

EASTD 194
Historical Legacies in East Asian Politics
Fall 2021

Thursday 12:45 – 2:45 pm
Classroom: CGIS South S003

Cross-listed with the Government Department and the History Department

Instructor: Dr. Daniel Koss
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Office Hours: Friday 2:30 – 4pm
and by appointment
2 Divinity Avenue, Room 227

Course Description: How does the historical past shape politics in the present? East Asia and its recent political developments provide a most striking universe of cases, where legacies of the past influence both domestic politics and international relations. Located at the intersection of history and political science, this course is grounded in theories of institutional development, introducing concepts such as path dependence, critical junctures, and unintended consequences. Beginning with China, the course discusses deep historical explanations of development success; the impact of cultural norms, imperial techniques of statecraft, revolutionary practices; the uses and abuses of history in the service of the party state; and the long-term impact of Christian missionaries, Japanese colonizers, and a decade of warfare. Through the case of Japanese domestic politics, we explore how tradition is transmitted through habits and memories of individuals; through institutions such as the perennial ruling party; and through a broadly defined civil society. As examples of critical junctures, we will discuss North Korea's early postwar history and South Korea's democratization process, discovering their enduring influences on both political systems. Turning to international relations, this course asks to what extent foreign and security policy is the result of deeply rooted strategic cultures, how diplomats maneuver the divisions over historical guilt of World War II, and what narratives such as the "century of humiliation" reveal about actors' strategic thinking. Throughout the course, we will pay attention to regional linkages.

Course Objectives:

- Familiarizes students with concepts and methods for bringing history into political science.
- Discover to what extent the political institutions in East Asia are products of history.
- Training to carry out original research and develop a final paper.

Grades:

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

- Participation (communicate with the instructor if you have to miss a class) 15%
- Ten collaborative weekly responses to the readings; the responses could answer one of the questions provided in the weekly prompt, or raise your own question. (Due every week by noon on Wednesday, 200-300 words, post to the canvas website) 10%
- Book review (800 - 1,000 words, due September 27) 15%
- Prospectus of final paper 25%
 - Define research question (500 words), due October 11 (5%)
 - Final paper prospectus (1500 words), due October 25 (10%)
 - Present draft final paper project, November 19 (10%)
- Final paper (5,000 +/-100 words, due December 1) 35%

Deadlines and timeline:

In the interest of a smooth progression of the course, all deadlines are firm. The only exception is the final paper deadline, which is negotiable in the following sense: Students can ask for a later deadline, within the Registrar's constraints, but must do so by November 19. The rationale of the early December 2 deadline is to keep the momentum from the prospectus, peer feedback and the draft presentation. Ideally, the bulk of the paper is done between mid-October to mid-November.

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:

PART I: INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTS

9/2

Week 1: Introduction

9/9

Week 2: A social sciences perspective on institutional development

- Paul Pierson. 2004. *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Read: "Placing Politics in Time" (pp.1-16), "Positive Feedback and Path Dependence" (pp.17-53), and "Timing and Sequence" (pp. 54-78).
- Abhijit V. Banerjee and Esther Duflo. 2014. "Under the Thumb of History? Political Institutions and the Scope for Action." *Annual Review of Economics* 6, 951-971.

PART II: LEGACIES IN CHINESE DOMESTIC ARENA

9/16

Week 3: Legacies of statehood

Note: The four book reviews assigned for this week, ranging from less than a page to half a dozen pages, shall serve as examples and inspiration for your own book review assignment.

- Francis Fukuyama. 2011. *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Read preface only (pp.IX-XIV).
 - Review by G. John Ikenberry. 2011. *Foreign Affairs* 90(3), 149.

- Review by Michael Mann. 2011. "Freedom's Secret Recipe: Balancing the State, Law, and Accountability," *Foreign Affairs* 91(2), 161-165.
- Review by Sheri Berman. 2011. "Fukuyama's Grand Vision," *Journal of Democracy* 22(4), 165-169.
- Review by Jack Snyder. 2012. *Ethics and International Affairs*, 26(3), 387-398.
- Paul A. Cohen. 1997. *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*. New York: Columbia University Press. Read prologues on pp.59-68 and pp. 211-222.

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Week 4: Legacies of revolution

- Elizabeth J. Perry. 2007. "Studying Chinese politics: Farewell to Revolution," *The China Journal* 4, 269-294.
- Elizabeth J. Perry. 2012. *Anyuan: Mining China's Revolutionary Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Read chapter 5 "Constructing a Revolutionary Tradition" (pp. 153-204).
- Yuhua Wang. 2019. The Political Legacy of Violence During China's Cultural Revolution. *British Journal of Political Science*, 51: 463-487.
- Daniel Koss. 2021. "Party Building as Institutional Bricolage: Asserting Authority at the Business Frontier." *China Quarterly*, forthcoming.

