

Bowdoin College  
Department of Government and Legal Studies  
Asian Studies Program

GOV 2694/ASNS 2921 – Fall, 2019  
Mon, Wed, and Fri: 11:45 am-12:40 pm  
Classroom: Adams Hall 406

## **International Relations in East Asia**

Dr. Aki Nakai

Office: Hubbard Hall, Room 21  
Office Hours: Mon and Wed: 1:30 pm-4:30 pm or by appointment  
E-mail: [anakai@bowdoin.edu](mailto:anakai@bowdoin.edu) (preferred contact method)  
Phone: x5814

### COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

This course analyzes relations between the various states in East Asia and between those states and countries outside the region, including the United States. The course addresses empirical and theoretical questions, including: What are the threats to peace and prosperity in the region, and how are the different countries responding? What explains the foreign policy strategies of different countries, including China and Japan, and how have they changed over time? How can broader theories of international relations inform, and be informed by, the nature of foreign policy choices in this region? Is East Asia headed toward greater cooperation or conflict? By investigating and analyzing patterns of conflict and cooperation in East Asia, this course aims to give students an opportunity to develop skills of critical thinking, communication, and analytical writing.

### DISRIBUTION AND DIVISION REQUIREMENTS

This course satisfies the following distribution and division requirements: IP (International Perspectives) and b (Social and Behavioral Sciences)

### REQUIRED COURSE READING

David Shambaugh and Michael Yahuda, eds., *International Relations of Asia*, Second edition. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014)  
Thomas U. Berger, *War, Guilt, and World Politics after World War II*. (New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)  
Terence Roehrig, *Japan, South Korea, and the United States Nuclear Umbrella: Deterrence After the Cold War*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017)

## IMPORTANT DUE DATES

- Midterm Exam: FRIDAY, OCTOBER 11
- Research Workshop (in-class): WEDNSDAY, OCTOBER 16
- Due of Op-Ed (1,000 words): FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22 (5:00 pm)
- Due of Policy Brief (7 pages): WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11 (5:00 pm)

## RESEARCH WORKSHOP

The in-class research workshop provides students an opportunity to become familiar with the basics of how to use the library for research and also helps students prepare for the final paper assignment with the format of Op-Eds and Policy Brief. Students will be instructed to bring their tentative or actual topic for both assignments to work on, for the purpose of this research workshop. Students are required to email their topics to the instructor by Wednesday, October 9<sup>th</sup>. Students are however still allowed to change their topics after this research workshop.

## GRADING

Blackboard Discussion Forum Posting:	15%
Class Participation:	15%
Midterm Exam:	20%
Op-Ed (1,000 words):	20%
Policy Brief (7 pages):	25%
Attendance:	5%

## DISCUSSION FORUM POSTING AND CLASS PARTICIPATION

The instructor has set up an online discussion forum, in the “Discussions” section of the course website in Blackboard. Students are required to post their thoughts on assigned readings at least twice a week, before 9 p.m. one day prior to the class when the readings are assigned. During the same week, students are also required to comment on their peers’ postings at least twice a week. Your postings total as four times per week. This assignment starts in Week 2.

Each entry must be NO MORE THAN one paragraph, raising questions, assessing the strength and weakness of assigned readings, and responding to their classmates’ comments. Please do not provide detailed summaries of the reading assignments for it is not the point of the discussion forum. The instructor will review the postings prior to the class. Lastly, students are required to review the comments in the “Discussions”, prior to class.

During every class, students are expected to demonstrate that they have completed all reading assignments; discriminate the issues which they understand from the ones that they do not understand; express why some authors are more persuasive or interesting than others; and raise questions that are unresolved or demand further analysis. Discussions are a collective endeavor and the dialogue among class participants including the instructor. Students are required to contribute their share of opinions and questions as well as listen respectfully to those of others.

The instructor will grade each student's contributions to the online discussion forum and class participation. In both instances, the instructors will evaluate how the student engages the ideas in the readings and other students' opinions in a constructive and thoughtful way. Frequency of online contributions and speaking does not necessarily raise the student's participation grade. Consistent lack of contributions to the online discussion forum and frequent absence from class will significantly lower the student's grade.

### MIDTERM EXAM

The format of the midterm exam consists of two short essay questions. Midterm Exam will cover the contents of all readings assigned from Week 1 to Week 6. Sample questions will be provided in Week 5 as a study guide.

### OP-ED

Op-Ed, short for Opposite the Editorial, is a newspaper opinion piece from contributors not affiliated with the editorial board. For this assignment, students will write an op-ed article similar to those that appear in major newspapers. The students' goal in this assignment is to connect an important current event or controversy to a topic, theme, or event which was covered in this course.

