University of Toronto Department of Political Science

POL 215Y: POLITICS AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE ASIA-PACIFIC 2012-2013

Jacques Bertrand Thursday 10-12, Room: SS1069

Department of Political Science SS 3103 E-mail: jacques.bertrand@utoronto.ca

Office hours: Tuesdays- 1:00-2:00 pm or by appointment

Teaching Assistant:

Jessica Soedirgo

Email: jessica.soedirgo@utoronto.ca

Course objective and description

This course provides a broad survey of politics in East and Southeast Asia (the Asia-Pacific region). The region is vast and diverse. While many countries experienced centuries of colonial rule, others were only indirectly affected. The rise of nationalism and communism in the early twentieth century transformed the region's political systems in fundamental ways. The Cold War, during which the United States and the Soviet Union competed on a global scale, also divided the region along communist/non-communist lines.

Industrialization and rapid economic growth transformed many countries from peasant societies to modern, urban and industrial countries. Other countries remained poor and were left behind as their neighbours often underwent vast political and economic changes. All of these forces of change have greatly influenced the political systems in the region, the ways in which groups and individuals participate in politics, and the degree to which political institutions are representative.

The course offers an analysis of the political systems of the region with an emphasis on understanding political change and its relationship to socio-economic transformation. How can we characterize the various political systems of the region? How can we explain why and how they have changed? Are Asian countries becoming more democratic? Are they developing political systems that reflect their unique historical and cultural experiences? How has the vast socio-economic transformation of the region influenced politics?

Blackboard:

We are using Blackboard in this course. You will need your UTORid and password. Logon at http://portal.utoronto.ca/

For help and information, please contact: blackboard@utoronto.ca.

DO NOT direct your Blackboard specific questions to instructors or TAs. We are unable to provide support for the web-based software. There are special services that you should consult. You should access the course regularly to check for announcements, broadcasts, etc.

General Resources:

The following list of resources in English should be useful to keep up with current events, as well as sources of general information on Asia.

Newspapers and News magazines

BBC News - Asia Pacific (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/asia pacific)

Yahoo Asia News (http://asia.news.yahoo.com/asia.html): gives you a menu by country as well

The Economist

The Asian Wall Street Journal

The Financial Times

The New York Times

The Straits Times (Singapore)

Journals

Pacific Affairs

Pacific Review

Asian Survey

Asia-Pacific Viewpoint

Journal of Asian Studies

Journal of East Asian Studies

Journal of Contemporary Asia

Journal of Southeast Asian Studies

Southeast Asian Affairs

Contemporary Southeast Asia

Sojourn

Critical Asian Studies (formerly the Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars)

Note: How to keep up with the news. Canadian news coverage of Asia is appallingly thin. As indicated above, you need to use web-based electronic journals and news sources subscribed to by the University of Toronto library. Coverage is fairly good. Yahoo and BBC News are a good start, as well as The New York Times and the Financial Times. The Economist features updates on all the countries that we are studying. The *Asian Survey* features annual national surveys written by specialists.

Asian Institute web-page:

http://webapp.mcis.utoronto.ca/ai/

Check this web-page for seminars, conferences, and events on Asia at the University of Toronto. You will also find useful information on undergraduate and graduate interdisciplinary programs on Asia.

Course requirements:

Due dates:

First Essay –12 pages	20%	November 15
Mid-term test (in class):	20%	November 29 (in class)
Second Essay – 12 pages	20%	March 14
Final test (in class)	20%	April 4 (in class)
Tutorial participation and	20%	
presentation		

Please note: We are using a university wide service called **Turnitin**. Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website.

Textbooks:

The following books are required reading for the course:

- Reader for POL 215Y. Available at Alicos Digital Print and Copy Centre (203A College Street: Southeast corner of St. George and College, next to Starbucks). Tel: (416) 599-2342. Monday-Friday: 9:00am 6:00pm. Saturday:11:00am-4:30pm. Sunday CLOSED.
- Chu, Yin-wah and Wong, Siu-lun (eds). 2010. East Asia's New Democracies: Deepening, Reversal, Non-liberal Alternatives. Routledge. Available at the University of Toronto Bookstore, Koffler Centre, 214 College Street (416) 640-7900. Monday Friday: 8:45 am 6:00 pm. Saturday: 10:00 am 5:00 pm. Sunday: CLOSED.

