POLI 4067 The Politics of Asia, Fall 2020 East Asian Politics

Dr. Wonik Kim wkim@lsu.edu Virtual Class Meetings and Quizzes: 12:00 – 1:20 pm, Tuesdays and Thursdays Virtual Office Hours: 9:00 – 10:00 am on Wednesdays, or by appointment

This course provides a critical analysis of the comparative politics of East Asia, focusing on Northeast Asia (China, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan) with some emphasis on Southeast Asia. This course has three goals: 1) to study political institutions, social movements, political economies of East Asia, 2) to provide a theoretical framework to understand important historical events that have shaped the current affairs in East Asia, and 3) to understand East Asia explicitly from **a comparative and global perspective**, so that we categorically reject an ethnocentric approach to other countries still pervasive in the American social science literature. To do so, this course is divided into three parts.

In Part I, we will begin with a class meeting that equips students with a theoretical framework of comparative politics and introduces this region more generally. By focusing on the modern capitalnation-state formation in the context of colonialism and imperialism, the following meetings 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: Japan's parliamentary democracy and China's communist dictatorship. The topics are political institutions (party systems, parliamentarism and presidentialism, electoral systems, the Leninist party-state) and political changes (social movements, 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.

REQUIRED READINGS

Students are expected to read the required readings (articles and book chapters) before class. All the required readings are posted as pdf files on the course Moodle. The reading assignments are listed in the course schedule below. In addition to the required readings, students need to read one of thethese four novels to write a final critical review paper (see the course requirements below): 1) Min Jin Lee's *Pachinko*, 2) Viet Thanh Nguyen's *The Sympathizer*, 3) Haruki Murakami's *Killing Commendatore*, and 3) Lisa See's *Shanghai Girls*.

RECOMMENDED BOOKS

The most important aspect of one's intellectual life is reading books, for books are the only source of creativity and peace. "In omnibus requiem quaesivi, et nusquam inveni nisi in angulo cum libro." The following seven books have most influenced my own thinking about East Asia, which largely reflect in my lecture, so I highly recommend these books if you are serious about studying East Asia.

- 1. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Vintage, 1978). This is perhaps *the* most important book about the West's encountering "the Other," the European and American common approach to non-Western cultures and regions. It is a foundational text in postcolonial studies, but everyone should read it in order not to fall into the pitfall of ethnocentric provincialism. From Said's masterful analysis, you learn how seemingly innocuous discourses about "others" are deeply ingrained in historically embedded power relationships.
- 2. Feng Youlan (Fung Yu-lan), A Short History of Chinese Philosophy (Free Press, 1948). This classic is a short version of his monumental A History of Chinese Philosophy [中國哲學史]. Fung was a preeminent scholar in the twentieth century China and wrote this profound interpretation of various Chinese schools of philosophy in a clear and concise manner. This is a must read to comprehend (or at least to feel) the vast spiritual world of East Asia.
- 3. Masao Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics* ([現代政治の思想と行動] Oxford, 1963), and *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan* [日本政治思相史研究] (Princeton, 1974). When he's still in the University of Tokyo, Maruyama's influence was so absolute that people often called him a "*Tennō* (emperor) of the Japanese academics." These two books are erudite, rigorous, and insightful, indispensable to understand the crux of modern and contemporary Japan. You also learn about great Western thinkers, such as Karl Marx and Max Weber, in a new way from his recondite but interesting interpretations.
- 4. Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, 2001). Pomeranz's study has changed the direction of economic history, pioneering a new empirical critique of Eurocentrism. One important implication from his work is that the historical origin of capitalism is contingent, neither European nor Asian.
- 5. Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, two volumes (Yale, 1988 and 1995). This is a landmark study of Southeast Asia from the 15th to 17th centuries. In a very Braudelian style, Reid presents a vivid picture of rich cultures and material conditions under which most people had prospered in Southeast Asia before Europeans came.
- 6. Paul Cohen, *Discovering History in China* (Columbia, 1996). In the same vein as Said, Cohen reveals ideological assumptions immanent in academic writing about China and East Asia, and he also criticize cultural essentialism that exaggerates the difference between the West and Asia.
- 7. R. Taggart Murphy, *Japan and the Shackles of the Past* (Oxford, 2014). This is the most acute analysis in English about Japanese politics. Murphy's explanations are brutally perceptive and very Orwellian. What does the Japanese ruling elite (or any ruling elite) do when it rules?

