

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

**POL 215Y: POLITICS AND TRANSFORMATION
OF THE ASIA-PACIFIC
2013-2014**

Jacques Bertrand
Thursday 10-12, Room: SS1069

Department of Political Science
SS 3103
E-mail: jacques.bertrand@utoronto.ca
Office hours: Mondays 2:00-3:00 pm or by appointment

Teaching Assistants:

Jessica Soedirgo
Email: jessica.soedirgo@utoronto.ca

Wayne Zhu
Email: wayne.zhu@mail.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>)

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 website: <http://www.munk.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:

Map Quiz	5%	To be determined (in tutorial)
First Essay –12 pages “Short Research Paper”	20%	November 7, 2013
Mid-term test (in class):	20%	November 28 th , 2013
Second Essay – 12 pages “Policy paper”	20%	March 6, 2013
Final Exam	20%	During final exam period
Tutorial participation and presentation	15%	Weekly

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.

You must submit a copy to Turnitin (unless prior permission is granted by the TA), AS WELL as a hardcopy. Submission to Turnitin has now been integrated into Blackboard; to submit, click on “Essay Submission” on the Blackboard menu.

Textbooks:

The following book is required reading for the course:

- **Bertrand, Jacques. 2013. *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press.** 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 only be available online!*

READING LIST:

NOTE: Weekly assignments are the “Required” readings. “Recommended” are interesting and helpful but **not** required for exam purposes. The related readings are not posted on Blackboard.

Items marked with “@” are available online (links provided on Blackboard under “Course Material”). Items marked with # are in Bertrand 2013 (textbook).

First Term

Sept. 12 Introduction

Sept. 19 Explaining Political Change

Required:

#Bertrand, Jacques. “Understanding political change in Southeast Asia” in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 1-30

Recommended:

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

Historical antecedents

Sept. 26 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. 3 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. 10 The Developmental State: Its history and assumptions (Joe Wong)

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.

@Shih, Victor. 2004. "Development, the Second Time Around: The Political Logic of Developing Western China." *Journal of East Asian Studies*, vol. 4, no.3: pp. 427-451.

Growth, Development and Political Stability

Oct. 17 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. 24 Taiwan (Joe Wong)

Required:

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

@Wu, Yu-Shan. 2007. "Taiwan's Developmental State: After the Economic and Political Turmoil." *Asian Survey*, vol. 47, no. 6: 977-1001.

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.

Oct. 31 South Korea

Required:

@Park, Chong-Min and Doh Chull Shin. 2006. "Do Asian Values Deter Popular Support for Democracy in South Korea?" *Asian Survey*, vol. 46, no. 3: pp. 341-361.

@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 Rienner. pp. 203-238.

Nov. 7 Singapore

Required:

#Bertrand, Jacques. "Malaysia and Singapore" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. Introduction and Section on Singapore, pp. 92-95, 108-120.

@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. pp. 231-251.

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. 14 Malaysia

Required:

#Bertrand, Jacques. "Malaysia and Singapore" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. Re-read introduction and Section on Malaysia, pp. 92-107.

@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. 21 Thailand

Required:

Bertrand, Jacques. "Thailand" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 133-140.

@McCargo, Duncan. 2005. "Network monarchy and legitimacy crises in Thailand" *Pacific Review*, vol.18, no.4: pp. 499-519.

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

Nov. 28 **Mid-term test**

Second Term

Jan. 9 Indonesia and Timor-Leste

Required:

#Bertrand, Jacques. "Indonesia and Timor-Leste" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 41-70.

@Aspinall, Edward. 2010. "Indonesia: The Irony of Success" *Journal of Democracy*, vol.21, no.2: pp 20-34.

@Myrntinen, 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. 16 Indonesia and Timor-Leste

Same readings

Jan. 23 Philippines

Required:

Bertrand, Jacques. "The Philippines" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 71-91.

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

Recommended:

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

Stagnation, War

Jan. 30 Cambodia, Laos

Required:

Bertrand, Jacques. "Cambodia and Laos" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 165-189.

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

Feb. 6 Burma/Myanmar

Required:

Bertrand, Jacques. "Burma/Myanmar" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 190-208.

@Callahan, Mary. 2012. "The Generals Loosen Their Grip." *Journal of Democracy*, vol.23, no. 4: pp. 120-131.

@Diamond, Larry. 2012. "The Need for a Political Pact." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 23, no. 4: pp. 138-149.

Feb. 13 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. 20 **Reading Week (Feb.18-21)**

Post Communist States?

Feb. 27 Vietnam

Required:

Bertrand, Jacques. "Vietnam" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 149-164.

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

Mar. 6 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

@Li, Cheng. 2013. "Top-Level Reform or Bottom-Up Revolution?" *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 24, no. 1: pp. 41-48.

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. 13 China

Same readings

Mar. 20 Analytic Comparisons and Conclusions

#Bertrand, Jacques. "Southeast Asia in the Twenty-First Century" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 209-228.

@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. 27 Analytic Comparisons and Conclusion

Same readings

April 3: **Term test**