

McGill University

POLI 349. Foreign Policy: Asia

Wednesdays & Fridays 08:35 – 09:55 am, ARTS 150

**** This is a draft. The finalized version will be uploaded soon on myCourses ****

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Objective

This course provides an overview of the foreign policies of three key states of Asia—China, India, and Japan—and their neighbors. We will study the historical evolution, goals, and determinants of their foreign policies and the conflictual and cooperative interactions of these states with other countries in Asia and the world. We will also cover the efforts at institutionalized cooperation in East, Southeast, and South Asia. The course begins with a discussion of various approaches to foreign policy analysis, intended to provide the necessary theoretical and conceptual tools to understand the foreign policy behavior of states.

Evaluation

- In this course, students are evaluated by (1) analytical essays and (2) conference participation.
- **Analytical Essays:** In each essay, students are required to answer one or more questions related to theories and/or cases addressed in the lectures, conferences, and course readings. Specific topics and guidelines will be announced at least two weeks before the submission deadline. **Essay 1 (due by Sep. 29), Essay 2 (due by Nov. 8), and Essay 3 (TBA)** will be worth 30%, 20%, and 40% of the final grade respectively.
- **Conference Participation:** All students are required to **attend and participate** in weekly conferences. Conferences will be conducted by a TA (TBA) as a discussion group and this will be a useful opportunity for you to both clarify materials and think through your ideas. Conference participation will be worth 10% of the final grade.

Course Readings

Most of the readings are accessible via McGill Library. Students can use their library account to access McGill database and download course readings. Some inaccessible materials will be posted on myCourses.

Copyrights of Lecturer

All slides, video/audio recordings, lecture notes, etc. remain the lecturer's intellectual property. This means that each of you can use it for your own purposes, but you cannot allow others to use it by posting it online or giving it or selling it to others who may copy it and make it available. You may use these only for your own learning and assignments with proper referencing/citation. You are not permitted to disseminate or share these materials without the lecturer's permission. Doing so may violate the instructor's intellectual property rights and could be cause for disciplinary action.

Academic Integrity

- McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the [Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures](#) (Approved by Senate on 29 January 2003) (See McGill's [guide to academic honesty](#) for more information).
- L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par tricherie, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon [le Code de conduite de l'étudiant et procédures disciplinaires](#) (Énoncé approuvé par le Sénat le 29 janvier 2003) (pour de plus amples renseignements, veuillez consulter le [guide pour l'honnêteté académique de McGill](#)).

Language of Submission

- In accord with McGill University's Charter of Student Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French written work that is to be graded. This does not apply to courses in which acquiring proficiency in a language is one of the objectives. (Approved by Senate on 21 January 2009)
- Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté, sauf dans le cas des cours dont l'un des objets est la maîtrise d'une langue. (Énoncé approuvé par le Sénat le 21 janvier 2009).

<< Course Schedule >>

Part I. Theoretical Lenses

Week 1. (Aug. 31- Sep. 2)

Lecture 01 (08/31). Introduction

- *Smith, Steve. 1986. "Theories of Foreign Policy: An Historical Overview." *Review of International Studies* 12 (1): 13–29. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S026021050011410X>.
- *Hudson, Valerie M. 2005. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1 (1): 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2005.00001.x>.

(09/02) No Class. Make-up Class TBA

Week 2. (Sep. 05-09)

Lecture 02 (09/07). Realism

- *Waltz, Kenneth N. 2000. "Structural Realism after the Cold War." *International Security* 25 (1): 5–41. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2626772>.
- *Rose, Gideon. 1998. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics* 51 (1): 144–72. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887100007814>.

Lecture 03 (09/09). Hegemonic Stability Theory

- *Wohlforth, William C. 2011. "Gilpinian Realism and International Relations." *International Relations* 25 (4): 499–511. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117811411742>.
- *Tammen, Ronald. 2008. "The Organski Legacy: A Fifty-Year Research Program." *International Interactions* 34 (4): 314–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050620802561769>.

