

**International Politics in East Asia**

**2014**

**ITASIA 121**

**25-304-39(Law & Politics)**

**GraSPP 5122236**

**総合文化研究科世界システム論 II**

13:00-14:30 Friday

Main Conference Room

Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia (IASA 東洋文化研究所)

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This is an intensive seminar on contemporary East Asian international politics in the context of the changing world system. The seminar covers various aspects, both theoretical and issue-based, of international politics in East Asia mainly from the 1980s to the 21st century. The seminar is conducted in English. Students are required to make frequent oral presentations based on assigned readings and submit a book review and a policy paper as described below.

**Book Review** (Choose one book from the following list and write a 10 page book review to be submitted by the end of July):

Robert D. Kaplan, *Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific* (New York: Random House, 2014)

Edward N. Luttwak, *The Rise of China vs. the Logic of Strategy* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012)

Aaron L. Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia* (New York: W.W.Norton, 2011)

Jeffrey A. Bader, *Obama and China's Rise: An Insider's Account of America's Asia Strategy* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2012)

Susan L. Shirk, *China—Fragile Super Power: How China's Internal Politics Could Derail Its Peaceful Rise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Henry Kissinger, *On China* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2011) .

Richard Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

Richard C. Bush, *The Perils of Proximity: China-Japan Security Relations* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010)

Victor Cha, *The Impossible State: North Korea, Past and Future* (London: The Bodley Head, 2012)

Amitav Acharya, *The Making of Southeast Asia: International Relations of a Region* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).

David C. Kang, *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

### **Policy Paper:**

Write a policy paper for a government of your choice on its East Asian policy with assessment of international and domestic environments and specification of desirable goals, necessary means, and priorities. The first draft should be submitted by the May 30 class; the final paper should be submitted by the end of July.

### **Schedule:**

#### **April 4: Introduction**

#### **[Required Readings]**

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and David A. Welch, "Explaining Conflict and Cooperation: Tools and Techniques of the Trade," in Nye and Welch, *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to Theory and History*, 9th Edition (Boston: Longman, 2012), pp.38-76.

Akihiko Tanaka, *The New Middle Ages* (Tokyo: The International House of Japan, 2002), Chapters 7-9.

**April 11: no class**

**April 18: no class**

#### **April 25: Strategic Perspectives of Japan, China and the United States**

#### **[Required Readings]**

Japan's National Security Strategy, December 17, 2013

<http://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryoku/131217anzenhoshou/nss-e.pdf>

Richard L. Armitage, Joseph S. Nye, et.al. The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Anchoring Stability in Asia (CSIS, 2012)

[http://csis.org/files/publication/120810\\_Armitage\\_USJapanAlliance\\_Web.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/120810_Armitage_USJapanAlliance_Web.pdf)

China's National Defense in 2013

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-04/16/c\\_132312681.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-04/16/c_132312681.htm) )

## **May 2: Basic Conditions of International Politics in East Asia (1)**

### **[Required Readings]**

Aaron L. Friedberg, "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia," *International Security*, vol. 18, no.3 (Winter 1993/94), pp. 5-33.

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

### **[Recommended Readings]**

John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Summer, 1990), pp. 5-56

David Kang, "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Spring 2003), pp. 57-85

## **May 9: no class**

## **May 10: Basic Conditions of International Politics in East Asia (2)**

### **[Required Readings]**

Thomas U. Berger, "Power and Purpose in Pacific East Asia," in Ikenberry and Mastaduno, *op.cit.*, pp. 387-419.

Benjamin E. Goldsmith, "Domestic Political Institutions and the Initiation of International Conflict in East Asia," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*. Vol.14 Number 1 2014: 59-90

**[Recommended Readings]**

Jonathan Kirshner, "States, Markets, and Great Power Relations in the Pacific: Some Realist Expectations," in Ikenbery and Mastanduno, *op.cit.*, pp.273-298.

**May 16: Basic Conditions of International Politics in East Asia (3)**

**[Required Readings]**

Timo Kivimäki, "Sovereignty, hegemony, and peace in Western Europe and in East Asia," *International Relations of the Asia Pacific*, Vol. 12, No.3 (2012), pp.419-447.

Amitav Acharya, "Power Shift or Paradigm Shift? China's Rise and Asia's Emerging Security Order," *International Studies Quarterly* (2014) 58, pp.158-173.

**[Recommended Readings]**

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Socialization in International institutions: The ASEAN Way and International Relations Theory," in Ikenbery and Mastanduno, *op.cit.*, pp.107-162.

**May 23: no class**

**May 30: The United States**

**[Required Readings]**

G. John Ikenbury, "The Political Foundations of American Relations with East Asia," in G. John Ikenbery and Chung-In Moon, eds. *The United States and Northeast Asia: Debates, Issues, and New Order* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), pp.19-37.

Evelyn Goh, "Hierarchy and the role of the United States in the East Asian security order," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 8 (2008), pp.353-377.