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Week 5: Legacies of imperial China

- James Kai-sing Kung and Chicheng Ma. 2014. "Can Cultural Norms Reduce Conflicts? Confucianism and Peasant Rebellions in Qing China" *Journal of Development Economics* 111, 132-49.
- Daniel Koss. 2017. "Political Geography of Empire: Chinese Varieties of Local Government." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 76(1), 159-184.
- James Kai-sing Kung and Ying Bai. 2015. "Diffusing Knowledge While Spreading God's Message: Protestantism and Economic Prosperity in China, 1840-1920." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 13(4), 669-698.

PART III: LEGACIES IN KOREAN POLITICS

10/7

Week 6: Foundations of Korean democracy (with a focus on military legacies, in contrast with legacies of civil society activism)

- Carter Eckert. 2016. *Park Chung Hee and Modern Korea*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Read chapter 3 "Militarizing Places and Persons" (pp.65-104) and listen to the short podcast by the author: <https://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674659865>
- Paul Y. Chang. 2015. *Protest Dialectics: State Repression and South Korea's Democracy Movement, 1970-1979*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Read chapter 7 (pp. 175-194) and the conclusion (pp. 195-216).
- Gi-wook Shin. 2020. "South Korea's Democratic Decay." *Journal of Democracy* 31(3), 100-114.

PART IV: LEGACIES IN JAPANESE POLITICS

10/14

Week 7: Should we focus on leaders to explain the transmission of historical legacies?

- Richard J. Samuels. 2003. *Machiavelli's Children: Leaders and their Legacies in Italy and*

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Japan. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Read chapter 2 “How to Build a State: Count Cavour, Ito Hirobumi, and Yamagata Aritomo” (pp. 41-68).

- Daniel M. Smith. 2020. *Dynasties and Democracy: The Inherited Incumbency Advantage in Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Read chapter 7 “The Consequences of Dynastic Politics for Representation” (pp. 239-257).

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Week 8: How do legal regulations change deeply engrained political practice?

- 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. 1-31).
- 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.

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Week 9: Persisting institutions after Japan’s total defeat in World War II

- Patricia L. Maclachlan. 2011. *The People’s Post Office: The History and Politics of the Japanese Postal System, 1871-2010*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center. Read chapter 2 “Public Servants with Private Interests: Postwar Commissioned Postmasters and the Politics of Self-Preservation” (pp.68-109).
- Sheldon Garon. “From Meiji to Heisei: The State and Civil Society in Japan,” in Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr. 2003. *The State of Civil Society in Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 42-62.

PART V: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS UNDER THE SHADOW OF HISTORY

11/4

Week 10: Does a country’s deeply rooted culture shape strategic choices?

- Alastair I. Johnston. 1995. *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Read chapter 1 “Strategic Culture: A Critique” (pp. 1-31).
- David C. Kang. 2019. “International Order in Historical Asia: Tribute and Hierarchy Beyond Sinocentrism and Eurocentrism.” *International Organization* 74, 65-93.

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Week 11: The politics of historical guilt

- Alexis Dudden. 2008. *Troubled Apologies: Among Japan, Korea, and the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press. Read short “preface” (pp. XI-XII) and chapter 1 “An Island by Any other Name” (pp. 1-30).
- Jennifer M. Lind. 2008. *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Read chapter 4 “A Soul of a People Can Be Changed” (pp. 159-178).
- Yukiko Koga. 2013. “Accounting for Silence: Inheritance, Debt, and the Moral Economy of Legal Redress in China and Japan.” *American Ethnologist* 40(3), 494-507.
- Akiko Takenaka. 2015. *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan’s Unending Postwar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press. Read chapter 6 “Mobilizing Memories: Postmemorial Conservatism at Yasukuni Today” (pp. 163-189).

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Week 12: Presentation of draft final papers

9/2/21

Week 13: The implication of the “century of humiliation”

- Zheng Wang. 2012. *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press. Read chapter 4 “From Victor to Victim: The Patriotic Education Campaign” (pp. 95-118).
- Haiyang Yu. 2014. “Glorious Memories of Imperial China and the Rise of Chinese Populist Nationalism.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 23(90), 1174-1187.
- Lihe Wang. 2020. “The ‘Century of Humiliation’ and the Politics of Memory in China.” *Leviathan* 11(1), 38-42.