

Politics of Southeast Asia¹

IRGN 463

Fall 2008
Room: IRPS Gardner Auditorium
Section 1: W 6:30-9:20 PM
Office Hours: MW 2:30-3:30 PM

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The Course

This is a graduate course on the politics of Southeast Asia. IRGN 463 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 *Policy Making Process*.

The class is designed as an introductory primer on the history, political institutions, and economic development of Southeast Asia. Reading and discussions are divided into three sections. Section 1 reviews the history of the region, including: the pre-colonial period, the differential forms of colonialism, the impact of World War II, and the struggles for independence, nationalism, and communism in the region. Section 2 draws on the tools of political economy 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 obstacles while others have not. Time will be devoted to discussing and debating the causes and consequences of the Asian economic miracle and the Asian economic crisis that followed. In Section 3, we will discuss the issues of great powers in Southeast Asia and the growing influence of political Islam in the region.

Because the quarter system does not afford time for in-depth focus on individual countries, the assigned readings listed in the syllabus are general. To supplement country knowledge, teams of students will write weekly two-pagers² on an individual country during the quarter. These should be organized along the lines of the week's assigned readings, but applied specifically to your country of interest. Memos should be concise and useful white papers on the relevant information needed for other students to draw comparisons between their own country specialties and the country in the presentation. Recommended readings for preparing these presentations are provided in the final portion of the syllabus.

To ensure a lively and fruitful discussion, all readings not otherwise listed are mandatory and participation will be worth a large portion of the final grade. Discussions will take place along a series of questions that will be e-mailed to students on Tuesday afternoon. When necessary, "cold-calling" may be employed to stimulate discussion and gauge student mastery of the material.

¹ Please consider whether the materials for this class need to be printed or whether a digital version is sufficient. If you need a printed version, please use the two-sided option in the computer lab to save paper and printing costs. All assignments submitted for this course should be printed double-sided.

² *One page, double-sided, twelve-point Times New Roman font, single-spaced, with one-inch margins.*

Requirements and Grading

1. 20% Participation in class discussions

2. 40% White Papers

White Papers must be submitted to the Professor by 5pm on the Monday before the presentation, so the validity of their content can be checked prior to class. Other students will be counting on these for the Final Exam; *so far more than your own grade rests on the quality of your work.*

3. 40% In-Class Final Exam.

- ❖ Map quiz II
- ❖ Identifications of terms discussed in readings and lectures.
- ❖ Short answers to simple questions discussed in lectures and readings.
- ❖ Long answer: You will be given a prompt asking you to compare your country specialty to two other countries in Southeast Asia along themes discussed over the quarter.

Required Texts³

1. **Abuza**, Zachary. 2003. *Militant Islam in Southeast Asia: Crucible of Terror*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
2. **Kingsbury**, Damien. 2001. *Southeast Asia: A Political Profile*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
3. **Macintyre**, Andrew. 2003 *The Power of Institutions: Political Architecture and Governance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
4. **Osborne**, Milton. 2004. *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin:, 9th Edition.
5. **Martinez-Kuhonta, Erik, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu**. 2008. *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press
6. **Kurlantzik**, Joshua. 2007. *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Optional Texts (Additional books consulted in preparing lectures)

1. **Owen**, Norman G. 2005. *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia: A New History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
2. **Beeson**, Mark. 2004. *Contemporary Southeast Asia: Regional Dynamics, National Differences*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
3. **Case**, William. 2004. *Politics in Southeast Asia: Democracy or Less*. New York: Routledge Curzon.

³ Required articles are hyperlinked in this syllabus. You may need to be connected to UCSD servers to access all articles.

Section 1: Historical Origins

1. **October 1: Introduction – What is Southeast Asia? & Pre-Colonial History**
 - ❖ *Map Quiz*
 - ❖ Introductory lecture on the meaning and usage of the term Southeast Asia
 - ❖ Discussion of course design
 - ❖ Selection of country teams.

 - ❖ Kingsbury (Chapters 1 and 2).
 - ❖ Osborne (Chapters 1-4).
 - ❖ Scott, James C. 1972. "[Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia.](#)" *American Political Science Review* 66:1 (March): 91-113.

