

Politics of East Asia

Politics 140d • 43783 • Winter 2022

University of California, Santa Cruz

Instructor of Record: Prof. Benjamin L. **Read**

Co-instructors (Teaching Assistants): Yannong **He**, Mark **Howard**

Tutor: Gabrielle **Poremba**

Instructors' email: Prof. Read: bread@ucsc.edu
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Course web site: <https://canvas.ucsc.edu/>

Prof. Read's web site: <https://benread.net>

Lectures: Tuesdays & Thursdays, 11:40a–1:15p
On Zoom initially, then Merrill Acad Building 102 (2nd floor)

Prof. Read's office hours: Mondays 1:30–3:30p, on Zoom initially, then Merrill Faculty Annex 157 or Zoom.
Please sign up at: <https://tinyurl.com/benreadofficehours>
You may also email me to make an appointment outside this time slot.

Co-instructors' office hrs: Yannong: Thursdays, 2-4, Merrill 139 and Zoom.
Mark: Tuesdays, 2-4, Merrill 9 and Zoom.

Date of this syllabus: December 30, 2021. Subject to change; check Canvas 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; women in politics; the politics of recognizing and representing indigenous groups; and immigrant incorporation. 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 general concepts and themes with lasting importance in politics and the broader social sciences. 3) Develop your reading and research skills: your ability to find and grasp information in articles, chapters, and books. 4) Sharpen your communication skills: your ability to convey your own thoughts and arguments through 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 at least in part 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 teaching assistant (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. I would read them on a tablet or computer display (or you could print them) rather than a phone screen.
- **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, whether on Zoom or in person, 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 your TA) 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 questions will appear on the midterm and final.
 - Attend all lectures.
 - Attend all section meetings. Your TAs 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, February 3, 2022): **20 percent**
 - Introduction, outline, and bibliography of research paper (due Monday, February 7, 2022, 9am): **5 percent**
 - Completed research paper (due Saturday, March 12, 2022, 5pm): **30 percent**
 - Final exam (Wednesday, March 16, 2022, 4–7pm): **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 small weekly group sessions led by a trained peer tutor.
 - Tutors can help you engage more with the learning community in the course, and can help you develop these important writing skills: Reading scholarly writing and recognizing arguments; Developing arguments backed by evidence; Selecting, using, and citing sources appropriately; Outlining and organizing essays; Revising and editing essays; Proofreading essays.
 - Tutors hold weekly 1-hour sessions, with a maximum of 6 students per group. This course's tutor is **Gabrielle Poremba**. The sessions that Gabrielle will hold are voluntary. They are distinct from and do not substitute for any discussion sections facilitated by the teaching assistants. Enrolled students who attend at least six (6) of the eight weekly sessions will earn extra credit toward their final grade equivalent to 1/4 of a grade (2.5 points out of 100). Most importantly, their writing will most likely improve, which will help them achieve more in this course and others.
 - Tutors are here to support you as you develop your writing skills; they are not expected (or allowed) to complete writing assignments in your name. For a successful tutoring experience, please come prepared to the sessions. This includes bringing necessary materials, being ready to participate and engage, and being willing to collaborate with others (as these are small-group sessions).
 - Spots in tutoring sessions are limited, and are available 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 at noon on **Wednesday 1/5**. All other students can begin signing up at noon on **Friday 1/7**. **Sessions begin in Week 3, beginning Tuesday 1/18.**
 - You can **view the tutoring schedule and enroll in sessions** via Tutor Trac. Follow the [instructions to sign up for "Writing Support" sessions](#). Make sure you choose **this course** from the drop-down "section" menu, and select from the schedule that appears a **group session (in yellow) with Gabrielle Poremba**. Only sessions for this course with this tutor count toward extra credit. You only have to sign up once for tutoring; appointments repeat weekly.
- **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, January 4, 2022

- No readings are assigned for the first class session.

Historical Background

Thursday, January 6, 2022

- 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 East Asian Order

Tuesday, January 11, 2022

- 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, January 13, 2022

- Benjamin L. Read, *Roots of the State: Neighborhood Organization and Social Networks in Beijing and Taipei* (2012): all of Chapter 7, “Thin Networks and the Appeals of Organic Statism,” is required, and I also recommend you read or skim at least pp. 49–67 of Chapter 2, “The Little Platoon: Structuring the Neighborhood”; the rest of Chapter 2 provides deeper background, which may be of interest.
- Yves Tiberghien, *The East Asian COVID-19 Paradox* (2021), Cambridge Elements in East Asian Politics and Society, section 3, “Institutional Capacity, Social Cohesion, and Successes at Home,” pp. 29–63

