

## **Political Science 354: Government and Politics of Southeast Asia**

University of Michigan

Monday/Wednesday 10:00-11:00, 2548 CCL

Fall 2012

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### **Course Description:**

This course is designed to provide an introduction to the politics and political economy of Southeast Asia for advanced undergraduates. A major theme running through the course is the connection between politics and economics. Politics and governments do not exist in a vacuum. Political decisions (or a failure to decide) have economic ramifications, and economic variables (economic policies, development, crises, etc.) influence politics. Among the questions we will examine and debate over the next several weeks are the following:

- Is there a link between economic development and democratization?
- Is there a link between political authoritarianism and rapid economic growth?
- How do political institutions affect economic policymaking?
- How have economic crises affected the demands for political change?
- What were the political and economic causes of the Asian economic miracle?
- Were the underlying causes of the Asian economic crisis political or economic in nature?
- How can we explain the variation in individual country responses to the crisis?
- What is the future for democracy in the region?

The course is divided into three sections.

Section 1: Because this is a region of the world unfamiliar to most students the first five classes lay the historical background necessary for the rest of the course. We will spend Weeks 1 and 2 reviewing the region's early modern history and then the differential impact of colonialism. We will then examine the rise of nationalism and communism along with the struggles for independence after WWII.

Section 2: The second section of the course (beginning in Week 4) is a survey of eight of Southeast Asia's eleven states (Brunei, Laos and East Timor are excluded). We will spend a week each on Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore (one class) the Philippines and Thailand. Part of Week 9 and Week 10 will be a less in-depth look at the countries of Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia) and Burma.

Section 3: In the final weeks of the course we draw on the tools of comparative analysis and the first two sections of the course to place the countries of SEA in a broader comparative perspective. We will draw comparisons between the states within SEA as well as between the

states of SEA and states outside of the region. We will also consider the impediments to development and why some states in SEA have been able to overcome these impediments while others have not. We will devote time to discussing and debating the causes and consequences of the Asian economic miracle and the Asian economic crisis that followed. We will examine the future of elections and democracy in the region and the role political institutions play in policy making. Finally, we will discuss the mix and trajectories of democracy and authoritarianism in Southeast Asia.

The course assumes no previous knowledge of Southeast Asia, but students are expected to have a familiarity with the major themes, concepts and debates in political science as covered in PS 140. PS 340 is also recommended but not required. Students who have not had these courses should see the instructor about whether this course is appropriate. While economic policies and issues will play a prominent role in some of the readings and lectures, you are not expected to have a background in economics. However, you will need to learn some new economic concepts during the semester. It is impossible to study the interaction between politics and economics without first introducing some terms from economics. Every effort will be made to explain unfamiliar terms in class. Please don't hesitate to ask questions if you encounter an unfamiliar concept.

This course has a moderate reading load. On average students will be expected to read 40 to 70 pages (2-3 articles/chapters) for each class. Please note that a few of the classes towards the end of the course have more reading that is the norm. Plan accordingly. Class lectures are designed as a supplement to rather than a summary of the readings. Students who attend lectures without doing the readings are not likely to do well in the course. Likewise, students who do the reading but skip lectures will do poorly. The class is large but there will be ample opportunities for class discussion and students are encouraged to ask questions and contribute.

Note the midterm and final examination dates. No makeup exams will be given without a doctor's note, or prior approval of the instructor at least two weeks before the exam date. Finally, plagiarism will not be tolerated and will result in a failing grade for the course.

