

Politics of East Asia

Politics 140d • 23511 • Fall 2016
University of California, Santa Cruz
Primary Instructor: Prof. Benjamin L. **Read**
Teaching Assistants: Aaron **Augsburger**, Xiaoping **Yin**
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Course meetings: Tues. & Thurs., 11:40a to 1:15p, in Stevenson Acad 150
Prof. Read's office hrs: Tues. & Thurs., 9:45a to 11:15a, in 157 Merrill Faculty Annex, and by appointment
TAs' office hours: To be announced
Date of this syllabus: September 22, 2016. Subject to change; check websites for latest version.

Overview:

In this course, we explore politics in East Asia. The central focus is on three core cases: Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. Issues and problems of governance, democratization, and democracy in these countries constitute the intellectual core of the class. We examine the historical development of the East Asian state system prior to and especially after World War II; the tension between external pressures (including influence by the United States) and nationalism; major leaders; authoritarian systems of the 20th century and processes of democratization; economic development; government institutions; political parties; civil society; extra-institutional protest and contention; gender and ethnicity in politics; and corruption. This is primarily a course in comparative domestic politics, but we examine external relations (such as with China and North Korea) as well with an eye toward linkages between the domestic and the international.

This course is one of the Politics Department's undergraduate core courses. Politics majors must take at least four such courses, and completing any three of them fulfills the university's "Disciplinary Communication" requirement. That is one reason for the emphasis on writing skills and other forms of communication in this class.

Readings:

The books below are available for purchase at the Bay Tree bookstore, and are also on reserve at McHenry Library.

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* 5th edition (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2009)
- John F. Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* 6th edition (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2012)

For Korea, we are using shorter readings, rather than a full book, because no current textbook exists that meets all the needs of this course. Other required readings will be available on the course eCommons site.

Assignments and Ground Rules:

- Please read the following items carefully before deciding to stay enrolled in this course.
- **Class attendance** is a firm requirement, including both lectures and sections. Attendance will be taken at every session at the beginning of class. We are understanding about family emergencies, illness or other serious exigencies, and will treat them as excused absences if verifiable documentation is provided. See my web page for the absence form, which must be printed, filled out, and signed. Two percentage points will be deducted from your course grade for every unexcused absence. To put that in perspective, the difference between a B+

and a C+ is ten percentage points. It is entirely possible to fail the course through non-attendance; this has happened before.

- **Doing the Reading:** This course involves a substantial amount of reading and you are required to do it. Readings must be completed before the class meeting for which they are assigned. Note that although I have strived to make it easy for you to find the readings, it is your responsibility to obtain and read these items. In particular, download the eCommons readings ahead of time.
- **Email:** You must use and regularly check your official email account, i.e. the one that AIS and eCommons send mail to.
- **Tech:** Computers, tablets, phones and other electronic devices are not to be used in lectures or section.
- **Self-introduction:** please send Prof. Read and your TA an email in the first week of class explaining your year in school; college; major; prior courses in Asian languages, history, or politics; all international travel; what you're most excited about in school and in your life; any challenges you're facing; and anything else you would like us to know about you. Please include a phone number where we can reach you in case an urgent need to do so should arise.
- **Assignments:** Grades are calculated on the basis of the following assignments, though the exact percentages are subject to adjustment.
 - Writing and research self-assessment online form (do right away, but no later than Tuesday, October 4, 2016). There will be a link to this form in eCommons, and we will email it to you. **Required but not graded**
 - Section performance: **20 percent**
 - In-class midterm examination (Thursday, October 20, 2016): **20 percent**
 - First draft of research paper (Monday, October 31, 2016, 5pm): **10 percent**
 - Revised research paper (Monday, November 28, 2016, 5pm): **20 percent**
 - Final exam (Tuesday, December 6, 2016, noon to 3pm): **30 percent**
- **Grading:** All assignments are scored on a 0–100 scale, where 90–100 is an A, 80–89 is a B, etc. Grades of A minus or higher are reserved for work of exceptionally high quality. The grade of B is for work that is truly good although not great. The grade of C is for minimally acceptable work.
- **Learning Support Services Tutoring:** This course provides additional tutoring from the Learning Support Services on campus (LSS) in the form of weekly, one-hour small group tutoring sessions. These sessions are optional. They will provide a peer-oriented setting for developing strategies and skills in essay writing related to the course material and themes. (Please note, these optional sessions facilitated by tutors are distinct from mandatory sections facilitated by TAs. Also, due to resource constraints, tutoring is available to about one-quarter of enrolled students.) The writing and research self-assessment form (see above) will help us identify students who would benefit from tutoring, but others can enroll too. Given the limited space, these tutorials are for students who can commit to attending nearly every weekly session. Students can directly enroll through the LSS portal at <https://eop.sa.ucsc.edu/OTSS/tutorsignup/> (make sure you select group tutorials for this class). Enrolled students who attend all sessions with no more than one excused absence will earn extra credit toward their final grade. Above all, the tutorials can be expected to benefit students' research and writing (and thus overall performance in this class and others).
- **Accommodations:** UC Santa Cruz is committed to creating an academic environment that supports its diverse student body. If you are a student with a disability who requires accommodations to achieve equal access in this course, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me privately during my office hours or by appointment, preferably within the first two weeks of the quarter. We would also like to discuss ways we can ensure your full participation in the course. We encourage all students who may benefit from learning more about DRC services to contact DRC by phone at 831-459-2089 or by email at drc@ucsc.edu.
- **Course materials:**
 - **Slides and audio recording:** Within a few days after each lecture I will post the slides and an audio recording. The recording is mainly in case you had to miss class for some good reason. Please bear in mind that these are for your personal use only and shouldn't be distributed or posted on the internet. The Academic Senate has asked faculty to include a note to this effect, as follows:
 - **Warning from the university about distribution of lecture notes and materials:** Please note that students may be disciplined for selling, preparing, or distributing course lecture notes, including notes created independently by students.

