (eds.) *The New Global Politics of the Asia Pacific*, 156-175

Amitav Acharya (2009) *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Routledge, 192-201, 242-258

Min Ye (2012) "The rise of China and East Asian Regionalism" Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 251-262

Christopher Dent (2012) "Regional leadership in East Asia: Japan and China as contenders" Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 263-274

### **Week 11. Security Architecture: Tensions within ASEAN, Tensions beyond ASEAN**

While there have been several military skirmishes in the ASEAN era between member states, the last major land conflict in the region was between China and Vietnam in

1979. They may well be the parties to a future conflict but the dispute is more likely to be over maritime territory in the South China Sea.

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (2014) *Perspectives on the South China Sea*, in particular articles by Cohen, Cronin, Dupont and Graham

[http://csis.org/files/publication/140930\\_Hiebert\\_PerspectivesSouthChinaSea\\_Web.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/140930_Hiebert_PerspectivesSouthChinaSea_Web.pdf)

For an international relations theory approach:

Andy Yee (2011) "Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia: A Comparative Analysis of the South China Sea and the East China Sea", *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* volume 2, 165-193

## **Week 12. East Asia and the Major Powers**

All the major powers have a high stake in developments in East Asia. China and Japan have both seen themselves as the central players in East Asia while the US role has been that of security guarantor allowing it to benefit from political and economic opportunities. Russia has also seen itself as an Asian power.

Amitav Acharya (2009) *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Routledge, 220-231

Nguyen Thi Thuy Hang (2016) "The United States and China: Can They Cooperate?" *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Volume 43, 67-77

Lam Peng Er (2016) "China, the United States, Alliances, and War: Avoiding the Thucydides Trap?" *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Volume 43, 36-46

## **Week 13. What does the future hold?**

East Asia has some advantages over other regions. Unlike Africa, there is no problem of "stateness" as many of the countries have ancient roots. Unlike Europe and North America, the economies have less "rust belt" having experienced industrialization more recently. How do these factors affect regionalism? There is clearly no "imagined community" of East Asia and it is not even clear that ASEAN exists as an imagined community beyond bureaucrats and business people of its member states. One of the key issues that divides the region is democracy.

Mark Beeson (2012) "Democracy, Development and Authoritarianism", Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 236-247

Christopher Roberts (2012) *ASEAN Regionalism: Cooperation, Values and Institutionalisation*, Routledge, chapter 8 "Conclusion: Retrospect and Prospects", 174-187

Rémy Davison (2012) "Globalization versus Regionalism in East Asia", Michael Connors, Rémy Davison and Jörn Dosch (eds.) *The New Global Politics of the Asia Pacific*, 176-203

## **Week 14. Review**

### **Academic Integrity Policy**

Academic integrity means, among other things that you as a student must:

- Develop and write all of your own assignments.
- Show in detail where the materials you use in your papers come from. Create citations whether you are paraphrasing authors or quoting them directly. Be sure always to show source and page number within the assignment and include a bibliography in the back.
- Do not fabricate information or citations in your work.
- Do not facilitate academic dishonesty for another student by allowing your own work to be submitted by others.

The consequences of scholastic dishonesty are very serious. If you are in doubt about any issue related to plagiarism or scholastic dishonesty, please discuss it with the instructor. Students are also advised to consult the following links that provide more information and plagiarism tutorials:

<http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/>

<http://library.camden.rutgers.edu/EducationalModules/Plagiarism/>

[http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/avoid\\_plagiarism](http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/avoid_plagiarism)

<http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/resources-for-students/>

## **Other Academic Support Services**

Rutgers has a variety of resources for academic support. For more information, check <http://www.rutgers.edu/academics/academic-support>

Rutgers has Learning Centers on each campus where any student can obtain tutoring and other help. For information, check <http://lrc.rutgers.edu/>

Rutgers also has a Writing Center where students can obtain help with writing skills and assignments. Learn more here: <http://wp.rutgers.edu/tutoring/writingcenters>