2. **October 8: The Colonial Era**
 - ❖ Osborne (Chapters 5-7)
 - ❖ Elson, R. 2004. 'Reinventing a region: Southeast Asia and the colonial experience,' in Beeson, pp. 15-29. [Professor to Distribute]
 - ❖ Michael Adas. 1981. "[From Avoidance to Confrontation: Peasant Protest in Pre-colonial and Colonial Southeast Asia.](#)" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23:2 (April): 17-247.
 - ❖ 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* 59:2 (May): 277-306.

3. **October 15: Nationalism, Communism, and the Struggle for Independence**
 - ❖ Osborne (Chapters 8-14)
 - ❖ Kingsbury (Chapter 1)
 - ❖ Benedict R. O'G Anderson. 1983. "[Old State, New Society: Indonesia's New Order in Comparative-Historical Perspective.](#)" *Journal of Asian Studies* 42:3 (May 1983): 477-496.

Optional

- ❖ Aspinall, Edward and Mark T. Berger. 2001. "[The Break-up of Indonesia? Nationalisms after Decolonization and the Limits of the Nation-State in post-cold war Southeast Asia.](#)" *Third World Quarterly* 22:6 (December 2001): 1003-1024.
- ❖ Goscha, Christopher. 2006. "[Courting Diplomatic Disaster? The Difficult Integration of Vietnam into the Internationalist Communist Movement \(1945-1950\).](#)" *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*. 1:1 (Fall): 59-104.
- ❖ *Optional*: Lederer, William and Eugene Burdick. 1958. [The Ugly American](#). New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Section 2: Modern Political Economy

4. **October 22: Great Men in Southeast Asia: Authority, Legitimacy, Power**
- ❖ Abuza, Zachary. 2002. "[The Lessons of Le Kha Phieu: Changing Rules in Vietnamese Politics.](#)" *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 24.1 (April).
 - ❖ Crone, Donald. K. 1988. "[States, Social Elites, and Government Capacity in Southeast Asia.](#)" *World Politics* 40(2): 252-268.
 - ❖ Dan Slater. 2003. "[Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and Personalization of Power in Malaysia.](#)" *Comparative Politics* 36:1 (October): 81-101.
 - ❖ Fisman, Raymond. 2001. "[Estimating the Value of Political Connections.](#)" *American Economic Review* 91:4: 1095-1102.
 - ❖ MacDougall, John James. 1976. "[The Technocratic Model of Modernization: The Case of Indonesia's New Order.](#)" *Asian Survey*. Vol. 16, No. 12 (December): 1166-1183.
 - ❖ McCargo, Duncan. 2005. "[Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand.](#)" *The Pacific Review*. 18(4): 499-519.
- Optional:
- ❖ McCargo, Duncan. "[Cambodia: Getting Away with Authoritarianism.](#)" *Journal of Democracy* 16:4: 98-112.
 - ❖ McCargo, Duncan. 2002. "[Democracy under Stress in Thaksin's Thailand.](#)" *Journal of Democracy* 13:4
 - ❖ Studwell, Joe. *Asian Godfathers: Money and Power in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia*. London: Profile Books
 - ❖ Turley, William and Brantly Womack. 1998 "[Asian's Socialism's Open Doors: Guangzhou and Ho Chi Minh City.](#)" *The China Journal* 40 (July).
5. **October 29: Single Party Dominant/Single Party Regimes**
- ❖ Abrami, Regina, Edmund Malesky, and Yu Zheng. 2008. "[Accountability and Inequality in Single Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China.](#)" Harvard Business School Working Papers 08-099.
 - ❖ Brownlee, Jason. 2008. "[Bound to Rule: Party Institutions and Regime Trajectories in Malaysia and the Philippines.](#)" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 8(1). 89-118.
 - ❖ Case, William. 1996. "[Can the "Halfway House" Stand? Semi-Democracy and Elite Theory in Three Southeast Asian Countries.](#)" *Comparative Politics* 28(4): 437-464.
 - ❖ Case, William. 2006. "Manipulative Skills: How do Rulers Control the Electoral Arena." In *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, ed. Andreas Schedler. London: Reinner.
 - ❖ Hicken, Allen. 2006. "[Party Fabrication: Constitutional Reform and the Rise of Thai Rak Thai.](#)" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 6(3): 381-407.
 - ❖ Slater, Dan (in MSV). "[Democracies and Dictatorships Do Not Float Freely: Structural Sources of Political Regimes in Southeast Asia.](#)" (forthcoming)

