

**SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**

Course:	M.A. (IRAS)
Course No:	IA 530
Course Title:	Southeast Asia and the Pacific Island States Responses to Major Power Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific
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>

Course Statement

The Indo-Pacific region has emerged as the epicenter of competition between major powers. The region attracts the attention of major powers like the U.S. and China and countries like Japan, Australia, the Republic of Korea, and India due to the significant economic and strategically vital sea lines of communication in the Indo-Pacific. Together, the U.S. and China account for more than 40% of the Global GDP and are the world's two largest spenders in defense. Thus, their intensified contestation has a bearing on regional geopolitics and the economic security of small Southeast Asian and Pacific Island states in the Indo-Pacific region.

Small states like Vietnam, Singapore, and Malaysia see it in their best interest to engage the U.S. and China in different degrees by employing various strategies to navigate the power rivalry in the emerging regional order. Some small Southeast Asian states, like Cambodia, Lao, and Myanmar, have built closer partnerships with China with a deepening and widening effect. Both the major powers are actively engaged in courting a neutral Indonesia, which is the largest of all Southeast Asian states. In contrast, the Philippines and Thailand have continued to remain

under the American alliance system present since the Cold War.

The strategic competition of the U.S. and China has also become increasingly evident in the context of the Pacific island countries. The secret nature of the April 2022 security agreement, the July 2023 agreement to boost cooperation on security matters between China and the Solomon Islands, was reciprocated by the U.S. 11-point Declaration on the US-Pacific Partnership between the U.S. and Pacific Island leaders in September 2022. The recently concluded May 22, 2023, U.S.-Papua New Guinea defense agreement reinforces the heightened nature of Sino-U.S. interests and competition in the Pacific. While China maintains that its presence and engagement underscores new developmental opportunities for the region, it does nothing to elevate the security anxieties of America and its allies like Australia and New Zealand.

The multitude of interactions that criss-cross the major powers at one level and small state's political, economic, defense, and strategic exchange with major powers on the other becomes increasingly complicated, especially when the U.S. and its allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific see an interest in maintaining the status quo and in contrast, China now has the intention and the resources necessary to change the regional order to suit Beijing's interests.

The course aims to map the opportunities and challenges individual Southeast Asian and Pacific island states face while navigating the U.S. and China rivalry in the Indo-Pacific to avoid overexposure to any one powerful country.

Course Objectives

1. Understand colonial experience of Southeast Asia and Pacific Island states and the historical context of great power rivalry.
2. Evaluate the consequences of disengagement of the U.S. in Southeast Asia and the rise of China.
3. Examine theoretical framework in shaping Southeast Asian responses to the U.S.-China rivalry.
4. Determine factors that shape Pacific and Small Islands States responses to the U.S.-China rivalry.
5. Critically assess the stability of the Indo-Pacific in the backdrop of the U.S.-China rivalry

Learning Outcomes

1. Explain the Major Powers involvement in the region since colonial times and the legacy of the Cold War.
2. Analyze the shifting balance of power in Southeast Asia and the Pacific after the end of the Cold War and the rise of China.
3. Critically analyze and theorize Southeast Asian countries responses to the U.S.-China rivalry.
4. Assess Pacific Island states responses to the U.S.-China rivalry.
5. Appraise the future of the U.S.-China rivalry and regional stability of the Indo-Pacific.

Evaluation Methods

1. Mid Semester evaluation (50%)

- Term paper & Presentation: 20%
- Book Review: 10
- 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: Great Power rivalry in a Historical Perspective

Great Powers are those states that possess the capability to shape the international system and compete for power as a result (Mearsheimer 2014: xv). Small states on the other do not possess such capabilities. Therefore, small states in the course are understood to be a state, who acting alone or in a group, can never make a significant impact on the system (Keohane 1969: 296). In the case of the Pacific there are microstates that face a separate kind of challenge in the geopolitics driven by major powers like the U.S. and China. The above definition along with Comprehensive National Power (combination of economic, military and political power in a given period) will serve as a background to focus on the Major Powers involvement in the region since colonial times till the end of Cold War. It will thus closely analyze the participation of powers like France, the USSR, the U.S., Japan and China as major powers involved in the first, second, and third Indo-China Wars. The focus will also be to understand the legacy of the Cold War in Indochina. The emergence of both the ASEAN and the Pacific Islands Forum takes place within the overarching geopolitical issues that push major power rivalry in the region.

