



M.A. in International Development Studies (MAIDS)

Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University

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Members of MAIDS class of 2009 pose in front of Lee Pi waterfall while learning about the implications of ecotourism during a field trip to Laos this March.

MAIDS Field Trip to Laos

By *Chris Gusen*, MAIDS Program Officer
With notes from MAIDS student field trip reports

In March 2009, the MAIDS class travelled to Savannakhet province in Southern Laos for their annual academic fieldtrip. The busy five-day itinerary included visits to parts of a new Special Economic Zone, a briefing on regional development at the provincial government ministry, a presentation on poverty reduction by a local NGO, a tour of an ecotourism project, and independent observation of Savannakhet town.

Savannakhet province's location along the East-West corridor linking Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam makes it a thriving hub of trade and services in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region. The government of Lao PDR recently instituted the Savan-Seno Special Economic Zone in Savannakhet in an effort to capitalize on its central location by encouraging Foreign Direct Investment in the area. This situation made Savannakhet an excellent place for MAIDS students to exercise some of the critical skills they had been learning in the classroom, in the context of real-world development projects. By engaging with government officials, NGO workers, and local people, the students absorbed a variety of perspectives and set out to answer one of the key questions relevant to any development venture: "Who will benefit?"

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The Savan-Seno Special Economic Zone enshrines a number of incentives intended to draw foreign investors into the region: tax benefits, extended land tenure, lowered trade barriers, and direct private sector access to imports and credit. There is an irony to the new land policy because, as one MAIDS student pointed out, “as a communist country, the state owns all the land and Laotians do not have the right to land. However, a foreign investor can lease the land for 75 years.” Nevertheless, the project is aimed at driving the GDP growth that the government sees as a vital part of poverty reduction.

During roundtable discussions at the end of each day, the MAIDS class examined the potential benefits and possible downsides of the Savan-Seno initiative as well as the other development projects that they observed. Many of the students saw the Laotian government’s eagerness to open up its economy as commendable, but there was a great deal of debate about whether or not Foreign Direct Investment would improve quality of life for average residents of Savannakhet. On the one hand, FDI can mean that new jobs are quickly created. As one student explained in their Fieldtrip Report, “companies establishing themselves in the SASEZ are required by the agreement to hire as many Laotians as possible. The projection for the ten companies currently holding licenses is that they will create 300 local jobs.” In theory, the newly employed are guaranteed a certain quality of work since the agreement also binds them to provide minimum wage and to abide by minimum labour standards. On the other hand, in the words of another member of the MAIDS class, “there is a

clear indication that the Special Economic Zone will provide employment, but, without adequate capacity and skills these people will end up working as cheap labor”. Most of the students agreed that the main danger is that Foreign Direct Investment is being allowed to flow rapidly into the region without the social safety nets or focus on basic education necessary to ensure that local people are able to benefit from the skills training and employment that incoming companies might offer. Citing the province’s very low literacy rate and the significant gender gap in school attendance, MAIDS students argued that “before investing in training in technical skills and knowledge to the people, basic needs such as education must be met”. Along with education, they also identified improvements in housing, health, and safety as necessary aspects of the proper harnessing of FDI’s benefits. Without this kind of foundation, the students worried that locals would not gain new skills and better paying jobs. It became apparent that efforts need to be made to ensure that more benefits flow into Laos than out as a result of Savan-Seno Special Economic Zone project because, as one student put it, “sometimes FDI seems a way of sucking one’s blood”.

The trip incorporated other voices on the issue of how to ensure that the poorest members of society are not left behind by economic development. MAIDS students spent a day with SNV, a Dutch NGO, in order to learn about their efforts to increase market access for the poor. SNV supports a micro credit centre in Savannakhet, which has successfully aided local residents in starting businesses and stimulating the domestic economy. In addition, by encouraging cooperation between members of various ethnic groups (traditionally, the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Lao communities in Savannakhet have been quite separate) the initiative has strengthened the local community. This interaction, combined with a tour of local ecotourism initiatives and periods of independent observation, made for an interesting mix of experiences which left one student reflecting that he returned from the trip “full of conflicting thoughts on the nature of development.” This sounds like the result of a successful field trip; conflicting thoughts can be productive thoughts, leading to a more dynamic and nuanced approach to development issues and development work.



