

TSE – Taipei School of Economics and Political Science

Syllabus – 2024 Spring Semester [version 2/22/2024]

## International Relations of East Asia

**Instructor:** Yves Tiberghien (Professor, Dept. of Political Science, UBC and Visiting Professor, TSE)

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**TA:** Rachel Colimbo ([rachelcolimbo@gmail.com](mailto:rachelcolimbo@gmail.com))

**Course Schedule: Time: R5R6, Thursday 13:20-15:10**  
**13:20-1405 (discussion), break (1405-1415), lecture (14:15-15:10)**

2/22:	Session 1	<b>in person</b>
2/29:	Session 2	<b>in person</b>
3/07:	Session 3	<b>in person</b>
3/08:	Session 4	<b>in person 10-12</b>
3/14:	no class	
3/21:	Session 5	remote [instructor at UBC, including TSE partnership development]
3/28:	Session 6	remote [instructor at annual Congress of International Studies Assoc in SFO]
4/4:	no class	(university holiday)
4/11:	no class	<b>writing break</b>
4/18:	Session 7	remote [instructor in Europe, TSE partnership development]
4/25:	Session 8	remote [instructor presenting at Harvard University]
5/02:	Session 9	remote [instructor in Europe]
5/09:	Session 10	<b>in person</b>
5/10:	Session 11	<b>in person 10-12</b>
5/16:	no class	[instructor in Washington for US-China Dialogue on Global Eco Order]
5/23:	Session 12	<b>in person</b>
5/24:	Session 13	<b>in person 10-12</b>
5/30:	Session 14	<b>in person</b>
6/06:	Session 15	<b>in person</b>
6/13:	Session 16	<b>in person</b> [last]

### Office Hours:

- **In Person** Office Hours: between February 29 and March 8, April 10 (330-530pm) and May 6 and June 15 – please schedule through the TA (afternoon preferred)

- **From March 9 to May 5:** will be by **zoom**, please schedule with me

### **Course Description:**

This course analyzes the key forces and patterns that have shaped international relations within the Greater East Asian Region since 1945. It focuses on a few key questions:

- 1. What explains East Asia's relative success in overcoming colonization, poverty, and fragmentation in the post war period?
- 2. What explains East Asia's pattern of soft, informal, and multi-layered regional institutionalism?
- 3. What explains the diversity of patterns of international behavior exhibited by key players, such as China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Philippines?

After a first section presenting key historical milestones, the second section of the course takes a broad and long-term approach (Braudel's *longue durée*) to map outcomes over time in the larger region encompasses North East Asia and South East Asia. Various theoretical approaches are systematically compared.

In the third section, the course unpacks the key drivers of international behavior for five key regional players: China, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Philippines. In the fourth section, we focus on key hot spots and topics: the Korean Peninsula, the Taiwan Strait situation, the South China Sea tensions, and regional supply chains between integration and conflict.

### **Learning Outcomes / Course Objectives**

1. Understand the origins of the East Asian order (including South East Asian and Pacific), its key tenets, sources of stability and risks
2. Understand and be able to present arguments according to the relevant key theories on East Asian international relations
3. Explain the origins of the East Asian miracle and the intertwined relations with the international system
4. Explain the origins of the security balancing and alliance system at the heart of the East Asian order
5. Understand and explain the rise of China in its regional context and the impact on the East Asian order. Also explain the nature of US-China competition and interactive dynamics, including the risks and options for all countries in the region.
6. Explain the particular historical juncture of our current period in a larger comparative perspective with a focus on the interplay between the US, China, India, ASEAN, Japan, and Korea
7. Be knowledgeable on the origins, tenets, and key forces involved in current hot spots of international relations in the region
8. In addition, students will be actively involved in the course through participation and debates and will thus improve their analytical and presentation skills.

### **Professional Skills**

- Analytical and theoretical skills
- Management: project management; team work
- Communication: oral and written; multiculturalism, negotiation
- Performance: research and analysis, critical thinking, creative thinking; and problem-solving
- Entrepreneurial Spirit

### **Assessment and Grade Distribution:**

Session Participation:	15%		
Session Presentation:	15%		
Creative Short Paper (4-8 pp)	20%	due April 12	(various options)
Think Piece Paper (8-15 pp)	50%	due June 18	

### **Ethics Statement on Generative Artificial Intelligence [Conditionally Open]**

Grounded in the principles of transparency and responsibility, this course encourages students to leverage AI for collaboration and mutual learning to enhance the quality of course outputs. In accordance with the published Guidelines for Collaboration, Co-learning, and Cultivation of Artificial Intelligence Competencies in University Education, this course adopts the following **policy : Conditionally open (partial use with full disclosure, but the core writing should be done by the student and not by AI tools)**

Students may briefly explain how generative AI was used for content search, sentence editing, or structural reference in the footnotes of the title page or after the bibliography in their assignments or reports. However, in the two essays, students are not allowed to use generative AI tools for the actual writing of the argument and the paper itself.

