

Issues of U.S.-East Asia Relations: International Relations of East Asia—Regional Cooperation?

Political Science 4386, Fall 2009
Tu 6:30-9:20pm, Dallas Hall 152
Web page: <http://courses.smu.edu>

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Th. 3-5
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Course Description and Objectives

This course has both *substantive* and *procedural* objectives. Substantively, this course provides an overview of international relations in the East Asian region while introducing students the leading theories and debates about regional cooperation in the field of international relations (IR). Procedurally, because this is a *writing-intensive* course, students are expected to write an analytical essay that demonstrates a *clearly articulated research question* and *thesis statement*. The thesis is to be *supported* by logical and empirical *evidence*, and not merely opinion. The essay and the annotated bibliography are to be *well researched* and written in a polished and *grammatical* style.

Postwar Europe was integrated as a region rather early through the European Coal and Steel Community and NATO; today close intra-European ties are institutionalized in the European Union. By contrast, East Asia was long divided by colonialism, the Cold War, and America's "hub and spoke" alliance system.

However, there are signs that may lead to regional cooperation in the twenty-first century. Intra-regional trade and investment is reaching new highs. There are multiple efforts to build new regional institutions, most notably the ASEAN Plus Three initiative. There has been a limited, but significant, spread of democratization and signs of pluralism in authoritarian and communist countries, especially in China.

Meanwhile, there remain lingering signs of regional conflict. The region is confronted with two major, long standing points of crises, the Korean Peninsula and the Taiwan Strait, as well as a host of other lesser, but quite serious, territorial disputes. Two of the major countries in the region, China and Japan, have experienced long historically-rooted conflict. China's burgeoning economic power is placing new strains on the global trading regime and energy resources, and the region as a whole continues to be vulnerable to a systemic economic crisis of the sort that was seen in the 1997–98 Asian financial crisis. One or a combination of these factors may pull apart the fragile equilibrium that has kept the peace in the region for nearly thirty years.

This course will examine the various tensions between the establishment of closer ties among the nations in East Asia and the preservation of national sovereignty. The central question is

whether the East Asian region is heading towards greater peace and cooperation or war and conflict in the twenty-first century. The subtitle of the course includes a question mark because all of us, including the instructor, are searching for answers.

For the purposes of this course, East Asia is defined as the region encompassing the Russian Far East, China, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia. Since it has been extensively involved in the region since the 1850s, we will also focus on the role of the United States in the region. We may make occasional reference to India, but South Asia and Central Asia are not a primary focus of this class.

How well this course achieves its goals will depend on students' participation. Students are expected to do the assigned reading **before** class; to have read **actively**, comparing what they are reading with what they already know and with what they have read in this class or in other classes; and to join class discussions.

Course Requirements

1. Attendance and participation (10% of a student's course grade): Attendance at lecture and participation in discussion are mandatory. The readings vary in length and difficulty but average about 150 pages per week. You are expected to attend all the lectures and do the required readings. Come to class **prepared and ready to participate** in discussing the material assigned in the readings. An unexcused absence will adversely affect your course grade, as will being present but unprepared to participate, or participating without being prepared.

After two unexcused absences, I drop you from the course. An excused absence is almost exclusively restricted to religious reasons, certain university activities, documented medical conditions, or documented family emergencies. Absences for religious reasons or for university extracurricular activities require communication with me at the **beginning** of the semester. It is **your** responsibility to make arrangements with me **prior** to any missed scheduled examination or other missed assignment for making up the work.

Ultimately your attendance and participation grade turns on **my** impression of how seriously you take this course. It is **your** responsibility to take this course seriously and let me know that. How? Attend class; be prepared for class—read the assignments for understanding, be ready to ask and answer questions, take an informed role in discussions; **arrive early** to class; remain for the entire class; *be attentive in class without distracting me or your classmates with cell phones, text messages, side conversations, bathroom trips, coming-and-going, and so forth*; take exams when scheduled and complete assignments when due; and demonstrate your understanding on the exams and other assignments. Gadgets of mass distraction—Blackberries, laptops, cell phones, iPhones, etc.—are not for class use—**not even for note-taking**.

2. Three short papers (15% each): Over the course of the semester, each student will write **three** short papers, of four to five pages in length (typed, double-spaced, 12-point font). You

will sign up for dates to write papers in the first class. These papers should *critically compare and analyze the readings for the week*. The papers will be evaluated on the basis of: demonstrated mastery of the assigned readings; skill in exposing nuances of similarity and difference in various defensible positions; cogency, clarity, precision and organization of presentation; and relevance of evidence marshaled to “prove” main point(s). Hard copies of the papers are due at the beginning of class when we discuss the topic. *Students who write a paper are expected to initiate classroom discussions*. Papers longer than five pages will be returned to the author, with no grade, for editing. Same if your paper is single-spaced, you use abnormally small margins or fonts (less than 12-point), or your paper is not typed. No extensions will be granted except in the case of a serious illness or a death in the family. **Please plan to finish the assignment prior to the due date, and leave adequate time to work out any computer or printer problems that may arise.**

