

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

Course	M.A. (IRAS)
Course Number	To be assigned
Course Title	ASEAN Regionalism: Politics, Processes, and Governance
Course Type	Optional
Semester	Winter (III Semester)
Course Teacher & Contact Details	Name: Dr Rahul Mishra Associate Professor, Centre for Indo-Pacific Studies (CIPS), SIS, JNU Room No: 208, SIS-I Email: rmishra@mail.jnu.ac.in Tel No: Mobile: 9871014440 Landline:
Credits	4
Contact	4 hours per week
Class Schedule and Room Number	To be decided
Tutorials (for difficulties & discussion)	To be decided

Course Statement

<p>Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the representative regional organisation of eleven countries of Southeast Asia (including Timor Leste, and Myanmar – a suspended member) was established at the peak of the Cold War in 1967. Over the past more than five-and-a-half decades, it has proved itself as the most successful non-EU example of</p>

regionalism. Success of ASEAN in fostering intraregional, regional, and extra-regional cooperation has also been seen as an alternative approach to regional cooperation and regionalism away from functional and neo-functional approaches to regional and trans-national cooperation.

Cutting across political, diplomatic, economic, and cultural cooperation among member countries of Southeast Asia, ASEAN has facilitated cooperation and dialogue among member states. Over past half-a-century, it has also taken initiatives to engage countries outside of the regional grouping in a constructive, non-conflictive, and cooperative manner. ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), East Asia Summit (EAS), and ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM+) are notable examples in that regard.

Initiatives like the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) further exemplify efforts to create a seamless economic environment, enhancing trade and investment flows within the region.

This course offers insights into the origin, evolution, and the current state of ASEAN regionalism, its structure, instruments, and processes as well as its organisational setup. Modules of this course are designed in such a way that it would not only cover the history and current state of ASEAN but also its foundational and organisational principles. ASEAN's foundational normative principles such as the ASEAN Way, non-interference principle, ASEAN Centrality, and approaches to avoid conflict and maintain peace will be thoroughly analysed in this course.

It also focuses on ASEAN principles and to what extent ASEAN's behaviour manifests these principles, especially in moments of crisis such as the Cambodia conflict, the Myanmar humanitarian and political crises, and the South China Sea dispute.

ASEAN's relations with its dialogue partners and its role in the regional and major power dynamics will also be discussed and debated in this course. Particular attention will be given to the role ASEAN's partners in the EAS (Australia, China, Japan, South Korea, India, Japan) and the European Union play.

Course Objectives

Key objectives of this course are:

1. To evaluate ASEAN's role in fostering regional cooperation in post-Colonial Southeast Asia;
2. To understand the organisational setup, processes, and operational mechanisms of ASEAN;
3. To Examine theoretical frameworks that help explain ASEAN regionalism and how it is different from the EU and other regional organisations;
4. To evaluate the challenges and threats faced by ASEAN and to understand whether it is equipped to deal with such challenges;
5. To assess ASEAN's role in promoting regional and extra-regional dialogue and cooperation in Southeast Asia and the wider Indo-Pacific region;
6. Critically evaluate ASEAN's ties with its dialogue partners particularly China and India.

Learning Outcomes

1. Explain the role of major powers in influencing and shaping ASEAN since the post-Colonial times and the legacy of the Cold War;
2. Analyse ASEAN's role in the Southeast Asian and the evolving Indo-Pacific dynamics;
3. Critically analyse and theorize ASEAN's normative principles and behavioural practices;
4. Assess ASEAN's approach to its dialogue partners;
5. Appraise ASEAN's role in dealing with the challenges it faces.

Evaluation Methods

1. Mid Semester evaluation (50%)

- Term paper & Presentation: 20%
- Book Review: 10%
- Examination: 20%

2. End-Semester Examination (50%)

3. SIS Research Manual should be used as a guide to write assignments. Available at

https://www.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/SIS_Research_Manual_0.pdf

Students should maintain high degree of academic integrity, which includes abstaining from copying and plagiarism. For details on plagiarism and research ethics refer to the SIS Research Manual.