2008-2009 Student Thesis Topics

| Student Name | Topic |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Benjamin Andrew Harkins | Re-Evaluating "Pro-Poor": A Model for Monitoring of the Universal Coverage Scheme in Thailand |
| 2. Dalina Prasertsri | Disaster Diplomacy: A Case Study of Tripartite Core Group's Post-Nargis Humanitarian Assistance in Myanmar |
| 3. Kelsy Ann Cummings | Women's Empowerment in Bangkok Urban Poor Areas |
| 4. Khen Suan Khai | Irregular Burmese Migrants in Malaysia: A Case Study of Chin People |
| 5. Marly Anne Estrada Bacaron | Neoliberalism and Social Protection: The Case of Food Security Among People Living With HIV and AIDS in Cambodia |
| 6. Martine van Es | Trust Building Through Army Development Initiatives in Conflict Situations: The Case of Yalannaburu in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand |
| 7. Naomi Jean Swickard | Does It Deliver? An Analysis of the Sustainable Development Benefits from Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) Projects in Thailand |
| 8. Orawan Raweekoon | The Right to Work of Displaced Persons in Temporary Shelters in Thailand |
| 9. Rukka Sombolinggi | Palm Oil Plantations in Indonesia: Government Policy and its Impact on Indigenous Peoples in West Kalimantan Province |
| 10. Sandar Kyaw | Challenges to the Right to Education in Myanmar: The Roles of Civil Society and Monastic Schools |
| 11. Sanlatt Phyu | Repatriation from Thailand to Myanmar of Trafficked Children |
| 12. Thibault Michot | Pro-Poor Tourism in Bhutan: Policy Implementation and Impacts |

Thesis Research Profile: Martine van Es

“Trust Building Through Army Development Initiatives in Conflict Situations: The Case of Yalannanbaru in the Southern Border Provinces in Thailand”

Martine van Es is a member of the 2008-2009 MAIDS cohort. Her thesis research focused on a drugs re-education camp for youth run by the military in southern Thailand. Martine analyzed the program through the lens of trust and distrust in order to gain a better understanding of the expectations and effects surrounding the army's development initiatives in the region. In the following interview, Martine reflects upon her research experience.

What inspired you to choose this as your thesis topic?

During the course I'd become especially interested in the relation between development and conflict, and conflict studies in general. After talks with an NGO the idea developed to look into army run development. I was really triggered by the contradiction that the army is a conflict actor but at the same time aims to cooperate with the local people in development projects. While several people discouraged this topic because of the difficulty to study army related topics, I'm very happy that I have been able to make it work.

What were some things that you found challenging about the research process?

The biggest challenge was to work with the army and find a suitable project for my research. The main problem which I also had to take into account for my proposal is the difficulty of getting objective information from and about the Thai military. But after talking with Srisompob Jitpriomsri, he introduced me to the colonel in charge of the Yalannanbaru program, colonel Suwan and he was very open about his vision and even invited me to stay at the camp for the entire week. So in the end it all worked out very well.

What did you enjoy most about the research processes?

I really enjoyed my field research in the Yala and Pattani provinces in the Deep South. I went twice and with the help of several great people, I managed to get around relatively easily. It struck me how beautiful the provinces are and how friendly everyone was, despite the negative perceptions of many people who have never been there because of the conflict. During the first trip, everything I had read and learned from articles and books regarding the conflict really started to fall into place. At the same time I started to really understand how complex the situation is. From a research perspective that was very interesting but I also realized that there are many people who have to live in that situation on a day-to-day basis. Overall, the fact that I have been able to do this research and learn so much about something I find very interesting is very rewarding.

Were you surprised by any of your findings? How did your focus evolve or change as you started to conduct research on the ground?

Before starting the research I already had the expectation that trust building potential of the project would be very limited but I did not exactly know how or why and that became clear during the research. Distrust is deeply entrenched in the local communities not only towards the army but also to some level towards community members because of the insurgency. Then, afterwards, when I started to connect the case findings to the wider conflict dynamics, the implications of my findings became clear and these were ideas I hadn't been able to come up with beforehand.

What advice would you give to future MAIDS students who are planning a thesis topic and setting out to conduct research?

Try to come up with a topic that you really find interesting. You will spend a lot of time on reading, writing and researching the topic so it better be something you like.



Human Rights in Thailand: Rhetoric or Substance on “Asian Values”

Chapter abstract by Naruemon Thabchumpon, MAIDS Program Director

*Ajarn Nareumon recently contributed a chapter to a book entitled **Human Rights in Asia: A Reassessment of the Asian Values Debate**. The publisher, Palgrave Macmillan, describes the book as one that “offers a critical reassessment of the “Asian Values” debate, which dominated the human rights discourse in the late 1990s, and a reappraisal of the human rights situation in Asia since then. In this book Asian and non-Asian scholars contextualize the “Asian values” debate and examine in what ways the issues raised then continue to trouble Asian societies. Human rights are seen both in the context of political development in individual Asian countries as well as in relation to global issues such as the Global War on Terror. The book challenges the reader to critically examine human rights rhetoric and practice both in Asia and globally.” The following is the abstract for Ajarn Naruemon’s chapter.*

