

Political Science 354: Government and Politics of Southeast Asia

University of Michigan

Monday/Wednesday 2:30-4:00 2306 MH

Winter 2020

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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 and crisis?
- Why do some authoritarian regimes survive for decades?
- 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 the first few classes 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) 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, the Philippines and Thailand, and then take a less in-depth look at Vietnam, Cambodia and Myanmar.

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. 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 classes 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.

Electronics

Laptop use is not permitted during class unless otherwise noted. Cell phones should also be turned off. Lecture slides will be posted on Canvas at least 24 hours before each lecture, so you may print the slides and take notes in class.

Requirements:

1. Map Quiz: See attached sheet. **10%** of the final grade. The quiz will be in class on January 29.
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 February 26. **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 **Wed. April 29, 1:30-3:30**.
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.

A. 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 around 7-10 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, each student's lowest two quiz grades (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 two misses without penalty. There will also be some extra credit opportunities throughout the term.

B. Reading Memos (15% of final grade)

You will be required to write a memo of 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. 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 February 5 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. Memos should be turned in via the Canvas course site. They should be typed, double-spaced, 12-point font, 1-inch margins all around. **Late memos will not be accepted.**

C. 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 Canvas at least 24 hours before class in order to qualify. I will review the questions and choose some to discuss in class.

Required Texts: (On reserve at Undergraduate Library)

1. Milton Osborne, *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 12th Edition 2013. (Hereafter “Osborne”) (10th or 11th editions also fine)
2. Jacques Bertrand, *Political Change in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge University Press. 2013. (Hereafter “Bertrand”)

All other readings are available through the Canvas website (under Files→Readings). Occasional supplemental reading materials dealing with current events in a given country will be posted on the course website. Lecture notes and study questions will also be placed on the website prior to each class.

I encourage you keep up with news on Southeast Asia. The New Mandala is a particularly good source: <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/newmandala/>. Coverage in US media is spotty; try *Asia Times Online* (www.atimes.com), *Channel News Asia* (www.channelnewsasia.com), or *Asia Sentinel* (www.asiasentinel.com). The *Wall Street Journal* and *Time* both publish separate Asian editions, so tend to have good coverage (especially online), as does the *Economist*. Many English-language newspapers from the region are also available online, for instance Singapore’s *Straits Times*, Malaysia’s web-based *Malaysiakini*, Thailand’s *The Nation*, or Indonesia’s *Jakarta Post*.

Course Schedule

January 8

Course Introduction—What is Southeast Asia?

January 13

No class—see syllabus for out of class activity

January 15

No class—see syllabus for out of class activity

January 20

MLK Day—No class

January 22

The Colonial Era

January 27

From WWI to WWII

January 29

****MAP QUIZ****

Nationalism, Communism and the Struggle for Independence

February 3

From the Barrel of a Gun

February 5

Indonesia—**MEMOS Begin**

February 10

Indonesia

February 12

Malaysia

February 17

Malaysia

February 19

Singapore

February 24

Singapore

February 26

MIDTERM, in Class

March 9

Thailand

March 11

Thailand

March 16

Philippines

March 18

Philippines

March 23

Vietnam

March 25

Vietnam/Cambodia

March 30

Cambodia

April 1

Myanmar

April 6

The Asian Economic Miracle in Comparative Perspective

April 8

The Asian Economic Crisis

April 13

Political Institutions and Economic Policy Outcomes

April 15

Authoritarianism and Elections

April 20

Challenges for Democratic Consolidation

Wrap up and Exam review

Final Exam: Wed. April 29, 1:30-3:30

Schedule of Lecture Topics and Reading Assignments:

PART I: SOUTHEAST ASIA PRE-INDEPENDENCE

1. January 8: Course Introduction—What is Southeast Asia?

Osborne, Chapter 1. Skim 2-3.

January 13 and January 15 we will not meet as a class. Watch the following on your own:

- <https://video.toggle.sg/en/series/inventing-southeast-asia-with-dr-farish-noor/ep1/444770>
- <https://video.toggle.sg/en/series/inventing-southeast-asia-with-dr-farish-noor/ep2/444776>
- <https://video.toggle.sg/en/series/inventing-southeast-asia-with-dr-farish-noor/ep3/444775>

January 20—No class, MLK Day

2. January 22: The Colonial Era

Osborne, Chapters 5, 6.