6. November 5: Political Institutions

- ❖ MacIntyre (Entire Book)
- ❖ Doner, Richard, Dan Slater and Bryan Ritchie. 2005. "[Systematic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective.](#)" *International Organization* 59:2 (Spring): 327-361.
- ❖ Hicken, Allen and Yuko Kasuya. 2003. "[A Guide to the Constitutional Structures and Electoral Systems of Southeast Asia.](#)" *Electoral Studies* 22:1 (March): 121-151.
- ❖ Malesky, Edmund and Paul Schuler. 2009. "[Paint-by-Number Democracy: The Stakes, Structure, and Results of the 2007 Vietnamese National Assembly Election.](#)" *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* (Forthcoming, January).
- ❖ Malesky, Edmund, 2009. "[Gerrymandering -Vietnamese Style: Escaping the Partial Reform Equilibrium in a Nondemocratic Regime.](#)" *Journal of Politics* (Forthcoming, January).
- ❖ [World Bank, East Asia Decentralizes: Making Local Government Work, 2005.](#) Chapters 1-2.

7. November 12: The Asian Miracle and The Asian Financial Crisis

- ❖ Kingsbury (Chapter 3)
- ❖ Richard F. Doner, 1991. "[Approaches to the Politics of Economic Growth in Southeast Asia.](#)" *Journal of Asian Studies* 50, no. 4 (November): 818-849.
- ❖ Hal Hill. 1997. "[Towards a Political Economy Explanation of Rapid Growth in ASEAN: A Survey and Analysis.](#)" *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 14(2, November): 131-149.
- ❖ Hal Hill. 1996 "[Indonesia's Industrial Policy and Performance: 'Orthodoxy.'](#)" *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 45:1: 147-174. (Skim—read introduction and conclusion closely)
- ❖ Paul Krugman. 1994. "[The Myth of Asia's Miracle.](#)" *Foreign Affairs* 73: 6: 62-78.
- ❖ Pepinsky, Thomas. 2008. "[Capital Mobility and Coalitional Politics: Authoritarian Regimes and Economic Adjustments in Southeast Asia.](#)" *World Politics* 60 (3): 438-474.
- ❖ Wade, Robert. 2000 "[Wheels within Wheels: Rethinking the Asian Crisis and the Asian Model.](#)" *Annual Review of Political Science* 3.
- ❖ For those unfamiliar with the basics of exchange rates, a simple review can be found at <http://www.newyorkfed.org/education/fx/foreign.html>

Section 3: International Relations/Transnational Forces

8. November 19: Political Islam

- ❖ Abuza (Chapters 1, 3, 4)
- ❖ Leheny, David. 2005. "[Terrorism, Social Movements And International Security: How Al-Qaeda Affects Southeast Asia.](#)" *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 6(1): 87-109.
- ❖ Sidel, John T. 2007. "[The Islamic Threat in Southeast Asia: A Reassessment](#)" by John T Sidel. East West Center, Washington, DC, and the Singapore Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- ❖ Vatikiotis, Michael. 2006. "[Resolving Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia: Domestic Challenges and Regional Perspectives.](#)" *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 28(1): 27-47.

Optional:

- ❖ Gershman, John. 2002. "[Is Southeast Asia the Second Front.](#)" *Foreign Affairs* (July/August)
- ❖ McCargo, Duncan. 2006. "Thaksin and the resurgence of violence in the Thai South: Network monarchy strikes back?" *Critical Asian Studies* 38(1): 39-71.
- ❖ Special issue on Religious Violence in Indonesia in *Journal of East Asian Studies* (Forthcoming 2009). [Professor will distribute].

