

**SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**

Course:	PhD
Course No:	SA685
Course Title:	Sub-Regional Initiatives in ASEAN
Course Type:	Optional
Semester	Monsoon
Course Teacher & Contact Details:	Name: Dr. Ananta Swarup Bijendra De Gurung Room No: 36, SIS-I Email: ananta@jnu.ac.in Tel No: 95602-01477
Credits:	4
Contact	4 hours/week
Class Schedule and Room Number	<i>(to be given later)</i>
Tutorials (for difficulties & discussion)	<i>(to be given later)</i>

<p>Course Statement</p> <p>Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam (CLMV) comprise mainland/continental Southeast Asia. The less developed CLMV countries became members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the late 1990s. Their accession to ASEAN in the post-Cold War era also marked a transition phase in Southeast Asia's regional integration process. It also signaled the end of the political division and an era where Communism was considered a threat to regional stability. The diversity of its members, with their varying economic and political systems, gave ASEAN a distinct pan-regional identity. At the same time, the rotation of the chairpersonship and consensus-based decision-making are a testament to the unique characteristic of ASEAN: "the ASEAN way". The inclusive characteristics of ASEAN also exemplify that the regional organization is oriented towards its primary goals- to promote intra-regional economic development, to foster social and cultural progress, and to ensure peace and stability in the region.</p> <p>The expanding ASEAN's membership however, brought new challenges and opportunities in the changing regional and international environment. While the expanded membership meant improved economic and political ties between the original ASEAN-5 and the newer CLMV or ASEAN-4 members and a window of opportunities for CLMV to connect with the rest of the world, the developmental gap of the latter presented itself as a new challenge. Though ASEAN responded through the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI), delays in the ASEAN Free Trade Area tariff reduction schedule, the regional institution could not effectively mitigate the CLMV vulnerabilities. ASEAN simply did not have the financial resources to extend grants and loans to the ASEAN-4, thus left the financing and infrastructure projects to the international financial institutions (like Asian Development Bank) or the developed countries (Severino 2007: 39). The prevailing resource vacuum have allowed extra-regional states like Japan, the US, the EU, South Korea, China, and India etc to play a role in the sub-region's economic and infrastructural</p>
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developmental deficits. Apart from the above, the CLMV have given rise to a sub-regional initiative among the four members to promote balanced development, bridge the economic gap among them and promote the sub-regional prosperity.

The extra-regional states involved in mainland Southeast Asia are driven by their own strategic interests in the sub-region. Owing to this, major powers' overture towards the CLMV countries waxes and wanes due to enhancing their position vis-à-vis other competing powers. Consequently, the CLMV has become an essential instrument in the major powers' regional economic, political, and security architecture. The security and prosperity of CLMV countries are therefore dependent on major powers; at the same time, CLMV countries have also come to shape the economic, strategic, and security choices of major powers individually as vital geo-strategic actors in Southeast Asia and sometimes by their membership in ASEAN.

The major powers rivalry has also come to divide the regional cohesion in Southeast Asia and threatens to destabilize the institutional collective identity. In this competition, both China and the U.S. (its partners and allies) aim to enhance their dominance while at the same time ensuring that no other powers will control the region. But rather than employing ideology as a cleaving factor like in the Cold War days, major powers today employ investments, sub-regions, and infrastructure/development projects to win partners and safeguard their interests in the CLMV sub-region and the Indo-Pacific macro-region in general.

Course Objectives

1. Understand the process of integration of CLMV countries in ASEAN.
2. Understand major powers involvement in the CLMV sub-region in the post-2000s/post-Cold War era.
3. Evaluate the CLMV countries responses to the Sub-regional developmental initiatives.
4. Critically asses the strategic consequences of economic/infrastructural investments in the CLMV countries in the backdrop of simmering U.S.-China rivalry.

Learning Outcomes

1. Explain the process of integration of CLMV countries in ASEAN.
2. Analyze the trends of major powers involvement in the Mainland Southeast Asia: post-Cold War/post-1990s.
3. Critically analyze the CLMV countries responses to the Sub-regional Developmental Initiatives.
4. Assess the strategic consequence of the economic/infrastructural investments in the CLMV countries and its implications on ASEAN unity and Centrality.

