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**International Relations in East Asia**

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**Professor Cheol Hee Park**

Associate Professor @ Seoul National University

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Semester: **Fall 2010**

Course Style: Seminar

Level: Graduate Course

Instructor: **Professor Cheol Hee Park**

Office: 505 GSIS 140-1

Office Hour: by appointment

Email: [chpark82@snu.ac.kr](mailto:chpark82@snu.ac.kr)

Class Time: Wednesday 14:30-17:30

Venue: 140-107

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**Course Outline**

This course is designed to critically examine the literatures on international relations in East Asia with a view to developing theoretical and empirical analysis of the regional dynamics. Topics for the course include US strategy and East Asia, the challenge of rising China, US-Japan relations, the North Korean question as well as regional integration. ----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**Conduct of the Course**

Those who take this course are supposed to have basic knowledge about international relations theory. The course will be organized as a lecture course. Questions and comments are always welcome. There is no course packet for the course. Most of the articles assigned will be available at e-journals at Columbia University Library. If you have difficulty in finding the articles assigned, please consult the instructor.

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**Students' Responsibility, Requirements and Evaluation**

There is no doubt that attendance matters. If a student misses classes more than three times without any prior notice to an instructor, he or she would be regarded as a failure. Students are expected to actively participate in the discussion during the class, which means raising questions and answering questions to the students. During the mid-term exam period, students are required to submit 5 page long critical review essay. One can critically review literatures assigned for any week before the mid-term exam. At the end of the semester, students are required to submit a research paper on the relevant topics of their own choice. Students are encouraged to consult the instructor beforehand about the topics of their writing.

(1) Weekly Short Quiz (10%)

(2) Attendance and participation in discussion (20%)

(3) Review Essay during the Mid-term Period: 5 pages long (20%)

(4) Final Research Paper: 10-12 pages long (50%)

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**Course Organization**

**September 1 General Introduction and Overview**

**September 8 International Relations Theory and East Asia: Contending Theories**

<Required Readings>

Aaron Friedberg, “Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia,”

*International Security* 18:3 (Winter 1993/1994): 5-33.

Richard Ross, “The Geography of Peace: East Asia in the 21st Century,” *International*

*Security* 23:4 (Spring 1999)

A. Acharya, “Will Asia’s Past Be Its Future?” *International Security* 28:3 (Winter

2003)

David Kang, “Hierarchy, Balancing and Empirical Puzzles in Asian International

Relations,*” International Security* 28:3 (Winter 2003)

<Recommended Readings>

\* Jennifer Lind and Thomas Christensen, “Spirals, Security and Stability in East Asia,”

*International Security* 24:4 (Spring 2000)

\* Richard Betts, “Wealth, Power and Instability: East Asia and the United States After

the Cold War,” *International Security* 18:3 (Winter 1993/1994)

\* M. Abramowitz and Steven Bosworth, “Adjusting to the New Asia,” *Foreign Affairs*

82:2 (March/April 2003)

**United States and East Asia**

**September 15 U.S. Primacy and Post-9.11 East Asia:**

<Required Readings>

John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, *International Relations Theory and the*

*Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), Conclusion.

G. John Ikenberry, “The Political Foundations of American Relations with East Asia,”

in G. John Ikenberry and Chung-In Moon. eds. *The United States and Northeast Asia* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publisher, 2008): 19-38.

Christopher Layne, “The Unipolar Illusion Revisited,” *International Security* 31:2

(Fall 2006)

Michael Mastanduno, “Hegemonic Order, September 11, and the Consequences of the

Bush Revolution,” in G. John Ikenberry and Chung-In Moon. eds. *The United*

*States and Northeast Asia* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publisher, 2008):

263-284.

<Recommended Readings>

\* Colin Dueck, “New Perspectives on American Grand Strategy,” *International Security* 28:4 (Spring 2004)

\* Barry Posen, “Competing Visions for US Grand Strategy,” *International Security* 21:3

(Winter 1996/1997)

\* Jonathan Pollack, “U.S. Strategies in Northeast Asia: A Revisionist Hegemon,” in

Byung-Kook Kim and Anthony Jones. eds. *Power and Security in Northeast*

*Asia* (New York: Rienner, 2007): 55-98.

