

PLIR 2030: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF EAST ASIA (Spring 2024)
MW 10:00-10:50 in Nau 101

Prof. Len Schoppa
Office Hours (Gibson S461): M 3:30-4:30 & W 3:30-4:30
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This course is designed to introduce students who are new to the field of international relations (IR) to the leading theories and debates of this field while simultaneously introducing students who are new to East Asia to the history of diplomacy, war, and economic relations of the region. No prerequisites are required.

Most classes that introduce IR theories and debates to undergraduates do so by focusing on Europe, where the modern state system first took shape. Though theories about how states interact in the international arena were developed largely on the basis of European diplomatic history, they purport to explain the behavior of states around the world and across time: states inevitably balance and ally against threats to their security; peace is most likely when there is a balance of power (a bi-polar balance is even better); multi-polar conflict among great powers is unstable and likely to lead to war; power transitions are inevitably marked by major war; and international cooperation is likely to be fleeting and opportunistic and will rarely persist in the face of incentives to free ride or turn against a former ally.

Not surprisingly, the history of Europe provides numerous examples that fit the theories that grew up to explain its frustrating tendency to relapse into war. Instead of focusing on this predictable fit between theory and cases, this course looks to another important region of the world—East Asia—and asks whether Euro-centric theories of international relations “travel” to this region. Do they describe the relations among Asian nations in the period before colonialism; in the period after the arrival of European powers in the region; during the Cold War; or today?

The question of whether pessimistic realist IR theories accurately describe what is going on in contemporary East Asia is particularly critical to understanding how international relations will evolve in this new century. East Asia is home to the nation that is starting to challenge the United States’ previously dominant position in the world: China. The region is prone to multi-polar power competition between China, India, Japan, Russia, Korea, and the United States. Unlike Europe, which has NATO and the European Union, Asia has few international institutions. The right of certain states to exist is contested (Taiwan, the two Koreas). Historical memories of the Pacific War leave many nations extremely suspicious of Japan. The region is home to a “rogue” state, North Korea, which has shown it has little regard for international norms. It is also home to the another recently-rogue state, Russia, which has shown it is willing to ignore postwar norms and international laws of all kinds during its war on Ukraine. If IR theories are correct, this region is likely to descend into war unless it can find some way to address these circumstances.

For the purposes of this course, East Asia is defined as the region encompassing the Russian Far East, China, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Australia, 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 will make reference to India, but the subcontinent and Central Asia are not a primary focus of this class.

The course introduces all four major schools of thought in the field of international relations: realism, liberalism, constructivism, and domestic politics. Students will read classic works in each of these schools (typically NOT focused on Asia) as well as works that apply insights from these schools of thought to East Asian history and contemporary events. To help students follow this four-way debate about how power, institutions, culture, and domestic politics shape international relations, this syllabus is color-coded to identify readings with a clear theoretical orientation: **blue** for realists, **red** for liberals, **pink** for constructivists, and **green** for those emphasizing the role of domestic politics.

Format and Requirements:

This class is a lecture course with discussion sections. Students' grades will be based on their level of participation in discussion sections (20 percent); a timed midterm (30 percent); and a take-home final (50 percent). The **midterm on March 11 (the Monday following Spring Break)** will give you *two hours* to write two short essays (open book but no collaboration with classmates), with the essay questions distributed and collected via "assignments" in your section Canvas site. We will use the same distribution and collection method for the **take-home final essays** at the end of the term. It too will be open book (but no collaboration with classmates). The difference is that this time you will have four days to complete the assignment.

Readings:

Large sections of the following two books are required reading and are available via the Inclusive Access program with the UVA Bookstore.

Kenneth B. Pyle, *Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose* (New York: Century Foundation, 2007)--\$11.47 (perpetual access).

Henry Kissinger, *On China* (New York: Penguin, 2011)--\$11.89 (perpetual access).

ALL students enrolled in the class will have access to digital versions of these books starting on January 3, through UVA Canvas. Your student account will be charged for the sums shown above. This program is optional for students, but you must actively opt-out before the deadline on **Wednesday January 31st** if you choose not to participate. Opting out will automatically generate a credit for the charged amount that will appear on your SIS student account after a few days. Additionally, you will lose access to your materials. After January 31st, the charges will be finalized. Due to the special pricing, no refunds can be processed.

In addition, we will be reading journal articles and book chapters. All of these items are available as pdf documents on Canvas. I encourage you to download the articles to an e-reader and mark them up with an e-pen since “active” reading in this way usually helps you retain information better than passive scrolling through articles. Canvas resources will be the place to go not only for readings but also for the powerpoint slides that go with each lecture.

