

**GVPT409I Sec - 0101 Fall 2008:Seminar in International Relations and World Politics:  
Globalization and Governance of the Asia-Pacific**

**Instructor Ambassador(Rtd) Touqir Hussain**

**classroom 1108 Tydings Hall, \**

**class is held from 12:30pm to 1:45pm on Tuesdays and Thursdays.**

**office 1140D, Tydings Hall,  
hours Thursdays 1-45 to 3-15 PM  
phone number 301-405-2817.**

## **Course Description**

### **I. Course Overview**

There has been unprecedented changes in the national economies in the past three decades or so in Asia Pacific and beyond that have been accelerated since the end of the Cold War and onset of globalization reflecting as well as affecting the great rise of China and India. To say that the markets are now interconnected and global and the world capital moves about freely does not tell the whole story neither about the causes of these history making economic and geo political changes nor about their effects.

This course will attempt to explain what globalization is, its successes and failures, and what technological, social and geo political changes have contributed to it but will focus largely on how Asia has benefited from this phenomenon. And who are malcontents of globalization. The course will also look at the vulnerabilities the third world countries have in a competitive world economy. And how economic growth specially of China and India is bringing about geo political changes and a major power shift in Asia and indeed globally.

And also how globalization has stimulated desire and aspirations for empowerment specially among the poor and the vulnerable. And the civil society has been energized to seek democracy and freedom. The course will also at the empowerment of non state actors as well like militant organizations and terrorists. It has raised the capacity of the traditional Islamists seeking a pacific route to power to reach out to the young and by mixing social agenda and nationalism it has gained influence with them. The struggle for Islam thus ends up merging with the larger struggle in this age of modernization and globalization for a national purpose and individual self fulfillment. And this struggle is spilling over into radical channels.

The course will also include South Asia in the area. The region lives under the strategic shadow of China and is now at the crossroads of many critical policy challenges that US faces in the region and beyond affecting American and global security. The region

compels attention because of great strategic and economic opportunities especially in the rising India. The rising India is being looked upon as a balancer to China. But the US cannot exploit these opportunities without overcoming the threats. And Pakistan is where the threats are. That makes both India and Pakistan as important policy issues.

All the aspirations to help India become a great power and balance China will fail if Pakistan remains troubled, and a threat not only to itself and the regional peace and stability but also US and global security. And there is related factor, the Central Asia. The energy deficient Japan shares US interest in Central Asian stability but that is contingent on Afghanistan stabilizing. So Afghanistan should also be part of the course.

### *Assignments and Grading*

The success of the class would very much depend on student contribution. The instructor will introduce, provide context to, and summarize ideas, and will bring his first hand knowledge of international affairs to bear on the extensive reading that the students are expected to do. And then the class will mostly discuss, debate and brainstorm. Students will be challenged to develop provocative and innovative habits of thought and analytical skills.

Students will be evaluated in three ways:

1. Quality of questions and opinions expressed in the class will play an important role in making the class a stimulating intellectual experience for everyone. As a consequence, class attendance, preparation, and participation will account for an important part of your grade -- 35 percent of the final grade.

- 2) Students will be asked to write a 4-6 page essays. They will be able to select the topic of their essay from a list of several topics that will be passed out in class after the course has got underway. It will count for 25 percent of your grade.

3. A well developed research paper which will constitute 40% of the grade. The research paper will make an in depth analysis of the topic selected after its approval by me. The topic will be proposed by the student and approved by the Instructor. The topic encapsulated in a one paragraph outline, should be selected and submitted to me. The paper should be not less than 12 pages (not including the cover page and bibliography) and no more than 16 typed double spaced pages. The topic should be submitted to me in

writing by Oct 24. The paper is due on Dec 3. The papers will be graded based on the coherence of their logic, their factual accuracy, and their demonstration of mastery of the materials covered in the course. You must be concise and to the point.

