Poli Sci 249 East Asian Regionalism (Spring '09)  
W. 4-6 PM, 791 BARROWS  
642-4688  
Office Hours: Tues. 11-12 and by app’t  
T.J. Pempel <pempel@berkeley.edu>

This seminar will focus on the postwar experiences of the Asian region. Asia was long divided by colonialism, the Cold War, and America's 'hub and spoke' alliance system. Since the formation of ASEAN in 1967 closer ties have developed across parts of Asia but these were long driven less by states entering formal alliances or creating multi-country institutions and more by corporations through investment, trade and production networks. These economic ties with low levels of Asian regional institutionalization were blamed by some for the rapidity with which the economic crisis of 1997-98 spread across the region. Since that crisis various efforts have been made to strengthen formal regional ties to prevent the recurrence of any similar financial meltdown. Regional links have also been institutionally bolstered through formal state-to-state cooperation on immigration, environmental pollution crime control and other non-traditional security matters. Nonetheless, hard security and defense collaboration have been far slower to develop and today many ‘hot spots’ and continued national competitions divide the region. Many states, especially in Northeast Asia, have resisted making deep institutional commitments that could limit their sovereignty or compromise existing unilateral or bilateral flexibility. This seminar will close by examining the various tensions between establishing closer Asian ties and the preservation of national sovereignty and the institutional efforts to reconcile these tensions.

**REQUIREMENTS:** All members of the seminar will be expected to do two major things beyond the major writing assignments:

1. Complete the assigned readings prior to the seminar meeting and come prepared to discuss the readings, their relationship to one another, and their links to earlier readings and seminar discussions.

2. Be one of two primary discussants for two different weeks’ readings (each session will begin with two discussants circulating a short 2-4 page ‘think piece’ and then taking 5-8 minutes to recap the key themes in the week’s readings and raising one or two key issues for subsequent discussion. (These assignments will be made in the second class.)

In addition, all seminar participants must complete one of the following two writing assignments:

**Option A:** Complete a 20-25 page research paper on some theoretically and empirically interesting aspect of East Asian regionalism. Hard or electronic copies of these papers should be distributed to all seminar members one week in advance. They will be discussed in seminar sessions on May 3.
By March 18, those taking this option should complete and circulate a 5-8 page outline of their research paper. Distribute copies of these to all seminar members. Outlines will be discussed in seminar sessions on April 8.

**Option B:** Complete four 7-10 page critical review essays, each dealing with one week’s readings. These essays should be based on the required readings. They may focus on differences in the analysis of any two or more readings, your own assessment of strengths or weaknesses in several of the readings, recent developments that reinforce or challenge the conclusions of the readings, etc. The point is these are to be ‘critical’ reviews, not simple summaries of the readings. Two of these may be coordinated with the oral required presentations.

**READINGS:** All required readings should be done prior to the seminar. All efforts have been made to make these available electronically and through library reserve. The books and issues of the journal *The Pacific Review* prior to the year 2000 will be located in GRDS in room 208 Doe Library (Graduate Services). The journals *Cooperation and Conflict, Foreign Affairs,* and *Survival* are available non-circulating in the 2nd Floor of Doe Library in the Rosberg Reading Room. Links to articles available electronically can be found on the Pol Sci 249 “Asian Regionalism” course page on bSpace. Most other articles are available through electronic access via the library. The electronic articles are listed in order of appearance on the syllabus. There are a number of “additional readings” on the syllabus. These are designed to be a first-cut bibliography for anyone wishing to explore specific topics in more depth. Some items may be a bit dated in the interests of offering more rather than less information.

Students may also wish to purchase the following paperback books which will be read in whole or in large part during the semester:

January 21 - Overview and Introduction

No required readings

January 28 - Regionalism and Integration Theory: These readings cover some of the theoretical literature on regional international relations. Key questions include: What is the 'dependent variable' in the study of East Asian IR? What constitutes a region, that is, what are the defining characteristics of a regional subsystem? On what basis can East Asia be characterized as a regional subsystem having its own international relations? Do different characteristics have different implications for levels of conflict and cooperation? What hypotheses about regional interaction, and about the relationship between global and local systems come out of this literature?

Required


Additional


**February 4- East Asia as a Region**

**Required**


Additional


February 11 - The East Asian Historical Legacy

Required


Additional


February 18- Beginnings of the “The East Asian Model” and the “Economic Miracle”: Much of contemporary East Asia’s success, and subsequent interlinkage grew out of the early postwar economic success of Japan and the perception that the “Japanese model” represented an alternative model of capitalist economics. Chalmers Johnson popularized the notion of Japan as a ‘developmental state’ and subsequent success by South Korea and Taiwan added to the perception that the model was creating an economic miracle across the region.

**Required**


**Additional**


Vogel, Ezra F., *The Four Little Dragons: The Spread of Industrialization in East Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), chapter 3 "South Korea" (pp. 42-65); chapter 4 "Hong Kong and Singapore" (pp. 66-82).


**February 25 - Emerging Regionalization:** Economic success began a process of weaving closer links among many parts of Asia. ASEAN emerged primarily as a security arrangement in Southeast Asia. Japanese investments in parts of Asia further wove different
links creating trans-border production networks. Changes in Chinese domestic politics combined with the search for capital investments led to growing economic ties in South China and along the Chinese East Coast. All resulted in a ‘regionalization’ driven largely by corporate activities.

**Required**


**Additional**


Naughton, Barry (ed.), The China Circle: Economics and Technology in the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1997), chapter 1 "The Emergence of the China Circle" (pp. 3-37); chapter 3 “Economic Policy Reform in the PRC and Taiwan” (pp. 81-110).
March 4- Early Regionalism: The previous week examined the processes of bottom-up linkage across national borders. From the ‘top down’ certain activities were also attempting to tie parts of East Asia more closely together. The three most important of these were ASEAN, APEC and ARF. But these regional links were also in competition with a variety of longstanding bilateral security arrangements. Northeast Asia in particular seemed particularly resistant to formal ties.