\* Michael Mastanduno, “Preserving the Unipolar Moment: Realist theories and U.S.

Grand Strategy After the Cold War,” in Ethan Kapstein and Michael Mastanduno, eds. *Unipolar Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999): 138-181.

\* Victor Cha, “Winning Asia,” *Foreign Affairs* 86:6 (Nov/Dec. 2007): 98-113.

\* S. Brooks and W. Wohlforth, “American Primacy in Perspective,” *Foreign Affairs*

81:4 (July/August 2002)

\* Michael Mastanduno, “Incomplete Hegemony: The United States and Security Order

in Asia,” in Mutiah Alagappa, ed. *Asian Security Order* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 2003), 141-170.

**September 22 *No Class (Thanksgiving Holiday)***

**September 29 Comparing the Bush and Obama Administrations**

<Required Readings>

Robert Jervis, “The Remaking of a Unipolar World,” *The Washington Quarterly*

29:3(Summer 2006), pp. 7-19.

Jonathan Morten, “The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism and Democracy Promotion in US Strategy,” *International Security* 29:4 (Spring 2005)

Charles Kupchan and Peter Trubowitz, “Grand Strategy for a Divided America,”

*Foreign Affairs* 86:4 (Jul/Aug, 2007): 71-83.

Kurt Campbell and Derek Chollet, “The New Tribalism: Cliques and the Making of U.S. Foreign Policy ,” *The Washington Quarterly* 30:1 (Winter 2006-7): 193-203.

<Recommended Readings>

\* Remarks by President Barack Obama at Suntory Hall, Tokyo, on November 14, 2009.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-barack-obama-su>

ntory-hall

\* Barack Obama, “Renewing American Leadership,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August

2007)

\* Robert Gates, “A Balanced Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2009)

\* Charles Kupchan and Peter Trubowitz, “Dead Center: The Demise of Liberal

Internationalism in the United States,” *International Security* 32:2 (Fall 2007):

7-44.

\* John Gaddis, “Grand Strategy in the Second Term,” *Foreign Affairs* 84:1 (Jan/Feb

2005)

\* Hillary Clinton, “Security and Opportunity for the Twenty-first Century,” *Foreign*

*Affairs* 86:6 (Nov/Dec. 2007): 2-18.

\* Barry Posen, “Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of US

Hegemony,” *International Security* 28:1 (Spring 2003)

\* Donald Rumsfeld, “Transforming the Military,” *Foreign Affairs* 81:3 (May/June

2002)

\* Natan Sharansky, *The Case for Democracy* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004)

\* Colin Powell, “A Strategy of Partnership,” *Foreign Affairs* 83:1 (Jan/Feb 2004)

**The Challenge of Rising China**

**October 6 The Rise of China and Challenges to Asian Security**

<Required Readings>

Robert Ross and Zhu Peng, “The Rise of China: Theoretical and Policy Perspectives,”

in Robert Ross and Zhu Peng, eds. *China’s Ascent: Power, Security, and the*

*Future of International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp.

293-316.

I. Johnston, “Is China a Status Quo Power,*” International Security* 27:4 (Spring 2003)

David Shambaugh, “Return to the Middle Kingdom? China and Asia in the Early

Twenty-First Century,” in David Shambaugh ed. *Power Shift: China and Asia’s New Dynamics* (University of California Press, 2006)

Robert Ross, “China’s Naval Nationalism,” *International Security* 34:2 (October 2009):

46-81.

<Recommended Readings>

\* John Mearsheimer, “The Future of the American Pacifier,” *Foreign Affairs* 80:5

(September/October 2001)

\* Avery Goldstein, “Power Transition, Institutions, and China’s Rise in East Asia:

Theoretical Expectations and Evidence,” in G. John Ikenberry and Chung-In Moon. eds. *The United States and Northeast Asia* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publisher, 2008): 39-78.