Week 3. (Sep. 12-16)

Lecture 04 (09/14). Norms, Ideas, and Identities

- *Jepperson, Ronald L., Alexander Wendt, and Peter J. Katzenstein. 1996. "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security." In *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, edited by Peter J. Katzenstein. New York: Columbia University Press. [myCourses]
- *Johnston, Alastair Iain. 1995. "Thinking about Strategic Culture." *International Security* 19 (4): 32–64. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539119>.

Lecture 05 (09/16). Economic Interdependence & International Institutions

- *Owen, John M. 2012. "Economic Interdependence and Regional Peace." In *International Relations Theory and Regional Transformation*, edited by T. V. Paul, 107–32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139096836.008>.
- *He, Kai. 2008. "Institutional Balancing and International Relations Theory: Economic Interdependence and Balance of Power Strategies in Southeast Asia" *European Journal of International Relations* 14 (3): 489–518. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066108092310>.

Week 4. (Sep. 19-23)

Lecture 06 (09/21). Regime Type

- *Russett, Bruce. 2001. *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World*, Ch. 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400821020>.
- *Levy, Jack S. 1988. "Domestic Politics and War." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (4): 653–73. <https://doi.org/10.2307/204819>.

Lecture 07 (09/23). Domestic Society and Leadership

- *Moravcsik, Andrew. 1997. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics." *International Organization* 51 (4): 513–53. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002081897550447>.
- *Allison, Graham T. 1969. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63 (3): 689–718. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1954423>.
- *Levy, Jack S. 1994. "Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield." *International Organization* 48 (2): 279–312. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300028198>.

Week 5. (Sep. 26-30)

Lecture 08 (09/28): Getting Asia Right?

- *Johnston, Alastair Iain. 2012. "What (If Anything) Does East Asia Tell Us About International Relations Theory?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (1): 53–78. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.040908.120058>.
- *Acharya, Amitav. 2017. "'Theorising the International Relations of Asia: Necessity or Indulgence?' Some Reflections." *The Pacific Review* 30 (6): 816–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2017.1318163>.
- *Kang, David C, and Alex Yu-Ting Lin. 2019. "US Bias in the Study of Asian Security: Using Europe to Study Asia." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4 (3): 393–401. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogz024>.

Part II. China

Lecture 09 (09/30). China (1): The Foundation of the PRC and the Korean War

- *Jian, Chen. 1992. "The Sino-Soviet Alliance and China's Entry into the Korean War." *The CWIHP Working Paper*, No 1. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/the-sino-soviet-alliance-and-chinas-entry-the-korean-war>.
- *Christensen, Thomas J. 1997. *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958*, Ch. 5. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. muse.jhu.edu/book/74889.

Week 6. (Oct. 03-07)

Lecture 10 (10/05). China (2): The Sino-Soviet Split and the US-China Rapprochement

- *Dittmer, Lowell. 1981. "The Strategic Triangle: An Elementary Game-Theoretical Analysis." *World Politics* 33 (4): 485–515. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2010133>.
- *Haas, Mark L. 2022. "A Tipping-Point Frenemy Alliance: The Delay in the Formation of the Sino-American Alliance against the Soviet Union, 1972–79." In *Frenemies: When Ideological Enemies Ally*, by Mark L. Haas, 122–59. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501761249-005>.

Lecture 11 (10/07). China (3): Foreign Relations during the Deng Xiaoping Era

- *Eisenman, Joshua. 2019. "China's Vietnam War Revisited: A Domestic Politics Perspective." *Journal of Contemporary China* 28 (119): 729–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2019.1580430>.
- *Liberthal, Kenneth. 1984. "Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy" (esp. pp. 43, and 55-70). *China's Foreign Relations in the 1980s*, edited by Harry Harding, 43-70. New Haven: Yale University Press. [myCourses]

Week 7. (Oct. 10-14)

No Class, Reading Break (10/11-12)

Lecture 12 (10/14). China (4): Responsible Stakeholder and "Peaceful Rise"

- *Shambaugh, David L. 2013. *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*, Ch. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [myCourses]
- *He, Kai. 2016. "China's Bargaining Strategies for a Peaceful Accommodation after the Cold War." In *Accommodating Rising Powers: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by T. V. Paul, 201–21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316460191.010>.

