

**770.826**  
**POLITICS OF INDOCHINA**  
**SPRING SEMESTER 2009**

*December 12, 2008*

**Class meets:** Monday, 10-15-12:15                      **Room:** R534  
**Instructor:** Professor Frederick Z. Brown    **Office:** R407, 663-5818 [fzbrown@jhu.edu](mailto:fzbrown@jhu.edu)  
**Office hours:** Monday and Tuesday, 2:30-5:00 PM , and by appointment

**Overview.** This course surveys the three countries of Indochina: Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, combining history, politics, economics and international relations—all wrapped into a contemporary context.

*“L’Indochine”*—it’s an anachronistic term from the French colonial era denoting that part of Southeast Asia where the cultures of India and China intersect. For Southeast Asia buffs, the word conjures up the fragrance of frangipani, the whisper of *cyclopouse* along Saigon’s boulevards, and the grand sweep of the Mekong River down from Laos and out to the South China Sea. During the First and Second Indochina Wars, North Vietnamese General Vo Nguyen Giap—no romantic dreamer—saw Indochina as “one strategic unit, a single theatre of operations”, and military operations were conducted accordingly. In a sense, Indochina remains a “strategic unit” but this time built around the extended Mekong basin and the burgeoning competition for the use of the Mekong River itself.

The three countries of the subregion have different languages, cultures, ethnic stocks, and share long histories of mutual distrust and antagonisms. Despite the persistence of the past, they are modernizing—each in its own fashion—and becoming integral parts of ASEAN and the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) structure. From weeks 2 through 7, the course concentrates on Vietnam (84 million people) and its continuing socio-economic evolution. Vietnam casts a shadow over neighboring Cambodia (14 million) and Laos (6 million), and has become a major player in the politics of Southeast Asia. After spring break, the course focuses on Cambodia, where the legacy of the Khmer Rouge period lingers as the country rebuilds under the authoritarian Cambodian People’s Party. The course concludes with three weeks on Laos and GMS development activities, territorial disputes, and transnational issues.

**Requirements.** The reading list for this course is extensive. No research paper is required, but students must read the required materials and as much of the “further study” recommendations as possible. The course grade is based on a midterm take-home exam (50%) covering weeks 1-7 and a three hour final exam (50%) primarily on weeks 8-13. Vigorous participation in class discussions makes the difference between A and A-.

**Students should purchase the following books:**

- Gareth Porter, Vietnam: The Politics of Bureaucratic Socialism, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994. (Cloth available used on Amazon.)
- Nayan Chanda, Brother Enemy: The War After the War. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986. (Paperback available used on Amazon.)

### Recommended to buy for your personal library:

- William J. Duiker, The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam. Second edition, Westview Press, 1996. PB.
- David P. Chandler, A History of Cambodia. Fourth edition, Westview Press (Allen & Unwin), 2007. PB.
- Martin Stuart-Fox, A History of Laos. Cambridge University Press, 1997. PB.

### Weekly Schedule

<b>Week 1, 1/26</b>	Introduction and Overview of the Indochina Subregion
<b>Week 2, 2/2</b>	Vietnam from Reunification to <i>Doi Moi</i> , 1975-1986
<b>Week 3, 2/9</b>	Vietnam in Transition from 6 <sup>th</sup> to 10 <sup>th</sup> VCP Congress, 1986-2006
<b>Week 4, 2/16</b>	The Vietnamese Party-State.
<b>Week 5, 2/23</b>	The Vietnamese Economy.
<b>Week 6, 3/2</b>	Problems of <i>Doi Moi</i>
<b>Week 7, 3/9</b>	Vietnam's Omni-directional Foreign Policy
<b>Week 8, 3/23</b>	Cambodia and the Cold War, 1950-1978
<b>Week 9, 3/30</b>	Cambodia and the Third Indochina War, 1979-1993
<b>Week 10, 4/6</b>	Cambodia Today
<b>Week 11, 4/13</b>	Greater Mekong Subregion I (Laos)
<b>Week 12, 4/20</b>	Greater Mekong Subregion II
<b>Week 13, 4/27</b>	Indochina and Southeast Asia.

