

## ***International Relations of East and Southeast Asia***

GOV 365D (#39050); ANS 361-23 (#33025)

**Global Cultures Flag**

**Fall 2021: IN PERSON**

University of Texas at Austin

MW: 1:00-2:30, WAG 214

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Mon.: 2:45-4:15; Tue.: 10:30-12:00

Book app'ts via:

[https://calendly.com/pmaclachlan\\_office/office-hours](https://calendly.com/pmaclachlan_office/office-hours)

Please email me for app'ts outside regular office hrs.

### ***Course Description***

More than any time since the collapse of the Cold War, the international relations of East Asia are in flux—and sometimes dangerously so. The rules of engagement and balance of power in the region are rapidly changing, and economic, political, and even cultural animosities are intensifying. What explains these recent trends? And how do they reflect and influence American power in the region? To tackle these and related questions, this course takes a deep dive into three sets of major themes in the region's post-Cold War international relations: Japan's evolving international posture in the context of the U.S.-Japan alliance; the military and economic rise of China; and the ongoing North Korean nuclear and missile threat. We explore each topic from the perspective of different IR theories and assess the impact of history and institutions—both domestic and international—on state behavior. Along the way, we touch on a range of related issues that are the stuff of today's headline news, including the impact of war and memory on regional relations; China's fraught relationship with Taiwan and its implications for U.S. foreign policy; increasing tensions over uninhabitable islands in the East and South China seas; and the gradual weakening of U.S. power in the region.

It is my hope that by the end of the semester, you will have acquired not only a strong grounding in the facts of international relations in this crucial region of the world, but also an appreciation of the theories, values and assumptions that inform various interpretations of the significance of those facts.

This course carries the "Global Cultures Flag," which means it is designed to increase your familiarity with cultural groups outside the U.S. Accordingly, we will pay close attention to some of the *cultural* and *institutional* foundations of international relations in the region, and with reference to comparable Western experiences.

### **Prerequisites**

Six hours of lower division Government coursework. No prior knowledge of Asia is required.

### **Required Texts**

There are no assigned texts for this course! All required readings—except for “CFR Backgrounder,” for which URLs are provided in this syllabus—are posted under Modules on our Canvas site.

Note that the syllabus includes a variety of different *types* of sources: theoretical and historical writings, policy analyses, interactive reports from think tanks, journalistic accounts, and documentaries. You are advised to read/watch all assigned sources by the last meeting of each unit, when we will have an open discussion of unit themes and perspectives; these sessions are designed to help you master the material in preparation for exams and written assignments—and to explore related topics that interest you.

### **Assignments**

1. **Take-home essay assignment (Due 1:00 pm, Sept. 22: 20%).** You will be asked to write two short essays on topics relating to theories of IR (2-2½ double-spaced pages each). Further details about the assignment will be posted on Canvas. This is an open-book assignment.
2. **In-Class Midterm #1 (Oct. 6: 20%).** Covers *all* lectures, readings and discussions since the beginning of the semester. Exam will last 80 minutes and consist of three parts:
  - a. Multiple choice/True or False questions
  - b. Questions requiring brief (2-3 sentences) written responses
  - c. Questions requiring answers in paragraph form
3. **Midterm #2 (Nov. 1: 20%).** Same format as first midterm. Exam will focus on Unit 3 (China), but it is assumed that you will also be familiar with the theoretical readings of Unit 1.
4. **Midterm #3 (Dec. 6: 20%).** Exam will emphasize Units 4 & 5, but one section will be *cumulative*.
5. **Final Essay. Choose one of the following assignments:**
  - A. **Take-home memo assignment (20%).** You will be asked to pose as the National Security Advisor to the President of the United States (!) and to write a 5-page memo on an issue or theme relating to American foreign policy toward East and Southeast Asia. Questions will be posted on Canvas following Midterm #3; assignment due by 5:00 pm on Dec. 13. This is an open-book assignment for which students are encouraged to do extra research.

**OR**

**B. Research paper** (6-8 pages) on a topic of your choosing. Detailed information about this optional assignment will be posted on Canvas; special on-line sessions will be held with paper-writers. Proposal forms must be submitted by 1:00 pm on **Nov. 15**. Papers due at 5 pm on **Dec. 13**. *Students who choose this option will receive 10 bonus points for the assignment.*

***Grading Scale***

<b>Letter Grade</b>	<b>GPA</b>	<b>Percentage Score</b>
A	4.0	94-100%
A-	3.67	90-93
B+	3.33	87-89
B	3.0	84-86
B-	2.67	80-83
C+	2.33	77-79
C	2.0	74-76
C-	1.67	70-73
D+	1.33	67-69
D	1.0	64-66
D-	.67	60-63
F	0	59 & below

***Class Guidelines***

***Covid-19***

There is near unanimity among scientists that masks significantly curb the transmission of Covid-19. Given the severity of recent outbreaks in late summer 2021 and Texas's strained hospital system, and in keeping with UT recommendations, ***you are strongly urged to wear a well-fitting mask whenever you are in my classroom.***

Please do not attend class if you have tested positive for Covid. Note that all lectures conducted in the classroom will be recorded and posted on Canvas. If we are compelled to meet via Zoom, our sessions will also be recorded and posted. (Note that class recordings must not be shared with anyone outside our class without my direct permission.)