This chapter examines the notions of human rights in the Thai context. It argues that the discourse of human rights in Thailand emerged as a national issue when politicians and local authorities were forced to react to human rights situations and conflicts at the grassroots, especially in the far south of Thailand. The apparent contradiction between state security and human rights protection invariably emerges, especially when the rhetoric of “sovereignty” and “national interest” were appealed to for protecting the government’s stability, instead of the people. The chapter first discusses debates and challenges to the universality of human rights arising from the Asian perspectives. Second, it explores the discourses of human rights in the Thai context, especially the discussion of the institutional framework for human rights in Thailand. Third, the chapter examines the human rights practices in Thailand and its limitation of promotion and protection of such rights. Finally, it argues that the notions of the human rights discourses and the Thai style of human rights practices should be seen as rhetoric rather than substance. Throughout the chapter, I argue that the idea of “Asian values” has never really caught on in Thailand. In reality, a Thai style of human rights notions has always been used as rhetoric by authorities and politicians to support their political agenda. Since the 19 September 2006 military coup, the freedom of information even appears as mere rhetoric as most newspapers imposed self-censorship and refrained from printing any news that might offend incumbent authorities; what is more, the atmosphere of self-censorship is clearly evident in public, especially regarding the role of the monarchy in modern Thai politics.

Chula Global Network

By Chutamas Phanyapornsuk
Manager for Chula Global Network

The MAIDS Program has recently become part of the Chula Global Network (CGN), a new initiative launched by Chulalongkorn University. The project has been established with the purpose of drawing together knowledge and resources which are scattered throughout the faculties and institutes within the university. This is being accomplished through support for curriculum development, teaching, and research, as well as assistance with the organization of seminars and provision of academic services. Within the wider international academic community the CGN also promotes awareness of Chulalongkorn University as a leader in the field of regional studies and acts as a source of information at the local, regional and global levels in an integrated and multidisciplinary way.

The project specifically aims to support activities in the following thematic areas:

1. Peace and Conflict Transformation
2. Regional Integration
3. Human Security
4. Inequality and Governance
5. Identity, Diversity and Cultural Change



For more information on the Chula Global Network, please visit www.chula.ac.th/chulaglobal



Displacement & Resettlement Management in Thailand

By Dr. Satya Prakash Dash

*Dr. Satya Prakash Dash is a lecturer of political science at Fakir Mohan University in India. Last year, he was a visiting scholar in Thailand as part of the Thailand Research Committee's "Thailand—India Academic Collaboration" program. During this time he investigated issues of displacement and resettlement in regions affected by dam construction. Dr. Dash conducted empirical research in Ubon Ratchathani province, where the Pak Mun Dam and the Shirinthorn Dam are located, and in Prachuap Khiri Khan Province, where residents were engaged in protests against the construction of a smelting plant. The following extract comes from the concluding section of "**Displacement & Resettlement Management in Thailand**," the report in which Dr. Dash details his findings and draws comparisons between his Thai case studies and analogous situations in India.*

Resettlement management is a tough task for all the agencies or governments that are implementing it and the Thai government and agencies are no exception. People have greater expectations and anxiety for such a programme. The displaced persons are of the view that they have missed out on the benefits but somehow they have managed to bear with the difficulty and have endured it. Those who have been resettled and were small children then have now grown up meeting the challenges and have settled down to their fate. On one side, EGAT and the World Bank argued that the PMD project featured a successful rehabilitation and reconstruction program, and that the continued conflict was not based on reality, but on a culture of individual complaints (World Bank 1998; EGAT 2001). Many of the Pak Mun villagers, on the other hand, disagreed with this claim and argued that it was their right to claim compensation for their losses of fisheries, land, houses and their 'old way of life' (*Bangkok Post*, 20 September 2002).

Affected villagers were not consulted at the early stages of the decision-making process and there were no attempts to include them in the decision-making on the project or the mitigation measures. The issues around inadequate assessment of impacts and compensation were not addressed at the outset. Negotiation on compensation began only after long protests by the affected community and NGOs. "Participation of affected villagers and NGOs in the compensation process was first elicited through the Committee for Assistance and Occupational Development of Fish Farmers (CAODFF), formed by order of the Prime Minister in January 1995, eight months after completion of the dam. The Director-General of the Department of Fisheries headed the committee. EGAT remained solely responsible for all costs relating to the works of the various committees and working groups and for the compensations paid out" (www.dams.org). To this effect, Naruemon Thabchumpon of Chulalongkorn University writes, "From 1992 to 2002, the movement organized more than twenty protracted demonstrations both in Bangkok and at the grassroots. Pak Mun was the first project for which the state agency was forced to pay the social costs, and it set a precedent that social costs should be included in the feasibility study of any state project after several months of civil disobedience followed by negotiations between the policy decision makers and affected villagers".