**Week 1, January 26. Introduction and Overview of Indochina Subregion.** Course organization and requirements. Indochina as a concept and centrality of the Mekong River. Similarities/dissimilarities of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in demography, ethnicity, resources, and economies. Tyranny of geography.

### Required

- Milton Osborne, The Mekong: Turbulent Past, Uncertain Future, pages v-38. **ERes.**
- Evelyn Goh, Introduction, pp. 7-10, in Developing the Mekong: Regionalism and Regional Security in China-Southeast Asian Relations, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper 387. **ERes.**
- Frederick Z. Brown, "The Price of Power in the Mekong Delta", in SAISPHERE, December 2008.
- Gareth Porter, "The Making of an Authoritarian Regime", Chapter 1, pp. 1-30, in Vietnam: The Politics of Bureaucratic Socialism.
- Stanley Karnow, Vietnam: A History. Penguin Books, 2003 (revised paperback edition), Chronology, pp. 686-702. **Handout.**

### Further Study

- Frederick Z. Brown, "Vietnam's Transformations: War, Development, and Reform", Chapter 3, pp. 72-112, in Ann Marie Murphy & Bridget Welsh, eds., Legacies of Engagement in Southeast Asia. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, 2008. **Handout.**
- Robert J. McMahon, Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War. Third Edition. Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003. Documents and essays by David G. Marr

and Mark Philip Bradley, in Chapter 2, “The Development of Vietnamese Nationalism”, pp. 16-48. **ERes.**

**Week 2, February 2. Vietnam from Reunification to Renovation, 1975-1986.** Situation post-reunification. Hanoi dizzy from success. Vietnam as “vanguard of socialist revolution” in Southeast Asia. Bringing the South to heel and core problems of assimilation. Initial attempts to destroy private enterprise and collectivize Southern agriculture. Post-1954 resistance to collectivization in North. Deterioration of economy, “fence-breaking”, and social discontent. Attempt to normalize US-Vietnam relations and causes of failure. Vietnam’s alliance with Soviet Union.

### Required

- Nayan Chanda, Brother Enemy. Introduction and Chapter 1-2, pp. 1-73.
- Gareth Porter, Vietnam: The Politics of Bureaucratic Socialism., “The Socioeconomic Setting”, Chapter 2, pp. 32-63.
- Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, “Introduction: Grappling with Organizations and the State in Contemporary Vietnam”, pp. 1-24, Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, Russell H. K. Heng, & David W.H. Koh, eds. Getting Organized in Vietnam: Moving in and around the Socialist State. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies ISEAS, 2003. **ERes.**
- Thaveeporn Vasavakul, “From Fence-Breaking to Networking: Interests, Popular Organizations, and Policy Influences in Post-Socialist Vietnam”, pp. 25-61, Chapter 1 in Kerkvliet, above. **ERes.**

### Further study

- Frederick Z. Brown, “Vietnam Since the War, 1975-1995”, Wilson Quarterly, Winter 1995. Compare 2009 to 1995. **ERes.**
- William J. Duiker, The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam (Second Edition), Westview, 1996. Browse.

### Questions to contemplate

- What was the state of Vietnam’s bilateral relations with the Soviet Union and China after reunification? What issues were in play?
- The dominoes (i.e. Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, etc.) did not fall after 1975. Why?
- Why was Hanoi determined to neutralize the PRG and NLF after 1975?
- How does a nongovernmental organization (NGO) or *co quan phi chinh phu* in Vietnam differ from what we would understand an NGO to be in the West?
- What are “associations” in Vietnam? How are they different from “NGOs”?

**Week 3, February 9. Vietnam in Transition after the 6<sup>th</sup> VCP Congress, 1986-2006.** Impact of Cambodia invasion and “external realities”. 1986 Sixth VCP Congress, Nguyen Van Linh, advent of *doi moi*. *Perestroika*, yes: *glasnost*, no. Club of Former Resistance Fighters. Continued international isolation and looming collapse of Soviet Union and Euro-communism. Political essence of economic reform and performance-based legitimacy. Initial steps toward market-oriented socialist economy.