SCHEDULE AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Introduction (1/17)

*Jessica Chen Weiss, “The China Trap: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Perilous Logic of Zero-Sum Competition,” *Foreign Affairs* 101:5 (Sept/Oct 2022): 40-58.

2. Intro to IR Theory: Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism (1/22 and 1/24)

*John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001): 29-54.

*Graham Allison, “Thucydides’s Trap Has Been Sprung in the Pacific,” *Financial Times*, August 21, 2012 (2 pages).

3. Before Colonialism: A Hierarchical World Order Centered on China (1/29 and 1/31)

*David Kang and Xinru Ma, “Power Transitions: Thucydides Didn’t Live in East Asia,” *Washington Quarterly* 41:1 (2018): 137-154.

Kissinger, *On China*, Chapter 1 (pp. 5-32).

4. Organized Hypocrisy: East Meets West in the Nineteenth Century (2/5)

Kissinger, *On China*, Chapter 2 (pp. 33-56).

*Stephen D. Krasner, “Organized Hypocrisy in Nineteenth-Century East Asia,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 1 (2001): 173-197.

5. A Darwinian Competition: Japan Joins the Ranks of the “Great Powers” While China Fractures (2/7, 2/12, and 2/14)

Pyle, *Japan Rising*, Chapter 3 (pp. 38-51).

Kissinger, *On China*, Chapter 3 (pp. 57-90).

*Jeffrey Legro, “Overhaul of Orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan and the Soviet Union,” in his *Rethinking the World: Great Power Strategies and International Order* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 122-142.

6. An Idealist Experiment: The Washington System (2/19)

Pyle, *Japan Rising*, Chapter 5 (pp. 69-83).

7. Japan's Imperial Over-stretch (2/21)

Pyle, *Japan Rising*, Chapter 6 (pp. 84-100).

*Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991): 1-20, 112-152.

8. Cold War Alignments: US Occupation of Japan and the Korean War (2/26 and 2/28)

Pyle, *Japan Rising*, Chapter 7 and 8 (pp. 101-129).

Kissinger, *On China*, Chapters 4 and 5 (pp. 91-147).

*Tom Christensen, "A Lost Chance for What? Rethinking the Origins of US-PRC Confrontation," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 4:3 (Fall 1995): 249-278.

*Walter Hatch, "European Integration, Asian Subordination: US Identity and Power in Two Regions," in Min-hyung Kim and James Caporaso, eds., *Power Relations and Comparative Regionalism* (Routledge, 2022): 103-126.

MIDTERM will be released 3/11 at 9:00 am via your Section Canvas Sites and should be submitted there by 11:00 am. Obviously, there will be no lecture class on this date, so you are welcome to take the exam remotely at home or at any other location of your choice.

9. Cold War Conflicts and Alliances in East Asia (3/13)

Kissinger, *On China*, Chapter 6 and 7 (pp. 148-201).

*Iain D. Henry, "What Allies Want: Reconsidering Loyalty, Reliability, and Alliance Interdependence," *International Security* 44:4 (Spring 2020): 45-83.

*Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992): 72-96, 174-205.

10. The Nixon Shocks and China's Realignment in the 1970s (3/18)

Pyle, *Japan Rising*, Chapter 10 (pp. 143-154).

Kissinger, *On China*, Chapters 8 and 9 (pp. 202-274).

11. Economic Cooperation and the Emergence of the Asian Economic Miracle (3/20)

*Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984): 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): 485-507.

12. U.S.-Asia Economic Cooperation Under Challenge in the Post-Cold War World (3/25 and 3/27)

*Christina Davis, "International Institutions and Issue Linkage: Building Support for Agricultural Liberalization," *American Political Science Review* 98:1 (February 2004): 1-17.

*Adam Segal, "Huawei, 5G, and Weaponized Interdependence," in Abraham Newman, Henry Farrell, and Daniel Drezner, eds., *The Uses and Abuses of Weaponized Interdependence* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2021): 149-165.

13. The Democratic Peace in Asia (4/1)

*Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993): 3-42.

*John Mearsheimer, *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 1-13.

*Yukio Hatoyama (former Prime Minister of Japan), "US-China Rivalry and Japan's Strategic Role," *Washington Quarterly* 44:2 (2021): pp. 7-19.

14. Contemporary Challenges: A Nuclear North Korea (4/3 and 4/8)

*Nicholas D. Anderson, "America's North Korean Nuclear Trilemma," *The Washington Quarterly*, 40:4 (Winter 2018): 153-164.

*Nina Tannenwald, "How Strong is the Nuclear Taboo Today?" *The Washington Quarterly* 41:3 (Fall 2018): 89-109.