**Please keep in mind the following university guidelines**

### **Disruptive Students**

*Students are expected to treat each other with respect. Disruptive behavior of any kind will not be tolerated. Students who are unable to show civility with one another, the teaching assistants, or myself will be subject to being referred to the Office of Student Conduct or to Campus Police. You are expected to adhere to the Code of Student Conduct.*

### **Medical Excuses**

*Campus Senate policy requires students who are absent due to illness/injury to furnish documentary support to the instructor. I require students to contact me by email or by phone prior to class time in which you indicate that you have an illness or an injury. You must provide written documentation verifying your illness/injury immediately upon your return to class. You will not be allowed to turn in missed assignments or make up quizzes, tests, papers, etc. if you have not provided this documentation. Documentation not presented to me in a timely manner will not be accepted. In addition, if it is found that you have falsified the documentation provided, I will refer you to the University's Student Conduct Office.*

### **Students With Learning, Emotional, Psychological and Physical Disabilities**

*I will make every effort to accommodate students who are registered with the Disability Support Services (DSS) Office and who provide me with a University of Maryland DSS Accommodation form which has been updated for the Fall 2008 semester. This form must be presented to me no later than October 1, 2008. I am not able to accommodate students who are not registered with DSS or who do not provide me with documentation which has been reviewed by DSS after October 1, 2008.*

*By September 15, 2008, students must provide me in writing a request for a make up exam if I have indicated a date on this syllabus that you are unable to make due to a specific religious observance (specify) on a specific date. Please refer to the*

## **Syllabus**

### **Books**

**Globalization Reader-- Lechner and Boli**

**World is Flat--Thomas Friedman**

**Asia: Changes and Challenges-- World Bank**

### **Briefs, news articles and special reports**

Students are required to monitor and absorb publications from the Carnegie Endowment for Peace and the C.S.I.S. special reports on China and Japan

China Quarterly" is a Cambridge publication on political, economic and foreign policies of China. Excellent resource for current events/ trends and very realistic, though a little expensive. Here is the link: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayIssue?iid=1809132>

South Asia Perspectives (published online periodically by the Carnegie Endowment for Peace)

South Asia Monitor (published online periodically by the CSIS)

[www.dawn.com](http://www.dawn.com)

[www.dailytimes.com.pk](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk)

[www.hindu.com](http://www.hindu.com)

[www.outlookindia.com](http://www.outlookindia.com)

I will also circulate articles from newspapers and magazines relevant to the course. I also expect all students to share material they have found relevant with me for onward transmission to the class.

**Please also consult from time to time the following websites of regional forums**

ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), <https://www.aseanregionalforum.org/>  
Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), <http://www.apec.org/>  
ASEAN Free Trade Areas: <http://www.aseansec.org/4920.htm>

## **Seminars**

### **Week 1**

#### **What is globalization?**

introducing the seminar and the syllabus.

Introduction and General Issues

J. Frenkel, "Globalization of the Economy", *Governance in a Globalizing World*, J. Nye (ed.), Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000, pp. 45-71

Thomas Friedman, Chapters 5-9.

Samuel P. Huntington, "[The Clash of Civilizations?](#)" *Foreign Affairs* Summer 1993, 72/3.  
[Original version of the argument before the book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*. New York: Touchstone Books, 1996.]

### **Week 2:**

#### **Conceptualizing Globalization**

IMF, "Globalization: Threat or Opportunity?", *IMF Issue Brief*, April 12, 2000

Robertson and Khondker, "Discourses of Globalization: Preliminary Considerations," *International Sociology* (March 1998), pp. 25-40.

The Impact of the International Economy on National Policies ,," in Robert O. Keohane and Helen V. Milner (eds) *Internationalization and Domestic Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996 pp. 25-47.

Mark Blyth. *Great Transformations: Economic Ideas and Change in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 17-45.

### **Week 3**

#### **East Asia Miracle**

Giovanni Arrighi, "Globalization and the Rise of East Asia," *International Sociology* 13 5 (1), 1998, pp. 59-77.

<http://iss.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/13/1/25>

Stephan Haggard and Tun-jen Cheng, "State and Foreign Capital in the East Asian NICs" in Deyo, ed., *The Political Economy of the new Asian Industrialism* 84-135

East Asia Miracle World Bank

Joseph Stiglitz, "The East Asia Crisis: How IMF Policies Brought the World to the Verge of a Global Meltdown" in *Globalization and Its Discontents* (NY: WW Norton, 2002) 89-133.

