

Democracy in East and South Asia

(Provisional syllabus)

Lin chun, Spring 2008

Course description:

This course is concerned with recent political developments in East and South Asia. Southeast Asia is not covered except for a few country cases for the purpose of comparison. We will focus on how the idea of democracy has evolved, what it means and what institutional arrangements it entails in different parts of the region. We are also interested in how democracy interacts with the forces of development, modernization, and globalization, of nationalism and regionalism, and of ethnic, religious and other political-cultural traditions. We shall examine how and why, despite conflicts and uncertainties, democracy has become increasingly influential in political processes, policy formulations and ideological commitments in the countries studied in this course. By focusing on the current political and socio-economic transformations as well as regime changes, we will learn how the concept of democracy is continuously contested in Asia, politically, culturally and institutionally.

Aims:

At the end of the course, students are expected to be intellectually prepared for working further in history and politics. They should in particular be familiar with contemporary political developments in South and East Asia, and competent in discussing at least two country cases in comparative perspective with detailed background knowledge and a measure of disciplinary fluency. Students should also achieve a sophisticated awareness of the difficulties in theorizing effectively and critically. Such difficulties are especially salient in the non-western world where the social science languages are primarily western, and at a time when the idea of democracy has achieved global dominance with ever fewer competitors for legitimacy.

Outline:

1. Introduction and general themes: Asia and democracy; history and theory
2. Japanese democracy: external engineering, bureaucracy, party politics
3. Indian democracy: colonial modernity, nation building, governability
4. Democracy and authoritarianism in South Asia
5. Democratization in South Korea and Taiwan
6. Transformation of Asian communism
7. Democracy in China: revolutions, reforms, debates
8. Democracy and development: comparisons and explanations
9. Democracy and state capacity: the NICs and developmental state
10. Democracy and identity politics: ethnicity, religion, and conflict management
11. Democracy and gender relations
12. Democracy and legitimacy: political culture
13. Democracy and human rights: conceptual issues
14. democracy and globalization: nationalism, regionalism, geopolitics

Week 1: Introduction and general themes

Seminar and essay questions:

1. What is democracy? What is liberal democracy?
2. Is liberal democracy universally desirable and teleological?

Readings:

- D Beetham, "Introduction" to ed. *Defining and Measuring Democracy*, Sage, 1994
- B Parekh, "The cultural particularity of liberal democracy", in D Held, ed. *Prospects for Democracy*, Stanford UP, 1993: 156-175 or *Political Studies* XL, 1992: 160-175
- P C Schmitter and T L Karl, "What democracy is... and is not", in L Diamond and M Platner, eds. *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, John Hopkins UP, 1996: 49-62
- B Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Beacon, 1966: Parts II & III
- O R Westad, *The Global Cold War*, Cambridge UP, 2005
- C. Kinnvall and K. Jonsson, eds. *Globalization and Democratization in Asia: The Construction of Identity*, Routledge, 2002

Week 2: Japanese democracy

Seminar and essay questions:

1. To what extent and on what conditions might democracy be imposed (hence undemocratically) by a foreign power?
2. Is Japanese democracy markedly different from advanced western democracies? What explains the differences and/or similarities?

Readings:

- J Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, Norton, 1999
- I Buruma, "MacArthur's children", *New York Review of Books*, 46:16, 21 Oct. 1999
- H Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, Duckworth, 2001
- C Johnson, *Japan: Who Governs?* Norton, 1995
- E Reischauer, *Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*, Harvard, 1988
- P Anderson, "The Prussia of the East", in Masao Miyoshi and H D Harootunian, eds. *Japan in the World*, Durham: Duke UP, 1993: 31-40
- M Lipset, "Binary comparisons: American exceptionalism – Japanese uniqueness", in M Dogan and A Kazancigil, eds. *Comparing Nations*, Blackwell, 1994: 153-212

Week 3: Indian democracy

Seminar and essay questions:

1. Is Indian democracy a success or a failure?
2. Does Indian "deviation" pose a serious challenge to the theories of democracy?

Readings:

- J Brown, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy*, Oxford UP, 1985
- S Khilnani, *The Idea of India*, Hamilton, 1997

- A Varshney, "India defies the odds: why democracy survives", *Journal of Democracy*, 19:3, 1998
- A Lijphart, "The Puzzle of Indian democracy", *American Political Science Review*, 90:2, 1996
- S Corbridge, et al. *Seeing the State: Governance and Governmentality in India*, Cambridge UP, 2005
- M Desai, "The poverty of politics and the politics of poverty", the Ramkrishna Hegde lecture, Jan 2006
- M Desai, "Gandhi or Gandhi", *India International Quarterly*, 2007

Week 4: Democracy and authoritarianism in South Asia

Seminar and essay questions:

1. Why have the political trajectories of India and Pakistan been so different?
2. Evaluate the role of colonial legacies in the (trans)formation of political systems and/or political crises in the region.

