

POLS 4260
Asian Government & Politics
FALL 2017

Instructor: Yesola Kweon

Time and Location: M W F, 1:30-2:20pm (Old Main 304)

Contact: yesola.kweon@usu.edu

Office Hours: M & W 2:30-3:30pm or by appointment (Old Main 320B)

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Overview

This course will explore post-colonial politics in Asia. Particular focus will be placed on the nation-building process, democratization, and economic development in the region. The course opens by critically approaching the concept of Asian values. We will entertain various approaches to the definition of “Asia,” ranging from geography, culture, demographics, and political economy. For the first third of the semester, we will survey the political terrain in three Northeast Asian countries—Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. Starting with the unprecedented economic growth in the region since the 1950s and extending to democratization in the 1980s, we will examine the relationship between political regimes and economic development, and the linkages between global and domestic politics.

The second third of the semester will be devoted to understanding politics in Southeast Asia which will be illustrated through the examples of Singapore, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, and the Philippines. Different colonial and Cold War experiences have shaped the political and development trajectories of this region in ways that are distinct from Northeast Asia. Here, we will focus on the themes of illiberal democracy, ethnic inequality and political corruption. Finally, this course closes with student-led class discussions on the core themes in the field of political science that directly relate to the politics of Asian countries. Students are asked to consider the relationship between regime types and economic growth, culturalism, corruption, and the role of the state in economy.

Course Objectives

1. **Gaining Factual Knowledge** (*IDEA #1*)

The course will cover key political events and figures in postwar Northeast and Southeast Asia. While I do not require extensive memorization of these events and names of figures, students are required to have a basic understanding of these factual information as it relates to the content of the course. Midterm and final exams, map quiz, and Facebook news posts will be the primary means of assessing this goal.

2. **Learning to analyze and critically evaluate ideas, arguments and points of view (IDEA #11)**

Based on cases of Northeast and Southeast Asia, students are required to analyze some of key questions in the field of political science related to democracy, development, and nation-building from various view points. Furthermore, students are expected to form their own position on these issues. In-class discussions and short-essay writing in midterm and final exams are the means of assessing this goal.

3. **Developing skills in expressing oneself orally or in writing (IDEA #8)**

Articulating a persuasive argument is an important skill not only for social science study but also for our daily life. In this class, through a variety of activities such as group presentation, in-class discussion, short-essay writing in exams, and book review, students will have an opportunity to develop skill in expressing oneself in both orally and in writing.

Requirements

- **Attendance and participation in class discussions (10%)**: Attendance is required. After one unexcused absence, I will begin to dock attendance points (2% each time). Please note that the materials presented in class will range beyond the readings and you are responsible for all materials covered in class. So if you miss the lecture you will miss testable material. This is an active-learning course, so students are expected to actively participate in class discussion. Participation also affects your grade. So please engage in class discussion, ask questions, ask for clarification, comment, answer queries, etc.
- **Map (5%)**: A map quiz on the geography of Asia will take place in class on *September 1st*. Students are required to identify each country on a provided map.
- **Summary Notes (10%)**: Students are required to submit a short summary (1-2 paragraphs) of *mandatory readings* assigned in the given day to Canvas before the *beginning* of every class (1:29pm). After *five times* of non-submission, I will dock 0.3 points for each missing summary note. While these notes altogether only accounts for 10% of the total grade, a strong incentive is given to students. I will collect all the summary notes throughout the semester, and I will return them on the exam day so that students can use them while taking an exam. These summary notes are *only* materials that students can use during the exam. Of course, exam questions cannot be answered by simply copying and pasting the notes. However, the idea of this policy is to incentivize students to do readings and help students have more time for critically thinking on topics covered in class rather than memorizing little details from the readings when they prepare for the exam.
- **Facebook News Posts (10%)**: Every week, students are required to post one news article or column on Asian politics on the class facebook page accompanied by a short

reflection piece (*NOT* summary) (100 to 150 words). The aim of this assignment is to keep students up to speed with current events in the region and to hone their critical reading and analytical skills.

Students can join the class facebook group at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/345332125889458/> or by searching USU POLS 4260_Fall 2017.

