

**Government 3443  
Southeast Asian Politics  
Spring 2012**

**Professor Thomas Pepinsky  
pepinsky@cornell.edu**

*Class Time and Location*

Tuesday and Thursday  
2:55 – 4:10  
McGraw Hall 165

*Office Hours*

Monday (or by apt.)  
1:00 – 3:00  
White Hall 322 (Sign up at <http://goo.gl/MUtmw>)

*Teaching Assistants*

Erin Hern (eah228@cornell.edu)  
Taka Masaki (tm427@cornell.edu)

*TA Hours*

Hern: Thursday, 1:30 – 2:30, White Hall B12  
Masaki: Friday, 2:30 – 3:30, White Hall B12

*Discussion Sections*

Tuesday, 10:10 – 11:00, White Hall 104  
Tuesday, 1:25 – 2:15, Rockefeller B16

Friday, 11:15 – 12:05, Goldwin Smith Hall 124  
Friday, 1:25 – 2:15, McGraw Hall 366

Overview

This course is an introduction to the politics of Southeast Asia, one of the world's most diverse and fascinating regions. Our focus is analytical: we will use the experiences of Southeast Asia to address some of the central questions of contemporary political science. Some of these questions include,

- Why do some brutal and highly corrupt political regimes survive for decades?
- How does ethnic diversity shape economic development?
- Can some political institutions make politicians more responsive to their citizens?
- What is democracy good for?
- Is nationalism real or “constructed”?
- What explains the success or failure of counterinsurgency warfare?
- How does U.S. foreign policy shape political development in the post-colonial world?
- Do international institutions matter?

We will also have one class on pirates.

While our primary focus is on contemporary politics, we will devote considerable attention to understanding how colonial experiences and post-colonial challenges shape the politics that we see today. We will cover the entire region, but we will devote most of our attention to the region's six most populous countries—Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam—and to a less extent, Singapore.

We begin with a short introduction to the region and its people. We will then survey the politics of individual countries, devoting two class sessions to each of the six largest countries and one session to Singapore. After the midterm, we will turn to a series of thematic discussions that take us across borders: political culture, political economy, conflict and violence, ASEAN, and American interventionism.

### Course Goals

By the end of the course, I expect students to be familiar with the basic contours of modern Southeast Asian politics, as well as the historical factors that shape contemporary politics. Students should have the ability to interpret current political developments in the region. Finally, students should be familiar with the theoretical debates in comparative politics, international relations, and development studies, and should be able to apply the experiences of Southeast Asia to these debates.

### Requirements

*Prerequisites:* Students wishing to enroll in this class must have taken GOVT 1313 (*Introduction to Comparative Politics*), ASIAN 2008 (*Introduction to Southeast Asia*), HIST 3960 (*Southeast Asian History from the Eighteenth Century*), or a related foundational course in political science or Asian studies. Other students must obtain permission from the instructor to register. The course also assumes basic knowledge of world history. Students who find themselves lost during lectures or class discussions should see me during office hours immediately (i.e., not right before the midterm).

*Class Format:* The class is a lecture meeting twice a week. Attendance is mandatory. Students should arrive to each class already having done the readings for that class, and afterwards, review the readings in the context of the class discussion. Class attendance and readings are not substitutes. I will not post lecture notes online.

*Assignments and Grading:* Your final grade is composed of the following six parts.

Map quiz:	5%
Response paper:	10%
Section participation:	10%
In-class first midterm:	20%
In-class second midterm:	20%
Research paper of 10-12 pages:	35%
TOTAL	100%

The goal of the map quiz is to ensure that you have a basic familiarity with the geography Southeast Asia. Your midterm and final exams will contain identification questions, short answers, and long essay questions. You will have a choice among several options for each category of question.

Students will be responsible for one response paper in the first part of the semester. It should be 3-4 pages long, and will respond to the readings for a particular class period; I will provide a handout on the short paper format early in the semester. The last possible day to turn in the response paper is March 15, which is the last class before spring break.

The final paper is an analytical essay of 10-12 pages. Library research is required; I will provide a handout on the paper topic early in the semester. A 1-page abstract is due in class on April 12. The final paper is due at 2:00 PM on Thursday, May 10.

*Readings:* Our readings will come from a series of online articles/chapters and one book. The reading load is substantial: on average, you can expect two articles or book chapters per class.

### Course Policies

*Late Assignments:* Please consult the syllabus for information about the due dates for your assignments. These dates are firm: extensions will only be given in the case of sickness (requiring a doctor's note), family emergency (requiring a Dean's note), or religious observance (requiring prior approval from the instructor). Late papers will lose one full letter grade. Papers later than 24 hours will receive a grade of 0/100. There are no exceptions.

*Grade Appeals:* Any student who believes that a grade does not reflect his or her performance can always dispute his or her grade. All grade appeals should be made in writing. A student disputing a grade must write a brief memo explaining why he or she should have received a higher grade on that assignment. This must be done in a week after the grade is announced, and submitted after class or in office hours. I will respond in writing.