Module II: Strategic Reentry of the U.S. and the increasing footprint of China since 1997

This module will focus on shifting balance of power in Southeast Asia and the Pacific after the end of the Cold War. The strategic disengagement of the U.S. in Southeast Asia became pronounced after it vacated the Clark Airbase and Subic Bay area in the early 1990s following the end of the Cold War. This changed in the first half of 2000s owing to Bush's Global War on Terror. The increasing footprint of China to fill the power vacuum in the region since 1997 will also be a core point of discussion. The module will highlight the evolving dynamics of the U.S.-China competition by analyzing Obama's Pivot and Rebalancing, Trump's Reassurance Strategy, Biden's Integrated Deterrence, the Indo-Pacific Strategy of the US, India, Japan and the growing economic and strategic clout and challenges that the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative poses in the geo-strategic and geo-economic Indo-Pacific region.

Module III: Mainland, Insular Southeast Asia: Responses to Sino-US Rivalry

This module will focus on the various responses through which the ten states comprising mainland and insular Southeast Asia aim to negotiate and manage the U.S.-China rivalry. The significant domestic constraints of ASEAN states are studied to comprehensively understand their challenges during their interactions with major powers involved in the region. The growing divide between the claimant and non-claimant countries concerning maritime disputes (South China Sea Maritime Dispute) in Southeast Asia also shapes their bilateral relations with the security provider, the U.S., and their main economic partner, China. Therefore, the varied state responses concerning the U.S. and China in Southeast Asia will continue in the foreseeable future. The central focus of the module will also be on an attempt to analyze and theorize these state responses under hedging, balancing, soft-balancing and under-balancing, enmeshing, socialization etc to understand Southeast Asian state's responses in the broader context of International Relations theories.

Module IV: Pacific and Small Islands States: Responses to Sino-US rivalry

This IVth Module will analyze the dynamics critical to Australia and New Zealand and microstates in Melanesia (Papua New Guinea, Solomon Island, Vanuatu, Fiji), Micronesia (Palau, Guam, Marshall Islands) and Polynesia (Kiribati, Samoa, Cook Island, Tonga, French Polynesia). It will bring in foremost the security concerns particularly non-traditional security challenges arising from issues like climate change – and how they fit into the Chinese interests of the first and second island chain. The module will also look at the manner in which the U.S. and China are vying for control over this region.

Module V: Future of Sino-US Rivalry and the Regional Stability of the Indo-Pacific

The module will focus on the contemporary debate about the future of Sino-U.S. rivalry as a status quoist and a revisionist power of the Indo-Pacific. The focus will be on whether the American capacity-building programs under ARIA, IPEF, and FOIP will lead to stability or push the region into distrust and instability, especially when China's Indo-Pacific view is hierarchical in orientation.

Readings

Module I: Introduction: Great Power rivalry in a Historical Perspective (Week 1&2)

Essential Readings

Sardesai, D. R (1981), *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*, Vikas Publishing, Delhi.

Hall, D G E (1981), *A History of Southeast Asia*, (4th Edition), Palgrave Macmillan.

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

Steibel, Gerald L. (1972), "Communist Expansion in Indochina: Part One. The First Indo-China War and After", *Southeast Asia Perspective*, 6: 35-59.

Steibel, Gerald L. (1972), "Communist Expansion in Indochina: Part Two. The Second Indochina War", *Southeast Asia Perspective*, 8: 27-50.

Thee, Marek (1976), "The Indochina Wars: Great Powers Involvement- Escalation and Disengagement", *Journal of Peace Research*, 13(2): 117-129.

Turley, William S. and Jeffery Race, (1980), "The Third Indochina War", *Foreign Policy*, 38: 92-116.

Stein Tonnesson, (1985), "The Longest War: Indochina 1945-75", *Journal of Peace Research*, 22 (1): 9-29.

Additional Readings

Keohane, Robert O. (1969), "Lilliputians' Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics", *International Organization*, 23 (2): 291-310.