Good sources for current events in Asia include, but not limited to:

The Economist

The New York Times

The Washington Post

The Straits Times (Singapore)

BBC

Korea Exposé

The Asian Wall Street Journal

- **Book Review (15%)**: Students are required to read a novel, [Human Acts] by Han Kang, and write a review of the book (3-5 pages, 12pt, Times New Roman, double spaced). The novel depicts the 1980 Gwangju Uprising in South Korea from perspectives of ordinary citizens who directly and indirectly engaged in democratic movements against the military dictatorship. Although the story takes place in a specific temporal and spatial context, its implication for the relationship between citizens and the state, democracy, political participation, and the politics of daily life are universally relevant for the politics across the world. The review should *NOT* be a mere summary of the book, but should contain students' own reflection on these broader implications. The summary of the story should not exceed one paragraph. This assignment should be submitted by 11:59pm via Canvas in *December 8th*.
- **Group Presentation & Discussion Facilitation (10%)**: At the start of the term, students will be placed into groups and asked to facilitate one of the in-class discussions that will take place starting *November 27th*. Presenters will be provided with additional sources outside of the syllabus to help them prepare. Utilizing these materials, they are required to effectively present a summary of the key competing arguments related to a given topic, and explain the political context that shaped debates on the topic under consideration. Finally, presenters are required to lead an in-class discussion. Each group is expected to meet with the instructor for feedback before their presentation. Teamwork is important for this project, if there are members who do not participate in presentation preparation, the instructor should be informed in advance, and if warranted, a grade will not be given to the absentee member.
- **Midterm & Final Exams (20% each)**: There are two in-class exams in this class. Before the exam, the instructor will provide a reasonable scope of selected topics (not exam questions) that will be possibly on the exam. **The exam will cover reading materials and any contents covered in class.** The exam will be composed of five identification of key concepts or theories and one essay. Students are not allowed to use any electronic devices (e.g., laptop, cell phones, etc.) or any other materials (e.g.,

notes or articles) except summary notes that students have submitted, which I return on the exam date. The exam will require you to critically think about issues discussed in class and present your own argument with a strong support.

Readings

- Han Kang, 2017, *Human Acts: A Novel*.

All other readings for the class will be provided. You can download them from Canvas. Only readings with an *asterisk* are mandatory.

Other Course and University Policies

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism, cheating or academic misconduct in any manner will not be tolerated and will result in an F for the course. All written assignments and exams will be thoroughly checked for plagiarism and cheating. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with and observe Utah State University's policies against cheating and plagiarism. The University's Code of Student Conduct in relation to academic integrity violation is available at <https://studentconduct.usu.edu/aiv>.

Students with Disabilities

USU is committed to providing reasonable accommodations for eligible students with disabilities, including students who have learning disabilities, health impairments, psychiatric disabilities, and/or other disabilities. If you believe you have a disability which requires accommodation, please contact the Disability Resource Center as early in the semester as possible (University Inn 101, 435-797-2444, drc@usu.edu) so that the necessary arrangements can be made. More information is available at <http://www.usu.edu/drc/>.

Late Assignments and Missed Exams

All assignments (e.g., policy memos and summary notes) should be turned in on time. Late assignments will *not* be accepted. Unless I have agreed well in advance to an alternative date, all assignments should be turned in on or before the due date. The only excuses allowed will be those in line with university policy.

The midterm and final exams will be *in-class* and constitute a significant portion of your final grade. They should not be taken lightly. Make-up exams will *not* be allowed unless there is an acceptable excuse and I am notified well in advance (if possible).

Civility and Courteous Behavior

Civility in the classroom and respect for the opinions of others is very important in an academic environment. It is likely you may not agree with everything which is said or discussed in the classroom. However, classroom discussion is meant to allow us to hear a variety of viewpoints, and this can only happen if we respect each other and our differences.

To create and preserve a classroom atmosphere that optimizes teaching and learning, students are expected to be on time, and electronic devices such as cell phones must be turned off during class. Laptops are allowed only for taking notes. Text messaging and emailing/websurfing are not permitted in class.