Evaluation Methods

1. **Mid Semester evaluation (50%)**
 - Term paper & Presentation: 20%
 - Book Review: 10
 - Mid-Semester Examination: 20%
2. **End-Semester Examination (50%)**
 - 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 Research Manual.

Course Outline:

Module I: Introduction: Mainland Southeast Asia in ASEAN

- Integration of Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam (CLMV) in ASEAN
- The Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI)
- The Hanoi Action Plan
- The ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Cooperation Program (MBDC)
- The East-West Corridor

Module II: Extra-regional Countries' Involvement in the Mainland Southeast Asia: Trends in the post-Cold War/post-1990s

- The US's strategic withdrawal from its bases in Philippines in the early 1990s
- 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, and their ramifications to the region
- China's emergence as a significant Asian economic provider
- The changing nature of the U.S. from direct military conflict to normalization of diplomatic relations, engaging in supporting economic development and military cooperation in the mainland Southeast Asia post-1990s

Module III: CLMV responses to the Sub-regional Developmental Initiatives:

- The Greater Mekong Subregion
- Nam Theu 2 (financed by 27 parties, including members of World Bank and Asian Development Bank)
- The Lower Mekong Initiative
- The Mekong-Ganga initiative
- The Lancang-Mekong Cooperation

Module IV: CLMV responses to Major Economic/Infrastructural/Strategic Initiatives:

- Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)
- The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)
- Security and Growth for All in the Region (SAGAR: Project Sagarmala and Project Mausam)
- Asia Reassurance Initiative Act (ARIA: which commits the US to an enhanced security partnership with Vietnam)
- Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative (IPOI)
- The Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF of which Vietnam is a member)

Module V: Strategic Consequences of the Economic/Developmental/Security Initiatives:

- The CLMV countries' varying opinions and diplomatic stances
- China prefers a fragmented ASEAN (Cambodia and its 2012 ASEAN Chairmanship serves as a clear lesson)
- Divided ASEAN, a challenge for the ASEAN Community building
- The vulnerabilities of CLMV vis-à-vis China and its ramifications for ASEAN Centrality
- Difficulty in managing Major powers competition

Readings

Module I: Introduction: Integration of CLMV in ASEAN (1,2&3)

Essential Readings

Intal, Poniano, Jr. and Lurong Chen (2017), *ASEAN and Member States: Transformation and Integration*, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, Philippines.

Soja, Pawel (2018), "Integration of the CLMV countries with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations", *The Polish Quarterly Journal of International Affairs*, 4: 44-69.

Quah, B. H. (2008), "CLMV Development Assistance Programmes: Background, Approaches, Concerns", in Sotharith, C. (ed.), *Development Strategy for CLMV in the age of Economic Integration*, ERIA Project Report 2007-4, Chiba: IDE-JETRO, pp.82-114.

Natalegawa, Marty M. (2017), "The Expansion of ASEAN and the Changing Dynamics of Southeast Asia", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 39(2): 232-238.

Yue, Chia Siow (2006), "Integrating the Mekong Region in ASEAN", *Singapore Institute of International Affairs, International Monetary Fund*, available at <https://www.imf.org/external/np/seminars/eng/2006/mekong/yue.pdf>

Nair, Deepak (2016), "Learning Diplomacy: Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam Diplomats in ASEAN", *ISEAS*, No. 14, available at https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/TRS14_16.pdf

Cribb, Robert (1998), "Burma's Entry into ASEAN: Background and Implications", *Asian Perspective*, 22(3): 49-62.

The ASEAN Way: Regional Integration Process and Limits to Integration in Southeast Asia, May 2021, EFSAS, available at <https://www.efsas.org/EFASAS-The%20ASEAN%20Way-Regional%20Integration%20Processes%20and%20Limits%20to%20Integration%20in%20Southeast%20Asia-May2021.pdf>

Additional Readings

Chalk, Peter, (2015), "The Institutional Development of ASEAN", Australia Strategic Policy Institute, available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep04212.6>

Narjoko, Dionisius A. and Puspa Delima Amri (2007), "The Development Gap between the ASEAN Member Countries: The Perspective of Indonesia", *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 24(2): 45-71. (pp. 62-67).

