

International Studies 450

Systems of Violence & Cultures of Peace in Southeast Asia

Dr. Shane Joshua Barter

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Spring 2016

Tuesday & Thursday: 1030-1200

Classroom: Maathai 303

Office: Maathai 310

Office Hours: Before / after class
or by appointment



THE COURSE

INTS 450, Systems of Violence and Cultures of Peace in Southeast Asia, provides a multidisciplinary glimpse into a great range of violent wars—past and present—in one of the world's most diverse and exciting regions. It also considers how to overcome them, connecting the ways that wars are fought with specific ways to build peace.

The course is divided into three parts. Part One examines historical (pre-independence) conflicts in Southeast Asia. Part Two turns to recent and ongoing conflicts: interstate wars, communist insurgencies, ethnic conflicts, religious conflicts, regional rebellions, secessionist conflicts, terrorism, state terror, and endemic criminal violence. Having painted a gloomy picture, Part Three of the course looks at conflict resolution and sources of peace. Here, we will explore how several of the conflicts studied in the course have been overcome and how ongoing conflicts might be as well.

The primary objective of this course is to help students understand the sources of war and peace in a regional context. Students will become experts on a particular form of conflict, expertise developed through a series of assignments and presentations. This format allows students interested in armed conflict, but lacking experience studying Southeast Asia, to contribute to rich class discussions. Students will leave the course with an appreciation of distinct forms of armed conflict, how culture does (and does not) shape violence, and how different types of warfare suit different forms of conflict resolution.

POLICIES

First: I place great emphasis on constructive participation. The classroom is a place to share ideas / opinions and to challenge each other, but always respectfully: listen to fellow students; communicate effectively regarding assignments; arrive on time; avoid gender, racial, or religious insensitivities; and complete the required readings. The best participation tends to come in the form of insightful questions posed to the class. Quantity is not always the same thing as quality.

Second: teacher-student communication. I am always available via email, but if you have a question, other students may want to hear the answer, so ask it in class to gain the participation mark that you deserve. For assignments, email is no substitute for face to face chats. So come and talk to me. In the event of an illness or personal emergency, you must contact me **BEFORE** a given deadline. Late assignments will be deducted 5% per day, including weekends, beginning at the end of class.

Third: I expect professionalism in all assignments. Avoid casual internet sources (i.e. wiki), avoid contractions, include page numbers, and present a clear argument. Essays must include a clear, formal research question. Students should consult with the instructor regarding the research question, argument, and organization of major written assignments.

Fourth: the course has a considerable online presence via Angel. Here, you will find syllabus (which may be updated), a course calendar, RSS feeds, and links to useful pages. Under the 'Material' tab, you will find links to all readings as well as overviews of previous days' lectures.

GRADING

Soka grading is organized in terms of letter grades: A, B+, C-, etc, as well as a 0-4 grade point average. This is how the percentage points in this course will translate into these scales:

90-100	A+	4.0	65-69	B-	2.7
85-89	A	4.0	60-64	C+	2.3
80-84	A-	3.7	55-59	C	2.0
75-79	B+	3.3	50-55	C-	1.7
70-74	B	3.0	>50	F	1.0

READINGS

Course readings will consist of a variety of academic journal articles and book chapters. There is no textbook, however students are encouraged to purchase books when they find a chapter or author particularly engaging. All articles and chapters are available electronically through the course's Angel website. I recommend downloading all of the articles early in the semester (links have a tendency to break, websites go down, so plan ahead!). Remember, unless you set up a proxy server, you must be on campus to access class readings.



