

**GOV 1760: The International Relations of East Asia**  
**Spring 2017**  
**MW 2-3**

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The overall purpose of this course is to describe and explain trends in the levels of political and economic conflict and cooperation in the East Asia region. Possible explanations for these trends include historical memory, changes in the distribution of global and local power, evolving international or regional norms, regional economic development and integration, domestic political change, and demographic and environmental constraints, among others. Given historical trends in all these factors, should we expect East Asian international relations to head in the direction of European-style integration, or a less formalized integration, or should we expect the region to become mired in a highly conflictual, realpolitik pattern of interstate relations? The course focuses on testing alternative explanations for levels of conflict and cooperation in the region. The course will introduce a range of sometimes competing, sometimes complementary hypotheses and accounts of political, military, economic and environmental conflict and cooperation, and it will suggest ways of estimating the relative explanatory power of these alternatives. The course does not assume that you have any background in international relations theory or in East Asian history.

**Grading:** You have a choice of grading plans. This allows you to play to your strengths. You will be asked to choose your plan in the first couple of weeks of the semester. Section assignments will be announced well in advance.

PLAN A: Discussion section and assignments, 25%; mid-term, 25%; final exam, 50%

PLAN B: Discussion section and assignments, 25%; mid-term, 25%; term paper, 50%

PLAN C: Discussion section and assignments, 25%; mid-term, 25%; final exam, 25%; term paper, 25%.

- The in-class mid-term will be on March 8. It will require writing one essay and some short multiple choice questions. You will have a choice of 2-3 essay questions. More details will be given later.
  
- For the term paper, undergraduates should meet with their teaching fellow and graduate students should meet with me to discuss your proposed topic no later than the week of March 6. A paper prospectus (research question, alternative explanations, brief description/outline, and initial bibliography) is due the week of April 3. For undergraduates the expected length of the paper is about 25 pages including bibliography. For graduate students the expected length is about 35 pages including bibliography. The term paper is due May 11. Should you choose option C, then the term paper can be up to 10 pages shorter than for the other

options. The paper will be due the same day as the final exam for the course.

- The final exam (Thursday May 11) will consist of three parts, each worth 1/3 of the exam grade. Part I: identify and give the significance for the IR of East Asia of 5 terms/concepts/events. You will have a choice of around 10 terms. Part II will consist of one essay on a topic connected to a specific theme from one or more weeks in the course. You will have a choice of 2-3 questions. Part III will consist of one essay that integrates your knowledge and understanding of general features of the IR of East Asia. You will have a choice of 2-3 questions.

Grading will be based on a combination of factors: theoretical understanding and creativity, empirical thoroughness and accuracy (including use of primary materials), logic, care and precision in the presentation of work, effort and progress over the semester. For general guidelines as to what kind of work qualifies for different grade levels see the [Faculty Handbook on grading](#).

Excepting those who have the standard valid excuses, late assignments will be graded down a third of a grade each day they are late (e.g. A to A/A-, A/A- to A-, etc). The content and due dates of all assignments will be announced with plenty of warning.

**Please take an early look at the due dates for assignments in all your courses and then plan your semester accordingly.**

**Please look at the readings required for each week well before the readings are supposed to be done so that you can plan your time accordingly.**

**Sections:** Undergraduate and graduate sections will meet once a week to discuss substantive questions and issues raised in the lectures and readings.

**Plagiarism:** Plagiarism is a very serious academic offense. Plagiarism is intellectual and literary theft, so please read and familiarize yourself with the advice on the [“avoiding plagiarism”](#) provided by the [Harvard College writing program](#). If you are still uncertain as to what constitutes plagiarism please do not hesitate to contact me or the Teaching Fellows.

**Students with Disabilities:** Anyone in the class who has a disability that may require some modification in seating or class requirements please see me as soon as possible. [The Student Disability Center](#) has additional information and resources and can be found at Suite 727W Richard A. and Susan F. Smith Campus Center (617-495-1859).

**Readings:** Readings marked with (HOLLIS) can be found in online e-journals through the Harvard library web page. Readings marked with (WEBSITE) can be found under “Modules/Week” on the course web page. Readings with hyperlinks from the syllabus are freely accessible online. Make sure you have tracked down the readings from the different sources well before the readings are required.

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## **1/23 Introduction and Organization**

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**1/25 Thinking Theoretically: What are we trying to explain, and how are we trying to explain it?** How does one integrate historical and descriptive knowledge of a country or region with international relations theory and social science methodology? The focus here will be on thinking about the dependent and independent variables in the study of East Asia, and about the process of generalization.