**[Recommended Readings]**

Michael C. Desch, "America's Liberal Illiberalism: The Ideological Origins of Overreaction in U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No.3 (Winter 2007/08), pp.7-43.

G. John Ikenbery and Michael Mastanduno, "Conclusion: Images of Order in the Asia-Pacific and the Role of the United States," in Ikenbery and Mastanduno, *op.cit.*, pp. 421-439.

## **June 6: China (1)**

### **[Required Readings]**

Barry Buzan, "China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol.3, 2010, pp.5-36.

John J. Mearsheimer, "The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to U.S. Power in Asia," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 3, 2010, pp. 381-396.

### **[Recommended Readings]**

Robert S. Ross, "China's Naval Nationalism: Sources, Prospects, and the U.S. Response" in *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Fall 2009), pp. 46–81.

Avery Goldwtein, "Power Transitions, Institutions, and China's Rise in East Asia: Theoretical Expectations and Evidence," in Ikenberry and Moon, *op.cit.*, pp.39-78.

David Shambaugh, "Return to the Middle Kingdom? China and Asia in the Early Twenty-First Century," in David Shambaugh, ed. *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 23-47.

Akihiko Tanaka, "Global and Regional Geo-strategic Implications of China's Emergence," *Asian Economic Policy Review*, Vol. 1, Issue 1 (June 2006), pp.180-196.

## **June 13: China (2)**

### **[Required Readings]**

Yinan He, "History, Chinese Nationalism and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict," *Journal of Contemporary China* (2007), 16 (50), February, 1-24.

Hiroki Takeuchi, "Sino-Japanese Relations: Power, Interdependence, and Domestic Politics," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol.14, No.1 (2014), pp. 7-32.

### **[Recommended Readings]**

Linus Hagstrom, "'Power Shift' in East Asia? A critical Reappraisal of narratives on the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands Incident in 2010," in *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol.5 2012, 267-297.

- M. Taylor Fravel, "Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China's Use of Force in Territorial Disputes," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No.3 (Winter 2007/8), pp. 44-83.
- Kentaro Sakuwa, "A not so dangerous dyad: China's rise and Sino-Japanese rivalry," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 9 (2009), pp.497-528.
- Steve Chan, "Commerce between rivals: realism, liberalism, and credible communication across the Taiwan Strait," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol.9 (2009), pp.435-467.
- Richard Bush, "Taiwan Faces China: Attraction and Repulsion" in Shambaugh, *op.cit.*, pp.170-186.
- Robert Sutter, "China's Regional Strategy and Why It May Not Be Good for America," in Shambaugh, *op.cit.*, pp.289-305.
- David M. Lampton, "China's Rise in Asia Need Not Be at America's Expense," in Shambaugh, *op.cit.*, pp. 306-326.

**June 20: no class**

**June 27: Japan**

**[Required Readings]**

- Bhubhindar Singh and Philip Shetler-Jones, "Japan's reconceptualization of national security: the impact of globalization," in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, vol. 11 (2011), pp.491-530.
- Yee-Kuang Heng, "Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is the softest of them all? Evaluating Japanese and Chinese strategies in the 'soft' power competition era," *International Relations in the Asia-Pacific*, Vol.10 (2010), pp.275-304.

**[Recommended Readings]**

- Linus Hagstrom, "The 'abnormal' state: Identity, norm/exception and Japan," *European Journal of International Relations*, 2014, pp.1-24.
- Takashi Inoguchi and Paul Bacon, "Rethinking Japan as an Ordinary Country," in Ikenberry and Moon, *op.cit.*, pp. 79-98.
- Missim Kadosh Otmazgin, "Contesting Softpower: Japanese Popular Culture in East and Southeast Asia," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 8 (2008), pp. 73-101.

Takafumi Suzuki, "Investigating Japanese government's perceptions of the postwar world as revealed in prime ministers' Diet addresses: focusing on East-West and North-South issues," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol.9 (2009), pp.317-338.

Saori N. Katada and Mireya Solis, "Domestic sources of Japanese foreign policy activism: loss avoidance and demand coherence," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 10 (2010), pp.129-157.

Akihiko Tanaka, "The Yasukuni Issue and Japan's International Relations," in Tsuyoshi Hasegawa and Kazuhiko Togo, eds., *East Asia's Haunted Present: Historical Memories and the Resurgence of Nationalism* ( Westport, Praeger Security International, 2008), pp.119-141.

#### **July 4: Korean Peninsula**

##### **[Required Readings]**

Koji Kagotani, Kan Kimura and Jeffrey R. Weber, "Democracy and diversionary incentives in Japan-South Korea disputes," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 14, No.1 (2014), pp.33-58.

Yongho Kim, "North Korea: A Perpetual Rogue State?" in Ikenberry and Moon, *op.cit.*, pp. 143-164.