Week 8. (Oct. 17-21)

Lecture 13 (10/19). China (5): China and the United States

- *Goldstein, Avery. 2020. “China’s Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping: Reassurance, Reform, and Resistance.” *International Security* 45 (1): 164–201. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00383.
- *Chan, Steve. 2021. “Challenging the Liberal Order: The US Hegemon as A Revisionist Power.” *International Affairs* 97 (5): 1335–52. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiab074>.

Lecture 14 (10/21). China (6): China and Its Neighbors

- *Fravel, M. Taylor. 2007. “Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China’s Use of Force in Territorial Disputes.” *International Security* 32 (3): 44–83. <https://doi.org/10.1162/isec.2008.32.3.44>.
- *Ferdinand, Peter. 2016. “Westward Ho—The China Dream and ‘One Belt, One Road’: Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping.” *International Affairs* 92 (4): 941–57. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12660>.
- *Kastner, Scott L. 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. https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00227.

Part III. India

Week 9. (Oct. 24-28)

Lecture 15 (10/26). India (1): The Nehru Era

- *Nayar, Baldev Raj, and T. V. Paul. 2002. *India in the World Order: Searching for Major-Power Status*, Ch. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511808593>.
- *Paul, T. V. 2006. “Why Has the India-Pakistan Rivalry Been So Enduring? Power Asymmetry and an Intractable Conflict.” *Security Studies* 15 (4): 600–630. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410601184595>.

Lecture 16 (10/28). India (2): The Post-Nehru Era

- *Nayar, Baldev Raj, and T. V. Paul. 2002. *India in the World Order: Searching for Major-Power Status*, Ch. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511808593>.
- *Chibber, M. L. 1990. “The Quest for Security.” In *Indian Foreign Policy: The Indira Gandhi Years*, edited by A. K. Damodaran, A. K., and U. S. Bajpai. 72-94. New Delhi: Radiant. [myCourses]

Week 10. (Oct. 31-Nov. 4)

Lecture 17 (11/02). India (3): India's Foreign Relations in Transition

- *Nayar, Baldev Raj, and T. V. Paul. 2002. *India in the World Order: Searching for Major-Power Status*, Ch. 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511808593>.
- *Ganguly, Sumit, and Rahul Mukherji. 2011. "The Transformation of India's Foreign Policy." In *India Since 1980*, 18–59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511842283>.

Lecture 18 (11/04). India (4): The Rise of India

- *Paul, T. V., and Mahesh Shankar. 2014. "Status Accommodation through Institutional Means: India's Rise and the Global Order." In *Status in World Politics*, edited by Deborah Welch Larson, T. V. Paul, and William C. Wohlforth, 165–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107444409.011>.
- *Sinha, Aseema. 2016. "Partial Accommodation without Conflict: India as a Rising Link Power." In *Accommodating Rising Powers: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by T. V. Paul, 222–45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316460191.011>.
- *Pardesi, Manjeet S. 2022. "India's China Strategy under Modi Continuity in the Management of an Asymmetric Rivalry." *International Politics* 59 (1): 44–66. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-021-00287-3>.

Part IV. Japan

Week 11. (Nov. 07-11)

Lecture 19 (11/09). Japan (1): The Yoshida Doctrine

- *Berger, Thomas U. 1993. "From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan's Culture of Anti-Militarism." *International Security* 17 (4): 119–50. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539024>.
- *Chai, Sun-Ki. 1997. "Entrenching the Yoshida Defense Doctrine: Three Techniques for Institutionalization." *International Organization* 51 (3): 389–412. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002081897550401>.