Course Outline:

This course provides an in-depth exploration of Southeast Asian regionalism, focusing on the history, structure, and evolving role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Through lectures, readings, and discussions, students will gain a comprehensive understanding of ASEAN's establishment, its development, and its impact on regional and global politics. The course will also examine the principles, norms, and values that underpin ASEAN's approach to diplomacy and cooperation.

Modules

Module I: Historical Background of Southeast Asian Regionalism

- Southeast Asia as a Region: Explore the geographic, cultural, and political factors that define Southeast Asia as a distinct region.
- Post-Colonial Southeast Asia: Understand the impact of colonialism and the subsequent movements toward independence and nation-building.
- Post-War Regional Cooperation: Analyse the early attempts at regional cooperation in Southeast Asia in the aftermath of World War II and the subsequent Cold War context.

Module II: Establishment of ASEAN and Its Evolution

- **Circumstances Leading to the Establishment of ASEAN:** Examine the geopolitical and economic factors that led to the creation of ASEAN in 1967.
- **Original Goals of ASEAN:** Discuss ASEAN's founding objectives, including the promotion of economic growth, social progress, and cultural development.
- **ASEAN Expansion:** Explore the reasons behind ASEAN's expansion from six to ten members and the implications of this growth.
- **ASEAN as a Regional Actor:** Analyse how ASEAN has developed an identity and role that extends beyond the individual actions of its member states.

Module III: ASEAN Structure, Instruments, and Procedures

- **Organizational Structure of ASEAN:** Learn about the various bodies and mechanisms that constitute ASEAN's organizational framework.
- **Treaty of Amity and Cooperation:** Study the principles and commitments outlined in this foundational treaty.
- **The ASEAN Charter:** Analyse the reasons behind the adoption of the ASEAN Charter in 2007 and its key elements addressing reforms in ASEAN's legal, institutional, and governance framework.

Module IV: The Role of ASEAN Chair - Country-Specific Studies

Choose two ASEAN countries (former and the current ASEAN Chair) and research their interests, objectives, positions, roles, and contributions regarding a specific aspect of the ASEAN agenda, such as security cooperation, economic integration, socio-cultural building, or institutionalization.

Module V: Principles and Norms of ASEAN

- **ASEAN's Behavioral Norms and the "ASEAN Way"**
- **ASEAN as a norm entrepreneur; ASEAN as a normative power in making: ASEAN's approach to regional diplomacy.**
- **Principles, Norms, and Values:** Examine the principles, norms, and values reflected in ASEAN agreements and how they have evolved over time.

- Strengths and Weaknesses of the “ASEAN Way”: Discuss the strengths of the consensus-based decision-making process known as "Musyawarah" and "Mufakat" and the instances where the need for consensus has been seen as a weakness.
- Non-Interference in Internal Affairs: Debate the application and consistency of this key ASEAN principle.
- ASEAN Centrality: Theory and practice

Module VI: ASEAN in the Indo-Pacific Order

- ARF, ASEAN Plus Three, EAS, EAMF, ADMM+: Study the extended regional frameworks and their significance in promoting broader regional cooperation.
- ASEAN as a Leader of Multilateralism: Analyse why ASEAN is considered an acceptable leader of multilateralism in the region.
- ASEAN’s convening power in the emerging regional/World Politics: Evaluate ASEAN’s effectiveness in addressing global political issues.
- ASEAN’s role in the Indo-Pacific: ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (AOIP) and beyond

Module VII: ASEAN’s Pillars: Political and Security Community

- Treaty of Amity and Cooperation: Revisit the principles and commitments of this foundational treaty.
- ZOPFAN, SEANWFZ, ARF, ADMM, ADMM Plus: Study these key security frameworks and initiatives.
- ASEAN Political and Security Community: Analyse the development and significance of this community pillar within ASEAN.

