

# Politics of East Asia

Politics 140d • 62658 • Spring 2018

University of California, Santa Cruz

Primary Instructor: Prof. Benjamin L. **Read**

Teaching Assistants: Martín **Ordóñez**, Sasha **Wasserstrom**

Tutor: Julia **Gutierrez**

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TAs' email: mjordone (at) ucsc (dot) edu, awassers (at) ucsc (dot) edu  
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Course web site: <http://canvas.ucsc.edu/>  
Course meetings: Tuesdays & Thursdays, 7:10 to 8:45 pm, in Merrill Acad 102  
Prof. Read's office hours: Tuesdays, 2pm to 4pm, in 157 Merrill Faculty Annex, and by appointment  
TAs' office hours: Ordóñez: Tues., 5–7 pm, Merrill 131; Wasserstrom: Thurs., 5–7 pm, Merrill 6  
Date of this syllabus: April 3, 2018. 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 also consider 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* 6th edition (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2018)
- 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 site on the Canvas system.

## 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. If you have an unavoidable reason for missing class, send a detailed explanatory email on the same day to Prof. Read (for

lecture) or your TA (for section). 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 Canvas readings ahead of time.
- **Email:** You must use and regularly check your official email account, i.e. the one that AIS and Canvas send mail to.
- **Tech in the classroom:** 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 Sunday, April 8, 2018). There will be a link to this form in Canvas, and we will email it to you. **Required but not graded**
  - Section performance: **20 percent**
  - In-class midterm examination (Tuesday, May 1, 2018): **20 percent**
  - First draft of research paper (Sunday, May 6, 2018, 5pm): **10 percent**
  - Revised research paper (Saturday, June 9, 2018, noon): **20 percent**
  - Final exam (Wednesday, June 13, 2018, 7:30 to 10:30pm): **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 support for student writing through Learning Support Services (LSS), in the form of weekly one-hour small group tutoring sessions.
  - The sessions are voluntary; the focus is on developing strategies and skills in essay writing related to the course material and themes. Please note that these optional sessions facilitated by LSS peer tutors are distinct from mandatory sections facilitated by TAs.
  - We especially encourage enrollment in tutoring for students whose work on an initial assessment (conducted at the beginning of the quarter) suggests they face writing challenges, but others may enroll, too. Resource constraints limit the number of seats available; given space limits, the sessions are for students who are prepared to attend the full series of weekly sessions.
  - Students can enroll directly through the Slug Success portal at <https://sserc.ucsc.edu/slug-success> (make sure you select group tutorials for this class). Enrolled students who attend at least six of the eight sessions will earn extra credit toward their final grade. Most importantly, they are likely to see improvements in their writing, and thus their overall performance.
- **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](mailto: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 public 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

Tuesday, April 3

- No readings are assigned for the first class session

### Historical Background

Thursday, April 5

- 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

Tuesday, April 10

- 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

Thursday, April 12

- 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

Tuesday, April 17

- 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

Thursday, April 19

- 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**

Tuesday, April 24

- 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**

Thursday, April 26

- 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**

Tuesday, May 1 **[the midterm exam will be held in class]**

## **Government Institutions**

Thursday, May 3

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

**First draft of research paper due Sunday, May 6, 5pm**

## **Presidentialism in South Korea and Taiwan**

Tuesday, May 8

- 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]

## **Parliamentarism and LDP Dominance in Japan**

Thursday, May 10

- Hayes: All of Chapter 4, and part of Chapter 7 (pp. 99–106)
- Ronald J. Hrebenar and Koji Haraguchi, “The Fall of the DPJ and Return of the LDP to Power: The December 2012 House Elections,” in Ronald J. Hrebenar and Akira Nakamura (eds.), *Party Politics in Japan: Political*

## Parties and Party Systems

Tuesday, May 15

- 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

Thursday, May 17

- Hayes, all of Chapter 6
- Jennifer Williams, “The Bizarre Political Scandal That Just Led to the Impeachment of South Korea’s President,” March 9, 2017, vox.com (see link on Canvas)
- 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

Tuesday, May 22

- Hayes, part of Chapter 7 (pp. 107–114, section on “Citizens’ Movements” to the end of the chapter)
- 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
- 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

Thursday, May 24

- Hayes, a few pages in Chapter 7 (pp. 106–107, section on “Protest Politics”)
- 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

Tuesday, May 29

- Hayes, all of Chapter 8
- Copper, pp. 72–78 on ethnicity and the paragraphs on pages 89 and 90 about women.
- Alisa Gaunder, “Quota Nonadoption in Japan: The Role of the Women’s Movement and the Opposition,” *Politics & Gender*, 11/1 (2015), 176–186
- Chang-Ling Huang, “Gender Quotas in Taiwan: The Impact of Global Diffusion,” *Politics & Gender*, 11/1 (2015), 207–217

Optional further reading

- Jiso Yoon and Ki-young Shin, “Mixed Effects of Legislative Quotas in South Korea,” *Politics & Gender*, 11/1 (2015), 186–195
- 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

## **Divided Nations and Contested Sovereignty**

Thursday, May 31

- 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

## **Relations with the United States**

Tuesday, May 5

- Hayes, parts of Chapter 12 (pp. 195–197, 204–214)
- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “The South Korea–U.S. Alliance,” chapter 7 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 157–182
- Aaron L. Connelly, “Autopilot: East Asia Policy under Trump,” Lowy Institute, 2017 (see link on Canvas)

## **Relations with Neighbors**

Thursday, May 7

- Hayes, the remainder of Chapter 12 (pp. 198–204)
- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “South Korea and the Regional Powers,” chapter 8 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 183–208
- Bonnie S. Glaser, Daniel G. Sofio, and David A. Parker, “The Good, the THAAD, and the Ugly,” Foreign Affairs website, February 15, 2017 (see link on Canvas)
- Copper, all of Chapter 6

**Revised research paper due Saturday, June 9, 2018, noon**

**Final exam: Wednesday, June 13, 2018, 7:30–10:30pm**

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