# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF EAST ASIA—REGIONAL COOPERATION?

Political Science 4386

2022 SMU-in-Oxford Summer International Studies Program M-Th 8:45-10:15am, University of Oxford, United Kingdom Web page: http://canvas.smu.edu

Professor Hiroki Takeuchi Department of Political Science Email: htakeuch@smu.edu Office hours:
By appointment

# **Course Description and Objectives**

This course has both *substantive* and *procedural* objectives. Substantively, this course provides an overview of international relations in the East Asian region while introducing students the leading theories and debates about regional cooperation in the field of international relations (IR). Procedurally, because this is a *writing-intensive* course, students are expected to write an analytical essay that demonstrates a *clearly articulated research question* and *thesis statement*. The thesis is to be *supported* by logical and empirical *evidence*, and not merely opinion. The essay is to be *well researched* and written in a polished and *grammatical* style.

This course will examine the various tensions between the establishment of closer ties among the nations in East Asia and the preservation of national sovereignty. For the last few decades, there have remained lingering signs of regional conflict and significant risks of the next war in East Asia (e.g., the Taiwan Strait, the Korean Peninsula, the East and South China Seas, etc.). Then the Russian invasion of Ukraine changed this expectation, and now the world is watching how two of the major countries in East Asia, China and Japan, respond to the challenge to the existing international order that happened in Europe. The central question is whether the East Asian region is heading towards greater peace and cooperation or war and conflict in the twenty-first century. The subtitle of the course includes a question mark because all of us, including the instructor, are searching for answers.

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 South Asia and Central Asia are not a primary focus of this class.

Upon successful completion of this course, students will be able to

- explain the historical context of politics and IR of East Asia,
- analyze issues related to politics and IR of East Asia, and
- discuss the manners in which U.S. foreign policy shapes and is shaped by politics and IR of East Asia.

### **Course Requirements**

1. Attendance and participation (including weekly memo assignment) (30% of a student's course grade): Attendance at lecture and participation in discussion are mandatory. The readings vary in length and difficulty but average about 70 pages per day. You are expected to attend all the lectures and do the required readings. Come to class **prepared and ready to participate** in discussing the material assigned in the readings. Most importantly, *students are required to turn in a memo on Canvas*. An unexcused absence will adversely affect your course grade, as will being present but unprepared to participate, or participating without being prepared.

After four unexcused absences, I may give an FA (F for attendance) to your course grade. An excused absence is almost exclusively restricted to religious reasons, certain university activities, documented medical conditions, or documented family emergencies. Absences for religious reasons or for university extracurricular activities require communication with me at the **beginning** of the session. It is **your** responsibility to make arrangements with me **prior** to any missed scheduled examination or other missed assignment for making up the work.

Ultimately your attendance and participation grade turns on **my** impression of how seriously you take this course. It is **your** responsibility to take this course seriously and let me know that. How? Attend class; be prepared for class—read the assignments for understanding, be ready to ask and answer questions, take an informed role in discussions, and most importantly, write a good memo; **arrive early** to class; remain for the entire class; be attentive in class without distracting me or your classmates with cell phones, text messages, side conversations, bathroom trips, coming-and-going, and so forth; complete assignments when due; and demonstrate your understanding on the essays and other assignments. Laptops, cell phones, iPhones, and any other electronic devices may not be used in class—**not even for note-taking**.

The course is designed, and will be conducted, to be student-driven and discussion-centered. How well this course achieves its goals will depend on students' participation. Students are expected to do the assigned reading **before** class; to have read **actively**, comparing what they are reading with what they already know through other readings in this class or other classes to join class discussion.

In each class, **every** student is expected to give a brief (1–2 minutes) presentation of their initial impressions of the readings, along with any questions they wish to raise for the day's discussion.