## Required

- Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, Introduction and “Theorizing Everyday Politics in Collective Farming”, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-36, in The Power of Everyday Politics: How Vietnamese Peasants Transformed National Policy. Singapore: ISEAS, 2005. **ERes.**
- David G. Marr, “A Passion for Modernity: Intellectuals and the Media”, Chapter 9, pp. 257-295, in Hy V. Luong, ed., Postwar Vietnam: Dynamics of a Transforming Society. Singapore: ISEAS, 2003. **ERes.**
- Lewis Stern, Renovating the Vietnamese Communist Party: Nguyen Van Linh and the Programme for Organizational Reform, 1987-91. Singapore: ISEAS, 1993. Chapter Six, “Conclusion”, pp. 171-179. **Handout.**
- Zachary Abuza, “The Club of Former Resistance Fighters”, Chapter 5, pp. 161-182, in Renovating Politics in Contemporary Vietnam. Lynne Rienner, 2001. **ERes.**

## Further study

- Jonathan R. Stromseth, “Business Associations and Policy-Making in Vietnam”, Chapter 3 in Kerkvliet, Getting Organized in Vietnam.
- Browse elsewhere in books edited or written by Kerkvliet and Luong.

## Questions to contemplate

- What were the origins of *doi moi*? Nguyen Van Linh—courageous innovator or VCP front man?
- Could the VCP have toughed it out without initiating *doi moi*?
- Did Linh make a mistake by encouraging increased openness?
- Absent Tiananmen Square, would political openness have continued in the South?
- Cambodia—was it “Vietnam’s Vietnam”?

**Week 4, February 16. The Vietnamese Party-State.** Organization, functions, and leading role of the VCP. People’s Army of Vietnam (PAVN) and internal security services. Mass organizations and Fatherland Front. The Vietnamese National Assembly.

## Required

- Benedict J. Tra Kerkvliet, “Surveying Local Government and Authority in Contemporary Vietnam”, Chapter 1, pp. 1-27, in Beyond Hanoi: Local Government in Vietnam, Benedict J. Tra Kerkvliet and David G. Marr, eds. Singapore: ISEAS. 2004. **ERes.**
- Joerg Wischermann, “Vietnam in the Era of *Doi Moi*: Issue-Oriented Organizations and Their Relationship to the Government”, pp. 867-889. in Asian Survey, November-December 2003. **ERes.**
- Matthew Salomon, “Power and Representation in the Vietnamese National Assembly: The Scope and Limits of Political *Doi Moi*”, pp. 198-216, in Stephanie Balme & Mark Sidel, eds., Vietnam’s New Order: International Perspectives on the State and Reform in Vietnam. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Carlyle A. Thayer, “Force Modernization: The Case of the Vietnam People’s Army”, pp. 1-28, in Contemporary Southeast Asia, June 1997. **ERes.**

- Gareth Porter, “Political Institutions: Party, State, and Mass Organizations”, Chapter 3, Vietnam: The Politics of Bureaucratic Socialism. **NOTE:** Important changes in government and party organization have taken place since book was written (1993). Read Chapters 3 and 4 mainly for background on party-state relationship.

### Further study

- David G. Marr, Chapter 2, “A Brief History of Local Government in Vietnam”, in Kerkvliet and Marr, above.
- David Koh, “Leadership Changes at the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party”, pp. 650-672, Asian Survey, July/August 2008. **ERes.**

**Week 5, February 23. The Vietnamese Economy.** Poverty reduction. Trade emphasis and export expansion. Stock market. FDI flows. Governmental and administrative reforms. Banking reforms, Macro-micro analysis. **Guest lecturer: Professor James Riedel.**

