Boston University

Taiwan: Politics and Transformation

IR 582/PO 553 Semester I, 2014-2015 Friday 1:00-4:00 IRB 102

Professor Joseph Fewsmith

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Course Description

Taiwan occupies a unique position in the international arena, a country that administers a territory, collecting taxes, maintaining order, and providing for the collective defense, but one that is not generally recognized by other countries as an independent state. It is also a place with a remarkable history, having been incorporated into China (or at least the Qing dynasty) through immigration and war, then subjected to Japanese colonialism, and then finding itself in the vortex of the Chinese civil war. It has been part of the Asian "economic miracle," and has, in recent years, joined the Asian wave of democratization. This complex history has bequeathed identity issues, complex politics, and an anomalous international position. Taiwan is frequently the object of policy discussions, but often not understood in its own terms. This course tries to correct this lapse by focusing first on Taiwan's domestic development, and then looking at its place in East Asian security.

Course Requirements:

This course is a seminar. Seminars can only be successful if all students participate, which means coming prepared each week. In addition, to stimulate participation, each week, starting the second week, one student will start discussion by presenting a five-page discussion paper that he/she has prepared in response to that week's assigned reading. These papers will note the important points in the readings, raise pertinent questions, and pose points for discussion. They will be prepared and circulated *in advance* (by Wednesday at the latest) so others can think about it and react. One student will serve as discussant and will prepare a two-page response paper.

There will also be a midterm, final, and research paper due for this course. Undergraduates will be expected to write a paper of 15 pages, and graduate students will be expected to write a paper of 20-25 pages. Papers are due on the final day of class.

Course Readings

Murray A. Rubenstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History* (East Gate Books, 2006). ISBN 9780765614957.

Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Dangerous Strait: The U.S.-Taiwan-China Crisis* (Columbia University Press, 2005). ISBN 9780674060524.

Steven Goldstein and Julian Chang, eds., *Presidential Politics in Taiwan: The Administration of Chen Shui-bian* (Eastbridge). ISBN 9781599880143.

Robert Weller, Alternative Civilities (Boulder: CO: Westview, 1999). ISBN 9780813339313.

Grading:

Class Participation 20%

(including five-page discussion paper and two-page response paper)

Take home Midterm 20% Paper 35% Final 25%

POLICY ON ABSENCES

Because of the intensive nature of this course, students are expected to attend all classes. Absences may be excused for medical, religious, official and personal reasons. Absences for illness for more than two days require a medical certificate. Absences for religious observances and for family or personal reasons require documentation. Absence for purposes of representing the University in authorized athletic events or officially sponsored activities are excused by notification from your sponsoring department or activity. The stated University policy reads: "Any student who has been excessively absent from a course may be required to withdraw from that course without credit." I define "excessively absent" for this course to be more than three absences, excused or not.

POLICY ON "INCOMPLETES"

No incomplete grades will be reported unless the instructor and the student have conferred, the student has presented a sufficient reason why the work of the course cannot be completed on schedule, and the instructor has assigned a date within the succeeding twelve months by which time all course requirements must be completed. This <u>must</u> be in written form. No degree credit for incomplete courses will be granted unless the work is completed by the date assigned, which

must be no later than one calendar year from the date on when the incomplete grade is reported.

POLICY ON PLAGIARISM

According to the BU Undergraduate Bulletin, plagiarism is "Representing the work of another as one's own. Plagiarism includes but is not limited to the following: copying the answers of another student on an examination, copying or restating the work or ideas of another person or persons in any oral or written work (printed or electronic) without citing the appropriate source, and collaborating with someone else in an academic endeavor without acknowledging his or her contribution. Plagiarism can consist of acts of commission – appropriating the words or ideas of another – or omission – failing to acknowledge/document/credit the source or creator of words or ideas." Plagiarism is taken very seriously at Boston University as at all institutions of higher learning. Your papers should contain appropriate citations. It is better to use too many citations than too few. If you have any doubt about what constitutes plagiarism, please talk with me.

Course Outline

Week One

Friday, September 5: The Setting

Reading:

Ronald Knapp, "The Shaping of Taiwan's Landscapes," in Murray A. Rubenstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History*, pp. 3-26.

John Shepherd, "The Island Frontier of the Ch'ing, 1684-1780," in Murray A. Rubenstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History*, pp. 107-132.

Chen Chiukun, "From Landlords to Local Strongmen: The Transformation of Local Elites in Mid-Ch'ing Taiwan, 1780-1862," in Murray A. Rubenstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History*, pp. 133-162.

Week Two

Friday, September 12: Colonial Experiences and Nation Building

Readings:

Atul Kohli, "Where Do High-Growth Political Economies Come From?," in Meredith Woo-Cummings, ed., *The Developmental State*, pp. 93-136.

- Doner, Richard F., Bryan K. Ritchie, and Dan Slater, "Systematic Vulnerabilities and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective," in *International Organization* 59.2 (Spring 2005): 327-361.
- Lamley, Harry J., "Taiwan Under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism." In Murray A. Rubenstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History*, pp. 201-260.
- Cheng Tun-jen, "Transforming Taiwan's Economic Structure in the 20th Century," in Richard Louis Edmonds and Steven M. Goldstein, eds., *Taiwan in the Twentieth Century: A Retrospective View*, pp. 19-36.