### **Week 4**

#### **East Asia Miracle (Contd)**

East Asia Miracle

Tongzon, J.L., *The Economics of Southeast Asia. Before and After the Crisis* (2002) 111-151.

Indonesia's Quiet Revolution

Lex Rieffel *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2004

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20040901faessay83509/lex-rieffel/indonesia-s-quiet-revolution.html>

### **Week 5**

**The geo political issues**

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20050901faessay84505/kishore-mahbubani>

Abramowitz, Morton and Stephen Bosworth. 2003. "Adjusting to the New Asia," *Foreign Affairs* 82:4 (July/August), pp. 119-131

Stackpole, H.C. 2002. "A US Security Approach in the Asia Pacific Region in the Age of Globalization." *Asia Pacific Review* 9:1. Available at: <http://unpan1.un.org/intrdoc/groups/public/documents/apcity/unpan014343.pdf>.

China and Japan's Simmering Rivalry

Kent E. Calder: *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2006

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20060301faessay85210/kent-e-calder/china-and-japan-s-simmering-rivalry.html>

[A Global Power Shift in the Making](#)

[James F. Hoge, Jr. \*Foreign Affairs\*, July/August 2004](#)

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20040701facomment83401/james-f-hoge-jr/a-global-power-shift-in-the-making.html>

## **Week 6**

### **The Rise of China**

1. "The Man Who Changed China: The Life and Legacy of Jiang Zemin" by Robert Lawrence Kuhn (Crown Publishing Group 2005)

Winning Asia

Washington's Untold Success Story

[Victor D. Cha](#)

From *Foreign Affairs*, [November/December 2007](#)

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20071101faessay86607/victor-d-cha/winning-asia.html>

## **China's Governance Crisis**

[Minxin Pei](#)

From *Foreign Affairs*, [September/October 2002](#)

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20020901faessay9735/minxin-pei/china-s-governance-crisis.html>

## **The Rise of China and the Future of the West Can the Liberal System Survive?**

[G. John Ikenberry](#)

From *Foreign Affairs*, [January/February 2008](#)

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20080101faessay87102/g-john-ikenberry/the-rise-of-china-and-the-future-of-the-west.html>

## **China's "Peaceful Rise" to Great-Power Status**

[Zheng Bijian](#)

From *Foreign Affairs*, [September/October 2005](#)

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20050901faessay84502/zheng-bijian/china-s-peaceful-rise-to-great-power-status.html>

## *Week 7*

### *Japan in a globalized world*

Defense? Evaluating Japan's Regional Security Role Under the New Defense Cooperation Guidelines." *Pacifica Review* 12:3 (October), pp. 225-248. Grimes, William. 2003.

"Institutionalized Inertia: Japanese Foreign Policy in the Post Cold War World." In *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, eds. G.. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 313-386. Hook, Steven W., and Guang Zhang. 1998.

"Japan's Aid Policy Since the Cold War: Rhetoric and Reality." *Asian Survey* 38:11 (November), pp. 1051-1066. Available at: [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)

Dalpino, Catharin, and Juo-yu Lin. 2002-03. "China and South East Asia: The Difference of a Decade." In *Brookings Northeast Asia Survey*, pp. 77-90. Available at: <http://www.brook.edu/fp/cnaps/papers/survey2003/6asean.pdf>.

### **Japan's New Nationalism**

[Eugene A. Matthews](#)

From *Foreign Affairs*, [November/December 2003](#)

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20031101faessay82608/eugene-a-matthews/japan-s-new-nationalism.html>

## **Week 8**

### **South Asia and Globalization**

Rise of India

Ashley Tellis

Manuel Castells, *The Information Age, Vol. 1. The rise of the network society*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, pp. 1-18; 92-106.