## Requirements:

1. Map Quiz: See attached sheet. **10%** of the final grade. The quiz will be in class on September 17.
2. Midterm exam: The midterm will be in-class and consist of general survey and short answer questions. The exam will be administered in class on October 22. **20%** of final grade.
3. Final exam: The final exam will consist of general survey questions, short answer questions, and an essay component. You will receive the essay question(s) during the last week of class. The short answer component will not be distributed ahead of time. The final exam is worth **30%** of the final grade. The final exam is scheduled for Tuesday, December 18, 10:30-12:30.
4. Participation: Participation makes up **40%** of the final grade. The most productive and interesting classes are those with individual participation from class members. Your grade, however, does not depend on how much you talk (neither I nor anyone else is interested in listening to anyone talk for the sake of talking). Instead, I am interested in thoughtful contributions that exhibit some insight, opinion, or clarification that comes only from “wrestling” a little with the readings. Since participation is so important, it is clearly necessary that everyone attend class. I do not, however, take attendance. Instead participation will be measured through in-class quizzes (15%), memos (15%), and discussion questions (10%)—see below.

### Quizzes (15% of final grade)

You are expected to do the reading assigned for each lecture and be prepared to discuss it (which includes asking questions about it) in class. Needless to say discussing the readings requires that you be in class. As incentive to those who do the readings and regularly attend class I will offer at least 6-8 in-class quizzes. These are pop quizzes given at the beginning of each class. Generally these will take only a few minutes and will consist of a few basic questions about the readings on the syllabus for that day -- main arguments, conclusions, etc. I will not ask about obscure information, but rather things that should be evident if you have done the reading reasonably carefully. Filling in your name will count as one question (assuming you get it right), which is to say you'll get some credit for showing up. **THERE WILL BE NO MAKE-UPS FOR QUIZZES.** However, to allow for sickness, other absence (e.g. for a religious holiday), or something that prevents you from doing the reading before a class, I will offer at least one more quiz than I count at the end of the term. In effect this means that at a minimum each student's lowest quiz grade (e.g. a zero, if you happen to miss a class when we have a quiz) will be dropped before the quiz grade average is calculated. Everyone gets one miss without penalty. There will also be some extra credit opportunities throughout the term.

### Reading Memos (15% of final grade)

You will be required to write a memo at least one page, but not longer than 2 pages long (see below for formatting) for any **4** class sessions (so 4 memos total) beginning with class #6. These will be graded on the following criteria:

1. Up to one point for a summary of the readings. What are the big points or contributions of the readings? How is the reading structured? What are the arguments? And so forth. I would expect that you could do this in a paragraph, two at the most. You should not bother to summarize chapters from *Emergence*. When there are multiple readings the summary should include all of the readings but #2 and #3 below can focus on just one of the readings.
2. Up to two points for explaining the significance of the reading and linking it back to previous readings/discussions. How does the reading add to the debates discussed in class or in other readings? Does the reading agree or disagree with previous authors? How? This is the meat of the paper and may take a few paragraphs.
3. Up to one point for contributing an insight, question, or comment on the readings. This question is not one meant to “stump the class,” but rather something you are wrestling with or wonder. Or, it might be an insight into how the reading is critical or makes a major contribution, etc. Finally, you might also offer a critique of the reading. This should only take a paragraph, although you might write more if you have to explain why a contribution is especially significant.

The first class memo can be handed in on October 1 in conjunction with the Indonesia readings. You are required to write 4 memos but may choose to write more and I will drop the lowest memo score(s) when calculating the final grade.

**Memos are due at the start of class on the day of the assigned reading.** You can hand in a hard copy at the beginning of class or place a copy in Ctools dropbox. **If you place a copy in the drop box please notify the grader that you have done so.** Note that memos turned in via dropbox will not be returned. They should be typed, double-spaced, 12-point font, 1-inch margins all around. **Late memos will not be accepted.**

Discussion Questions: (10% of the final grade)

To encourage you to read critically and come to class ready to discuss and ask questions you are required to submit 3 questions that are sparked by the reading for at least 4 separate classes. Note: these must be 4 different classes than those for which you write your memos. Questions must be placed in the Ctools dropbox at least 24 hours before class in order to qualify. I will review the questions and choose some to discuss in class or online.