3. Research paper (30%): Each student will be required to write an 8–10 page research paper (typed, double-spaced, and 12-point font) on a controversial issue in international relations of East Asia or U.S.-East Asia relations. Topics and readings for the paper should be developed in close consultation with the course instructor. *Each paper must be re-written, taking into account criticism of your first draft*. Each student is *required to meet the following due dates*:

Paper topic / question	Sep. 8
Progress report	Oct. 6
First draft	Nov. 3
Final draft	Dec. 8

Each research paper will be evaluated based on the final draft. However, *the paper will not be graded and given an F if you have not turned in the first draft or some of the previous assignments*. Moreover, if you turn in the first draft late, your research paper grade will be marked down 20%. A paper written without close consultation with the instructor will receive a lower grade. **Late papers will not be accepted.** More detailed information on this assignment will be posted on the course web site.

4. Final exam (15%): The final exam is scheduled for Tuesday, December 15, 6:30–7:30pm, and will take place in our usual classroom. The exam will cover material from the entire quarter and consist of short answer questions in which you will be asked to identify terms or events and explain their significance. *The exam will be open book and open notes*. Because of the size of the class, it will not be possible to offer alternative exam times. Note the date and make your course and vacation plans accordingly. Incompletes will be granted only in circumstances beyond your control: e.g., illness or family emergencies.

If you need academic accommodations for a disability, it is **your** responsibility to first contact Ms. Rebecca Marin, Coordinator of Services for Students with Disabilities (214-768-4557), to verify the disability and establish eligibility for accommodations. Then, you should schedule an appointment with me to make appropriate arrangements.

Each of you must meet with me for 10 minutes in the first weeks of the semester. Sign up for an appointment time during the first day in class. Be punctual.

Books and Readings

The following books are available for purchase at the bookstore. Readings marked with an asterisk (*) are available electronically on the course webpage at the Blackboard (<http://courses.smu.edu>). There may be changes in the readings and assignments below. This course requires use of the Blackboard.

Warren I. Cohen, *East Asia at the Center: Four Thousand Years of Engagement with the World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

George C. Herring, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950–1975* (McGraw Hill, 2001).

G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

G. John Ikenberry and Chung-In Moon, eds., *The United States and Northeast Asia: Debates, Issues, and New Order* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008).

Andrew MacIntyre, T. J. Pempel, and John Ravenhill, eds., *Crisis as Catalyst: Asia's Dynamic Political Economy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Susan L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Schedule and Reading Assignments

Readings provide background on topics covered in class lectures and discussions, so read the assignment **before** the class for which they are assigned. Since the course will make frequent reference to current events, you should make a habit of *reading a respectable newspaper on a regular basis* and pay attention to the events in East Asia.

I. Introduction

1. Introduction and Overview (Sep. 1)

Ikenberry and Mastanduno, “International Relations Theory and the Search for Regional Stability” in Ikenberry and Mastanduno (pp. 1–22)

Shirk, chapter 1 (pp. 1–12)

* Samuel S. Kim, "Regionalization and Regionalism in East Asia," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4(1) (January–April 2004), pp. 39–67.

2. Theory of International Relations and Domestic Politics in East Asia (Sep. 8)

In Ikenberry and Mastanduno

Kirshner, "States, Markets, and Great Power Relations in the Pacific" (pp. 273–98)

Berger, "Power and Purpose in Pacific East Asia" (pp. 387–419)

Shirk, chapters 3 and 4 (pp. 35–104)

PAPER TOPIC AND QUESTION DUE ON SEP. 8

II. Historical Legacies

3. Before Colonialism: A Historical World Order Centered on China (Sep. 15)

Cohen, chapters 1, 2, and 5 (pp. 1–88 & 150–182)

Kang, "Hierarchy and Stability in Asian International Relations" in Ikenberry and Mastanduno (pp. 163–190)

4. Colonialism and Japan's Imperialism (Sep. 22)

Cohen, chapters 8–9 (pp. 245–302)

* Takeshi Hamashita, "The Intra-Regional System in East Asia in Modern Times," in Peter J. Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraishi, eds., *Network Power: Japan and Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 113–135.

* Stephen D. Krasner, "Organized Hypocrisy in Nineteenth-Century East Asia," *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 1 (2001), pp. 173–97.

* Masao Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963): pp. 1–24.

5. The Cold War (1): Alignments and Alliances (Sep. 29)

In Ikenberry and Mastanduno:

Christensen, "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia" (pp. 25–56)

Duffield, "Asia-Pacific Security Institutions in Comparative Perspective" (pp. 243–70)

Copeland, "Economic Interdependence and the Future of U.S.-Chinese Relations" (pp. 323–352)

* Michael Green, "Balance of Power," in Steven K. Vogel, ed., *U.S.-Japan Relations in a Changing World* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2002): pp. 9-34.

* Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Why Is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism," *International Organization* 56(3) (Summer 2002): pp. 575–607.