- James Rosenau, "Toward Thinking Theory Thoroughly" in James Rosenau and Martha Durfee, eds., Thinking Theory Thoroughly: Coherent Approaches to an Incoherent World, Westview Press, 1995, pp.177-190. (WEBSITE)

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**1/30 What is a Region and is East Asia a Region?** The key questions for this week are: What constitutes a region, that is, what are the defining characteristics of a regional subsystem? On what basis can East Asia be characterized as a regional subsystem having its own international relations? Do different characteristics have different implications for levels of conflict and cooperation?

- East Asia map (WEBSITE)

- Southeast Asia map (WEBSITE)

- William Thompson, "The Regional Subsystem: A Conceptual Explication and a Propositional Inventory," International Studies Quarterly 17:1 (1973) 89-117. (HOLLIS)

- Bernard Ong (2012) Recognizing regions: ASEAN's struggle for recognition, The Pacific Review, 25:4, 513-536 (HOLLIS)

- Roberts, Christopher. "Region and identity: The many faces of Southeast Asia." Asian Politics & Policy 3.3 (2011): 365-382. (HOLLIS)

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**2/1 Historical Legacies I: The Uses and Effects of History** The focus in this and the next three lectures is on a number of historical legacies which may or may not affect the prospects for conflict and cooperation in East Asia in the contemporary period, e.g., great power interactions in the 20th century and the legacies of imperialism in China; the rise of Japan and World War II in the Pacific; nationalism and communism in Asia; the political conflicts generated by the Cold War in East Asia; historical patterns of economic development etc. Rather than running through a blow-by-blow chronological description of the East Asian IR history, the lectures and readings focus on what legacies might matter today. Which ones are internalized or invoked in the process of interstate relations? How is history remembered by actors in the region?

- Yaacov Vertzberger, "Foreign Policy Decision makers as Practical-Intuitive Historians: Applied History and Its Shortcomings," International Studies Quarterly, 30:2 (1986), pp. 223-247. (HOLLIS) (in JSTOR)

- Daniel Sneider "Textbooks and Patriotic Education: Wartime Memory Formation in China and Japan" Asia-Pacific Review, (2013) 20:1, 35-54 (HOLLIS)

**2/6 Historical Legacies II: Pre-World War II**

- Warren Cohen, East Asia at the Center (Columbia 2000) pp. 245-337 (WEBSITE)

### **2/8 Historical Legacies III: Post WWII and Decolonization**

- Warren Cohen, East Asia at the Center (Columbia 2000) pp. 338-369. (WEBSITE)

### **2/13 Historical Legacies IV: Post WWII and The Cold War in East Asia**

- Warren Cohen, East Asia at the Center (Columbia 2000) pp. 370-448 (WEBSITE)

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**2/15 Patterns in Security Affairs I: Revisionism, Rivalry, and Security Dilemmas** These five lectures concentrate on post-Cold War traditional interstate politico-military conflicts in East Asia, as well as the relatively understudied question of human security. This section begins with an introduction to some of the theoretical literature that may help account for conflict in the region. What kinds of interstate relationships are likely to lead to conflict? What are some of the major patterns in security relationships in East Asia that may be increasing the probability of military conflict. How stable is East Asia? What might explain the destabilizing effects, if any, of China's "rise"? How should we think about stability? Is East Asia a realpolitik region?

- John Vasquez, The War Puzzle Revisited (2009) pp.167-215 (WEBSITE)

### **2/20 PRESIDENTS DAY NO CLASS:**

### **2/22 Patterns in Security Affairs II: The "Rise" of China and its Implications for Conflict**

- Ian Tsung-Yen Chen & Alan Hao Yang "A harmonized Southeast Asia? Explanatory typologies of ASEAN countries' strategies to the rise of China" The Pacific Review, (2013) 26:3, 265-288 (HOLLIS)

- [Evelyn Goh "Southeast Asian Strategies toward the Great Powers: Still Hedging after All These Years?" The Asan Forum, February 2016.](#)

Christopher W. Hughes "China's Military Modernization: U.S. Allies and Partners in Northeast Asia" Strategic Asia 2012-13 (National Bureau of Asian Research, 2012) pp. 197-239 (WEBSITE)

- [Michael McDevitt and Catherine Lea "Workshop Overview" CNA Maritime Asia Project, Washington 2013\) pp. 1-24](#)

### **2/27 Patterns in Security Affairs III: Regional Hotspots: Taiwan**

- Steven Goldstein, China and Taiwan (Polity, 2015) (read chronology and pp.70-190) (WEBSITE)

[Shanghai communiqué](#)

[Normalization Agreement](#)

[Taiwan Relations Act](#)

[Arms Sales communiqué](#)

[PRC Anti-secession law \(2005\)](#)