**Required Texts:** (On reserve at Undergraduate Library)

1. Milton Osborne, *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 9th Edition 2004. (Hereafter “Osborne”)

2. Norman Owen et. al. *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia: A New History*. Edited by Norman G. Owen. 2005. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. (Hereafter "Emergence")

All other readings are available through the Ctools website (under Resources→Readings). Occasional supplemental reading materials dealing with current events in a given country will be posted on the course website.

This course has a website on Ctools <http://ctools.umich.edu>. Lecture notes and study questions will be placed on the website prior to each class.

### **Course Schedule**

September 5:

Course Introduction—What is Southeast Asia?

September 10

The Colonial Era

September 12:

From WWI to WWII

September 17:

Nationalism, Communism and the Struggle for Independence

**\*\*MAP QUIZ\*\***

September 19:

Chinese in SEA

September 24:

From the Barrel of a Gun

September 26:

**NO CLASS**

October 1:

Indonesia—**MEMOS Begin**

October 3:

Indonesia

October 8:

Malaysia

October 10:

Malaysia

October 15:

**NO CLASS**—Fall Study Break

October 17:

Singapore

October 22:

**MIDTERM**, in Class

October 24:

Philippines

October 29:

Philippines

October 31:

Thailand

November 5:

Thailand

November 7:

Vietnam

November 12:

Vietnam/Cambodia

November 14:

Cambodia/Burma

November 19:

The Asian Economic Miracle in Comparative Perspective

November 21:

**NO CLASS**

November 26:

Miracle, Trade and Industrial Policy in SEA

November 28:

The Asian Economic Crisis

December 3:

Political Institutions and Economic Policy Outcomes

December 5:

Authoritarianism, Elections, and Parties

December 10:

Democracy, Elections and Parties

**Final Exam Tuesday, December 18, 10:30-12:30**

Schedule of Lecture Topics and Reading Assignments:

**PART I: SOUTHEAST ASIA PRE-INDEPENDENCE**

**1. September 5: Course Introduction—What is Southeast Asia?**

Osborne, Chapter 1. Skim 2-4.

**2. September 10: The Colonial Era**

Osborne, Chapters 5, 6.

**3. September 12: From WWI to WWII**

Osborne, Chapter 8.

**4. September 17: Nationalism, Communism and the Struggle for Independence**

**\*\*MAP QUIZ\*\***

Osborne, Chapters 9-11.

**5. September 19: Struggle for Independence cont.  
Chinese in SEA**

Osborne, Chapter 7.

**6. September 24: From the Barrel of a Gun**

**September 26: NO CLASS**

**PART II: THE STATES of SEA**

**Indonesia: The Promise and Peril of Concentrated Power**

**7. October 1**

*Emergence*, chapter 20, 31

**8. October 3**

Michael Buehler. "Identifying Patterns in the Accumulation and Exercise of Power in post-New Order Indonesia." *Pacific Affairs*, Volume 85, Number 1, March 2012, pp. 161-168(8)

Edward Aspinall. "Democratization and Ethnic Politics in Indonesia: Nine Theses." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 11, 2011, 289-319.

## **Malaysia: Development in a Divided Society**

### **9. October 8**

*Emergence*, chapter 21, 29

### **10. October 10**

Edmund Terence Gomez and Jomo K.S. *Malaysia's Political Economy: Politics, Patronage, and Profits*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pages 24-53 and 166-176.

Read any 2 of the short "Malaysia after regime change" articles on the following website:  
<http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/newmandala/category/malaysia/malaysia-after-regime-change/>

**October 15: NO CLASS**

## **Singapore: The Price of Prosperity**

### **11. October 17**

**Film: Singapore: The Price of Prosperity**

*Emergence*, chapter 30 (read the Singapore portions only)

Marco Verweiji and Ricardo Pelizzo. "Singapore: Does Authoritarianism Pay?" *Journal of Democracy* 20(2): April 2009, 18-32.

Bridget Welsh. 2011. "Soul Searching Singapore's 2011 General Elections." *Pacific Bulletin* No. 118, June 23, 2011.