History of East Asia (Cambridge, 2017). For China, Fairbank's China: A New History (Harvard, 2006) is a classic; Spence's The Search for Modern China (Norton, 2017) is comprehensive. For Japan, Marius Jansen's The Making of Modern Japan (Harvard, 2002) is magisterial; Andrew Gordon's A Modern History of Japan (Oxford, 2020) is an ideal textbook; John Dower's Embracing Defeat (Norton, 2000) is a tour de force. For Korea, read thought-provoking Cumings's Korea's Place in the Sun (Norton, 2005).

REQUIREMENTS

This on-line course is based on both synchronous and asynchronous methods. This means that we will have a virtual class meeting via Zoom for 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday. Students will take a quiz during the class time for 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday. Power Point slides will be posted after virtual class meetings on Tuesdays, so that students should read them as well as the required readings to prepare for weekly quizzes and exams. Hence, students are expected to join virtual class meetings on Tuesdays, take weekly quizzes on Thursdays, read the Power Point slides as well as the required readings, and write a final paper (see below). This is an on-line course that moves rapidly, so it is extremely important to pay close attention to the course schedule and check the course Moodle regularly.

1) Attendance $(13\% = 13 \text{ virtual class meetings excluding the first one <math>\times 1\%$ for each class) As in-person classes, it is imperative to join virtual class meetings regularly in which the texts, topics, and categories are discussed, problematized and critiqued. Attendance will be taken for each class. Students may earn credit for their attendance at each class, while repeated and unexcused absence will cause deduction in student's total grade. Do not record a virtual class meeting under any circumstances, as you do not record an in-person class meeting without permission. I will hold virtual office hours for 9:00-10:00 am on Wednesdays, or by appointment (you are more than welcome to meet with me virtually if you have any questions or concerns). The best way to contact me for a short question is by email. I will make every effort to answer your question in a timely manner usually within 24 hours.

2) Weekly quiz $(30\% = 10 \text{ weekly quizzes} \times 3\% \text{ for each quiz})$

A weekly quiz consists of three short questions about concepts, theories, historical facts, etc. Each question requires an answer with two to five sentences. It will be posted on Moodle at 12:00 pm on Thursday. Students have one hour and twenty minutes to complete and turn it in by 1:20 pm on the same day.

3) Three examinations (33% = 10% for the 1st exam + 10% for the 2nd exam + 13% for the final; the final is not cumulative)

An exam consists of four or five essay questions. Each question requires an answer with four to seven sentences. The exam will be posted on Moodle at 12:00 pm on the exam day. Students have one hour and twenty minutes to complete and turn it in by 1:20 pm on the same day. The final exam will be held during the official final exam time. The details about the test will be discussed in class later. As an in-person course, you must study in advance in order to do well, since it is impossible to look up answers to each essay question. The exam dates are listed in the course schedule below.

4) Final critical review paper (24%)

Students will write a final paper about one of the four novels on East Asia. It is a "critical" review of the novel in that you present *your own thought* about the book, based on your own reconstruction as to how a political event(s) is involved in the story. The nature of the paper will be discussed later in class. The text should be no longer than six single-spaced pages. The deadline of the paper is Tuesday, December 1 (or any time before this date).

Attendance (13%) + Quizzes (30%) + Exams (33%) + Paper (24%) = Total 100%.

GRADING SCALE

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

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

All students are expected to read and be familiar with the LSU Code of Student Conduct and Commitment to Community, found online at <u>www.lsu.edu/saa</u>. It is your responsibility as a student at LSU to know and understand the academic standards for our community. Examples of academic dishonesty include, but are not limited to: cheating on exams, plagiarizing, buying or selling assignments, altering grades, intentional deception, and collaborating with others without permission. This is an on-line course, so posting test answers on social media or any internet sites during and after the test, and emailing others with test answers during and after the test are strictly prohibited. A student suspected of violating the Code of Conduct will be referred to the Office of Student Advocacy and Accountability.

