

**School of International Relations and Pacific Studies
University of California, San Diego
IRGN 400/204**

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE PACIFIC

Winter Quarter 2009
Monday and Wednesday, 11 AM-12:20 PM
Gardner Room, IR/PS

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OFFICE HOURS: Wednesdays, 2 PM – 4 PM, RBC 1417

Few regions in the world present as many problems of definition as the Pacific. Whether it is a region at all is the subject of debate. Its combination of conventional diplomacy and military rivalries on the one hand and economic dynamism and integration on the other differs from regional trajectories in other parts of the world. Despite its high level of economic integration, the region's institution building has been incremental and shows few signs of accelerating. Growing democratization has not erased wide variation in political regimes across the region.

The course will investigate the following questions:

- (1) Which elements of the region's historical legacy—imperialism, World War II, decolonization, the Cold War-- continue to influence its contemporary international relations?
- (2) Why have Cold War alliances and conflicts persisted in the region?
- (3) How has regional economic integration affected prospects for conflict and cooperation?
- (4) What is the balance sheet of success and failure for the region's existing institutional architecture?
- (5) What domestic and international trends will determine future international relations in the region?

International relations theory will be deployed to answer these questions. Throughout the course, the Pacific will be compared with other regions.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

PhD students in the course may complete a research paper (thirty pages maximum) on a topic agreed with the instructor.

For all other students, the final evaluation will be based on

- (a) A short paper (7 pages), based on lectures and readings in the course, due February 9 (30% of final grade)
- (b) A final paper (10-15 pages), part of a team project, due March 16 (30% of final grade). The final paper will be an individual product, i.e., each member of a team will submit her/his own paper for an individual grade.
- (c) A final presentation of a team project, given in class on March 2, March 4 or March 9 (20% of final grade). The grade for the team presentations will be a collective grade (i.e., the same grade for all members of the team).

(d) Participation in class discussions (20% of final grade). Students may be asked to open class discussion for particular sections of the course.

Students whose regional concentration is Latin America are welcome in this course. You are encouraged to design team projects and paper topics that include Latin America. Please discuss this option with the instructor if you are interested.

COURSE READINGS:

The following book has been ordered through the University Bookstore: Richard Samuels, *Securing Japan* (Cornell University Press, 2008).

All readings are available on E-Reserves or in the IR/PS Library. "Additional reading" is not required; it is included to assist in the preparation of presentations and papers.

I. DEFINING REGIONS

January 5: The Asia-Pacific region in comparative context

Etel Solingen, "Pax Asiatica versus Bella Levantina: The Foundations of War and Peace in East Asia and the Middle East," *American Political Science Review* 101, 4 (November 2007), 757-780.

II. THE PACIFIC REGION AS HISTORY: EMPIRES AND NATION-STATES

January 7: Historical ruptures and continuity in the Pacific

David Kang, "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks," *International Security*, 27, 4 (Spring 2003), pp. 57-85.

Additional reading:

Muthiah Alagappa, "International Politics in Asia: The Historical Context," in Muthiah Alagappa, editor, *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences*, pp. 65-111

Takeshi Hamashita, "The Intra-regional System in East Asia in Modern Times," in Peter J. Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraishi, editors, *Network Power: Japan and Asia*, pp. 113-135

Akira Iriye, *The Cold War in the Pacific*

Robert J. McMahon, *The Limits of Empire: The United States and Southeast Asia since World War II*

Peter Petri, "The East Asian Trading Bloc," in Jeffrey A. Frankel and Miles Kahler, editors, *Regionalism and Rivalry: Japan and the United States in Pacific Asia*, pp. 21-52.