### **12. October 22 MIDTERM**, in Class

## **Philippines: Origins and Consequences of a Weak State**

### **13. October 24**

*Emergence*, chapter 19, 33

Paul Hutchcroft. The Arroyo Imbroglio. *Journal of Democracy*. 2008. 19:1, 141-55.

#### **14. October 29**

- Carl H. Landé, "The Return of "People Power" in the Philippines." *Journal of Democracy*, (April 2002), pp. 88-102.
- Benjamin T. Tolosa, "Challenging false narratives of EDSA II and democracy." *Cyberdyaryo*, Thursday, 08 February 2001.
- Paul D. Hutchcroft, *Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, pages 13-23 and 45-64.

### **Thailand: Bifurcation and the Bureaucratic Polity**

#### **15. October 31**

- Emergence* chapter 24
- Benedict Anderson, "Murder and Progress in Modern Siam", *New Left Review*, vol. 81, no. 2, 1990, pp. 33-48.

#### **16. November 5**

- Emergence* chapter 32
- Kevin Hewison, "Crafting Thailand's New Social Contract," *The Pacific Review* 17, no. 4 (2004): 503-522.
- Thitinan Pongsudhirak. "Thailand's Uneasy Passage." *Journal of Democracy* 23:2 2012, pp. 47-61

### **Indochina/Burma**

#### **Vietnam: Collective Leadership and the Political Economy of Reform Cambodia and Burma: Brutality and Backwardness**

#### **17. November 7**

- Emergence* chapter 23, 34

#### **18. November 12**

- Emergence* chapter 25 (skim only), 35
- Edmund Malesky, 'Straight Ahead on Red: How Foreign Direct Investment Empowers Subnational Leaders', *Journal of Politics*, 70, 1, January 2008, pp. 97-119.
- Martin Gainsborough. "Elites vs. Reform in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. *Journal of Democracy* 23:2 2012, pp. 34-46.

## 19. November 14

*Film: Killing Fields*

*Emergence* chapter 22 (skim), 37

Kyaw Yin Hlaing, "Power and factional struggles in postindependence Burmese governments," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 39(1), February 2008.

## 20. November 19: The Asian Economic Miracle in Comparative Perspective

*Emergence* chapter 27, 28 (skim)

Stephan M. Haggard. "Business, Politics and Policy in East and Southeast Asia." In *Behind East Asian Growth: The Political and Social Foundations of Prosperity*. Henry S. Rowen, ed. Routledge. 1998. pp. 78-104.

Hall Hill, "Towards a Political Economy Explanation of Rapid Growth in ASEAN: A Survey and Analysis," *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 14, no. 2 (November 1997): 131-149. **SKIM**

John Wong, "Why Has Myanmar not Developed like East Asia?" *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 13, no. 3 (March 1997): 344-358.

## November 21: No Class

## 21. November 26: Miracle, Trade and Industrial Policy in SEA

Hal Hill, "Indonesia's Industrial Policy and Performance: 'Orthodoxy' Vindicated," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 45, no. 1 (1996): 147-174. (**SKIM**—read introduction and conclusion closely)

Michael T. Rock, "Reassessing the Effectiveness of Industrial Policy in Indonesia: Can the Neoliberals be Wrong?" *World Development* 27, no. 4 (1999): 691-704.

Yoshihara Kunio, *The Rise of Ersatz Capitalism in South-East Asia*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988, pages 99-121.

Paul Krugman, "The Myth of Asia's Miracle," *Foreign Affairs* 73, no. 6 (1994): 62-78.

## 22. November 28: The Asian Economic Crisis

For those unfamiliar with the basics of exchange rates, a simple review can be found at <http://www.ny.frb.org/education/fx/foreign.html#fxrates> .

K.S. Jomo. *After the Storm: Crisis Recovery and Sustaining Development in Four Asian Economies*. Singapore University Press. 2004. Chapter 1.