Course Schedule

The instructor reserves the right to make changes to the schedule and reading assignments. It is the student's responsibility to be aware of these changes. Any change will be announced in advance during class.

08/28: Course Overview

*** How to Define "Asia"? ***

08/30: Approaches to Understanding Asia

- McDougall. 2007. Asia Pacific in World Politics. Intro.*
- Anderson. 1983. Imagined Communities. Ch1, 3, & 6.

09/01: Asian Values (*** Map Quiz ***)

- Robinson. 1996. "The Politics of Asian Values." The Pacific Review 9(3): 309-327.*
- Tipton. 1998. "Asian Nationalism." in The Rise of Asia: Economics, Society, Politics in Contemporary Asia. Ch8.

***Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan ***

09/04: LABOR DAY

09/06: A Brief Overview of the Three Countries Part I

- Mackerras. 2000. Eastern Asia. Ch15.*

09/08: A Brief Overview of the Three Countries Part II

- Mackerras. 2000. Eastern Asia. Ch20.*
- Chu and Lin. 2001. "Political Development in 20th Century Taiwan: State-building, Regime Transformation and the Construction of National Identity." The China Quarterly: 102-129. (only pp.111-123)*

09/11: The East Asian Economic Success Part I

- World Bank. 1993. The East Asian Miracle: A Summary.*
- Chalmers. 1982. MITI and the Japanese Miracle. Chapter 1.
- Evans. 1995. Embedded Autonomy: States & Industrial Transformation. Ch3.
- Krugman. 1994. "The Myth of Asia's Miracle." Foreign Affairs 73(6): 62-78.
- Movie: Asia Rising

09/13: The East Asian Economic Success Part II

- Finish reading World Bank (1993)*
- Weiss. 1998. "The Sources of State Capacity, in The Myth of the Powerless State. Chapter 2 (pp.14-40).
- Wade. 1990. Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization. pp.195-255.
- Chung. 1993. "Distinctions Between the Taiwanese and Korean Approaches to Economic Development." Journal of East Asian Affairs 22.

09/15: Crony Capitalism

- Kang. 2002. Crony Capitalism. Ch.4.*
- Jwa. 2002. "Industrial Policies and the Growth of the Chaebol." In The Evolution of Large Corporations in Korea. Ch2.
- Hrebendar. 2000. "The Money Base of Japanese Politics." in Japan's New Party System. pp.59-84.

09/18: Labor Politics: "Sacrifice for National Glory!"

- Kume. 1998. Disparaged Success: Labor Politics in Postwar Japan. Ch2.*
- Caraway. 2009. "Labor Rights in East Asia: Progress or Regress?" Journal of East Asian Studies 9(2): 153-186.
- Koo. 2001. Korean Workers. Ch4&5.

09/20: The Developmental Welfare State

- Haggard and Kaufman. 2008. Development, Democracy, and Welfare State: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe. Ch3. (only pp. 142-145 (Intro), pp.157-160 (Taiwan) and pp. 163-170 (Korea and Conclusion)*)
- Wong. 2004. Healthy Democracies. Ch1&3
- Estevez-Abe. 2008. Welfare and Capitalism in Postwar Japan. Ch1.

09/22: Divergent Pathways to Democracy Part I: Japan

- Scheiner. 2006. Democracy without Competition in Japan. Ch2.*
- Scheiner. 2006. Democracy without Competition in Japan. Ch1 & Ch3.
- Fallows. 1994. Looking at the Sun. Ch6.
- Movie: Senkyo

09/25: Divergent Pathways to Democracy Part II: South Korea

- Yun. 1997. "Democratization in South Korea: Social Movements and Their Political Opportunity Structures." Asian Perspective 21(3): 145-171.*
- Oh. 1999. Korean Politics. pp.74-97.
- Hahm. 2008. "South Korea's Miraculous Democracy." Journal of Democracy 19(3): 128-142.
- Saxer. 2003. "Democratic Transition and Institutional Crafting: The South Korean Case." Democratization: 45-64.