The post impacts of the Pak Mun dam on the local people have certainly created a ray of hope for the subsequent development projects in Thailand. The government is preparing itself for the proposed Baan Kum dam, a joint project of Thailand and Laos. On 10th April 2008, a meeting was held with the civil society groups in Ubon Ratchathani province, including faculty members of Ubon Ratchathani University and research organisations to discuss the initial feasibility study report of the proposed Bann Kum dam. This report gives detail about the water level in the reservoir, its possible impacts, flooded areas and communities, capacity of the dam, the cost of investment, rough data about the local livelihoods of the people living on the Thai banks of the Mekong and the potential flooding that may be caused by the dam (Manorom; unpublished paper). The second incident was the Governor of the Ubon Ratchathani province, getting direction from the government, "established of a set of steering committees and their mandates and responsibilities to work on four main themes about the Pak Mun dam. These consist of: a steering committee for managing the dam (closing and opening the dam's gates), chaired by the president of Ubon Rathchathani University; a steering committee for water management and allocation for agriculture; a steering committee for quality of life, development and resilience; and a steering committee for public relations (Ubon Rathchathani Provincial Order no.1107/2008; & Manorom; unpublished paper). What is urgently needed is sound scientific data that all parties can agree upon and use as a basis for lesson learning. This is not currently available in the case of the Pak Mun Dam and this is a mistake that should not be repeated for newly proposed dams.

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Many of the problems and concerns of the local people resemble those seen in the India case. With particular reference to the smelting plant in Prachuap, a similar case is observed in the Posco project in the Jagatsinghpur district of Orissa state in India. Here also the local villagers are opposing the steel plant for the sake of their livelihood, agriculture, environment and water. Compensation and land-for-land is another similarity found in both the countries. However, the state of Orissa has a comprehensive Rehabilitation & Resettlement (R & R) policy, 2006, and all the R & R are to be implemented as per the policy contents. During the completion of the Pak Mun dam in 1994, Thailand did not have such a comprehensive policy, and this is one of the reasons for the problems that crept up in the project's resettlement management and compensation for land and livelihood, particularly for the fishing community. This again is a similarity to the Indian case where the resettlement and compensation issue was dealt with on a piece rate basis, and there was no single comprehensive policy. However, such problems at the administrative level in India have been mitigated with the framing of the R & R policy. In Thailand, this is gradually being adopted, as we have some evidence, in the study, with respect to the proposed Baan Kum dam project. This has to be pursued expeditiously with greater vigour and commitment. Such a policy can certainly contribute for the reduction of public discontent with respect to displacement, resettlement, and compensation. After all, it is the poor who are losing and they have every right to humane compensation.

“Often it is impossible to pursue development without causing some disruption. If managed well, however, projects need not necessarily produce a disruptive impact. The basic aim of development is to improve living conditions for all. In projects that involve resettlement, the realization of this goal appears particularly difficult, but it is attainable” (Mathur, 2006: 17)

In the age of globalization and liberalization, where every government, in the garb of development is tending to rely on the private sector, the general people must have some protection to counter the capitalist forces. “One aspect of the growing private sector involvement in development projects that is especially worrisome is that governments are going too far to attract private investments, and extend them overly generous concessions at the cost of people whose livelihoods are dependent on land. This is giving rise to new apprehensions about the fate of people who make the most sacrifices for development projects” (Mathur, 2006: 17). The private sectors are all set to explore the potentials of market for their greater profits and share in global trade. Their indiscriminate efforts to achieve it could only be possible if they have land. What is more disturbing is their interest for land with better infrastructural facilities and good locations. This would minimize their investments for the development of the land. And all these type of land is inhabited and this gives rise to problems for the governments and private forces. These problems are, in reality, the question of life and livelihood of the poor and labouring class, who solely depend on the land, forest and water. “Often it is impossible to pursue development without causing some disruption. If managed well, however, projects need not necessarily produce a disruptive impact. The basic aim of development is to improve living conditions for all. In projects that involve resettlement, the realization of this goal appears particularly difficult, but it is attainable” (Mathur, 2006: 17).

