This course is designed to introduce advanced undergraduates to the complex and contradictory world of Southeast Asian politics. It is also designed to acquaint students with some of the basic tools and theories that political scientists use to understand the developing world. The course will also emphasize the links between North America and Southeast Asia: from the issue of terrorism to the scourge of the heroin trade, the futures of these two regions have become inextricably linked.

The course has two parts. The first is a country-by-country survey of five Southeast Asia's eleven states: Indonesia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Burma, and Singapore. The second section of the course draws on the tools of comparative analysis to address some of the major problems that confront the region: the challenge of democratization; achieving economic growth; stemming the flow of illegal drugs; reversing deforestation; and coping with piracy, terrorism, and threats to the region’s security.

The classes will mix lectures with discussions of the readings. The readings have been carefully chosen, are (for the most part) easily digested, and will form an essential part of class discussions. This means that all readings should be completed before coming to class. Lectures will, in general, not reiterate material that is already in the readings; instead they will be used to explain and apply theories that can help make sense of the readings, and emphasize "the big picture."

There are two books for the course (in the bookstore), and an extensive course pack (at the Westwood Copies, 1001 Gayley). The books are also on reserve at the Undergraduate Library. The books are:


There will be a map quiz, a take-home mid-term and a take-home final exam. The final grade will be calculated the following way:

- map quiz: 10%
- midterm: 35%
- final exam: 50%
- class participation: 5%

There will also be opportunities to earn extra credit.

**CLASS SCHEDULE**

1. **January 7 - Introduction to the Course**

2. **January 9 - The Nations and States of Southeast Asia.** Many people use the terms "state" and "nation" interchangeably. But in political science they have distinct -- and precise -- meanings. In this lecture I define these terms, and present one of the central ideas of the course: that there is a conflict in Southeast Asia between "statehood" and "nationhood" -- in other words, between the legal jurisdictions of the region's eleven governments (statehood), and the ethnic, linguistic, and racial unity (nationhood) of the people in each of the states. It is the conflict between Southeast Asia's "nations" and Southeast Asia's "states" that lies at the heart of many of the region's political troubles.

   I will also present in the lecture an overview of the colonial era, focusing on how the boundaries of Southeast Asia's states were fixed by the Western colonial powers, during the course of 450 years of rule. The chapters in Sardesai will fill in many critical details; these chapters will also serve as a foundation for understanding the predicaments of the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, and Vietnam after they gained independence.

   Begin reading Sardesai: Chapter 1 is an excellent overview of the region's history, and Chapter 12 will introduce you to the rise of "nationalism" in Southeast Asia. The book has many details that I will not cover in the lecture, but which you will need to know.


3. **January 14 - MAP QUIZ**, plus *Southeast Asia and the Cold War*. The first twenty minutes of class will be used for the map quiz. After that we will begin to talk about the region’s history during World War II and the Cold War. This will take us up to the point that subsequent lectures, on the individual countries themselves, will begin. No readings are assigned for this class, to give you time to prepare for the map quiz.
a. No assigned reading; prepare instead for the Map Quiz

4. **January 16 - Indonesia (I): Sukarno and Suharto.** This is the first of three classes devoted to the study of Southeast Asia's largest -- and arguably, most important -- state. In the first part of class I will lecture on Indonesia's predicament in the 1940's, 1950's, and early 1960's, when the government was led by President Sukarno. Not only did Sukarno face the problems of building a "nation" in the territory formerly occupied by the Dutch; he also confronted the forces of the Cold War. We will then see an excellent documentary, "The New Order," which documents Indonesia's "year of living dangerously" (1965), and tells the story of Indonesian politics under Suharto through the early 1990's. Although a bit dated, the film is designed to supplement the readings and give you a better "feel" for Indonesia and its complex history and peoples.


5. **January 23 - Indonesia (II): The Suharto Era.** Today I will lecture on the rise and rule of Suharto, the son of a minor village official who came to rule Indonesia from 1965 to 1998. Until he was overthrown, many considered Suharto a great political leader; others viewed him as one of the 20th century's most notorious murderers. How did he come to power and bring such stability -- and brutality and corruption -- to Indonesia?

We will also have a guest lecture, for part of the class today, on Southeast Asia’s newest state, East Timor, which rose from the ashes of the Suharto regime.