9. November 26: No Class Due to Thanksgiving Holiday

10. December 3: Great Powers in Southeast Asia

- ❖ Kurlantzik (Entire Book)
- ❖ Stubbs, Richard. 2002. "[ASEAN Plus Three: Emerging East Asian Regionalism?](#)" *Asian Survey* 42:3. (May - Jun): 440-455.

Optional:

- ❖ Weatherbee, Donald. H. 1978. "[U.S. Policy and the Two Southeast Asias.](#)" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (April): 408-421.
- ❖ Kurus, Bilson. 1993. "[Understanding ASEAN: Benefits and Raison d'Etre.](#)" *Asian Survey* 33:8 (August): 819-831.
- ❖ Vatikiotis, Michael R.J. 2003. "[Catching the Dragon's Tail: China and Southeast Asia in the 21st Century.](#)" *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International & Strategic Affairs* 25(1): 65-79

Suggested Team Readings

Indonesia:

- ❖ Kingsbury, “Indonesia: Diversity in Unity”
- ❖ Case, “Perpetuating and Changing Pseudo Democracy.”
- ❖ Andrew MacIntyre, “Indonesia” in Ian Marsh, Jean Blondel and Takashi Inoguchi. *Democracy, Governance, and Economy Performance: East and Southeast Asia*, 1999. UN Press, New York.
- ❖ Angel Rabasa and Peter Chalk, *Indonesia’s Transformation and the Stability of Southeast Asia*.
- ❖ Rand Corporation, 2001. Available on the web at <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1344/> Read chapters 2-5, 7. These are short chapters and easy to read.
- ❖ Goshal, B., “Democratic Transition and Political Development in Post-Suharto Indonesia,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 26, No. 3, p. 506-599, 2004.
- ❖ Rieffek, L. “Indonesia’s Quiet Revolution.” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 5 (Sep/Oct), p. 98-112, 2004.
- ❖ Ananta, Aris, Evi Nurvida Arifin, and Leo Suryadinata, *Emerging Democracy in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2006.
- ❖ Kingsbury, Damien and Harry Aveling, *Autonomy and Disintegration in Indonesia*, London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- ❖ Antlov, Hans and Sven Cederroth, *Elections in Indonesia*, London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- ❖

Malaysia:

- ❖ Kingsbury, “Malaysia: Inclusion and Exclusion.”
- ❖ Case, “Semi-Democracy with Strain Points.”
- ❖ Loh Kok Wah and Khoo Boo Tiek. *Democracy in Malaysia: Discourses and Practices*. Richmond Surrey: Curzon, 2002.
- ❖ 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.
- ❖ Edmund Terence Gomez and Jomo K.S. “Malaysia” in Ian Marsh, Jean Blondel and Takashi Inoguchi. *Democracy, Governance, and Economy Performance: East and Southeast Asia*, 1999. UN Press, New York. pp. 230-246.
- ❖ Welsh, B. “Tears and Fears: Tun Mahatir’s Last Hurrah,” *Southeast Asian Affairs*, p. 263-290, 2004.
- ❖ Murphy, Colum. 2006. “Abdullah’s Inperfect Plan to Reinvent Malaysia.” *Far Eastern Economic Review*. 169:6 (July//Aug): 19-24.

Singapore:

- ❖ Kingsbury, “Singapore: The Corporate State.”
- ❖ Case, “A Stable Semi-Democracy.”
- ❖ Mauzy, Diane, K. and R.S. Milne, “*Singapore: Politics Under the People’s Action Party*,” New York, Routledge, 2002.
- ❖ Restall, Hugo. 2006. “Interview: Singapore’s ‘Martyr’: Chee Soon Juan” *Far Eastern Economic Review*. 169:6 (July/August): 24-28.
- ❖ *Far Eastern Economic Review*. 2006. “Singapore’s Challenges”
 - Singapore’s Founding Myths vs. Freedom

- The Charade of Meritocracy
 - Financial Center Pipedreams.
- 169:8 (October): 13-23.