The unauthorized sale of lecture notes, handouts, readers or other course materials is a violation of campus policies as well as state law. Violation by distribution to the public may also constitute copyright infringement subject to legal action.

Detailed Schedule

Introduction to the Course

Thursday, September 22

- No readings are assigned for the first class session, but do the September 27 readings prior to your first section meeting—those first meetings will be the week of September 26.

Historical Background

Tuesday, September 27

- Hayes, all of chapter 1, “General History”
- Michael Edson Robinson, chapter 2, “Colonial State and Society,” in *Korea’s Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 36–55
- Copper, part of Chapter 1 (pp. 1–18); part of Chapter 2 (pp. 30–41)

Origins of the Asian Order

Thursday, September 29

- Hayes, all of chapter 2, “The Occupation”
- Michael Edson Robinson, chapter 5, “Liberation, Civil War, and Division,” in *Korea’s Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 100–120
- Copper, part of Chapter 2 (pp. 41–51)

States

Tuesday, October 4

- Benjamin I. Schwartz, “The Primacy of the Political Order in East Asian Societies,” in Schwartz (ed.), *China and Other Matters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), 114–124
- Atul Kohli, “Where Do High Growth Political Economies Come From? The Japanese Lineage of Korea’s ‘Developmental State,’” *World Development*, 22/9 (September 1994), 1269–1293

Economic Development

Thursday, October 6

- Hayes, all of Chapter 9
- Copper, part of Chapter 5 (pp. 150–170)
- Gregory W. Noble, “Industrial Policy in Key Developmental Sectors: South Korea Versus Japan and Taiwan,” in Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (eds.), *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 603–28

Authoritarianism

Tuesday, October 11

- Byung-Kook Kim, “Labyrinth of Solitude: Park and the Exercise of Presidential Power,” in Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (eds.), *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 140–167
- Shelley Rigger, *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1999), chapter 3, “Party-State Authoritarianism in the Pre-Reform Era (1945–1972)” and part of chapter 4, “Electoral Mobilization in the

Pre-Reform Era (1945–1972)”, 55–93

Democratization

Thursday, October 13

- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “From Dictatorship to Democracy,” chapter 2 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 28–50
- Copper, part of Chapter 2 (pp. 51–57)
- Shelley Rigger, *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1999), chapter 5, “Political Reform under Chiang Ching-kuo (1972–1988)”

Benefits and Problems of Democratization

Tuesday, October 18

- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “Democratic Consolidation and Social Change,” chapter 3 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 51–77
- Copper, part of Chapter 2 (pp. 57–63)

Midterm Exam

Thursday, October 20 **[the midterm exam will be held in class]**

Government Institutions

Tuesday, October 25

- Hayes, all of Chapter 3
- Copper, part of Chapter 4 (pp. 108–130)