Wessel, David, Darren McDermott, and Greg Ip. "Money Trail: Speculators Didn't Sink Indonesian Currency; Local Borrowing Did," *The Wall Street Journal* (December 30, 1997).

Linda Lim, "Whose 'Model' Failed?: Implications of the Asian Economic Crisis," *The Washington Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (1998): 25-36.

### **23. December 3: Political Institutions and Economic Policy Outcomes**

Andrew MacIntyre, "Institutions and Investors: The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis", *International Organization*, vol. 55, no. 1, 2001, pp. 81-122.

Abrami, Regina, Edmund Malesky, and Yu Zheng. "Institutions and Inequality in Single-Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China." Forthcoming, *Comparative Politics*.

### **24. December 5: Authoritarianism, Elections, and Parties**

*Emergence*, chapter 3 (skim)

William Case. *Politics in Southeast Asia: Democracy or Less*. Curzon. 2002. Chapter 1.

Dan Slater. "Strong-state Democratization in Malaysia and Singapore." *Journal of Democracy* 23:2 2012, pp. 19-33.

### **25. December 1-: Democracy, Elections, and Parties**

Andreas Ufen. "Political Party and Party System Institutionalization in Southeast Asia: Lessons for Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand." *The Pacific Review* (July 2008) 21(3): 327-350.

Vince Boudreau. "Elections, repression and authoritarian survival in post-transition Indonesia and the Philippines." *The Pacific Review* 22(2) 2009, Pages 233 – 253.

Donald K. Emmerson. "Minding the Gap Between Democracy and Governance." *Journal of Democracy* 23:2 2012, pp. 62-93.

**Final Exam Tuesday, December 18, 10:30-12:30**

# **Important Course Policies and Procedures**

## **Students with Disabilities**

Any student with special needs because of a disability is requested to speak with the professor by the end of Week 3.

## **Readings and Lectures**

All readings for this course are mandatory. If you attend class, but do not complete the readings you are not likely to pass the course. Likewise, if you complete the readings, but do not attend class, you are not likely to pass the course. The lectures are designed to supplement—not simply review—the assigned readings.

## **Examination Policies**

Note the map quiz, midterm and final exam dates. No makeup quizzes or exams will be given without prior approval of the instructor at least two weeks before the quiz/exam date/deadline or without a doctor's note submitted to the professor within 1 week of the quiz/exam.

## **Plagiarism and Cheating**

Any instance of cheating or plagiarism will result in an E for the course.

## MAP QUIZ

Quiz Date: September 17, in class

"Without geography you're nowhere." Jimmy Buffett

Students will be handed the attached map and must be able to identify the following items. Use an atlas or one of the various online services (for example <http://www.worldatlas.com/aatlas/world.htm>) to fill out your practice map. Students can take practice quizzes at <http://www.harper.cc.il.us/mhealy/mapquiz/seasia/semenu.htm>.

### COUNTRIES:

Brunei  
Cambodia  
East Timor  
Indonesia  
Laos  
Malaysia  
Myanmar (Burma)  
Philippines  
Singapore  
Thailand  
Vietnam

### LAND BODIES

Aceh  
Bali  
Borneo  
Dawna Range  
Java  
Luzon  
Mekong Delta  
Mindanao  
New Guinea  
Spratly Islands  
Sulawesi  
Sumatra  
Southern Thailand Muslim Provinces  
(Yala, Narathiwat, Pattani)

### CAPITALS

Bandar Seri Begawan  
Bangkok  
Dili  
Hanoi  
Jakarta  
Kuala Lumpur  
Putrajaya (Administrative Capital)  
Manila  
Phnom Penh  
Naypyidaw  
Vientiane

### RIVERS

Chao Phraya River  
Irrawaddy River  
Mekong River  
Red River  
Salween River

### WATER BODIES

Andaman Sea  
Gulf of Tonkin  
Gulf of Thailand  
Indian Ocean  
Pacific Ocean  
Philippine Sea  
South China Sea