Compensation alone cannot solve the bitter issue of displacement, it needs to be accompanied by massive infrastructural development investments and reshaping the life of the displaced persons with plans and programmes that suit them the most. An effective means to achieve this is the participation of the resettled persons in the entire process of resettlement management. This alone can contribute towards confidence building measures and can reduce discontent among the people. Resettlement management certainly becomes a tough task if this confidence is not generated among the people. This confidence building process depends upon the capacity, sincerity, and commitment of the governments and the project authorities. In the entire episode of displacement and resettlement, in any part of the globe, the displaced people are in no way to be blamed for any action on their part. It is the sole responsibility of the governments and project implementing agencies.

Another important dimension of displacement and resettlement is the role of protest movements and agitations. People facing great loss and visualising their futile efforts to save themselves are increasingly relying upon protests and agitations to save themselves. Their protests are primarily based on the Gandhian principles of non-violence. The intention of such protests is to attract the attention of the government and to create a fear psychosis among the project implementing agencies, so as to gain, at the maximum, shifting of the project, or at the minimum, better compensation package and livelihood options. This is another instance of commonness between the case of India and Thailand. In the entire process of displacement and resettlement and considering the impact it has on the people, protests and agitations seems to be a legitimate outcome. The support and strength that the civil society organisations provide to the movements of these people needs to be strengthened and sustained. The civil society organisations not only give strength and moral support to the movements, but also a direction and sometimes also leadership value. This contributes to their bargaining power and also acts as a glue so as to hold together, if there is any divergent viewpoint.

MAIDS Alumni Profile: Theera Wanasanpraikhieo



Theera Wanasanpraikhieo attended the MAIDS program during the 2007-2008 session, after many years of experience working in the development field. His MAIDS thesis was entitled “Changes and Challenges of Community Forest Practices in Forest-Dependent Communities in Kachin State”. Since graduation, Theera has gone on to work for a project called “Another Development for Burma” (ADfB). In the following interview he discusses his time at MAIDS and gives some advice to fellow alumni, new students, and potential applicants.

How would you describe your experience at the MAIDS Program?

Exciting and challenging! Beforehand, I had learned about development and built up some understanding and knowledge in informal ways such as listening to various academics, social critics, and activists during seminars as well as discussing issues with villagers, farmers and NGO workers. However, there are many things which cannot be answered in the mainstream development world. In order to deepen my understanding of development I decided to join the MAIDS program. Therefore, I was extremely excited during my time studying there.

I have over 20 years of experience as a volunteer, community worker, NGO worker and social activist, but I had been separated from formal education for quite some time. To be honest, I was worried about adjusting myself to the formal learning system. In the end, however, under the guidance and facilitation of experienced lecturers and supervisors, I found that it was not too difficult to transition back into academia with the MAIDS program.

How did the program shape your thinking about development? What skills did you acquire during your year at Chulalongkorn and in Bangkok?

To be honest, in the beginning, I saw the way academics look at problems as making everything too complicated. Based on my time as a social activist, I wanted answers to be white or black. However, after some time with the program I realized that problems and issues must be looked at through diverse perspectives in order to find solutions. Everything is interconnected. For example, reduction of poverty cannot simply be solved by giving economic opportunities aimed at income generation. Health, environment, knowledge, culture, as well as morale need to be added up as well. The program gave me an understanding that development is something which we need to handle with holistic and diversified approaches.

Could you tell me a bit about your current work?

Right now I am working as a project coordinator for a project called “Another Development for Burma -ADfB” supported by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (Sweden). The project Another Development for Burma provides a platform for groups and individuals within the Burmese democracy movement to consider long-term, holistic and visionary thinking on the future of Burma, including alternative approaches to development. The purpose of the project is to facilitate and support a development planning process which can become part of the on-going policy formulation activities of democratic groups.

What is one piece of advice that you would give to MAIDS graduates looking to start their careers in development?

Development cannot be harvested without the participation of the people along every stage of the development process. Development workers have to be aware of whether people want it, people need it, or people are ready to take it. Work to empower people enough to choose and define their own development, because they are the ones who have to bear the result of development in the long term.

What is one piece of advice that you would give to students starting the MAIDS program? How can they make the most of their time here?

I do not want new students to look at the MAIDS program simply as a step to good job opportunities. If a graduate is passionate and informed about development issues they will not have a problem finding employment. However, students need to realize that nowadays, all of us are affected by what is called development. How to understand the processes that affect us is the essence of the course; without this knowledge we can neither improve society nor ourselves.