##### **[Recommended Readings]**

Victor D. Cha and David C. Kang, *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies* (New York: Columbia University Press,2003 ) chapters 1 and 2.

Woosang Kim, "Korea as a Middle Power in the Northeast Asian Security Environment," in Ikenberry and Moon, *op.cit.*, pp. 123-141.

#### **July 11: Russia and Southeast Asia**

##### **[Required Readings]**

Natasha Kuhrt "The Russian Far East in Russia's Asia Policy: Dual Integration or Double Periphery?," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 64:3, 471-493, 2012.

Ian Tsung-Yen Chen and Alan Hao Yang, "A harmonized Southeast Asia? Explanatory typologies of ASEAN countries' strategies to the rise of China," *The Pacific Review*, Vol.26, No.3, pp.265-288.

##### **[Recommended Readings]**

- Richard Sakwa, “‘New Cold War’ or twenty years’ crisis? Russia and international politics,” *International Affairs*, Vol. 84, Issue 2, pp. 241–267, 2008.
- Paradorn Rangsimaporn, “Interpretations of Eurasianism: Justifying Russia's role in East Asia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 58:03, 371-389, 2006
- William C. Wohlforth, “Defying Expectations: Russia’s Missing Asian Revisionism,” in Ikenberry and Moon, *op.cit.*, pp.99-122.

## **July 18: Regionalism in East Asia**

### **[Required Readings]**

- Donald K. Emmerson, “Security, Community, and Democracy in Southeast Asia: Analyzing ASEAN,” *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 6 (2) (2005), pp.165–185
- Katja Freistein, “‘A living document’: promises of the ASEAN Charter,” *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 26, No.4, pp.407-429.

### **[Recommended Readings]**

- Takashi Shiraishi, “The Third Wave: Southeast Asia and Middle-Class Formation in the Making of a Regions,” in Katzenstein and Shiraishi, *op.cit.*, pp.237-271.
- John Ravenhill, "The New Trade Bilateralism in East Asia," in Kent Calder and Francis Fukuyama, eds. *East Asian Multilateralism: Prospects for Regional Stability* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), pp.78-105.
- Akihiko Tanaka, “Introduction” in Ralph A. Cossa and Akihiko Tanaka, eds. *An East Asian Community and the United States* (Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2007), pp.1-13.
- Akihiko Tanaka, “The Development of the ASEAN+3 Framework,” in Melissa G. Curley and Nicholas Thomas, eds. *Advancing East Asian Regionalism* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 52-73.
- Ralph A. Cossa, “An East Asian Community and the United States,” in Cossa and Tanaka, *op.cit.*, pp. 144-174.
- Ken Jimbo, “An Emerging East Asian Community? The Political Process of Regionalism in East Asia,” in Cossa and Tanaka, *op. cit.*, pp.14-41.
- Akiko Fukushima, “Political and Security Cooperation in East Asia: Promoting Functional Cooperation,” in Cossa and Tanaka, *op.cit.*, pp. 104-143.



Hiro Katsumata, "Japanese popular culture in East Asia: a new insight into regional community building," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 12 (2012), pp. 133-160.

Chalongphob Sussangkarn, "Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization: Origin, Development and Outlook," *Asian Economic Policy Review*, Vol.6 (2011), pp.203-220.

David Martin Jones and Michael L.R. Smith, "Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order," *International Security*, Summer 2007, Vol. 32, No. 1, Pages 148-184

**Suggested Readings for Philosophy, Theory and Methodology of Social Inquiry and International Relations:**

**[social ontology and epistemology]**

John R. Searle, *Making the Social World: The Structure of Human Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Herbert A. Simon, *The Science of the Artificial*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1996).

**[methodology]**

Abraham Kaplan, *The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science* (New York: Chandler Publishing, 1964).

Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994)

Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Mark Sirkin, *Statistics for the Social Sciences*, 3rd Edition (SAGE, 2005)

Alan Agresti and Barbara Finlay, *Statistical Methods for the Social Sciences*, 4th Edition (Pearson, 2008).

James D. Morrow, *Game Theory for Political Scientists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994)

久米郁夫『原因を推論する--政治分析方法論のすすめ』有斐閣、2013.

**[Theories of International Politics]**

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and David A. Welch, *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to Theory and History*, 9<sup>th</sup> edition (Boston: Longman, 2012).

Johan Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owen, *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 4th Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

Martin Wight, *International Theory: The Three Traditions* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1991).

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile*

*Crisis*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (New York: Longman, 1999).

Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Akihiko Tanaka, *The New Middle Ages* (Tokyo: The International House of Japan, 2002)

**[Books in Japanese by Tanaka]**

『世界システム』『日中関係 1945-1990』『戦争と国際システム』『新しい「中世」』  
『安全保障』『ワード・ポリティクス』『複雑性の世界』『アジアのなかの日本』  
『ポスト・クライシスの世界』