*Jennifer Lind and Daryl Press, "South Korea's Nuclear Options: As Pyongyang's Capabilities Advance, Seoul Needs More Than Reassurance From Washington," *Foreign Affairs* (Snapshot Online Story), April 19, 2023.

15. Contemporary Challenges: China's Military Expansion in its Region (4/10 and 4/15)

*Masafumi Iida, "China's Security Threats and Japan's Responses," *Strategic Japan 2021: The Future of Japan-China Relations*, 2021, 16 pages.

*Hal Brands, "The Taiwan Problem," *Foreign Policy* Issue 250 (Fall 2023): 58-62.

*David Kang, "Still Getting Asia Wrong: No 'Contain China' Coalition Exists," *The Washington Quarterly* 45:4 (Winter 2023): 79-98.

16. Contemporary Challenges: China's Economic Gravity in its Region (4/17 and 4/22)

*William A Callahan, "China's 'Asia Dream': The Belt Road Initiative and the New Regional Order," *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 1:3 (2016): 226-243.

*Victor Cha, "How to Stop Chinese Coercion: The Case for Collective Resilience," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2023 (14 pages).

*Adam Tooze, "America Has Dictated Its Economic Peace Terms to China," *Foreign Policy* Issue 249 (Summer 2023): 12-14.

*Christina Lu, "Beijing Tightens its Grip on the Critical Minerals Sector," *Foreign Policy* online report, November 7, 2023. (3 pages)

17. Contemporary Challenges: Japan and South Korea (4/24 and 4/29)

*Eric Heginbotham, Samuel Leiter, and Richard Samuels, "Pushing on an Open Door: Japan's Evolutionary Security Posture," *The Washington Quarterly* 46:2 (Summer 2023): 47-67.

*Min-hyung Kim, "Avoiding Being a Crushed Prawn and Becoming a Dolphin Swimming between the Two Fighting Whales? South Korea's Strategic Choice in the Face of Intensifying Sino-US Competition," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 53:4 (2018): 612- 628.

OPEN BOOK TAKE-HOME FINAL ESSAY will be released 4/29 at 4:00 pm via your Section Canvas Sites and should be submitted there by the DUE DATE of Friday, May 3 at 11:59 pm via Section Canvas Sites.

PROF. SCHOPPA'S CLASS RULES

CELLPHONE USE: You should not use your cellphone during lecture class or discussion sections. You may use your computer to take notes during lecture class, but you should not be multi-tasking with text message or social media apps on your computer.

MISSING THE MIDTERM: You should notify me *before* the midterm if, for some reason, you will not be able to take it on Monday 3/11 from 9 am to 11 am. I will arrange for a make-up time for anyone who has a class at 9 am. Those with double-time SDAC accommodations should plan on taking this exam from 7 am to 11 am. Permission to take the midterm outside this window will only be given in exceptional cases, and make-ups will be scheduled before or after the regularly scheduled date—at Prof. Schoppa's convenience.

LATE MIDTERM ESSAYS: You will be docked 20 points (e.g. an 88 would be marked down to a 68) if your midterm essays are submitted after the time they are due, and you will be docked 40 points if the assignment is uploaded more than one hour late.

LATE TAKE-HOME ESSAY: Your grade on the final take-home essays will be docked 10 points (e.g. an 88 would be marked down to a 78) for every day it is late unless the delay has been approved by me, based on a very good reason, at least a week before the due date. Last minute computer problems are not an excuse!!! Back-up your work to avoid losing it, and leave time for you to deal with last minute hitches by aiming to finish well before the deadline.

PLAGIARISM AND CHEATING: Taking the words and ideas of another and presenting them as your own (without proper use of quotation marks and citation) constitutes “plagiarism” and is considered grounds for trial and expulsion from the university through the Honor process. Paraphrasing assigned readings without using footnotes on the midterm and final essay is fine, but if you quote from these sources, you should put those words in quotation marks and give the page number. If you draw on any other source on these assignments, you should provide a full citation via footnotes or bibliography. I take all cases of this type seriously and urge students to uphold the honor code.

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE: **On the midterm,** you are not allowed to use artificial intelligence products such as ChatGPT or internet tools such as Google or Wikipedia. You may refer to your own notes on the assigned readings, the assigned readings themselves, and powerpoint lecture slides, but otherwise you should simply write the essay using your own words without consulting with another student or looking up anything on the internet. **On the final essay,** you will receive very specific instructions about how artificial intelligence tools can be used. Use of AI outside these limits will be considered cheating under the UVA honor code.