EVALUATION

20%	Participation	Ongoing
10%	History Paper	Due 27 February (Thursday)
10%	Seminar Facilitation	27 February through 10 April
10%	Book Review	27 February through 10 April
10%	Symposium Presentations	On 08 May (Thursday)
40%	Research Paper	Due 15 May (Thursday)

Participation: 20% of your grade will be earned through respectful participation. This means asking insightful questions, engaging with colleagues, punctuality, attendance, being attentive, and communicating with me regarding assignments. **Evaluation ongoing**

History Paper: 10% of your grade will be earned by writing a brief (about five pages, double-spaced) paper on an historical (pre-WW2) Southeast Asian conflict of your choice. Papers should focus on the following questions: What were the causes of the conflict? How was the conflict overcome (was it)? What are its legacies today? **Due Thursday, 27 February.**

By **Thursday, 20 February**, students will have chosen a form of conflict discussed in the second part of the course: inter-state wars, communist insurgencies, regional rebellions, secessionist conflicts, religious violence, ethnic conflicts, tribal wars, terrorism, state terror, and structural violence. Each student will become an expert on one particular form of conflict, which will be the foundation for several assignments:

Seminar Facilitation: 10% of your grade will be earned by co-chairing the class on your given type of conflict. Students are expected to deliver a brief lecture and facilitate class discussion in partnership with the Professor, as well as present their book review. Students must consult with the Professor on their facilitation at least one week prior to class. **27 February – 10 April.**

Book Review: 10% of your grade will be earned by writing a 2-3 page review of a major book. While they can be chosen from the key texts noted in the syllabus or by the student, books must be chosen in consultation with the instructor. Remember, a good book review is not a wikipedia-style summary, but instead an analysis of what the book offers or where it falls short. **27 February – 10 April.**

Symposium Presentations: 10% of your grade will be earned through presenting your Research Paper in a conference-style setting. Students will experience the difficulties of boiling a complex research paper down to a 12-minute presentation, completing suitable drafts to send to a discussant in a timely manner, and will gain public speaking experience. Students will also gain feedback on their papers from the discussant and audience members, allowing them to strengthen the final product before submission. **Thursday, 08 May.**

Research Paper: 40% of your grade will be earned through a research paper (12-14 pages) which compares two to three cases of a form of conflict. Please consult with the professor regarding case selection and crafting an appropriate hypothesis. **Due Thursday, 15 May.**

CALENDAR

04 February Tuesday Session 01	Introduction About the Course, What is Southeast Asia?
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Historical Conflicts

06 February Thursday Session 02	Precolonial Warfare What did traditional Southeast Asian warfare look like? <i>Mandala, slave-raiding, piracy, clan feuds</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Victor Lieberman, " Some Comparative thoughts on Premodern Southeast Asian Warfare ," <i>Journal of the Economic & Social History of the Orient</i> 46:2 (2003); pp. 215-225.
<i>Core Texts</i>	James Frances Warren, <i>The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, & Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State</i> (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007). James C. Scott, <i>The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press).

11 February Tuesday Session 03	Early Wars of Conquest How was European colonialism different from indigenous imperialism? <i>Aceh, Iskandar Muda, Siam-Patani, Burma-Siam</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Helen James, " The Fall of Ayutthaya ," <i>Journal of Burma Studies</i> 5 (2000); pp. 75-108.

13 February Thursday Session 04	Resisting Colonialism How common was anti-colonial resistance? <i>Indirect rule, divide and conquer, Mindanao, Java War, Hurgronje's War Ethnography</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Peter Carey, " The Origins of the Java War (1825-30) ," <i>The English Historical Review</i> 91:358 (January 1976); pp. 52-78.
<i>Core Texts</i>	Snouck Hurgronje, <i>The Acehnese</i> (Leiden, 1906).

18 February Tuesday Session 05	Religious Rebellions Why were several rebellions framed in terms of religion? <i>Padri War (1834), Bali, Millenarianism, Saya San, Cao Dai & Hoa Hao, Prang Sabil</i>
<i>Readings</i>	James Scott, <i>The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press), Chapter Eight, pp. 283-323.
<i>Core Texts</i>	James Siegel, <i>The Rope of God</i> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