09/27: Divergent Pathways to Democracy Part III: Taiwan

- Wong. 2003. "Deepening Democracy in Taiwan." The Pacific Affairs 76(2):235-256.*
- Chu. 2012. "The Taiwan Factor." Journal of Democracy 23(1).
- Rigger. 2004. "Taiwan's Best-case Democratization." Orbis
(<http://www.fpri.org/article/2004/04/taiwans-best-case-democratization/>)

09/29: The 1998 Asian Crisis

- Haggard. 2000. *The Political Economy of the Asian Financial Crisis*. Intro*
- The Economist. 1997. "The End of the Miracle." *
- Kong. 2004. "Pattern of Government-Business Relations in South Korea and the Impact of the Recent Crisis." In Amann and Chang eds. *Brazil and South Korea: Economic Crisis and Restructuring*. Ch9.
- Sachs and Woo. 2000. "Understanding the Asian Financial Crisis." in Wood, Sachs and Schwab eds. *The Asian Financial Crisis: Lessons for a Resilient Asia*. pp.13-44.
- Thurbon. 2001. "Two Paths to Financial Liberalization: South Korea and Taiwan." *The Pacific Review* 14(2): 241-267.
- Movie: *The Crash*

10/02: Post-crisis Economic Reforms

- Haggard. 2000. *The Political Economy of the Asian Financial Crisis*. Ch3 (only pp.100-107)*
- The Economist. 2007. "Ten Years On: How Asia Shrugged Off its Economic Crisis."*
- Hahm and Plein. 1997. *After Development: the Transformation of the Korean Presidency and Bureaucracy*. Ch3 (pp.30-57).
- Vogel. 2006. *Japan Remodeled: How Government and Industry are Reforming Japan*. pp.1-50, 205-25.
- Emmerson. 1999. "A Tale of Three Countries." *Journal of Democracy* 10(4).

10/04: Transformation of the East Asian Economies—The Eclipse or Adaptation of the State?

- Wong. 2004 "The Adaptive Developmental State in East Asia." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4(3): 345-362.*
- Lee. 2016. "Institutional Legacy of State Corporatism in De-industrial Labour Markets: A Comparative Study of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan." *Socio-economic Review* 14(1): 73-95.
- Moon. 1999. "Democratization and Globalization as Ideological and Political Foundations of Economic Policy." in Mo and Moon eds. *Democracy and the Korean Economy* (pp.1-29)
- Peng. 2004. "Postindustrial Pressures, Political Regime Shifts, and Social Policy Reform in Japan and South Korea." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4: 389-425.

10/06: Gender Politics in East Asia

- Haque. 2003. "Citizen Participation in Governance Through Representation: Issue of Gender in East Asia." *International Journal of Public Administration* 26(5): 569-590. (only pp.573-587)*
- Sen. 2001. "The Many Faces of Gender Inequality." *The New Public*.*
- Peng. 2006. "Social Policy Reforms and Gender in Japan and South Korea." In Razavi and Hassim eds. *Gender and Social Policy in a Global Context*.
- Estèvez-Abe and Kim. 2014. "Presidents, Prime Ministers and Politics of Care — Why Korea Expanded Childcare Much More Than Japan." *Social Policy Administration* 48: 666-685.
- Nam. 2000. "Gender Politics in the Korean Transition to Democracy." *Korean Studies* 24: 94-112.

***** Indonesia *******10/09: A Brief Overview of Indonesia**

- Bertrand. 2013. *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. Ch2. (only pp.41-64)*

10/11: The Politics of Corruption

- McLeod. 2000. "Soeharto's Indonesia: A Better Class of Corruption." *Agenda* 7(2): 99-112.*
- Liddle. 1996. "Suharto's Indonesia: Personal Rule and Political Institutions." *Leadership and Culture in Indonesian Politics*. pp.15-36.
- Chwieroth. 2010. "How Do Crises Lead to Change? Liberalizing Capital Controls in the Early Years of New Order Indonesia." *World Politics* 62(3): 496-527.
- Edward. 2010. "Indonesia: The Irony of Success." *Journal of Democracy* 21(2): 20-34.

