

Political Science 636: Southeast Asia
Fall 2001
CL 171, MW 1:30-3:18
Professor Liddle

Office: 2038 Derby
Hours: MW 10:30-12:30 or
by appointment.

INTERPRETING INDONESIAN POLITICS

Introduction. The purpose of this course is to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of alternative interpretations of Indonesian political developments since independence in 1945. We begin with basic description of pre-colonial and Dutch colonial history, the experience of Japanese occupation, revolution, and the independence period, divided into subperiods of parliamentary democracy, Guided Democracy, the New Order, and the current reform era. Several alternative interpretations are then examined, beginning with the most popular, culture, and ending with Professor Liddle's own research emphasis on leadership and agency.

There will be a mid-term, worth one-third of the course grade, and a final exam worth two-thirds. Both will be in-class exams, but the exam questions will be handed out several days before the exam date. The mid-term will be on Monday, October 15, the final on Tuesday, December 4 from 11:30AM-1:18PM. Students are expected to read the assigned materials before class, which will be conducted as a seminar to the extent possible. One additional grade level (for example, from B to B+) will be given for regular and effective participation.

Book and article availability. Two books will be available for purchase: Benedict Anderson and Audrey Kahin, *Interpreting Indonesian Politics: Thirteen Contributions to the Debate*, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1982; and Robert Hefner, *Civil Islam*, Princeton University Press, 2000. Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java*, can also be ordered from the publisher if desired. The cost is \$9.00. All other materials will be in the main library reserve room and will be made available for photocopying by the student.

Topics and Readings

Part One: Introduction

September 19. Introduction. No reading assignment.

September 24. Interpreting Indonesian Politics: First Thoughts.

Readings:

James Boon, "The Birth of the Idea of Bali," pp. 1-12.

Harry Benda, "Democracy in Indonesia," pp. 13-21.

Herbert Feith, "History, Theory and Indonesian Politics: A Reply to Harry J. Benda," pp. 22-29. All three pieces are in *Interpreting Indonesian Politics: Thirteen Contributions to the Debate*.

Part Two: Overview of Indonesian Political History

September 26. Origins.

FILM: RIDING THE TIGER, PART I, KINGS AND COOLIES.

Readings:

Robert Cribb and Colin Brown, *Modern Indonesia: A History Since 1945*, Chapters One, Two, and Three.

October 1. Parliamentary Democracy, 1950-59.

FILM: RIDING THE TIGER, PART II, FREEDOM OR DEATH.

Readings:

Cribb and Brown, *Modern Indonesia*, Chapters Four and Five.

Herb Feith, "Constitutional Democracy: how well did it function?"

In David Bouchier and John Legge, *Democracy in Indonesia 1950s/1990s*, pp. 16-25.

Jamie Mackie, "Inevitable or Avoidable? Interpretations of the Collapse of Parliamentary Democracy," in David Bouchier and John Legge, *Democracy in Indonesia 1990s/1950s*, pp. 26-38.

October 3. Guided Democracy, 1959-65.

FILM: RIDING THE TIGER, PART III, THE NEW ORDER.

Readings:

Cribb and Brown, *Modern Indonesia*, Chapters Six and Seven.

Feith, Herbert, "Dynamics of Guided Democracy," in Ruth McVey, ed., *Indonesia*, pp. 309-409.

Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, Ch. 4 ("The Coup Attempt"), pp. 97-134.

October 8. The New Order, 1966-1998.

FILM: INDONESIA—MINI-DRAGON.

Readings:

Cribb and Brown, *Modern Indonesia*, Chapters Eight and Nine.

R. W. Liddle, "Indonesia," in P. Shively, *Comparative Governance*.

October 10. The Reform Period, 1998-present.

FILMS: ABDURRAHMAN WAHID, MEGAWATI SUKARNOPUTRI.

Readings:

R. W. Liddle, "Indonesia's Democratic Opening," *Government and Opposition*, 34, 1 (January 1999). Available on Professor Liddle's website: <http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/faculty/rwliddle/>.

R. W. Liddle, "Indonesia in 1999: Democracy Restored," *Asian Survey*, XL,1 (January/February 2000) Available on Professor Liddle's website.

R. W. Liddle, "Indonesia in 2000: A Shaky Start for Democracy," *Asian Survey*, XLI,1 (January/February 2001). Available on Professor Liddle's website.

Anne Booth, "Can Indonesia Survive as a Unitary State?" *Indonesia Circle* No. 58, June 1992.

OCTOBER 15. MIDTERM EXAMINATION.

This examination will be taken in class but with questions handed out earlier.

Part Three: Alternative Interpretations

October 17 and 22. Culture I: Overview.

FILMS: AZHARI ALI, AN ACEHNESE UNIVERSITY STUDENT; PAK MENGGUNG, A JAVANESE ARISTOCRAT.

Readings:

Clifford Geertz, "The Javanese Village," in G. William Skinner, ed.,
Local, Ethnic, and National Loyalties in Village Indonesia.

Hildred Geertz, "Indonesian Cultures and Communities," in Ruth McVey,
Indonesia.

J.A.C. Mackie, ed., *The Chinese in Indonesia*, pp. 1-75.

R. William Liddle and Saiful Mujani, "The Triumph of Leadership:
Explaining the 1999 Indonesian Vote," mimeo.

October 24. Culture II: Javanism.

Readings:

Benedict Anderson, "The Javanese Idea of Power," in Anderson,
Language and Power, pp. 17-77.

Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java*, all.

October 29. Culture III: Islam.

Readings:

Robert Hefner, *Civil Islam*, all.

October 31. Ideology/Parties/Party System.

Readings:

Herbert Feith and Lance Castles, *Indonesian Political Thinking
1945-1965*, Introduction, pp. 1-24.

Sukarno, *Islam, Marxism, and Nationalism*, all.

Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*,
pp. 122-145 ("The Political Parties").

R. William Liddle, "Report for the National Democratic Institute," draft,
2000.

November 5. Patrimonialism.

FILM: THE BUPATI OF SUBANG.

Readings:

- Harold Crouch, "Patrimonialism and Military Rule." *World Politics* 31 (1978), pp. 242-258. Available from www.jstor.org
- Andrew MacIntyre, "Power, Prosperity and Patrimonialism: Business and Government in Indonesia," in Andrew MacIntyre, ed., *Business And Government in Industrializing Asia*, pp. 244-267.
- Dwight King, "Indonesia's New Order as a Bureaucratic Policy, a Neopatrimonial Regime or a Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regime: What Difference Does it Make?" in *Interpreting Indonesian Politics*, pp. 104-116.

November 7. The Military.

Readings:

- Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, Chs. 1 and 13. Skim the rest.
- Daniel S. Lev, "On the Fall of the Parliamentary System," in David Bouchier and John Legge, eds., *Democracy in Indonesia 1950s 1990s*, pp. 39-42.

November 12. Class.

Readings:

- Richard Robison, "Culture, Politics, and Economy in the Political History of the New Order," in *Interpreting Indonesian Politics*, pp. 131-148.
- Richard Robison, *The Rise of Capital*, Chapters 4 ("State and Capital Under the New Order"), 9 ("Chinese-Owned Capital"), and 10 ("Indigenous Capitalists"). Skim the rest.
- Rex Mortimer, "Class, Social Cleavage and Indonesian Communism," in *Interpreting Indonesian Politics*, pp. 54-68.
- Daniel Lev, "Intermediate Classes and Change in Indonesia: Some Initial Reflections," in Richard Tanter and Kenneth Young, *The Politics Of Middle Class Indonesia*.
- R. William Liddle, "The Middle Class and New Order Legitimacy," "Indonesia is Indonesia," and "East Asian Political Development," in Tanter and Young, *The Politics of Middle Class Indonesia*.

November 14. The State.

Readings:

- Ruth McVey, "Nationalism, Islam, and Marxism: The Management of Ideological Conflict in Indonesia," in Soekarno, *Nationalism, Islam, dan Marxism*, pp. 1-34.
- Ruth McVey, "The Beamtenstaat in Indonesia," in *Interpreting Indonesian Politics*, pp. 84-91.
- Ruth McVey, "The Case of the Disappearing Decade," in David Bourchier and John Legge, eds., *Democracy in Indonesia 1950s/1990s*, pp. 3-15.
- Benedict Anderson, "Old State, New Society: Indonesia's New Order in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Asian Studies* 41 (1983) pp. 477-96. Available from www.jstor.org

November 19. International Forces/Globalization.

Readings:

- George Kahin, "The Impact of American Foreign Policy," in David Bourchier and John Legge, eds. *Democracy in Indonesia 1950s/1990s*, pp. 16-25.
- Benedict Anderson, "From Miracle to Crash," *London Review of Books*, 16 April 1998, pp. 3-7.
- Andrew MacIntyre, "Political Institutions and the Economic Crisis in Thailand and Indonesia," in T. J. Pempel, ed., *The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis*, pp. 143-162.

November 21. Leadership and Agency I.

Readings:

- R. W. Liddle, "Introduction," pp. 3-14, Chapter 4, "The Relative Autonomy of the Third World Politician," pp. 107-142, and Chapter 5, "Improvising Political Cultural Change," pp. 143-178, all in Liddle, *Leadership and Culture in Indonesian Politics*, 1996.
- Ian Chalmers, "Introduction," in Ian Chalmers and Vedi Hadiz, eds., *The Politics of Economic Development in Indonesia: Contending Perspectives*, Introduction, pp.1-35.

November 26. Leadership and Agency II. Applying Robert Wuthnow to Sukarno and Suharto.

FILM: SUKARNO.

Readings:

Robert Wuthnow, *Communities of Discourse*, "Introduction," pp. 1-22.

J. D. Legge, *Sukarno*, all.

R. W. Liddle, "Indonesia," in P. Shively, *Comparative Governance*. (See also assignment for October 8.)

Salim Said, "Suharto's Armed Forces," *Asian Survey*, June 1998.

November 28. Leadership and Agency III. Applying Wuthnow to B. J. Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Megawati Sukarnoputri.

Readings:

R. W. Liddle, "Indonesia's Democratic Transition: Playing by the Rules," manuscript.

R. W. Liddle, "The Story Behind Abdurrahman," *The Jakarta Post*, February 9 and 10, 2000. Also available on Professor Liddle's website as "My Name is Abdurrahman Wahid."

Angus McIntyre, "In Search of Megawati Sukarnoputri," Monash Working Paper, 1997.

R. W. Liddle, "Megawati: Her Father's Daughter?", *The Jakarta Post*, July 31, 2001. Also available on Professor Liddle's website. International Crisis Group, "The Megawati Presidency."

FINAL EXAMINATION: TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 11:30AM-1:18PM.

The examination will be taken in class but with questions handed out earlier.