If usage is discovered without proper disclosure, instructors, the institution, or relevant units have the right to re-evaluate the assignment or report or withhold scores. If the course materials or learning resources have been derived from generative AI, the instructor will also indicate this in the slides or orally. Students enrolled in this course agree to the above ethics statement if registering for the class.

### **Course Dynamics (with NEW elements)**

Required readings (per syllabus) consist of selected book chapters and articles. These readings are available as PDF pieces.

The course will operate as a combination of both lively lectures (with text available on the website) complemented with occasional speakers, documentaries AND session discussion and debates.

From the third or fourth session onward, each session will start with a student-led presentation on the topic and a first round of student-led discussion to unpack key issues in an interactive way. This discussion will be followed by a lecture and further discussion.

Readings are important to complement the lectures and material covered in session. You are expected to finish the readings by the night before our session.

#### Participation:

Given the interactive nature of this course (half lecture, half discussion), I give a lot of importance to participation. I will moderate discussions to ensure that everyone has a chance to participate. Participation grades will be given both on quantity and quality of interventions (but mostly quality). I will encourage lively debates and confrontations of ideas.

#### Session Presentation [New strict time management- hard stop at 2:05pm]

Participants will be divided into groups. Each group will be in charge of taking the lead for the seminar beginning session 3 or 4. The group will open the seminar with a **15-20mn (MAX – will be interrupted by TA at 20mn mark)** lively presentation exposing the key questions of the given week and reviewing key approaches and empirical results to answer these questions (based on the readings assigned for this week). Participants will then put 1 or 2 questions to the session and will moderate the ensuing 20-minute discussion. **This first part will close at 14:05pm no matter what, with monitoring from the TA.**

+ **New requirement: the presenting team should email their PPT to the instructor and the TA at least 2 hours before the start of the class (thank you!)**

#### Short Paper (3-5 pages+, double-spaced): Creative Short Paper

##### **Creative Paper Option 1: Summit Report**

You may join any global summit or significant workshop (mostly online, live or recorded) from a range of options related to East Asian international relations broadly conceived: global online summits, global institutional summits, global think tank events, global NGO event, academic workshops. I will send you many invitations to related events, but you are not limited to those. It should be a workshop that goes beyond a single talk by one speaker to hear a range of views.

Your report will include the following elements:

- 1. Introduction on scope, contribution and potential limits from the summit
- 2. Summary of key takeaways from the summit, salient ideas, moments

- 3. Analysis and discussion in reference to some readings, theories, frameworks, and discussions of this course (ie a contextual analytical discussion). This could extract bigger trends and lessons in either decay, disruption, or resilience or innovation in the East Asian Order
- 4. Concluding part with your own voice covering either major implications or ideas for future research, or presenting your policy proposal to address issues discussed at this workshop and take them to a new dimension.

### **Creative Paper Option 2: Short Policy Paper**

- You can pick one relevant problem to analyze and solve/improve
- You pick an audience, either one country or an international or regional organization (eg ASEAN)
- Your paper should present a problem, review its key points of context, and then make proposals for solving it. you can propose 3 scenarios or just one, and weigh pros and cons and feasibility questions
- The paper should be short, sharp, to the point- thinking of government leaders reading it

### **Creative Paper Option 3: Book Review**

- You can pick a book related to the class
- You write a 3-party paper: section 1 (1.5 pages) summarizes the key question, argument, and points of the book. Section 2 discusses strengths and weaknesses of the book internally (theory, link between theory and empirics, quality of evidence). Section 3 places the book in the context of other readings and bigger issues and presents your view on whether the argument is convincing and why, and how it compares to other theories and arguments. You can step further and present your own argument and views or a research agenda to continue this research.

**Creative Paper Option 4:** I am open to suggestions, as long as it is meaningful and related to the class. One option could be an analytical travel report from your recent travel and relating your observations to larger points of context and some readings, trying to get to the interplay between reality on the ground and theory and analytical frameworks.

### **Think Piece Paper (8-10 pages, double-spaced):**

Think pieces have 2 major goals: first to develop a personal interpretation of IR East Asia issues by presenting your own argument and defending it in a few pages; second, to demonstrate your mastery of the readings and facts presented in lectures. The questions are given by the instructor. (pick one from a choice of 5).

