

Police, State and Society in Southeast Asia

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*Last year, in front of a nationally prominent Buddhist shrine, provincial police in central Thailand performed a *saab chaeng* “black magic” rite in hopes of cursing drug traffickers. Organizers told the 20,000 local onlookers and the national media that the curse was performed because extra-judicial killings and the death penalty “were not proving to be adequate deterrents” to drug trafficking.*

Course Description

This course is designed to provide an inter-disciplinary approach to Southeast Asia using the topic of the police and social order to examine the interaction between state and society. Since the state is often defined by its capacity for the legitimate use of force within its borders, policing offers an especially powerful window from which students can examine how states work. Southeast Asia serves as a particularly diverse and interesting area focus for such an examination. Police and social order issues are intertwined with the history of the region from the Thai and Filipino police forces “professionalized” by the United States to the Burmese military junta and Suharto’s New Order regime in Indonesia. An understanding of domestic social control is critical to the understanding of Southeast Asia whether looking at the history of colonialism and the development of local constabularies or international campaigns against insurgency, narcotics and terrorism. Not only will students in this course identify patterns of police organization and practice, they will also examine case studies in state order and societal interactions. Examining these case studies in Southeast Asia will promote a greater understanding of global issues of state control, media/state symbiosis, violence, and a myriad of other phenomena illuminated through the lens of “police” as a social phenomenon.

Required texts (all required texts are on reserve at Helen C. White library and available at University Book Store):

- McCoy, Alfred. The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade. New York, Harper and Row, Inc., 2004 (revised edition)
- Siegel, James. A New Criminal Type in Jakarta: Counter-Revolution Today. Durham, Duke University Press, 1998.
- Skidmore, Monique. Karaoke Fascism: Burma and the Politics of Fear. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Recommended texts

Nadelman, Ethan. Cops Across Borders: The Internationalization of U.S. Criminal Law Enforcement. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.

E-Reserves

Most readings beyond the required texts are available on e-reserves. To access them, login to MyUW at <http://my.wisc.edu> using your NetID and password. Then go to the “Academics” tab or for something equivalent to “Course resources” or “Library Reserves by Department.” The course is listed as “Interdis courses, L&S” then “220 Windows on the World.” If you would prefer a course reader, please let me know.

Course website: <http://uwmad.courses.wisconsin.edu> login using the same id and password for “My UW.” I will put most of the course material here as well. If you can’t access this, please let me know.

Course e-mail list: ls220-wotw-dhh@lists.students.wisc.edu

Requirements/Assignments (100 points total):

Participation: 25 points

Writing Assignment(s): 50 points

- Students can choose to write either two 2-3-page reaction pieces on any of the books/articles/films (25 points each) or a 10 page paper. If the short reaction piece option is chosen, students must provide a well-structured analytical essay on any one or a combination of the readings. These papers are meant to facilitate class discussion as well so due dates will be assigned the first week of class in order to cover all of the class material. (~ 4 students per meeting)
- If the longer paper is chosen, students may want to participate in the SEASSI conference on July 23rd where a presentation panel will be organized around the topic of police and social control in Southeast Asia. In this case, paper drafts can be presented at the conference and revised final versions can be turned in for the last week of class.

Media Reaction: 25 points

- 1 page analysis of relevant media text presented on the last week of class.
- Over the course of the semester, it might be helpful to routinely read news summaries of area newspapers for police-related articles. One method is to customize news.google.com for keyword “police” and the relevant country or area/topic.

All writing assignments should contain **synthesized original thought**.

Grades:

A: 90-100

AB: 88-89

B: 80-87

BC: 78-79

C: 70-77

D: 60-69

F: less than 60 points

Week 1: INTRODUCTION TO POLICE AND STATE AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

What role do the police serve in the modern state and how are they intertwined with political/societal processes? What types of police and security institutions exist in Southeast Asia? This week, we begin to examine modern states, how police activities influence society and vice versa.

June 14 Martin, Brian. Information Liberation. London: Freedom Press, 1998. (Chapter 1)
<http://www.uow.edu.au/arts/sts/bmartin/pubs/98il/il01.html>

June 16 Weber, Max. Politics as a Vocation. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972 (1919) (pgs 1-23; 40-55).
Reiner, Robert. The Politics of the Police, 3rd Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000 (pgs. 1-12).
Crank, John. Understanding Police Culture, 2nd Edition. Lexisnexis: Anderson Publishing, 2004. (“Issues in the Study of Police Culture” pgs. 29-51 and “Force as Righteous” pgs 97-111).