10/13: From Democratic Transition to Consolidation

- Weiss. 2007. "What a Little Democracy Can Do: Comparing Trajectories of Reform in Malaysia and Indonesia." *Democratization* 14(1): 26-43.*
- Qodari. 2005. "Indonesia's Quest for Accountable Governance." *Journal of Democracy* 16(2): 73-87.

- 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* 39(3): 431-453.
- Abdulkaki. 2008. "Democratisation in Indonesia: From Transition to Consolidation." *Asian Journal of Political Science* 16(2): 151-172.

10/15: Midterm Exam Review

10/18: MIDTERM EXAM

10/20: FALL BREAK

***** Malaysia *****

10/23: A Brief Overview of Malaysia

- Slater. 2003 "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia." *Comparative Politics* 36(1): 81-101.*
- Bertrand. 2013. "Malaysia and Singapore." *Political Change in Southeast Asia*.
- Singh. 2009. "Malaysia in 2008: The Elections That Broke the Tiger's Back." *Asian Survey* 49(1): 156-165.

10/25: The Politics of Ethnicity/Religion

- Nagata. 1974. "What is a Malay? Situational Selection of Ethnic Identity in a Plural Society." *American Ethnologist* 1(2): 331-350.*
- Hamayotsu. 2002. "Islam and Nation Building in Southeast Asia: Malaysia and Indonesia in Comparative Perspective." *Pacific Affairs* 75(3): 353-375.
- Milne and Mauzy. 1999. *Malaysian Politics Under Mahathir*.

10/27: Pseudo-democracy

- Case. 2004. "New Uncertainties for an Old Pseudo-democracy: The Case of Malaysia." *Comparative Politics* 37(1): 83-104.*
- Case. 1996. "Can the "Halfway House" Stand? Semidemocracy and Elite Theory in Three Southeast Asian Countries." *Comparative Politics* 28: 437-464.
- Funston. 2001. "Malaysia: UMNO's Search for Relevance." *Southeast Asian Affairs*: 189-207.
- Case. 2001. "Malaysia's Resilient Pseudodemocracy." *Journal of Democracy* 12(1): 43-57.

***** Singapore *******10/30: A Brief Overview of Singapore**

- The Economist. 2015. "The Singapore Exception." *
- Rodan. 2008. "Singapore Exceptionalism? Authoritarian Rule and State Transformation." in Wong and Friedman eds. Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems: Learning to Lose.

11/01: The Politics of Social Engineering

- Huat. 2007. "A Political Culturalism, Representation and the People's Action Party of Singapore." Democratization 14(5): 911-927.*
- Kuah. 1990. "Confucian Ideology and Social Engineering in Singapore." Journal of Contemporary Asia 20(3): 371-383.

11/03: Illiberal Democracy

- Mutalib. 2000. "Illiberal Democracy and the Future of Opposition in Singapore." Third World Quarterly 21(2): 313-343.*
- Hamilton-Hart. 2000. "The Singapore State Revisited." Pacific Review 13(2): 195-216.
- Leong. 2000. "Citizen Participation and Policy Making in Singapore: Conditions and Predicaments." Asian Survey 40(3): 436-455.
- Movie: To Singapore, With Love

***** Vietnam *******11/06: A Brief Overview of Vietnam**

- Taylor. 2004. "How I Began to Teach About the Vietnam War." Michigan Quarterly Review 43(4): 637-647.*
- Mackerras. 2000. Eastern Asia. Ch18.*
- Bertrand. 2013. Political Change in Southeast Asia. Ch6.

11/08: In Search of the Middle-class Challenge to the State

- Gainsborough. 2002. "Political Change in Vietnam." Asian Survey 42(5): 694-707.*

11/10: Growth and Inequality

- Edmund et al. 2011. "Institutions and Inequality in Single-party Regimes." *Comparative Politics* 43(4): 401-419.*
- Painter. 2005. "The Politics of State Sector Reforms in Vietnam: Contested Agendas and Uncertain Trajectories." *Journal of Development Studies* 41(2): 261-283.

***** Thailand *******11/13: A Brief Overview of Thailand**

- The Economist. 2016. "The Generals Who Hide Behind the Throne." *
- Handley. 2016. "Bhumibol, a King of the People, Leave Them to the Generals." *The New York Times*. Oct 2016.*
- Bertrand. 2013. "Thailand." in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp.133-140.