Philippines:

- ❖ Kingsbury, “Philippines: Oligarchic Democracy”
- ❖ Case, “Stable, But Low Quality Democracy.”
- ❖ Paul D. Hutchcroft, *Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, pages 13-23 and 45-64.
- ❖ Gary Hawes, “Marcos, His Cronies and the Philippines Failure to Develop.” In Ruth McVey (ed.) *Southeast Asian Capitalists*, Cornell Southeast Asia Program, Ithaca, pages 145-160.
- ❖ James Mackie and Benardo Villegas, “The Philippines: Still an Exceptional Case?”, in James Morley (ed.), *Driven by Growth: Political Change in the Asia-Pacific Region*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1999. Chapter 4.
- ❖ 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* http://www.cyberdyaryo.com/opinion/op2001_0208_01.htm
- ❖ Rushford, Greg. 2006. “The Morass in Mindanao.” *Far Eastern Economic Review* 169:10 (December): 29-34.

Thailand:

- ❖ Kingsbury, “Thailand: The Survivor Mandala.”
- ❖ Case, “Thailand: An Unconsolidated Democracy.”
- ❖ Benedict Anderson, “Murder and Progress in Modern Siam”, *New Left Review*, vol. 81, no. 2, 1990, pp. 33-48.
- ❖ Allen D. Hicken, “Parties, Policy and Patronage: Governance and Growth in Thailand,” in J.E.L. Campos, ed., *Corruption: The Boom and Bust of East Asia*, Manila: Ateneo de Manila Press. 2001.
- ❖ Phongpaichit, Pasuk and Chris Baker, *Thaksin: The Business of Politics in Thailand.* Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004.
- ❖ Chookiat Panaspornprasit, “Thailand: Politicized Thankization” *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2004, p. 257-67, 2004.
- ❖ Hicken, Allen, “The Politics of Economic Reform in Thailand: Crisis and Compromise,” *Working Paper* #638 William Davidson Institute/University of Michigan, January 2004.
- ❖ Chambers, Paul. 2005. “Evolving Toward What? Parties, Factions, and Coalition Behavior in Thailand Today.” *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 3:5 (Sept-Dec): 495-521.
- ❖ Murphy, Colum. 2006. “Bangkok’s Elitist Coup.” *Far Eastern Economic Review* 169:8 (October): 13-23.
- ❖ Murphy, Colum and Sinfah Sarawuth. 2007. “Thailand’s Cracked Path to Democracy.” *Far Eastern Economic Review* 170: 2 (March): 27-30.

Vietnam:

- ❖ Kingsbury, "Vietnam: The Little Dragon."
- ❖ Gainsborough, Martin. 2003. *The Changing Political Economy of Vietnam*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- ❖ Fforde, Adam and Stefan de Vylder. 1996. *From Plan to Market: The Economic Transition in Vietnam*. Boulder, Co: Westview Press.
- ❖ Andrew Pierre, "Vietnam's Contradictions", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 6, 2000, pp. 69-86
- ❖ Porter, Gareth. 1993. *Vietnam: The Politics of Bureaucratic Socialism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- ❖ Riedel, James and William S. Turley, 1999. "The Politics of Economic Transition to an Open Economy in Vietnam." *OECD Development Center Technical Paper 152*.
- ❖ Tonneson, Stein. 2000. "The Layered State of Vietnam." In *State Capacity in East Asia*, Kjeld Erik Brodsgaars and Susan Young, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.
- ❖ Van Arkadie, Brian and Ray Mallon. 2003. *Viet Nam: A Transition Tiger?* Canberra, Australia: Asia Pacific Press.
- ❖ Vasavakul, Thaveeporn. 1997. "Sectoral Politics for State and Party Building." In *Doi Moi: Ten Years After the 1986 Party Congress*, Adam Fforde, ed. Australia National University.
- ❖ Vasavakul, Thaveeporn. 2002. *Rebuilding Authority Relations: Public Administration Reform in the Era of Doi Moi*. Hanoi: Asian Development Bank
- ❖ Vasavakul, Thaveeporn. 2003. "From Fence-breaking to Networking:
- ❖ Abrami, Regina, M. 2004. "Bottlenecks, Beliefs, and Breakthroughs: The Normative Logic of Economic Reform in Vietnam." *Harvard Business School Working Paper Series 05-007*, Cambridge.
- ❖ [Vuving, Alexander L. 2004. "The Two-Headed Grand Strategy: Vietnamese Foreign Policy Since Doi Moi." Presented at the Annual Vietnam Update Conference, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, November.](#)
- ❖ Dapice, David. 2006. "[Fear of Flying: Why is Sustaining Reform So Hard in Vietnam.](#)" Presented at the Review of 20 Years of Doi Moi in Vietnam Roundtable," Ha Noi, June 15-16.
- ❖ Koh, David. 2006. "Vietnam Must Map its Own Flight Plan." *Far Eastern Economic Review*. December.
- ❖ Also see Marc Sidel's annual reviews in Asian Affairs.