Scott, James. Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1998 (pgs. 1-8; 342-357).

Whitehead, Neil. "War and Violence as Cultural Expression." Anthropology News. May 2005 (p26).

Related readings:

Taussig, Michael. The Magic of the State. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Conboy, Kenneth J. South-East Asian special forces / text by Kenneth Conboy ; colour plates by Simon McCouaig. London : Osprey Pub., c1991

Week 2: HISTORY, COLONIALISM AND REGIONAL POLICING

The history of colonialism shaped or influenced nearly every country in Southeast Asia. Using Malaysia as a case study in colonial policing, how is this history reflected and expressed today? What were the effects of counter-insurgency and anti-communist campaigns have for the region, particularly in Vietnam and surrounding countries?

June 21 Hurst, Steve. Colonel Gray and the Armoured Cars : The Malayan Police, 1948-1952 (pgs. 1-20).

Hansen, Thomas and Finn Stepputat. States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001 (pgs. 1-37).

June 23: McCoy, Alfred. The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade. New York. Harper and Row, Inc., 1992 (2004) ("Introduction: A History of Heroin" pgs. 1-23. "South Vietnam's Heroin Trade" pgs. 193-261).

June 23 Film: In the Year of the Pig.

Related readings:

McCoy, Alfred. Closer Than Brothers: Manhood at the Philippine Military Academy. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Robbins, Christopher. The Ravens: The Men Who Flew in America's Secret War in Laos. New York : Crown, 1987.

Week 3: DRUGS SUPPRESSION, NARCO-TRAFFICKING AND THE FILIPINO POLICE

How do drug suppression efforts serve the modern state? Was there continuity between the "police action" in Vietnam, the drug trade and the "War on Drugs?" How do drug policies shape societies in Southeast Asia?

June 28 Miller, Richard. Drug Warriors and Their Prey: From Police Power to Police State. London: Praeger, 1996 (pgs 1-33).

June 30 McCoy, Alfred. The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade. New York. Harper and Row, Inc., 1992 (2004) ("War on Drugs and "The CIA's Covert Wars" pgs. 387-531).

Guest Speaker: Professor Alfred McCoy, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Related films:

Traffik. (TV miniseries), dir. Alastair Reid, 1989 (Video SA-800 in 4th floor media center, Memorial library)

Traffic. dir. Steven Soderbergh, 2000.

Narc. dir. Joe Carnahan, 2002 (at College Library Open Book collection, 1st floor)

Week 4: GLOBAL POLICING AND INTERNATIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

International cooperation between police groups is becoming more prevalent and broader in scope. Consequently, how are Western police concepts and tactics enacted in the local context of Southeast Asia? Within these networks of global law enforcement and individual police enactment, what roles do police groups play nationally as preservers of state power, forces of social control and political actors in their own right?

July 5 Nadelman, Ethan. Cops Across Borders: The Internationalization of U.S. Criminal Law Enforcement. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993 (pgs 1-14; 103-186; 463-477).

Meldal-Johnsen, Trevor and Vaughn Young. The Interpol Connection. New York: The Dial Press, 1979 (pgs 3-29).

July 7 Chambers, Paul. "U.S.-Thai Relations after 9/11: A New Era in Cooperation?" Contemporary Southeast Asia. Dec 2004. Vol.26:3 (On pgs. 460-480). Available on Proquest – full text database.

Film: *Urban Warrior* by Matt Ehling. ETS Pictures, 2003.

Related readings:

Koenig, Daniel and Dilip Das. International Police Cooperation: A World Perspective. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001.

Week 5: POLICING IN THAILAND

The long history of the "special relationship" between US and Thai security interests can be linked to an even longer history of internationally-based criminal justice in Thailand stretching back to the reign of King Chulalongkorn (Tips, 1998). Thus, historically, Thailand offers a rich data field for an examination of international police efforts as they merge with and compete with indigenous conceptions of social control. This week will draw primarily from my own ethnographic research with the Thai police.

July 12 Lobe, Thomas. United States National Security Policy and Aid to the Thailand Police. Monograph Series in World Affairs, vol. 14, no. 2, 1977 (Available on e-reserve - pgs. 1-62; 109-123).

July 14 Phongpaichit, Pasuk and Sungsidh Piriyarangsarn. Corruption and Democracy in Thailand. Chiang Mai, Silkworm Books, 1994 (pgs 1-6; and 108-130).

Related readings:

Chouvy, Pierre-Arnaud and Joel Meissonnier. Yaa Baa: Production, Traffic and Consumption of Methamphetamine in Mainland Southeast Asia. IRASEL: Singapore University Press, 2004.

