

POLI 4067 Politics of Asia, Fall 2011

Comparative Politics of East Asia

Tuesday 6:10 – 9:00 pm, 218 Coates

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Stubbs 229, Department of Political Science

OH: 2:00 – 3:00 pm on Tuesday, or by appointment

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living.

Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*

This course provides an analytical overview of the comparative politics of East Asia, mainly focusing on Northeast Asia (China, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan) with some emphasis on Southeast Asia. This course has at least three goals: 1) to understand important political issues, political institutions, political behaviors, contentious politics, and political economies of East Asia, 2) to provide a theoretical framework to understand important historical events that have shaped the current politics of East Asia, and 3) to make an explicit comparison across countries (e.g., China and Japan) as well as comparison across regions (e.g., Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia). To do so, this course is divided into three parts.

In Part I, we will begin with a session that equips students with a theoretical framework of comparative politics and introduces this region more generally. By focusing on the modern nation-state formation in the context of colonialism, the following sessions in Part I will provide significant historical facts and issues of China, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, and Southeast Asian countries to properly understand the substantive topics in the following parts.

The first part in Part II will deal with political regimes (democracy and dictatorship), regime dynamics, and the relationship culture and democracy. In the second part of Part II, we will study two divergent political systems: democracy in Japan and dictatorship in China. Here the topics are political institutions (political party system, parliamentarism and presidentialism, and electoral system) and political change (election and succession).

In Part III, we will examine the political economy of East Asia, highlighting East Asia's phenomenal economic development and the recent financial crisis. We will explore the various conditions under which the economic "miracle" happened and the socio-political consequences of rapid growth. And we will investigate the financial "crisis," evaluating competing explanations of the origins and effects of the "crisis."

SCHEDULE/OUTLINE OF TOPICS

1	Aug	23	Introduction
I. Modern Nation-State Formation			
2	Aug	30	Emergence of Modern East Asia: A Bird's Eye View
3	Sep	06	China and Taiwan
4	Sep	13	Korea and Japan
5	Sep	20	Southeast Asia
II. Political System, Culture, and People			
6	Sep	27	Democracy and Dictatorship
7	Oct	04	Midterm Examination, 6:10 – 9:10 pm
8	Oct	11	Democratic Transitions
9	Oct	18	Culture and Democracy
10	Oct	25	Hegemonic Party and the Politics of Complacency
11	Nov	01	Politico-Economic Machine and Its Sustainability
III. Miracle and Crisis: Political Economy of East Asia			
12	Nov	08	Developmental State as Engine of Miracle
13	Nov	15	Origins of the Developmental State
14	Nov	22	Thanksgiving Holiday
15	Nov	29	Financial Crisis (Final paper due in class)
16	Dec	06	Final Examination, 8:00 – 10:00 pm

READINGS

Each student is expected to read (before class) all the required readings for each session (see the reading assignments below). All of these readings are posted on Moodle. All students should have a LSU e-mail account for access to Moodle through the PAWS desktop.

Students need to purchase and read the following book to write a final paper (see the course requirements below): Spector, Ronald H. 2008. *In the Ruins of Empire: The Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Postwar Asia*. Reprinted Edition. New York: Random House.

Recommended/background readings:

If you are serious about studying East Asia, read these three monumental books on the history of political thoughts: Feng Yulan's *A History of Chinese Philosophy* [中國哲學史], Masao Maruyama's *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan* [日本政治思想史研究], and Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilization in China* (esp. Volume 2).

East Asia and Southeast Asia in general

Warren Cohen, *East Asia at the Center: Four Thousand Years of Engagement with the World* (2000), Columbia University Press; David Chandler et al., *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia* (2005), University of Hawaii Press; D. R. SarDesai, *Southeast Asia: Past and Present* (2009), Westview; Mark Borthwick, *Pacific Century: The Emergence of Modern Pacific Asia* (2007), Westview Press; Zhiqun Zhu, *Understanding East Asia's Economic Miracle* (2009), AAS.

China

John K. Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History* (2006), Harvard University Press; Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*. (1999), Norton; Marc Blecher, *China against the Tides: Restructuring through Revolution, Radicalism and Reform* (2010), Continuum; Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*. (2007), The MIT Press.

Taiwan

John Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (2008) Westview; Robert Wade, *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization* (2003), Princeton University Press.

Korea

Ki-baik Lee, *Korea, Old and New: A History* (1990), Harvard University Press; Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (2005), Norton; Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (2001), Basic Books.