For more information about Covid-19 testing and assistance, consult the University Health Services website: <https://www.healthyhorns.utexas.edu/>

## **Communications**

The Canvas Announcements function will be my primary mechanism for communicating with you. I encourage you to email me via the Canvas email portal. *Please ensure that your Canvas account will enable you to communicate with me via these platforms.*

**Students guilty of academic misconduct** (e.g., cheating on an exam or plagiarizing a paper) will receive a "0" for the assignment in question. *No exceptions.* Students should familiarize themselves with the following tutorial on what plagiarism is and how it can be avoided:  
<https://guides.lib.utexas.edu/c.php?g=539686&p=8083280>

**Students with disabilities** are welcome to request appropriate accommodations. Please contact Services for Students with Disabilities (512-471-6259/ [ssd@austin.utexas.edu](mailto:ssd@austin.utexas.edu)) and the instructor for further information. I will also do my best to accommodate students who have contracted Covid-19 on a case-by-case basis.

Please turn off and put away your **cell phone** before class begins. You are welcome to use your **laptop** during lectures, *but only for note-taking purposes.*

**Exams** must be taken on their designated days.

**Late penalties:** All assignments must be completed on schedule. Students with documented illnesses may be exempted from this rule. Late written submissions will be penalized 5% per day beginning one hour after the deadline.

**Readings:** The reading load for this course is moderate, and some readings are theoretically challenging. *The more deeply you engage these materials, the better you will do on exams and written assignments.*

## **Lecture Schedule**

### **Introduction: Aug. 25 & 30**

#### **#1) Introduction to the Course**

- No readings

#### **#2) The Region: History, Geography, and the Challenges of Institution Building**

- "What is ASEAN?," *CFR Backgrounder*, Nov. 24, 2020:  
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-asean>

### **Unit 1) Concepts and Theories of International Relations: Sept. 1-15**

***Mon., Sept. 6: Labor Day – no class***

### #3) Theories of IR—Realism

- Steven M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1998), pp. 29-46.
- Aaron L. Friedberg, "Hegemony with Chinese Characteristics," *The National Interest* (July-August 2011): 18-27.

### #4) Theories of IR—Liberal Internationalism & Constructivism

- Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, "Liberal Order: The Resilient Order," *Foreign Affairs* (July-August 2018): 16-24.
- Graham Allison, "The Myth of the Liberal Order: From Historical Accident to Conventional Wisdom," *Foreign Affairs* (July-August 2018): 124-133.
- Thomas U. Berger, "Power and Purpose in Pacific East Asia: A Constructivist Interpretation," in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 387-419.

### #5) Huntington's Controversial "Clash" Theory

- Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993): 22-49.

### #6) Class Discussion

*Wed., Sept. 22: Essay assignment due*

## Unit 2) Japan's Changing Global Role: Sept. 20-Oct. 4

### #7) Background: Historical Legacies and the U.S.-Japan Alliance

- John W. Dower, *Japan in War and Peace: Selected Essays* (New York: New Press, 1993), Chapter 5 (pp. 155-207).
- Victor Cha, "Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia," *International Security* 34:3 (2009/10): 158-96.

### #8) Japan's More Assertive Foreign Policy Posture

- Richard J. Samuels, "'New Fighting Power!': Japan's Growing Maritime

Capabilities and East Asian Security," *International Security* 32:3 (Winter 2007-08): 84-112.

- Adam P. Liff, "Proactive Stabilizer: Japan's Role in the Asia-Pacific Security Order," in Yoichi Funabashi and G. John Ikenberry, eds., *The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism: Japan and the World Order* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2020), pp. 39-78.
- Mireya Solis, "The Underappreciated Power," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2020): 123-32.

#### #9) Memories of War and the Politics of Apology

- Mary M. McCarthy, "The Power and Limits of the Transnational 'Comfort Women' Movement," in *Oxford Handbook of Japanese Foreign Policy*, edited by Mary M. McCarthy (London: Routledge), pp. 366-80.
- Jennifer Lind, "The Perils of Apology: What Japan Shouldn't Learn from Germany," *Foreign Affairs* 88 (May-June 2009): 132-47.