Readings:

- M Chadda, *Building Democracy in South Asia: India, Nepal, Pakistan*, Rienner, 2000
- J Spencer, ed. *Sri Lanka: History and the Roots of Conflict*, Routledge, 1990
- V Kukreja and M P Singh, eds. *Pakistan: Democracy, Development and Security Issues*, Sage, 2005
- M Desai & A Ahsan, *Divided by Democracy*, Roli (India), 2005
- Harrison, et al eds. *India and Pakistan: the First Fifty Years*, Cambridge UP, 1999
- P Mishra, "The 'people's war'", *London Review of Books*, 27:2, 23 June 2005
- F Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, U of California Press, 2005

Week 5: Democratization in South Korea and Taiwan

Seminar and essay questions:

1. "Modernization theory best explains regime change in South Korea and Taiwan." Discuss.
2. What is the relationship between nationalism and democracy? Use the case of Taiwan or South Korea to illustrate.

Readings:

- D Potter, "Explaining democratization" and "Democratisation at the same time in South Korea and Taiwan", in et al. eds. *Democratization*, Polity, 1997
- S Kim, ed. *Korea's Democratization*, Cambridge UP, 2003
- L Diamond and B Kim, eds. *Consolidating Democracy in South Korea*, Rienner, 2000
- A Wachman, *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization*, ME Sharpe, 1997
- D Lynch, "Taiwan's democratization and the rise of Taiwanese nationalism as socialization to global culture", *Pacific Affairs* 75:4, Dec 2002
- C Hughes, *Taiwan and Chinese Nationalism: National Identity and Status in International Society*, Routledge, 1997, ch.4
- J Makeham, ed. *Cultural, Ethnic, and Political Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan*, Cambridge UP, 2005

Week 6: Transformation of Asian communism

Seminar and essay questions:

1. Is democracy an alien concept to the communist politics?
2. What comparatively accounts for the survival of Asian communism in a postcommunist world?

Readings:

- D Held, *Models of Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity, 1987, ch.4
- G Sartori, "Another democracy?" in *Democratic Theory*, Praeger, 1962
- D Wank, *Commodifying Communism*, Cambridge UP, 1999
- A Chan, B Kerkvliet and J Unger, *Transforming Asian Socialism: China and Vietnam Compared*, Rowman & Littlefield, 1999
- B Womack, *China and Vietnam : the Politics of Asymmetry*, Cambridge UP, 2006
- B Cumings, *North Korea: The Hermit Kingdom*, New Press, 2003
- S Angle, "Decent democratic centralism", *Political Theory* 33:4, Aug 2005

Week 7: Debating democracy in China

Seminar and essay questions:

1. Is "civil society" a useful category for understanding contemporary Chinese politics?
2. Are liberalization and legalization promoting democracy in China?

Readings:

- M Meisner, *The Deng Xiaoping Era: An Inquiry into the Fate of Chinese Socialism, 1978-94*, Hill & Wang, 1996
- A Dirlik, *After the Revolution: Waking to Global Capitalism*, Wesleyan UP, 1994
- B Womack, "In search of democracy: public authority and popular power in China", in ed. *Contemporary Chinese Politics in Historical Perspective*, Cambridge UP, 1991
- W Tang, *Public Opinion and Political Change in China*, Stanford, 2005
- T Cheek, "From market to democracy in China: gaps in the civil society model", in J Lindau and Cheek, *Market Economics and Political Change*, Rowman & Littlefield, 1998
- J Howell, "New directions in civil society: organising around marginalised interest", in ed. *Governance in China*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2004, pp.143-71
- X Zhang, ed. *Wither China: Intellectual Politics in Contemporary China*, Duke UP, 2001

Week 8: Democracy and development

Seminar and essay questions:

1. "Famine does not occur in democracy." Discuss.
2. Is there any positive correlation between democracy and development? Make an assessment based on comparative examples.

Readings:

- A K Bagchi, ed. *Democracy and Development*, St. Martin's, 1995
- J Gray, *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism*, Granta, 1998
- A Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Knopf, 1999

- S Kaviraj, "Dilemmas of democratic development in India", in A Leftwich, ed. *Democracy and Development*, Polity, 1996
- E Friedman and B Gilley, eds. *Asia's Giants: Comparing China and India*, Palgrave, 2005
- B Cumings, "The Asian crisis, democracy, and the end of "late" development", in T J Pempel, ed. *The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis*, Cornell UP, 1999
- F Chen, "Privatization and its discontents in Chinese factories", *China Quarterly*, 185, Mar 2006

Week 9: Democracy and state capacity

Seminar and essay questions:

1. What is a developmental state? Is democracy relevant to its conceptualization?
2. Reflect on the critiques of statist high modernism in the postcolonial and/or postrevolutionary Asian contexts.

Readings:

- P Evans, *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*, Princeton UP, 2005
- A Leftwich, "Bringing the state back in: towards a model of the developmental state", *Journal of Development Studies* 3:13, Feb 1995
- RP Appelbaum and J Henderson, eds. *States and Development in the Asian Pacific Rim*, Sage, 1992
- A Kohli, *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*, Cambridge UP, 2004
- JS Migdal, et al. eds. *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*, Cambridge UP, 1994, chs on Asia
- J Unger and A Chan, "China, corporatism, and the East Asian model", *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* (now *China Journal*), 1995: 29-53
- J Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Conditions have Failed*, Yale UP, 1999

Week 10: Democracy and identity politics

Seminar and essay questions:

1. Can ethnic/religious/linguistic politics and democracy be positively related with each other? Choose an example or two to elaborate.
2. "Democratic constitutional and institutional design is crucial for multinational and multicultural states to be peaceful and stable." Discuss.