6. The Cold War (2): The Vietnam War (Oct. 6)

Herring, chapters 4–7 (pp. 131–320)

PROGRESS REPORT FOR RESEARCH PAPER DUE ON OCT. 6

III. Economic Interactions

7. The "East Asian Model" and the "Asian Economic Miracle" (Oct. 20)

* Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984): pp. 85–109.

* Joseph M. Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism," *International Organization* 42(3) (Summer 1988): pp. 485–507.

* Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925–1975* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1982): pp. 3–34 and 305–24.

* Robert Wade, "East Asia's Economic Success: Conflicting Perspectives, Partial Insights, and Shaky Evidence," *World Politics* 44(2) (January 1992): pp. 270–320.

8. The Rise of China and U.S.-East Asia Economic Cooperation (Oct. 27)

Shirk, chapter 2 (pp. 13–34)

In Macintyre, Pempel, and Ravenhill:

Macintyre, Pempel, and Ravenhill, "East Asia in the Wake of the Financial Crisis (pp. 1–22)

Hamilton-Hart, "Banking Systems a Decade after the Crisis (pp. 45–69)

Amyx, "Regional Financial Cooperation in East Asia since the Asian Financial Crisis (pp. 117–39)

Ravenhill, "Trading Out of Crisis" (pp. 140–63)

Pempel, "Restructuring Regional Ties" (pp. 164–80)

* Neil Hughes, "A Trade War with China?" *Foreign Affairs* 84(4) (July/August 2005).

IV. Military and Security Affairs

9. The Current Security Situation (Nov. 3)

In Ikenberry and Moon:

Ikenberry and Moon, "Introduction: The Dynamics of Transition in Northeast Asia" (pp. 1–16)

Ikenberry, "The Political Foundations of American Relations with East Asia" (pp. 19–37)

Goldstein, "Power Transition, Institutions, and China's Rise in East Asia" (pp. 39–78)

Shirk, chapter 8 (pp. 212–54)

* M. Taylor Favel, "China's Search for Military Power," *Washington Quarterly* 31(3) (Summer 2008): pp. 125–41.

RESEARCH PAPER FIRST DRAFT DUE ON NOV. 3

10. Regional Trouble Spots (1): The Korean Peninsula (Nov. 10)

In Ikenberry and Moon:

Kim, "Korea as a Middle Power in the Northeast Asian Security Environment" (pp. 123–41)

Kim, "North Korea: A Perpetual Rogue State?" (pp. 143–64)

Moon, "Managing the North Korean Nuclear Quagmire" (pp. 231–60)

* Victor D. Cha, "Abandonment, Entrapment, and Neoclassical Realism in Asia: The United States, Japan, and Korea," *International Studies Quarterly* 44(2) (June 2000): pp. 261–91.

* Mitchell B. Reiss, "A Nuclear-Armed North Korea: Accepting the 'Unacceptable'?" *Survival* 48(4) (2006): pp. 97–110.

* David Leheney, "The War on Terror and the Possibility of Secret Regionalism" in T. J. Pempel, ed., *Remapping East Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004): pp. 236–55.

11. Regional Trouble Spots (2): The Taiwan Strait (Nov. 17)

Shirk, chapter 7 (pp. 181–212)

* Thomas Christensen, “Fostering Stability or Creating a Monster? The Rise of China and U.S. Policy toward East Asia,” *International Security* 31(1) (Summer 2006): pp. 81–126.

* Yun Han Chu, “Taiwan’s National Identity Politics and the Prospect of Cross-Strait Relations,” *Asian Survey* 44(4) (July/August 2004): pp. 484–512.

* Robert Ross, “Taiwan’s Fading Independence Movement,” *Foreign Affairs* 85(2) (March/April 2006): pp. 141–48.

* Kenneth Lieberthal, “Preventing a War over Taiwan,” *Foreign Affairs* 84(2) (March/April 2005): pp. 53–63.

12. NO CLASS (Nov. 24)

13. Sino-Japanese Relations (Dec. 1)

Shirk, chapter 6 (pp. 140–80)

* Kent Calder, “China and Japan’s Simmering Rivalry,” *Foreign Affairs* 85(2) (March/April 2006): pp. 129–39.

* Mike M. Mochizuki, “China-Japan Relations: Downward Spiral or a New Equilibrium?” in David Shambaugh, ed., *Power Shift: China and Asia’s New Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005): pp. 135–50.

* Peter Hayes Gries, “China’s ‘New Thinking’ on Japan,” *China Quarterly* (2005): pp. 831–50.

14. The Future and International Relations of East Asia (Dec. 8)

In Ikenberry and Moon:

Moon, “Challenging U.S. Military Hegemony” (pp. 167–91)

Mastanduno, “Hegemonic Order, September 11, and the Consequences of the Bush Revolution” (pp. 263–83)

Aggarwal and Koo, “An Institutional Path: Community Building in Northeast Asia” (pp. 285–307)

Kim and Kim, “The United States and the East Asian Regional Order” (pp. 309–31)

Shirk, chapters 9 (pp. 255–69)

RESEARCH PAPER FINAL DRAFT DUE ON DEC. 8

FINAL EXAM – DEC. 15 (TUESDAY), 6:30–7:30PM