### **3/1 Patterns in Security Affairs IV: Regional Hotspots: Maritime Disputes in East Asia.**

- [Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea](#)
- [Mira Rapp-Hooper. "Emerging Strategies and Force Postures of Parties to the East and South China Sea Disputes" in Maritime Issues in the East and South China Seas: Summary of a Conference Held January 12–13, 2016. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2016. \(pp.65-71\)](#)
- Clive Schofield "A Landmark Decision on the South China Sea: The Scope and Implications of the Arbitral Tribunal's Award" [Contemporary Southeast Asia](#) 38(3) 2016. 339-346 (HOLLIS)
- [Fravel, M. Taylor. "China's Assertiveness in the Senkaku \(Diaoyu\) Islands Dispute." \(2016\).](#)
- Youngshik D Bong, "Built to last: The Dokdo territorial controversy. The baseline conditions in domestic politics and international security of Japan and South Korea" [Memory Studies](#) 2013(6): 191-203. (HOLLIS)

### **3/6 Patterns in Security Affairs V: Regional Hotspots: Korean Peninsula**

- [Ren Xiao, "China Debates DPRK Policy" PACNET No. 55 \(July 2013\)](#)
- [Robert Carlin and Robert Jervis, "Nuclear North Korea: How Will It Behave?" \(North Korea's Nuclear Futures Series by US Korea Institute at SAIS, October 2015\)](#)
- Wu Riqiang, "China's Anxiety About US Missile Defence: A Solution" *Survival* vol. 55 no. 5 (October–November 2013) pp. 29–52 . (HOLLIS)
- Nah, Liang Tuang. "Explaining North Korean Nuclear Weapons Motivations: Constructivism, Liberalism, and Realism." [North Korean Review](#) 9.1 (2013): 61-82. (HOLLIS)

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### **3/8 MID-TERM (in class)**

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**3/13-3/15 SPRING BREAK NO CLASS**

**3/20 Multilateral Security Cooperation I: Theories of Cooperation:** The next two lectures

and sets of readings take up the question of whether cooperative security measures can ameliorate the realpolitik features of East Asian security relations. What are the theoretical bases of cooperation? To what extent does this body of theory offer concrete policy prescriptions? What are the principal efforts to build multilateral security arrangements in East Asia and does cooperation theory tell us anything about the prospects for success? What would success look like?

- Helen Milner, “International Theories of Cooperation Among Nations,” World Politics, Vol. 44, No. 3 (April 1992), pp. 466-496. (HOLLIS)

- Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, “A Framework for the Study of Security Communities” in Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett eds, Security Communities (Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp.29-65.(WEBSITE)

### **3/22 Multilateral Security Cooperation II: The Diversity of Cooperative Security Institutions in East Asia**

- Jho, W. and Chae, S.A., 2014. Hegemonic Disputes and the Limits of the ASEAN Regional Forum. *Pacific Focus*, 29(2), pp.237-259.

- He, K. (2014). Facing the challenges: ASEAN's institutional responses to china's rise. *Issues and Studies*, 50(3), 137-168.

- Cook, M. and Bisley, N., 2016. Contested Asia and the East Asia Summit. *Perspective*, ISEAS, 18.

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**3/27 Patterns in Economic Interaction I: Development and Trade Strategies** In this section we look at patterns of trade and investment, reasons for and trends in the level of economic institutionalization in the region, the effect of economic liberalization on foreign policy, and the implications of the regional political economy for regional economic integration and political cooperation. We also look at how possible ‘shocks’ in the regional economy – the Asian Financial Crisis and China’s entrance into the WTO – affect economic cooperation.

- Robert Wade, “East Asia’s Economic Success: Conflicting Perspectives, Partial Insights, Shaky Evidence,” World Politics, Vol. 44, No. 2 (January 1992), pp. 270-320. (HOLLIS)

- Henry Wai-chung Yeung “Governing the market in a globalizing era: Developmental states, global production networks and inter-firm dynamics in East Asia” Review of International Political Economy, 21(1) 2014 (HOLLIS)

### **3/29 Patterns in Economic Interaction II: Financial Crises in East Asia and Their Effects**

- Mark Beeson “Crisis dynamics and regionalism: East Asia in comparative perspective” The Pacific Review, (2011) 24:3, 357-374 (HOLLIS)

- Grimes, W.W., 2015. East Asian financial regionalism: Why economic enhancements

undermine political sustainability. Contemporary Politics, 21(2), pp.145-160. (HOLLIS)

• Anita Doraisami Macro-Economic Policy Responses to Financial Crises in Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand” Journal of Contemporary Asia Vol. 44 , Issue. 4,2014 (HOLLIS)

#### **4/3 Patterns in Economic Interaction III: Economic Integration and Institutionalization in Theory**

• Edward Mansfield and Brian Pollins, “Interdependence and Conflict: A Conceptual and Empirical Overview” Journal of Conflict Resolution Vol. 45 No. 6, December 2001 834-859 (HOLLIS)

#### **4/5 Patterns in Economic Interaction IV: Economic Integration and Institutionalization in Practice, APEC and the FTAs**