The Sardesai chapter will provide the background on Indonesia during the Suharto era. Selections from a recent book on East Timor will round things out.

a. SarDesai, chapter 22

6. **January 28 - Indonesia (III): The Post-Suharto Era and East Timor.** Today we will wrap up the section on Indonesia by talking about the fall of Suharto, plus the chaotic period of the last three years – the “post-Suharto” era. The main reading for today is a report from the International Crisis Group (a private think-tank). Also: wonder what it was like to live in Jakarta during the 1998 riots, when all hell broke loose? **Jeff Pulice's three dispatches will give you bizarre tour of Jakarta in turmoil.**


   b. Pulice, Jeff (1998) "Letter from Jakarta: parts one, two, and three," *Salon* (May 22; May 29; June 11).

7. **January 30 - Vietnam I: Decades of War, 1945-1975.** Today’s class will be part lecture, part film. An astonishing amount of the Vietnam saga was captured on film; we begin our section on Vietnam with *The Roots of War*, a superb documentary that takes us through French colonial rule, World War II, Vietnam's war against the French, and the early years of U.S. military involvement. Bring your own popcorn. The second half of class will be a lecture that provides an overview of the Vietnam War.

   Incidentally, an excellent web site about the Vietnam War, with images, documents, and all kinds of other things, is: [http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/shwv/shwvhome.html](http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/shwv/shwvhome.html).

   Please read all of **Kamm's** outstanding portrait of Vietnam. Henry Kamm was a New York Times correspondent during the war who became reacquainted with Vietnam in the 1990's. Although the book is long, you should find it an easy and absorbing read.


8. **February 4 - Vietnam II: After the American War, 1975-2001.** After losing millions of people in a war to defend its communist system, in the last 25 years Vietnam has -- ironically -- moved towards a capitalist economy and tolerated greater political openness. How did these changes come about? What are the prospects for further democratic change in Vietnam? Read the article by Pierre, which should give you an update on Vietnam’s politics. Also, a superb guide to Vietnam-related websites is: [http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVLPages/VietPages/WWWVL-Vietnam.html](http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVLPages/VietPages/WWWVL-Vietnam.html)

9. **February 6 – The Philippines.** The Philippines is in many ways the Southeast Asian country most closely tied to the U.S.: it was a U.S. colony from 1898 to 1946, and the U.S. maintained military bases there until the early 1990s. Since the September 11 attacks, these ties have been rekindled.

The Sardesai chapter gives a fine, succinct overview of 20th century Philippine history, and the U.S. State Department human rights report gives a good account of the state of Philippine democracy in the last several years. Carl Landé, a leading scholar of the Philippines, discusses the removal from office of President Joseph Estrada in January 2001. For access to everything web-wise on the Philippines, visit: [http://www.iias.nl/wwwvl/southeas/philippi.html](http://www.iias.nl/wwwvl/southeas/philippi.html).

1. Sardesai, Chapter 19

10. **February 11 – Burma.** Burma is one of Southeast Asia's most troubled -- and most intriguing -- countries. For the last half century, Burma has been a political disaster. Why has it failed so miserably?

SarDesai will give you the background. The Indian journalist Amitav Ghosh has written a fascinating and highly-readable account of a journey through Burma today; and the U.S. State Department will provide a comprehensive portrait of human rights in Burman today. I strongly recommend a visit to the web site of the “Burma Project,” at [http://www.soros.org/burma](http://www.soros.org/burma). It has all kinds of maps, documents, reports, songs, and data.

1. SarDesai, Chapter 20

11. **February 13 - Singapore.** Our final stop on the whirlwind tour is Singapore -- a slightly bizarre city-state that has led to a great deal of puzzlement and head-scratching among political scientists. Singapore sits alongside some of the poorest and most corrupt countries in the world; yet it is has become richer than many European states, and it has
one of the world's least corrupt governments. How did it achieve this remarkable success? Can Singapore's record of growth be explained by "Confucian values" and its "soft authoritarian" form of government? Does Singapore's success hold lessons for the region's other states?

We will have both a lecture and a film (“Singapore: The Price of Prosperity”) to address the puzzle of Singapore. Start by reading the brief excerpt on Singapore in Sardesai; then take a look at the U.S. State Department report to see just how "authoritarian" the government really is. Also, please read the article by Chee Soon Juan, who is associated with the Singapore opposition. If you have time, a visit to the official government Singapore web site, www.sg/, can be interesting.


3. Sardesai pp 298-305

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THE MIDTERM WILL BE HANDED OUT AT THE END OF CLASS ON FEBRUARY 13; IT WILL BE DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS ON MONDAY FEBRUARY 20. PAPERS TURNED IN AFTER 4:00 PM WILL HAVE POINTS DEDUCTED.
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12. February 20: - Cambodia and Laos: film, "No Neutral Ground." I realize you won't want to do much reading for class while working on your midterm. So in class we will see an excellent -- but chilling -- documentary on the impact of the Vietnam War on Cambodia and Laos. For those of you interested in the consequences of Cambodia's "killing fields," I recommend a visit to the photo archive assembled by the Cambodian Genocide Projects at Yale University, where you can see photographs taken by the Khmer Rouge of many of their victims, shortly before they were executed; it’s at www.yale.edu/cgp.

