

**EASTD 198**  
**Political Parties of East Asia**  
**Spring 2022**

Tuesday, 12:45 – 2:45 pm  
Meeting at 2 Divinity Avenue, room 212

Instructor: Dr. Daniel Koss  
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Office Hours: Friday 2:00 – 3:30pm  
Office: 2 Divinity Avenue, room 227

**Course Description:** Seminar course. East Asia has been home to an astonishing assortment of political parties, covering the spectrum from democratic to authoritarian institutions, including some of the world's most sophisticated and resilient political organizations. We begin with China's Communist Party, revisiting its foundation in 1921, its rise during the Sino-Japanese War 1937-45, and its transformation from a revolutionary party to a party in power; then turn to the present day to cover the deep reach of the party into society, the activities and functions of ordinary members, as well as the dynamics of the leading echelons. The second part of the course focuses on Japan, including the origins of political parties in the late 19th century, the post-War emergence of the perennial ruling party, the age of grand money politics under Tanaka Kakuei, the electoral reform of 1993, and the origins of the party's current strength. The third part consists of case studies, covering contemporary parties in North Korea, parties in Taiwan before and after the democratic transition, as well as parties in Malaysia and Vietnam, with their multiple connections to East Asia. The course also puts East Asian parties into a comparative perspective to other world regions.

**Course Objectives:**

- Through examples from East Asia, the course familiarizes students with concepts related to political parties and their role in political development.
- Gain a deeper understanding and expertise of East Asian politics by studying political parties, which are institutions right at the heart of the continent's modern politics.
- Develop a research paper, through a gradual process with feedback from peers and the instructor along the way.

**Grades:**

Student work will contribute to the final grade in the following proportions:

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| • Participation (classroom debates)   | 15% |
| • Eight responses to the readings (due every week by noon on Monday, 200-300 words, post to the canvas website) | 15% |
| • Process leading to final paper  | 35% |
| ○ Book review (800 - 1,000 words, due March 7, 15%)   |     |
| ○ Prospectus of final paper (800 - 1,000 words, due March 28, 10%)  |     |
| ○ Presentation of the prospectus in class (April 4, 10%)  |     |
| • Final paper (4,500 +/-100 words, due May 1)   | 35% |

**Collaboration & Academic Honesty:** Collaboration is vital to academic research and encouraged throughout the class. Products of group assignments belong jointly to all group members. You must credit others (outside the group) for any ideas or evidence that they contribute to the project in your citations. Direct quotes must be marked by quotation marks. Both direct quotes and paraphrases (as well as ideas) must always be attributed with explicit citations. Instances of plagiarism or academic dishonesty are reported to the Honor Council.

**Accommodations for students with disabilities:** Students needing academic adjustments or accommodations because of a documented disability must present their Faculty Letter from the Accessible Education Office (AEO) and speak with the professor by the end of the second week of the term, February 5. Failure to do so may result in the Course Head's inability to respond in a timely manner. All discussions will remain confidential, although Faculty are invited to contact AEO to discuss appropriate implementation.

**Language of Instruction:** This course is taught in English and has no other language requirement. Please consult instructor for additional resources in other languages, especially in Chinese and Japanese.

**Readings:** All readings will be available online on the course website.

**Weekly meetings:**

1/24 Week 1: Introduction

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Week 2: Parties in comparative perspective

- Samuel P. Huntington. [1968] (2006). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Read parts of chapter 7, "Parties and Political Stability," pp. 397-403.
- Daniel Koss. (2018). *Where the Party Rules: The Rank and File of China's Authoritarian State*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Read chapter 1 "Introduction: Party-based Authoritarianism in China," pp. 1-34.

Optional reading/reference:

- Nancy L. Rosenblum. (2010). *On the Side of the Angels: An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Read introduction, pp. 1-21.

PART I: THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

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Week 3: Communist mobilization

- Tony Saich. (2021). *From Rebel to Ruler: One Hundred Years of the Chinese Communist Party*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Read chapter 2 "Origins, Alliance, and Failure," pp.38-76.
- Elizabeth J. Perry. (2012). *Anyuan: Mining China's Revolutionary Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Read chapter 3 "China's Little Moscow," pp. 78-123, and chapter 4 "From Mobilization to Militarization," pp. 124-152.

Optional reading/reference:

- Joseph Fewsmith. (2022). *Forging Leninism in China: Mao and the Remaking of the Chinese Communist Party, 1927-1934*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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Week 4: The party's upper echelons

- Victor C. Shih. (2022). *Coalitions of the Weak: Elite Politics in China from Mao's Stratagem to the Rise of Xi*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Read chapter 2 "Coalition of the Strong: Mao's Predicament after the Great Leap Forward," p.35-54.
- Carles Boix and Milan W. Svoblik. (2013). "The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian

Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships,” in *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 75:2, 300-316. Skim the math, focus on the logic of the argument.

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Week 5: The CCP and the business world

- Richard McGregor. (2010). *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers (1st U.S. ed.)*. New York, NY: Harper. Read chapter 3 “The Keeper of the Files: The Party and Personnel,” pp. 70-103.
- Margaret Pearson, Meg Rithmire and Kellee S. Tsai. (2021). “Party-State Capitalism in China,” *Current History*, vol. 120:827, 207-213.
- Daniel Koss. (2022). “Party-building as Institutional Bricolage: Asserting Authority at the Business Frontier,” *The China Quarterly* vol. 248:S1, 222-243.