Reserves: A copy of the readings will be available on reserve at the Short-Term Loan Library at **Robarts Library.** The books and articles on reserve should also appear by searching by the course number, POL 215Y. *Please note that many of the articles will be available on-line only!*

READING ASSIGNMENTS:

NOTE: Weekly assignments are the "Required" readings. "Recommended" are interesting and helpful but **not** required for exam purposes. The related readings are not included in the Readers.

Items with "**" are included in the Readers. Items marked with "@" are available online (links provided on Blackboard). Items marked with # are in Chu and Wong 2010.

First Term

Sept. 13 Introduction

Sept. 20 Explaining Political Change

Required:

#Thompson, Mark R. 2010. "Modernization theory's last redoubt: Democratization in East and Southeast Asia," in East Asia's New Democracies. pp. 85-98

Recommended:

Morley, James (ed). 1999. Divided by Growth: Political change in the Asia-Pacific Region, (rev. ed.) M.E. Sharpe. Conclusion, up to p.329

Historical antecedents

Sept. 27 Colonialism and Nationalism

Required:

- **Tipton, Frank. 1998. "Asian nationalism," in *Rise of Asia: Economics, Society, Politics in Contemporary Asia.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Chap. 8, pp. 245-288.
- ** Fung, Edmund. 2000. "Chinese Nationalism in the Twentieth Century," in *Eastern Asia: an introduction history* (3rd ed.), ed. Colin Mackerras. New South Wales, Australia: Longman. pp. 139-148.
- **Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. 2000. "Japanese Nationalism From Meiji to 1937," in *Eastern Asia: an introduction history* (3rd ed.), ed. Colin Mackerras. New South Wales, Australia: Longman. pp. 149-162.

Oct. 4 The Cold War, Communism and its effects

Required:

- **Dreyer, June T. 2006. "The Communist Road to Power", in *China's Political System: Modernization and Tradition*. New York: Longman (5th ed.). Chap. 4, pp. 63-80.
- **McVey, Ruth. 1996. "Nationalism, Revolution, and Organization in Indonesian Communism," in *Making Indonesia*, eds. Daniel Lev and Ruth McVey. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. pp. 96-117

Oct. 11 The Developmental State: Its history and assumptions

Required:

**Johnson, Chalmers. 1999. "The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept," in *The Developmental State*, ed. M. Woo-Cummings. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. pp. 32-60.

@Weiss, Linda. 2000. "Developmental State in Transition: Adapting, Dismantling, Innovating, not Normalizing." *The Pacific Review*, vol. 13: pp. 21-55.

Growth, Development and Political Stability

Oct. 18 Japan

Required:

@Pempel, T. J. 2010. "Between Pork and Productivity: The Collapse of the Liberal Democratic Party." *The Journal of Japanese Studies* vol. 36, no.2: pp. 227-254.

@Haddad, Mary Alice. 2010. "The State-in-Society Approach to the Study of Democratization with Examples from Japan." *Democratization*, Vol 17, No.5: pp. 997-1023.

@Vogel, Stephen. 2010 "Japan's long road to competitive politics." Current History, Vol. 109, No. 728: pp. 232-236.

Recommended:

J.A. A. Stockwin. 2008. Governing Japan: Divided Politics in a Resurgent Economy. Blackwell Publishing.

Chap. 4 "Political Reconstruction and Development, 1945-1989" (pp. 8-75), and Chap. 5 "One Step Forward and One Step Back: Attempting Political Reform in the 1990s" (pp. 76-100)

Oct. 25 South Korea

Required:

#Hyug-Baeg, Im. 2010. "Development and Change in Korean Democracy" in *East Asia's New Democracies*. pp. 102-121.