13. February 25 – What Causes Democracy? To start the second half of the course, we will take a closer look at the problems of democracy. What do we mean by “democracy,” and what do we know about what ‘causes’ democracy?

We have a series of articles on ‘democracy’ today: one by Seymour Martin Lipset, one of the great democracy scholars; another by Singapore's former Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew, who sees democracy as inappropriate for Asian cultures; and short essays by
Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi and South Korean President (and former human rights campaigner) Kim Dae Jung, who see democracy in a more favorable light.


14. **February 27 - Economic Performance.** Today’s lecture will consider Southeast Asia's "political economy" -- how these governments have fostered, or inhibited, economic growth. The region includes countries that have grown quickly and become rich (Singapore, Malaysia), and others that are as poor or poorer than they were 40 years ago (Burma, Cambodia, Laos). What accounts for this divergence? I will devote special attention to the role of Southeast Asia's ethnic Chinese business networks, which have played a central role in the economic success of the region's wealthier states; and to the problem of corruption.

The reading for today is varied. **Kristof and WuDunn** argue that “sweatshops” can be a good thing for developing states; see if you agree with them. The article by **D'Souza** highlights the special role of Southeast Asia's "overseas Chinese" in the region's economic growth. **Dini Djalal's** report on corruption in Southeast Asia discusses how, and why, corruption varies so much across the region; and the article by **Talbot** discusses one of the region’s newest industries: the plastic surgery/ sex-change industry.


15. **March 4 - The Drug Trade.** One of Southeast Asia's most economically successful exports -- renown for its high quality and broad distribution networks -- is heroin. Today’s lecture will consider the history, manufacture, politics, and economics of the drug trade. We will also see a fine documentary on the production and export of opium out of the "Golden Triangle," the region in Burma near the border with Thailand and Laos. To help you get oriented see the materials in the course pack: the *Opium Throughout History* chronology; the explanation of *Heroin in the Brain*; the how-to guide, *Transforming Opium Poppies into Heroin*; the article by Bernstein and Kean, which explains the close links between the Burmese government and the heroin business; an update on the heroin trade from the DEA; and a piece by *Rolling Stone* journalist John Colapinto on the curious popularity of heroin among rock stars -- from Keith Richards to Kurt Cobain and Shannon Hoon -- and how destructive its effects have been.


16. **March 6 - The Politics and Economics of Deforestation.** Most people consider economic growth a good thing; but sometimes market forces can spin out of control -- as in both the case of heroin, and the case of deforestation. Southeast Asia is the world's leading exporter of hardwood logs; it also suffers from the fastest deforestation rates in the tropics. The lecture today will explore the political and economic roots of these problems, focusing on Indonesia, East Malaysia, and the Philippines -- the three countries that have logged their forests most aggressively. Both of the articles assigned are excellent: Stan Sesser provides a vivid account of deforestation in the East Malaysian state of Sarawak, and its impact on the nomadic Penan; and Peter Dauvergne explores the political forces behind deforestation in Indonesia. Bring any questions you have to class.
An excellent web site on the problems of tropical deforestation is offered by the Worldwide Forests/Biodiversity Campaign: www.forests.org/world.htm.


March 11 - Terrorism, Piracy, and Security. No survey of Southeast Asian politics would be complete without addressing the problem of security; and since last September 11, the issue has become even more salient. This lecture will touch on the main security issues in the region, including the insurgencies in Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Thailand, and the ties these groups have to Al Qaeda; on the dispute over the Spratly Islands; and on the growing problem of piracy. The article by Gallagher is an excellent overview of the Spratly dispute, and the dangers of military confrontation between the ASEAN states and China; the piece by Hitt offers a vivid description of the problem of piracy in SE Asia today; and the article by McBeth touches on the problem of Islamic insurgencies in the region.


March 13 –International Cooperation and The Future of Southeast Asia. There are no assigned readings for the class, since you will need to study for the final exam. After a brief lecture on international cooperation in Southeast Asia, we will talk about the region’s prospects in the years ahead, and what the U.S. role should be. I will address any remaining questions you have, tie up loose ends, and hand out the final exam.

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THE FINAL EXAM WILL BE HANDED OUT IN CLASS ON MARCH 13 AND DUE IN THE MAIN OFFICE OF THE POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT (4289 Bunche Hall) BY 2:00 PM MARCH 22
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