Op-Ed should be approximately 1,000 words in length (double-spaced, 12-point font and one-inch margins). This assignment will give students an opportunity to research individually, think critically about an important topic in the region, and hone their analytical and persuasive writing skills.

Because this assignment asks students to simulate a newspaper column, students should assume that the audience for this paper is the general public and not an academic one. Students should write in a way that will engage the average newspaper reader.

Here are some tips. First, students must select a specific, concrete current security event or controversy that they believe can be better understood by looking at the patterns of conflict and cooperation in Asia. Students should select a current issue that they feel passionately about. Next, students must select a specific, concrete relevant topic or theme that can help shed light on the issues of the U.S. policy toward Asia.

If, after completing this assignment, students would like to submit their article to a newspaper for actual publication, extra credit will be given to those who provide evidence of submission, such as email correspondence or a letter.

The instructor will set up the submission link in the Blackboard and the submission deadline of paper is: 5:00 pm, Friday, November 22<sup>nd</sup>.

For useful information and examples:

<https://styleguide.duke.edu/toolkits/writing-media/how-to-write-an-op-ed-article/>

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/10/04/looking-for-compromise-on-gun-control-is-futile-but-not-for-the-reasons-you-think/?utm\\_term=.755c9cb0a1d5](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/10/04/looking-for-compromise-on-gun-control-is-futile-but-not-for-the-reasons-you-think/?utm_term=.755c9cb0a1d5)

## POLICY BRIEF

Policy Brief is a short and objective policy analysis of a particular issue or problem. The goal of Policy Brief is to evaluate policy options regarding a specific issue, to inform a specific policy-maker audience of the evaluation, and to facilitate policy-making. Policy-makers need to make practical decisions under time-constraints, therefore Policy Brief should provide evidence and actionable policy recommendations. For this assignment, students will write a Policy Brief for policy-makers in a specific country in Asia, depending on your choice of country.

Policy Brief should be at least 7 pages in length (double-spaced, 12-point font and one-inch margins). This assignment will give students an opportunity to research individually, think critically about an important topic in the region, and hone their analytical and persuasive writing skills.

Policy Brief distills and synthesizes a large amount of complex detail, so the reader can easily understand the heart of the issue, its background, the players (“stakeholders”) and any recommendations, or even educated guesses about the future of the issue. It may have tables and graphs; usually, it has a short list of references, so the reader knows something about the sources on which it is based, and where to go for more information.

The format of Policy Brief should consist of the following sections: (1) a 1 to 2 paragraph executive summary (A description of the problem addressed; statement on why the current approach/policy option needs to be changed; and recommendations for action); (2) Goal Statement (National Interests); (3) Scope of the Problem; (4) Current Policy; (5) Possible Policy Options and Critiques; (6) Policy Recommendations; and (7) Bibliography.

Here are some tips. First, students must focus on achieving the intended goal of convincing the target policy makers, by using ideas, evidence and language that will convince them. Second, Policy Brief is a communication tool produced by policy analysts and therefore all potential audiences not only expect a rational argument but will only be convinced by argumentation supported by evidence that the problem exists and the consequences of adopting particular alternatives. Third, policy makers do not have the time or inclination to read an in-depth 20-page argument on a policy problem, therefore it should be succinct. Fourth, Policy Brief should be easily understandable by using clear and simple language and well explained and easy to follow argument. Lastly, Policy Brief is an action-oriented tool targeting policy decision makers, therefore it must provide arguments based on what is actually happening in practice with a particular policy and propose recommendations which seem realistic to the target audience.

The instructor will set up the submission link in the Blackboard and the submission deadline of final paper is: 5:00 pm, Wednesday, December 11<sup>th</sup>.

For useful information and examples:

<http://writingcenter.unc.edu/policy-briefs/>

### POLICY ON ATTENDANCE

Students are expected to attend all classes. Absences may be excused for medical, religious, extra-curricular and personal reasons. It is expected that students will approach the instructor in a timely and responsible fashion to discuss the issue of schedule conflicts.

Traditionally students have been allowed to miss no more than three hours of a single class in any semester (Faculty Handbook, 2019-2020, 44). Absences of more than three classes without legitimate excuses will be reflected in the final grade.

Students are responsible for all course material missed due to any absence from any academic activity. For more information, see <https://www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/student-handbook/attendance-policy.html>

### POLICY ON LATE WORK

The final paper must be submitted on time. Grades will be penalized by 1/3 of a letter grade for every twenty-four hours after the deadline. This means that a grade of “B+” will become a “B” if work is submitted within the first 24 hours after the deadline, and will become a “B-” if work is submitted between the 24 to 48 hours after the deadline.

