

**POLI 4067 The Politics of Asia, Spring 2016**

東亞政治 东亚政治 동아시아정치 東アジア政治

# East Asian Politics

**Tuesday and Thursday 10:30 – 11:50 am, 241 Lockett Hall**

**Prof. Wonik Kim, [wkim@lsu.edu](mailto:wkim@lsu.edu)**

**Office: 229 Stubbs Hall**

**Office Hours: 12:20 – 1:20 pm on Tuesday and Thursday 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 overcome an ethnocentric provincialism by making explicit and implicit comparisons (e.g., China and Korean and Japan; East Asia and Euro-America). 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 capital-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 East Asia. 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**

1-2	Jan	14-19	Introduction and Analytical Framework
<b>I. MODERN CAPITAL-NATION-STATE FORMATION</b>			
2-3	Jan	21-26	The Emergence of Modern East Asia: A Bird's Eye View
3-4	Jan/Feb	28-2-4	China and Taiwan
5	Feb	9	Mardi Gras Holiday – No class meeting
5-6	Feb	11-16-18	Korea and Japan
<b>II. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, CULTURES, AND PEOPLE</b>			
7	Feb	23	Democracies and Dictatorships
7-8	Feb/Mar	25-1	Democratic Transitions
8	Mar	3	Midterm Examination, 10:30 – 11:50 am
9	Mar	8-10	Cultures and Democracies: “Asian Values”?
10	Mar	15-17	Hegemonic Party and the Politics of Complacency: Japan
11	Mar	22-24	Spring Break – No class meeting
12	Mar	29	Conference – No class meeting
12-3	Mar/Apr	31-5	Politico-Economic Machine and Its Sustainability: China
<b>III. POLITICAL ECONOMY: MIRACLES AND CRISES</b>			
13-4	Apr	7-12	The Developmental State
14-5	Apr	14-19	The Rise (?) of China and the <i>Reorientation</i> of the World
15	Apr	21	“Futures Past” of East Asia: A Tentative Conclusion

## 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.

Students need to purchase and read the following book to write a final paper (see the course requirements below). Studwell, Joe. 2014. *How Asia Works*. Grove Press.

Recommended/background books:

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). For an important intellectual history on the formation of Asia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, see Pankaj Mishra's *From the Ruins of Empire: The Revolt against the West and the Remaking of Asia* (2012), Picador.

*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* (2010), Continuum; Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy* (2007), the MIT Press; Orville Schell and John Delury, *Wealth and Power* (2013), Random House.

*Taiwan*

John Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (2012) Westview; Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (2011), Rowman & Littlefield.

*Korea*

Richard Kim, *Lost Names* (2011), University of California Press; 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; B. R. Myers, *The Cleanest Race* (2011), Melville House.

*Japan*

Haruki Murakami, *Underground* (2001), Vintage; 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 Dower, *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 (25%)

The emphasis is on important concepts and competing explanations of various political phenomena. Knowledge of some relevant historical facts is required as well.

2) Take-home final examination (25%)

The test will be given in class on the 21<sup>st</sup> of April (Thursday). Students will have approximately three days to complete the test and should email the instructor their answers in a word document by 6:00 pm on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April (Sunday). The format of the final take-home exam will be explained in class.

3) Critical review paper (25%)

You will write a critical review of Studwell's *How Asia Works*. 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 Thursday, the 21<sup>st</sup> of April (or anytime before this deadline).

4) 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+	100 ~ 97	B+	89 ~ 87	C+	79 ~ 77	D+	69 ~ 67	F	59 ~ 0
A	96 ~ 93	B	86 ~ 83	C	76 ~ 73	D	66 ~ 63		
A-	92 ~ 90	B-	82 ~ 80	C-	72 ~ 70	D-	62 ~ 60		

## IMPORTANT DATES

In-class midterm exam:	Thursday, March 3	10:30 – 11:50 am
Take-home final exam:	Sunday, April 24	6:00 pm via email
Final paper	Thursday, April 21	In class (or before)
Mardi Gras Holiday	Tuesday, February 9	No class meeting
Spring Break	Tue/Thu, March 22/24	No class meeting
Conference	Tuesday, March 29	No class meeting

## READING ASSIGNMENTS AND SPECIFIC TOPICS

### I. MODERN CAPITAL-NATION-STATE FORMATION

#### **Week 1-2 (1/14-19) 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.

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

#### **Week 2-3 (1/21-26) 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. *Global* history.

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

Holcombe, Charles. 2010. *A History of East Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Pressm “Introduction: What Is East Asia?” pp. 1-10.

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

#### **Week 3-4 (1/28-2/02-04) 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. The Chinese Revolution of 1949. 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 5 (2/09) Mardi Gras Holiday**

No class meeting.

### **Week 5-6 (2/11-16-18) Japan and Korea**

Tokugawa regime. *Sankin-kotai*. Meiji *Isbin*. Oligarchs. Taisho Democracy. Rationalist explanation. Imperialism in the 1880s. Expansionism and militarism. *Zaibatsu*. Choson (or Joseon) dynasty and the issue of historical continuity. 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/>

## **II. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, CULTURES, AND PEOPLE**

### **Week 7 (2/23) Democracies and Dictatorships**

Minimalist vs. maximalist definitions. Miracle of democracy. Fragility of democracy. Importance of compromise. 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.

### **Week 7-8 (2/25-3/01) 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. Compromise revisited. 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 (3/03) Midterm Examination**

10:30 – 11:50 am

### **Week 9 (3/08-10) 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 dispositions within society. 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 (3/15-17) 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 vs. minimal connected coalition. What made the end of the LDP dominance possible? "Lost twenty years." Faction politics. "Empire strikes back." Politics of "complacency?" Pivotal elections – 1946, 1993, 2009, and 2012. The issues to be discussed 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 (3/22-24) Spring Break**

No class meeting.

### **Week 12 (3/29) Conference**

No class meeting.

### **Week 12-13 (3/31-4/05) 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 – *imperium in imperio*. Selection vs. succession. "Fifth generation" of leadership. Factions – parties within the party. Corruption and pollution. 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.

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 13-14 (4/07-12) 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 14-15 (4/14-19) The Rise (?) of China and the *Reorientation* of the World**

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*. Short-term view vs. long-term view.

Bardhan, Pranab. 2010. *Awakening Giants, Feet of Clay: Assessing the Economic Rise of China and India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Introduction and Chapter 2, pp. 1-39.

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 15 (4/21) "Futures Past" of East Asia: A Tentative Conclusion**

Asian financial crisis of 1997 and the end of the developmental state. Neoliberal globalization. Geopolitics within global economy. G-2? Prospects for an East Asian community? Role of history revisited. Conception of modernity revisited. What are the implications of East Asia's rise for global politics? How can we make sense that the center of the world, for the first time in modern world history, is moving to a non-Western country: East Asia?

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

*The Economist*. "Special Report: Business in Asia." May 31<sup>st</sup> 2014.

Final paper due in class on the 21<sup>st</sup> of April (Thursday).

Final take-home exam is given in class on the 21<sup>st</sup> of April (Thursday). The deadline of the exam is 6:00 pm on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April (Sunday) via an email attachment.