

EASTD 198
Political Parties of East Asia
Spring 2020

Tuesday 12:45-2:45pm
Room 204 at Sever Hall

Instructor: Dr. Daniel Koss
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Office Hours: Thursday 2:30 – 4pm
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 and South 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.

Class Participation:

Students are required to complete the weekly readings prior to the class meeting, and actively participate in class. Any student who has to miss a class should communicate with the instructor beforehand.

Grades:

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

Participation	20%
Book review (800 - 1,000 words, due March 10)	15%
Final paper prospectus presentation (April 7)	10%
Quiz focusing on the assigned readings (April 21)	10%
Final paper (3,500 – 4,000 words, due May 4)	40%

To be fair to all students in the class the final paper deadline is firm. Late papers turned in without an extension will be penalized 1/3 of a grade to 1 full grade, depending on the circumstances.

Collaboration & Academic Honesty:

Collaboration is vital to academic research and will be encouraged throughout the class. You must credit others for any ideas or evidence that they contribute to your project in your citations. Any instances of plagiarism or academic dishonesty will be reported to the Honor Council.

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

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

Weekly schedule:

1/28 Week 1: Introduction

2/4 Week 2: Parties in comparative perspective

- 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.
- Philip Selznick. (1952). *The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. Read table of contents and pp. 1-16.
- Samuel P. Huntington. [1968] (2006). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Read chapter 7, "Parties and Political Stability," pp. 397-403.

PART I: THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

2/11 Week 3: Communist mobilization

- Suzanne Pepper. (2004). "The Political Odyssey of an Intellectual Construct: Peasant Nationalism and the Study of China's Revolutionary History: A Review Essay," in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 63:1, pp. 105-152.
- Elizabeth J. Perry. (2012). *Anyuan: Mining China's Revolutionary Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Read introduction, pp. 1-14, chapter 3 "China's Little Moscow," pp. 78-123, and chapter 4 "From Mobilization to Militarization," pp. 124-152.

Optional reading/reference:

- Tony Saich and Benjamin Yang. (1996). *The Rise to Power of the Chinese Communist Party: Documents and Analysis*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.

2/18 Week 4: Cadre management

- 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.
- Kung, James Kai-sing and Shuo Chen. (2011). "The Tragedy of the Nomenklatura: Career Incentives and Political Radicalism during China's Great Leap Famine," in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 105:1, pp. 27-45.
- Yang, Dali L., Huayu Xu and Ran Tao. (2014). "A Tragedy of the Nomenklatura? Career Incentives, Political Loyalty, and Political Radicalism during China's Great Leap Forward," in *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 23:89, pp. 864-883.

Optional reading/reference:

- Franz Schurmann, F. (1968). *Ideology and Organization in Communist China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

2/25 Week 5: The party's upper echelons and grand strategy

- 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, pp. 300-316.
- Book Reviews of David Shambaugh (2008), *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
 - by Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard, in *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 30:1, pp. 131-134.
 - by Lowell Dittmer, in *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, vol.14, pp.317-318.
 - by Joseph Fewsmith, in *China Quarterly*, vol. 195, pp. 691-718.

- by Andrew Mertha, in *The China Journal*, no. 62, pp.174-176.
- by Andrew J. Nathan, in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 88:5, p.164.
- by Yongnian Zheng, in *China Information*, vol. 22:3, pp. 510-512.

Optional reading/reference:

- Cheng Li. (2019). *Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era*. Washington: Brookings Institute Press.

3/3 Week 6: The party grassroots

- Patricia M. Thornton. (2013). “The Advance of the Party: Transformation or Takeover of Urban Grassroots Society?” in *China Quarterly*, vol. 213, pp. 1-18.
- Bruce J. Dickson. (2014). “Who Wants to Be a Communist? Career Incentives and Mobilized Loyalty in China.” *The China Quarterly*, vol. 217, pp. 42-68.
- Daniel Koss. (2018). *Where the Party Rules: The Rank and File of China's Authoritarian State*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Read chapter 4 “The CCP’s Support in Generating the State’s Material Base,” pp. 124-157.

Optional reading/reference:

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

PART II: JAPANESE POLITICAL PARTIES

3/10 Week 7: Origins

- 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 chapter 3, “The Popular Basis of Early Japanese Parties,” pp. 92-116 and chapter 4, “The Nature of Early Party Organization and Tactics,” pp.117-146.

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.

3/24 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, pp. 335-356.
- Scheiner, E. 2006. *Democracy Without Competition in Japan: Opposition Failure in a One-Party Dominant State*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Read chapter 1 “Introduction: The Puzzle of Party Competition Failure in Japan,” pp.1-7.
- 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, pp.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, pp.267-291.

Optional reading/reference:

- Robert J. Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed and Ethan Scheiner. 2016. *Japan Decides 2014: The Japanese General Election*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Amy Catalinac. (2016). *Electoral Reform and National Security in Japan: From Pork to Foreign Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

3/31 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.
- 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, pp. 338-353.
- 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

- Kenji E. Kushida and Phillip Y. Lipsky (ed.). (2013). *Japan under the DPJ: The Politics of Transition and Governance*. Stanford: Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center.
- Patrick Köllner. 2002. "Upper House Elections in Japan and the Power of the Organized Vote." *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 3:1, pp.113-137.

4/7 Week 10: Final paper prospectus presentations, no required readings

PART III: REGIONAL LINKAGES

4/14 Week 11: Taiwan in regional context

- Peter R. Moody. (1997). "Review of: The Kuomintang and the Democratization of Taiwan by Steven J. Hood," in *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 91:3, pp. 764-765.
- Willy Jou. (2009). "Electoral Reform and Party System Development in Japan and Taiwan: A Comparative Study." *Asian Survey*, 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, pp.39-79.

Optional reading/references

- Fewsmith, J. (1985). *Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China: Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890-1930*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

4/21 Week 12: North and South Korea & quiz, no required readings

Optional reading/references

- Bruce Cumings. (1983). "Corporatism in North Korea," *Journal of Korean Studies*, vol.4, pp. 269-294.
- Andrei Lankov. (2005). *Crisis in North Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- 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.

4/28 Week 13: The East Asian impact in Southeast Asia

- 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," pp.151-184.

Optional reading/references

- Donald Hindley. (1964). *The Communist Party of Indonesia 1951-1963*. Berkeley: University of California Press.