### POLICY ON MAKE UP

A student with three one-hour examinations in one day or three final examinations in two days may reschedule one for a day mutually agreeable to the student and the instructor. To initiate this change during final exams only, students must obtain an Examination Rescheduling Form from the Office of the Registrar at least two weeks in advance of the conflicting exams. For in-class midterm examinations, students make an arrangement directly with the instructor. Other changes may be made for emergencies or for educational desirability, but only with the approval of the Office of the Dean of Students. For more information, see <https://bowdoin-public.courseleaf.com/academic-standards-regulations/>

### POLICY ON “INCOMPLETES”

The College expects students to complete all course requirements as established by instructors. In unavoidable circumstances (personal illness, family emergency, etc.) and with approval of the dean of students and the instructor, a grade of INC (Incomplete) may be recorded.

An Incomplete represents a formal agreement among the instructor, a dean, and the student for the submission of unfinished course work under prescribed conditions. Students must initiate their request for an Incomplete on or before the final day of classes (i.e., Wednesday, December 11th) by contacting a dean. If the Incomplete Agreement Form has not been approved and received in the Office of the Registrar by the grade submission deadline and no other grade has

been assigned, a grade of F will be recorded. For more information, see <https://bowdoin-public.courseleaf.com/academic-standards-regulations/>

### ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

By remaining in the course, you are agreeing to follow the standard principles of academic integrity for this course. Academic dishonesty is a serious offense because it undermines the bonds of trust and honesty among members of the community and defrauds those who may eventually depend upon our knowledge and integrity. Such dishonesty consists of cheating, fabrication, facilitating academic dishonesty, and plagiarism. Examples of academic dishonesty include using someone else's words or ideas without proper documentation; copying some portion of your text from another source without proper acknowledgement of indebtedness; borrowing another person's specific ideas without documenting their source; turning in a paper written by someone else, an essay "service," or from a web site. Any assignment that was generated in whole or part through academic dishonesty will be failed with no "do-overs." I also reserve the right to use computer software for plagiarism detection. For the college policy on academic honesty and plagiarism, see <https://www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/judicial-board/academic-honesty-and-plagiarism/index.html>

### ACCOMMODATIONS

Bowdoin College is committed to ensuring access to learning opportunities for all students. Students seeking accommodations based on a disability must register with the Student Accessibility Office. Please discuss any special needs or accommodations with me at the beginning of the semester or as soon as you become aware of your needs. I am eager to work with you to ensure that your approved accommodations are appropriately implemented. If you have questions about requesting accommodations or your approved accommodations, please contact Lesley Levy (llevy@bowdoin.edu), director of student accessibility. For more information, see <https://www.bowdoin.edu/accessibility/student-accessibility-office/index.html> and <https://www.bowdoin.edu/counseling/index.html>

### ELECTRONIC DEVICES IN CLASS

Cell phones must be turned off before entering the classroom, however if you need to have your cell phone on for medical or other reasons, please contact me. You are free to use laptop computers, IPADs, or other devices to take notes, to look at the syllabus or reading material online, or to look up other factual material relating to the course, but not for any other purpose such as **texting or emailing**. These are serious distractions to your learning. Phones and other electronic devices are not permitted during the exam.

### DROPPING THE COURSE

During Add/Drop II, Wednesday, September 4th at 9 am through Tuesday, September 5th at 5 pm, all students may drop courses without permission. After the Add/Drop II deadline, students may only add classes if approved by the Recording Committee. In consultation with their advisors, students have four more weeks to drop a class by using an Extended Drop. This option

begins after 5 pm on Tuesday, September 17th and continues through 5 pm on Wednesday, October 16th. After the Extended Drop deadline, any further adjustments to course schedules must go through the Recording Committee.

## SESSION SCHEDULE

### Week 1: Introduction & What is Asia?

Sep 4, Wed: Introduction of the course; Self-introduction  
Reading: No assigned reading

Sep 6, Fri: Defining Asia  
Reading: Shambaugh and Yahuda, Chapter 1 (David Shambaugh)

### Week 2: Evolving East Asian System?

Sep 9, Mon: Backing to the Pact  
Reading: David C. Kang. 2003. "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Framework." *International Security* 27, 4: 57-85.

Sep 11, Wed: Adopting a European Model  
Reading: Amitav Acharya. 2003/04. "Will Asia's Past Be Its Future?" *International Security* 28, 3: 149-164.