Severino, Rodolfo C. (2007), "The Economic Developmental Divide and the Initiative for ASEAN Integration", *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 24(1): 35-44.

Guyot, James (1998), "Burma in 1997: From Empire to ASEAN", *Asian Survey*, 38(2): 190-195.

McCarthy, Stephen (2008), "Burma and ASEAN: Estranged Bedfellows", *Asian Survey*, 48(6): 911-935.

Kim, Min-hyung (2011), "Theorizing ASEAN Integration", *Asian Perspective*, 35(3): 407-435.

Module II: Extra-regional Countries Involvement in the Mainland Southeast Asia: Trends in the post-Cold War/post-1990s (Week 4,5,&6)

Essential Readings

Medcalf, Rory (2020), *Contest for the Indo-Pacific: Why China won't Map the Future*, La Trobe University Press, Australia.

Acharya, Amitav (2017), *East of India South of China: Sino-Indian Encounters in Southeast Asia*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Yaacob, Rahman "Partnership of Convenience: Ream Naval Base and the Cambodia-China Convergence", Dec 2024, Lowy Institute, available at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/partnership-convenience-ream-naval-base-cambodia-china-convergence>

Shambaugh, David (2004/2005), "China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order", *International Security*, 29(3): 64-99.

Kaplan, Robert D. (2010), "Burma: where India and China Collide", in Robert D. Kaplan, *Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power*, Random House, New York.

Shiraishi, Masaya (2009), "Japan Towards the Indochina Sub-Region", *Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, 13: 13-36.

Hoopes, Townsend (July 1970), "Legacy of Cold War in Indochina", *Foreign Affairs*, 48(4): 601-616.

Pang, Edgar (Sept 2017), "Same-Same but Different": Laos and Cambodia's Political Embrace of China", *Perspective*, No.66, ISEAS, available at https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/ISEAS_Perspective_2017_66.pdf

Morrison, Charles E. (1997), "ASEAN: Forum, Caucus and Community", *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 14(2): 150-158.

The Mekong Matters for America/America Matters for the Mekong, *East-West Center*, 2020, available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25016>

Yoshimatsu, Hidetaka (2022), "ASEAN and Great Power Rivalry in Regionalism: From East Asia to the Indo-Pacific", *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 42(1): 25-44.

Additional Readings

Green, David Jay (2006), "Bridging the ASEAN Development Divide: A Regional Overview", *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 24(1): 15-34.

Thompson, Drew and Byron Chong (2020), "Build For Trust, Not for Conflict: ASEAN faces the Future", Special Report, No.477, *United States Institute for Peace*, available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep26022>.

Ngeow, Chow-Bing (Sept 25, 2019), "China-Southeast Asia Relations: From the Cold War to the 'New Era'", *Italian Institute for International Political Studies*, available at <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/china-southeast-asia-relations-cold-war-new-era-24019>.

Wester, Shay (Nov 8, 2023), "Balancing Act: Assessing China's Growing Economic Influence in ASEAN", *Asia Society*, available at <https://asiasociety.org/policy-institute/balancing-act-assessing-chinas-growing-economic-influence-asean>

Module III: CLMV responses to the Sub-regional Developmental Initiatives: (Week 7,8,&9)

Essential Readings

De, Prabir (2014), *ASEAN-India: Deepening Economic Partnership in Mekong Region*, Bookwell, New Delhi.

Teo, Sarah (2022), "Introduction", *Asia Policy*, 17(2): 2-6.

Eyler, Brian (2022), "The United States and China in Mekong: A Zero-Sum Game or a New Race to the Top?", *Asian Policy*, 17(2): 7-13.

Gong, Xue (2022), "Words Can Speak Louder Than Actions: Examining China's Discourse Approach in Mekong Governance", *Asia Policy*, 17(2): 21-27.

Koga, Kei (2022), "The Emerging Power Play in the Mekong Subregion: A Japanese Perspective", *Asian Policy*, 17(2): 28-34.

