**Political Economy of East Asian International Order**

Spring 2022

Time: Thursday, 14:00 - 17:00

Venue: Building 140-1, Room 202

Instructor: Dr. LEE Jaewon

Office Hour: by appointment

Email: [Jaewon.lee@snu.ac.kr](mailto:Jaewon.lee@snu.ac.kr)

Course Description

This course offers an overview of the academic discussion on changing international order in East Asia associated with the political economy of national security. The course is designed to explore the relationships between political economy and security studies and to understand how traditional security concerns are affected by political economy issues. The course aims to improve the understanding of systemic change in East Asia from traditional to contemporary order by employing various concepts of international relations, including hierarchy, sovereignty, hegemony, domestic preferences, state intervention, interdependence, and economic statecraft.

Grading Policy

In-class Participation: 10%

Response memos: 20%

Discussion leading with a review essay: 30%

Literature Review Paper: 40%

Course Organization

**In principle, this course will be conducted in person. Students must check ETL for possible changes in the mode of classes.**

*From week 2 to 13*

Each week, we will have three sessions to cover assigned readings. The first session is a group discussion, and students will share impressions and thoughts on the required readings of the week. The second session is the presentation of analytical review essays. Two or more students will be designated to provide their thoughtful analyses. Each student will have assigned reading and lead the discussion. The third session is the instructor’s lecture to explain theoretical concepts and relevant academic issues, which will clarify students’ understanding of the week's topic.

*From week 14 to 15*

For the last two weeks, we will have two conferences. Students will present their literature review papers. Ph.D. students and others may present a research or policy paper once they have a clear research question. Students are encouraged to consult with the instructor. More information will be provided during the first week of the course.

Assignment Guidelines

*Response Memos*

Each week, all students must submit a response before the class. Students should read the listed articles and write a short memo to answer the following questions.

Q1. What are the objectives, key definitions, and variables of the article?

Q2. What is the major argument of the article?

Q3. How convincing is the argument?

Q4. What are the implications of the article?

*A Review Essay*

Designated students will provide a review essay (max. three pages) a day before the class. Students will read an assigned material individually to elaborate thoughtful analyses and develop their research questions. Other students are expected to listen and provide comments carefully. Students presenting a review essay are exempted from submitting response memos of the week.

*A Literature Review and Presentation*

Each student will write a literature review essay (min. five pages excluding reference). Students will briefly present their review essays during the conference of the final two weeks, and other students are expected to listen and provide comments carefully.

Topic proposal (max. one page) due by March 24

Presentation on June 2 or 9

Final submission due by May 31

All the work during the course is a result of a cumulative process. Students are strongly advised to think carefully about the class project at the course onset and begin working on its preliminaries immediately.

Miscellaneous

Students must uphold an honor code. In particular, plagiarism must be avoided to keep your academic integrity. Do not plagiarize your work as well, and once you submit the work for other classes, you cannot submit it to this class. If you have any questions about proper citations, search for “how to avoid plagiarism” on the Internet or ask the instructor.

For your background: If you are unfamiliar with the basic theories of international relations, these books will provide a good overview. Any other introduction of International Relations will do.

Nye, Joseph S. *Understanding international conflicts*. New York: Longman, 1999.

Grieco, Joseph, G. John Ikenberry, and Michael Mastanduno. *Introduction to international relations: Perspectives, connections, and enduring questions*. Macmillan International Higher Education, 2022.

Course Schedule and listed materials

\*All materials are available through the SNU Library search engine. There will be a guideline for students who are not familiar with searching for online materials.

**Week 1 (March 3): Introduction <<ZOOM Session>>**

We will have a zoom session, instead of an in-person class for the week. Refer to ETL notice.

Food for thought

Zakaria, Fareed. “Opinion: Politics is trumping economics. It might end badly.” *The Washington Post.* January 13, 2022. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/01/13/politics-is-trumping-economics-it-might-end-badly/>

Ferguson, Niall. “Niall Ferguson on why the end of America’s empire won’t be peaceful.” *The Economist*. August 20, 2021. <https://www.economist.com/by-invitation/2021/08/20/niall-ferguson-on-why-the-end-of-americas-empire-wont-be-peaceful>

**Week 2 (March 10): Political Economy of Power**

Required

Gilpin, Robert. *War and change in world politics*. Cambridge University Press, 1981. Chapter 1 and 5. or Gilpin, Robert. “The nature of international political change.” *The Realism Reader* (2014): 218-225.

Friedberg, Aaron L. “The changing relationship between economics and national security.” *Political Science Quarterly* 106, no. 2 (1991): 265-276.

Recommended

Kirshner, Jonathan. “Political economy in security studies after the cold war.” *Review of International Political Economy* 5, no. 1 (1998): 64-91.

Moravcsik, Andrew. “Taking preferences seriously: A liberal theory of international politics.” *International organization* 51, no. 4 (1997): 513-553.