### Required

- James Riedel, “Macroeconomic Challenges Facing Vietnam”, paper prepared for the Office of Government of Vietnam, draft June 2008. **ERes.**
- “Choosing Success: The Lessons of East and Southeast Asia and Vietnam’s Future. A Framework for Vietnam’s Socioeconomic Development, 2011-2020”, Asia Programs, JFK School, Harvard University, January 2008. **ERes.**
- World Bank, “Taking Stock: An Update on Vietnam’s Economic Developments and Reforms” prepared for Vietnam’s mid-year Consultative Group meeting in Sapa, June 5-6, 2008. **ERes.** Visit World Bank website for extensive data on Vietnam.
- Visit website of United Nation Development Programme ([www.undp.org.vn](http://www.undp.org.vn)). Examine UNDP Viet Nam Policy Dialogue Papers: “Deepening Democracy and Increasing Popular Participation in Vietnam”, UNDP Policy Dialogue paper 2006/1. **ERes.** “The State as Investor: Equitisation, Privatisation and the Transformation of SOEs in Viet Nam”, 2006/3. **ERes.**
- Visit US-Vietnam Trade Council website, [www.usvtc.org](http://www.usvtc.org), for other materials on bilateral trade and economic changes in Vietnam.

**Week 6, March 2. Problems of *Doi Moi*.** Uneven results of economic reform. Corruption. Equitization and economic oligarchy. Situation of ethnic minorities. Prospects for participatory governance and expansion of civil society, “associations” and NGOs. Political dissent. The role of the media.

### Required

- Vo X. Han, “Vietnam in 2007: A Profile in Economic and Socio-Political Dynamism”, pp. 29-37, in Asian Survey, January-February 2008. **ERes.**
- Hy V. Luong, “Vietnam in 2005: Economic Momentum and Stronger State-Society Dialogue”, pp. 148-154, Asian Survey, January-February 2006. **ERes.**
- Carlyle Thayer, “Vietnam in 2006”, Southeast Asian Affairs 2006. Singapore: ISEAS. **ERes.**

- Sophie Quinn-Judge, “Vietnam’s Bumpy Road to Reform”. Current History, pp. 284-289, September 2006. **ERes.**
- Zachary Abuza, “The VCP: Coping with Internal Dissent and External Pressures”, pp. 211-234. Chapter 7 in Renovating Politics in Contemporary Vietnam
- Mark Sidel, “Generational and Institutional Transition in the Vietnamese Communist Party: The 1996 Congress and Beyond”, pp. 481-495, Asia Survey, May 1997. **ERes.**
- Martin Gainsborough, “Political Change in Vietnam: In Search of the Middle-Class Challenge to the State”, pp.694-707, Asian Survey, September/October 2002. **ERes.**

### Further study

- \_\_\_\_\_, “From Patronage to ‘Outcomes’: Vietnam’s Communist Party Congresses Reconsidered”, pp. 3-26, Journal of Vietnamese Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1, Winter 2007
- For human rights and religious freedom issues, visit [www.state.gov/g/drl](http://www.state.gov/g/drl) and [asia@hrw.org](mailto:asia@hrw.org)
- Nguyen Manh Hung, “Vietnam: Facing the Challenges of Integration”, Southeast Asian Affairs 2004. Singapore: ISEAS.
- Martin Gainsborough, “Ho Chi Minh City’s Post-1975 Political Elite: Continuity and Change in Background and Belief”, Chapter 10 in Kerkvliet, above. **ERes.**

### Questions to contemplate:

- How have the organization/functions of the National Assembly changed since 1975?
- What can the National Assembly do? What can it NOT do?
- Is the National Assembly a vehicle for greater participatory governance?
- “Associations”—significant actors or stooges of the Fatherland Front?
- What does the term “civil society” mean in Vietnam?
- What is the impact of renovation in rural areas compared to urban areas?
- Under the current political system, can corruption be effectively curbed?
- What are the sources of internal frictions within the Vietnamese Communist Party?
- What has been the impact of *doi moi* on Vietnam’s rural sector?
- In *doi moi*, who gets the equity in the “equitization” process
- What is the impact of SOE equitization on small and medium sized enterprises?