\* Avery Goldstein, “An Emerging China’s Grand Strategy: A Neo-Bismarckian Turn?,”

in John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, eds. *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 57-106.

\* Taylor Fravel, “Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation,” *International*

*Security* 30:2 (Fall 2005)

\* Avery Goldstein, *Rising to the Challenge: China’s Grand Strategy and International*

*Security* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005)

\* Thomas Christensen, “Posing Problems Without Catching Up,” *International Security*

25:4 (Spring 2001), chapters 1, 7, 8.

\* David Kang, “Getting Asia Wrong,*” International Security* 27:4 (Spring 2003)

\* G. Gilboy, “The Myth Behind China’s Miracle,” *Foreign Affairs* 83:1 (July/August

2004)

\* Peter Gries and Thomas Christensen, “Power and Resolve in US China Policy,”

*International Security* 26:2 (Fall 2001)

**October 13 The China Question: Engagement or Containment**

<Required Readings>

Aaron Friedberg, “The Future of US-China Relations,” *International Security* 30:2 (Fall

2005)

Thomas Christensen, “Fostering Stability or Creating a Monster? The Rise of China and

US Policy toward East Asia,” *International Security* 31:1 (Summer 2006)

Robert Sutter, “China’s Regional Strategy and Why It May Not Be Good for America,”

in David Shambaugh. ed. *Power Shift: China and Asia’s New Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005): 289-305.

Jonathan Pollack, “The Transformation of the Asian Security Order: Assessing China’s

Impact,” in David Shambaugh. ed. *Power Shift: China and Asia’s New*

*Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005): 329-346.

<Recommended Readings>

\* Randall Schweller, “Managing the Rise of Great Powers: History and Theory,” in

Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, eds. *Engaging China: The Management*

*of an Emerging Power*(New York: Routledge, 1999)

\* Robert Jervis, “Thinking Systematically about China,” *International Security* 31:2

(Fall 2006)

\* Special Report: The China Challenge, *The National Interest* No. 81 (Fall 2005)

: D. Lampton, Richard Ross, Chung Min Lee

\* Richard Bernstein and Ross Munro*, The Coming conflict with China* (New York:

Vintage Books, 1997) (*skim*)

\* Gerald Segal, “East Asia and the Containment of China,” *International Security* 20:4

(Spring 1996)

\* David Shambaugh, “Containment or Engagement of China,” *International Security*

21:2 (Fall 1996)

\* G. Gilboy and Eric Heginbaum, “China’s Coming Transformation,” *Foreign Affairs*

80:4 (July/August 2001)

\* David Shambaugh, “China’s Military Views the World: Ambivalent Security,”

*International Security* 24:3 (Winter 1999/2000)

***October 20* *Mid-term Review Essay***

**The Japanese Question**

**October 27 US-Japan Alliance in the Asian Context**

<Required Readings>

Victor Cha, “Powerplay Origins of the United States Alliance System in Asia,”

*International Security* 34:3 (January 2009): 158-196.

Akio Takahara, “A Japanese Perspective on China’s Rise and the East Asian Order,” in

Robert Ross and Zhu Peng, eds. *China’s Ascent* (Ithaca: Cornell University

Press, 2008), pp.218-237.

Richard Samuels, “Japan’s Goldilocks Strategy,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Autumn 2006)

Takashi Inoguchi and Paul Bacon, “Rethinking Japan as an Ordinary Country,” in G.

John Ikenberry and Chung-In Moon. eds. *The United States and Northeast Asia* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publisher, 2008): 79-98.

<Recommended Readings>

\* Kent Calder, Pacific Alliance (2009)

\* Thomas Christensen, “China, The US-Japan Alliance and the Security Dilemma,”

*International Security* 23:4 (Spring 1999)

\* Richard Armitage and Joseph Nye, “The US-Japan Alliance: Getting Asia Right

through 2020,” *CSIS Report* (February 2007)

\* Michael Green, “US-Japan Relations after Koizumi: Convergence or Cooling?” *The*

*Washington Quarterly* (Autumn 2006)

\* Gilbert Rozman, *Japanese Strategic Thought toward Asia* (New York: Palgrave,

2007) Chapters 1, 7, 9.