Japan

Ian Buruma, *Inventing Japan* (2004), Modern Library; Marius Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (2000), Harvard University Press; Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan* (2008), Oxford University Press; John Downer, *Embracing Defeat* (2000), Norton; W. G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism 1894-1945* (1991), Oxford University Press.

REQUIREMENTS

Basically, classes will involve lectures and discussions of the reading material assigned for each session. But, I will introduce and explain some issues and concepts that are not in the readings, so **attendance is crucial**. This means that a significant amount of material on the examinations will come from class lectures presenting information not discussed directly in the text and other readings. Participation from students is important and will count toward the final grade. At the end of each week, I will distribute a memo (posted on Semester Book) that contains important points of my lecture.

Students are expected to complete:

- 1) In-class midterm and take-home examinations (25% each)
The emphasis is on important concepts and competing explanations of various political phenomena. Knowledge of some relevant historical facts is required as well.
- 2) Critical review paper (25%)
You will write a critical review of Spector's *In the Ruins of Empire*. The text should be no longer than six single-spaced pages. The format and guide of the paper will be discussed in class. **You should submit a hard copy due in class on November 29.**
- 3) Attendance and participation (25%)
Since class meets only once in a week, it is extremely important to come to class. It is virtually impossible for you to receive a satisfactory grade if you miss several classes. Attendance will be taken for each session. Students may earn credit for their attendance at each class session, while repeated and unexcused absence will cause deduction in student's total grade. In addition to attending class, students are highly encouraged to ask and answer questions, and to make appropriate comments on issues covered in class.

GRADING SCALE

A: 90~100; B: 80~89; C: 70~79; D: 50~69; F: 0~49

NOTE: If you do not take any of the examinations, or if you do not submit the final paper, if you miss more than seven classes (half of lectures throughout the semester) you will automatically receive an F. No "make-up" examinations will be given; no late papers will be accepted.

IMPORTANT DATES

In-class midterm exam:	Tuesday, October 04	6:10 – 9:00 pm
In-class final exam:	Tuesday, December 06	8:00 – 10:00 pm
Final paper	Tuesday, November 29	In class

READING ASSIGNMENTS AND SPECIFIC TOPICS

I. Modern Nation-State Formation

Week 1 (8/23) Introduction

Scope and roadmap of the course.

Week 2 (8/30) The Emergence of Modern East Asia: A Bird's Eye View

Importance of history and theory. Three research traditions or paradigms: structuralism, culturalism, and rationalism. What is unique about East Asia? "Chinese world order." Nationalism and modern-state. "Imagined communities." Colonialism and imperialism. National liberation movements. International setting in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Romanization.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso, pp. 1-9.

Week 3 (9/06) China and Taiwan

Approaches: modernization vs. impact-response frameworks. "Paradox of growth without development." Three motifs in the 19th century. 1911 Revolution. Rise of the CCP. Colonizers and colonized. KMT (or the GMD). February 28 Incident. Why did the Nationalists fail? National identity.

"Introduction to Modern Chinese History." East Asian Curriculum Project of Columbia University. <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/>

"Taiwan and US-China Relations." East Asian Curriculum Project of Columbia University. <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/>

Cohen, Paul. 1996. "Moving Beyond Tradition and Modernity," in *Discovering History in China*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 2, pp. 57-96.

Fairbank, John and Merle Goldman. 2002. *China: A New History*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, pp. 331-341.

Week 4 (9/13) Japan and Korea

Tokugawa regime. Meiji Ishin (Renovation). "Oligarchs." Taisho Democracy. Rationalist explanation. Imperialism in the 1880s. Expansionism and militarism. *Zaibatsu*. The liberation and decolonization period and the Korean War. How was Korea divided? Nature of the North Korean state. Kim Il Sung. *Juche*.

"Japanese Modern History." East Asian Curriculum Project of Columbia University. <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/>

Ramseyer, J. Mark and Frances Rosenbluth. 1998. *The Politics of Oligarchy: Institutional Choice in Imperial Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-28.

“Korea in East Asian and World History,” “Korea: 1945-present.” East Asian Curriculum Project of Columbia University. <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/>

Week 5 (9/20) Southeast Asia

Imperialism, colonialism, and nationalism. Revolutionary movements and de-colonization. The mode of control. State centered analysis. Similarities and differences.

“Southeast Asia in the Larger World.” East Asian Curriculum Project of Columbia University. <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/>

Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. “The Formation of Revolutionary Movements in Southeast Asia.” In *No Other Way Out*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 72-105.