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

Thee, Marek (1976), "The Indochina Wars: Great Powers Involvement- Escalation and Disengagement", *Journal of Peace Research*, 13(2): 117-129.

Russell H. Fifield, (1977), "The Thirty Years War in Indochina: A Conceptual Framework", *Asian Survey*, 17 (9): 857-879.

Buchan, Alister (1975), "The Indochina and World Politics", *Foreign Affairs*, 53(4): 638-650.

Ronald Spector, (1982), "Allied Intelligence and Indochina, 1943-1945", *Pacific Historical Review*, 51 (1): 23-50.

Module II: Strategic Reentry of the U.S. and the increasing footprint of China since 1997: (Week 3, 4&5)

Essential Readings

Leifer, Michael (1986), *The Balance of Power in East Asia*, Macmillan, England.

Cooney, Kevin J. and Yoichiro Sato (2009), *The Rise of China and International Security: America and Asia Respond*, Routledge, London.

Zhao, Quansheng and Guoli Liu (2010), *Managing the China Challenge: Global Perspectives*, Routledge, London.

Shearman, Peter (2014), *Power Transition and International Order in Asia: Issues and Challenges*, Routledge, London.

Lindey, Daniel (2022), "Assessing China's Motives: How the Belt and Road Initiative Threatens US Interests", *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*, available at <https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/3111114/assessing-chinas-motives-how-the-belt-and-road-initiative-threatens-us-interests/>.

Xuetong, Yan (2006), "The Rise of China and its Power Status", *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 1(1): 5-33.

Sutter, Robert (2009), "China's Recent Approach to Foreign Policy-Is there a Double Strategy?", *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, 16(1): 1-13.

Additional Readings

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

Goh, Evelyn (2008), "Hierarchy and the role of the United States in the East Asian security order", *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 8(3): 353-377.

Clinton, Hillary (2011), America's Pacific Century: The future of politics will be decided in Asia, not Afghanistan or Iraq, and the United States will be right at the centre of the action, *Foreign Policy*, available at https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/11/americas-pacific-century/#cookie_message_anchor.

Graham, Euan (2013), "Southeast Asia in the US Rebalance: Perspective from a Divided Region", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 35 (3): 305-332.

Rajah, Roland (2021), "Mobilizing the Indo-Pacific Infrastructure Response to China's Belt and Road Initiative in Southeast Asia", *Brookings Institute Press*, 2021: 99-115.

Module III: Mainland, Insular Southeast Asia: Responses to Major Power Rivalry: (Week 6, 7&8)

Essential Readings

Ikenberry, John G. and Michael Mastanduno (2003), *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, Columbia University Press, New York.

Goh, Evelyn and Sheldon W. Simon (2008), *China, the United States and Southeast Asia: Contending perspectives on politics, security, and economics*”, Routledge, London.

Acharya, Amitav and Richard Stubbs (2009), *Theorizing Southeast Asian Relations: Emerging Debates*, Routledge, London.

Stromseth, Jonathan R. (2021), “Navigating Great Power Competition in Southeast Asia”, *Brookings Institute Press*, 2921: 1-31.

Khoo, Nicholas (2023), “Great power Rivalry and Southeast Asia agency: Southeast Asia in an Era of US-China strategic competition”, *Political Science*, 74(2/3): 141-154.

Additional Readings

Kang, David C. (2003/2004), “Hierarchy, Balancing, and Empirical Puzzles in Asian International Relations”, *International Security*, 28(3): 165-180.

Goh, Evelyn (2005), “Meeting the China Challenge: The U.S. in Southeast Asia Regional Security Strategies”, Policy Studies 16, *East-West Centre*, Washington.

Roy, Denny (2005), “Southeast Asia and China: Balancing and Bandwagoning?”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 27(2): 305-322.

Goh, Evelyn (2007/2008), “Great Powers and Hierarchical Order in Southeast Asia: Analyzing Regional Security Strategy”, *International Security*, 32(3): 113-157.

Chwee, Kuik Cheng (2008), “The Essence of Hedging: Malaysia and Singapore’s Response to a Rising China”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 30(2): 159-185.