Lecture 20 (11/11). Japan (2): Reconciliation with Enemies

- *Izumikawa, Yasuhiro. 2018. "Binding Strategies in Alliance Politics: The Soviet-Japanese-US Diplomatic Tug of War in the Mid-1950s." *International Studies Quarterly* 62 (1): 108–20. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqx070>.
- *Dreyer, June Teufel. 2016. *Middle Kingdom and Empire of the Rising Sun: Sino-Japanese Relations, Past and Present*, Ch. 4. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. [myCourses]

Week 12. (Nov. 14-18)

Lecture 21 (11/16). Japan (3): Challenges to the Yoshida Doctrine

- *Krauss, Ellis S. 1993. "U.S.-Japan Negotiations on Construction and Semiconductors, 1985-1988: Building Friction and Relation-Chips." In *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, edited by Peter B. Evans, Harold K. Jacobson, and Robert D. Putnam, 265–300. Berkeley: University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520912106-011>.
- *Purrington, Courtney. 1992. "Tokyo's Policy Responses During the Gulf War and the Impact of the 'Iraqi Shock' on Japan." *Pacific Affairs* 65 (2): 161–81. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2760167>.

Lecture 22 (11/18). Japan (4): Japan at the Crossroads

- *Samuels, Richard J. 2007. "Securing Japan: The Current Discourse." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 33 (1): 125–52. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jjs.2007.0034>.
- *Hughes, Christopher W. 2016. "Japan's 'Resentful Realism' and Balancing China's Rise." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9 (2): 109–50. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cjip/pow004>.

Part V. Other Players

Week 13. (Nov. 21-25)

Lecture 23 (11/23). South Korea (1): The Cold War Era

- *Cha, Victor D. 2010. "Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia." *International Security* 34 (3): 158–96. <https://doi.org/10.1162/isec.2010.34.3.158>.
- *Woo, Seongji. 2009. "The Park Chung-Hee Administration amid Inter-Korean Reconciliation in the Détente Period: Changes in the Threat Perception, Regime Characteristics, and the Distribution of Power." *Korea Journal* 49 (2): 37–58. <https://doi.org/10.25024/KJ.2009.49.2.37>.

Lecture 24 (11/25). South Korea (2): The Post-Cold War Era

- *Kim, Sung-Mi. 2016. "South Korea's Middle-Power Diplomacy: Changes and Challenges." *Chatham House Research Paper*. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2016/06/south-koreas-middle-power-diplomacy-changes-and-challenges>.
- *Sohn, Yul. 2019. "South Korea under the United States–China Rivalry: Dynamics of the Economic-Security Nexus in Trade Policymaking." *The Pacific Review* 32 (6): 1019–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2019.1617770>.

Week 14. (Nov. 28-Dec. 02)

Lecture 25 (11/30). ASEAN

- *Acharya, Amitav. 2021. *ASEAN and Regional Order: Revisiting Security Community in Southeast Asia*, Ch. 3. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003122333>.
- *Heydarian, Richard Javad. 2017. "Evolving Philippines-U.S.-China Strategic Triangle: International and Domestic Drivers." *Asian Politics & Policy* 9 (4): 564–82. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12355>.

Lecture 26 (12/02). Asia in the Making

- *Beeson, Mark. 2009. "Geopolitics and the Making of Regions: The Fall and Rise of East Asia." *Political Studies* 57 (3): 498–516. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2008.00744.x>.
- *He, Kai and Huiyun Feng. 2020. "The Institutionalization of the Indo-Pacific: Problems and Prospects." *International Affairs* 96 (1): 149–168, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz194>.

Make-up Class (TBA). Wrap-Up

- *Acharya, Amitav. 2016. "Advancing Global IR: Challenges, Contentions, and Contributions." *International Studies Review* 18 (1): 4–15. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viv016>.
- *Acharya, Amitav, and Barry Buzan. 2017. "Why Is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory? Ten Years On." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 17 (3): 341–70. <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcx006>.