\* Ellis Krauss and T.J. Pempel, eds. *Beyond Bilateralism: US-Japan Relations in the*

*New Asia-Pacific* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004): chapters 6 and 9.

\*Akio Watanabe, “Past and Future of Japan-US Alliance,” *Japan Review of*

*International Affairs* (Fall 2001)

\* Chalmers Johnson and E.B. Keen, “The Pentagon’s Ossified Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs* 74:4 (July/August 1995): 103-114.

\* Joseph Nye, “The Case for Deep Engagement,” *Foreign Affairs* 74:4 (July/August

1995): 90-102.

\* Mike Mochizuki, “American and Japanese Strategic Debates: The Need for a New

Synthesis,” in Mike Mochizuki, ed. *Toward a True Alliance* (Washington, DC: The Bookings Institution Press, 1997) :43-82.

\* Victor Cha, *Alignment Despite Antagonism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press,

1999). Introduction, chapter 2 and conclusion, pp. 199-232..

\* Victor Cha, “Korea’s Place in the Axis,” Foreign Affairs 81:3 (May/June 2002)

**November 3 Japanese Foreign and Security Policy**

<Required Readings>

Richard Samuels, “Securing Japan: The Current Discourse,” *Journal of Japanese*

*Studies* 33:1 (2007): 125-152.

Jennifer Lind, “Pacifism or Passing the Buck? Testing Theories of Japanese Security

Policy,*” International Security* 29:1 (Summer 2004)

David Arase, “Japan, the Active State: Security Policy after 9/11,” *Asian Survey* 47:4

(July/August 2007): 560-583.

Christopher Hughes, *Japan’s Remilitarization* (2009)

<Recommended Readings>

\* Kenneth Pyle, *Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose* (New

York: Public Affairs, 2007), Chapter 9.

\* Eric Heginbotham and Richard Samuels, “Mercantile Realism and Japanese Foreign

Policy,” *International Security* 22:4 (Spring 1998)

\* Thomas Berger, “The Politics of Memory in Japanese Foreign Relations,” in Thomas

Berger, Mike Mochizuki, and Jitsuo Tsuchiyama. eds. *Japan in International*

*Politics* (Bouler: Lynne Rienner, 2007): 179-212.

\* Thomas Berger, “Power and Purpose in Pacific East Asia,” in John Ikenberry and

Michael Mastanduno, eds. *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003):387-420.

\* Peter Katzenstein and Nobuo Okawara, “Japan, Asia-Pacific Security and the Case for

Analytic Eclecticism,” *International Security* 26:3 (Winter 2001)

**\*** Yoshinobu Yamamoto, “Japan’s Activism Lite: Bandwagoning the United

States,” in Byung-Kook Kim and Anthony Jones. eds. *Power and Security*

*in Northeast Asia* (New York: Rienner, 2007): 127-166.

**The North Korean Question**

**November 10 The Nature of North Korean Crisis**

Gilbert Rozman, *Strategic Thinking about the Korean Nuclear Crisis* (New York:

Palgrave, 2007): 1-52.

Victor Cha and David Kang, *Nuclear North Korea* (New York: Columbia University

Press, 2003): Chapter 5.

C.S. Elliot Kang, “North Korea’s International Relations: The Successful Failure?,” in

Samuel Kim, ed. *The International Relations of Northeast Asia* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), pp. 281-300.

Chung In Moon, “Managing the North Korean Nuclear Quagmire: Capability, Impacts

and Prospects,” in G. John Ikenberry and Chung-In Moon. eds. *The United States and Northeast Asia* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publisher, 2008): 231-262.

<Recommended Readings>

\* Bruce Cumings, *North Korea Another Country* (New York: The New Press, 2004),

chapter 2.