3. January 27: From WWI to WWII

Osborne, Chapter 8-9

4. January 29: Nationalism, Communism and the Struggle for Independence ****MAP QUIZ****

Osborne, Chapters 10-11

5. February 3: **Film: From the Barrel of a Gun**

PART II: THE STATES of SEA

Indonesia: The Challenges of Democracy

6. February 5

Bertrand, Chapter 2

Ross H. McLeod. 2000. "Soeharto's Indonesia: A Better Class of Corruption." *Agenda* 7(2): 99-112.

7. February 10

Jamie S. Davidson. 2018. *Indonesia: Twenty Years of Democracy*. Cambridge Elements: Politics and Society in Indonesia. Pp. 25-30, 40-45 only.

Edward Aspinall & Marcus Mietzner. 2019. Indonesia's Democratic Paradox: Competitive Elections amidst Rising Illiberalism, *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 55(3): 295-317

Malaysia: Development in a Divided Society

8. February 12

Bertrand, 92-108

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.

9. February 17

Meredith Weiss. 2016. "Lamenting 1MDB." *New Mandala*. <http://www.newmandala.org/lamenting-1mdb-damage-runs-deep/>

Meredith Weiss. 2018. "The Politics of Redemption." *New Mandala*. <http://www.newmandala.org/the-politics-of-redemption/>

Meredith Weiss. 2018. "Malaysia after GE14: Transition to What?" *New Mandala*. <http://www.newmandala.org/malaysia-ge14-transition/>

Singapore: The Price of Prosperity

10. February 19

Bertrand, 108-20.

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

11. February 24

Film: *Singapore: The Price of Prosperity*

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

Weiss, Meredith. 2015. "Rabbits or rebels? Making sense of Singapore's 2015 Elections." *Southeast*

Asian View. Brookings. September 2015. <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/rabbits-or-rebels-making-sense-of-singapores-2015-elections/>

February 26—MIDTERM in Class

Thailand: Contested Legitimacy

14. March 9

Bertrand, chapter 5

Duncan McCargo. 2005. "Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand." *Pacific Review* 18(4): 499-519.

15. March 11

Kevin Hewison, "Crafting Thailand's New Social Contract," *The Pacific Review* 17, no. 4 (2004): 503-522.

Elin Bjarnegård and Erik Melander, "Thailand's Missing Democrats," *Foreign Affairs*. May 22, 2014.

Duncan McCargo and Saowanee T. Alexander. 2019. "Thailand's 2019 Elections: A State of Democratic Dictatorship?" *Asia Policy* 14(4): 89-106

Philippines: Origins and Consequences of a Weak State

12. March 16

Bertrand, Chapter 3

Paul D. Hutchcroft. 2000. "Colonial Masters, National Politicos, and Provincial Lords: Central Authority and Local Autonomy in the American Philippines, 1900-1913," *Journal of Asian Studies*.

13. March 18

Paul D. Hutchcroft, *Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, pages 13-23 and 45-64.

"Roundtable: The 2016 Philippine Presidential Election." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 38:2 (2016), pp. 177-208.

Vietnam/Cambodia/Myanmar

16. March 23 (Vietnam)

Bertrand, Chapter 6

Andrew Pierre, "Vietnam's Contradictions," *Foreign Affairs*, 79:6 (2000), 69-86

17. March 25 (Vietnam and Cambodia)

Martin Gainsborough. "Elites vs. Reform in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam." *Journal of Democracy* 23:2 2012, pp. 34-46.

Alexander Vuving. "Why Trong's Re-Election doesn't spell the end for reform in Vietnam." *East Asia Forum*. April 5, 2016. <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/04/05/why-trongs-re-election-doesnt-spell-the-end-for-reform-in-vietnam/>

Yves Dam Van. "Vietnam parliament elects Communist Party chief as president." *Associated Press* October 23, 2018.

18. March 30 (Cambodia)

Film: Killing Fields

Bertrand, Chapter 7

19. April 1

Bertrand, Chapter 8

Moe Thuzar. "Myanmar's 2015 Elections: New Hope on the Horizon?" *Perspectives ISEAS*. 2015: 70, 17 December 2015.

