

IR 360 International Relations of the Pacific Rim

Spring 2025

Professor Han-Hui Hsieh

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Tuesdays 2:00 – 4:50 LVL 16

Office Hours: Tuesdays 5:00 – 7:00 DMC 233D

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course introduces students to the various important issues that have shaped or are still shaping relations and interactions between countries in the Pacific region, with a focus more on Western Pacific, or the Asian side of the Pacific. Note that this course is in the discipline of international relations, not comparative politics. This means that the content this course covers is not so much about each or some of the countries in the Pacific, as that would be the task of a comparative politics class. Rather, as an IR class, this course, though sometimes does address the roles of the more influential countries in the region, is primarily dedicated to issues that impact various state actors regionwide, such as regional geopolitical hotspots, security alliances, economic cooperation, and regional or subregion integration.

We will begin with some broader questions concerning the significance of the Asia-Pacific, starting from the IR theoretical implications that can be derived from the history of the region, particularly from East Asia. Then the course moves on to the discussion of important geopolitical hotspots that are still actively shaping and reshaping relations and interactions between countries in the region. The roles of two of the most influential state actors in the Asia-Pacific, the United States and China, will be critically examined next, followed by the subregion of Southeast Asia that has been witnessing some level of regional integration and cooperation, as a contrast to other less integrated subregions across the Pacific.

And then we will turn to some broader, regionwide topics such as institutions and efforts of regional integration, security alliance, economic development and trade, before concluding the class on the prospects of the future development of the region, specifically on the implications of U.S.-China tensions. Students will participate in a simulation of regional summit representing a country of their choice discussing approaches the region should take in the event of a military-economic conflict between the U.S. and China.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand the theoretical and practical importance of the Asia-Pacific region
- Have a grasp of the regional and subregional patterns of interstate relations in the Asia-Pacific
- Develop ability to analyze the developments of important regional geopolitical hotspots
- Acquire knowledge of the various issues that shape interstate relations regionwide in the Asia-Pacific
- Understand the roles of the two competing great powers in the region and their interests

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Current news analysis 10% (2 papers, 5% each)

Readings summary and discussion 30% (2 papers, 15% each)

Regional summit simulation and position paper 15% (position paper 10%, simulation 5%)

Term paper and presentation 30% (content of paper 25%, presentation 5%)

Participation 15%

GENERAL CLASS POLICIES

Students are expected to attend each lecture and participate regularly in class. Both attendance and participation in discussions in class are the elements to be considered in a student's participation grade for this class. The grade for students' participation will be evaluated on the quality rather than simply the quantity of the students' performances.

If you have a documented medical issue, the sooner you talk to the Professor the better. Extensions for any graded item in this class will only be given to students with documented illness that are brought to the attention of the Professor with documentation provided before the assignment due date or date of exam. Retroactive extensions will not be given. There will be no makeup assignments or exams, no re-grading of assignments or exams, and no allowance for missed assignments or exams.

If you are athletes representing the school in competitions or with other similar duties, the schedule of assignments and exams can be found on the syllabus, so you know when you might have a conflict of schedule. You will want to address those conflicts now.

For last minute medical emergencies, please provide documentation as soon as possible.

The Professor and TAs will not accept any communication from your parents or coaches or other people.

To repeat: there will be no re-grading of any assignment for any reason whatsoever.

Policies for late submission: Assignments and exams in this class have specific due dates that are clearly listed on the syllabus and announced in class and on blackboard. Any late submission of any assignment will not be taken or graded. Students who miss any assignment or exam should not expect to be allowed any makeup. Only those students who convey their legitimate reasons for missing any assignment or exam to the Professor and TAs before an assignment is due or an exam, with the approval granted by the Professor along with documentation submitted, would have their requests for extension considered. Students missing any assignment or exam without prior notice to the Professor and without documentation submitted will not be allowed any makeup. Those who only submit documentation for illness or any other reason after the assignment due dates or exams with their extension requests granted should be aware of the penalty of one grade down (e.g. B downgraded to C) from the moment an assignment is late, and then one further grade down each day afterwards.

CONDUCT OF THE CLASS

Lectures: The expectation is that students will attend the lectures and participate in the discussions in class. Students have to complete the assigned readings before the lectures.

Discussions: We will attempt to create an atmosphere of tolerance and open discussion in our class. We ask you to recognize every individual's right to have an opinion that might not be yours. However, we need to recognize that even tolerance has its limits. Make sure you base your arguments on facts and credible sources.