**Week 7, March 9. Vietnam’s Omni-directional Foreign Policy.** Normalization miscalculations, 1976-1978. Competition with US-PRC normalization. POW/MIAs. Orderly Departure Program. Settling Cambodia and removing economic embargo. Legacy issues and role of overseas Vietnamese. Enduring human rights/religious freedom issues. Agent Orange. Assessment of current US economic assistance to Vietnam and future role. US-Vietnam Education Task Force. “Strategic dialogue”—how far can it go?

### Required

- Carlyle A. Thayer, “Upholding State Sovereignty Through Global Integration: The Remaking of Vietnamese National Security Policy”, paper presented to Workshop on

“Vietnam, East Asia & Beyond, Southeast Asia Research Centre, City University of Hong Kong, December 11-12, 2008. **Handout.**

- Kim Ninh, “Vietnam: Struggle and Cooperation”, Chapter 14, pp. 445-476, in Muthiah Alagappa. ed., Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences. Stanford University Press, 1998. **ERes.**
- Frederick Z. Brown, “The United States and Vietnam: Road to Normalization”, Chapter 8, pp. 137-158, in Honey and Vinegar: Incentives, Sanctions, and Foreign Policy, Richard N. Haass and Meghan L. O’Sullivan, eds. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2000. **ERes.**
- Carlyle A. Thayer, “The Structure of Vietnam-China Relations, 1991-2008”, paper presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference on Vietnamese Studies, Hanoi, December 4-7, 2008. **Handout.**
- Nguyen Vu Tung, “Vietnam’s Membership of ASEAN: A Constructivist Interpretation” pp. 483-505, in Contemporary Southeast Asia, ASEAN at 40: Progress, Prospects and Challenges, December 2007. **ERes.**
- Mark E. Manyin, U.S.-Vietnam Relations: Background and Issues for Congress. CRS Report for Congress, September 28, 2007. See U.S.-Vietnam Trade Council, [www.usvtc.org](http://www.usvtc.org)

#### **Further study**

- Frederick Z. Brown, President Clinton’s Visit to Vietnam, The Asia Society, November 2000. **Handout.**
- Carlyle A. Thayer, “Vietnam’s Foreign Relations: The Strategic Defense Dimension”, in David Koh, ed. Vietnam’s Strategic and Foreign Relations. Singapore: ISEAS, 2005.
- Ian Storey & Carlyle A. Thayer, “Cam Ranh Bay: Past Imperfect, Future Conditional”, pp. 452-473. Contemporary Southeast Asia, December 2003. Singapore: ISEAS. **ERes.**
- “The Future of Relations Between Vietnam and the United States”, SAIS Conference Report, October 2-3, 2003. **ERes.**

## **SPRING BREAK – MARCH 14-22**

**Week 8, March 23. Cambodia and the Cold War, 1954-1978.** Sihanouk: Prince of Light, Prince of Darkness. Consequences of 1975 US defeat. Sino-Soviet antagonisms. Origins of Khmer Rouge movement and relations with VCP. Khmer Rouge regime, 1975-79.

#### **Required**

- Karl D. Jackson, “The Ideology of Total Revolution” Chapter 2 (pp. 37-78) and Timothy Carney, “The Organization of Power”, Chapter 3 (pp. 79-108) in Karl D. Jackson, ed., Cambodia 1975-1978: Rendezvous with Death. Princeton University Press, 1989. **ERes.**
- Philip Short, “Sar” Chapter 1. pp. 15-46, in Pol Pot: Anatomy of a Nightmare. Henry Holt, 2004. **ERes.**
- Nayan Chanda, Brother Enemy, Chapters 3-7, pp. 74-230.

- William Shawcross, “The Bombing”, Chapter 19, pp. 280-299, in Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia. Simon and Schuster, 1979. **ERes**.

### Further study

- David Chandler, Voices from S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot’s Secret Prison. University of California Press, 1999
- Henry Kamm, Cambodia: Report from a Stricken Land. Little, Brown, & Co., 1998.