Your paper should be an essay. Specifically, the paper must do the following three things:

1. Present an analytical argument that is a clear answer to the question

2. Address some of the literature related to the question (possible answers)
3. Offer some compelling evidence to support your argument (taken from readings, lectures, and session web links)

## Course Outline and Readings

1. Introduction Class (Feb 22)

### **A/ Core Historical Markers – Deciphering Path Dependence and Focal Points for Current Affairs**

2. Core Historical Context (1): Up to 1911 (Feb 29)
3. Core Historical Context (2): 1911-1949 and War Legacies (March 7)
4. Core Historical Context (3): 1949-Present (TBD)

### **B/ Overall Patterns, Frameworks and Theories**

5. Overview of Patterns, Trajectories, and Puzzles: from conflict and colonization to Prosperity/Integration, and recent centrifugal effects of Indo-Pacific Strategies (March 21)
6. Competing Theoretical Tools to Explain the Patterns of International Relations in East Asia (March 28)

*(no class on April 4 – University holiday)*

7. East Asia at the Nexus of Global Forces and New Global Geopolitical Centre (TBD)
  - US hegemony and Cold War
  - Parallel patterns of integration
  - East Asia and Global Governance
  - East Asian Regionalism: Informal and Multi-Layered, with focus on ASEAN, SCO, APEC, BRI, QUAD, AUKUS

### **C/ Strategies of Key Actors: Systemic Players, Balancers, Hedgers, and Innovators**

8. China: What Explains the Diversity and Change in Chinese Foreign Policy? (April 18)
9. Japan's Tryptic: Realism, Institutionalism, and Regionalism (including Japan-China Relations) (April 25)
10. Korea's Rise from Ashes to a "Global Pivotal State" (May 2)
11. Indonesia's Rising Centrality in ASEAN and the Wider Region (May 9)

12. Vietnam's Multi-directional Balancing: from three Vietnam wars to regional economic hub (May 16)
13. Philippines' Search for Leverage between the US and China (May 23) – discussion of South China Sea Disputes

#### **D/ Hot Spots and Topics**

14. The Korean Peninsula and North Korea's Nuclear Crisis: from the Korean War to Recent crises (May 30)
15. The Evolution of Taiwan Strait Crises since 1949 and the Rise of Taiwan as Global Actor (June 6)
16. The Changing Political Economy of East Asia at the Heart of Global Supply Chains and Global Tensions (including AI and green tech) (June 13)



**List of Presenters – TBD in the second session**

**Weeks**

# READING LIST AND KEY QUESTIONS

## Session 1: Introduction Class (Feb 22)

- Class presentation and Overview

### *Reading:*

Gerald Segal. 1990. *Rethinking the Pacific*, Chapters 1 and 2

Ian Johnson. Dec 2. 2020. “What is China thinking?” - Introduction on reading Chinese voices with collection edited by David Ownby: <https://supchina.com/2020/12/02/what-is-china-thinking/>

## **A/ Core Historical Markers – Deciphering Path Dependence and Focal Points for Current Affairs**

### Session 2: Core Historical Context (1): Up to 1911 (Feb 29)

#### *Core Questions:*

- What are the relevant patterns from Chinese and East Asian geography and history to understand today’s China?
- What are key tenets of Chinese and East Asian political thoughts and governance inherited from history?
- How did Japan manage to suddenly discard its feudal governance system and launch a comprehensive modernization process after 1868?
- What is the impact of colonization around East Asia (North and South)?

#### *Common Readings:*

Basic facts on Qing Dynasty: Britannica Article (read as much as you can of related episodes and leaders. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Qing-dynasty>)

[Optional: read a few chapters from Spence, Jonathan. 1990. *The Search for Modern China*]

Hane, Mikiso and Louis Perez. *Modern Japan: a Historic Survey*. Westview Press. Chapter 5: the Meiji Restoration.

Stanford University. A Short History of South East Asia. [http://aero-comlab.stanford.edu/jameson/world\\_history/A\\_Short\\_History\\_of\\_South\\_East\\_Asia1.pdf](http://aero-comlab.stanford.edu/jameson/world_history/A_Short_History_of_South_East_Asia1.pdf)

Key Episodes in 2 pages- Western Imperialism in China:

*Short Stories – SupChina. 2020:[Please read a few – there are more online]*

- Carter, James. “[When China collided with the Middle East: The Battle of Talas River and the height of Tang supremacy](#)”
- Carter, James. “[This week in 1900 — What the Boxers can tell us about our world today](#)”
- Carter, James. “[How Kublai Khan’s Yuan complicates the notion of ‘China’](#)”
- Carter, James. “[How a cataclysmic plague marked the end of Ming China](#)”
- Carter, James. “[Lord Macartney, China, and the convenient lies of history](#)”
- Carter, James. “[The time Jesus’s younger brother led a revolution in China](#)”
- Carter, James. “[How Britain used a small pirate ship to spark the Second Opium War](#)”
- Carter, James, “[The Margary Affair and British imperialism on the China-Myanmar border](#)” (1875)
- Carter, James. “[When China’s reformers believed anything was possible: 100 days in 1898](#)”