2. <u>Take-home midterm</u> (30%): The take-home midterm will be due July 18 (Monday) at 11:59pm on Canvas. The exam is open book and open notes and will require 5–7 pages (typed, double-spaced, 12-point font) of writing. The essays will be evaluated on the basis of: demonstrated mastery of the assigned readings; skill in exposing nuances of similarity and difference in various defensible positions; cogency, clarity, precision and organization of presentation; and relevance of evidence marshaled to *support your argument(s)*. No extensions will be granted except in the case of a serious illness or a death in the family.

Please plan to finish the assignment prior to the due date, and leave adequate time to proofread and to work out any computer or printer problems that may arise.

3. <u>Final paper</u> (40%: 10% for presentation and 30% for paper): The major task for the course will be to write a policy paper which would give the government an advice for enhancing regional cooperation in East Asia. Late in this summer term you will present and defend your findings to the class. The final paper will be due August 5 (Friday) at 4:00pm on Canvas.

A written brief concisely summarizing the argument you will make in your presentation must be sent to the instructor no later than 5pm one day before your presentation. It should be a maximum of one page (single-spaced), and can be written in bullet points, paragraphs, or in any other style. It will not be graded, but if it is late or missing, your presentation will be marked down 20%.

*Presentation* should be 15 minutes in length, proving background on the issue, a review and assessment of the past policies taken by governments, and most importantly your recommendations. Following the presentation, there will be 5 minutes for questions from the audience and general discussion. Your grade on this assignment will reflect both the quality of your presentation and your answers to audience questions.

*Papers* should be 5–7 pages (double-spaced, twelve-point font, one-inch margin). They should be similar in content to your presentation, but less time spent on background information. The papers should also take into account as much as possible the issues raised during your presentation.

Each of you must meet with me for 15 minutes in the first week of the session. Sign up for an appointment time during the first day in class.

## **Disability Accommodations**

Students needing academic accommodations for a disability must first register with Disability Accommodations & Success Strategies (DASS). Students can call 214–768–1470 or visit www.smu.edu/Provost/SASP/DASS to begin the process. Once approved and registered, students will submit a DASS Accommodation Letter to faculty through the electronic portal *DASS Link* and then communicate directly with each instructor to make appropriate arrangements. Please note that accommodations are not retroactive and require advance notice to implement.

## **Religious Observance**

Religiously observant students wishing to be absent on holidays that require missing class should notify their professors in writing at the beginning of the semester, and should discuss with them, in advance, acceptable ways of making up any work missed because of the absence. (https://www.smu.edu/StudentAffairs/ChaplainandReligious-Life/ReligiousHolidays).

# **Excused Absences for University Extracurricular Activities**

Students participating in an officially sanctioned, scheduled University extracurricular activity should be given the opportunity to make up class assignments or other graded assignments

missed as a result of your participation. It is the responsibility of the student to make arrangements with the instructor prior to any missed scheduled examination or other missed assignment for making up the work. (See <u>2020–2021 SMU Undergraduate Catalog</u> under "Enrollment and Academic Records/Excused Absences.")

# **Books and Readings**

The following books should be purchased in advance **before** the session starts. Readings marked with an asterisk (\*) will be available electronically. There may be changes in the readings and assignments below.

Michael Beckley, *Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).

Sheila A. Smith, *Japan* Rearmed: *The Politics of Military Power* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019).

## **Schedule and Reading Assignments**

Readings provide background on topics covered in class lectures and discussions, so read the assignment **before** the class for which they are assigned. Since the course will make frequent reference to current events, you should make a habit of *reading respectable online news on a regular basis* and pay attention to the events in East Asia.

## 1. Introduction (Mon, July 4)

- \* Noah Barkin, "<u>Watching China in Europe June 2022</u>," *The German Marshall Fund of the United States: Strengthening Transatlantic Cooperation.*
- \* "Remarks by President Obama to the People of Estonia," *The White House Office of the Press Secretary*, September 3, 2014. (<a href="https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/03/remarks-president-obama-people-estonia">https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/03/remarks-president-obama-people-estonia</a>)
- \* Hiroki Takeuchi, "Trade as a Pathway to Peace," *The Catalyst*, Fall 2020. (https://www.bushcenter.org/catalyst/china/takeuchi-trade-and-peace-china.html)
- \* Alan Beattie, "Trade Policy Cannot Fix America's Inequality Problem," *Financial Times*, May 11, 2022. (https://on.ft.com/3ljnLmZ)

# 2-4. International Political Economy of the Global Pandemic (Tue – Thu, July 5-7)

\* Yves Tiberghien, *The East Asian COVID-19 Paradox* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021): entire (85 pages).