### Questions to contemplate

- Is Shawcross right? Did US bombing radicalize the Cambodian peasants?
- In 1975-1979, could the US have curbed the KR?
- How about ASEAN—did it care? Why not?

#### Cambodian Memoirs of the Khmer Rouge Period

Someth May, Cambodian Witness. Faber and Faber, 1986  
 Chanrity Him, When the Broken Glass Floats. W.W. Norton, 2000  
 Molyda Szymusiak, The Stones Cry Out. Hill and Wang 1986  
 Teeda Butt Mam, To Destroy You is No Loss. Atlantic Monthly Press, 1987  
 Haing Ngor, A Cambodian Odyssey. Macmillan, 1987

**Week 9, March 30. Cambodia and the Third Indochina War, 1979-2003.** Vietnam’s invasion and occupation of Cambodia, China’s response and Great Power machinations. Evolution of ASEAN policy. Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK), noncommunist resistance (NCR), relations with KR-led insurgency. United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and multilateral peacemaking and peacekeeping, 1988-93. Evaluating 1993 UNTAC election, lessons learned.

### Required

- Nayan Chanda, Brother Enemy, Chapters 8-10, pp. 231-362.
- Kishore Mahbubani, “The Kampuchean Problem: A Southeast Asian Perception”, pp. 407-425, Foreign Affairs, Winter 1983-84. **ERes**
- Frederick Z. Brown, Cambodia in Crisis: The 1993 Elections and the United Nations. The Asia Society, 1993. **Handout**.
- Richard H. Solomon, Exiting Indochina: U.S. Leadership of the Cambodian Settlement & Normalization with Vietnam. United States Institute of Peace, 2000, pp. 10-12, 80-103. **ERes**
- Janet H. Heininger, “Lessons from a Venture into Peace-Building”, Chapter 7, pp. 117-145, in Peacekeeping in Transition: The United Nations in Cambodia. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1994.

### Further study

- Nayan Chanda, Brother Enemy, Epilogue, Chronology.
- Frederick Z. Brown, “Cambodia and the Dilemmas of U.S. Policy”. Critical Issues 1991. Council on Foreign Relations, 1991.

- Stephen J. Morris, Why Vietnam Invaded Cambodia: Political Culture and the Causes of War. Stanford University Press, 1999. Chapter 3, pp. 111-115, “Conclusion” and Chapter 9, pp. 219-241, “The Consequences of the Vietnamese Invasion”.
- Milton Osborne, Sihanouk: Prince of Light, Prince of Darkness. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994. Browse Chapters 1, 10, & 21.
- Michael W. Doyle, UN Peacekeeping in Cambodia: UNTAC’s Civil Mission. Lynne Rienner, 1995. Browse.
- Frederick Z. Brown and David G. Timberman, eds., Cambodia and the International Community: The Quest for Peace, Development, and Democracy. The Asia Society, 1998.
- MacAlister Brown and Joseph J. Zasloff, Chapter 9 and Epilogue, Cambodia Confounds the Peacemakers, 1979-1998. Cornell University Press, 1998.

### Questions to contemplate

- Could Vietnam have curbed the KR cross-border attacks, rather than invade? Would that have solved Vietnam’s problem?
- In 1978, could the U.S. have normalized with China and Vietnam simultaneously?
- What exogenous factors contributed to the “ripeness” Solomon talks about?
- Why did not the KR disrupt the 1993 UNTAC elections?
- Could the US have strengthened the hand of the noncommunist Cambodians?
- Which ASEAN members were the key players in settling the Cambodia conflict?

**Week 10, April 6. Cambodia Today.** Focused growth but continuing economic plight and social distress. Dependence on foreign aid. Uncertain impact of oil discovery in Gulf of Thailand. Political dominance of Hun Sen and impotence of opposition. Reduced role of monarchy. External Chambers of the Courts of Cambodia and culture of impunity. External relations: balancing China and Vietnam.