*Optional Resource on Japan’s Transition to Modernity (Meiji Revolution, 1868)*

Meiji at 150- UBC. Podcast Series. Especially Episode 57: Dr. Timothy Brook, and Episode 68 with [Eiko Maruko Siniawer](#) on Meiji politics.

### **Session 3: Core Historical Context (2): 1911-1949 and War Legacies (March 7)**

*Core Questions:*

- Why did the 1911 Revolution fail? And what impact does it have today?
- What is the impact of the four decades of war on China today?
- Why did Mao’s CCP win over Chiang’s KMT?
- What is legacy of Japan’s wars of conquest in East Asia?
- Why is historical memory of Japanese colonization so different between Korea (and China) on the one hand and Taiwan on the other hand

*Common Readings:*

Very short Overview:

McNeill, William. 2005. "Asia in the Twentieth Century." In *Education about Asia*. Vol 10. No2. <https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/ea/archives/asia-in-the-twentieth-century/>

Spence, Jonathan. 1990. *The Search for Modern China*. Norton. Chapter 11-12. PP. 245-300 (Fall of Qing dynasty and struggles of the 1911 Xinhai Revolution)

SHORT Addition: Carter, James. 2020. "[The legacy of Yuan Shikai, China's disastrous first president](#)"

Duus, Peter. *The Abacus and the Sword*. Chapter 6 (the Politics of the Protectorate") and Chapter 11 ("Defining the Koreans", 397-424)

Buruma, Ian. 1995. *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan*. pp. 31-46, 60-67, 112-135, 159-176. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux Publishers

*Warmly Recommended:*

Watch at home documentary: "China: A century of Revolution" (part 1: "China in Revolution 1911–1949") <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I5cl0GjPjy4>

[Citation for papers: Will Lyman and Sue Williams, Directors. 1989. "China: A Century of Revolution", *Part one: China in Revolution 1911-1949* (video documentary). Zeitgeist Film].

Bukh, Alexander. 2007. Japan's History Textbooks Debate: National Identity in Narratives of Victimhood and Victimization. *Asian Survey* Oct 2007, Vol. 47, No. 5: 683–7

Ryu, Yongwook. 2007, The Yasukuni Controversy: Divergent Perspectives from the Japanese Political Elite. *Asian Survey* Oct 2007, Vol. 47, No. 5: 705–726.

Gavan McCormack, "Facing the Past: War and Historical Memory in Japan and Korea," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 50-4-08, December 9, 2008.

#### **Session 4: Core Historical Context (3): 1949-Present (March 14)**

*Core Questions:*

- How did the Cold War play out in East Asia?
- Causes and Impact of the Nixon Opening to Mao in 1971-1972
- How did the end of the Cold war happen?
- How did the East Asian system stabilize? What have been the conditions?

*Common Readings*

Schell, Orville and John Delury. 2013. *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Random House. Chapter 1 (Introduction) "Wealth and Power" pp. 3-10 and Conclusion (Chapter 15): "Rejuvenation", pp. 385-406.

Mishra, Pankaj. November 2020. "Grand Illusions: It's time to abandon the intellectual narcissism of cold war Western liberalism." In *New York Review of Books*.  
<https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2020/11/19/liberalism-grand-illusions/>

Kerry Brown (The Wording According to Xi): Chapter 1

Carter, James. 2020. "[The Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1954-55 and specter of nuclear war](#)"

*The Impact of the East Asian Crisis of 1997*

• Joseph Stiglitz. 2000. "What I learnt at the World Economic Crisis: the Insider". The New Republic. April 17

<http://www.mindfully.org/WTO/Joseph-Stiglitz-IMF17apr00.htm>

• Dittmer, Lowell. 2007. The Asian Financial Crisis and the Asian Developmental State: Ten Years After. *Asian Survey*. Dec 2007, Vol. 47, No. 6: 829–833

*Optional/Recommended: Watch-at-home documentaries:*

"China: A Century of Revolution" (part 2: "The Mao Years" first hour)

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PJyoX\\_vrlns](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PJyoX_vrlns)

*Citation:* Will Lyman and Sue Williams, Directors. 1994. "China: A century of Revolution", *Part two: The Mao Years 1949-1976* (video documentary). Zeitgeist Film.