- \* Uri Friedman, "Why America Resists Learning from Other Countries," *Atlantic*, May 14, 2020. (<a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/05/coronavirus-could-end-american-exceptionalism/611605/">https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/05/coronavirus-could-end-american-exceptionalism/611605/</a>)
- \* Robin Harding, "Asia Is the Global Inflation Exception," *Financial Times*, November 25, 2021. (https://on.ft.com/3xnd2wJ)
- \* Martin Wolf, "War in Ukraine Is Causing a Many-Sided Economic Shock," *Financial Times*, April 26, 2022. (https://on.ft.com/3MvQqR3)
- \* Martin Wolf, "The Big Mistakes of the Anti-Globalists," *Financial Times*, June 21, 2022. (https://on.ft.com/3HJovMA)

### Recommended video:

SMU Tower Center Sun & Star Webinar: "The East Asian COVID-19 Paradox" (with Yves Tiberghien), October 7, 2021. (<a href="https://blog.smu.edu/towercenter/2021/10/21/sun-star-webinar-the-east-asian-covid-19-paradox/">https://blog.smu.edu/towercenter/2021/10/21/sun-star-webinar-the-east-asian-covid-19-paradox/</a>)

Memo Assignment 1 due July 7, 11:59pm on Canvas.

### 5-6. China's Rise and the Balance of Power (Mon & Tue, July 11-12)

Beckley, chapters 1–4 (pp. 1–97)

- \* Michael Beckley, "Rogue Superpower: Why This Could Be an Illiberal American Century," *Foreign Affairs* 99(6) (November/December 2020): 73–87.
- \* "China's Foreign Minister Tells Pacific Leaders 'Don't Be Anxious' After They Reject Regional Security Pact," *The Guardian*, May 30, 2022. (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/may/30/chinas-foreign-minister-to-meet-with-pacific-nations-amid-push-for-sweeping-regional-deal?CMP=share btn link)

## 7–8. China's Rise and Its Implications for the Future (Wed & Thu, July 13–14)

Beckley, chapters 5–6 (pp. 98–154)

- \* Rana Mitter, "The World China Wants: How Power Will—and Won't Reshape Chinese Ambitions," *Foreign Affairs* 100(1) (January/February 2021): pp. 161–175.
- \* Elizabeth Economy, "Xi Jinping's New World Order: Can China Remake the International System?" *Foreign Affairs* 101(1) (January/February 2022): pp. 52–67.
- \* Michael Beckley, "Enemies of My Enemy: How Fear of China Is Forging a New World Order" *Foreign Affairs* 101(2) (March/April 2022): pp. 68–85.

- \* Hiroki Takeuchi, "Domestic Politics of Chinese Foreign Policy: Where Will Xi Jinping Bring China?" *Asian Security* 15 (May 2019): pp. 205–213.
- \* Hiroki Takeuchi and Saavni Desai, "Chinese Politics and Comparative Authoritarianism: Institutionalization and Adaptation for Regime Resilience," *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 22(4) (December 2021): pp. 381–392.
- \* Hudson Lockett, "How Xi Jinping is Reshaping China's Capital Markets," *Financial Times*, June 11, 2022. (https://on.ft.com/3NIXbA7)

#### Recommended videos:

SMU Tower Center Sun & Star Webinar: "The Belt, Road, and Beyond: Domestic Motivations and Implications for the World" (with Min Ye), November 5, 2020: <a href="https://blog.smu.edu/towercenter/2020/11/18/sun-star-the-belt-road-and-beyond-domestic-motivations-and-implications-for-the-world/">https://blog.smu.edu/towercenter/2020/11/18/sun-star-the-belt-road-and-beyond-domestic-motivations-and-implications-for-the-world/</a>.