Sep 13, Fri: Becoming Something Different  
Reading: Shambaugh and Yahuda, Chapter 2 (Samuel S. Kim)

### Week 3: Theories of International Relations and Asia

Sep 16, Mon: Thinking Theoretically about Asian IR  
Reading: Shambaugh and Yahuda, Chapter 3 (Amitav Acharya)

Sep 18, Wed: Conflict or Peace? (1)  
Reading: Aaron L. Friedberg. 1993-1994. "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia." *International Security* 18, 3: 5-33.

Sep 20, Fri: Conflict or Peace? (2)  
Reading: Thomas U. Berger. 2000. "Set for Stability? Prospects for Conflict and Cooperation in East Asia." *Review of International Studies* 26, 3: 405-428.

### Week 4: Sino-U.S. Relations (I)

Sep 23, Mon: The United States in Asia  
Reading: Shambaugh and Yahuda, Chapter 4 (Robert Sutter)

Sep 25, Wed: American Views on the Sino-U.S. Relations

Reading: Zbigniew Brzezinski and John J. Mearsheimer. 2005. "Clash of the Titans." *Foreign Policy* 146; G. John Ikenberry. 2008. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs* 87, 1: 23-37.

Sep 27, Fri: China's Role in Asia

Reading: Shambaugh and Yahuda, Chapter 6 (Phillip Saunders)

#### Week 5: Sino-U.S. Relations (II) and Alliance Politics (I)

Sep 30, Mon: Chinese Views on the Sino-U.S. Relations

Reading: Randall L. Schweller and Xiaoyu Pu. 2011. "After Unipolarity: China's Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline." *International Security* 36, 1: 41-72.

Oct 2, Wed: War between the U.S. and China?

Reading: Stephen Biddle and Ivan Oelrich. 2016. "Future Warfare in the Western Pacific: Chinese Antiaccess/Area Denial, US AirSea Battle, and Command of the Commons in East Asia." *International Security* 41, 1: 7-48.

Oct 4, Fri: Japan's Role in Asia

Reading: Shambaugh and Yahuda, Chapter 8 (Michael Green)

#### Week 6: Alliance Politics (II)

Oct 7, Mon: South Korea's Choices in the Asian Century

Reading: Min-Hyung Kim. 2016. "South Korea's Strategy toward a Rising China, Security Dynamics in East Asia, and International Relations Theory." *Asian Survey* 56, 4: 707-730; Sheryn Lee. 2013. "Burying the Hatchet? The Sources and Limits of Japan-South Korea Security Cooperation." *Asian Security* 9, 2: 93-110.

Oct 9, Wed: Australia's Choices in the Asian Century

Reading: Shambaugh and Yahuda, Chapter 10 (Hugh White)

**Oct 11, Fri: Midterm Exam**

#### **FALL VACATION (Oct 12-15)**

#### Week 7: Nationalism and History Problems (1)

**Oct 16, Wed: In-Class Research Workshop (with Barbara Levergood)**

**Location: ECR (Electronic Class Room) in the basement of HL Library**

Oct 18, Fri: Politics and Memory in an Age of Apology & Japan: The Model Impenitent?

Reading: Berger, Chapter 1 [just skim but be familiar to three analytical models] and Chapter 4



## Week 8: Nationalism and History Problems (II)

Oct 21, Mon: The Geopolitics of Remembering and Forgetting in Asia

Reading: Berger, Chapter 5

Oct 23, Wed: Domestic Factors

Reading: Parks M. Coble. 2007. "China's "New Remembering" of the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance, 1937-1945." *The China Quarterly* 190: 394-410; Koji Kagotani, Kan Kimura and Jeffrey R. Weber. 2014. "Democracy and Diversionary Incentives in Japan-South Korea Disputes," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 14, 1: 33-58.

Oct 25, Fri: Solutions?

Reading: Berger, Chapter 6; Jennifer M. Lind. 2009. "The Perils of Apology: What Japan Shouldn't Learn From Germany." *Foreign Affairs* 88, 3: 132-146.

## Week 9: Korean Peninsula & Nuclear Weapons (I)

Oct 28, Mon: The Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asian Stability

Reading: Shambaugh and Yahuda, Chapter 12 (Scott Snyder)

Oct 30, Wed: Thinking about Korean Unification

Reading: Andrew H. Kydd. 2015. "Pulling the Plug: Can There Be a Deal with China on Korean Unification?" *The Washington Quarterly* 38, 2: 63-77; Sung-han Kim. 2015. "The Day After: ROK-U.S. Cooperation for Korean Unification," *The Washington Quarterly* 38, 3: 37-58.