Finally, I would like to say that according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) “*development must be woven around people, not people around development and it should empower individuals and groups, rather than disempower them.*”

(Non)Key Thinkers in International Relations:



Foucault, Žižek, Butler, Chomsky

• Soravis Jayanama •

(Non)Key Thinkers in International Relations: Foucault, Žižek, Butler, Chomsky

Extract from new publication by Soravis Jayanama, MAIDS Deputy Director

Soravis Jayanama is the Deputy Director of MAIDS and an Assistant Professor at the Chulalongkorn University Department of International Relations. Earlier this year he published a new book entitled “(Non)Key Thinkers in International Relations: Foucault, Žižek, Butler, Chomsky” in which he offers his thoughts on four intellectual figures who have “perceptively and provocatively written ... on international relations issues and topics, not infrequently deepening or redefining our understanding of them” but have typically been excluded from canonical teaching on the subject. In the following excerpt from the book’s introduction, Jayanama provides an overview of the arguments developed in the coming chapters.

The first chapter is devoted to Michel Foucault. Jenny Edkins notes, “Poststructuralism now comprises a substantial body of work within International Relations (IR) that has developed rapidly over the past three decades. There are disputes and disagreements between poststructuralists, of course, but in recent years the emphasis has moved away from a critique of the mainstream of IR theory toward a more direct and practical engagement with a wide range of specific questions and issues.”¹ Foucault’s conceptual toolkits have exerted immense influence on the development of poststructuralism within IR. This is primarily—at the risk of overgeneralization—the Foucault of discourse, genealogy, and power/knowledge. More recently, there has been renewed interest in Foucault in IR against the backdrop of the war on/of terror² and the onslaught of neoliberal globalization. This is the Foucault of biopower and biopolitics and the art of government and governmentality. This is the Foucault who talks about modern wars as wars between the races, the state as a set of practices, and government as the control of the population (along with discourse, power/knowledge, etc.). This is the Foucault who arguably “has transformed the political theoretical landscape of power to a degree that rivals the Marx-Nietzsche-Weber effect a century earlier.”³ This is the Foucault who is “locate[d]...in a Realist tradition of political thought that runs from Thucydides and Machiavelli to Morgenthau, but [whose] emphasis on discourse and the critique of sovereignty significantly challenges both the materialism and the state-centrism of that tradition.”⁴ It is this Foucault that is dealt with in the first chapter. Foucault’s biopolitics and governmentality are of great relevance to the understanding of the contemporary planetary condition, urging us to re-conceptualize state-ness and power and ascertain their impacts on life and human freedom.

In the second chapter we encounter Slavoj Žižek. More specifically, Žižek will be our primary guide in rupturing or unplugging from the rather narrow debate on humanitarianism in IR (i.e., from military intervention to R2P), which may even be interpreted as a form of intellectual blackmail, and in provocatively affirming a “politics of terror”—yes terror. On Žižek’s view, humanitarianism is racism and de-humanization at a different level and therefore does not contribute to the One-ness of the human species as promised. Equally important, humanitarianism is the ideology of the post-political and post-revolutionary (hence biopolitical) present. Playing with survivalist fears, it is a “project-less humanism” (Badiou). As such, it must not serve as our ultimate political horizon if we are still interested in emancipatory politics beyond liberal democracy, which has become the political form of late capitalism. In reclaiming and defending emancipatory politics (i.e., based on Great Causes, acts that redefine the possible and the impossible, and the imposition of a new police order) or “the politics of the Event,”⁵ Žižek problematizes the ethics of humanitarianism, or an ethics of the Imaginary, which simply

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¹ Jenny Edkins, “Poststructuralism” in *International Relations Theory for the Twentieth-First Century: An Introduction*, ed. Martin Griffiths (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 88.

² For recent volumes see for example Stephen Morton and Stephen Bygrave, eds., *Foucault in an Age of Terror: Essays on Biopolitics and the Defence of Society* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and Michael Dillon and Andrew Neal, eds., *Foucault on Politics, Security and War* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

³ Wendy Brown, “Power After Foucault” in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, eds. John Dryzek, Bonnie Honig, and Anne Phillips (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁵ Kenneth Surin, “Rewriting the Ontological Script of Liberation: On the Question of Finding a New Kind of Political Subject” in *Theology and the Political: The New Debate*, eds. Creston Davis, John Milbank, and Slavoj Žižek (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 253-54.

asserts the “right to non-Evil” and reduces Man to the lot of suffering beasts, and reasserts an ethics of the Real⁶ in the form of militant politics based on the “right to universality” or the “right to the Good,” reclaiming subject-hood to Man. (In this respect, Zizek is also a Realist.) This is his politics of terror. Zizek gives primacy to the political over the ethical. In other words, Zizek argues that politics makes ethics possible.

