

**Political Science 3072**  
**Government and Politics of Southeast Asia**

**Professor Thomas Pepinsky**  
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Class Time

Tuesday and Thursday  
Section 1: 12:30 – 1:45  
Section 2: 3:30 – 4:45  
Ketchum 235

Office Hours

Monday  
1:00 – 3:00  
Ketchum 102  
Teaching Assistant: Sarah Van Natta

Overview

Southeast Asia is a complex but fascinating region that has long been neglected by students of politics. This course is an overview of the politics of the region, focusing in particular on political institutions, economic development, and international relations of the region's six largest countries. Among the questions that we will ask are the following:

- Why are some countries democracies and others not?
- What are the impacts of culture and religion on politics in the region?
- What explains different levels of development and corruption in the region?
- What is the future of civil violence in the region?
- How has American involvement in the region shaped its political development?

We begin with a short introduction to the region, its people, and its history until World War II. We then move to an in-depth study of the political systems of the six largest countries in the region—Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Burma, Thailand, and Vietnam. We will also briefly discuss the politics of Singapore, a tiny island state that has emerged as an economic powerhouse.

For the remainder of the class, we will turn to a thematic discussion of issues in modern Southeast Asian politics: regime types, political culture, economic development, corruption, civil violence, terrorism, foreign policy, American interventionism, and the Asian Financial Crisis. For each topic, we will probe how countries across the region perform, with an eye towards explaining why countries are different or similar. By the end of the class, students will have a firm command of the modern politics of Southeast Asia, and how each country's experiences relate to major conceptual debates in political science.

Requirements

*Prerequisites:* Students wishing to enroll in this class must have taken Introduction to Comparative Politics or a related foundational course in political science or Asian studies. The

course also assumes basic knowledge of world history. Students who find themselves lost during lectures or class discussions should see me during office hours *immediately* (i.e., not right before the midterm). Enrollment will not exceed 40 students per class.

*Class Format:* The class is a lecture/seminar meeting twice a week. Attendance is mandatory. Students should arrive to each class *already having done the readings for that class*, and afterwards, review the readings in the context of the class discussion. Class attendance and readings are not substitutes. I will not post lecture notes online.

*Grading:* Your final grade is composed of the following three parts.

Map quiz:	5%
Midterm examination:	25%
Final examination:	30%
Research paper of 10-12 pages:	40%

The goal of the map quiz is to ensure that you have a basic familiarity with the geography Southeast Asia. Your midterm and final examination will contain short answer identification questions and essay questions. You will have a choice among several options for each category of question.

You may choose one of two topics for your final research paper. CHOICE 1: CHOICE 2:

I encourage students to make use of the Writing Center at Norlin Library to improve their grammar, style, and organization. Please see <http://www.colorado.edu/PWR/writingcenter.html> for more information or to schedule an appointment.

*Grading Policies:* Make-up exams will only be given in the case of sickness (requiring a doctor's note), family emergency (requiring a Dean's note), or religious observance (requiring prior approval from the instructor). There are no exceptions. Papers will be due *in class* on December 13. Late papers will lose one full letter grade. Papers later than 24 hours will receive a grade of 0/100. There are no exceptions.

On both the exams and on the papers, plagiarism or cheating of any kind will result in a failing grade for the class and appropriate administrative action. For definitions of cheating and plagiarism, please see <http://www.colorado.edu/policies/acadinteg.html>. For information on how to cite materials properly, please consult Joseph Gibaldi, *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* (New York: MLA), or visit the Writing Center.

*Other Policies:* Students will turn off cell phones in class. This includes text messaging. The penalty for visible text messaging or audible cell phone rings is one percentage point per offense. If this remains a problem, I reserve the right to change the policy to one percentage point per offense for the entire class. Students will treat one another with respect and courtesy. I will ask disruptive students to leave the class.

*Readings:* Our readings will come from a packet of readings and one book. The reading load is moderate: on average, you can expect two to three articles or book chapters per class.

*Office Hours:* I encourage students to see me during office hours with any questions or comments. I hold office hours for two hours every week, on Monday from 1:00 to 3:00. If you wish to speak with me during office hours, please sign up on the sign-up sheet that I have placed on my office door.

### Texts

D.R. SarDesai. 2003. *Southeast Asia: Past & Present*. Fifth edition. Boulder: Westview Press. (hereafter “SarDesai”) Available for purchase at the CU bookstore.