Required

Acharya, Amitav, Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia (London: Routledge, 2001), Chapters 1, 2, 3.


Also familiarize yourselves with the APEC and ASEAN websites (www.apecsec.org.sg) (www.aseansec.org/1024x768.html).

Additional
March 11 - East Asian Security Pre-Crisis: As East Asia gained economically and as regional institutions took hold, and particularly in the post-Cold War period, the question emerged as whether the East Asian region is ‘ripe for rivalry’ as many realists would contend, or whether security relations are developing that are more prone to generate stability and cooperation.

Required


Christensen, Thomas J., "China, the US-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in


Katzenstein, Peter J., A World of Regions (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), Chapter 4, 6.


**Additional**


Nye, Jr., Joseph, Chalmers Johnson and E.B. Keehn, “The U.S. in East Asia: Stay or Go?” Foreign Affairs (July/August 1995).


**March 18 - The East Asian Economic Crisis And Its Aftermath:** In 1990-91, the Japanese economy suffered a bursting of its burgeoning asset bubble and the country’s macro-economy began a downturn from which it has yet to recover. 1997-98, the currencies of Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea and the Philippines all came under intense speculative attack; most fell sharply sending severe shocks through all, and leading to IMF bailout packages for three. The causes and consequences of the crisis have been subject to wide analysis; however, the events themselves proved a turning point for many governments and organizations across the Asia-Pacific. Indonesia, for example, witnessed longstanding economic chaos; South Korea, on the other hand, restructured important elements of its chaebol system and recovered rather quickly. Equally importantly, there was a burst of new regional institutions and processes.

**Required**

MacIntyre, Pempel, and Ravenhill, “East Asia in the Wake of the Financial Crisis,” in MacIntyre et al. pp. 1-14

Amyx, Jennifer, “Regional Financial Cooperation in East Asia since the Asian Financial Crisis, in MacIntyre, et al. pp. 117-139

Hamilton-Hart, Natasha “Banking Systems a Decade After the Crisis” in MacIntyre, et al. pp. 45-69


Chaps. 9-12 in MacIntyre et al. (read selectively—these are case studies)

**Additional: Crisis**
Asia Financial Crisis webpage
<http://www.stern.nyu.edu/globalmacro/nav_asian_crisis.html>


Additional: Post Crisis


Beeson, Mark (ed.), Reconfiguring East Asia: Regional Institutions and Organizations after the Crisis (London: Curzon, 2002).


March 25 - Spring Break

April 1 The Current Security Situation: Since the 1990s there have been a number of important developments in military security across Asia. Many appeared to reopen old territorial rivalries yet in no case did overt state-to-state conflict break out. Interpretations differed on how to interpret these events. To some they suggested that East Asia was still simmering and highly vulnerable to open warfare; to others, the implication was that East Asia had become increasingly able to cope peacefully with internal tensions. Importantly, most of the major state-to-state problems appear in Northeast, not Southeast Asia.

Required


Additional


Eglin, Richard, "Challenges and Implications of China Joining the WTO" (June 19, 2000).


Hosoya, Chihiro and Tomohito Shinoda (eds.), Redefining the Partnership: The United States and Japan in East Asia (Lanham: University Press of America, 1998).


Segal, Gerald, "How insecure is Pacific Asia?" International Affairs 73, 2 (1997): 235-249.


Tellis, Ashley J. and Michael Willis, Strategic Asia 204-2005 (Seattle: NBR).


April 8 - Seminar paper outlines and discussion

April 15--The Rise of Non-State Terror and Terrorist States: Traditional defense and military security issues in East Asia, as elsewhere, have focused heavily on state-
to-state conflicts and the possibilities of interstate warfare. The post-Cold War period has seen North Korea branded as a ‘terrorist state’ and a ‘rogue nation,’ while in the wake of Sept. 11, considerable attention has been given to Islamist threats linked to al Quada and other non-state generated groups. This section explores some of these issues with an eye toward how best to reconceptualize new security problems in the region.

**Required**


Ikenberry and Moon, Chaps. 6, 9 (pp. 143-166; 231-262)

Kim, “North Korea: A Perpetual Rogue State?” in Ikenberry and Moon, Chap. 6.


**Additional**


April 22 - Creating an “Asian Identity”: This section examines the question of “Asian values.” To what extent are such underlying values “real” and meaningful? To what extent are they politically created or emerging through mass culture? Are we seeing a ‘clash of civilizations’ between East Asia and the rest of the world? Within East Asia?

Required


Moon and Suh, in Ikenberry and Moon, Chap. 8, pp. 193-230


Additional

Acharya, Amitav, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia* (London: Routledge, 2001), Chapters 4, 5, 6 and Conclusion


**April 29- The Current Regional Picture**- A number of recent developments reinforce and challenge patterns that seemed to have been unfolding. Among the most interesting have been the meetings of the East Asia Summit. But this section will attempt to examine recent events in light of broader regional developmental patterns.
The East Asia Summit, Cebu, 2007: issues and prospects at

Pempel, T.J. “The Race to Connect East Asia: An Unending Steeplechase,” In Asian
http://www.polisci.berkeley.edu/faculty/bio/permanent/Pempel,T/RacetoConnectAsia.pdf

Ikenberry and Moon, Chaps. 7, 10, 11, 12

Gintner, Lawrence E. “The Six-Partty Talks and the Future Denuclearization and

May 6- Seminar paper presentations and discussion and Conclusion