*Cheating and Plagiarism:* Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity. Any work submitted by a student in this course for academic credit will be the student's own work. Cheating and plagiarism will be treated according to Cornell University regulations, which I will strictly observe. The penalty for violating the Code of Academic Integrity (<http://cuinfo.cornell.edu/Academic/AIC.html>) is an F for the assignment. Students may consult <http://digitalliteracy.cornell.edu/tutorial/dpl3320.html> for more information, and should visit <http://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm> for a tutorial on plagiarism. For further information on how to cite materials properly, please consult Joseph Gibaldi, *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* (New York: MLA).

In this course, we will be using Turnitin.com software as a tool for learning how to write with sources. By registering for this class, you are consenting to allow me to submit your papers to Turnitin.com. Turnitin.com works as follows. Your TA and I will submit electronic versions of your essays to Turnitin.com, which in turn produces an "originality report." This report shows the writer and teacher the results of Turnitin.com's comparison of the essay to content on the Web, to Turnitin.com's database of student writing, and to some databases of common full-text journals. Please note: all writing assignments (including the final paper abstract and final paper

drafts, should you choose to submit them) are held to the University's Code of Student Rights, Responsibilities, and Conduct and to the department's policies on plagiarism.

*University Policies:* I respect and uphold Cornell University policies and regulations pertaining to the observation of religious holidays; assistance available to the physically handicapped, visually and or/hearing impaired student; sexual harassment; and racial or ethnic discrimination.

- *Students with Disabilities:* In compliance with the Cornell University policy and equal access laws, I am available to discuss appropriate academic accommodations that may be required for student with disabilities. Students are encouraged to register with Student Disability Services to verify their eligibility for appropriate accommodations. Students seeking accommodations should submit to me an accommodation letter from Student Disability Services within the first two weeks of the semester.
- *Religious Observances:* Students may ask for reasonable and timely accommodations for sincerely held religious beliefs. Please review the syllabus closely to determine if your religion will present any scheduling conflicts with any of the assignments. You must inform me of any conflicts within the first two weeks of the semester.
- *Classroom Behavior:* Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Students will treat one another with respect and courtesy. I will ask disruptive students to leave the class.

*Other Policies:* Students will turn off cell phones in class. This includes text messaging. The penalty for visible text messaging or audible cell phone rings is one percentage point per offense. If this remains a problem, I reserve the right to change the policy to one percentage point per offense for the entire class.

*Office Hours:* I encourage students to see me during office hours with any questions or comments. I hold office hours for two hours every week, on Monday from 1:00 to 3:00 in 322 White Hall. If you wish to speak with me during office hours, please sign up online at <http://goo.gl/MUtmw>. Your TAs will also hold office hours: Thursday from 1:30 to 2:30 (Erin Hern) and Friday from 2:30 to 3:30 (Taka Masaki), both in White Hall B12.

## Texts

D.R. SarDesai. 2009. *Southeast Asia: Past & Present*. Sixth edition. Boulder: Westview Press. (hereafter "SarDesai") Available for purchase at the Cornell bookstore. ISBN 978-0813344348.

All other readings are book chapters and articles, which I have placed on Blackboard (course ID: govt3443-Pepinsky-Spring2012). You can access them all by clicking the "Assignments" tab from our course homepage. You may read these articles and chapters online, or you may print them out. In the course outline below, you will find the reading assignments listed for a particular class meeting.

## Course Outline

### **Important dates**

February 7:	Map quiz
March 15:	Last day to turn in the response paper
March 29:	Midterm 1
April 12:	Research paper abstract due
May 1:	Midterm 2
May 10:	Final paper due

### **Introduction**

January 24: Introduction and housekeeping

January 26: What is Southeast Asia?

- SarDesai, 5-20.
- Ruth McVey. 1995. "Continuity and Change in Southeast Asian Studies." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26(1): 1-9.

February 31: The Early States

- SarDesai, 21-58.
- James C. Scott. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1-61.

### ***Part 1: Individual Country Perspectives***

#### **The Philippines**

February 2: Land and Rebellion

- SarDesai, 190-200.
- Benedict J. Kerkvliet. 1977. *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 249-269.

February 7: MAP QUIZ; Oligarchy and Cacique Democracy

- SarDesai, 200-211.
- Benedict Anderson. 1988. "Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams." *New Left Review* 169: 3-31.
- Paul D. Hutchcroft. 2008. "The Arroyo Imbroglia in the Philippines." *Journal of Democracy* 19(1): 141-155.

#### **Malaysia**

## February 9: The Politics of Ethnicity

- SarDesai, 283-293.
- Judith A. Nagata. 1974. "What is a Malay? Situational Selection of Ethnic Identity in a Plural Society." *American Ethnologist* 1(2): 331-350.
- Edmund Terence Gomez and Jomo K.S. 1999. *Malaysia's Political Economy: Politics, Patronage, and Profits*. Second edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 10-27.

## February 14: Authoritarian Institutions

- SarDesai, 293-399.
- Dan Slater. 2003. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia." *Comparative Politics* 36(1): 81-101

## **Indonesia**

### February 16: Corruption and Development

- SarDesai, 255-264.
- Ross H. McLeod. 2000. "Soeharto's Indonesia: A Better Class of Corruption." *Agenda* 7(2): 99-112.
- R. William Liddle. 1987. "The Politics of Shared Growth: Some Indonesian Cases." *Comparative Politics* 19(2): 127-146.