All other readings are book chapters and articles, which I have placed on e-reserve. You can access them from home or from the library with your ID and password at <http://libraries.colorado.edu/screens/coursereserves.html>.

### Course Outline

#### **Introduction**

August 28: Introduction and housekeeping

August 30: What is Southeast Asia?

- SarDesai, 3-21
- Ruth McVey. 1995. “Continuity and Change in Southeast Asian Studies.” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26(1). 1-9

#### **History and Method**

September 4: MAP QUIZ; how do we study politics?

September 6: Pre-history and colonialism

- SarDesai, 22-141

#### **Indonesia**

September 11: Independence; the rise and fall of Sukarno; Soeharto’s New Order

- SarDesai, 166-175

- John Bresnan. 1993. *Managing Indonesia: The Modern Political Economy*. New York: Columbia University Press. 51-74, 270-302.

September 13: MOVIE: *In the Year of Living Dangerously*

September 18: The fall of Soeharto; democratization, decentralization, and development?

- SarDesai, 272-291
- Robert Hefner. 2000. *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 167-213.

### **The Philippines**

September 20: The region's first democracy collapses; Ferdinand Marcos

- SarDesai, 150-165
- David Joel Steinberg. 1990. *The Philippines: A Singular and Plural Place*. Second edition. Boulder: Westview Press. 105-136.

September 25: Democracy returns, only to be interrupted

- SarDesai, 209-236
- Steinberg, 136-145.
- Carl H. Landé. 1986. "The Political Crisis." in *Crisis in the Philippines: The Marcos Era and Beyond*. Edited by John Bresnan. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 114-144.
- Steven Rogers. 2004. "Philippine Politics and the Rule of Law." *Journal of Democracy* 15(4). 111-125.

### **Malaysia**

September 27: Independence; ethnicity and equity; a democracy with adjectives

- SarDesai, 186-200, 298-315
- Edmund Terence Gomez and Jomo K.S. 1999. *Malaysia's Political Economy: Politics, Patronage, and Profits*. Second edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. 24-53, 166-184.

October 2: New politics?

- Dan Slater. 2003. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia." *Comparative Politics* 36(1). 81-101
- Thomas Pepinsky. 2007. "Malaysia: Turnover without Change." *Journal of Democracy* 18(1). 113-127.

## Myanmar (Burma)

October 4: A socialist military dictatorship

- SarDesai, 176-181
- Robert H. Taylor. 1987. *The State in Burma*. 229-249, 291-372.

October 9: A brief opening, then the world's most oppressive dictatorship?

- SarDesai, 237-256
- Martin Smith. 2001. "Burmese Politics after 1988: An Era of New and Uncertain Change." in *Burma: Political Economy under Military Rule*. Edited by Robert H. Taylor. New York: Palgrave. 15-40.
- Stephen McCarthy. 2006. "Prospects for Justice and Stability in Burma." *Asian Survey* 46(3). 417-436.

## Thailand

October 11: Absolutism to military dictatorship

- SarDesai, 182-186
- Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker. 1995. *Thailand: Economy and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. 244-289.

October 16: Dictatorship to democracy, for awhile

- SarDesai, 257-271
- Pasuk and Baker, 290-366.
- James Ockey. 2007. "Thailand in 2006: Retreat to Military Rule." *Asian Survey* 47(1). 133-140.

## Vietnam

October 18: The three Indochina Wars

- SarDesai, 187-195,
- William Duiker. 1996. *The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam*. Second edition. Boulder: Westview Press. 5-17, 162-177, 230-241, 291-309, 315-327

October 23: Economic reform; the opening of a dictatorship?

- SarDesai, 347-366

- Frederick Z. Brown. 1996. "Vietnam's Tentative Transformation." *Journal of Democracy* 7(4) 73-87
- Martin Gainsborough. 2002. "Political Change in Vietnam: In Search of the Middle-Class Challenge to the State." *Asian Survey* 42(5). 694-707.

## **Singapore**

October 25: Singaporean exceptionalism?