Optional reading/reference:

- Bruce J. Dickson. (2003). *Red Capitalists in China: The Party, Private Entrepreneurs, and Prospects for Political Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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Week 6: The party and society at large

- Patricia M. Thornton. (2013). “The Advance of the Party: Transformation or Takeover of Urban Grassroots Society?” in *The China Quarterly*, vol. 213, 1-18.
- Bruce J. Dickson. (2014). “Who Wants to Be a Communist? Career Incentives and Mobilized Loyalty in China.” *The China Quarterly*, vol. 217, 42-68.
- Guobin Yang and Jacques deLisle, editors. (2022). *The Party Leads All*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. Read either chapter 6 “The Party’s Control over the Judiciary,” chapter 9 “The Party and the Media,” chapter 11 “The Party and Religion,” chapter 13 “The Party in Uniform,” or chapter 14 “The Party and External Relations.”

## PART II: JAPANESE POLITICAL PARTIES

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Week 7: Origins of Japan’s political parties

- Robert A. Scalapino. [1953](1975). *Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan: The Failure of the First Attempt*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Read either chapter 3, “The Popular Basis of Early Japanese Parties,” pp. 92-116 or chapter 4, “The Nature of Early Party Organization and Tactics,” pp.117-146.
- Najita, Tetsuo. 1967. *Hara Kei in the Politics of Compromise, 1905-1915*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Read chapter 4, “The Cultivation of a Local Power Base (1909-1911),” pp.58-100.

Optional reading/reference:

- R.H.P. Mason. (1969). *Japan’s First General Election, 1890*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Peter Duus. (1968). *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taisho Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

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Week 8: Parties and the electoral system

- Steven R. Reed. (1990.) “Structure and Behaviour: Extending Duverger’s Law to the Japanese Case,” in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 20, 335-356.
- Ethan Scheiner. (2006). *Democracy Without Competition in Japan: Opposition Failure in a One-Party Dominant State*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Read chapter 1

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- “Introduction: The Puzzle of Party Competition Failure in Japan,” pp.1-7.
- Amy Catalinac. (2016). *Electoral Reform and National Security in Japan: From Pork to Foreign Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Read chapter 1 “Introduction,” pp. 1-31.

Optional reading/reference:

- Robert J. Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed and Ethan Scheiner. (2018). *Japan Decides 2017: The Japanese General Election*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Naofumi Fujimura. (2012). “Electoral Incentives, Party Discipline, and Legislative Organization: Manipulating Legislative Committees to Win Elections and Maintain Party Unity,” in *European Political Science Review*, vol. 4:2, 147-175.
- Gary W. Cox and Michael F. Thies. (1998). “The Cost of Intraparty Competition: The Single, Nontransferable Vote and Money Politics in Japan.” *Comparative Political Studies*, 31:3, 267-291.

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Week 9: Parties in society

- Ellis S. Krauss and Robert J. Pekkanen, R. (2011). *The Rise and Fall of Japan's LDP: Political Party Organizations as Historical Institutions*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Read chapter 1, “The Liberal Democratic Party in Time,” pp.1-28.
- Levi McLaughlin. (2019). *Soka Gakkai's Human Revolution: The Rise of a Mimetic Nation in Modern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Read chapter 1, “Soka Gakkai as Mimetic Nation,” pp. 1-34.

Optional reading/references

- Daniel M. Smith and Hidenori Tsutsumi. (2016). „Candidate Selection Methods and Policy Cohesion in Parties: The Impact of Open Recruitment in Japan,” in *Party Politics*, vol.22:3, 338-353.
- Patrick Köllner. (2002). “Upper House Elections in Japan and the Power of the Organized Vote.” *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 3:1, 113-137.

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Week 10: Final paper prospectus presentations, no required readings

## PART III: REGIONAL LINKAGES

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Week 11: Taiwan in regional context

- Willy Jou. (2009). “Electoral Reform and Party System Development in Japan and Taiwan: A Comparative Study.” *Asian Survey*, vol. 49:5, 759-785.
- Nathan Batto. (2014) “Was Taiwan’s Electoral Reform Good for Women? SNTV, MMM, Gender Quotas, and Female Representation,” in *Issues and Studies*, vol. 50:2, 39-79.

Optional reading/references

- Sunhyuk Kim. (2000). “Democratization and Environmentalism: South Korea and Taiwan in Comparative Perspective,” in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol. 35, pp.287-302.

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Week 12: Korea in regional context

- Andrei Lankov. (2005). *Crisis in North Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

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(Chapters individually assigned.)

- Larry Diamond and Gi-Wook Shin, editors. (2014). *New Challenges for Maturing Democracies in Korea and Taiwan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Read chapter 2 “The Party System in Korea and Identity Politics,” pp.71-105.

Optional reading/references

- Aurel Croissant and Philip Völkel. (2012). “Party System Types and Party System Institutionalization: Comparing New Democracies in East and Southeast Asia,” *Party Politics*, vol.18:2, pp.235-265.

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Week 13: Southeast Asian parties

- Slater, D. (2010). *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters individually assigned.)
- Julia Lovell. (2019). *Maoism: A Global History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Read chapter 5, “Years of Living Dangerously: The Indonesian Connection,” 151-184.