Module IV: Pacific and Small Islands States: Responses to Major Power rivalry: (Week 9, 10&11)

Essential Readings

Smith, Graeme and Terence Wesley-Smith (2021), *The China Alternative: Changing Order in the Pacific Islands*, ANU Press, Australia.

Waqavakatoga, Taito (2007), “America in the Pacific Rim”, *International Journal of World Peace*, 24(2): 15-24.

Jones, Jenny Hayward (2013), “Big Enough for All of Us: Geo-Strategic Competition in the Pacific Islands”, *Lowy Institute for International Policy*, available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep10147>.

Wallis, Joanne (2020), “How Should Australia Respond to China’s Increased Presence in the Pacific Islands?”, *Security Challenge*, 16(3): 47-52.

Varrall, Merriden (2020), "Australia's Response to China in the Pacific: From Alert to Alarmed", *ANU Press*, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/j.ctv1h45mkn.7.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A473f7a79c0adf0b8c3eaa4bf1939228a&ab_segments=&origin=&initiator=&acceptTC=1.

Limaye, Satu, Caitlin Brophy, Michele Helen Reyes, Marc Jaffee, Amy Namur (2022), "The Pacific Island Matter for America/America Matters for the Pacific Islands, *East-West Centre*, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep40286.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A736ee6ebaf765f093caf7da78e634c2d&ab_segments=&origin=&initiator=&acceptTC=1.

Zhang, Denghua (2020), "China in the Pacific and Traditional Powers' New Pacific Policies: Concerns, Responses and Trends", *Security Challenges*, 16(1): 78-93.

Lati, Lati (2021), "China's Impact on New Zealand Foreign Policy in the Pacific: The Pacific Reset", *ANU Press*, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/j.ctv1h45mkn.8.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3Ab11d35d7487b30f0f3c44ee107953ee2&ab_segments=&origin=&initiator=&acceptTC=1.

Additional Readings

Levi, Warner (1948), "American Attitude towards Pacific Islands, 1914-1919", *Pacific Historical Review*, 17(1): 55-64.

Young, Thomas-Durell (1988), "U.S. Policy and the South and Southwest Pacific", *Asian Survey*, 28(7): 775-788.

O'Keefe, Michael (2020), "The Militarisation of China in the Pacific: Stepping up to a New Cold War?", *Security Challenges*, 16(1): 94-112.

Beck, Collin (2020), "Geopolitics of the Pacific Islands: How should the Pacific Islands States Advance their Strategy and Security Interests?", *Security Challenges*, 16(1): 11-16.

Module V: Future of Sino-US Rivalry and the Stability of the Indo-Pacific (Week 12, 13&14)

Essential Readings

Betts, Richard K. (1993-1994), "Wealth, Power, and Instability: East Asia and the United States after the Cold War", *International Security*, 18(3): 34-77.

Freidberg, Aaron L. (1993-1994), "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia", *International Security*, 18(3): 5-33.

Freidberg, Aaron L. (2005), "The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?", *International Security*, 30(2): 7-45.

Liff, Adam P. and G. John Ikenberry (2014), "Racing Towards Tragedy? China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia Pacific, and the Security Dilemma", *International Security*, 39(2): 52-91.

Brooks, Stephen G. and William C. Wohlforth (2015-2016), "The Rise and Fall of Great Powers in

the Twenty-First Century: China's Rise and the Fate of America's Global Position", *International Security*, 7-53.

Additional Readings

Christensen, Thomas J. (1999), "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia", *International Security*, 23(4): 49-80.

Christensen, Thomas J. (2006), "Fostering Stability or Creating a Monster? The Rise of China and U.S. Policy towards Asia", *International Security*, 31(1): 81-126.

Layne, Christopher (1993), "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise", *International Security*, 17(4): 5-51.

Layne, Christopher (1993), "The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment", *International Security*, 31(2): 7-41.

Ross, Robert S. (1999), "The Geography of the Peace: East Asia in the Twenty-First Century", *International Security*, 23(4): 81-118.

Berger, Thomas (2000), "Set for Stability? Prospects for Conflict and Cooperation in East Asia", *Review of International Studies*, 26(3): 405-428.