- SarDesai, 315-324.
- Natasha Hamilton-Hart. 2000. "The Singapore State Revisited." *Pacific Review* 13(2). 195-216.
- Garry Rodan. 2006. "Singapore: Globalisation, the State, and Politics." in *The Political Economy of Southeast Asia: Markets, Power, and Contestation*, edited by Garry Rodan, Kevin Hewison, and Richard Robison. Third ed. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. 137-169.

## **Midterm**

October 30: IN-CLASS MIDTERM EXAM

### **Political Development**

November 1: Why are some countries democracies and some not?

- William Case. 2002. *Politics in Southeast Asia: Democracy or Less*. 1-28.
- Junhan Lee. 2002. "Primary Causes of Asian Democratization: Dispelling Conventional Myths." *Asian Survey* 46(2). 821-837.

November 6: Does culture matter?

- Clark Neher. 1994. "Asian Style Democracy." *Asian Survey* 34(11). 949-961.
- Richard Robison. 1996. "The Politics of 'Asian Values'," *Pacific Review* 9(3). 309-327.

### **Political Economy**

November 8: Why are some countries poor and some not?

- Richard F. Doner. 1991. "Approaches to the Politics of Economic Growth in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Asian Studies* 50(4). 818-849.
- Michael Backman. 2001. *Asian Eclipse: Exposing the Dark Side of Business in Asia*. Second edition. Singapore: Wiley & Sons (Asia) Pte Ltd. 193-208, 265-287.

November 13: Illicit economies (corruption, drugs, pirates, and sex)

- Linda Y.C. Lim and Aaron Stern. 2002. "State Power and Private Profit: The Political Economy of Corruption in Southeast Asia." *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature* 16(2). 18-52.
- Alan Dupont. 1999. "Transnational Crime, Drugs, and Security in East Asia." *Asian Survey* 39(3). 433-455.
- Pasuk Phongpaichit, Sungsidh Piriyarangsarn, and Nualnoi Treerat. 1998. *Guns, Girls, Gambling, Ganja: Thailand's Illegal Economy and Public Policy*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books. 196-214, 258-266.

### **Violence**

November 15: Secession and civil war

- SarDesai, 292-297
- Ben Kiernan. 2002. *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 9-27, 251-309.
- Jacques Bertrand. 2004. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 114-134, 145-183

November 27: Islamist movements and terrorism

- Syed Serajul Islam. 1998. "The Islamic Independence Movements in Patani of Thailand and Mindanao of the Philippines." *Asian Survey* 38(5). 441-456.
- Zachary Abuza. 2003. *Militant Islam in Southeast Asia: Crucible of Terror*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. 1-28.

### **Regionalism**

November 29: ASEAN and further afield

- Shaun Narine. 1999. "ASEAN into the Twenty-First Century: Problems and Prospects." *Pacific Review* 12(3). 357-380.
- Richard Stubbs. 2002. "ASEAN Plus Three: Emerging East Asian Regionalism?" *Asian Survey* 42(3). 440-455.

### **U.S. Relations with Southeast Asia**

December 6: America's (mis)adventures in Southeast Asia

- Peter Dale Scott. 1985. "The United States and the Overthrow of Sukarno." *Pacific Affairs* 58(2). 239-264.
- Peter Bacho. 1987. "U.S. Policy Options towards the Philippines." *Asian Survey* 27(4). 427-441.
- Jane Hamilton-Merritt. 1993. *Tragic Mountains: The Hmong, the Americans, and the Secret Wars for Laos, 1942-1943*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 3-18, 69-87, 95-105, 225-229.

December 9: MOVIE, *Apocalypse Now*

- Robert S. McNamara, James G. Blight, Robert K. Brigham, Thomas J. Biersteker, and Herbert Y. Schandler. 1999. *Argument Without End: In Search of Answers to the Vietnam Tragedy*. New York: PublicAffairs. 373-398.

### **The Asian Financial Crisis**

December 11: The end of Asian exceptionalism?

- Backman, 45-70.
- Robert Wade. 1998. "The Asian Debt-and-Development Crisis of 1997-?: Causes and Consequences." *World Development* 26(8). 1535-1553.
- Stephan Haggard. 2000. *The Political Economy of the Asian Financial Crisis*. Washington: Institute for International Economics. 1-46.

December 13: Consequences and lessons; PAPERS DUE IN CLASS

- Haggard, *The Political Economy of the Asian Financial Crisis*, 87-138.

**FINAL EXAM DATE AND TIME TBA**