

**PSCI 4803B**  
**FOREIGN POLICIES OF MAJOR EAST ASIAN POWERS**  
Thursday 14:25-17:25  
Online synchronous

**Instructor :** J. Paltiel  
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This is a seminar in the foreign relations of East Asia, comprising China, Japan, the Korean Peninsula and the Russian Far East as well as Taiwan. The US, as the main ally of Japan and the Republic of (South) Korea as well as the guarantor of the autonomy of Taiwan is also the major factor in East Asia. Themes to be explored are: the rise of China and its impact; the persistence of Cold War alliances in East Asia; the prospects for a remilitarized Japan; the two Koreas and the Democratic People's Republic of (North) Korea's weapons of mass destruction.

**Requirements**

Students are expected to attend the seminar each week, to do the required readings, and participate actively in class discussions. Each student will form part of a team that will present readings for a given week. Each week the presenters will face a "Blue Team" who will be charged with formulating questions for the presenters and for class discussion. Each student will present at least once and be part of the question raising "blue team" on another week. Presentations should be *no longer* than 20 minutes each and in no case will any team be allocated more than an hour. *This year, because of Covid-19 and the reality of remote learning presenters are encouraged to record their presentations and prepare their ppts in advance of the class. That way they can better control the time and valuable synchronous time will be better focused on active classroom engagement. Presenters should try to confine their presentations to 5 slides that deal with the main themes of the readings and not attempt to summarize readings in detail. The presentation paper should try to argue a critical position on the theme based on the readings and not simply summarize. The middle hour of the 3 hour block (14:30 - 15:30 will be the key focus of Blue Team- Presenter interaction followed by general class interaction for the last hour. The "Blue" team questions should be in two groups. Questions directed at the entire class, and questions directed at the presenters. The questions for the entire class should relate to the weekly theme. When the class does not take up all of the questions prepared, "Blue Team" members may email their questions to the professor. Questions for the presenters should deal with the approaches of the authors*

of the articles discussed that week. Presenters and “blue team” members may if they so wish, cooperate to design their presentations as a debate.

### **Grading**

Class participation 10%; presentation 10%; blue team 10%; critical review paper 20%; Term (research) paper 50% (of which 10% refers to on-time delivery of outline)

Unexcused absence from the seminar will result in docking the appropriate percentage from the participation grade.

### **Papers**

Students are expected to submit their presentation as a paper for grading. These papers are normally due the day of the presentation, but students who present in the first three weeks of class may revise the paper within a week. These *short papers* are meant to be critical reviews of a set of readings. Where there are multiple presenters, the students may divide up the readings among them for presentation. However, the written paper should deal with *the topic as a whole and not only with the authors presented*. Where events are fast moving, students may wish to update from online sources.

*Term papers* constitute the major assignment for the term. These are research papers on a topic of the student’s choice, and students should consult with the professor in advance on the relevance of their topic for the course. Outlines for the papers are due **February 11**. 10% of the final grade is allocated to on-time delivery of an outline on a relevant topic with a preliminary bibliography. **The presentation and the term paper must not be on the same topic**, though a student may share the theme of her/his term paper with his “blue team” presentation. Outlines for the term paper should include the topic, a thesis paragraph and a bibliography. Papers are expected to be 16-18 pp. in length (4000-4500 words) and are due on **April 8**. After a grace period until the end of the week, unexcused **late papers** will be penalized by a half grade *per day* (i.e. A → A- → B+).

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## **Readings (required Texts)**

Asle Toje *Will China’s Rise Be Peaceful* (Oxford 2018)

David Shambaugh *China and the World* (Oxford 2020)

Additional readings are found on reserve

**Recommended** Paul Evans *Engaging China* (Toronto, 2014)

### **Week 1. Thursday January 14**

#### **The Environment of the Asia Pacific**

David Kang “Hierarchy and stability in Asian International Relations” in Michael Mastanduno and G. John Ikenberry eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003) pp. 163-190

David Shambaugh “China and the World Ch. 1 “China’s Long March to Global Power”

Odd Arne Westad in “China and the World” Ch. 2

Alastair Iain Johnston “China in a World of Orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in Beijing’s International Relations” *International Security* vol 44, No. 2 (Fall 2019), pp. 9–60

## **Week 2. January 21**

### **The cold war system and its Aftermath**

Michael Mastanduno, "Incomplete Hegemony and Security Order in the Asia-Pacific" in G. John Ikenberry, ed. *America Unrivalled: The future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002) pp. 181-210.

