

**Political Science 3072  
Government and Politics of Southeast Asia  
Spring 2008**

**Professor Thomas Pepinsky  
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Class Time

Tuesday and Thursday  
12:30 – 1:45  
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.

*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 four parts.

Map quiz:	5%
Midterm examinations:	15% each
Final examination:	25%
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 midterms and final examination will contain identification questions, short answers, and long 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: Compare two or more countries' level of democracy and use our readings and your own research to explain why they differ. CHOICE 2: Compare two more countries' levels of economic development and use our readings and your own research to explain why they differ. I will provide a hand-out early in the semester that gives you more information about these two options. The paper is due in class on the final day of classes.

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

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

*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. The paper is due in class on May 1. Late papers will lose one full letter grade. Papers later than 24 hours will receive a grade of 0/100. There are no exceptions.

*Grade Appeals:* Students who believe that a grade does not affect their performance can always dispute their grades. All grade appeals should be made in writing. Students will write a brief memo explaining why they should have received a higher grade on that assignment. This should be done in a week after the grade is announced, and submitted after class or in office hours. I will respond to you in writing and address each of your concerns.

*Cheating and Plagiarism:* Cheating or plagiarizing will be treated according to the University regulations which will be strictly observed. All students of the University of Colorado at Boulder are responsible for knowing and adhering to the academic integrity policy of this institution. Violations of this policy may include: cheating, plagiarism, aid of academic dishonesty, fabrication, lying, bribery, and threatening behavior. All incidents of academic misconduct shall be reported to the Honor Code Council ([honor@colorado.edu](mailto:honor@colorado.edu); 303-725-2273). On both the papers and on the exams, violation of the academic integrity policy will result in a failing grade for the class and appropriate non-academic sanctions (including but not limited to university probation, suspension, or expulsion). For more information on the Honor Code, please see [www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode/](http://www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode/) and at for definitions of cheating and plagiarism, please see [www.colorado.edu/policies/acadinteg.html](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.

*Students with Disabilities:* According to the Americans with Disabilities Act, students with disabilities should ask for “reasonable and timely” accommodations. These accommodations can be extended if you are a student with a disability and are registered with the Office of Services to Disabled Students. Please refer to [www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices](http://www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices) or contact 303-492-8671, Willard 322 for information. University regulations on this issue will be strictly observed. Students needing such accommodations will see me in the first two weeks of the semester either during my office hours or after class, and submit to me a letter from Disability Services. All communications on this subject will be made in strictest confidence.

*Religious Observances:* Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to reasonably and fairly deal with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. Students in this situation can ask for “reasonable and timely” accommodations. Please review the syllabus closely and try to find out whether you have time conflicts with any of the assignments. You will do so in the first two weeks of the semester and inform me about your concerns either during my office hours or after class. Full details are at [www.colorado.edu/policies/fac\\_relig.html](http://www.colorado.edu/policies/fac_relig.html).

*Classroom Behavior:* Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Students who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Faculty have the professional responsibility to treat all students with understanding, dignity and respect, to guide classroom discussion and to set reasonable limits on the manner in which they and their students express opinions. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, culture, religion, politics, sexual orientation, gender, gender variance, and nationalities. See [www.colorado.edu/policies/classbehavior.html](http://www.colorado.edu/policies/classbehavior.html) and [www.colorado.edu/studentaffairs/judicialaffairs/code.html#student\\_code](http://www.colorado.edu/studentaffairs/judicialaffairs/code.html#student_code). Students will treat one another with respect and courtesy. I will ask disruptive students to leave the class.

*Discrimination and Harassment:* The University of Colorado at Boulder policy on Discrimination and Harassment, the University of Colorado policy on Sexual Harassment and the University of Colorado policy on Amorous Relationships apply to all students, staff and faculty. Any student, staff or faculty member who believes s/he has been the subject of

discrimination or harassment based upon race, color, national origin, sex, age, disability, religion, sexual orientation, or veteran status should contact the Office of Discrimination and Harassment (ODH) at 303-492-2127 or the Office of Judicial Affairs at 303-492-5550. Information about the ODH, the above referenced policies and the campus resources available to assist individuals regarding discrimination or harassment are at [www.colorado.edu/odh](http://www.colorado.edu/odh).

*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.

*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 [libraries.colorado.edu/screens/coursereserves.html](http://libraries.colorado.edu/screens/coursereserves.html). Articles not on reserve are available online from the journals themselves. You can access these articles online by following the directions from [libraries.colorado.edu/search~S2](http://libraries.colorado.edu/search~S2).

### Course Outline

#### **Introduction**

January 15: Introduction and housekeeping

January 17: 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**

January 22: MAP QUIZ; pre-history and colonialism

- SarDesai, 22-141

### ***Part 1: Island Southeast Asia***

#### **Indonesia**

January 24: 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.

January 29: MOVIE: *In the Year of Living Dangerously*

January 31: 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**

February 5: 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.

February 7: 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**

February 12: 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.

February 14: 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.

## **Midterm 2**

February 19: IN-CLASS MIDTERM EXAM

### ***Part 2: Mainland Southeast Asia***

#### **Myanmar (Burma)**

February 21: A socialist military dictatorship

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

February 26: 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**

February 28: Absolutism to military dictatorship

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

March 4: 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**

March 6: 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

March 11: 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**

March 13: 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 2**

March 18: IN-CLASS MIDTERM EXAM

### *Part 3: Comparative Topics*

#### **Political Development**

March 20: 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.

April 1: 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**

April 3: 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.

April 8: 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**

April 10: 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

April 15: 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**

April 17: 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**

April 22: 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.

April 24: MOVIE, *Full Metal Jacket*

- 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**

April 29: 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.

May 1: Consequences and lessons; PAPERS DUE IN CLASS

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

**FINAL EXAM:**

**May 5**

**7:30-10:00 AM**