Presidentialism in South Korea and Taiwan

Thursday, October 27

- Juan J. Linz, “The Perils of Presidentialism,” *Journal of Democracy*, 1/1 (Winter 1990), 51–69
- Chan Wook Park, “The National Assembly in Democratized Korea: Marching to the Center from the Margins of Policy Stage?” in Zheng Yongnian, Lye Liang Fook, and Wilhelm Hofmeister (eds.), *Parliaments in Asia: Institution Building and Political Development* (Routledge, 2014), 185–206
- Dafydd Fell, “Taiwan’s Government and Constitutional Structure,” chapter 4 of *Government and Politics in Taiwan* (Routledge, 2012)

Optional further reading

- Yuko Kasuya (ed.), *Presidents, Assemblies and Policy-Making in Asia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) [available online via CruzCat]

First draft of research paper due Monday, October 31, 5pm

Parliamentarism and LDP Dominance in Japan

Tuesday, November 1

- Hayes: All of Chapter 4, and part of Chapter 7 (pp. 118–127)
- Ronald J. Hrebennar and Koji Haraguchi, “The Fall of the DPJ and Return of the LDP to Power: The December 2012 House Elections,” in Ronald J. Hrebennar and Akira Nakamura (eds.), *Party Politics in Japan: Political Chaos and Stalemate in the Twenty-First Century* (Routledge, 2015), 174–188

Parties and Party Systems

Thursday, November 3

- Hayes, all of Chapter 5

- Copper, parts of Chapter 4 (130–145)
- James I. Steinberg and Myung Shin, “Tensions in South Korean Political Parties in Transition: From Entourage to Ideology?” *Asian Survey* 46/4 (2006), 517–537

Corruption

Tuesday, November 8

- Hayes, all of Chapter 6
- Chin-Shou Wang and Charles Kurzman, “Logistics: How to Buy Votes,” in Frederic Charles Schaffer (ed.), *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007), 61–78

Civil Society and Interest Groups

Thursday, November 10

- Hayes, part of Chapter 7 (pp. 129–139)
- Robert Pekkanen, “Japan: Social Capital without Advocacy,” in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 223–256
- Sunhyuk Kim, “Civil Society in Democratic Consolidation, 1988–” in Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea: The Role of Civil Society* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), 105–136
- Richard Madsen, “Tzu Chi [慈济]: The Modernization of Buddhist Compassion,” chapter 2 of *Democracy’s Dharma: Religious Renaissance and Political Development in Taiwan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 16–50

Contention

Tuesday, November 15

- Hayes, a few pages in Chapter 7 (pp. 127–129)
- Mi Park, “South Korea: Passion, Patriotism, and Student Radicalism,” in Meredith L. Weiss and Edward Aspinall, eds., *Student Activism in Asia: Between Protest and Powerlessness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), pp. 125–152
- Ian Rowen, “Inside Taiwan’s Sunflower Movement: Twenty-Four Days in a Student-Occupied Parliament, and the Future of the Region,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, 74/1 (2015), 5–21

Ethnicity and Gender in Politics

Thursday, November 17

- Hayes, all of Chapter 8
- Alisa Gaunder, “Quota Nonadoption in Japan: The Role of the Women’s Movement and the Opposition,” *Politics & Gender*, 11/1 (2015), 176–186
- Jiso Yoon and Ki-young Shin, “Mixed Effects of Legislative Quotas in South Korea,” *Politics & Gender*, 11/1 (2015), 186–195
- Chang-Ling Huang, “Gender Quotas in Taiwan: The Impact of Global Diffusion,” *Politics & Gender*, 11/1 (2015), 207–217

Optional further reading

Divided Nations and Contested Sovereignty

- Devin K. Joshi and Kara Kingma, “The Uneven Representation of Women in Asian Parliaments: Explaining Variation across the Region,” *African and Asian Studies*, 12 (2013), 352–372

Tuesday, November 22

- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “Inter-Korean Relations and the North Korean Nuclear Crisis,” chapter 6 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 129–156
- Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), chapters 7+8

Thursday, November 24 ** Thanksgiving Holiday, No Class **

Revised research paper due Monday, November 28, 2016, 5pm

Relations with the United States

Tuesday, November 29

- Hayes, part of Chapter 12 (pp. 239–247)
- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “The South Korea–U.S. Alliance,” chapter 7 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 157–182
- Jeffrey A. Bader, *Obama and China’s Rise: An Insider’s Account of America’s Asia Strategy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2012), vii–xix, 1–17, 27–47

Relations with Neighbors

Thursday, December 1

- Hayes, part of Chapter 12 (pp. 227–239)
- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “South Korea and the Regional Powers,” chapter 8 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 183–208
- Copper, all of Chapter 6

Final exam: Tuesday, December 6, 2016, noon–3pm

- Note that the final exam must be taken at the above time; alternative times cannot be arranged.