Module VIII: ASEAN’s Pillars: ASEAN as Developmental Regionalism/ASEAN Economic Community

- Country Perspectives on Preferred Areas for Cooperation and Obstacles to Integration: Discuss the preferred areas for cooperation and the obstacles to further integration as seen by different ASEAN countries.
- ASEAN Economic Cooperation: Explore key economic initiatives, including the ASEAN Free Trade Area, ASEAN Vision 2020 (Hanoi Action Plan), the ASEAN

Economic Community, ASEAN+3, Chiang Mai Initiative (ASEAN'S post-Asian Financial Crisis measures), and RCEP

Module IX: ASEAN's Pillars: ASEAN as Community-Building Regionalism/ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community

- ASEAN Social and Cultural Cooperation: Study the initiatives and frameworks that promote social and cultural cooperation within ASEAN.
- ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community and Post-2025 Vision: Analyse the goals and strategies for the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community and the vision for ASEAN beyond 2025.
- ASEAN Masterplan on Connectivity (AMPC): Learn about ASEAN's strategies for communication and maintaining its centrality.

Module X: ASEAN in Contemporary Regional/Global Politics

- ASEAN Strategy to Maintain Its Relevance in a Globalized World: Discuss the strategies ASEAN employs to stay relevant in the global context.
- ASEAN as a Resilient Region: Opportunities and Challenges: Evaluate the opportunities and challenges ASEAN faces in maintaining its resilience.
- Model of ASEAN Regionalism: Study the unique model of regionalism that ASEAN represents and its potential implications for other regions
- ASEAN's Engagement with major powers: Australia, China, Japan, South Korea, India, Japan, and the European Union

Modules XI, XII, XII, XIV: Student Evaluations (Dates to be decided)

Mid-semester examination (1)

Term paper and presentations (2)

Book reviews (Nil)

End-semester examination (1)

Readings

Essential Readings

- Marty Natalegawa (2018), *Does ASEAN Matter? A View from Within*, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute
- Donald E. Weatherbee. 2015. *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The struggle for Autonomy* (3rd Edition). Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Rowman & Littlefield
- Rodolfo Severino, 2006. *Southeast Asia in search of an ASEAN Community*. Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute
- Christopher B. Roberts, 2012. *ASEAN Regionalism, Cooperation, Values and Institutionalization*. New York: Routledge
- Amitav Acharya. 2014. *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*. (3rd edition). London: Routledge
- Nicholas Tarling. 2006. *Regionalism in Southeast Asia*. London and New York: Routledge

Module specific readings

Module I

Essential Readings

- Beeson, M. (2019). The great ASEAN Rorschach test. *The Pacific Review*, 33(3–4), 574–581.
- Cuyvers, L., Chen, L., & Lombaerde, P. D. (2019). 50 years of regional integration in ASEAN. *Asia Pacific Business Review*, 25(5), 609–618.
- Bjorn Hettne and Fredrik Soderbau. 2000. Theorising the Rise of Regionness. *New Political Economy* 5 (3):457 - 472.
- Fane, G. (2002). Reinventing ASEAN: A Review Article. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 38(3), 393–402.

Additional Readings

- Narine, S. (2008). Forty years of ASEAN: a historical review. *The Pacific Review*, 21(4), 411–429.
- Donald K Emmerson, 1984. "Southeast Asia": What's in a Name? *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 15 (1):1-21.

Module II

Essential Readings

- Solidum D. Estrella, 2003. *The Politics of ASEAN: An Introduction to Southeast Asian Regionalism*, Singapore: Eastern University Press.
- Sukhumband Paribatra. 1992. “From ASEAN Six to ASEAN Ten: Issues and Prospects”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 16 (3).

