#### PLIR 2030: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF EAST ASIA (Fall 2020) MW 5:00-5:50 Online Asynchronous

Prof. Len Schoppa Online Office Hrs: Tues and Thurs 10-11 am OH Link: https://virginia.zoom.us/j/97658283931?pwd=TU13ejJGL0dBa1JQRWtqMnBDWDc2Zz09 e-mail: schoppa@virginia.edu Physical Office: Gibson S461 (only for specially-scheduled in-person meetings)

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' post-Cold War dominant position in the world: China. The region is prone to multi-polar power competition between China, India, Japan, Russia, 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. And the region is home to a "rogue" state, North Korea, which has shown it has little regard for international norms. 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, 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 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, the on-line version of 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. The first lecture session will meet LIVE at 5 pm on August 26, but in most subsequent weeks you will be invited to view two recorded lectures each week. These will be posted on Collab under Resources by 5 pm on the scheduled class "day" for you to view at your convenience asynchronously. Discussion sections that week will often expand on topics covered in class, so I strongly encourage you to keep up with your lecture viewing and avoid falling behind. I am going to make a couple lectures during the term LIVE so that we can have at least some interactions and you can ask questions (I will do one of these LIVE sessions on October 7 at 5 pm so that you can ask questions ahead of the midterm). I will do at least one more of these live sessions toward the end of the term (TBD).

Discussion section meetings will be held online at their officially scheduled times (synchronously), starting the first week of classes. Prof. Schoppa will join section meetings occasionally, ideally meeting with each section at least once.

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 October 12 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 <u>section</u> Collab site. We will use the same distribution and collection method for the take-home final, but in this case you will have the flexibility to complete the assignment over a two week period (including Thanksgiving Weekend), due on December 4. The final will cover material only from the second half of the term.

## Readings:

Large sections of the following two books are required reading.

Kenneth B. Pyle, *Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose* (New York: Century Foundation, 2007). Ebook available from UVA Bookstore for \$12.99 at https://uvabookstores.vitalsource.com/products/japan-rising-the-resurgence-of-japanese-power-and-pyle-kenneth-v9780786732029

Henry Kissinger, *On China* (New York: Penguin, 2011). Ebook available from UVA Bookstore for \$14.99 at https://uvabookstores.vitalsource.com/products/on-china-henry-kissinger-v9781101445358

In addition, we will be reading journal articles and book chapters. All of these items are available as pdf documents on Collab. 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. Collab resources will be the place to go not only for readings but also for the powerpoint slides that go with each lecture and the recorded lecture.

## SCHEDULE AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Introduction (8/26) LIVE at 5 pm

2. Intro to IR Theory: Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism (8/31 and 9/2)

\*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).

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

# **3. Before Colonialism: A Hierarchical World Order Centered on China** (9/7 and 9/9)

\*David Kang, "Hierarchy and Stability in Asian International Relations," in John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 163-189.

Kissinger, *On China*, pp. 5-32.

# 4. Organized Hypocrisy: East Meets West in the Nineteenth Century (9/14)

Kissinger, On China, 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 (9/16 and 9/21)

Pyle, Japan Rising, pp. 66-97.

Kissinger, On China, 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 (9/23)

Pyle, Japan Rising, pp. 137-169.

## 7. Japan's Imperial Over-stretch (9/28)

Pyle, Japan Rising, pp. 170-209.

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

#### 8. Cold War Alignments and Alliances (9/30, 10/5 and 10/7 LIVE at 5 pm)

Pyle, Japan Rising, pp. 210-277.

Kissinger, On China, 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.

\*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): 575-607.

\*Victor Cha, "Powerplay: Origins of the US Alliance System in Asia," *International Security* 34:3 (Winter 2009/2010): 158-196.

Talk by Ezra Vogel on Friday October 9 at 3 pm, online, on Sino-Japanese Relations over the past century. Link provided by email.