Readings:

- S Ganguly, "The crisis of Indian secularism", *Journal of Democracy* 14:4, 2003
- D Stuligross and A Vashney, "Ethnic diversities, constitutional designs, and public policies in India", in A Reynolds, ed. *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*, Oxford UP, 2002
- S Bose, *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus and Sri Lanka*, Harvard UP, 2007; chs on Kashmir and Sri Lanka
- M Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*, Pantheon, 2004; chs on South Asia
- A Sen, *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*, Norton, 2006
- M Weiner, ed, *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*, Routledge, 2007

- B He, “Minority rights with Chinese characteristics”, in W Kymlicka and He, eds. *Multiculturalism in Asia*, Oxford UP, 2005

Week 11: Democracy and gender relations

Seminar and essay questions:

1. How is the “woman question” related to class, ethnicity, religion and locality in Asia? Choose one of these relationships to discuss.
2. Has gender equality been better achieved under the communist regimes than elsewhere in the region? What are the explanations and implications?

Readings:

- M Thompson, “Female leadership in democratic revolutions in Asia”, in ed. *Democratic Revolutions: Asia and Eastern Europe*, Routledge, 2004
- L Edwards and M Roses, eds. *Women in Asia: Tradition, Modernity and Globalisation*, U. of Michigan Press, 2000
- R Lee and C Clark, eds. *Democracy and the Status of Women in East Asia*, Rienner, 2000
- K Sen and M Stivens, eds. *Gender and Power in Affluent Asia*, Routledge, 1998
- M Murayama, ed. *Gender and Development: the Japanese Experience in Comparative Perspective*, Routledge, 2005
- C Gilmartin. et al. eds. *Engendering China: Women Culture, and the State*, Harvard UP, 1994

Week 12: Democracy and legitimacy

Seminar and essay questions:

1. “Sources of legitimacy in Asia are beyond the global ideology of democracy.” Discuss.
2. “Culture is destiny.” Discuss.

Readings:

- L Pye, *Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimensions of Authority*, Harvard UP, 1985
- M. Lipset, “The centrality of political culture”, in L. Diamond and M. Platner, eds. *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, John Hopkins UP, 1996
- B Parekh, “Cultural diversity and liberal democracy”, in D. Beetham, *Defining and Measuring Democracy*, 1994
- A Sen, “Passage to China”, *New York Review of Books* 51:19, 2 Dec 2004
- F Zakaria, “Culture is destiny: a conversation with Lee Kuan Yew”, *Foreign Affairs* 73:2, Mar/Apr 1994
- Kim Dae Jung, “Is culture destiny? The myth of Asia’s anti-democratic values”, *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 1994
- F Fukuyama, “Confucianism and democracy”, *Journal of Democracy*, 6:2, 1995

Week 13: Democracy and human rights

Seminar and essay questions:

1. Are human rights culturally specific?

2. Is democracy the best political system in promoting human rights in the developing countries? Respond by presenting a case study in Asia.

Readings:

- K. Christie and D. Roy, *The Politics of Human Rights in East Asia*, Pluto, 2001
- D A Bell, *East Meets West: Human Rights and Democracy in East Asia*, Princeton UP, 2000
- J Bauer and D A Bell, eds. *The East Asian Challenge for Human Rights*, Cambridge UP, 1999
- DA Bell, *East Meets West: Human Rights and Democracy in East Asia*, Princeton UP, 2000
- A Sen, "Democracy as a universal value", *Journal of Democracy*, 10:3, 1999
- P Van Ness, ed. *Debating Human Rights: Critical Essays from the United States and Asia*, Routledge, 1999

Week 14: Democracy and globalization

Seminar and essay questions:

1. Evaluate the role of geopolitics in political developments in the region.
2. Can democracy promote interstate conflict resolution? Does peace require democratic partnership? Respond by considering a local example.

Readings:

- C Johnson, "The looting of Asia", *London Review of Books*, 20 Nov 2003
- M Leifer, ed. *Asian Nationalism*, Routledge, 2000
- T Brook and A Schmid, eds. *Nation Work: Asia Elites and National Identities*, U of Michigan Press, 2000
- B Cumings, *Parallax Visions: Making Sense of American-East Asian Relations at the End of the Century*, Duke UP, 1999
- L Gardner and M Young, eds. *The New American Empire: A 21st-Century Teach-in on US Foreign Polity*, New Press, 2005
- D Held and A G McGrew, eds. *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*, Polity, 2003
- M Plattner and A Smolar, eds. *Globalization, Power and Democracy*, John Hopkins UP, 2000

Course work and examinations:

Students will give two to three oral presentations and write two course essays. Each essay, about 2,000 words, should address a question from any week. The chosen question, if too general, might be modified or reformulated for an effective argument. A term paper is required by the end of the semester.