Additional Readings

- Fane, G. (2002). Reinventing ASEAN: A Review Article. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 38(3), 393–402.
- Irene Ng (2010), *The Singapore Lion: A Biography of S. Rajaratnam*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS)

Module III

Essential Readings

- Donald E. Weatherbee (2013), *Indonesia in ASEAN Vision and Reality*, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute
- Amitav Acharya (2014), *Indonesia Matters: Asia's Emerging Democratic Power*, World Scientific Publishing Company
- Verico, K. (2014). Indonesia in ASEAN: Vision and Reality; The ASEAN Economic Community: A Work in Progress. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 50(3), 502–505.

- Ba, A. (2014). Institutional divergence and convergence in the Asia-Pacific? ASEAN in practice and in theory. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 27(2), 295–318.

Additional Readings

- Beeson, Mark (ed.) 2004. *Contemporary Southeast Asia: Regional Dynamics, National Differences*. London: Palgrave.
- Johan Saravanamuttu (2010), *Malaysia's Foreign Policy, the First Fifty Years: Alignment, Neutralism, Islamism*, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute

Module IV

Essential Readings

- W. Woon (2015). *The ASEAN Charter: A Commentary*, Singapore: NUS Press.
- Wah, C. K. (1995). ASEAN: Consolidation and institutional change, *The Pacific Review*, 8(3), 424–439.
- ASEAN secretariat official web page (www.aseansec.org).
- Rodolfo Severino, 2006. *Southeast Asia in search of an ASEAN Community*. Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute
- Christopher B. Roberts, 2012. *ASEAN Regionalism, Cooperation, Values and Institutionalization*. New York: Routledge.

Additional Readings

- Fukunaga, Y. (2021). Use of legal instruments in the ASEAN Economic Community building. *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 10(1), 65–82.
- Sim, E. “ASEAN Further Enhances Its Dispute Settlement Mechanism.” *Indonesia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 7, no. April (2020): 279–292.
- Wong, R. (2012). Model power or reference point? The EU and the ASEAN Charter. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 25(4), 669–682.

Module V

Essential Readings

- Suzuki, S. (2019). Why is ASEAN not intrusive? Non-interference meets state strength. *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 8(2), 157–176.
- Solidum D. Estrella, 2003. *The Politics of ASEAN: An Introduction to Southeast Asian Regionalism*, Singapore: Eastern University Press.
- Nishikawa, Yukiko. 2007. The "ASEAN Way" and Asian Regional Security. *Politics & Policy* 35 (1):42-56.
- Amitav Acharya. 2014. *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*. (3rd edition). London: Routledge.

Additional Readings

- Jones, L. (2010). ASEAN's unchanged melody? The theory and practice of 'non-interference' in Southeast Asia. *The Pacific Review*, 23(4), 479–502.
- Amitav Acharya (1997), "Ideas, Identity, and Institution-Building: From the "ASEAN Way" to the "Asia Pacific Way", *The Pacific Review*, 10 (3), pp. 319-346.
- Kivimäki, T. (2012). Southeast Asia and conflict prevention. Is ASEAN running out of steam? *The Pacific Review*, 25(4), 403–427.
- Yukawa, T. (2017). The ASEAN Way as a symbol: an analysis of discourses on the ASEAN Norms. *The Pacific Review*, 31(3), 298–314.

Module VI

Essential Readings

- Sundararaman, S. (1998). The ASEAN regional forum: Reassessing multilateral security in the Asia-pacific. *Strategic Analysis*, 22(4), 655–665.
- Simon, S. W. (1998). Security prospects in Southeast Asia: Collaborative efforts and the ASEAN regional forum. *The Pacific Review*, 11(2), 195–212.
- ASEAN secretariat official web page (www.aseansec.org).
- M. Caballero-Anthony (1998) 'Mechanisms of Dispute Settlement: The ASEAN Experience', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 20 (1), pp. 38-54.

Additional Readings

- M. Leifer (1996) *ASEAN and the Security of Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge.
- Mark Beeson (2003). “ASEAN Plus Three and the Rise of Reactionary Regionalism”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 25 (2): pp. 251-268.