Michael Yahuda, *The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific, 1945-1995*

January 12: Historical legacies and contemporary international politics

Peter Hays Gries, *China's New Nationalism*, pp. 116-134

Ming Wan, *Sino-Japanese Relations*, pp. 304-327

Additional reading:

Laura Hein and Mark Selden, "The Lessons of War, Global Power, and Social Change," in Laura Hein and Mark Selden, eds. *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States*, pp. 3-50

- Chung-in Moon and Seung-Won Suh, "Identity Politics, Nationalism, and the Future of Northeast Asian Order," in G. John Ikenberry and Chung-in Moon, editors, *The United States and Northeast Asia*, pp. 193-229
- Gi-Wook Shin, Soon-Won Park, and Daqing Yang, eds., *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia*

III. REGIONAL ARCHITECTURE: GREAT POWERS AND ALLIANCE RELATIONS

January 14 and 21: The persistence of alliances—Japan and the United States

- *Richard Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia*, pp. 86-209.
- Mike Mochizuki, "China-Japan Relations: Downward Spiral or a New Equilibrium?" in David Shambaugh, ed., *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*, pp. 135-150.

Additional reading:

- *William W. Grimes, "Institutionalized Inertia: Japanese Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War World," in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, pp. 353-385
- H. Richard Friman, Peter J. Katzenstein, David Leheny, and Nobuo Okawara, "Immovable Object? Japan's Security Policy in East Asia," in Peter J. Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraiishi, eds., *Beyond Japan: The Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism*, pp. 85-107.
- J. Patrick Boyd and Richard J. Samuels, *Nine Lives? The Politics of Constitutional Reform in Japan*, pp. 27-64 (available at <http://washington.eastwestcenter.org/ewc-in-washington/publications>—Policy Studies 19)
- Michael J. Green, *Japan's Reluctant Realism*
- Eric Heginbotham and Richard Samuels, "Mercantile Realism and Japanese Foreign Policy," *International Security*, 22, 4 (Spring 1998), pp. 171-203
- Jennifer M. Lind, "Pacifism or Passing the Buck? Testing Theories of Japanese Security Policy," *International Security*, 29 1 (Summer 2004), pp. 92-121
- Kenneth B. Pyle, *Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose*
- Richard J. Samuels, *Rich Nation, Strong Army: National Security and Japan's Technological Transformation*

January 26 and 28: China--integration or challenge?

- Avery Goldstein, "Power Transitions, Institutions, and China's Rise in East Asia: Theoretical Expectations and Evidence," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 30, 4 (2007), pp. 639-682.
- David Shambaugh, "China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order," *International Security*, 29, 3 (Winter 2004/05), pp. 64-99
- M. Taylor Fravel, *Strong Borders, Secure Nation: Cooperation and Conflict in China's Territorial Disputes*, pp. 300-319
- Thomas J. 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
- Margaret M. Pearson, "The Case of China's Accession to GATT/WTO," in David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978-2000*, pp. 337-370

Additional reading:

- M. Taylor Fravel, "Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes," *International Security*, 30, 2 (Fall 2005), pp. 46-83.
- Avery Goldstein, *Rising to the Challenge: China's Grand Strategy and International Security*
- Alastair Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27, 4 (Spring 2003).

- Alastair Iain Johnston, *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000*
 Nicholas R. Lardy, *Integrating China into the Global Economy*
 John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, chapter 10.
 Evan S. Medeiros, *Reluctant Restraint: The Evolution of China's Nonproliferation Policies and Practices, 1980-2004*.
 David Shambaugh, *Modernizing China's Military: Progress, Problems, and Prospects*
 Susan Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*
 Wu Xinbo, "China: Security Practice of a Modernizing and Ascending Power," in Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Asian Security Practice*, pp. 115-156

February 2, 4, and 9: Korea and Taiwan—transformation of Cold War conflicts

- Victor Cha, "Why We Must Pursue 'Hawk Engagement,'" and David Kang, "Why Are We Afraid of Engagement," in Victor D. Cha and David Kang, *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies*, pp. 70-127
 Miles Kahler and Scott Kastner, "Strategic Uses of Economic Interdependence: Engagement Policies on the Korean Peninsula and Across the Taiwan Strait," *Journal of Peace Research*, 43, 5 (September 2006), pp. 523-541
 T. J. Cheng, "China-Taiwan Economic Linkage: Between Insulation and Superconductivity," in Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, ed., *Dangerous Strait*, pp. 93-130

Additional reading:

- Muthiah Alagappa, editor, *Taiwan's Presidential Politics: Democratization and Cross-Strait Relations in the Twenty-first Century*
 Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, *Famine in North Korea: Markets, Aid and Reform*.
 Scott L. Kastner, "Does Economic Integration Across the Taiwan Strait Make Military Conflict Less Likely?," *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 6, 3 (2006), pp. 319-346
 Chae-jin Lee, *A Troubled Peace: US Policy and the Two Koreas*
 Norman Levin, *Do the Ties Still Bind? The U.S. – ROK Security Relationship After 9/11*
 Norman D. Levin and Yong-Sup Han, *Sunshine in Korea: The South Korean Debate over Policies Toward North Korea*
 Michael O'Hanlon and Mike Mochizuki, *Crisis on the Korean Peninsula: How to Deal with a Nuclear North Korea*
 Chang Hun Oh and Celeste Arrington, "Democratization and Changing Anti-American Sentiments in South Korea," *Asian Survey* 47, 2 (March/April 2007), pp. 327-350.
 Shelley Rigger, *Taiwan's Rising Rationalism: Generations, Politics, and "Taiwanese Nationalism"*
 Robert S. Ross, "Navigating the Taiwan Strait: Deterrence, Escalation Dominance, and U. S.-China Relations," *International Security*, 27, 2 (Fall 2002), pp. 48-85
 Philip Saunders, "Long-Term Trends in China-Taiwan Relations," *Asian Survey*, 45, 6 (2005).

IV. REGIONAL ARCHITECTURE: ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND INSTITUTIONS

February 11: ASEAN—template or dead end?

- Yuen Foong Khong and Helen E.S. Nesadurai, "Hanging Together, Institutional Design, and Cooperation in Southeast Asia: AFTA and the ARF," in Amitav Acharya and Alastair Iain Johnston, eds., *Crafting Cooperation: Regional Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, pp. 32-58
 David Martin-Jones and Michael L.R. Smith, "Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order," *International Security*, 32, 1 (Summer 2007), pp. 148-184

Additional reading:

- Amitav Acharya, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*
- Amitav Acharya, "Collective Identity and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia," in Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, editors, *Security Communities*, pp. 198-227
- Evelyn Goh, "Great Powers and Hierarchical Order in Southeast Asia," *International Security*, 32, 3 (Winter 2007/08), pp. 113-157
- Yuen Foong Khong, "Coping with Strategic Uncertainty: The Role of Institutions and Soft Balancing in Southeast Asia's Post-Cold War Strategy," in J. J. Suh, Peter J. Katzenstein, and Allen Carlson, eds., *Rethinking Security in East Asia*, pp. 172-208
- Michael Leifer, *ASEAN and the Security of Southeast Asia*
- Michael Leifer, "The ASEAN Peace Process: A Category Mistake," *The Pacific Review*, 12, 1 (1999), pp. 25-38
- Shaun Narine, *Explaining ASEAN: Regionalism in Southeast Asia*
- Helen E. S. Nesadurai, *Globalisation, Domestic Politics and Regionalism: The ASEAN Free Trade Area*

February 18 and 23: Economic integration and regional institutions

- Naoko Munakata, *Transforming East Asia: The Evolution of Regional Economic Integration*, pp. 8-61
- Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Yee Wong, "Prospects for Regional Free Trade in Asia," Institute for International Economics Working Paper 05-12 (available at <http://www.iie.com/publications/interstitial.cfm?ResearchID=569>)
- John Ravenhill, "The Political Economy of the New Asia-Pacific Bilateralism: Benign, Banal, or Simply Bad?," in Vinod K. Aggarwal and Shujiro Urata, eds., *Bilateral Trade Agreements in the Asia-Pacific*, pp. 27-49.
- C. Fred Bergsten, "China and Economic Integration in East Asia: Implications for the United States," PIIE Policy Brief (PB07-3), March 2007, <http://www.petersoninstitute.org/publications/interstitial.cfm?ResearchID=714>

Additional reading:

- Jennifer A. Amyx, "Japan and the Evolution of Regional Financial Arrangements in East Asia," in Ellis S. Krauss and T. J. Pempel, editors, *Beyond Bilateralism: U. S.-Japan Relations in the New Asia-Pacific*, pp. 198-220
- Michael Borrus, Dieter Ernst, and Stephan Haggard, editors, *Rivalry or Riches: International Production Networks in Asia*
- Natasha Hamilton-Hart, "Creating a Regional Arena: Financial Sector Reconstruction, Globalization and Region-Making," in Peter J. Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraishi, eds., *Beyond Japan: East Asian Regionalism* (forthcoming)
- Walter Hatch, "When Strong Ties Fail: U. S.-Japanese Manufacturing Rivalry in Asia," in Ellis S. Krauss and T. J. Pempel, eds., *Beyond Bilateralism*, pp. 154-175
- Randall Henning, *East Asian Financial Cooperation*
- Miles Kahler, "Legalization as Strategy: The Asia-Pacific Case," in Judith Goldstein, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter, eds., *Legalization in World Politics*, pp. 165-187
- Edward J. Lincoln, *East Asian Economic Regionalism*, pp. 194-230
- Andrew MacIntyre and Barry Naughton, "The Decline of a Japan-Led Model of the East Asian Economy" in T. J. Pempel, ed. *Remapping East Asia*, pp. 77-100.
- Dajin Peng, "Invisible Linkages: A Regional Perspective of East Asian Political Economy," *International Studies Quarterly*, 46, 3 (September 2002), pp. 423-447
- John Ravenhill, *APEC and the Construction of Pacific Rim Regionalism*
- Ming Wan, "Economic Interdependence and Economic Cooperation: Mitigating Conflict and Transforming Security Order in Asia," in Muthiah Alagappa, editor, *Asian Security Order*, pp. 280-310

Shahid Yusuf, M. Anjun Altaf and Kaoru Nabeshima, *Global Production Networking and Technological Change in East Asia*

February 25: Alternative security orders

Yuen Foong Khong and Helen E.S. Nesadurai, "Hanging Together, Institutional Design, and Cooperation in Southeast Asia: AFTA and the ARF," in Amitav Acharya and Alastair Iain Johnston, eds., *Crafting Cooperation: Regional Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, pp. 58-82

Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, "A Security and Peace Mechanism for Northeast Asia: The Economic Dimension," PIIE Policy Brief (PB08-4, April 2008), <http://www.petersoninstitute.org/publications/interstitial.cfm?ResearchID=906>

Alyson J. K. Bailes, Pál Dunay, Pan Guang & Mikhail Troitskiy, *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization*, SIPRI, May 2007, pp. 1-29 (<http://books.sipri.org/files/PP/SIPRI17.pdf>)

Additional reading:

Amitav Acharya and Evelyn Goh, editors, *Reassessing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific: Competition, Congruence, and Transformation*

Desmond Ball and Amitav Acharya, editors, *The Next Stage: Preventive Diplomacy and Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region*

Barry Buzan, "Security Architecture in Asia: The Interplay of Regional and Global Levels," *The Pacific Review*, 16, 2 (2003), pp. 143-173

Brian Job, "Track 2 Diplomacy: Ideational Contribution to the Evolving Asian Security Order," in Muthiah Alagappa, editor, *Asian Security Order: Instrumental and Normative Features*, pp. 241-279

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Socialization in International Institutions: The ASEAN Way and International Relations Theory," in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*

Thomas J. Schoenbaum, *Peace in Northeast Asia: Resolving Japan's Territorial and Maritime Disputes with China, Korea and the Russian Federation*

William T. Tow, *Asia-Pacific Strategic Relations: Seeking Convergent Security*

V. March 2, March 4, March 9: CLASS PRESENTATIONS ON TOPICS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE PACIFIC

VI. March 11: CONCLUSION: A PACIFIC FUTURE?

Read one of the following:

Amitav Acharya, "Will Asia's Past Be It's Future?," *International Security*, 28, 3 (Winter 2003/04), pp. 149-164

Aaron L. Friedberg, "The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable," *International Security*, 30, 2 (Fall 2005), pp. 7-45

Francis Fukuyama, "The Security Architecture in Asia and American Foreign Policy," in Kent E. Calder and Francis Fukuyama, editors, *East Asian Multilateralism*, pp. 234-253