Nov 1, Fri: Extended Deterrence and the Nuclear Umbrella

Reading: Roehrig, Chapter 1

## Week 10: Nuclear Weapons (II)

Nov 4, Mon: China and North Korea

Reading: Roehrig, Chapter 3

Nov 6, Wed: Japan

Reading: Roehrig, Chapter 4

Nov 8, Fri: U.S. Nuclear Umbrella

Reading: Roehrig, Chapters 6 and 7

## Week 11: Taiwan Strait

Nov 11, Mon: Overview

Reading: Edward Friedman. 2013. "China's Ambitions, America's Interests, Taiwan's Destiny, and Asia's Future." *Asian Survey* 53, 2: 225-244.

Nov 13, Wed: Does Economic Interdependence Prevent Conflicts?

Reading: Scott L. Kastner. 2016. "Is the Taiwan Strait Still a Flash Point? Rethinking the Prospects for Armed Conflict between China and Taiwan." *International Security* 40, 3: 54-92.

Nov 15, Fri: Domestic Factors

Reading: Chin-Hao Huang and Patrick James. 2014. "Blue, Green or Aquamarine? Taiwan and the Status Quo Preference in Cross-Strait Relations." *The China Quarterly* 219: 670-692.; Shu Keng and Gunter Schubert. 2010. "Agents of Taiwan-China Unification? The Political Roles of Taiwanese Business People in the Process of Cross-Strait Integration." *Asian Survey* 50, 2: 287-310.

### Week 12: Territorial Disputes

Nov 18, Mon: Overview

Reading: Kimie Hara. 2001. "50 Years from San Francisco: Re-Examining the Peace Treaty and Japan's Territorial Problems." *Pacific Affairs* 74, 3: 361-382.

Nov 20, Wed: Senkaku/ Diaoyu Islands Dispute

Reading: William Choong. 2014. "The Senkaku/Diaoyu Dispute." *Adelphi Series: The Ties that Divide: History, Honour and Territory in Sino-Japanese Relations* 54, 445: 59-92.; Mira Rapp Hooper. 2015. "Uncharted Waters: Extended Deterrence and Maritime Disputes." *The Washington Quarterly* 38, 1: 127-146.

Nov 22, Fri: South China Sea Disputes

Reading: Aki Nakai. 2018. "South China Sea: Hague and Aftermath." *Occasional Papers on Asia* 4 (Boston University Center for the Study of Asia):

<https://www.bu.edu/asian/files/2018/02/Aki-Nakai.-Hague-and-Aftermath.-Occasional-Papers-on-Asia-No.-4-Feb-2018.pdf>

**Paper (Op-Ed) due on Nov 22 (5:00 pm)**

### Week 13: Regional Institutions (I)

Nov 25, Mon: Organization Gap in Northeast Asia

Reading: Kent Calder and Min Ye. 2004. "Regionalism and Critical Junctures: Explaining the "Organization Gap" in Northeast Asia." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4, 2: 191-226.

**THANKSGIVING VACATION (Nov 27-Dec 1)**

### Week 14: Regional Institutions (II) & Economic Regionalism (I)

Dec 2, Mon: ASEAN

Reading: Shambaugh and Yahuda, Chapter 9 (Sheldon W. Simon)

Dec 4, Wed: International Trade

Reading: Deborah Elms. 2016. "The Origins and Evolution of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Trade Negotiations." *Asian Survey* 56, 6: 1017-1039.; John Ravenhill. 2016. "The Political Economy of an "Asian" Mega-FTA: The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership." *Asian Survey* 56, 6: 1077-1100.

Dec 6, Fri: International Finance

Reading: William W. Grimes. 2015. "East Asian Financial Regionalism: Why Economic Enhancements Undermine Political Sustainability," *Contemporary Politics* 6, 3: 145-160.

#### Week 15: Economic Regionalism (II) & Future of East Asia

Dec 9, Mon: Creating a Regional Order

Reading: Xiao Ren. 2016. "China as an Institution-Builder: The Case of the AIIB." *The Pacific Review* 29, 3: 435-442.; Amitai Etzioni. 2016. "The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: A Case Study of Multifaceted Containment." *Asian Perspective* 40, 2: 173-196.

Dec 11, Wed: Future of East Asia

Reading: Seongho Sheen. 2013. "Northeast Asia's Aging Population and Regional Security: "Demographic Peace?" *Asian Survey* 53, 2: 292-318.; Alex J. Bellamy. 2014. "The Other Asian Miracle? The Decline of Mass Atrocities in East Asia." *Global Change, Peace & Security* 26, 1: 1-19.

**Final Paper (Policy Brief) due on Dec 11 (5:00 pm)**