INTL 102 Economics, Politics & International Change:

International Relations of the Asia-Pacific

Winter Quarter 2018

Tuesday and Thursday, 12:30 PM-1:50 PM
RBC Auditorium

This course provides a survey of some key issues in the international relations of the Asia-Pacific. The course is divided into four modules:

- Historical background and theories for thinking about the international relations of the region, focusing particularly on the rise of China.
- A look at key strategic relationships, covering the main actors: the US, China, Japan, Taiwan, the two Koreas and Southeast Asia.
- A consideration of how economic interdependence and institutions affect diplomacy and the prospects for conflict and cooperation.
- A look at some key military-strategic issues: the prospect for arms races, the South China Sea and the new questions arising out of the cyber domain.

Faculty and Teaching Assistants

Professor Stephan Haggard
Office hours: Tuesday 1-2:30, Wednesday 1:30-3:30, RBC 1425. A sign-up sheet is posted on the door.

TAs and office hours:

Andres Gannon (jagannon@ucsd.edu), Thursdays 8-10, SSB 346
Patrick Hulme (mhuime@ucsd.edu), Wednesday and Friday, 10-11, SSB 323.
Clara Suong (csuong@ucsd.edu), Friday, 12:30-2:30, SSB 351.
Jack Zhang (jjz007@ucsd.edu), Tuesdays and Thursdays 11-12, SSB 329

Sections will not meet the first week of class.

Course Requirements

There are four components to your grade in the course.

- Each student will be required to write one short policy memo of about 1000 words. You will receive additional instructions on this assignment in your sections. This paper will count for 20% of the final grade.
- There will be unannounced quizzes during the quarter in your sections. They will require
you to answer simple questions demonstrating that you have done the reading. These will count for 10% of your grade.

- An in-class **mid-term** will count for 25% of your grade, and a final for 35%. The mid-term will cover all assigned material—lectures, readings and section discussion—through February 20. The **final** will cover the entire course. The midterm and final will consist of two parts: short identifications; and one or two essay questions.
- **Participation** in sections accounts for the remaining 10%

**Course Readings, Lectures and Podcast**

All readings and lecture slides will be posted on TED except those that are hyperlinked in the syllabus; note that you may need to be on campus or connected through a VPN to access some readings. “Documents” are primary sources that are also required reading. You are expected to have done the reading by the date they are assigned. Lectures will be podcast and are available here.

**Statement on Academic Integrity**

All work should be original and written exclusively by the students. All assignments will be turned in through Turnitin.com AND in hard copy form the day they are due. All cases of suspected cheating will be referred for adjudication to the Office of Academic Integrity and the Assistant Dean of Student Affairs in the Office of Graduate Studies. Any violation for which a student is found responsible is considered grounds for failure in the course, not simply on the assignment. To review the policy, please go here.

**Module I. Theoretical and Historical Issues**

**January 9 (Tuesday): Introduction: Military and Political Foundations of the Postwar International Order in Asia**

We begin with an overview of the postwar security order in Asia, a direct result of great power and civil wars: World War II, the Chinese revolution and the Korean War. This system was rooted not only in alliances but a broader institutional order led by the United States.

**Documents:**

*Yalta Agreement on Japan*, February 11, 1945.
*The Potsdam Declaration*, July 26, 1945.
*SCAP General Order no. 1*, September 2, 1945.

**January 11 (Thursday): Challenges to the Postwar International Order in Asia: Some US Thinking**

China’s rise has generated very different reactions. Some, like John Ikenberry, believe that the Western liberal order is likely to persist. Others, such as John Mearsheimer and Graham Allison or more pessimistic. What are the conclusions reached by these contending theories and
what evidence can be provided in support of them?


**January 16 (Tuesday): Domestic Sources of International Politics: The Democratic Peace, Historical Legacies, and Nationalism**

An altogether different approach to the politics of the region is to see conflicts as rooted in domestic politics. These theories include those related to the idea of the democratic peace—that democracies don’t fight one another—with the implication that democracies and authoritarian regimes are more likely to experience conflict. These theories also encompass those related to history and nationalism. Note that these issues are not simply those that divide Japan from its neighbors: there are also questions about how the Chinese Communist Party has chosen to construct—and reconstruct—the country’s history.

Benjamin A.T. Graham, Christopher J. Fariss and Erik Gartzke, “Hey, China, this is why democracies beat autocracies in a fight. (So back off the South China Sea.)” *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), December 15, 2015 [here](#).