• Christopher M. Dent, “Paths ahead for East Asia and Asia–Pacific regionalism” International Affairs 89: 4 (2013) 963–985 (HOLLIS)

Deborah Elms, “The Origins and Evolution of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Trade Negotiations” Asian Survey, 56(6) (November/December 2016) pp. 1017-1039. (HOLLIS)

Ravenhill, J., 2016. The Political Economy of an “Asian” Mega-FTA. Asian Survey, 56(6), (November/December 2016) pp.1077-1100. (HOLLIS)

Jeffrey D. Wilson (2015) Mega-Regional Trade Deals in the Asia-Pacific: Choosing Between the TPP and RCEP?, Journal of Contemporary Asia, 45:2, 345-353, (HOLLIS)

#### **4/10 Patterns in Economic Interaction V: The Regional Implications of China’s Economic Development**

Gregory T. Chin (2016) Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: Governance Innovation and Prospects. Global Governance. January-March 2016, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 11-25. (HOLLIS)

James Scott, Rorden Wilkinson, 'China Threat? Evidence from the WTO' (2013) 47 Journal of World Trade. 47(4) pp. 761–782 (HOLLIS)

Min Ye (2015) China and Competing Cooperation in Asia-Pacific: TPP, RCEP, and the New Silk Road, Asian Security, 11:3, 206-224 (HOLLIS)

#### **4/12 Political Development and Regional Interactions I: Does Democratization matter?**

In this section the focus is on political development within states in East Asia and the implications for international economic and political relations in the region. Do the democratization processes in a number of regional actors matter for regional conflict and cooperation? How does nationalism constrain cooperation? What constraints are placed on inter-state bargaining by domestic political reform and/or upheaval? Does regime type matter for the analysis of East Asian international relations? Is there a relationship between political reform, development strategies, and patterns of regional inter-state relations?

Jarrold Hayes "The democratic peace and the new evolution of an old idea" European Journal of International Relations 18(4) pp. 767-791

#### **4/17: Political Development and Regional Interactions II: Illiberalism versus Democratic Peace?**

Juliet Pietsch (2015) Authoritarian Durability: Public Opinion towards Democracy in Southeast Asia, Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, 25:1, 31-46

Doh Chull Shin and Hannah June Kim, "Liberal democracy as the end of history: Western theories versus Eastern Asian realities" Asian Journal of Comparative Politics (2016) pp. 1-21

- Paul Midford, "Challenging the Democratic Peace? Historical Memory and the Security Relationship between Japan and South Korea" Pacific Focus 23: 2 (August 2008) Pages 189-211 (WEBSITE)

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**4/19 The Effect of Demography on Conflict and Cooperation.** In the next two lectures we will consider how demographic and environmental change within societies could have spill-over effects into relationships among states.

- Jack Goldstone, "Population and Security: How Demographic Change Can Lead to Conflict" Journal of International Affairs 56:1 (Fall 2002) pp. 3-21. (HOLLIS)

- Nicholas Eberstadt, "Asia-Pacific Demographics in 2010-2040: Implications for Strategic Balance" in Strategic Asia, 2010-2011 (National Bureau of Asia Research, 2010), pp. 238-277.

#### **4/24 The Effect of Environment on Conflict and Cooperation**

Ole Magnus Theisen, Nils Petter Gleditsch, Halvard Buhaug "Is Climate Change a Driver of Armed Conflict?" Climatic Change (2013) 117:613-625

Michael I. Westphal et al, eds., Economics of Climate Change in East Asia (Asia Development Bank 2013) pp.5-24.

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**4/26 Summary: East Asia IR Futures.** What factors predict to a future of conflict? What factors predict to a future of cooperation? Will this conflict reflect a changing distribution of power (China's 'rise'?) or will it reflect the benefits of nationalist policies by political leaders weakened by the vagaries of economic globalization? Will cooperation make East Asia look increasingly like Europe? Or will the region continue to feature relatively low levels of formal institutionalization?

- Aaron Friedberg, "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia," International Security, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Winter 1993/1994), pp. 5-33. (HOLLIS)

- Thomas C. Berger, "Set for Stability? Prospects for Conflict and Cooperation in East Asia,"



Review of International Studies, Vol. 26, No. 3 (July 2000), pp.405-428. (HOLLIS)

- Amitav Acharya “Power Shift or Paradigm Shift? China’s Rise and Asia’s Emerging Security Order” International Studies Quarterly (2014) 58, 158–173 (HOLLIS)

Liff, A.P. and Ikenberry, G.J., 2014. Racing toward Tragedy?: China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia Pacific, and the Security Dilemma. International Security, 39(2), pp.52-91. (HOLLIS)

[Evan Feigenbaum and Robert Manning "A Tale of Two Asias," Foreign Policy, 2012.](#)

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