

Politics of East Asia

Politics 140d • 63347 • Spring 2021
University of California, Santa Cruz
Primary Instructor: Prof. Benjamin L. **Read**
Teaching Assistant: Yudi **Feng**
Tutor: Edward **Estrada**

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, this is a special remote-instruction version of Politics 140d. We will do everything possible to make this as positive and fulfilling an educational experience as possible under the circumstances — and we will even take advantage of some of the possibilities that technology enables.

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Prof. Read's web site: <https://benread.net>
Course web site: <https://canvas.ucsc.edu/>
Lectures: Tuesdays & Thursdays, 9:50a–11:25a, on Zoom (via Canvas)
Prof. Read's office hours: Mondays 2:30–4:30p, on Zoom (via Canvas). Please sign up at:
<https://tinyurl.com/benreadofficehours>
You may also email me to make an appointment outside this time slot.
TA's Zoom office hours: Thursdays 2:00–4:00p, on Zoom (via Canvas)
Date of this syllabus: March 29, 2021. Subject to change; check websites for latest version.

Overview and Goals:

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 understanding linkages between the domestic and the international.

What do we aim to accomplish here? In other words, what are the “learning outcomes” of this course? You will: 1) Learn essential information about politics in the three core cases, and about how politics there relates to history, culture, society, and the economy. 2) Through cross-national comparison, gain a deeper understanding of concepts and themes with lasting importance in politics and the broader social sciences. 3) Develop your reading and research skills: finding and grasping written information. 4) Sharpen your communication skills: writing and speaking.

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:

All 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. The fact that we are holding class via the internet this quarter does not change this. Attendance will be taken at every session. We are understanding about family emergencies, illness or other serious exigencies, and will treat them as excused absences if informed about them in a timely way. In remote instruction, we also understand that internet connection and other technical glitches will likely arise, and we will make allowance for such things. 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). After one “no questions asked” absence, two percentage points will be deducted from your course grade for every further unexcused absence from lecture. 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. Good attendance, on the other hand, will be rewarded with bonus points.
- **Doing the reading:** This course involves a substantial amount of reading and you are required to do it. Readings must be completed before the lecture 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. Download the readings from Canvas ahead of time.
- **Email:** You must use and regularly check your official email account, i.e., the one that AIS and Canvas send to.
- **Classroom participation and etiquette:**
 - Come prepared for both lectures and sections, and contribute actively to class discussion (especially in sections, but also in lectures).
 - For both lectures and sections, please do everything you can to be present and focused on Zoom throughout the scheduled time period.
- **Assignments:** Grades are calculated on the basis of the following assignments, though the exact percentages are subject to adjustment. To pass Poli 140d, you must complete each of the following assignments, other than the self-introduction; no component below may be failed or disregarded.
 - Self-introduction: please send me (and copy Yudi) an email in the first week of class introducing yourself. You may wish to lay out such basic facts as your year in school; college; major; prior courses (if any) in Asian languages, history, or politics, and in comparative politics; experience living or traveling outside the U.S. (if any); future career interests; what you’re most excited about in school and in your life; any challenges you’re facing; and anything else you would like me to know about you. It can be useful for me to know such things, but really I would just like to read whatever you would like to tell me about yourself. It is also a good idea to include your phone number in case we need to reach you in a hurry, which is rare but sometimes happens. **Strongly encouraged but not required or graded**
 - Do the assigned reading for a given day prior to the start of that day’s lecture. Discussion questions will be circulated in advance (via Announcements; a cumulative list of discussion questions is maintained under Files). These discussion questions form the basis of section, and also, versions of the biggest and most important questions will appear on the midterm and final.
 - Attend all lectures via Zoom. There will periodically be quizzes via Zoom poll, both to assess your grasp of the reading and to engage audience participation. See above for how attendance factors into your quarter grade. Poll questions: **10 percent of your overall grade**
 - Attend all section meetings via Zoom. Your TA will specify their own expectations, but you must come prepared to discuss the relevant assigned readings and discussion questions. Section participation: **20 percent**
 - In-class midterm examination (to be held during lecture, Thursday, April 29, 2021): **15 percent**
 - Introduction, outline, and bibliography of research paper (due Monday, May 3, 2021, 9am): **5 percent**
 - Completed research paper (due Saturday, June 5, 2021, 9am): **25 percent**
 - Final exam (Monday, June 7, 2021, noon–3:00pm): **25 percent**
- **Time Commitment:** The UCSC Academic Senate reminds us: “Systemwide Senate Regulation 760 specifies that one academic credit corresponds to three hours of work per week for students during a 10-week quarter. This means that the average workload for a 5-credit course is 150 hours or 15 hours per week.” With this in mind, expect to spend each week, on average:

- Lectures: 3 hours and 10 minutes
- Section: 1 hour and 5 minutes
- Reading, note-taking, and review for the exams: 5 hours and 45 minutes
- Research and writing for the paper: 5 hours
- **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.
 - This course provides additional support for student writing through Learning Support Services (LSS), in the form of weekly one-hour small group tutoring sessions, held via zoom. This course's tutor is Edward Estrada. The sessions that Edward will hold are voluntary. They are distinct from and do not substitute for any discussion sections facilitated by the TA. The focus in these small group tutoring sessions is on developing strategies and skills in essay writing related to the course material and themes; these groups also build a supportive learning community. Tutoring groups vary in size, but are usually between 2 and 6 students. Enrolled students who attend all of the quarter's scheduled weekly sessions with our course's tutor, or miss no more than two of them, will earn extra credit toward their final grade equivalent to 1/3 of a grade (3 points out of 100). Most importantly, their writing will most likely improve, which will help them achieve more in this course and others.
 - Resource constraints limit the number of spots available; given those limits, the sessions are for students who plan to attend the full series of weekly sessions. EOP students, transfers, and students in other priority groups can begin signing up on **March 31**. All other students can begin signing up on **April 2**. Sessions begin **April 4**. View the schedule and enroll in sessions via [Tutor Trac](#). Follow the instructions given [here](#) for "Writing Support by LSS" (scroll down or click on the "Writing Support" icon to find those instructions), being sure to choose this course from the drop-down "section" menu, and selecting from the schedule that appears a group session (in yellow) with Edward Estrada. Only sessions for this course with this tutor count toward extra credit. You only have to sign up once for tutoring; appointments repeat weekly. Do you want tutoring to be successful for you? Bring your books, lecture notes, questions, and be open to working collaboratively with your peers.
- **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 video recording:** Within a few days after each lecture I will post the slides and (via YuJa) a video 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, March 30, 2021

- No readings are assigned for the first class session.

Historical Background

Thursday, April 1, 2021

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* 6th edition (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2018), 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
- John Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (2012), part of Chapter 1 (pp. 1–18); part of Chapter 2 (pp. 30–41)

Origins of the Asian Order

Tuesday, April 6, 2021

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), 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
- John Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (2012), part of Chapter 2 (pp. 41–51)

States and State–Society Relations

Thursday, April 8, 2021

- Benjamin L. Read, *Roots of the State: Neighborhood Organization and Social Networks in Beijing and Taipei* (2012), chapter 2, and skim chapter 7
- Max S. Kim, “Seoul’s Radical Experiment in Digital Contact Tracing,” *The New Yorker*, April 17, 2020

Economic Development

Tuesday, April 13, 2021

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), Chapter 9
- John Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (2012), 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 15, 2021

- 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 20, 2021

- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “From Dictatorship to Democracy,” chapter 2 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 28–50
- 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 22, 2021

- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “Democratic Consolidation and Social Change,” chapter 3 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 51–77
- Erik Moberg, “South Korean Democracy in Light of Taiwan.” In *Democratization in China, Korea and Southeast Asia?: Local and National Perspectives*, edited by Kate Xiao Zhou, Shelley Rigger, and Lynn T. White (New York: Routledge, 2014), 20–35

Government Institutions

Tuesday, April 27, 2021

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), all of Chapter 3
- John Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (2012), part of Chapter 4 (pp. 108–130)

Midterm Exam

Thursday, April 29, 2021

Introduction, outline, and bibliography of research paper due Monday, May 3, 2021, 9am

Presidentialism in South Korea and Taiwan

Tuesday, May 4, 2021

- 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)

Parliamentarism and LDP Dominance in Japan

Thursday, May 6, 2021

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018): All of Chapter 4, and part of Chapter 7 (pp. 99–106)
- Ronald J. Hrebener and Koji Haraguchi, “The Fall of the DPJ and Return of the LDP to Power: The December 2012 House Elections,” in Ronald J. Hrebener 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

Tuesday, May 11, 2021

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), 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 13, 2021

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), all of Chapter 6
- Jennifer Williams, “The Bizarre Political Scandal That Just Led to the Impeachment of South Korea’s President,” *Vox*, March 9, 2017
- 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

Tuesday, May 18, 2021

- 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

Protest and Contention

Thursday, May 20, 2021

- David Slater et al., “SEALDs (Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy): Research Note on Contemporary Youth Politics in Japan,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol. 13, Issue 37, 2015
- 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

Optional further reading

- Patricia G. Steinhoff, “Japan: Student Activism in an Emerging Democracy,” in Meredith L. Weiss and Edward Aspinall, eds., *Student Activism in Asia: Between Protest and Powerlessness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), pp. 57–78

Gender in Politics

Tuesday, May 25, 2021

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), 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
- 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

Ethnicity: Aboriginal Politics in Japan and Taiwan

Thursday, May 27, 2021

- Kharis Templeman, “When Do Electoral Quotas Advance Indigenous Representation? Evidence from the Taiwanese Legislature,” *Ethnopolitics* (2018), 1–24
- Simon Cotterill, “Ainu Success: The Political and Cultural Achievements of Japan’s Indigenous Minority,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 9, Issue 12 (2011), 1–21

Divided Nations and Contested Sovereignty, I: The Koreas

Tuesday, June 1, 2021

- 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
- Aidan Foster-Carter, “Fire on the Sea, No Balloons in the Sky,” *Comparative Connections*, Vol. 22, No. 3, January 2021, 89–104

Divided Nations and Contested Sovereignty, II: China and Taiwan

Thursday, June 3, 2021

- Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), chapters 7+8
- David J. Keegan and Kyle Churchman, “Overcoming COVID-19, Navigating US–China Tensions, and Anxiously Awaiting a New US Administration,” *Comparative Connections*, Vol. 22, No. 3, January 2021, 73–82

Research paper due 9am, June 5, 2021

Take-home final exam: Monday, June 7, 2021, noon–3:00pm

- The final exam questions will be distributed at the beginning of the above time slot and students will turn in their answers online three hours later.
- Note that the final exam must be taken at the above time; alternative times cannot be arranged.