Readings: The textbooks are available for purchase in the bookstore or elsewhere. All other readings not from the designated textbooks can be found on blackboard.

Ethical behavior: We do not tolerate any form of academic dishonesty. Any violation of the USC rules as articulated in SCampus will result in an F for the class. The use of generative AI to complete parts or the entirety of students' assignments or exams is not allowed and will be reported as violation of academic integrity.

The use of electronic devices: These can only be used in this class for taking notes.

USC Statement on Academic Integrity

USC seeks to maintain an optimal learning environment. General principles of academic honesty include the concept of respect for the intellectual property of others, the expectation that individual work will be submitted unless otherwise allowed by an instructor, and the obligations both to protect one's own academic work from misuse by others as well as to avoid using another's work as one's own. All students are expected to understand and abide by these principles. Scampus, the Student Guidebook, contains the Student Conduct Code in Section 11.00, while the recommended sanctions are located in Appendix A:

<http://www.usc.edu/dept/publications/SCAMPUS/gov/>

Students suspected of academic dishonesty will be referred to the Office of Student Judicial Affairs and Community Standards. The inquiry process is explained at:

<http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/SJACS/>

USC Statement for Students with Disabilities

Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with the office of student accessibility services (OSAS). A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from OSAS. Please be sure the letter is delivered to the Professor and your TA as early in the semester as possible. OSAS is located in GFS 120 and is open 8:30 am - 5:00 pm, Monday through Friday. The phone number is (213) 740-0776.

Support system at USC

studenthealth.usc.edu/counseling

counseling and mental health (213) 740-9355

e-mail: studenthealth@usc.edu

Free and confidential mental health treatment for students, including short-term psychotherapy, group counseling, stress fitness workshops, and crisis intervention.

TEXTBOOK

Shambaugh, David ed. 2022. *International Relations of Asia*. Third edition. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Required readings not in the textbook will be uploaded on brightspace.

COURSE SCHEDULE

1/21 week 1

Introduction and overview of the course

1/28 week 2

Why does Asia-Pacific matter? IR theoretical implications drawn from the region

Readings:

Kang, David. 2003. "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks." *International Security* 27(4): 57-85.

Acharya, Amitav. 2003. "Will Asia's Past Be Its Future?" *International Security* 28(3) : 149-64.

Johnston, Iain. 2012. "What (If Anything) Does East Asia Tell Us About International Relations Theory?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 15(1): 53-78.

Kang, David C. 2013. "International Relations Theory and East Asian History: An Overview." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 13: 181-205.

International Relations of Asia, chapter 3

2/4 week 3

Why does Asia-Pacific matter? Regional hotspot 1: North Korea's nuclear proliferation threats and its unpredictability

Background information:

Council on Foreign Relations, “North Korean Nuclear Negotiations,”
<https://www.cfr.org/timeline/north-korean-nuclear-negotiations>

Council on Foreign Relations, “The China-North Korea Relationship,”
<https://www.cfr.org/background/china-north-korea-relationship>

Readings:

Cha, Victor D. 2002. “North Korea’s Weapons of Mass Destruction: Badges, Shields, or Swords?” *Political Science Quarterly* 117(2): 209-230.

Cha, Victor D. and David C. Kang. 2004. “The Debate over North Korea.” *Political Science Quarterly* 119(2): 229-254.

Pak, Jung H. 2020. “What Kim Wants: The Hopes and Fears of North Korea’s Dictator,” *Foreign Affairs* 99(3): 96-106.

Reilly, James. 2014. “China’s Market Influence in North Korea.” *Asian Survey* 54(5): 894-917.

International Relations of Asia, chapter 10

2/11 week 4

Why does Asia-Pacific matter? Regional hotspot 2: territorial disputes in the East and South China Seas

Background information:

Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative,”
<https://amti.csis.org>

Council on Foreign Relations, “China’s Maritime Disputes,”
<https://www.cfr.org/timeline/chinas-maritime-disputes>

Council on Foreign Relations, “Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea,”
<https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/territorial-disputes-south-china-sea>

Readings:

Wiegand, Krista E. 2009. “China’s Strategy in the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Dispute: Issue Linkage and Coercive Diplomacy.” *Asian Security* 5(2): 170-193.

Fravel, M. Taylor. 2011. “China’s Strategy in the South China Sea.” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 33(3): 292-319.

Hong, Zhao. 2013. "The South China Sea Dispute and China-ASEAN Relations." *Asian Affairs* 44(1): 27-43.