"China in Revolution: 1949-1976" (part 2: "The Mao Years" \*\*second hour)

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PJyoX\\_vrlns](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PJyoX_vrlns)

"Nixon in China" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4cfsI4ZjTbU>

## **B/ Overall Patterns, Frameworks and Theories**

**Session 5: Overview of Patterns, Trajectories, and Puzzles: from conflict and colonization to Prosperity/Integration, and recent centrifugal effects of Indo-Pacific Strategies (March 21)**

*Core Questions:*

- how can we best characterize the patterns of IR in the East Asian space since 1850?
- what explains the long peace and stable order over the last decades? how resilient is it to great power politics

*Common Readings:*

Kang, David. 2010. *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute*. NY: Columbia University Press. Chapter 1 (“The Puzzle: War and Peace in East Asian History”), Chapter 2 (“Ideas: Hierarchy, Status, Hegemony”), Chapter 3 (“States: The Confucian Society”). PP. 1-54.

*Optional:*

Kang, David, 2020. “International Order in Historical East Asia: Tribute and Hierarchy Beyond Sinocentrism and Eurocentrism” in [International Organization](#) , [Volume 74](#) , [Issue 1](#) , Winter 2020 , pp. 65 - 93  
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818319000274>

**Session 6: Competing Theoretical Tools to Explain the Patterns of International Relations in East Asia (March 28)**

*Core Questions:*

- What theories are most helpful to understand dynamics and patterns in East Asian International Relations?

*Common Readings*

Ikenberry, John. 2004. “American hegemony and East Asian order”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 58:3, 353-367, DOI: [10.1080/1035771042000260129](https://doi.org/10.1080/1035771042000260129)

Acharya, Amitav and Barry Buzan. 2007. [Why is there no Non-Western International Relations Theory: An Introduction](#). 7 (3), 287-312

Acharya Amitav and Barry Buzan. 2004. [How ideas spread: Whose norms matter? Norm localization and institutional change in Asian regionalism](#). *International organization* 58 (2), 239-275

Kuik, Cheng Chwee. 2016. [How do weaker states hedge? Unpacking ASEAN states’ alignment behavior towards China](#). *Journal of Contemporary China*

*(no class on April 4 – University holiday)*

## Session 7: East Asia at the Nexus of Global Forces and New Global Geopolitical Centre

(TBD)

- Changing Power Dynamics and Impact on East Asian Order
- East Asian Regionalism: Informal and Multi-Layered

### Core Questions:

- East Asia's Role and Trajectory in the Global Order
- Is there still an East Asian Order amidst the gathering storm?
- what are the key drivers of the US-China dynamic?

### Common Readings

Pempel, TJ. 2010. [Soft Balancing, Hedging, and Institutional Darwinism: The Economic-Security Nexus and East Asian Regionalism](#) in *Journal of East Asian Studies* / Volume 10 / [Issue 2](#) / August 2010. Cambridge University Press:

Goh, Evelyn. 2019. [Contesting Hegemonic Order: China in East Asia](#). *Security Studies* 28 (3), 614-644

(and *Optional* by Evelyn Goh: [Great powers and hierarchical order in Southeast Asia: Analyzing regional security strategies](#) in *International Security* 32 (3), 113-157)

Chung, J.H. The Rise of China and East Asia: A New Regional Order on the Horizon?. *Chin. Polit. Sci. Rev.* 1, 47–59 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41111-016-0006-2>

Jaishankar, S. 2020. *The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World*. Gurugram: Harper Collins. Chapter 8 (“The Pacific Indian”). PP 179-201.

\*\* *Optional* (good resource):

China and East Asian Regional Order. 2011 : A *CJIP* Reader

(Edited by Sun Xuefeng, Matt Ferchen and M. Taylor Fravel)

<https://academic.oup.com/cjip/pages/china-east-asian-regional-order-reader>

Read:

- Yan Xuetong, [The Instability of China–US Relations](#)
- Alastair Iain Johnston, [Stability and Instability in Sino–US Relations: A Response to Yan Xuetong's Superficial Friendship Theory](#)
- John J. Mearsheimer, [The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia](#)

## **C/ Strategies of Key Actors: Systemic Players, Balancers, Hedgers, and Innovators**

### **Session 8: China: What Explains the Diversity and Change in Chinese Foreign Policy? (April 18)**

#### *Key Questions*

- Is there a Chinese Grand Strategy?
- What explains the great variation in Chinese global behavior across time and across issues and regions?
- What explains the proactive role of China in some areas of global governance?
- What explains the great variation in behavior by China in different domains of global governance?
- Why is China supporting economic and environmental pillars of the Liberal International Order (when Trump America went the other way)?
- What is China's vision for the global order?