### Required

- Milton Osborne, “Cambodia: The Endgame of Politics?”, pp. 117-132, Southeast Asia Affairs 2007. Singapore: ISEAS. **ERes.**
- Caroline Hughes, “Cambodia in 2007: Development and Dispossession”, pp. 69-74, Asian Survey, January-February 2008. **ERes.**
- Duncan McCargo, “Cambodia: Getting Away with Authoritarianism?”, pp. Journal of Democracy, October 2005. **ERes.**
- Kheang Un, “Cambodia’s 2008 Parliamentary Elections: Prospects for Opposition Politics”, Asia Pacific Bulletin No. 22, August 23, 2008. East-West Center [www.eastwestcenter.org](http://www.eastwestcenter.org).
- Evan Gottesman, Cambodia After the Khmer Rouge: Inside the Politics of Nation Building. Yale University Press, 2003. Chapters 13-15, Epilogue, pp. 301-358.

- Craig Etcheson, After the Killing Fields. Praeger, 2005. Chapters 8-10, pp. 129-190.
- Browse the Phnom Penh Post (biweekly), on-line link from **ERes**.

### Further study

- Visit [www.justiceinitiative.org](http://www.justiceinitiative.org) for Justice Initiatives, April 2006, Open Society, on the Extraordinary Chambers and relevant links.
- Christine Stansell, “Torment & Justice in Cambodia”, pp. 18-22, Dissent, Fall 2005. **ERes**.
- Oskar Weggel, “Cambodia in 2006: Self-Promotion and Self-Deception”, pp. 141-147, Asian Survey, January/February 2007. **ERes**.
- Melanie Beresford, “Cambodia in 2004: An Artificial Democratization Process”, Asian Survey, January/February 2005. **ERes**.

### Questions to contemplate:

- Will the Cambodian Monarchy survive? What are the sources of Hun Sen’s power?
- What is the difference between “genocide” and “crimes against humanity”?
- What are the elements of strength and weakness in Cambodia’s economy today?
- UNTAC planted seeds of a civil society in Cambodia. Have they taken root?
- Will exploitation of offshore oil resources bring prosperity to the Cambodian people?
- What are the plusses and minuses of international tourism in Cambodia?
- Why has U.S. policy towards the GOC changed?
- Today, how do the politics of Cambodia compare with Vietnam and Laos?

**Week 11, April 13. Greater Mekong Subregion: Laos.** From Cold War pawn to regional crossroads. Tyranny of geography, competing cultural influences, and powerful neighbors. The U.S. “secret war” and its residue. Development of hydropower and transnational grids. Nam Theun II and its consequences. Increased influence of China. Slow opening to West and relations with US.

### Required

- Explore websites of Mekong River Commission (MRC) including Annual Report 2007 and Asian Development Bank. **ERes**
- Evelyn Goh, Chapters 1-3, pp. 11-39, in Developing the Mekong. **ERes**.
- Chapter 1, “Laos: The Heritage” and chapter 2, “The Indochinese Communist Party in Laos, 1930-40”, pp. 3-34, in MacAlister Brown and Joseph J. Zasloff, Apprentice Revolutionaries: The Communist Movement in Laos, 1930-1985. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1986. **ERes**.
- Chapter 8, “The Denouement of U.S. Military Aid to the Royal Lao Government” and chapter 9, “Conclusions on a ‘Nonattributable’ War” in Timothy N. Castle, pp. 115-137, At War in the Shadow on Vietnam: U.S. Military Aid to the Royal Lao Government, 1955-1975. Columbia University Press, 1993. **ERes**.
- Roger Warner, chapter 33, pp. 362-377, “The American Aftermath”, Back Fire: The CIA’s Secret War in Laos and Its Link to the War in Vietnam. Simon and Schuster, 1995. Browse elsewhere in this book.