20 February Thursday Session 06	World War Two in Southeast Asia Why did some early nationalist leaders resist Japan, while others did not? <i>Chinese in Malaya, Sukarno, Masyumi, Corregidor</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Anthony Reid, " The Japanese Occupation and Rival Indonesian Elites: Northern Sumatra in 1942 ," <i>Journal of Asian Studies</i> 35:1 (November 1975); pp. 49-61.
<i>Core Texts</i>	Kenichi Goto, <i>Tensions of Empire: Japan & Southeast Asia in the Colonial & Postcolonial World</i> (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003). E. Bruce Reynolds, <i>Thailand's Secret War: OSS, SOE, and the Free Thai Underground During World War II</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
Select Type of Conflict (Thursday, 20 February)	

25 February Tuesday Session 07	Overthrowing Colonialism How did having to fight for independence affect future development? <i>Indochina & Indonesia, Malaysia & the Philippines</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Evelyn Colbert, " The Road Not Taken: Decolonization & Independence in Indonesia and Indochina ," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (April 1973); pp. 608-628.
<i>Core Texts</i>	Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, <i>Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation & Resistance, 1944-1946</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972). Robert Cribb, <i>Gangsters & Revolutionaries: The Jakarta People's Militia & the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949</i> (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991). James P. Harrison, <i>The Endless War: Vietnam's Struggle for Independence</i> (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

Post-Colonial Wars

27 February Thursday Session 08	Inter-State Warfare Why has Southeast Asia seen few wars between states, but many within them? <i>Konfrontasi, Indochina Wars, Vietnam - Cambodia, Preah Vihear, India-China (South Asia)</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Ariel Ahram, " Origins & Persistence of State-Sponsored Militias: Path Dependent Processes in Third World Military Development ," <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i> 34:4 (2011); pp. 531-556.
<i>Core Texts</i>	William J. Duiker, <i>Sacred War: Nationalism & Revolution in a Divided Vietnam</i> (Boston: McGraw Hill, 1995). Stephen J. Morris, <i>Why Vietnam Invaded Cambodia: Political Culture & the Causes of War</i> (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).
History Papers Due (Thursday, 27 February)	

*****Changemakers Event: Conscious Capitalism (27 February)*****

04 March Tuesday Session 09	Communist Insurgencies Why were communist insurgencies common in the post-colonial era? <i>Malaya Emergency, Isan in Thailand, New People's Army, Nepalese Maoists (South Asia)</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Robert O. Tilman, " The Non-Lessons of the Malayan Emergency ," <i>Asian Survey</i> 6:8 (August 1966); pp. 407-419. AND D.B. Subedi, " From Civilian to Combatant: Armed Recruitment and Participation in the Maoist Conflict in Nepal ," <i>Contemporary South Asia</i> 21:4 (2013); pp. 429-443.
<i>Core Texts</i>	Benedict Kerkvliet, <i>The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977). Samuel L. Popkin, <i>The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). Lucien Pye, <i>Guerrilla Communism in Malaya</i> (Princeton University Press, 1956).

06 March Thursday Session 10	Religious Violence How does religion shape armed conflict? <i>Republik Maluku Selatan, Darul Islam, Southern Thailand, Southern Philippines</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Joseph Chinyong Liow, Muslim Resistance in Southern Thailand & the Southern Philippines: Religion, Ideology, & Politics (Honolulu: East-West Center 24, 2006)
<i>Core Texts</i>	Christopher R. Duncan, <i>Violence & Vengeance: Religious Conflict & Its Aftermath in Eastern Indonesia</i> (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2013). Michael K. Jerryson, <i>Buddhist Fury: Religion & Violence in Southern Thailand</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). John T. Sidel, <i>Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia</i> (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2006).

