

**POLI 4067 The Politics of Asia, Fall 2014**

## **Comparative Politics of East Asia**

**Tuesday and Thursday 12:00 – 1:20 pm, 213 Tureaud Hall**

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**Office: 229 Stubbs Hall**

**Office Hours: 2:00 – 4:00 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* (1852)

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., East Asia and Europe and America, or 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 and imperialism, 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 (democracies and dictatorships), social movements, regime dynamics, and the relationships between cultures and democracies. In the second part of Part II, we will study two divergent political systems: parliamentary democracy in Japan and communist dictatorship in China. Here the topics are political institutions (political party systems, parliamentarism and presidentialism, electoral systems, Leninist party-state) and political changes (elections, selections, and successions).

In Part III, we will examine the political economy of East Asia, highlighting East Asia's phenomenal economic growth, globalization, and the financial crises that have transformed the nature of the East Asian accumulation strategies. We will explore the various conditions under which the economic "miracles" happened and the socio-political consequences of rapid growth. We will also investigate the economic "crises" that have ended the miracles. Finally, we will evaluate the rise of China and the re-emergence of East Asia from a long historical perspective, and we will ruminate over what these phenomena mean to the global politics that have been dominated by the West for centuries.

**SCHEDULE/OUTLINE OF TOPICS**

1	Aug	26-28	Introduction and Analytical Framework
<b>I. Modern Nation-State Formation</b>			
2	Sep	2-4	The Emergence of Modern East Asia: A Bird's Eye View
3	Sep	9-11	China and Taiwan
4	Sep	16-18	Korea and Japan
5	Sep	23-25	Southeast Asia
<b>II. Political Systems, Cultures, and People</b>			
6	Sep	30	Democracies and Dictatorships
6	Oct	2	Fall Holiday – No Class Meeting
7/8	Oct	7-9-14	Democratic Transitions
8	Oct	16	Midterm Examination, 12:00 – 1:20 pm
9	Oct	21-23	Cultures and Democracies: Asian Values?
10	Oct	28-30	Hegemonic Party and the Politics of Complacency: Japan
11	Nov	4-6	Politico-Economic Machine and Its Sustainability: China
<b>III. Political Economy: Miracles and Crises</b>			
12	Nov	11-13	The Developmental State
13/4	Nov	18-20- 25	The Rise of China and East Asia
14	Nov	27	Thanksgiving Holiday – No Class Meeting
15	Dec	2-4	The Financial Crises and East Asian Community
16	Dec	10	Final Examination, 12:30 – 2:30 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*. Reprint 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; Charles Holcombe, *A History of East Asia: From the Origins of Civilization to the Twenty-First Century* (2010), Cambridge 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* (2012), Westview; Mark Borthwick, *Pacific Century: The Emergence of Modern Pacific Asia* (2007), Westview.

### *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?* (2012) Westview; Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (2011), Rowman & Littlefield.

### *Korea*

Donald Clark, *Korea in World History* (2011), AAS; 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* (2013), 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 Moodle) that contains important points of my lecture.

Students are expected to complete:

- 1) In-class midterm and final 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 the 4<sup>th</sup> of December.**

- 3) Attendance and participation (25%)

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, if you do not submit the final paper, or if you miss more than fourteen 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:	Thursday, October 16	12:00 – 1:20 pm
In-class final exam:	<u>Wednesday, December 10</u>	<u>12:30 – 2:30 pm</u>
Final paper	Thursday, December 04	In class (or before)
Fall holiday	Thursday, October 02	No class
Thanksgiving holiday	Thursday, November 27	No class

## READING ASSIGNMENTS AND SPECIFIC TOPICS

### I. Modern Nation-State Formation

#### **Week 1 (8/26-28) Introduction and Analytical Framework**

Scope and roadmap of the course. Three research traditions or paradigms: structuralism, culturalism, and rationalism. Analytical framework. Role of theory. Importance of history.

#### **Week 2 (9/02-04) The Emergence of Modern East Asia: A Bird's Eye View**

What is unique about East Asia? Asia before Europe. "Chinese world order" and the tributary system. Anarchical vs. hierarchical international systems. "Biological old regime." Nationalism and the modern-state. Capitalism. "Imagined communities." Colonialism and imperialism. Turning point in history. International setting in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Eurocentrism.

Carr, E. H. 1961. *What Is History?* New York: Random House, "The Historian and His Facts," pp. 3-35.

Borthwick, Mark. 2007. *Pacific Century: The Emergence of Modern Pacific Asia*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 1-8, 21.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso, pp. 1-9.

#### **Week 3 (9/09-11) China and Taiwan**

Romanization. Approaches: modernization and impact-response frameworks. "Paradox of growth without development." Three motifs in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. *Xinbai* 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 (9/16-18) Japan and Korea**

Tokugawa regime. *Sankin-kotai*. Meiji *Ishin*. Oligarchs. Taisho Democracy. Rationalist explanation. Imperialism in the 1880s. Expansionism and militarism. *Zaibatsu*. Decolonization period and the Korean War. How was Korea divided? The world in 1945. *Juche* and the nature of the North Korean state. Nuclear crises. Who rules North Korea?