POLICY ON DEADLINES

The course takes deadlines seriously, so everyone must adhere to this policy. I recognize, however, that there are legitimate reasons for missing a deadline. If you encounter a problem that prevents you from meeting a deadline, please contact me. I understand that problems can arise, and I will accommodate difficulties that you may encounter. But please be prepared to provide appropriate documentation, such as doctor's note. Makeup exams will not be given unless the instructor is notified in advance and agrees that the absence is a university-excused absence (Note PS-22).

DISABILITY

The University is committed to making reasonable efforts to assist individuals with disabilities in their efforts to avail themselves of services and programs offered by the University. To this end, LSU will provide reasonable accommodations for persons with documented qualifying disabilities. If you have a disability and feel you need accommodations in this course, you must present a letter to me from Disability Services in 115 Johnston Hall, indicating the existence of a disability and the suggested accommodations.

DIVERSITY STATEMENT

Diversity is fundamental to LSU's mission and the University is committed to creating and maintaining a living and learning environment that embraces individual difference. Cultural inclusion is of highest priority. LSU recognizes that achieving national prominence depends on the human spirit, participation, and dedicated work of the entire University community. LSU strives to create an inclusive, respectful, intellectually challenging climate that embraces individual difference in race, ethnicity, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity/expression, age, spirituality, socio-economic status, disability, family status, experiences, opinions, and ideas. LSU proactively cultivates and sustains a campus environment that values open dialogue, cooperation, shared responsibility, mutual respect, and cultural competence – the driving forces that enrich and enhance cutting edge research, first-rate teaching, and engaging community outreach activities.

THE COURSE SCHEDULE AND THE READING ASSIGNMENTS

I. MODERN CAPITAL-NATION-STATE FORMATION

Week 1: August 24-30 Introduction

What is East Asia? What are the important issues at stake? Objectives of the course. Comparative and global perspective. Organization of the course.

- Read the syllabus carefully.
- Read: Holcombe, Charles. 2017. A History of East Asia, Introduction "What Is East Asia?"
- Virtual class meeting 1: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, August 25
- No weekly quiz on Thursday, August 27

Week 2: August 31-September 6 Theoretical Framework

Role of theory. Three research positions. Structure-agency problem. Rational actor vs. reflective agent. The 18th Brumaire model. Importance of history. Historiography.

- Read: Carr, E. H. 1961. What Is History? Chapter 1 "The Historian and His Facts."
- Virtual class meeting 2: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, September 1
- Quiz 1: 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday, September 3

Week 3: September 7-13 The Emergence of Modern East Asia: A Bird's Eye View

Asia before Europe. "Chinese world order." Tributary system. Anarchical vs. hierarchical international systems. "Biological old regime." Polycentric world. Capital-nation-state. Modernity. High-level equilibrium trap. 19th century as the most important turning point in history.

- Virtual class meeting 3: 12:00-11:20 pm on Tuesday, September 8
- Quiz 2: 12:00-120 pm on Thursday, September 10

Week 4: September 14-20 The Emergence of Modern East Asia (continued)

"Imagined communities." Print capitalism. Colonialism and imperialism. Colonizer and the colonized. Asian nationalism. Decolonization. *Global* history.

- Read: Anderson, Benedict. 1983. Imagined Communities, pp. 1-9.
- Virtual class meeting 4: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, September 15
- Quiz 3: 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday, September 17

Week 5: September 21-27 How to Study East Asia

Romanization. Conventional approaches: modernization theory and impact-response framework. Eurocentrism. "Paradox of growth without development." Modern state and civil service exam.

- Read: Cohen, Paul. 1996. *Discovering History in China*, Chapter 2 "Moving Beyond Tradition and Modernity."
- Virtual class meeting 5: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, September 22
- First exam: 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday, September 24

Week 6: September 28-October 4 China

New Qing History school. Canton trade system. Macartney Mission. China's frontier expansion. Three motifs in the 19th century China. Opium War. Taiping Rebellion (1850-64). *Xinyou* coup of 1861. Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). *Xinhai* 1911 Revolution. Communists vs. Nationalists. Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45). The Chinese Revolution of 1949.

- Read: Memo on China taken from East Asian Curriculum Project of Columbia University.
- Virtual class meeting 6: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, September 29
- Quiz 4: 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday, October 1

Week 7: October 5-11 Taiwan

KMT (or the GMD). February 28 Incident. Why did the Nationalists fail? National identity.