Wilson, Kimberly. 2017. "Party Politics and National Identity in Taiwan's South China Sea Claims: Don't Rock the Boat." *Asian Survey* 57(2): 271-296.

Zhang, Ketian. 2019. "Cautious Bully: Reputation, Resolve, and Beijing's Use of Coercion in the South China Sea." *International Security* 44(1): 117-159.

Pham Ngoc Minh Trang, "South China Sea: The Disputes and Southeast Asia's Culture of International Law," *The Diplomat*, October 22, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/10/south-china-sea-the-disputes-and-southeast-asias-culture-of-international-law/>

Holmes, James R. and Toshi Yoshihara. 2017. "Deterring China in the 'Gray Zone': Lessons of the South China Sea for U.S. Alliances." *Orbis* 61(3): 322-339.

Fravel, M. Taylor and Charles L. Glaser. 2022. "How Much Risk Should the United States Run in the South China Sea?" *International Security* 47(2): 88-134.

2/18 week 5

Why does Asia-Pacific matter? Regional hotspot 3: tensions across the Taiwan Strait

Background information:

Council on Foreign Relations, "Confrontation Over Taiwan," <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/confrontation-over-taiwan>

Readings:

International Relations of Asia, chapter 11

Ross, Robert S. 2000. "The 1995-1996 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Coercion, Credibility, and the Use of Force." *International Security* 25(2): 87-123.

Kastner, Scott L. 2006. "Does Economic Integration Across the Taiwan Strait Make Military Conflict Less Likely?" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 6(3): 319-346.

Tucker, Nancy, and Bonnie Glaser. 2011. "Should the United States Abandon Taiwan?" *The Washington Quarterly* 34(4): 23-37.

Haass, Richard and David Sacks, "American Support for Taiwan Must Be Unambiguous," *Foreign Affairs*, September 2, 2020. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/american-support-taiwan-must-be-unambiguous>

Lin, Dalton. 2022. "'One China' and the Cross-Taiwan Strait Commitment Problem." *The China Quarterly* 252: 1094-1116.

2/25 week 6

The role and interests of the United States in the region

Readings:

International Relations of Asia, chapter 4

Cha, Victor D. 2010. "Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance system in Asia." *International Security* 34(3): 158-196.

Calder, Kent. 2004. "Securing Security through Prosperity: the San Francisco System in Comparative Perspective." *The Pacific Review* 17(1): 135-157.

Park, Jae Jeok. 2011. "The US-Led Alliances in the Asia-Pacific: Hedge against Potential Threats or an Undesirable Multilateral Security Order?" *The Pacific Review* 24(2): 137-158.

Khong, Yuen Foong. 2013. "The American Tributary System." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 6(1): 1-47.

Yarhi-Milo, Karen. 2018. "After Credibility: American Foreign Policy in the Trump Era." *Foreign Affairs* 97(1): 68-77.

Nye, Joseph S. Jr. 2019. "The Rise and Fall of American Hegemony from Wilson to Trump." *International Affairs* 95(1): 63-80.

3/4 week 7

The role and interests of China in the region

Readings:

International Relations of Asia, chapter 5

Johnston, Alastair Iain. 2003. "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27(4): 5-56.

Yan, Xuetong. 2014. "From Keeping a Low Profile to Striving for Achievement." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7(2): 153-184.

Callahan, William A. 2016. "China's 'Asia Dream': The Belt Road Initiative and the New Regional Order." *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 1(3): 226-243.

Yu, Hong. 2017. "Motivation behind China's 'One Belt, One Road' Initiatives and Establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank." *Journal of Contemporary China* 26(105): 353-368.

Goh, Evelyn. 2019. "Contesting Hegemonic Order: China in East Asia." *Security Studies* 28(3): 614-44.

Goldstein, Avery. 2020. "China's Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping: Reassurance, Reform, and Resistance." *International Security* 45(1): 164-201.

Zhao, Suisheng. 2021. "Rhetoric and Reality of China's Global Leadership in the Context of COVID-19: Implications for the US-led World Order and Liberal Globalization." *Journal of Contemporary China* 30(128): 233-48.

3/11 week 8

Southeast Asia and regional integration

Readings:

International Relations of Asia, chapter 8

Acharya, Amitav. 1997. "Ideas, Identity, and Institution-Building: From the ASEAN Way to the Asia-Pacific Way?" *The Pacific Review* 10(3): 319-46.