The penultimate chapter focuses on Judith Butler. Like the Realist Foucault, Butler reflects on power’s grip over life, especially in constituting the conditions of livability. More specifically, she traces how norms are invested in the production and de-production of the human subject, how norms may violate human beings subjectively, paving the way for direct physical violence and its subsequent erasure. Broadly put, this is about ‘making words into things.’ Terrell Carver unpacks it well thus: Butler urges us “to focus instead on the power processes through which projection is the first step in the *materializations* that regulate what comes to exist, and therefore what we come to know. Materiality is not a descriptive ‘given’ existing prior to knowledge of it; rather it is an effect of the repetition of ideas (e.g. as to what is, or is not, ‘material’) such that we divide the world and our experience of it into categorial regimes...which tell us what does—and does not—count as knowledge.”⁷ In any case, continuing with how norms make and un-make people (with obvious allusion to Ian Hacking), we can see this “normative violence” at both the personal and the international levels in the destruction of non-normative bodies or groups of people—bodies that do not matter.

In practice, however, grief and mourning are often distributed selectively or used to incite vengeance and violence, strictly patrolling and tightly enclosing the space of belonging.

Since we cannot do away with norms, they must be resignified, subverted, or agonistically challenged in the name of radical inclusivism; that is, to re-coordinate the impossible in a symbolic universe and maximize livability (by de-naturalizing the present and showing that what is could be otherwise). (Like the Realist Zizek, Butler theorizes from the symptom of a situation.) Butler conceives of the human subject as a porous or an “ec-static” being, normatively, psychically, and physically. As such, she contends that vulnerability is a condition one cannot will away without ceasing to be human. This by no means implies fatalism, crude survivalism or passivity. Nor is she attempting to disavow vulnerability by propping up the fantasy of sovereignty—e.g., American unilateralism in the wake of 9-11. Butler attempts to transform our common vulnerability into a positive political project, especially in cultivating transnational forms of belonging or anti-communitarian communitarianism. For instance, she sees grief and mourning (markers of our vulnerability) as valuable political resources to equalize non-normative lives and cultivate “sensate democracy” and interdependence, domestically as well as internationally. In practice, however, grief and mourning are often distributed selectively or used to incite vengeance and violence, strictly patrolling and tightly enclosing the space of belonging.

In the final chapter we meet yet another Realist, Noam Chomsky. We will rehearse some of Chomsky’s radical reinterpretation of the central tenets and objectives of American foreign policy, Cold War and after. Readers of Chomsky will be familiar with most of the Chomskyan ideas or concepts raised in this chapter such as: “the invariant features of US foreign policy” that structure continuities in US foreign relations, especially vis-à-vis the Third World; the American objective to guarantee “the Fifth Freedom” (“the freedom to rob and exploit”) of the “rich men’s club” in the postwar world by fostering “open societies” or societies opened to American economic penetration and political control; the safeguarding of open societies by crushing independent, radical, or autonomous nationalism (often meaning using your own resources for your own development and not complementing the industrial economies of the West)—also known as “the threat of a good example” or “the domino theory” in official parlance; the disciplining of the Third World by the US through “wholesale terrorism” and “constructive bloodbaths”; the US-Soviet confrontation as a shadow war or secondary contradiction during the Cold War, the primary contradiction being the one between the rich men’s club and the poor and developing peoples (essentially the Cold War as a phase in the long duree of Western imperialism since the late 15th century); the control of the American population by “the manufacturing of consent”; and so on. Of course, these issues have been treated at length in other excellent secondary resources. This chapter attempts to add to the existing literature by reading Chomsky with Foucault, Butler, and Zizek. In a nutshell, strategic bridges will be drawn between Chomsky’s analysis of American aggression during the Cold War and Foucault’s biopolitics and governmentality, his thesis on “the manufacturing of consent” and Butler’s “sensate democracy,” and his brand of libertarian socialism and Zizek’s politics of terror.

⁶ See, for instance, Terry Eagleton, *Trouble with Strangers: A Study of Ethics* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

⁷ Terrell Carver, “Men in the Feminist Gaze: What Does this Mean in IR?”, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 2008, Vol. 37, No. 1, p. 118.