Module VII

Essential Readings

- Heiner Hanggi (1991), *ASEAN and the ZOPFAN Concept*, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute
- Koga, K. (2014). Institutional transformation of ASEAN: ZOPFAN, TAC, and the Bali Concord I in 1968–1976. *The Pacific Review*, 27(5), 729–753.
- Solidum D. Estrella, 2003. *The Politics of ASEAN: An Introduction to Southeast Asian Regionalism*, Singapore: Eastern University Press.
- ASEAN secretariat official web page (www.aseansec.org).

Additional Readings

- Rodolfo C Severino (2004), *Towards an ASEAN Security Community*, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute
- N Ganesan, Ramses Amer (2010), *International Relations in Southeast Asia: Between Bilateralism and Multilateralism*, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute

Module VIII

Essential Readings

- Philippa Dee (2014), Does AFAS have bite? Comparing services trade commitments with actual practice, *Journal of Asian Economics*, Volume 35, 2014

- Shimizu, K. (2021). The ASEAN Economic Community and the RCEP in the world economy. *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 10(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2021.1907881>
- Helen E.S. Nesadurai (2003), “Attempting Developmental Regionalism in AFTA: The Domestic Sources of Regional Governance.” *Third World Quarterly* 24 (2): 235-53.
- Stefano Inama and Edmund W. Sim (2015), *The Foundation of the ASEAN Economic Community*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- ASEAN Secretariat (1997), ASEAN Economic Cooperation, Transition and Transformation. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat.

Additional Readings

- Chia, Siow Yue (2013), *The ASEAN Economic Community: Progress, Challenges, and Prospects*. Asian Development Bank Institute.
- Tongzon, J.L. (1998) *The Economies of Southeast Asia: The Growth and Development of ASEAN Economies*. UK: Edward Elgar.

Module IX

Essential Readings

- Caballero-Anthony, M. (2014). Understanding ASEAN’s centrality: bases and prospects in an evolving regional architecture. *The Pacific Review*, 27(4), 563–584.
- Bellamy, A. J., & Beeson, M. (2010). The Responsibility to Protect in Southeast Asia: Can ASEAN Reconcile Humanitarianism and Sovereignty? *Asian Security*, 6(3), 262–279.
- Amitav Acharya (2014), *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*. (3rd edition). London: Routledge.
- Rodolfo Severino (2006) Southeast Asia in search of an ASEAN Community. Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute
- ASEAN secretariat official web page (www.aseansec.org).

Additional Readings

- Elizabeth Buensuceso (2021), *ASEAN Centrality: An Autoethnographic Account by a Philippine Diplomat*, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute
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Module X

Essential Readings

- Stubbs, R. (2008). The ASEAN alternative? Ideas, institutions and the challenge to ‘global’ governance. *The Pacific Review*, 21(4), 451–468.
- Yates, R. (2016). ASEAN as the ‘regional conductor’: understanding ASEAN’s role in Asia-Pacific order. *The Pacific Review*, 30(4), 443–461.
- Saw Swee-Hock, Lijun Sheng, kin Wah cin (2005), *ASEAN-China Relations: Realities and Prospects*. Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute
- Saw Swee-Hock, (2006), *ASEAN-China economic Relations*. Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute
- Donald E. Weatherbee (2015), *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The struggle for Autonomy* (3rd Edition). Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Ahmad, Hamzah (1989), *ASEAN Relations with Dialogue Partners* (Kuala Lumpur: Pelantuk
- ASEAN secretariat official web page (www.aseansec.org).

Additional Readings

- Narine, S. (1999). ASEAN into the twenty-first century: Problems and prospects. *The Pacific Review*, 12(3), 357–380.
- Bi, S. (2021). Cooperation between China and ASEAN under the building of ASEAN Economic Community. *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 10(1), 83–107.