***** American Academy of Religion (AAR) West Conference,
Loyola Marymount University (Los Angeles) (07-09 March)*****

11 March Tuesday Session 11	Protest & Crackdown How do states respond to protest movements? How do they vary globally? <i>14 October 1973 Thailand, Burma 1988 & 2007, Red Shirts vs Yellow Shirts</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Zachariah Mampilly, " Urban Protests & Rural Violence in Africa: A Call for an Integrated Approach ," <i>Africa Futures</i> (04 February 2013). AND Kitti Prasirtsuk, " Thailand in 2009: Colored by Turbulence ," <i>Asian Survey</i> 50:1 (January 2010); pp. 203-2010.
<i>Core Texts</i>	Michael Montesano, Pavin Chachavalpongpun, & Aekopol Chong-Vilaivan, editors, <i>Bangkok May 2010: Perspectives on a Divided Thailand</i> (Singapore: ISEAS Press, 2012).
Guest Professor: Zachariah Mampilly (Tuesday, 11 March)	

13 March Thursday Session 12	Ethnic Conflicts Why do ethnic groups fight each other and how is the state involved? <i>Malaysian riots, Borneo pogroms, Poso and Ambon</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Jamie S. Davidson, <i>From Rebellion to Riots: Collective Violence on Indonesian Borneo</i> (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), Chapter Two, pp. 47-84
<i>Core Texts</i>	Jacques Bertrand, <i>Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Ardeh Maung Thawngmung, <i>The 'Other' Karen in Myanmar: Ethnic Minorities & The Struggle without Arms</i> (London: Lexington Books, 2012).

*****Spring Break (17-21 March)*****

25 March Tuesday Session 13	Secessionism What causes secessionist conflicts and why are they so rarely successful? Why do secessionist movements work so hard to seem like states? <i>Burma (Karen), Thailand (Patani), Indonesia (Aceh, Timor), Philippines (Mindanao)</i>
<i>Readings</i>	David Brown, " From Peripheral Communities to Ethnic Nations: Separatism in Southeast Asia ," <i>Pacific Affairs</i> 61:1 (Spring 1988); pp. 51-77.
<i>Core Texts</i>	Edward Aspinall, <i>Islam & Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia</i> (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009). Duncan McCargo, <i>Tearing Apart the Land: Islam & Legitimacy in Southern Thailand</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). Thomas M. McKenna, <i>Muslim Rulers & Rebels: Everyday Politics & Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

*****Session to be rescheduled (27 March)*****

01 April Tuesday Session 15	War in the Highlands What accounts for 'tribal' warfare in modern Southeast Asia? <i>Cold War mobilization (Hmong, Dayak), clan feuding in Mindanao & Papua</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Wilfredo Magno Torres III, "Introduction: RIDO," in Rido: Clan Feuding and Conflict Management in Mindanao (Manila: Asia Foundation, 2007); pp. 11-35.
<i>Core Texts</i>	Alfred W. McCoy, editor, <i>An Anarchy of Families: State & Family in the Philippines</i> (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998).

03 April Thursday Session 16	Terrorism Where do terrorist groups come from and why do they target civilians? <i>Jemaah Islamiyah, Front Pembala Islam, Abu Sayyaf Group, Southern Thailand</i>
Readings	Shane Joshua Barter, " Strong State, Smothered Society: Explaining Terrorist Violence in Thailand's Deep South ," <i>Terrorism & Political Violence</i> 23:2 (2011); pp. 213-232.
Core Texts	Andrew T.H. Tan, <i>A Handbook of Terrorism & Insurgency in Southeast Asia</i> (London: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2007).

08 April Tuesday Session 17	State Terror Why do some states kill their own people? <i>Khmer Rouge, 1965 PKI Massacre, Myanmar</i>
Readings	Federico Ferrara, " Why Regimes Create Disorder: Hobbes' Dilemma During a Rangoon Summer ," <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> 47 (2003); pp. 302-325.
Core Texts	Ben Kiernan, <i>The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, & Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-79</i> (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2006). John Roosa, <i>Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30th Movement & Subarto's Coup D'état in Indonesia</i> (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006). Richard Tanter, Desmond Ball, & Gerry van Klinken, editors, <i>Masters of Terror: Indonesia's Military & Violence in East Timor</i> (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).
Film	<i>The Act of Killing</i> , Joshua Oppenheimer, director (2013). Indonesian lunch served!