MAIDS Scholarship Information

AF–MAIDS Scholarship Program



NUMBER OF SCHOLARSHIPS: 1

ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS:

- ▶ Thai National
- ▶ Bachelor's degree in the Social Sciences with good overall academic standing
- ▶ 2 years work/volunteer experience in a related field
- ▶ Evidence of English proficiency

SCHOLARSHIP COVERAGE:

- ▶ Tuition fees
- ▶ Living allowances
- ▶ Health insurance

APPLICATION DEADLINE: March 31st, 2010

COMPLETE SCHOLARSHIP INFORMATION:

www.ids.polsci.chula.ac.th/AF-MAIDSScholarshipProgram.htm

SCG Scholarship Program

NUMBER OF SCHOLARSHIPS: up to 7

ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS:

- ▶ Full-time government employees from one of the following six countries: Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines
- ▶ Bachelor's degree in the Social Sciences; good overall academic standing
- ▶ 2 years work/volunteer experience in a related field
- ▶ Evidence of English proficiency

SCHOLARSHIP COVERAGE:

- ▶ Round-trip airfare
- ▶ Tuition fees
- ▶ Living allowances
- ▶ Health insurance



APPLICATION DEADLINE: March 31st, 2010

COMPLETE SCHOLARSHIP INFORMATION:

www.ids.polsci.chula.ac.th
www.scgfoundation.org

An interview with Shona Kirkwood

Executive Director of Thabyay Education Network, www.thabyay.org

Could you briefly explain the mandate of the Thabyay Education Network and explain how your current collaboration with MAIDS helps to advance this mandate.

Thabyay aims to equip individuals from Myanmar with the skills, knowledge, attitude, and understanding that will better prepare them for work on social, political, and economic issues, as well as general development and ethnic reconciliation in their home country. Thabyay also works to enable social activists from Cambodia and Laos to gain important professional and academic training. While we do help to fund a lot of undergraduate students, we view Master's Programs like MAIDS as particularly effective partners because the intensive one-year curriculum allows students who are already interested in development or have been engaged in development work to immerse themselves in a constructive learning experience and then quickly return to the field where they can apply their new skills.

What advice do you have for potential MAIDS students applying for scholarships through Thabyay?

Apply very early. You need to decide that this is your goal early on and you need to think about improving your English skills as soon as possible. Make sure to research the programs you are looking at thoroughly so that you know they will provide the learning experience you are seeking. As for scholarships, apply to as many as possible, as there are many options out there for students from Myanmar. Finally, get detailed reference letters—the Western-style reference letters that selection committees expect to see are actually quite different from those typically used in Myanmar, so be sure that your references know what you need.

What are some of Thabyay Education Network's future goals? How does your organization hope to extend its reach and impact?

One of the ways in which we are already working to increase our impact is through an annual meeting during which alumni and current students participate in panels, workshops, and discussions relating to issues of current importance in Myanmar. In the near future, we are hoping to focus on developing resources for student research. As it stands right now, the majority of M.A. students who we fund don't conduct their research back in Myanmar because they see it as prohibitively difficult. To separate reality from myth, we want to produce a handbook on how to carry out research in Myanmar. We also want to secure more funds for research support and we are hoping to establish a research library that brings the work of all our scholars together. One of my long term dreams would be the creation of a proper alumni grants program to support alumni in appropriate projects.

Master of Arts Programme in International Development Studies (MAIDS)

2009 – 2010 ACADEMIC YEAR

Application Period: January 1st – March 31st 2010

The Master of Arts in International Development Studies, known for short as MAIDS, is intended for people who are making, or have the potential to make, a meaningful contribution as researchers, practitioners, and leaders in the field of international development. The programme expects applicants to possess an undergraduate degree and some work or volunteer experience in international development, generally in the non-profit or governmental sector. The programme particularly encourages applications from citizens and residents of the Greater Mekong Sub-region countries.

The Programme is looking for individuals with sensitivity to and involvement in issues such as the promotion of social change, human rights, local community development, media freedom and humanitarian aid. The curriculum combinethe study of a rigorous theoretical framework with field experience. Students have the opportunity to network with a wide range of practitioners working with government, international and civil society organizations. The thesis project allows the student to develop expertise in a particular area of interest.

MAIDS offers comprehensive and flexible training for, either for a career in international development, or further studies at the doctorate level. **The application form is available to download from our website.**

Programme Structure

The M.A. in International Development Studies is a full-time, one-year (Oct – Sep) programme divided in three four-month trimesters. The first two trimesters consist of four compulsory and four elective courses (3 credits each; totalling 24 credits). The third trimester is spent on thesis work in the student's area of interest (12 credits). Upon successful completion of the programme (36 credits) the student is awarded a Master of Arts degree in International Development Studies. The M.A. programme in International Development Studies is taught in English.

Compulsory Courses

- Development Theory and Practice
- Globalization and Development in Asia and the Pacific
- Politics of Public Policy
- Research Methodology in Development Studies

Elective Courses

- Communication, Democratization, and Development
- Conflict Resolution
- Development Project Management
- Human Rights and Gender Problems in Asia and the Pacific
- Migration as a Development Issue
- Selected Topics in Development and Economy
- Environmental Politics and Policy
- Development Practicum

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