Stephen Cohen Rise of India

### **The India Model**

[Gurcharan Das](#)

From *Foreign Affairs*, [July/August 2006](#)

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20060701faessay85401/gurcharan-das/the-india-model.html>

### **India - a hub for globalization**

<http://www.imf.org/external/np/speeches/2005/010705.htm>

## **Week 9**

### **Fall of Pakistan and rise of Political Islam, extremism and terrorism**

**Hussain Haqqani,**

Pakistan From Mosque to the Military

Talbot, Ian Talbot India and Pakistan Pages 223-251

## Jessica Stern Terror in the Name of God

### Week 10

#### Globalization and Democracy

Mary Elizabeth Gallagher, "Reform and Openness": Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy" *World Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 3. (Apr., 2002), pp. 338-372 ([http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world\\_politics/v054/54.3gallagher.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v054/54.3gallagher.pdf))

Ha-joon Chang, "Kicking Away the Ladder: 'Good Policies' and 'Good Institutions' in Historical Perspective" in Gallagher, *Putting Development First*: 102-125

\*Asian Development Bank, *Emerging Asia: Changes and Challenges* (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 1997).

Mahathir, Dr. M.B. (1996) "Globalisation: what it means to small nations," **Third World Resurgence**, 74: 27-30.

Luke, T. (1997) "Localized spaces, globalized places: virtual community and geo-economics in the Asia-Pacific," in M. Berger and D. Borer (eds) **The Rise of East Asia: Critical Visions of the Pacific Century**, Routledge: London, pp. 241-259.

Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., and Perraton, J. (1999) **Global Transformations:**

### Week 11

#### Week Jihad and Globalization

Dr. Fritz Schulze: *Globalized and regional Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia*  
Meuleman, Johan H.: 'The history of Islam in Southeast Asia – some questions and debates'. In: *Islam in Southeast Asia – political, social and strategic challenges for the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (ed. K.S. Nathan & Mohammad Hashim Kamali). Singapore: ISEAS, 2005, pp. 22-44

*Islam in the era of globalization – Muslim attitudes towards modernity and identity* (ed. Johan Meuleman). London & New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002, pp. 71

Michael Brown et al., eds., *East Asian Security: An International Security Reader*

## **Week 12**

### **War and Peace in Asia**

#### **North Korea, fears of China's resurgence**

## **Week 13**

### **War and Peace in Asia (contd)**

#### **Kashmir, Afghanistan and war on terrorism**

Readings: Dennis Kux, *India-Pakistan Negotiations, Is Past Still Prologue* (2006), appendices 2-5, pp. 71-83; Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in Conflict* (2003), chapter 10 – access at

 [schofield.ch10.kashmir-in-conflict.lib-iss.pdf](#);

“Kashmir: A Way Forward,” Proposal of the Kashmir Study Group. (Access and download at <http://www.kashmirstudygroup.org/>);

Robert G. Wirsing, *Kashmir in the Shadow of War*, chapter 4 – access at

 [wirsing.ch04.kashmir-in-the-shadow-of-war.lib-iss.pdf](#).

#### **The two contemporary Afghan wars, the rise of Taliban and Al Qaeda**

Hussain Haqqani Pakistan Between Mosque and the Military

Pages 159-198

USIP Special Report on Afghanistan by Marvin Wienbaum ( 2006)

[http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr162\\_afghanistan.html](http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr162_afghanistan.html)

Taliban By Ahmed Rashid

The war on terrorism and the extremist threat to the region

US Institute of Peace Special Report by Ambassador Touqir Hussain (2005) US Pakistan

Engagement: the War on terrorism and Beyond .

<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr176.html>

## **Week 14**

## **South Asia and Central Asia**

Ahmed Rashid: Militant Islam, oil, and fundamentalism in Central Asia  
ECO; Shanghai Five;

## **A Partnership for Central Asia**

[S. Frederick Starr](#)

From *Foreign Affairs*, [July/August 2005](#)

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20050701faessay84412/s-frederick-starr/a-partnership-for-central-asia.html>

## **China's Global Hunt for Energy**

[David Zweig](#) and [Bi Jianhai](#)

From *Foreign Affairs*, [September/October 2005](#)

<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20050901faessay84503/david-zweig-bi-jianhai/china-s-global-hunt-for-energy.html>