Cambodia:

- ❖ Kingsbury, "Cambodia: The Dancing Country."
- ❖ Jackson, K., "The Khmer Rouge in Context," *Cambodia 1975-1978: Rendezvous with Death*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- ❖ Gottesman, Evan, *Cambodia: After the Khmer Rouge: Inside the Politics of Nation-Building*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- ❖ Tin Maung Maung Than, "Cambodia: Strongman, Terrible Man, Invisible Man, and the Politics of Power Sharing," *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2004, 73-87.
- ❖ Frieson, Kate G. "The Cambodian Elections of 1993: A Case of Power to the People." in Taylor (eds.), **R.H.** *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ❖ Nate Thayer articles on the Khmer Rouge, Pol Pot ("Day of Reckoning") and "Duch" ("Duch Confesses") from the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.
- ❖ Chanda, Nayan Brother Enemy: Indochina Since Saigon, *Asia Books*.

- ❖ Chandler, David. "Brother Number One: Biography of Pol Pot.," New York: Westview, 1999.
- ❖ Kiernan, Ben, *Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia: The Khmer Rouge, the U.N., and the International Community*, 1993.

Laos:

- ❖ Kingsbury, "Laos: The Land in Between."
- ❖ Bourdest, Yves. *The economics of transition in Laos: From socialism to Asian integration*. London, Edward Elgar, 2000.
- ❖ Evans, Grant. *A Short history of Laos. The land in between*. St. Leonards, Allen and Unwin, 2002.
- ❖ Goscha, Christopher E. and Soren Ivarsson (editors). *Contesting Visitions of the Lao Past*, Copenhagen, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2002.
- ❖ Mansfield, Stephen. *Lao Hill Tribes: Traditions and Patterns of Existence*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 2001.
- ❖ Simms, Peter and Sanda. *The Kingdoms of Laos*. (Richmond, Curzon Press, 2001
- ❖ Stuart-Fox, Martin. *A History of Laos*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press., 1999. *An authoritative and wide-ranging account, the book takes in the country's early history, but concentrates on the modern period following World War II*

Burma:

- ❖ Kingsbury, "Burma: The Garrison State."
- ❖ Taylor, R.H., "Elections in Burma/Myanmar: For Whom and Why?" in Taylor (eds.) *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ❖ John Wong, "Why Has Myanmar Not Developed like East Asia?" *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 13, no. 3 (March 1997): 344-358.
- ❖ Hlang, Kyway Yin. Robert H. Taylor, Tin Maung Maung Than, *Myanmar: Beyond Political to Societal Imperatives*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006.

Brunei:

- ❖ Kingsbury, "Floating on Oil."
- ❖ Saunders, Graham, E., *A History of Brunei*, London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002.
- ❖ Singh, Ramjit, *Brunei, 1839-1983, "The Problems of Political Survival*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- ❖ Leake, David, *Brunei: The Modern Southeast-Asian Islamic Sultanate*, New York: McFarland and Company, 1989.
- ❖ Also see articles by R. Mitton in Asiaweek 1998-2000.

East Timor:

- ❖ Kingsbury, "East Timor: The Difficult Birth of a New State."
- ❖ Martin, Ian. "Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention," *International Peace Academy Occasional Paper Series*, 2002.
- ❖ Joliffe, Jill. 2006. "Compromising Justice in East Timor." *Far Eastern Economic Review* 169:3 (April): 54-58.