G J Ikenberry "The Rise of China, the United States and the Future of the West" in *Foreign Affairs* January/February 2008;

\_\_\_\_\_ "A New Order of Things – "China America and the Struggle Over World Order" In Toje ed. Ch 2 pp. 33-57

## **Week 3 January 28**

### **Japan, the US and Asia**

Gavan McCormack `` The Battle of Okinawa 2009: Obama vs Hatoyama ``  
Chris Hughes *Japan's Foreign and Security Policy under the 'Abe Doctrine'* pp. 1-90  
G. John Ikenberry "Between the Eagle and the Dragon: America, China and Middle State Strategies in Asia" *Political Science Quarterly* Vol 131 Issue 1, 9-43  
Yoshihide Soeya "The Rise of China in Asia Japan as the Nexus" in Toje Ch, 13 pp. 277-298

## **Week 4 February 4**

### **The Roots of China's Foreign Policy**

Toje Parts III and IV Ch, 8 9, 10, 11  
Shambaugh *China and the World* Chapters 3, 4, 5,

## **Week 5 February 11**

### **China and its Neighbours**

David Arase *China's Rise and Changing Order in East Asia* (Palgrave, 2016) pp. 1-88  
Michael Yahuda "China's Relations With Asia" in D. Shambaugh *China and the World* Ch. 13  
Odd Arne Westad "The Weight of the Past in China's Relations with Its Asian Neighbours" in Toje Ch. 7 pp. 143-162

### **OUTLINES DUE**

## **February 18 READING WEEK NO CLASS**

## **Week 6 February 25**

### **Debating China's rise**

Stephen Walt: "Rising Powers and the Risks of War" in Toje Ch. 1 pp. 1-32  
Graham Allison "The Thucydides Trap: Are the US and China Headed for War" *The Atlantic* September 24, 2015  
Rosemary Foote "Restraints on Conflict in the China-US Relationship" Toje Ch. 4 pp. 79-102

- Alastair Iain Johnston, “Is China an Status Quo Power” *International Security* Vol 27, No 4 (Spring 2003), pp. 5-56
- Avery Goldstein, “An Emerging China’s Emerging Grand Strategy: A neo-Bismarckian Turn” in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003) pp. 57-106
- Mike Pompeo “Communist China and the World’s future”  
<https://www.state.gov/communist-china-and-the-free-worlds-future/>
- Richard Hass “Lesson’d From the Trump Administrations’ Policy Experiment on China”  
[https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Ryan-Hass\\_Lessons-from-the-Trump-Administrations-Policy-Experiment-on-China\\_Final.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Ryan-Hass_Lessons-from-the-Trump-Administrations-Policy-Experiment-on-China_Final.pdf)

### **Week 7 March 4**

- Paul Evans *Engaging China*
- China and Canada Huhua Cao and Vivian Poy *The China Challenge* Chapters 1-3, 8, 18  
<http://www.ruor.uottawa.ca/en/handle/10393/23096>
- Jeremy Paltiel and Stephen Neil Smith “China’s Foreign Policy Drivers under Xi Jinping: Where Does Canada Fit in?” Canadian International Council *Behind the Headlines* Vol. 68 No. 11. (October 2020)  
<https://thecic.org/chinas-foreign-policy-drivers-under-xi-jinping-where-does-canada-fit-in/>
- Jeremy Paltiel “Facing China: Canada Between Fear and Hope” *International Journal* 73(3),(September 2018) 343–363.
- Andrew Pickford and Jefferey F. Collins “Hard Choices: Why Canada needs a cohesive, consistent Policy towards Communist China” <https://www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/canada-needs-cohesive-consistent-strategy-counter-china-new-mli-paper-andrew-pickford-jeffrey-f-collins/>