**Steinberg, David I. 2000. "Continuing Democratic Reform: The Unfinished Symphony" in *Consolidating Democracy in South Korea*, eds. Larry Diamond and Byung-Kook Kim. Boulder, CO; Lynne Riener.

Nov.1 Taiwan

Required:

#Hsiao, Hsin-Huang Michael and Ho, Ming-sho. 2010. "Civil society and democracy-making in Taiwan" in East Asia's New Democracies. pp. 43-64.

@Rigger, Shelley. 2004. "Taiwan's Best-Case Democratization" Orbis, vol. 48, no. 2: pg. 285-292

Recommended:

Cheng, Tun-jen. 1989. "Democratizing the Quasi-Leninist Regime in Taiwan," World Politics, vol.41, no.4: pp. 471-99

Wong, Joseph. 2001. "Dynamic Democratization in Taiwan" *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol.10, no.27: pp. 339-362.

Ooi, S.-M. (Jan-April 2009). "The transnational protection regime and Taiwan's democratization." *Journal of East Asian Studies*, vol.9, no.1: pp. 57-86.

Nov. 8 Singapore

Required:

#Huat, Chua Beng. 2010. "Group rights and democracy in Southeast Asia" in *East Asia's New Democracies*. First part of the chapter and section on Singapore, pp. 227-235.

**Rodan, Garry. 2008. "Singapore 'exceptionalism'? Authoritarian rule and state transformation" in *Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems: Learning to Lose*, eds. Joseph Wong and Edward Friedman. London, New York: Routledge.

Recommended:

Rodan, Garry. 2009. "New modes of political participation and Singapore's nominated members of parliament." *Government and Opposition*, vol.44, no.4: 438-462.

Nov. 15 Malaysia

Required:

#Chua, Beng Huat. 2010. "Group rights and democracy in Southeast Asia" in East Asia's New Democracies. Section on Malaysia, pp. 235-239.

@Case, William. 2004. "New uncertainties for an old pseudo-democracy: the case of Malaysia" *Comparative Politics*, vol.37, no.1: pp83-104.

@Saravanamuttu, Johan. 2012. "Twin Coalition Politics in Malaysia since 2008: A Path-Dependent Framing and Analysis" *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, vol.34, no.1: pp.101-127.

Nov. 22 Thailand

Required:

#Hewison, Kevin. 2010. "Thailand's conservative democratization," in East Asia's New Democracies. pp. 122-140

- @McCargo, Duncan. 2005. "Network monarchy and legitimacy crises in Thailand" *Pacific Review*, vol.18, no.4: pp. 499-519.
- @Pongsudhirak, Thitinan. 2012. "Thailand's Uneasy Passage" Journal of Democracy, vol.23, no.2: pp. 47-61.

Nov. 29 **Mid-term test**

Second Term

Jan. 10 Indonesia and Timor-Leste

Required:

- @Aspinall, Edward. 2010. "Indonesia: The Irony of Success" *Journal of Democracy*, vol.21, no.2: pp 20-34.
- @Liddle, R. William. 1996. "Suharto's Indonesia: Personal Rule and Political Institutions," in *Leadership and Culture in Indonesian Politics*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin. pp. 15-36. (Originally published in Pacific Affairs, Spring 1985).
- @Myrttinen, Henri. 2009. "Timor-Leste A Relapsing "Success" Story" *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, vol.5, no.1: pp. 219-239.

Recommended:

Mietzner, Marcus. 2008. "Comparing Indonesia's party systems of the 1950s and the post-Suharto era: from centrifugal to centripetal inter-party competition." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* vol.39, no.3: pp. 431-453.

Jan. 17 Indonesia and Timor-Leste

Same readings

Jan. 24 Philippines

Required:

@Dressel, Björn. 2011. "The Philippines: how much real democracy?" *International Political Science Review*, vol.32, no.5: pp. 529-545.

@Quimpo, Nathan Gilbert. 2009. "The Philippines: predatory regime, growing authoritarian features." *Pacific Review*, vol.22, no.3: pp. 335-354.