Goh, Evelyn. 2007. "Great Powers and Hierarchical Order in Southeast Asia." *International Security* 32(3): 113-157.

Jones, David Martin and Nicole Jenne. 2016. "Weak States' Regionalism: ASEAN and the Limits of Security Cooperation in Pacific Asia." *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 16(2): 209-240.

Goh, Evelyn. 2014. "The Modes of China's Influence: Cases from Southeast Asia." *Asian Survey* 54(5): 825-848.

3/25 week 9

Visit the East Asian library at USC and term paper workshop

4/1 week 10

Limited integration and lack of regionalism in Northeast Asia

Readings:

Kim, Samuel. 2004. "Regionalization and Regionalism in East Asia." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4(1): 39-67.

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

Dent, Christopher. 2013. "Paths ahead for East Asia and Asia-Pacific Regionalism." *International Affairs* 89(4): 963-985.

Ba, Alice. 2014. "Is China Leading? China, Southeast Asia, and East Asian Integration." *Political Science* 66(2): 143-165.

4/8 week 11

Security alliances in the region

Readings:

International Relations of Asia, chapter 14

Hemmer, Christopher and Peter J. Katzenstein. 2002. "Why is there No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism." *International Organization* 56(3): 575-607.

Calder, Kent. 2004. "Securing Security through Prosperity: the San Francisco System in Comparative Perspective." *The Pacific Review* 17(1): 135-157.

Cha, Victor D. 2010. "Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance system in Asia." *International Security* 34(3): 158-196.

Park, Jae Jeok. 2011. "The US-Led Alliances in the Asia-Pacific: Hedge against Potential Threats or an Undesirable Multilateral Security Order?" *The Pacific Review* 24(2): 137-158.

Jones, David Martin and Nicole Jenne. 2016. "Weak States' Regionalism: ASEAN and the Limits of Security Cooperation in Pacific Asia." *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 16(2): 209-240.

4/15 week 12

Patterns of economic development and trade agreements across the region

Readings:

International Relations of Asia, chapter 13

Booth, Anne. 2007. "Did It Really Help to Be a Japanese Colony? East Asian Economic Performance in Historical Perspective." *The Asia Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 5(5), May 2, 2007, <https://apjif.org/AnneBooth/2418/article.html>

Knight, John B. 2014. "China as a Developmental State." *The World Economy* 37(10): 1335-1347.

Wilson, Jeffrey D. 2015. "Mega-Regional Trade Deals in the Asia-Pacific: Choosing between the TPP and RCEP?" *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 45(2): 345-353.

Ravenhill, John. 2016. "The Political Economy of an 'Asian' Mega-FTA." *Asian Survey* 56(6): 1077-1100.

4/22 week 13

U.S.-China relations and competition in the Asia-Pacific

Readings:

Friedberg, Aaron. 1993. "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia." *International Security* 18(3): 5-33.

Goldstein, Avery. 2007. "Power Transitions, Institutions, and China's Rise in East Asia: Theoretical Expectations and Evidence." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 30(4-5): 639-682.

Beeson, Mark. 2009. "Hegemonic Transition in East Asia? The Dynamics of Chinese and American Power." *Review of International Studies* 35: 95-112.

Glaser, Charles. 2011. "Will China's Rise Lead to a War? Why Realism Does Not Mean Pessimism." *Foreign Affairs* 90(2): 80-91.

Ikenberry, G. John. 2015. "Between the Eagle and the Dragon: America, China, and Middle State Strategies in East Asia." *Political Science Quarterly* 131(1): 9-43.

Allison, Graham. 2015. "The Thucydides Trap." *The Atlantic*, September 24, 2015, online at <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/united-states-china-war-thucydides-trap/406756/>

Liu, Tao and Wing Thyee Woo. 2018. "Understanding the U.S.-China Trade War." *China Economic Journal* 11(3): 319-340.

Chen, Zhimin and Xueying Zhang. 2020. "Chinese Conception of the World Order in a Turbulent Trump Era." *The Pacific Review* 33(3-4): 438-468.

Weiss, Jessica Chen. 2022. "The China Trap: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Perilous Logic of Zero Sum Competition." *Foreign Affairs* 101(5): 40-58.

Wen Qing Ngoei, "The Deeper Roots of a Potential new Cold War with China,"
Washington Post, April 5, 2022,
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2022/04/05/deeper-roots-potential-new-cold-war-with-china/>

4/29 week 14

Regional summit simulation and students' presentations of term papers

Term paper due 5/6 by end of the day