- Read: Memo on Taiwan taken from East Asian Curriculum Project of Columbia University.
- Read: Fairbank. 2006. China: A New History, pp. 331-341.
- Virtual class meeting 7: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, October 6
- Quiz 5: 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday, October 8

Week 8: October 12-18 Japan

Tokugawa regime. *Sankin-kotai*. Origins of the Meiji *Ishin*. Oligarchs. Imperialism since the 1880s. Taisho Democracy. Expansionism and militarism. *Zaibatsu*.

- Read: Memo on Japan taken from East Asian Curriculum Project of Columbia University.
- Virtual class meeting 8: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, October 13
- Quiz 6: 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday, October 15

Week 9: October 19-25 Korea

Choson (or Joseon) dynasty and the issue of historical continuity. Decolonization. How was Korea divided? The world in 1945. Korean War (1950-3) in the context of so-called "East Asian Thirty Years' War." *Juche* and the nature of the North Korean state.

- Read: Memo on Korea taken from East Asian Curriculum Project of Columbia University.
- Virtual class meeting 9: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, October 20
- Second exam: 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday, October 22

II. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, CULTURES, AND PEOPLE

Week 10: Ocober26-November 1 Democracy and Dictatorship

The state and society. Political regime. Minimalist definition. Meaning of contestation. Fragility of democracy. Miracle of democracy. "Waves" of democratization around the world. Democracy movements in East Asia.

- Read: Przeworski, Adam, et al. 2000. Democracy and Development, pp. 13-36.
- Virtual class meeting 10: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, October 27
- Quiz 7: 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday, October 29

Week 11: November 2-8 Election Week

- No virtual class meeting on Tuesday, November 3, Election Day
- No weekly quiz on Thursday, November 5

Week 12: November 9-15 Democratic Transitions

Modernization theory. Strategic interaction model. South Korea's democratic transition. Tiananmen Square in 1989. Compromise revisited. Why do some dictators survive longer than others?

- Read: Nathan, Andrew. 2001. The Tiananmen Papers, excerpts.
- Virtual class meeting 11: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, November 10
- Quiz 8: 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday, November 12

Week 13: November 16-22 The Hegemonic Party and the Politics of "Complacency": Japan

US occupation as a reverse course. Question of the "emperor." Parliamentary politics. The 1955 system. Radical social movements in the 60s. Empire (the LDP) strikes back, again, and again. *Nippon kaigi* and the rise of ultra-right nationalism. Double think. Politics of "complacency?"

- Read: Bix, Herbert. 2015. "Showa History, Rising Nationalism, and the Abe Government." *The Asian Pacific Journal* Vol. 13, Issue 2, No. 4.
- Virtual class meeting 12: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, November 17
- Quiz 9: 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday, November 19

Week 14: November 23-29 The Politico-Economic "Machine" and Its Sustainability: China

Great Leap Forward and the Great Famine. Cultural Revolution. "Socialism with Chinese characteristics." Leninist party-state. PBSC – *imperium in imperio*. "Fragmented authoritarianism." *Tiao-kuai guanxi*. Selection vs. succession. Leadership generations. Will China become a democracy?

- Read: McGrecor, Richard. 2010. The Party, pp. 1-33.
- Virtual class meeting 13: 12:00-1:20 pm on Tuesday, November 24
- No weekly quiz on Thursday due to Thanksgiving Holiday

III. POLITICAL ECONOMY: MIRACLES AND CRISES

Week 15: November 30-December 6 The *Reorient*ation of the World?

Is "the Asian miracle" a miracle? Developmental state vs. *guanxi* capitalism. Can the East Asia's success be emulated in other places? The Belt and Road Initiative. Neoliberal globalization and the end of the miracle. Politics of memory. "Future past" of East Asia.

- Read: Doner, Richard et al. 2005. "Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Development States." *International Organization* 59(2): 327-361.
- Virtual class meeting 14: 12:00-1:20 pm am on Tuesday, December 1
- Quiz 10: 12:00-1:20 pm on Thursday, December 3
- Final paper is due on Tuesday, December 1.
- Final Exam: 10:00 am-12:00 pm on Wednesday, December 9