Recommended:

Putzel, James. 1999. "Survival of an imperfect democracy in the Philippines." *Democratization*, vol.6, no.1: 198-223.

Stagnation, War

Jan. 31 Cambodia, Laos

Required:

@McCargo, Duncan. 2005. "Cambodia: getting away with authoritarianism?" *Journal of Democracy*, vol.16, no.4: pp. 98-112.

@Lintner, Bertil. 2008. "Laos: At the Crossroads" Southeast Asian Affairs vol. 35: pp. 171-183.

Feb. 7 Burma

Required:

- @"New Light in Myanmar: The Yangon spring" The Economist. No. 8779. April 7, 2012
- @"The Lady of all landslides" The Economist. No. 8779. April 7, 2012
- @Nyein, Susanne Prager. 2009. "Expanding military, shrinking citizenry and the new constitution in Burma." Journal of Contemporary Asia, vol.4: pp. 638-648.
- @Englehart, Neil A. 2005. "Is regime change enough for Burma?" Asian Survey, vol.45, no.4: pp. 622-645

Feb. 14 North Korea

Required:

@Cho, Yun-Jo. 2005. "The Sources of Regime Stability in North Korea: Insights from Democratization Theory" *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, vol.5, no. 1: pp. 90-99.

@McEachern, Patrick. 2008. "Interest Groups in North Korean Politics" *Journal of East Asian Studies*, vol.8, no.2: pp. 235-258

Recommended:

Mansourov, Alexandre. 2006. "Emergence of the Second Republic: The Kim Regime Adapts to the Challenges of Modernity" in *North Korea: the Politics of Regime Survival*, eds. Young Whan Kihl and Hong Nack Kim. Armonk, NY; M.E. Sharpe. pp. 37-57.

Feb. 21 **Reading Week**

Post Communist States?

Feb. 28 Vietnam

Required:

@Thayer, Carlyle A. 2009. "Vietnam and the challenge of political civil society" *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, vol.31, no.1: pp.1-27.

@Griffiths, Philip Jones. 2008. "How long can the party last?" *The Economist*. No. 8577. April 26, 2008

Mar. 7 China

Required:

**Dreyer, June T. 2008. "PRC Politics in the Post-Mao Era: 1976-2007", in *China's Political System: Modernization and Tradition*. New York; Longman (6th ed.). Chap. 6, pp. 105-136.

@Andrew Nathan, "Authoritarian Impermanence," Journal of Democracy, July, 2009: pp. 37-40.

@Walder, Andrew. (2009). "Unruly Stability: Why China's Regime Has Staying Power" Current History, vol.108, no.719: pp. 257-260, 262-263.

#Howell, Jude. 2010. "Social and Political Developments in China: Challenges of Democratization" in East Asia's New Democracies, pp. 25-41

Recommended:

Fewsmith, Joseph. 2002. "Generational Transition in China." *The Washington Quarterly* vol.25, no.4: pp. 23-35.

Shambaugh, David. 2001. "The Dynamics of Elite Politics during the Jiang Era" *The China Journal* no.45: pp. 101-111.

Mar. 14 China

Same readings

Mar. 21 Analytic Comparisons and Conclusions

Re-Read: #Thompson, Mark R. 2010. "Modernization theory's last redoubt: Democratization in East and Southeast Asia" in *East Asia's New Democracies*. pp. 85-98

- @Chu, Yun-han, Diamond, Larry, Nathan, Andrew. 2009. "Asia's challenged democracies" *The Washington Quarterly* vol.32, no.1: pp. 143-57.
- @Croissant, Aurel. 2009. "Patterns of civilian control of the military in East Asia's new democracies" *Journal of East Asian Studies* vo.9, no.2: pp. 187-217.
- @Jayasuriya, Kanishka and Rodan, Garry. 2007. "Beyond Hybrid Regimes: More Participation, Less Contestation in Southeast Asia" *Democratization* vol.14, no.5: pp. 773-794.

Mar. 28 Analytic Comparisons and Conclusion

Same readings

April 4: **Term test**