Week Three

Friday, September 19: Return to China and Authoritarian Rule of the KMT

Readings:

- Phillips, Steven, "Between Assimilation and Independence: Taiwanese Political Aspirations Under Nationalist Chinese Rule, 1945-1948." in Rubenstein, ed., pp. 275-319.
- Wang, Peter Chen-main, "A Bastion Created, a Regime Reformed, an Economy Reengineered," in Rubenstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History*, pp. 320-338. *Taiwan's 228 Incident: The Political Implications of February 28, 1947* (online)

Week Four

Friday, September 26: Economic Development and Social Change

Readings:

- Cheng, Tun-jen, Stephan Haggard, and David Kang, "Institutions and Growth in Korea and Taiwan: The Bureaucracy," in *Journal of Developmental Studies* 34.6 (August 1998): 87-111.
- Robert Wade, ""States, Markets, and Industrial Policy," in Wade, *Governing the Market*, pp. 8-33.
- Yongping Wu, "Rethinking the Taiwanese Developmental State," *The China Quarterly*, 177 (May 2004).

Week Five

Friday, October 3: Economic and Social Change, cont.

Reading:

Robert Weller, Alternative Civilities

Week Six

Friday, October 10: <u>Taiwan and the Establishment of Diplomatic Ties between the U.S.</u> and the PRC

Reading:

Steven M. Goldstein and Randall Schriver, "An Uncertain Relationship: The United States, Taiwan and the Taiwan Relations Act," in Richard Louis Edmonds and Steven M. Goldstein, eds., Taiwan in the Twentieth Century: A Retrospective View, pp. 147-172.

Steven M. Goldstein "Cross-Strait Relations: The China, United States-Taiwan Tangle," Chpts. 1-3.

Week Seven

Friday, October 17: Cross-Strait Relations: China's Concerns

Reading:

- Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, "Dangerous Straits: Introduction," in Tucker, ed., *Dangerous Straits*, pp. 1-15.
- Niu Jun, "On the Internally-Oriented Characteristic of Chinese Diplomacy from 1945 to 1955" (online).
- Niu Jun, "Chinese Decision Making in Three Military Actions Across the Taiwan Straits," in Swaine and Zhang, eds., *Managing Sino-American Crises*, pp. 293-326.
- Suettinger, "US. 'Management' of Three Taiwan Strait 'Crises'" in Swaine and Zhang, eds., *Managing Sino-American Crises*, pp. 251-292.
- Allen S. Whiting, "China's Use of Force, 1950-96, and Taiwan," *International Security*, 26.2 (Autumn 2001):103-131.

Week Eight

Friday, October 24: Identity and Cross-Strait Relations in the Lee Teng-hui Era

Reading:

- Shelley Rigger, "The Unfinished Business of Taiwan's Democratization," in Tucker, ed., *Dangerous Straits*, pp. 16-43.
- Steven Philips, "Building a Taiwanese Republic: The Independence Movement, 1945-Present," in Tucker, ed., *Dangerous Straits*, pp. 44-69.
- Richard C. Bush, "Lee Teng-hui and 'Separatism," in Tucker, ed. *Dangerous Straits*, Chpt. 4.
- Angelina Chun-chu Yee, "Constructing a Native Consciousness: Taiwan Literature in the 20th Century," in Richard Louis Edmonds and Steven M. Goldstein, eds., *Taiwan in the Twentieth Century: A Retrospective View*, pp. 83-101.

- Rubinstein, Murray A., "Political Taiwanization and Pragmatic Diplomacy: The Eras of Chiang Ching-kuo and Lee Teng-hui, 1971-1994," in Rubenstein, ed., pp. 436-495.
- Chu Yun-han and Lin Jih-wen, "Political Development in the 20th Century Taiwan: State-Building, Regime Transformation and the Construction of National Identity," in Edmunds and Goldstein, eds., pp. 102-129.
- Chu Yun-han, "Taiwan's National Identity Politics and the Prospect of Cross-Strait Relations," *Asian Survey*, v. 44, no. 4 (July-Aug, 2004): 484-512.