11/15: Business Populism

- Phongpaichit and Baker. 2005. "Business Populism in Thailand." *Journal of Democracy* 16(2): 58-72.*
- McCargo. 2005. "Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand." *Pacific Review* 18(4): 499-519.
- Pongsudhirak. 2008. "Thailand Since the Coup." *Journal of Democracy* 19(4): 140-153.*

***** The Philippines *******11/17: A Brief Overview of the Philippines**

- Anderson. 1988. "Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams." *New Left Review* I 169: 3-31.*
- Bertrand. 2013. "The Philippines." in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp.71-91.
- Dressel. 2011. "The Philippines: How Much Real Democracy?" *International Political Science Review* 32(5): 529-545.

11/20: Cacique Democracy

- Hutchcroft. 2008. "The Arroyo Imbroglia in the Philippines." *Journal of Democracy* 19(1): 141-155.*
- Putzel. 1999. "Survival of an Imperfect Democracy in the Philippines." *Democratization* 6(1): 198-223.
- Lande. 2001. "The Return of "People Power" in the Philippines." *Journal of Democracy* 12(2): 88-102.
- Hutchcroft. 1991. "Oligarchs and Cronies in the Philippines State: The Politics of Patrimonial Plunder." *World Politics* 43: 414-450.

11/22 ~ 11/24: THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY***** In-class Discussions *******11/27: Do Asian Values Exist?**

- Zakaria. 1994. "Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew." *Foreign Affairs*.*
- Kim. 1994. "Is Culture Destiny? The Myth of Asia's Anti-Democratic Values." *Foreign Affairs*.*
- Gerschenkron. 1962. *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*. pp.5-30, 353-364.

11/29: Is the East Asian Development Model Transferable to Other Countries?

- Kasahara. 2013. "The Asian Developmental Model and the Flying Geese Paradigm." *The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Discussion Paper No.213*.*
- Hayashi. 2010. "The Developmental State in the Era of Globalization: Beyond the Northeast Asian Model of Political Economy." *Pacific Review* 23(1): 45-69.
- Lee. 1999. "East Asian NIE's Model of Development: Miracle, Crisis and Beyond." *Pacific Review* 12(2): 141-162.

12/01: Is Corruption Bad for an Economy?

- Bardhan. 1997. "Corruption and Development: A Review of Issues." *Journal of Economic Literature* 35(3): 1320-1346.*
- Pande. 2007. "Understanding Political Corruption in Low Income Countries." CID Working Paper No. 145. Kennedy School of Government. Harvard University.
- Khan. 2000. "Rents, Efficiency and Growth." in Khan and Jomo eds. *Rents, Rent-seeking and Economic Development: Theory and Evidence in Asia*. pp.21-69.

12/04: Does Democracy Promote Economic Growth?

- Sen. 2000. *Development as Freedom*. Ch6.*
- Slater and Wong. 2013. "The Strength to Concede: Ruling Parties and Democratization in Developmental Asia." *Perspectives on Politics* 11(3): 717-733.
- Streeck. 2001. "Introduction: Explorations into the Origins of Nonliberal Capitalism in Germany and Japan." in Streeck and Yamamura eds. *The Origins of Nonliberal Capitalism*. Ch1.
- Jayasuriya. 2000. "Authoritarian Liberalism, Governance and the Emergence of the Regulatory State in Post-crisis East Asia." in Robinson et al. eds. *Politics and Markets in the Wake of the Asian Financial Crisis* (pp.315-330).

12/06: Should the State Intervene in an Economy or Not?

- Krueger. 1990. "Government Failures in Development." *Journal of Economic Perspective* 4(3): 9-23.*
- Weiss. 2003. "Introduction." in *States in the Global Economy: Bringing Domestic Institutions Back In*. Ch1.
- Strange. 1996. *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*. Ch1.
- Boyer and Drache. 1996. *States Against Markets*. Ch1.

12/08: Final Exam Review (*) Book Review Deadline (***)****TBA: FINAL EXAM**