### **Week 8 March 11**

#### **China and multilateral institutions**

- Alastair Iain Johnston “Socialization in International Institutions: The ASEAN Way and International Relations Theory” in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003) 107-162
- D. Shambaugh *China Goes Global* 121-155
- Rosemary Foote US-China Interactions in Global Governance and International Organizations” in Shambaugh, *Tangled Titans* pp. 347-370
- D. Shambaugh *China and the World* Part IV esp, Ch. 8 Katherine Morton “China’s Global Governance Interactions
- Also Ch. 15 Kondapali Regional Multilateralism with Chinese Characteristics

## **Week 9 March 18**

### **China and Human Rights;**

Ann Kent, *China, The United Nations and Human Rights: The limits of Compliance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999)

Jeremy Paltiel “Peaceful Rise? Soft Power? Human Rights in China’s New Multilateralism” in Guoguang Wu ed., *China’s turns to Multilateralism: Foreign Policy and Regional Security* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007) Ch 11.

-----.“Does a Half-Full Glass Justify a Leap of Faith? Incremental Change and Human Rights in China” *International Journal* (Spring 2006) pp. 371-387.

Andrew Nathan, “ Human Rights in Chinese Foreign Policy” in Andrew Nathan and Robert Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress* ch. 10 pp. 178-192.

Pitman Potter “Human Rights and the Rule of Law: Implications for Canada” Behind the Headlines Vol. 68 no. 12 (November 2020) <https://thecic.org/human-rights-and-the-rule-of-law-implications-for-canada-china-relations/>

## **Week 10 March 25**

### **Taiwan**

Shelly Rigger, “Taiwan in US-China Relations” in Shambaugh Tangled Titans pp. 293-311

Shelley Rigger *Why Taiwan Matters* pp. 59- 94: 117-198

Christopher W. Hughes *Taiwan and Chinese Nationalism: National Identity and Status in International Society* (New York: Routledge, 1997) Chapters

## **Week 11 April 1**

### **Korea**

Victor D. Cha and David C. Kang

*Nuclear North Korea: A debate on Engagement Strategies*

Jae Ho Chung *Between Ally and Partner: Korea-China Relations and the United States* (Columbia, 2006)

Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland Engaging North Korea the Role of Economic Statecraft. East West Center policy study # 59

[https://www.eastwestcenter.org/sites/default/files/private/ps059\\_0.pdf](https://www.eastwestcenter.org/sites/default/files/private/ps059_0.pdf)

Siegfried Hecker “Can the North Korean Nuclear Crisis Be Resolved”

Scott Sagan The Korean Missile Crisis *Foreign Affairs* November -December 2017

Leif-Eric Easley and Kyuri Park “South Korea’s Mismatched diplomacy in Asia: Middle Power Interests, Identity and foreign Policy” *International Politics* (October 2017)

## **Week 12 April 8 LAST CLASS**

### **Russia in East Asia**

Gilbert Rozman, “Asia For the Asians: Why Sino-Russian Friendship is Here to Stay” *Foreign Affairs* October 29, 2014

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/142305/gilbert-rozman/asia-for-the-asians>

Bobo Lo, *Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing and the new geopolitics*

Michael Cox “Axis of Opposition” Toje ch. 15 321-348  
Shambaugh *China and the World* Chapter 11

## **Papers due**

### **Academic Accommodations**

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#### Accommodations during COVID

Due to COVID, instructors will not request or require a doctor’s note when students seek accommodation for missed term work or exams due to illness. Instead, students will be asked to complete the self-declaration form available

here: [https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19\\_Self-declaration.pdf](https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19_Self-declaration.pdf)

#### **Pregnancy obligation**

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website:

[carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

#### **Religious obligation**

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website:

[carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

#### **Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities**

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. [carleton.ca/pmc](https://carleton.ca/pmc)

#### **Survivors of Sexual Violence**

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: [carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support](https://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support)

### **Accommodation for Student Activities**

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

<https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](https://students.carleton.ca/course-outline)

### **Plagiarism**

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

### **Submission and Return of Term Work**

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments

may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

### **Grading**

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

### **Approval of final grades**

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

### **Carleton E-mail Accounts**

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

### **Carleton Political Science Society**

"The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/> and our website <https://carletonpss.com/>, or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

### **Official Course Outline**

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.