- “The Lao People’s Democratic Republic”, Chapter 6, pp. 176-224, in Grant Evans, A Short History of Laos: The Land in Between. Allen & Unwin, 2002. **ERes.**

### **Further study**

- Thomas Lum, CRS Report to Congress: “Laos: Background and US Relations”, January 7, 2008. **Google: RL34320.Laos.Jan08. Not on reserve.**
- Ed Gresser, “Post-‘Normal’ Trade: NTR and the Next Steps in US-Lao Economic Relations”, Fund for Reconciliation and Development Policy Brief, 2008.
- “Post-war Laos: An Introduction”, pp. 1-19, Vatthana Pholsena, Post-war Laos: The Politics of Culture, History and Identity. Singapore: ISEAS, 2006. **ERes.**
- Dean Forbes and Cecile Cutler, “Laos in 2005: 30 Years of the People’s Democratic Republic”, Asian Survey, January-February 2006. **ERes.**
- \_\_\_\_\_, “Laos in 2004: Political Stability, Economic Opening”, Asian Survey, January-February 2005. **ERes.**

**Week 12, April 20. The Greater Mekong Subregion: II.** Water, dams, E-W and N-S transportation corridors. Key role of China and Yangtze River headwaters. Hydropower and Laos as the big electric battery of the region. Mother Mekong and its future: environmental concerns. International organizations (MRC, GMS, ADB, UNDP, WB) and bilateral development programs.

### **Required**

- Evelyn Goh, Chapter 4 and Conclusion, pp. 41-71, in Developing the Mekong.
- Timo Menniken, “Lessons from the Mekong: China’s Performance in International Resource Politics”, pp. 97-120, Contemporary Southeast Asia, Singapore: ISEAS. Vol. 29, No. 1, April 2007. **ERes.**
- “Cooperation Works”, Asian Development Bank Review, June 2005. **ERes.**
- Jorn Dosch and Oliver Hensengerth, Sub-Regional Cooperation in Southeast Asia: The Mekong Basin. Brill, Leiden, 2005. pp. 263-268, 284-285. **ERes.**
- Alex Liebman, “Trickle-down Hegemony? China’s ‘Peaceful Rise’ and Dam Building on the Mekong”, pp. 281-304, Contemporary Southeast, Singapore: ISEAS. August 2005. **ERes.**

### **Further study**

- Building on Success: A Strategic Framework for the Next Ten Years of the Greater Mekong Subregion Economic Cooperation Program, Asian Development Bank, 2002. **ERes.**
- The Greater Mekong Subregion: Beyond Borders, Asian Development Bank Strategy and Program Update, 2007-2009. Front matter and pp. 1-18. Appendices for research. **ERes.**
- Lebel, Dore, Daniel & Koma, eds. Democratizing Water Governance in the Mekong Region. Bangkok: Mekong Press (Unit for Social and Environmental Research). See instructor for copy.

**Week 13, April 27. Indochina and Southeast Asia.** Vietnam-China asymmetry. Legacy of mistrust, perpetual imbalance = "normalcy". Party-to-party, state-to-state relations. Implications for ASEAN. South China Sea/East Sea issue.

### **Required**

- Leszek Buszynski & Iskandar Sazlan, "Maritime Claims and Energy Cooperation in the South China Sea", pp. 143-171, in Contemporary Southeast Asia, Singapore: ISEAS, April 2007. **ERes.**
- Brantly Womack, China and Vietnam: The Politics of Asymmetry. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Introduction and Chapters 1 (pp. 1-30), 10, and 11, (pp. 212-256). **ERes.** Browse elsewhere in this exceptional study.
- Carlyle A. Thayer and Ramses Amer, "Conclusion", Chapter 9, pp. 215-230 in Thayer and Amer, eds., Vietnamese Foreign Policy in Transition. St Martin's Press, 1999. **ERes.**
- Clive Schofield, "Unlocking the Seabed Resources of the Gulf of Thailand", Contemporary Southeast Asia, ISEAS Singapore, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 286-308. **ERes.**
- Marvin C. Ott, "Southeast Asian Security Challenges: America's Response?" Strategic Forum, Institute for National Security Studies, National Defense University, October 2006. [www.ndu.edu/inss](http://www.ndu.edu/inss).

### **Further study**

- Frederick Z. Brown, Second Chance: The United States and Indochina in the 1990s. Council on Foreign Relations, 1989.