Singh, Swaran (2022), "Mekong-Ganga Cooperation: Interests, Initiatives and Influence", *Asia Policy*, 17(2): 43-49.

Pich, Charadine (2022), "The Mekong Sub-regional Framework: A Geopolitical Dilemma and the Ways forward", *Asia Policy*, 17(2): 57-62.

Siphana, Sok (2018), "Mekong Cooperation and BRI", *Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development*, 10: 86-95.

Thu, To Minh and Le Dinh Tinh (2019), "Vietnam and Mekong Cooperation Mechanisms", *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2019, 395-411.

Sovachana, Pou and Bradley J. Murg (2019), “The Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Mechanism: Confronting Realities in Cambodia and the Greater Mekong Subregion”, *CSCAP Regional Security Outlook*, 48-51, available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep22260.16>

Guangsheng, Lu (2016), “China Seeks to Improve Mekong Sub-regional Cooperation: Causes and Policies”, *RSIS*, available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05850>

Additional Readings

Masviriyakul, Siriluk (2004), “Sino-Thai Strategic Economic Development in the Greater Mekong Subregion (1992-2003)”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 26(2): 302-319.

Permana, Aditya and Mochammad Taufan (2022), CLMV, ASEAN6 and China’s Belt and Road Initiative: Economically Secure, Politically Insecure, Proceedings of International Conference on Industrial and Operations Management, Aug 2022, available at <https://index.ieomsociety.org/index.cfm/article/view/ID/13421>

Myres, Lucas (2020), “The China-Myanmar Economic Corridor and China’s Determination to See it Through”, *Asia Dispatch*, Wilson Centre, available at <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/china-myanmar-economic-corridor-and-chinas-determination-see-it-through>

Li, Zhang (2022), “Regionalization or Internationalization? Different Types of Water Multilateralism by China and the United States in the Mekong Subregion”, *Asia Policy*, 17(2): 14-20.

Tinh, Le Dinh (2022), “ASEAN and the Mekong: A Functional Approach”, *Asia Policy*, 17(2): 63-68.

Kwak, Sungil (2022), “The Future Direction of Republic of Korea and Mekong Cooperation in a Climate of U.S.-China Competition”, *Asia Policy*, 17(2): 35-42.

Module IV: CLMV responses to Regional Economic/Infrastructural/Strategic Initiatives (Week10,11&12):

Essential Readings

Grare, Frederic and Amitabh Mattoo (2001), *India and ASEAN: The Politics of India’s Look East Policy*, Manohar Publisher, New Delhi.

Mohan Malik (2014), *Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific: Perspectives from China, India and the United States*, Rowman and Littlefield, UK.

David Michel and Ricky Passarelli (2014), *Sea Change: Evolving Maritime Geo-Politics in the Indo-Pacific Region*, Stimson Centre, Washington.

Sayalath, Soulatha (2024), “From Foes to Friends: China and the United States in Laos’ Foreign Policy”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 46(1): 103-124.

Golley, Jane and Adam Ingle (2018), “The Belt and Road Initiative: How to win Friends and Influence People”, in *China Story Yearbook 2017: Prosperity*, (eds.) Jane Golley and Linda Jaivin, ANU Press, pp. 42-60.

Busbarat, Pongphisoot (2019), “Opportunities amidst the US-China competition: A renewed engagement of regional stakeholder in mainland Southeast Asia”, *CSCAP Regional Security Outlook 2020*, eds. Ron Huisken et. al, *Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific*, available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep22261.13>

The Asia Reassurance Initiative Act (ARIA) of 2018, April 4, 2019, Congressional Research Service, available at <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF11148>

Yagci, Mustafa (2018)”, “Rethinking Soft Power in Light of China’s Belt and Road Initiative”, *International Relations*, 15(57): 67-78.

Anwar, Anu (2019), “Belt and Road Initiative: What’s in for China?”, *East-West Centre*, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep25013.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3Aebb520eb649a7fae57d81c9fbb22ffb3&ab_segments=&initiator=&acceptTC=1

Po, Sovinda and Lucy West (2021), “Cambodia’s Foreign Policy in 2020: China Friend and American Foes?” *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2021, 92-104.