**Week 3 (March 17): East Asian International Relations**

Required

Acharya, Amitav. “Thinking theoretically about Asian IR.” *International relations of Asia* (2014): 59-89.

Kang, David C. “Hierarchy in Asian international relations: 1300-1900.” *Asian Security* 1, no. 1 (2005): 53-79.

Recommended

Kohno, Masaru. “East Asia and international relations theory.” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 14, no. 1 (2014): 179-190.

Kang, David C. “International relations theory and East Asian history: An overview.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 13, no. 2 (2013): 181-205.

Johnston, A. I. (2012). What (if anything) does East Asia tell us about international relations theory?. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *15*, 53-78.

Chun, Chaesung. “A Theoretical Explanation of the Evolving Northeast Asian Architecture: The ‘Incomplete’ Sovereignty.” In *The Asan Forum*, vol. 20. (2015). <https://theasanforum.org/a-theoretical-explanation-of-the-evolving-northeast-asian-architecture-the-incompleteness-of-sovereignty/>

Choi, Jong Kun. “Theorizing East Asian International Relations in Korea.” *Asian Perspective* (2008): 193-216.

**Week 4 (March 24): Traditional Order in East Asia**

Required

Kang, David C. “Hierarchy and legitimacy in international systems: The tribute system in early modern East Asia.” *Security Studies* 19, no. 4 (2010): 591-622.

Feng, Zhang. “Rethinking the ‘tribute system’: Broadening the conceptual horizon of historical East Asian politics.” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2, no. 4 (2009): 545-574.

Recommended

Hamashita, Takeshi. “The tribute trade system and modern Asia.” *Japanese Industrialization and the Asian Economy* 9 (1994): 91-107. Chapter 4.

Kupchan, Charles A. “The normative foundations of hegemony and the coming challenge to Pax Americana.” *Security studies* 23, no. 2 (2014): 219-257.

Wang, Yuan-kang. “Explaining the tribute system: Power, Confucianism, and war in Medieval East Asia.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 13, no. 2 (2013): 207-232.

Khong, Yuen Foong. “The American tributary system.” *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 6, no. 1 (2013): 1-47.

**Week 5 (March 31): The Fall of Traditional Order in East Asia**

Required

Hamashita, Takeshi. “3. The Intra-regional System in East Asia in Modern Times.” In *Network Power*, pp. 113-135. Cornell University Press, 2018.

Samuels, Richard J. “Reinventing Security: Japan Since Meiji.” *Daedalus* 120, no. 4 (1991): 47-68.

Recommended

Beeson, Mark. *Regionalism and globalization in East Asia: politics, security and economic development*. Macmillan International Higher Education, 2014. Chapter 2.

Pitts, Jennifer. "Political theory of empire and imperialism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13 (2010): 211-235.

Doyle, Michael. “Empires.” In *Empires*. Cornell University Press, 2018. Chapter 10, 11, 12 and 13.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. “Political economy and ecology on the eve of industrialization: Europe, China, and the global conjuncture.” In *The New World History*, pp. 366-383. University of California Press, 2016.

**Week 6 (April 7): The US Hegemony after 1945**

Required

Krasner, Stephen D. “State power and the structure of international trade.” *World politics* 28, no. 3 (1976): 317-347.

Beeson, Mark. “American hegemony and regionalism: the rise of East Asia and the end of the Asia-Pacific.” *Geopolitics* 11, no. 4 (2006): 541-560.

Recommended

Mastanduno, Michael. “Incomplete hegemony: the United States and security order in Asia.” *Asian security order: Instrumental and normative features* (2003): 141-170.

Ikenberry, G. John. *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton University Press, 2012. Chapter 5.

Ikenberry, G. John, and G. John Ikenberry. *After victory*. Princeton University Press, 2019. Chapter 6 and 7.

**Week 7 (April 14): Liberal International Order**

Required

Deudney, Daniel, and G. John Ikenberry. “The nature and sources of liberal international order.” *Review of International Studies* 25, no. 2 (1999): 179-196.

Ikenberry, G. John. “East Asia and liberal international order: Hegemony, balance, and consent in the shaping of East Asian regional order.” In *The Troubled Triangle*, pp. 13-33. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2013.

Recommended

Ikenberry, G. John. *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton University Press, 2012. Chapter 6.

Ikenberry, G. John. “The liberal international order and its discontents.” *Millennium* 38, no. 3 (2010): 509-521.

Ikenberry, G. John. “The end of liberal international order?.” *International Affairs* 94, no. 1 (2018): 7-23.

Mearsheimer, John J. “Bound to fail: The rise and fall of the liberal international order.” *International security* 43, no. 4 (2019): 7-50.

**Week 8 (April 21): Mid-term**

**Week 9 (April 28): Domestic Preferences and Foreign Policy**

Required

Posen, Barry R., and Stephen Van Evera. “Defense Policy and the Reagan Administration: Departure from Containment.” *International Security* 8, no. 1 (1983): 3-45.