10 April Thursday Session 18	Structural Violence How does poverty challenge human security? <i>Urban slums, indigenous communities, gender equality, assimilation</i>
Readings	Mely Caballero-Anthony, " Revisoning Human Security in Southeast Asia ," <i>Asian Perspective</i> 28:3 (2004); pp. 155-189.
Core Texts	Joan Hardjono, Nuning Akhmadi, & Sudarno Sumarto, editors, <i>Poverty & Social Protection in Indonesia</i> (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010).

Overcoming Violent Conflicts

15 April Tuesday Session 19	International Intervention When is international intervention effective in overcoming violence? <i>UNTAC (Cambodia), UNTAET (East Timor)</i>
Readings	Nicholas J. Wheeler & Tim Dunne, " East Timor and the New Humanitarian Interventionism ," <i>International Affairs</i> 77:4 (October 2001); pp. 805-827.
Core Texts	Caroline Hughes, <i>Dependent Communities: Aid & Politics in Cambodia & East Timor</i> (Cornell: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2009). Geoffrey Robinson, <i>If You Leave Us Here, We Will Die: How Genocide was Stopped in East Timor</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

17 April Thursday Session 20	Regional Conflict Management Can regional organizations resolve and defuse armed conflicts? <i>ASEAN Regional Forum, multilateralism</i>
Readings	Jim Rolfe, " Regional Security for the Asia-Pacific: Ends and Means ," <i>Contemporary Southeast Asia</i> 30:1 (2008); pp. 99-117.
Core Texts	Amitav Acharya, <i>Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN & The Problem of Regional Order</i> (London: Routledge, 2001). Mely Caballero-Anthony, <i>Regional Security in Southeast Asia: Beyond the ASEAN Way</i> (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005).

22 April Tuesday Session 21	Negotiated Settlements When can negotiations overcome war? <i>Darul Islam, MNLF, Helsinki Agreement (Aceh), Malino Accords</i>
Readings	Edward Aspinall, The Helsinki Agreement: A More Promising Basis for Peace in Aceh? (Honolulu: East-West Center Policy Studies 20, 2005) (68 pages)

24 April Thursday Session 22	Reform How can political reform avoid or overcome violent conflict? <i>Democratization, decentralization, consociationalism, power-sharing, military professionalism</i>
Readings	Ben Reilly, " Political Engineering in the Asia-Pacific ," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 18:1 (January 2007); pp. 58-72.
Core Texts	Michelle Ann Miller, editor, <i>Autonomy & Armed Conflict in South and Southeast Asia</i> (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012).

29 April Tuesday Session 23	Rebel Governance Can armed groups serve as alternate governments? <i>Southern Philippines, GAM in Aceh, Warlords in Myanmar</i>
Readings	Shane Joshua Barter, "The Rebel State in Society: Governance and Accommodation in Aceh," in <i>Rebel Governance</i> , forthcoming (2014). AND Zachariah Mampilly, " Rebels with a Cause: The History of Rebel Governance, From the U.S. Civil War to Libya ," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (13 April 2011).
Core Texts	Rebel Governance Volume

01 May Thursday Session 24	Micro-Level How can village-level mediation shape armed conflict? <i>Peace Zones in the Philippines, Pensijuek in Aceh, interfaith initiatives in Poso and Ambon</i>
Readings	Kevin Avruch & Roberto S. Jose, "Peace Zones in the Philippines," in <i>Zones of Peace</i> , edited by Landon E. Hancock & Christopher Mitchell (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2007); pp. 51-70.
Core Texts	Shane Joshua Barter, <i>Civilian Strategy in Civil War: Insights from Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines</i> (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014).

Conclusions

06 May Tuesday Session 25	Conclusions Why do some conflicts continue after decades of fighting? <i>Karen in Burma, NPA and MILF in the Philippines</i>
Readings	James D. Fearon, " Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others? " <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 41:3 (2004); pp. 275-301.

08 May Thursday Session 26	INTS 450 Symposium on Political Violence Students present their research papers
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*****Research Papers Due (Thursday, 15 May)*****