“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 (9/23-25) Southeast Asia**

Imperialism, colonialism, and nationalism. Revolutionary movements and de-colonization. The mode of controls. State centered analysis. Similarities and differences. Neo-colonial regimes.

“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 Systems, Cultures, and People**

### **Week 6 (09/30) Democracies and Dictatorships**

Minimalist vs. maximalist definitions. Miracle of democracy. Fragility of democracy. Trend and pattern of political regimes throughout the world. “Waves” of democratization in East Asia.

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.

Borthwick, Mark. 2007. *Pacific Century: The Emergence of Modern Pacific Asia*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 317-363.

### **Week 6 (10/02) Fall Holiday**

No class.

### **Week 7-8 (10/07-09-14) Democratic Transitions**

Modernization theory. Prerequisites vs. strategic interactions. Top-down vs. bottom-up processes. Movement politics vs. party politics. Crisis-driven vs. non-crisis transitions. Internal vs. external factors. South Korea’s experience. 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 8 (10/16) Midterm Examination**

12:00 – 1:20 pm

**Week 9 (10/21-23) Culture and Democracy: “Asian Values?”**

Conceptualization of political culture. Intersubjectivity. “Asian values.” Do we need democrats to have a democracy? Strongly culturalist vs. weakly culturalist vs. non-culturalist arguments. Culture as religion. Culture as the “distribution of answers.” Culture as an epiphenomenon. Is culture an independent or dependent variable? Is culture a variable?

Lee Kuan 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 (10/28-30) The Hegemonic Party and the Politics of “Complacency”: Japan**

US occupation as a reverse course. Parliamentarism vs. presidentialism. The 1955 system. Cabinet formation. Minimal coalition size vs. minimal connected coalition. What made the end of the LDP dominance possible? “Lost twenty years.” Faction politics. Politics of “complacency?” Pivotal elections – 1946, 1993, 2009, and 2012. The issues are: 1) party system, 2) parliamentarism, 3) electoral system, 4) cabinet formation, and 5) political ideology – deep-rooted conservatism.

Curtis, Gerald. 1999. *The Logic of Japanese Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 26-64.

Rosenbluth, Frances, and Michael Thies. 2010. *Japan Transformed*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Epilogue, pp. 186-192.

**Week 11 (11/04-06) The Politico-Economic “Machine” and Its Sustainability: China**

Cultural Revolution. Collectivization and de-collectivization. Deng’s reforms. “Socialism with Chinese characteristics.” “Lost hundred years.” Leninist party-state. PBSC. Selection vs. succession. How are Chinese leaders chosen? “Fifth generation” of leadership. Factions – parties within the party. Rampant corruption. The issues are: 1) communist state apparatuses, 2) power succession process, and 3) prospects for democratization – will China become a democracy?

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

McGrecor, Richard. 2010. *The Party*. New York: HarperCollins, pp. 1-33.

Nathan, Andrew and Bruce Gilley. 2003. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. *China’s New Rulers: The Secret Files*. New York: New York Review Books, pp. 3-76.

Ho, Wing-Chung. 2012. “The Rise of the Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie and Factional Politics of China.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 42(3): 514-521.

### III. Political Economy: Miracles and Crises

#### **Week 12 (11/11-13) The Developmental State**

Historical trend of economic growth throughout the world. Diminishing return. Import substitution vs. export orientation. “Embedded autonomy.” *Keiratsu* and *Chaebol*. The MITI and EPB. Is “the Asian miracle” a miracle? Origins and the demise of the developmental state. Efficiency or collusion? Who guards the guardians? Can the East Asia’s success be emulated in other countries?

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 13-14 (11/18-20-25) The Rise of China and East Asia from a Long-term Point of View**

Deng’s economic reforms. Developmental state vs. *quanxi* capitalism. “Socialism with Chinese characteristics” revisited. Socialist legacies. Dual track. Township and village enterprises (TVEs). State-owned enterprises (SOEs). Foreign direct investment (FDI). The rise of East Asia *again*.

Bardhan, Pranab. 2010. *Awakening Giants, Feet of Clay: Assessing the Economic Rise of China and India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 10.

Arrighi, Giovanni, Po-Keung Hui, Ho-fung Hung, and Mark Sheldon. 2003. “Historical Capitalism, East and West.” In *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150, and 50 Year Perspective*, edited by Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita, and Mark Sheldon. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 259-333.

#### **Week 14 (11/27) Thanksgiving Holiday**

No class.

#### **Week 15 (12/02-04) The Financial Crises: the End of Miracle? Conclusion and Review**

External vs. domestic factors. Neoliberal globalization and the nature of the world capitalist system. Contagion. The IMF and the politics of capital controls. Perception and capital flight. Speculative attack. Moral hazard. Was the Asian financial crisis of 1997 a necessary consequence of the “miracle?” How to deal with the rise of China? The US-China relationships. Prospects for the East Asian community? What have we learned from this course?

Final paper due in class on the 4<sup>th</sup> of December (Thursday).

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

Kissinger, Henry. 2011. *On China*. New York: Penguin Books, pp. 514-548.

#### **Week 16 (12/10) Final Examination**

12:30 – 2:30 pm.