Sun, Yun (2014), “Myanmar in US-China Relations”, *STIMSON*, No.3, available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep10802>

Bhattacharyay, Biswa Nath (2010), “Infrastructure for ASEAN: Connectivity and Integration”, *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 27(2): 200-220.

Zhao, Hong (2008), “China and India: Competing for Good Relations with Myanmar”, *The Journal of East Asian Affairs*, 22(1): 175-194.

Bert, Wayne (2004), “Burma, China and the U.S.A”, *Pacific Affairs*, 77(2): 263-282.

Clapp, Priscilla (2020), “The Intersection of Investment and Conflict in Myanmar”, Special Report No. 463, *United States Institute of Peace*, 1-20.

Sun, Yun (2013), “Chinese Investment in Myanmar: What Lies Ahead?”, *STIMSON*, Issue Brief No.1, 1-12.

Gupta, Ranjit (2013), “China and its Peripheries: Beijing’s Myanmar Strategy”, *Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies*, Issue Brief No.5, 1-8.

Additional Readings

Chheang, V. (2022), “Cambodia’s multifaceted foreign policy and agency in the making”, *The Pacific Review*, 35(2): 342-367.

Duong, Chandy, William Kang and Jaechun Kim (2022), “Cambodia’s Foreign Policy Choice during 2010 to 2020: From Strategic Hedging to Bandwagoning”, *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, 20(1): 55-88.

Howe, Brendan M. and Seo Hyun Rachele Park (2015), “Laos: The Dangers of Developmentalism?” *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2015, 167-185.

Lintner, Bertil (2003), “Laos: Mired in Economic Stagnation”, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2003, 135-145.

Lintner, Bertil (2001), “Laos: Sings of Unrests”, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2001, 177-186.

Bourdet, Yves (2000), “Laos: An episode of Yo-Yo Market” *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2000, 147-162.

Fox, Martin Stuart (2007), “Laos: Politics in a Single-party State”, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2007, 161-180.

Sayalath, Soulatha and Simon Creak (2017), “Regime Renewal in Laos: The Tenth Congress of the Laos People’s Revolutionary Party”, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2017, 179-200.

Module V: Strategic Consequence of the Economic/Infrastructural Initiatives: (Week13, 14&15)

Essential Readings

Natalegawa, Marty (2018), *Does ASEAN Matter? A View from Within*, ISEAS, Singapore.

Koga, Kei (2022), *Managing Great Power Politics: ASEAN, Institutional Strategy, and the South China Sea*, Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore.

Zha, Wen (2023), “Southeast Asia amid Sino-U.S. Competition: Power Shift and Regional Order Transition”, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 16: 241-261.

Ciorciari, John D. (2017), “ASEAN and the Great Powers”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 39(2): 252-258.

Acharya, Amitav (2017), “The Myth of ASEAN Centrality?”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 39(2): 273-279.

Natalegawa, Marty (2019), “The Centrality of ASEAN: Further Entrenching what Works in the Decades Ahead”, *Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development*, 13, 128-135.

Reviewing 2021: Internal and External Challenges to ASEAN Centrality, Asan Institute for Policy Studies, 85-92, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep39829.12.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A83a0f1844ed5dd405ebadb80e8b64008&ab_segments=&initiator=&acceptTC=1

Chia, S. Y. (2013), “The ASEAN Community: Progress, challenges and prospects”, *ADB Working Paper*, 440, 203-225, available at <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/156295/adb-wp440.pdf>.

Additional Readings

Khaerani, Epstein Adinda (Oct 2, 2024), “ASEAN still torn over security challenges”, Geopolitical Intelligence Services (GIS), available at <https://www.gisreportsonline.com/r/asean-issues/>

Charlertpalanupap, Termsak, (2014), “ASEAN: Managing External Political and Security Relations”, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 53-75.

Connelly, A (2021), The Coup in Myanmar and the threat to ASEAN Centrality, International Institute for Strategic Studies, available at <https://www.iiss.org/online-analysis/online-analysis/2021/03/coup-myanmar-asean/>

Hieu, Van Trung (2017), “The Challenges of ASEAN-50 about Unity in Diversity”, Elsevier, available at https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3064464