#### #10) Domestic vs. International Priorities: The Okinawa Controversy

- Norma Field, *In the Realm of a Dying Emperor* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), pp. 33-104.

#### #11) Class discussion

**Wednesday, Oct. 6: Midterm #1**

### Unit 3) The Rise of China and the Changing Balance of Power in East Asia: Oct. 11-27

#### #12) Background: China from Domestic and International Perspectives

- Minxin Pei, "China: Authoritarianism's Long Shadow," *Journal of Democracy* 32:2 (2021): 5-21.
- Peter Hessler, "The Rise of Made-in-China Diplomacy," *The New Yorker*, March 8, 2021.

#### #13 & 14) Is China a "Threat"?

- M. Taylor Fravel, “China’s ‘World-Class Military’ Ambitions: Origins and Implications,” *The Washington Quarterly* 43:1 (2020): 85-99.
- David Shambaugh, “China’s Soft-Power Push: The Search for Respect,” *Foreign Affairs*, 94 (Summer 2015): 99-107.
- Raffaello Pantucci, “The Many Faces of China’s Belt and Road Initiative,” *Current History* (January 2021): 28-34.
- Christopher Walker, “What is ‘Sharp Power’?” *Journal of Democracy* 29:3 (2018): 9-23.
- Rana Mitter, “How Power Will—and Won’t—Reshape Chinese Ambitions,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2021): 161-74.

#### **#15) Cross-Strait Relations**

- Sarah A. Topol, “Is Taiwan Next?” *The New York Times*, August 4, 2021. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/04/magazine/taiwan-china.html?searchResultPosition=1> PDF—without photos—available on Canvas.)
- Eric Heginbotham and Rajan Menon, “Taiwan’s Balancing Act,” *The National Interest* (March/April 2019): 22-29.
- Oriana Skylar Mastro, “The Taiwan Temptation: Why Beijing Might Resort to Force,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2021): 58-67.

#### **#16) Troubled Waters: China’s Ongoing Maritime Disputes**

- Andrew Scobell, “The South China Sea and U.S.-China Rivalry,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 133:2 (2018): 199-224.
- Sheila Smith, *Intimate Rivals: Japanese Domestic Politics and a Rising China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), Chapter 6 (pp. 188-236).

#### **#17) Class Discussion**

**Monday, Nov. 1: Midterm #2**

### **Unit 4) The Challenge of North Korea: Nov. 3-22**

#### **#18, 19 & 20) North Korea in Historical and International Context**

- Patrick McEachern, *North Korea: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 1-70.
- Victor Cha, *The Impossible State* (New York: Ecco, 2012), Chapter 5 (pp. 163-211).

- Andrei Lankov, “Masters of Survival,” in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary North Korea*, edited by Adrian Buzo, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 42-55.

#### #21 & 22) The North Korean Nuclear Threat and the U.S. Response

- “The Great Game; Inside North Korea,” *National Geographic* (Film: 47:22).  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EexZjx3Y0uQ>
- Victor Cha and Katrin Fraser Katz, “The Right Way to Coerce North Korea: Ending the Threat Without Going to War,” *Foreign Affairs* 97 (May-June 2018): 87-100.
- Robert Jervis and Mira Rapp-Hooper, “Perception and Misperception on the Korean Peninsula: How Unwanted Wars Begin,” *Foreign Affairs* 97 (May-June 2018): 103-117.
- Oriana Skylar Mastro, “Why China Won’t Rescue North Korea: What to Expect if Things Fall Apart,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2018): 58-66.

#### #23) Class Discussion

*Mon., Nov. 15: Optional paper proposal forms due*

### Unit 5) Looking into the Future: Nov. 29 & Dec. 1

#### #24) Trade and the Future of Multilateralism

- Council on Foreign Relations, “What’s Next for the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)?” *CFR Backgrounder*, February 1, 2021.  
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-trans-pacific-partnership-tpp>
- Peter Petri and Michael Plummer, “RCEP: A new trade agreement that will shape global economics and Politics,” *Brookings Institution*, November 16, 2020.

#### #25) The Future of U.S. Power in East and Southeast Asia

- G. John Ikenberry, “Between the Eagle and the Dragon: America, China and Middle State Strategies in East Asia,” *Political Science Quarterly* 131:1 (2016):9-43.
- Gideon Rose, “Foreign Policy for Pragmatists: How Biden Can Learn from History in Real Time,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2021): 48-54.

*Mon., Dec. 6: Midterm #3*

*Mon., Dec. 13: Memo or research paper due*