Solingen, Etel. “The political economy of nuclear restraint.” *International Security*, *19*(2), (1994): 126-170.

Recommended

Cho, Eunil. “Impact of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime on Japan’s Non-Nuclear Policy, 1965-1976.” *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 32, no. 1 (2021): 114-130.

Sheen, Seongho. “Northeast Asia’s Aging Population and Regional Security: “Demographic Peace?”.” *Asian Survey* 53, no. 2 (2013): 292-318.

Beeson, Mark. *Regionalism and globalization in East Asia: politics, security and economic development*. Macmillan International Higher Education, 2014. Chapter 4, 5 and 6.

**Week 10 (May 5): Developmental States in East Asia**

Required

Beeson, Mark. “Developmental states in East Asia: A comparison of the Japanese and Chinese experiences.” *Asian Perspective* 33, no. 2 (2009): 5-39.

Stubbs, Richard. “Order and contestation in the Asia-Pacific region: liberal vs developmental/non-interventionist approaches.” *The International Spectator* 53, no. 1 (2018): 138-151.

Recommended

Friedberg, Aaron L. “The end of autonomy: the United States after five decades.” *Daedalus* 120, no. 4 (1991): 69-90.

Woo-Cumings, Meredith, ed. *The Developmental State*. Cornell University Press, 1999. Chapter 1 and 2.

Beeson, Mark. *Regionalism and globalization in East Asia: politics, security and economic development*. Macmillan International Higher Education, 2014. Chapter 7, 8 and 9.

**Week 11 (May 12): Regionalism in the 1990s and the 2000s**

Required

Beeson, Mark. “Rethinking regionalism: Europe and East Asia in comparative historical perspective.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 12, no. 6 (2005): 969-985.

Moon, Chung‐in. “Political economy of East Asian development and Pacific economic cooperation.” *The Pacific Review* 12, no. 2 (1999): 199-224.

Recommended

Beeson, Mark. *Regionalism and globalization in East Asia: politics, security and economic development*. Macmillan International Higher Education, 2014. Chapter 10 and 11

Yeo, Andrew. *Asia’s regional architecture: Alliances and institutions in the Pacific century*. Stanford University Press, 2019. Chapter 1, 3, and 4.

**Week 12 (May 19): Regionalism in the 2010s**

Required

Kelton, Maryanne. “US economic statecraft in East Asia.” *International relations of the Asia-Pacific* 8, no. 2 (2008): 149-174.

Xiaotong, Zhang, and James Keith. “From wealth to power: China’s new economic statecraft.” *The Washington Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (2017): 185-203.

Govella, Kristi. “The adaptation of Japanese economic statecraft: Trade, aid, and technology.” *World Trade Review* 20, no. 2 (2021): 186-202.

Recommended

Mastanduno, Michael. “Economic statecraft.” *Foreign policy: Theories, actors, cases* (2012): 204-222.

Suzuki, Shogo. “Economic statecraft, interdependence, and Sino-Japanese’ rivalry’.” *The Pacific Review* (2021): 1-24.

Rosecrance, Richard, and Peter Thompson. "Trade, foreign investment, and security." *Annual Review of Political Science* 6, no. 1 (2003): 377-398.

Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. “Weaponized interdependence: How global economic networks shape state coercion.” *International Security* 44, no. 1 (2019): 42-79.

Weiss, Linda, and Elizabeth Thurbon. “Developmental state or economic statecraft? Where, why and how the difference matters.” *New Political Economy* 26, no. 3 (2021): 472-489.

Drezner, Daniel W. “Economic statecraft in the age of Trump.” *The Washington Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (2019): 7-24.

Kwon, Jaebeom. “Taming Neighbors: Exploring China’s Economic Statecraft to Change Neighboring Countries’ Policies and Their Effects.” *Asian Perspective* 44, no. 1 (2020): 103-138.

**Week 13 (May 26): the Future of East Asian Order**

Required

Stephen, Matthew D., and David Skidmore. “The AIIB in the liberal international order.” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 12, no. 1 (2019): 61-91.

Wuthnow, Joel. “US’ Minilateralism’ in Asia and China’s Responses: A New Security Dilemma?.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 28, no. 115 (2019): 133-150.

Recommended

Roy, Denny. “Hegemon on the horizon? China’s threat to East Asian security.” *International Security* 19, no. 1 (1994): 149-168.

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

Acharya, Amitav. “Asia after the liberal international order.” In *East Asia Forum Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 3-5. 2018.

Beeson, Mark. *Regionalism and globalization in East Asia: politics, security and economic development*. Macmillan International Higher Education, 2014. Chapter 12.

Posen, Barry R., and Andrew L. Ross. “Competing visions for US grand strategy.” *International Security* 21, no. 3 (1997): 5-53.

**Week 14 (June 2): Conference I**

**Week 15 (June 9): Conference II**