SMU Tower Center Sun & Star Webinar: "The Emperor's New Road: China and the Project of the Century" (with Jonathan Hillman), February 25, 2021: <a href="https://blog.smu.edu/towercenter/2021/02/25/sun-star-webinar-series-the-emperors-new-road-china-and-the-project-of-the-century/">https://blog.smu.edu/towercenter/2021/02/25/sun-star-webinar-series-the-emperors-new-road-china-and-the-project-of-the-century/</a>.

# 9. Discussion – China's Rise and U.S.-China Relations (Mon, July 18)

- \* John J. Mearsheimer, "The Inevitable Rivalry: America, China, and the Tragedy of Great-Power Politics," *Foreign Affairs* 100(6) (November/December 2021): pp. 48–58.
- \* "A Rival of America's Making? The Debate over Washington's China Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* 101(2) (March/April 2022): pp. 172–188.
- \* Kathrin Hille, "China Builds Coalition to Counter America's 'Barbaric and Bloody' Leadership," *Financial Times*, May 26, 2022. (<a href="https://on.ft.com/3aeORZW">https://on.ft.com/3aeORZW</a>)

## TAKE-HOME MIDTERM DUE JULY 18, 11:59PM ON CANVAS

## 10. Japan's Security Policy During the Cold War (Tue, July 19)

Smith, introduction & chapter 1 (pp. 1–54)

\* Short video – "<u>After Seventy-Five Years, Will Japan Strengthen Its Military?</u>" *Council on Foreign Relations*, May 2, 2022.

### 11. Field trip to London (Wed, July 20)

# 12. Japan's Security Policy During the Post-Cold War (Thu, July 21)

Smith, chapters 2–3 (pp. 55–127)

\* Mireya Solis, "The Underappreciated Power: Japan After Abe," *Foreign Affairs* 99(6) (November/December 2020): pp. 123–132.

### Recommended video:

SMU Tower Center Sun & Star Webinar: "Japan's Geoeconomic Strategy" (with Mireya Solís), November 11, 2021. (<a href="https://blog.smu.edu/towercenter/2021/11/16/sun-star-japans-geoeconomic-strategy/">https://blog.smu.edu/towercenter/2021/11/16/sun-star-japans-geoeconomic-strategy/</a>)

### 13. The Pacifist Constitution and Japan's Military Policy (Mon, July 25)

Smith, chapter 4 (pp. 128–172)

# 14. Japan's Security Policy and U.S.-Japan Relations (Tue, July 26)

Smith, chapter 5 & conclusion (pp. 173–240)

- \* Edward Luce, "Biden Should Scrap Talk of the 'Liberal International Order," *Financial Times*, April 21, 2022. (https://on.ft.com/3vrALeA)
- \* Tony Barber, "When Democratic Spin Conceals a Descent into Dictatorship," *Financial Times*, May 13, 2022. (https://on.ft.com/3yC7h16)

#### Recommended video:

JASDFW Japan Currents Symposium Webinar: "The Future of the Alliance Under President Biden and Prime Minister Suga" (with Michael Green, Aiko Lane, and Yoshihide Soeya), February 10, 2021. (https://blog.smu.edu/towercenter/2021/03/24/sun-star-the-future-of-the-alliance-under-president-biden-and-prime-minister-suga/)

### 15–16. Students' Presentations (Wed & Thu, July. 27 & 28)

### 17. Japan-European Relations (Mon, Aug. 1)

[Guest Speaker: Dr. Shogo Akagawa, NIKKEI]

18. Review (Tue, Aug. 2)

Memo Assignment 2 due August 2, 11:59pm on Canvas.

FINAL PAPER DUE AUG. 5, 4:00 PM ON CANVAS