Week Nine

Friday, October 31: Taiwan, Identity, and Politics

Reading:

- Steven M. Goldstein and Julian Chang, "Introduction," in Goldstein and Chang, eds., Presidential Politics in Taiwan: The Administration of Chen Shui-bian, pp. 3-28.
- Gunter Shubert, "Taiwan's Evolving National Identity since the DPP Takeover: From Civic to Ethnic?" Chpt. 3 in Goldstein and Chang, eds., *Presidential Politics in Taiwan: The Administration of Chen Shui-bian*, pp. 85-113.
- J. Megan Greene, "History, Identity, and Politics: The First Chen Shui-bian Administration's Efforts to Craft Taiwan's History," Chpt. 4 in Goldstein and Chang, eds., *Presidential Politics in Taiwan: The Administration of Chen Shui-bian*, pp. 115-141.
- Dafydd Fell, "Inter-Party Competition in Taiwan: Toward a New Party System?" Chpt. 3 In Goldstein and Chang, eds., *Presidential Politics in Taiwan: The Administration of Chen Shui-bian*, pp. 49-84.
- Pei-Shan Lee and Yun-Han Chu, "The New Political Economy after Regime Turnover in Taiwan: An Assessment of the First Chen Shui-bian Administration, Chpt. 6 in Goldstein and Chang, eds., *Presidential Politics in Taiwan: The Administration of Chen Shui-bian*, pp. 143-201.
- Shelley Rigger, *Taiwan's Rising Rationalism: Generations, Politics, and "Taiwanese Nationalism"* (Policy Study #26), pp. 1-60.

Week Ten

Friday, November 7: Crisis in the Taiwan Straits

Reading:

Niu Jun, "Chinese Decision Making in Three Military Actions Across the Taiwan Straits," in Swaine and Zhang, eds., *Managing Sino-American Crises*, pp. 293-326.

- Suettinger, "US. 'Management' of Three Taiwan Strait 'Crises'" in Swaine and Zhang, eds., *Managing Sino-American Crises*, pp. 251-292.
- Michael Swaine, "Managing Relations with the United States," Chpt. 7 in Goldstein and Chang, eds., *Presidential Politics in Taiwan: The Administration of Chen Shuibian*, pp. 171-201.
- Steve Tsang, "Taiwan's Changing Security Environment," Chpt. 10 in Goldstein and Chang, eds., *Presidential Politics in Taiwan: The Administration of Chen Shuibian*, pp. 259-288.
- Philip Yang, "Cross-Strait Relations under the First Chen Administration," in Goldstein and Chang, eds., *Presidential Politics in Taiwan: The Administration of Chen Shui-bian*, pp. 203-228.
- Robert S. Ross, The 1995-1996 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Credibility, Coercion, and the Use of Force," International Security vol. 25, no. 2 (Autumn 2000):87-123.

Week Eleven

Friday, November 14: The Military Balance of Power

Reading:

- M. Taylor Fravel, "China's Search for Military Power," *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2008.
- James Mulvenon, "The Chinese Military's Earthquake Response Team," *Chinaleadershipmonitor.org* (Summer 2008).
- "China's Foreign and Security Policy: Partner or Rival?" In *China: A Balance Sheet*
- Bates Gill, "China's Evolving Regional Security Strategy" in Shambaugh, ed., *Power Shift*, pp. 247-265.
- Michael D. Swaine, "Taiwan's Defense Reforms and Military Modernization Program: Objectives, Achievements, and Obstacles," in Tucker, ed. *Dangerous Straits*, pp. 131-161.
- David A. Shlapak et.al., <u>A Question of Balance: Political Context and Military Aspects of The China-Taiwan Dispute</u>, available at www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND_MG888.pdf
- Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, "Strategic Ambiguity or Strategic Clarity?" in Tucker, ed. *Dangerous Straits*, pp. 186-211.

Week Twelve

Friday, November 21: Taiwan and Globalization

Reading:

Chu Yun-han, "Re-engineering the Developmental State in the Age of Globalization:

Taiwan in Defense of Neo-Liberalism"

- Christopher Howe, "Taiwan in the Twentieth Century: Model or Victim?" Developmental Problems in a Small Asian Economy," in Edmunds and Goldstein, eds., pp. 37-60.
- Robert Wade, "Wheels within Wheels: Rethinking the Asian Crisis and the Asian Model," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000): 85-115.

Thanksgiving Recess: Wednesday, November 26 to Sunday, November 30.

Week Thirteen

Friday, December 5: Economic Integration Across the Straits

Reading:

- Zhang Wei, "Economic Integration and Its Impact on Cross-Strait Relations," *Cambridge Journal* (2001): 201-212.
- Cheng, Tun-jen, "China-Taiwan Economic Linkage: Between Insulation and Superconductivity," in Tucker, ed., *Dangerous Straits*, Chpt 5, pp. 93-130.
- Leng, Tse-kang, "State and Business in the Era of Globalization: The Case of Cross-Strait Linkages in the Computer Industry," *The China Journal* 53 (January 2005): 63-79.
- Yang, Chyan and Hung, Shiu-Wan, "Taiwan's Dilemma Across the Taiwan Strait," *Asian Survey* 42.3 (May/June 2002): 522-540.
- Lee, Chyungly, "Cross-Strait Economic Ties and Taiwan's Economic Security: An Analytic Framework from a Nontraditional Security Perspective," *Issues & Studies* 43.1 (March 2007):189-216.
- Chen-yuan Tung, "The Evolution and Assessment of Cross-Strait Economic Relations in the First Term of the Chen Shui-bian Administration, Chpt. 9 in Goldstein and Chang, eds., *Presidential Politics in Taiwan: The Administration of Chen Shui-bian*, pp. 229-257.

Papers Due