II. Political System, Culture, and People

Week 6 (9/27) Democracy and Dictatorship

Minimalist vs. maximalist definitions. Trend and pattern of political regimes throughout the world.

Freedom House. “Methodology.” *Freedom in the World*. <http://www.freedomhouse.org>

Przeworski, Adam et al. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Regimes and Material Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 13-36.

Week 7 (10/04) Midterm Examination

6:10 – 9:00 pm

Week 8 (10/11) Democratic Transitions

Prerequisite vs. strategic interaction. Top-down vs. bottom-up models. Third Wave in Asia. Tiananmen Square in 1989. Why do some dictators survive longer than others?

Nathan, Andrew and Perry Link. 2001. [Zhang Liang, compiler] *The Tiananmen Papers*. New York: Public Affairs. Excerpts.

Week 9 (10/18) Culture and Democracy: “Asian Values?”

Conceptualization of political culture. “Asian values.” Do we need democrats to have a democracy? Is culture an independent or dependent variable? Is culture a variable?

Lee Kun Yew. 1994. “Culture is Destiny.” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 73 n. 2 (March/April), pp. 109-26.

Inglehart, Ronald. 2000. “Culture and Democracy.” In Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington (eds.) *Culture Matters*, pp. 80-97.

Przeworski, Adam. 1998. 'Culture and Democracy.' *World Culture Report*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing, pp. 125-131, 134-146.

Week 10 (10/25) Hegemonic Party System and the Politics of “Complacency”: Japan
Parliamentarism vs. presidentialism. The 1955 system. Cabinet formation. Minimal coalition size vs. minimal connected coalition. Electoral system. What made the end of the LDP dominance possible? Conservative-socialist connection. “Lost ten years.” Politics of “complacency?” The 2009 General Election. The general issues are: 1) party system, 2) parliamentarism, 3) electoral system, and 4) cabinet formation.

Curtis, Gerald. 1999. *The Logic of Japanese Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press. Excerpts.

Rosenbluth, Frances, and Michael Thies. 2010. *Japan Transformed*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Excerpts.

Week 11 (11/01) Politico-Economic “Machine” and Its Sustainability : China
Collectivization and de-collectivization. 1978 reforms. “Socialism with Chinese characteristics.” Leninist party-state. Politburo and its Standing Committee. The cadre system. Election vs. succession. How are Chinese leaders chosen? – succession process. “Lost hundred years.” “Fourth generation of leadership.” The general issues are: 1) communist state apparatuses, 2) power succession process, and 3) obstacles and potentialities for democratization.

Wang, James. 2002. 7th Edition. *Contemporary Chinese Politics: An Introduction*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall. Chapter 4, pp.69-104.

Nathan, Andrew and Bruce Gilley. 2003. 2nd Edition. *China’s New Rulers: The Secret Files*. New York: New York Review Books. Excerpts.

McGregor, Richard. 2010. *The Party: The Secret World of China’s Communist Rulers*. New York: HarperCollins. Excerpts.

III. Miracle and Crisis: Political Economy of East Asia

Week 12-13 (11/08 – 11/15) The Developmental State

Historical trend of economic growth throughout the world. “Two peaks.” Diminishing return. Import substitution vs. export orientation. “Embedded autonomy.” *Keiratsu* and *Chaebol*. The MITI and EPB. Is “the Asian miracle” miracle? War and growth. Origins.

Krugman, Paul. 1994. ‘The Myth of Asia’s Miracle: A Cautionary Fable.’ *Foreign Affairs* (November/December): 62-78.

Evans, Peter. 1989. “Predatory, Developmental, and Other Apparatuses: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective on the Third World State.” *Sociological Forum*. 4(1): 561-587.

Doner, Richard et al. 2005. "Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Development States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective." *International Organization* 59(2): 327-361.

Week 14 (11/22) Thanksgiving Holiday

Week 15 (11/29) Financial Crisis: End of Miracle? Conclusion and Review

External vs. domestic factors. Globalization and the nature of world capitalist system. Contagion. The IMF and the politics of capital controls. Perception and capital flight. Speculative attack. Moral hazard and the government-business connection. Was the Asian financial crisis of 1997 a necessary consequence of the "miracle?" What have we learned from this course?

Krugman, Paul. 2000. *The Return of Depression Economics*. New York: W.W. Norton, pp. 1-20, 83-101.

Final paper due in class.

Week 16 (12/06) Final Examination

8:00 – 10:00 pm