Economic Development

Tuesday, January 18, 2022

- 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

Optional further reading

- Gregory W. Noble, “METI’s Miraculous Comeback and the Uncertain Future of Japanese Industrial Policy,” in Robert J. Pekkanen and Saadia M. Pekkanen (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Japanese Politics* (2021), 353–376
- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), Chapter 9

Authoritarianism

Thursday, January 20, 2022

- 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, January 25, 2022

- 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)”

Post-Democratization Issues and Problems

Thursday, January 27, 2022

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), Chapter 6 on corruption
- Jennifer Williams, “The Bizarre Political Scandal That Just Led to the Impeachment of South Korea’s President,” *Vox*, March 9, 2017. This is a short piece conveying the basics of the 2016-17 downfall of Park Geun-hye.
- Nien-Chung Chang-Liao and Yu-Jie Chen, “Transitional Justice in Taiwan: Changes and Challenges,” *Washington International Law Journal* 28:3 (2019)

Optional further reading

- 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

The Fundamentals of Governing Institutions

Tuesday, February 1, 2022

- 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)

In-Class Midterm Exam

Thursday, February 3, 2022

Introduction, outline, and bibliography of research paper due Monday, February 7, 2022, 9am

Presidentialism in South Korea and Taiwan

Tuesday, February 8, 2022

- 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, February 10, 2022

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018): All of Chapter 4, and part of Chapter 7 (pp. 99–106)
- Michael F. Thies, “The Era of Coalition Government in Japan: The Institutional Logic of Surplus Majorities and Strange Bedfellows,” in Robert J. Pekkanen and Saadia M. Pekkanen (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Japanese Politics* (2021), 57–74

Optional further reading

- Ronald J. Hrebienar and Koji Haraguchi, "The Fall of the DPJ and Return of the LDP to Power: The December 2012 House Elections," in Ronald J. Hrebienar and Akira Nakamura (eds.), *Party Politics in Japan: Political Chaos and Stalemate in the Twenty-First Century* (Routledge, 2015), 174–188
- Aurelia George Mulgan, "The Role of the Prime Minister in Japan," in Robert J. Pekkanen and Saadia M. Pekkanen (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Japanese Politics* (2021), 57–74

Parties and Party Systems

Tuesday, February 15, 2022

- Ethan Scheiner and Michael F. Thies, "The Political Opposition in Japan," in Robert J. Pekkanen and Saadia M. Pekkanen (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Japanese Politics* (2021), 223–244
- Soon-ok Shin, "The Rise and Fall of Park Geun-hye: The Perils of South Korea's Weak Party System," *The Pacific Review* 33:1 (2020), 153–183

Optional further reading

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), Chapter 5

Civil Society

Thursday, February 17, 2022

- 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

Tuesday, February 22, 2022

- 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

- 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
- 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

Women in Politics

Thursday, February 24, 2022

- Young-Im Lee, "Park Geun-hye and Tsai Ing-wen: The First Female Presidents of South Korea and Taiwan," in J. Bruce Jacobs, Niki J.P. Alsford, and Sojin Lim (eds.), *Assessing the Landscape of Taiwan and Korean Studies in Comparison* (Brill, 2021), 127–158
- Chang-Ling Huang, "Gender Quotas in Taiwan: The Impact of Global Diffusion," *Politics & Gender*, 11/1 (2015), 207–217

Optional further reading

- 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
- 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 I: Indigenous Politics in Japan and Taiwan

Tuesday, March 1, 2022

- 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

Ethnicity II: Immigrant Incorporation

Thursday, March 3, 2022

- Erin Aeran Chung, *Immigrant Incorporation in East Asian Democracies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), all of chapter 3, “Civic Legacies and Immigrant Incorporation in East Asian Democracies,” and part of chapter 4, “‘I Can’t Be Tanaka’: Understanding Immigrant Incorporation Through Migrant Voices,” 50–119

Divided Nations and Contested Sovereignty I: The Koreas

Tuesday, March 8, 2022

- 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, “Summer False Dawn: On/Off Communications,” *Comparative Connections*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (September 2021), 81–92

Divided Nations and Contested Sovereignty II: China and Taiwan

Thursday, March 10, 2022

- Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), chapters 7 and 8, 133–185
- Oriana Skylar Mastro, “The Taiwan Temptation: Why Beijing Might Resort to Force,” *Foreign Affairs* 100:4 (July / August 2021), 58–67

Research paper due Saturday, March 12, 2022, 5pm

Final exam: Wednesday, March 16, 2022, 4:00–7:00pm

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