#### *Core Readings:*

- Kerry Brown 2018. Chapter 4: "Xi Jinping and Global China"
- Rolland, Nadege. 2020. "China's Vision for a New World Order." NBR Special Report no. 83. <https://www.nbr.org/publication/chinas-vision-for-a-new-world-order/> (focus on pp 1-6 and 47-52).
- Tiberghien, Yves. 2020. "Asia's Rise and the Transition to a Post-Western Global Order." In *Contending Views on the Decline of Western-Centric World and the Emerging Global Order in the 21st Century*, edited by Yun-han Chu and Yongnian Zheng. London: Routledge. Pp. 357-378.

#### Short Seminal Pieces by Key Players and Key Observers:

- Kevin Rudd. 2019. "The Avoidable War: Reflections on U.S.-China Relations and the End of Strategic Engagement." <https://asiasociety.org/policy-institute/avoidable-war-reflections-us-china-relations-and-end-strategic-engagement>
- Lee Hsien Loong. July 2019. "Speech at the 2019 Shangri-La Dialogue." <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/singapore/lee-hsien-loong-speech-2019-shangri-la-dialogue-11585954>
- Xiang, Lanxin. 2024. "Biden's China policy tweak is welcome, but it's still based on a fantasy" in *South China Morning Post*. 2/18/2024. <https://www.scmp.com/comment/opinion/world/article/3252218/bidens-china-policy-tweak-welcome-its-still-based-fantasy>



- Yang Jiechi. November 2020. “Actively Creating an External Environment.” In *People’s Daily*.
- Wang Yi. February 2024. “A Staunch Force for Stability in a Turbulent World: Keynote Speech by H.E. Wang Yi At the 60th Munich Security Conference Conversation with China, Munich, February 17, 2024.  
[https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb\\_663304/wjbz\\_663308/2461\\_663310/202402/t20240218\\_11246472.html?utm\\_source=substack&utm\\_medium=email](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb_663304/wjbz_663308/2461_663310/202402/t20240218_11246472.html?utm_source=substack&utm_medium=email)
- Yan Xuetong's, October 2020 (translated by David Ownby) “[Why and How to Prevent the Intensification of Ideological Disputes between China and the US](#),” a call by a major scholar of international relations for China to abandon Wolf Warrior diplomacy and return to the modest foreign policy that has served China well for forty years [阎学通, “为何及如何防范中美意识形态之争加剧,” published online on October 7, 2020 and available at <http://m.aisixiang.com/data/123110.html>]
- Xiang Lanxin, "[On Wolf Warrior Diplomacy](#)" (April 30, 2020), translated by David Ownby [相蓝欣, April 30, 2020.
- Campbell, Kurt, and Rush Doshi. January 2021. “How America Can Shore Up Asian Order: A Strategy for Restoring Balance and Legitimacy,” in *Foreign Affairs*.  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-01-12/how-america-can-shore-asian-order>
- Campbell, Kurt and Ely Ratner. Feb/March 2018. “the China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations.” In *Foreign Affairs*.  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2018-02-13/china-reckoning>
- Campbell, and Jake Sullivan. 2019. “Competition Without Catastrophe: How America Can Both Challenge and Coexist With China.” In *Foreign Affairs*. Sept/Oct. Available from: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/competition-with-china-without-catastrophe>
- Fu, Ying (former Vice Foreign Minister). November 2020. “Cooperative Competition Is Possible Between China and the U.S.” in *The New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/24/opinion/china-us-biden.html?referringSource=articleShare>
- Campbell, Charlie. Feb 19, 2021. “How Jin Liqun Charted an Independent Course for China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank”. *Time Magazine*.  
<https://time.com/5938669/aiib-jin-liqun-china-covid19/>

**Session 9: Japan’s Tryptic: Realism, Institutionalism, and Regionalism (including Japan-China Relations) (April 25)**

*Core Questions:*

- Why is the US-JP alliance proving resilient in the face of trade conflicts and nationalism?
- what explains the strengthening of Japan's security posture since the mid 2010s?
- What explains Japan's the complex relations with China and South Korea
- What drove Japan's leadership of the Free and Open Indo Pacific since Prime Minister Abe and Kishida's strong policy on Ukraine (and break with Russia)?
- What explains Japan's UN and global governance policy ?

