

# **Political Economy of Evolution of the East Asian International Order**

Fall 2023

Professor Geun Lee

Time: Thursday, 14:00~16:50

Venue: 140-2-201

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**Course Description:** This course examines the evolution of international order in East Asia from the perspective of political economy particularly focusing on the transition from the zero-sum geo-political international order to the positive-sum liberal international order since 1945. The course will explain why the main actors of international politics have changed from empires to the nation-states, and why the single generalized global market has been the driving force of peace and prosperity in the world after the end of the Cold War. The course will also investigate whether or not the rise of China will fundamentally change the so-called liberal international order and bring “Techno-Tributary System” back to East Asia.

This course requires heavy reading and weekly assignments. Those who do not have time to fulfill the requirements are advised not to take this course.

**Evaluation:** Take-home mid-term book review accounts for 30% of the final grade and class participation (in various forms including the final oral exam) takes up the remaining 70%.

## **Week 1: Introduction**

## **Week 2: International Politics and International Order**

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*

## **Week 3: Understanding the Origin of Geopolitics and Geopolitical International Order**

Leo Huberman, *Man's Worldly Goods: The Story of the Wealth of Nations* (Monthly Review Press: 2009)

William McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power* (University of Chicago Press, 1982), Chapter 1.

#### **Week 4: (Demystifying) Geopolitics**

Robert Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate* (Random House, New York: 2012)

Tim Marshall, *Prisoners of Geography* (Simon and Schuster, 2016)

Daniel Immerwahr, "Are we really Prisoners of geography?" *The Guardian*, Nov. 10, 2022

#### **Week 5: Hegemonic Transition and Hegemonic Stability**

Stephen Krasner, "State Power and the Structure of International Trade," *World Politics*, 28 (3), 1976, pp. 317-347

Michael Webb and Stephen Krasner, "Hegemonic Stability Theory: *an Empirical Assessment*, *Review of International Studies* (1989), 15, 183-198

Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton University Press, 1984)

George Modelski, "The Long Cycle of Global Politics and Nations State," *Comparative Studies in Society and Politics*, Vol. 20, No.2 (April, 1978), pp. 214-235

#### **Week 6: Empires**

Stephen Howe, *Empire: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2002)

John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires* (Penguin Books, 2007)

#### **Week 7: Asian International Order?**

David Kang, "Hierarchy in Asian International Relations: 1300-1900," *Asian Security*, Vol. 1, no. 1, January 2005, pp. 53-79

David Kang, "Hierarchy and Legitimacy in International Systems: The Tributary System in Early Modern East Asia," *Security Studies*, 19, 2010, pp. 591-622

David Kang, "Hierarchy, Balancing, and Empirical Puzzles in Asian International Relations," *International Security*, Vol.28, No.3, (Winter 2003/04), pp. 165-180

[Supplementary Reading]

David Kang, *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute* (Columbia

University Press, 2010)

### **Week 8: Mid-Term**

#### **Week 9: Tributary Systems and Korea, Japan**

Zhang Feng, "Rethinking the 'Tribute System': Broadening the Conceptual Horizon of Historical East Asian Politics," *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol.2, 2009, pp. 545-574

Zhang Yongjin and Barry Buzan, "The Tributary System as International Society in Theory and Practice," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 2012, pp. 1-34.

Takeshi Hamashita, "Tribute and Treaties: Maritime Asia and Treaty Port Networks in the Era of Negotiation, 1800-1900," in Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita and Mark Seldon eds., *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150 and 50 year Perspective* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2003)

Takeshi Hamashita, "The Intra-regional System in East Asia in Modern Times," in Peter Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraishi eds., *Network Power: Japan and Asia* (Cornell University Press, 1997)

[Supplementary Reading]

Chris Wickham, "Tributary Empires: Late Rome and the Arab Caliphate," in Peter Fibiger Bang and C.A. Bayly eds., *Tributary Empires in Global History* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2011)

Karen Barkey and Rudi Batzell, "Comparisons Across Empires: The Critical Social structures of the Ottomans, Russians and Habsburgs during the Seventeenth Century," in *Ibid.*

#### **Week 10: Modern Nation States as Main Actors in IR? : A Precursor of the Liberal International Order**

Ronald Englehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton University Press, 1997), Chap 1-2.

Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors* (Princeton University Press, 1994), Particularly Chap 2, 3, 8

#### **Week 11: 19<sup>th</sup> Century Imperialism and International Order**

Michael Doyle, *Empires*, Chaps 10, 11, 12, 13

John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton University Press, 2001), Chaps 5, 6.

Supplementary Reading: Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*; Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Imperialism 1875-1914* (Vintage, 1989)

### **Week 12: Rise of the Liberal International Order?**

John Ikenberry, *After Victory*, Chap 1.

John Ikenberry, The Liberal International Order and its Discontents, *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*, May 2010, pp. 509-521

John Ikenberry, “The Rise of China, The United States, and the Future of the Liberal International Order, in David Shambaugh ed., *Tangled Titans: The United States and China* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2013)

### **Week 13: Technology and the Emergence of Platform International Order**

Nick Srnicek, *Platform Capitalism* (Polity, 2017)

Scott Malcomson, “The Real Fight for the Future of 5G,” *Foreign Affairs* (November 14, 2019)

Adam Segal, “When China Rules the Web,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October, 2018)

### **Week 14: US-China Competition and the Future of the Liberal International Order**

Ben Buchanan, “The US Has AI Competition All Wrong,” *Foreign Affairs*, (August 7, 2020)

Ian Bremmer, “The Technopolar Moment,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December, 2021)

Paul Scharre, “America Can Win the AI Race,” *Foreign Affairs* (April 4, 2023)

Adam Posen, “The End of China’s Economic Miracle,” *Foreign Affairs* (August 2, 2023)

Eric Schmidt, “Innovative Power,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April, 2023)

Dan Wang, “China’s Hidden Tech Revolution,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April, 2023)

### **Week 15: Conclusion & Final Exam**