Fineman, Daniel. A Special Relationship, The United States and Military Government in Thailand, 1947-1958. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1997.

Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker. Thaksin: The Business of Politics in Thailand. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004.

Streckfuss, David. The Politics of Subversion: Civil Liberty and Lèse-Majesté in the Modern Thai State. University of Wisconsin, Madison doctoral dissertation, 1998 (online with Current Research @ UW-Madison - <http://wwwlib.umi.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/cr/wisc/fullcit?p9838732>).

Week 6: CONSTRUCTION OF CRIMINALITY AND THE INDONESIAN POLICE

The creation of the “criminal type” is critical to the state building process. By defining criminality, the state has a powerful tool for social control. Case studies in Indonesia are especially relevant the political utility of delineating what activities are considered “criminal” and which activities are not.

- July 19 Siegel, James. A New Criminal Type in Jakarta: Counter-Revolution Today. Durham, Duke University Press, 1998 (pgs. 1-10; 90-136).
Onghokham, "The Inscrutable and the Paranoid: An Investigation into the Sources of the Brododiningrat Affair," Southeast Asian Transitions, ed. Ruth McVey, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978 (pgs. 112-157).
Schulte Nordholt, H.G.C. "The jago in the shadow. Crime and "order" in the colonial state in Java." in Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs, vol.25(1). (p 74-91) available online: <https://ep.eur.nl/bitstream/1765/6327/1/3240.pdf>
Film: *Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy*
Film: *Manufacturing Consent -- Cambodia and East Timor: A Case Study*
- July 21 Barker, Joshua. "State of Fear: Controlling the Criminal Contagion in Suharto's New Order." in Violence and the State in Suharto's Indonesia. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson (ed.). Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, 2001 (pgs. 20-53).
Guest Speaker: Professor Joshua Barker, University of Toronto
Related readings:
Anderson, Benedict. "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture" in Culture and Politics in Indonesia. Clare Holt, ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972 (pgs 1-69).
Kahin, George McT. and Kahin, Audrey R. Subversion as Foreign Policy: The Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia. New York: The New Press, 1995.
Barker, Joshua. The Tattoo and the Fingerprint: Crime and Security in an Indonesian City. Cornell University, 1999 (25 pgs on Proquest Digital Dissertations - <http://wwwlib.umi.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/dissertations/preview/9910246>).

Week 7: TERRORISM, COUNTER-TERRORISM, AND THE POLICE STATE

Terrorists seem to be an ideal enemy of the state. They are nebulous, loosely defined groups that are unattached to any other state. These enemies can be subject to unapologetic rhetoric of dehumanization and criminalization without fear of retribution on the international scale. How has terrorism in Southeast Asia affected the interaction between state and society? What are the global patterns and implications of expanded police powers?

- July 26 (for next week...) Skidmore, Monique. Karaoke Fascism: Burma and the Politics of Fear. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004 (pgs. ix-146).
- July 28 Film: *Martial Law 9-11: Rise of the Police State*. Alex Jones
Related readings:
Livingstone, Neil. The Cult of Counterterrorism. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990.

Week 8: BURMA, MEDIA AND THE TECHNOLOGIES OF THE STATE

What is the role of local and global media as it relates to policing and society? This week, students will analyze current media materials from Southeast Asian sources to examine the interaction between media and state processes.

August 2 Skidmore, Monique. Karaoke Fascism: Burma and the Politics of Fear. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004 (pgs. 173-212).
****MEDIA REACTIONS DUE:** Bring in one media article, news clip, etc. and write one-page of analysis to present in class.

August 4 Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Vintage Books, 1977 (“Panopticism” pgs. 195-228).
Kraska, Peter and Victor Kappeler, “Militarizing American Police: The Rise and Normalization of Paramilitary Units.” in Kappeler, Victor, The Police and Society: Touchstone Readings (2nd ed.). Prospect Heights, IL, Waveland Press, 1999 (pgs. 463-474).
Kappeler, Victor. “Epilogue: Reinventing the Police and Society – The Spectacle of Social Control.” in Kappeler, Victor, The Police and Society: Touchstone Readings (2nd ed.). Prospect Heights, IL, Waveland Press, 1999 (pgs. 481-491).
****Media Reaction presentations (continued).**
Related readings:
Fink, Christina. Living Silence: Burma under Military Rule (Politics in Contemporary Asia)

*****FINAL PAPER (OPTION) DUE FRIDAY, AUGUST 5th before 5pm.*****