*Readings:*

Pyle, Kenneth. 2018. *Japan in the American Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 5 ("the Subordination of Japan")

Solis, Mireya. 2023. *Japan's Quiet Leadership : Reshaping the Indo-Pacific*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution. Chapter 8 ("Japan as Champion of Connectivity in a Rules-Based Order") and Section 5 on Geopolitics (Chapters 10, 11, 12). PP 125-142 and 165-218

Soeya, Yoshihide. 2019. "How Ideological Differences Drove a Downward Spiral" (Historical Grievances and Current South Korea-Japan Trade Tensions) in *Global Asia*. Vol. 14, No. 3, September. PP. 110-115.

**Session 10: Korea's Rise from Ashes to a "Global Pivotal State" (May 2)**

*Core Questions:*

- How does Korea maneuver its very complex and risky location to manage its economic miracle and maintain peace?
- What is the global pivotal state strategy, and what is driving it?

*Readings:*

["Middle-Power Strategic Autonomy: The Surprising Tale of South Korea's Grand Strategy."](#)  
*Asia Policy* Roundtable. Vol 9. No. 1

Can South Korea Really Develop a Grand Strategy?

*Andrew Yeo*

In the Middle of It All: Unpacking South Korea's Foreign Policy Priorities

*Darcie Draudt-Véjares*

South Korea's Quest for a Grand Strategy: Theory versus Practice, Domestic Factors, and Nuance

*Duyeon Kim*

Middle-Power Strategic Autonomy: The Surprising Tale of South Korea's Grand Strategy  
*Yves Tiberghien*  
The Future of South Korea's Grand Strategy in the 21st Century?  
*Lam Peng Er*  
Author's Response: A Tale of South Korea, Middle Powers, and Grand Strategy  
*Ramon Pacheco Pardo*

## **Session 11: Indonesia's Rising Centrality in ASEAN and the Wider Region (May 9)**

### *Core Questions:*

- What are the key features of Indonesia's evolving posture and role in East Asia?
- How does Indonesia manage great power politics?
- What drivers Indonesia's view of the regional and global orders?

### *Readings:*

Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah Umar, The rise of the Asian middle powers: Indonesia's conceptions of international order, *International Affairs*, Volume 99, Issue 4, July 2023, Pages 1459–1476, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiad167>

I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana. 2016. "The changing perspective of international relations in Indonesia." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 18, Issue 2, May 2018, Pages 133–159, <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcw014>

[Moch Faisal Karim](https://www.e-ir.info/2023/10/03/indonesias-role-in-international-relations-a-perspective-from-the-global-south/). 2023. "Indonesia's Role in International Relations: A Perspective from the Global South." E-IR. <https://www.e-ir.info/2023/10/03/indonesias-role-in-international-relations-a-perspective-from-the-global-south/>

+Updates on Indonesia's election and unfolding new foreign policy

## **Session 12: Vietnam's Multi-directional Balancing: from three Vietnam wars to regional economic hub (May 16)**

### *Core Questions:*

- What is Vietnam's approach to great power competition and to tensions in the East Asian Order?
- What are the drivers behind Vietnam's approach?

### *Readings:*

Thuy T Do, Vietnam's prudent pivot to the rules-based international order, *International Affairs*, Volume 99, Issue 4, July 2023, Pages 1557–1573, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiad144>

[Thuy T. Do](#). 2022. “Vietnam's Emergence as a Middle Power in Asia: Unfolding the Power–Knowledge Nexus.” *Journal of Contemporary Southeast Asia*. <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3548-7678> [dothuy@dav.edu.vn](mailto:dothuy@dav.edu.vn) [View all authors and affiliations](#) **Volume 41, Issue 2**  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034221081146>

Nguyen, T. (2022). Vietnam: Increasing influence in South East Asian affairs. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 7(2), 302-316. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057891119898758>

### **Session 13: The Philippines’ Search for Leverage between the US and China (May 23) – discussion of South China Sea Disputes**

#### *Core Questions:*

- What is the Philippines’ approach to great power competition and to tensions in the East Asian Order?
- What explains the great variation in approaches over various presidencies?

#### *Readings:*

Alvin Camba (2023) From Aquino to Marcos: political survival and Philippine foreign policy towards China, *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, DOI: [10.1080/24761028.2023.2281165](https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2023.2281165)

De Castro, R. C. (2020). The Limits of Intergovernmentalism: The Philippines’ Changing Strategy in the South China Sea Dispute and Its Impact on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 39(3), 335-358. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103420935562>

### **D/ Hot Spots and Topics**

#### **Session 14: The Korean Peninsula and North Korea’s Nuclear Crisis: from the Korean War to Recent crises (May 30)**

#### *Core Questions:*

- Why did China enter the Korea war?
- Why does the Korean crisis remain so dangerous and unstable?

#### *Readings:*

Cumings, Bruce. 1998. *Korea’s Place in the Sun*. (Chapter 5 “Collision”, pp. 237-298). Norton.