**Document:**


**II. The Great Powers, Alliance Relations and Cold War Legacies**

**January 18 (Thursday): The Changing US-Japan Alliance**

The US-Japan alliance is not an alliance in the traditional sense; it is a unilateral security guarantee by the US. This fact is grounded in the nature of the post-war constitution and the so-called Yoshida Doctrine, which has been the cornerstone of Japan’s foreign policy. Is Japanese foreign policy changing—particularly under Prime Minister Abe—and if so how and why?

**Policy memo:** Argue for or against the following statement:

“Prime Minister Abe should move forward to amend Article 9 of the Japanese
Constitution.” (Article 9 is a clause in the national Constitution of Japan outlawing war as a means to settle international disputes involving the state. The constitution was imposed during the allied occupation of Japan following World War II.)


Documents:

Security Treaty Between the United States and Japan, September 8, 1951.
For those writing on this prompt, see Cabinet Decision on Development of Seamless Security Legislation to Ensure Japan’s Survival and Protect its People July 1, 2014 at http://www.cas.go.jp/jp/gaiyou/jimu/pdf/anpohosei_eng.pdf

January 23 (Tuesday): Asia’s Pivot: Sino-Japanese Relations

China-Japan relations are arguably the real pivot of Asian peace and security. Japanese policy has largely been to accommodate and even facilitate China’s rise. But conflicts in the East Sea around the Senkaku-Diaoyu islands are clearly one of the region’s potential flashpoints, in part because of the way they necessarily engage the US.

Policy memo: Argue for or against the following statement: “Japan should continue to accommodate China’s rise.” Make sure to consider the particular ways that Japan might or might not “accommodate” China and if you argue against such accommodation, what alternatives would you suggest.

Taylor Fravel, “China’s Assertiveness in the Senkaku (Diaoyu) Islands Dispute, MIT Political Science Department Research Paper No. 016-19.

January 25 (Thursday): The China Debate I: The Elements of Peaceful Rise

Under Deng Xiaoping China concentrated on domestic economic developments, articulating a strategy that was later articulated in more detail as China’s “peaceful rise.” What were the components of this policy approach?

Policy memo: Argue for or against the following statement: “China should abandon its strategy of peaceful rise.”


January 30 (Tuesday): The China Debate II: Has Something Changed?

Perhaps the most significant debate in the IR of the Asia-Pacific is whether Chinese foreign policy has undergone any significant change since 2010 and under Xi Jinping in particular. To what extent should China be characterized as newly assertive, and what does that mean anyway?

**Policy memo:** Write a memo for a US or Asian intelligence agency on what indicators you would you look at to judge whether China is becoming more “assertive” or not.


Xuetong Yang, “From Keeping a Low Profile to Striving for Achievement,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 7, 2 (Summer 2014) [here](#).


February 1 (Thursday): The Taiwan Issue

The Taiwan question went quiet as the KMT sought to build closer economic and political ties with the mainland. But that quiet was disrupted first by the Sunflower movement—mass protests around a pending trade agreement (the ECFA) with the mainland—in 2014 and then by the re-entry of a DPP government into office in 2016. Some have argued that making concessions on Taiwan might be one way to accommodate China’s rise while Trump’s comments on ending the One-China Policy renewed discussion about a stronger US commitment to Taiwan.

**Policy memo:** Write a memo on whether the United States should reach a deal or make concessions to China with respect to Taiwan. Be clear on what these concessions might be and the effects of doing so, both on Taiwan and China.

Nancy Tucker and Bonnie Gla


**Documents:**
The three communiqués (1972, 1979 and 1982) as well as the “six assurances” to Taiwan (1982) at: http://www.taiwandocuments.org/doc_com.htm

February 6 (Tuesday): South Korea: The Alliance and Beyond

The US-Korea alliance is a direct legacy of the Korean War. It continues to encompass traditional issues of deterrence and extended deterrence. But South Korea has to balance its interests with the US and China. What does it mean to “strengthen” the alliance exactly?

Policy memo: Argue for or against the following statement:
“The “three no’s” are an appropriate strategy for South Korea in its effort to balance its relationships with the United States and China.” China recently put economic pressure on South Korea in response to its decision to deploy a ballistic missile defense (BMD, and specifically THAAD or Terminal High Altitude Aerial Defense) battery. It then appeared to lift those sanctions, but in an apparent agreement on the part of the South Korea to abide by “three no’s” (no additional THAAD deployment, no participation in the US’s missile defense network and no establishment of a trilateral military alliance with the US and Japan).