**TIMED ONLINE MIDTERM** Essay Questions will be Released by Email on 10/12 at 5:00 pm. Two essay questions, two hours, open notes, but <u>no collaboration</u>. Submit by 7:00 pm the same evening via <u>Section</u> Collab Sites)

# 9. The Cold War in Korea and Vietnam (10/14)

Kissinger, *On China*, pp. 148-201.

\*Jonathan Mercer, *Reputation and International Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996): 14-48.

\*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** (10/19)

Pyle, Japan Rising, pp. 310-327.

Kissinger, *On China*, pp. 202-274.

# **11. Economic Cooperation and the Emergence of the Asian Economic Miracle** (10/21)

\*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 (10/26 and 10/28)

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

\*Daniel Drezner, "Economic Statecraft in the Age of Trump," *The Washington Quarterly* 42:3 (Fall 2019): 7-24.

\*Shang-Jin Wei and Xinding Yu, "How to Revive the WTO," *Project Syndicate* (online journal), December 11, 2019, 3 pages.

\*Mireya Solis, "Reinventing the Trading Nation: Japan, the United States, and the future of Asia-Pacific Trade," *Brookings Institution Report*, November 2019, 13 pages.

# **13. The Democratic Peace in Asia** (11/2)

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

\*Robert M. Uriu, "Export-Led Development and the Transformation of State Preferences in Industrialized Asia," in Daizaburo Yui and Yasuo Endo, eds., *Framing the Pacific in the 21st Century: Coexistence and Friction* (Tokyo: Center for Pacific and American Studies, 2001): 144-160.

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

# **14. Contemporary Challenges: A Nuclear North Korea** (11/4 and 11/9)

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

\*Jia Qingguo, "Time to Prepare for the Worst in North Korea," *East Asia Forum* 11 Sept 2017, 3 pages.

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

# **15.** Contemporary Challenges: China's Military Expansion in its Region (11/11)

\*Aaron L. Friedberg, "The Sources of Chinese Conduct: Explaining Beijing's Assertiveness," *Washington Quarterly* 37:4 (Winter 2015): 133-150.

\*Scott Kastner, "Is the Taiwan Strait Still a Flash Point? Rethinking the Prospects for Armed Conflict Between China and Taiwan," *International Security* 40:3 (Winter 2015/16): 54-92.

# **16.** Contemporary Challenges: China's Economic Gravity in its Region (11/16)

\*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.

\*Kurt Campbell and Ely Ratner, "The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations," *Foreign Affairs* Vol 97 (March/April 2018), pp. 60-70.

# **17. Contemporary Challenges: Japan and South Korea** (11/18 and 11/23)

\*Victor Cha, "Abandonment, Entrapment, and Neoclassical Realism in Asia: The United States, Japan, and Korea," *International Studies Quarterly* 44:2 (June 2000): 261-291.

\*Adam Liff, "Unambivalent Alignment: Japan's China Strategy, the US Alliance, and the 'Hedging' Fallacy," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 19 (2019): 453-491.

\*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.

\*Daniel Sneider, "Ripple Effects of US Retreat in NE Asia," *Asia Times*, November 23, 2019, seven pages.

# OPEN BOOK FINAL ESSAY WILL BE RELEASED BY EMAIL ON 11/23 at 6:00 pm.

# OPEN BOOK FINAL ESSAY DUE (Friday, December 4 at 5:00 pm via Section Collab Sites)

# PROF. SCHOPPA'S CLASS RULES

1. MISSED TESTS: You should notify me *before* the midterm if, for some reason, you will not be able to take it on that date. Permission will only be given in exceptional cases, and make-ups will be scheduled either before or after the regularly scheduled date--at my convenience.

2. LATE PAPERS: The final grade on the paper will be docked <u>one letter</u> (e.g. a B+ would be marked down to a C+) 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.

3. 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. In past years, I have seen several of my students expelled for this reason and another failed for attempting to cheat on a final exam. I take all cases of this type seriously and urge students to uphold the honor code.