Hao, Yufan and Zhai Zhihai. 1990. “China’s Decision to Enter the Korean War: History Revisited. *China Quarterly* No 121 (March), pp. 94-115

Anastasia Barannikova (2022) Korean Peninsula Nuclear Issue: Challenges and Prospects, *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament*, 5:sup1, 50-68, DOI: [10.1080/25751654.2022.2053409](https://doi.org/10.1080/25751654.2022.2053409)

Song, Esther. 2023. “[COVID-19, Anti-Chinese Sentiment, and Foreign Policy Attitudes in South Korea](https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2023.2008558)” in *Asian Survey*. 63 (5): 823–850. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2023.2008558>

*Optional:*

Read Recent updates by Ellen Kim (Korea Chair at CSIS) <https://www.csis.org/people/ellen-kim>

Read Recent updates by Victor Cha (Vice President and Korea Chair, CSIS):

<https://www.csis.org/people/victor-cha> (and see Impossible State podcast and Capital Cable podcast)

## **Session 15: The Evolution of Taiwan Strait Crises since 1949 and the Rise of Taiwan as Global Actor (June 6)**

*Core Questions:*

- Is there an equilibrium in Cross-Strait Relations? What are sources of stability and risks?
- What drives recent tensions? Internal forces in China, Taiwan, or the US? or Complex interactive effects?

*Readings:*

A Chinese scholarly view: Jiang Shigong, “The Rise of a Great Power and the Revival of Civilization: The Taiwan Issue and the ‘Enduring War of Civilization’” 2005 and republished in 2022.

Introduction and Translation by David Owen

<https://www.readingthechinadream.com/jiang-shigong-on-the-taiwan-problem.html>

A Taiwanese view:

[T.Y. Wang, Chi Huang](https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2023.2108868). November 2023. “[The Chinese Threat and Changes of Identity in Taiwan](https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2023.2108868)” in *Asian Survey*. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2023.2108868>

“Taiwan and the True Sources of Deterrence: Why America Must Reassure, Not Just Threaten, China”

By [Bonnie S. Glaser, Jessica Chen Weiss, and Thomas J. Christensen](#)  
[January/February 2024](#) in *Foreign Affairs*. November 30, 2023

Hass, Ryan, Bonnie Glaser, and Richard Bush. 2023. *US-Taiwan Relations: Will China's Challenge Lead to a Crisis?* Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. Introduction and Chapter 1 ("Historical Background of the Current Conflict"). Pp. 1-52

Kastner Scott, 2022. *War and Peace in the Taiwan Strait*. NY: Columbia University Press. Chapter 5 ("Modeling Cross-Strait Relations") and Conclusion ("the Most Dangerous Place on Earth?"). Pp. 111-128 and 176-186.

Crisis Group Report. Fall 2023. "Preventing War in the Taiwan Strait"

<https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/north-east-asia/taiwan-strait-china/333-preventing-war-taiwan-strait>

## **Session 16: The Changing Political Economy of East Asia at the Heart of Global Supply Chains and Global Tensions (including AI and green tech) (June 13)**

### *Core Questions:*

- Is the East Asian economic order stable and resilient? What are the factors?
- how can the East Asian economic order deal with the tech war and tensions over supply chains?

### *Readings:*

Bradford, Anu. 2023. *Digital Empires: the Global Battle to Regulate Technology*. NY: Oxford University Press. Chapter 4: "The Battle for Technological Supremacy: the US-China Tech War" (183-220).

Tiberghien, Yves et al. 2023. "The Systemic Impact of the Twin Digital and Green Tech Revolutions in the Indo-Pacific: Toward a new Industrial Policy Race?" Short Working Papers Collection. <https://cjr.iar.ubc.ca/research/the-systemic-impact-of-the-twin-digital-and-green-tech-revolutions-in-the-indo-pacific-toward-a-new-industrial-policy-race/>

Hillman, Jonathan E. 2021. *The Emperor's New Road: China and the Project of the Century*. New Heaven and London: Yale University Press. Chapters 1 (Project of the Century), pp. 3-15 and Chapter 10 (Redefining the Blueprint), pp. 201-213.

Brautigam, Deborah. April 8, 2019. "Misdiagnosing the Chinese Infrastructure Push," in *The American Interest*. <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2019/04/04/misdiagnosing-the-chinese-infrastructure-push/>

Sandalow, D. 2020. China's Response to Climate Change: A Study in Contrasts and a Policy at a Crossroads. <https://asiasociety.org/policy-institute/chinas-response-climate-change-study-contrasts-and-policy-crossroads>