Documents:

Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America, signed October 1, 1953

February 8 (Thursday): The North Korean Nuclear Crisis

The nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula is now over a decade old. Multiple efforts have been made to induce North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons and missile programs. But the Six Party talks collapsed in 2008 and there is little sign that they will be revived any time soon. Is it possible to get North Korea to disarm, or must the five parties live with a nuclear North Korea?

Policy memo: Write a policy memo on whether the United States should recognize North Korea as a nuclear power.

Document:


Additional reading:


February 13 (Tuesday): Southeast Asia 1: the ASEAN Way and Its Critics

ASEAN appears to play an important political role in Southeast Asia but analysts have a hard time figuring out what it is. Goh sees a subtle but ultimately sophisticated strategy; others (Martin-Jones and Jenne) are much more skeptical. What was ASEAN designed to do and has it accomplished its objectives?

**Policy memo:** You have been asked by the leadership of the US or an Asian government of your choosing to write a memo assessing decision-making within ASEAN and what the organization can achieve. Should your country be taking ASEAN seriously or not? Why or why not?


February 15 (Thursday): Southeast Asia 2: Responding to China’s Rise

How are Southeast Asian countries responding to China’s rise? Using realist terminology, are they balancing, band-wagoning, or hedging, in effect a combination of the two strategies? To what extent are economic ties and patronage a source of influence? Responses are clearly not uniform. What factors—including domestic political ones—might explain variance across countries?

**Policy memo:** You have been asked by a Southeast Asian government of your choosing to write a memo about whether or not to participate in China’s Belt and Road initiative (aka OBOR). Should Chinese investment in your country be welcomed or resisted? Please be specific in outlining what your country’s national interests are and consider what policies your government might pursue to realize these objectives.

Euan Graham, “Southeast Asia in the US Rebalance: Perceptions from a Divided

**February 20 (Tuesday): In-Class Mid-term Exam.** The mid-term covers all material through February 15.

**III. The Regional Political Economy and its Consequences**

**February 22 (Thursday): The Evolving Economic Order of the Asia-Pacific**

Economics has a significant influence on international politics. First, what are the patterns of long-run growth in the region and the prospects going forward? Second, how have these been related to the nature of trade and investment networks in the Asia-Pacific and how did they evolve? Finally, what role have financial flows played in the region, and in the US-China relationship in particular?


**February 27 (Tuesday): The Conflict over Economic Institutions**

In the last decade, East Asia has seen dramatic growth in the number of economic institutions, including high-level meetings among leaders and economic organizations in the form of free trade agreements. The rise and fall of the TPP raised important questions about economic leadership the region.


**March 1 (Thursday): The Political Effects of Economic Integration**

The effect of economic integration on peace is a highly debated issue. On the one hand, are liberal arguments about the positive effects of trade on peace. On the other hand, there are persistent questions of whether greater openness generates political leverage for actors like China.


**IV. Security Issues**
March 6 (Tuesday): The Military Balance in the Asia-Pacific

Shifts in the balance of power are politically relevant in part because of how they translate into military capabilities. How are those capabilities shifting and what are the strategic implications? Kang argues strongly that countries in the region are not balancing Chinese power. Is this because they recognize the effort is futile—and therefore have to accommodate China’s rise—or is it because they don’t see China as posing a real military challenge? Or is it because they rely on the United States to maintain the balance, even though the relative capabilities of the US are eroding?


March 8 (Thursday): The South China Sea

The South China Sea is consistently identified as a potential “flash point” in East Asia. Yet there is wide disagreement on whether these land features—some little more than rocks—are strategically significant or not. The question lingers because of competing claims, competing legal interpretations, and above all Chinese land reclamation efforts. Should we worry about the South China Sea or not?


Michael McDevitt, “The South China Sea Seven Years On,” *East Asia Forum*, July 19, 2017 [here](#).

Feng Zhang, “The Fight Inside China over the South China Sea,” *Foreign Policy*, June 23, 2016 [here](#).

March 13 (Tuesday): New Issues: Cybersecurity in US-East Asia Relations

Conflicts in the region are not limited to conventional security and economic issues but have extended into the cyber domain. What are the views of the major parties on these issues and how do states defend, deter or cooperate to limit tensions in this new domain?


Stephan Haggard and Jon Lindsay, “North Korea and the Sony Hack: Exporting Instability Through Cyberspace,” [here](#).


March 15 (Thursday): The International Relations of the Asia-Pacific: Looking Forward

March 20 (Tuesday): Final Exam 11:30am-2:30pm (location to be announced).