### February 21: Democratic Transitions and Consolidation

- SarDesai, 264-275.
- Louay Abdulbaki. 2008. "Democratisation in Indonesia: From Transition to Consolidation" *Asian Journal of Political Science* 16(2): 151-172.

## **Burma**

### February 23: War and the State

- SarDesai, 217-225.
- Mary P. Callahan. 2003. *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1-20, 204-228.

### February 28: Junta Rule and Democracy

- SarDesai, 225-235.
- Kyaw Yin Hlaing. 2009. "Setting the Rules for Survival: Why the Burmese Military Regime Survives in an Age of Democratization," *Pacific Review* 22(3): 271-291.
- Ian Holliday. 2008. "Voting and Violence in Myanmar: Nation Building for a Transition to Democracy." *Asian Survey* 48(6): 1038-1058.

## **Thailand**

## March 1: Electoral Rules and Policy Outcomes

- SarDesai, 236-252.
- Joel Sawat Selway. 2011. "Electoral Reform and Public Policy Outcomes in Thailand: The Politics of the 30-Baht Health Scheme." *World Politics* 63(1): 165-202.

## March 6: Loyal Subjects and Loyal Oppositions

- SarDesai, 252-254.
- Thitinan Pongsudhirak. 2008. "Thailand Since the Coup." *Journal of Democracy* 19(4): 140-153.
- Kevin Hewison and Kengkij Kitirianglarp . 2010. "'Thai-Style Democracy': The Royalist Struggle for Thailand's Politics." in *Saying the Unsayable: Monarchy and Democracy in Thailand*, ed. Søren Ivarsson and Lotte Isager. Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 179-202.

## Vietnam

### March 8: Nationalism and Revolution

- SarDesai, 314-328.
- Keith W. Taylor. 2004. "How I Began to Teach about the Vietnam War." *Michigan Quarterly Review* 43(4): 637-647.
- Tuong Vu. 2007. "Vietnamese Political Studies and Debates on Vietnamese Nationalism." *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 2(2): 175-230.

### March 13: Growth and Inequality

- SarDesai, 329-350.
- Edmund J. Malesky, Regina M. Abrami, and Yu Zheng. 2011. "Institutions and Inequality in Single-Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China." *Comparative Politics* 43(4): 401-419.

### March 15: MOVIE, *Sepet*; LAST DAY TO TURN IN RESPONSE PAPER

## Spring Break

## Singapore

### March 27: States and Development

- SarDesai, 300-309.
- Natasha Hamilton-Hart. 2000. "The Singapore State Revisited." *Pacific Review* 13(2): 195-216.

## Midterm

### March 29: MIDTERM 1

## ***Part 2: Comparative Perspectives***

### **Culture and Identity**

#### April 3: Democracy and Asian Values

- Clark Neher. 1994. "Asian Style Democracy." *Asian Survey* 34(11): 949-961.
- Richard Robison. 1996. "The Politics of 'Asian Values'," *Pacific Review* 9(3): 309-327.

#### April 5: Islam and Democracy

- Thomas B. Pepinsky, R. William Liddle, and Saiful Mujani. Forthcoming 2012. "Testing Islam's Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia." *American Journal of Political Science*.

### **Political Economy**

#### April 10: Economic Development

- Richard F. Doner. 1991. "Approaches to the Politics of Economic Growth in Southeast Asia." *Journal of Asian Studies* 50(4): 818-849.

#### April 12: Smugglers and Pirates; PAPER ABSTRACTS DUE IN CLASS

- Justin V. Hastings. 2010. *No Man's Land: Globalization, Territory, and Clandestine Groups in Southeast Asia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 146-170.

### **Conflict and Violence**

#### April 17: Genocide and Mass Killing

- Michael Vickery. 1984. *Cambodia: 1975-1982*. Bangkok: Silkworm Books. 29-61.
- Geoffrey Robinson. *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1-18, 307-313.

#### April 19: Insurgency and Counterinsurgency

- Matthew A. Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis Kalyvas. 2011. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(1): 1-18.

### **International Relations**

#### April 24: ASEAN



- Shaun Narine. 1999. "ASEAN into the Twenty-First Century: Problems and Prospects." *Pacific Review* 12(3): 357-380.
- Alice D. Ba. 2009. *(Re)Negotiating East and Southeast Asia: Region, Regionalism, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 17-41.

#### April 26: America's Dirty Work

- Alfred W. McCoy, with Cathleen B. Read and Leonard P. Adams. 1972. *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade*. New York: Harper & Row, 149-222.
- Bradley R. Simpson. 2008. *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1-12.

### **Final Exam and Wrap-Up**

May 1: MIDTERM 2

May 3: Open Discussion and Final Thoughts

### **Research Paper**

May 10: FINAL PAPERS DUE AT 2:00 PM

- Hard copy to 322 White Hall
- Electronic copies to [pepinsky@cornell.edu](mailto:pepinsky@cornell.edu) and to your TA