Nicolas Farrelly. "Gazing over the Horizon." *New Mandala*. 25 May, 2016
<http://www.newmandala.org/gazing-over-the-horizon/>.

20. April 6: The Asian Economic Miracle in Comparative Perspective

Richard F. Doner. 1991. "Approaches to the Politics of Economic Growth in Southeast Asia." *Journal of Asian Studies* 50(4): 818-849.

Richard Doner, Dan Slater and Bryan Ritchie. 2005. "Systematic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective." *International Organization*.

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

21. April 8: The Asian Economic Crisis

For those unfamiliar with the basics of exchange rates, a simple review can be found at:

<https://www.thebalance.com/how-do-exchange-rates-work-3306084>

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.

K.S. Jomo. *After the Storm: Crisis Recovery and Sustaining Development in Four Asian*

Economies. Singapore University Press. 2004. Chapter 1.

22. April 13: 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.

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

23. April 15: Authoritarianism and Elections

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

Lee Morgenbesser and Thomas Pepinsky. "States, Neopatrimonialism, and Elections: Democratization in Southeast Asia." 2016 Working paper.

Bridget Welsh. "Democratic contraction in Southeast Asia." *New Mandala*.

<http://www.newmandala.org/democratic-contraction-in-southeast-asia/>

24. April 20: Challenges for Democratic Consolidation

Dan Slater. 2013. "Democratic Careening." *World Politics* 65(4): 729-763.

Thomas Pepinsky. 2017. "Voting Against Disorder." *Journal of Democracy* 28(2): April 2017.

Final Exam: Wed. April 29, 1:30-3:30

Quiz Date: January 29, 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.

COUNTRIES:

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

LAND BODIES

Aceh
Bali
Borneo
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

Important Course Policies and Procedures

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 exam dates. No makeup exams will not 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.

Student Sexual Misconduct Policy

Title IX prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, which includes sexual misconduct — including harassment, domestic and dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking. We understand that sexual violence can undermine students' academic success and we encourage anyone dealing with sexual misconduct to talk to someone about their experience, so they can get the support they need. Confidential support and academic advocacy can be found with the Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center (SAPAC) on their 24-hour crisis line, (734) 936-3333 and at sapac.umich.edu. Alleged violations can be non-confidentially reported to the Office for Institutional Equity (OIE) at institutional.equity@umich.edu.

Students with Disabilities

If you think you may need an accommodation for a disability, please let me know at the beginning of the term. Next, you should contact the Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) office. Once your eligibility for an accommodation has been determined, you will be issued a Verified Individual Services Accommodation (VISA) form and we can arrange for your accommodation. Any information you provide is private and confidential and will be treated as such. If you already have a VISA form from SSD, please present this form to me at the beginning of the term, but no later than at least two weeks prior to the need for the accommodation so that there is enough time for the appropriate arrangements to be made.

Plagiarism and Academic Misconduct

Each student in this course is expected to abide by the standards of academic integrity. Any work submitted by a student in this course for academic credit will be the student's own work. Students are strictly forbidden from buying or selling course materials. Cheating and plagiarism will be treated according to University regulations. The penalty for violating academic integrity is an E for the assignment. For further information on how to cite materials properly, please consult Joseph Gibaldi, *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* (New York: MLA).

For more information, including examples of behaviors that are considered academic misconduct and potential sanctions, please see www.lsa.umich.edu/academicintegrity.

Student Mental Health and Wellbeing

University of Michigan is committed to advancing the mental health and wellbeing of its students. If you or someone you know is feeling overwhelmed, depressed, and/or in need of support, services are available. For help, contact Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) at (734) 764-8312 and caps.umich.edu during and after hours, on weekends and holidays, or through its counselors physically located in schools on both North and Central Campus. You may also consult University Health Service (UHS) at (734) 764-8320 and <https://www.uhs.umich.edu/mentalhealthsvcs>, or for alcohol or drug concerns, see www.uhs.umich.edu/aodresources. For a listing of other mental health resources available on and off campus, visit: <http://umich.edu/~mhealth/>.

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Laptop use is not permitted during class unless otherwise noted. Cell phones should also be turned off. Lecture slides will be posted on Canvas at least 24 hours before each lecture, so you may print the slides and take notes in class.