\* S. Sagan, “Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons” *International Security* 21:3

(Winter 1996/1997)

\* Selig Harrison, “Did North Korea Cheat?” *Foreign Affairs* 84:1 (Jan/Feb 2005)

**November 17 What To Do With North Korea**

Victor Cha, “Hawk Engagement and Preventive Defense on the Korean

Peninsula,” *International Security* 27:1 (Summer 2002)

Michael O’Hanlon and Mike Mochizuki, “Toward a Grand Bargain with North

Korea,” *The Washington Quarterly* 26:4 (Autumn 2003), pp.7-18.

Mitchell Reiss, “A Nuclear-armed North Korea: Accepting the Unacceptable?”

*Survival* 48:4 (Winter 2006-07), pp.97-110.

Narushige Michishita, “Playing the Same Game: North Korea’s Coercive

Attempt at U.S. Reconciliation,” The Washington Quarterly 32:4 (October 2009), pp.139-152.

<Recommended Readings>

\*Joel Wit, “Enhancing U.S. Engagement with North Korea,” *The Washington Quarterly*

30:2 (Spring 2007): 53-69.

\*Charles Pritchard, *Failed Diplomacy: The Tragic Story of How North Korea Got the*

*Bomb* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2007): chapters 7-9.

\*Michael O’Hanlon and Mike Mochizuki, *Crisis on the Korean Peninsula*

(Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution Book, 2003)

\* Michael Mazarr, “The Long Road to Pyongyang,” *Foreign Affairs* 86:5 (Sep/Oct

2007): 75-94.

\* Bruce Bechtol, Jr. *Red Rogue: The Persistent Challenge of North Korea* (Washington

D.C.: Potomac Books, 2007): chapter 8.

\* Chung In Moon, “The North Korean Nuclear Crisis and the Choice for South Korea,” in *Coping With Korea’s Security Challenges Vol. 1 North Korean Nuclear Issue*

(Seoul: IFANS, 2004): 291-326.

\* Nicholas Eberstadt, “The North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Another Twenty Years Crisis?,” in *Coping with Korea’s Security Challenges Vol. 2 Future of ROK-US*

*Alliance* (Seoul: IFANS, 2004), pp.31-58.

\* Masao Okonogi, “Dealing with the Threat of a Korean Crisis,” *Japan Review of*

*International Affairs* (Summer 2003)

\* James Laney and J. Shaplen, “How to Deal with North Korea,” *Foreign Affairs* 82:2

(March/April 2003)

**East Asian Regional Integration**

**November 24 New Asian Order in Changing Global Context**

Christopher Layne, “The Waning of U.S. Hegemony-Myth or Reality?” *International*

*Security* 34:1 (Summer 2009): 147-172.

Amitav Acharya, “The Emerging Regional Architecture of World Politics,” *World*

*Politics* 59 (July 2007): 629-652.

Etel Solingen, “The Genesis, Design and Effects of Regional Insitutions: Lessons from

East Asia and the Middle East,” *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (2008): 261-294.

Ellen Frost, *Asia’s New Regionalism* (New York: Lynne Rienner, 2008): 1-41.

<Recommended Readings>

\* Peter Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), chapters 2-4.

\* Barry Buzan, et. *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chapters 1 and 6.

\*Kishore Mahbubani, *The New Asian Hemisphere* (2009)

**December 1 Integrative Process in East Asian Region**

Edward Lincoln, “The Asian Regional Economy,” in David Shambaugh and Michael

Yahuda, eds. *International Relations of Asia* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008): 277-299.

David Jones and Michael Smith, “Making Process, Not Progress,” *International*

*Security* 32:1 (Summer 2007): 148-184.

T.J. Pempel, “The Race to Connect East Asia: An Unending Steeplechase,” *Asian*

*Economic Policy Review* (2006): 239-254.

T.J. Pempel, “Northeast Asian Economic Integration: A Region in Flux,” *Asia-Pacific*

*Review* 14:2 (2007): 45-61.

<Recommended Readings>

\* Edward Lincoln, *East Asian Economic Regionalism* (Washington, DC: Brookings

Institution Press, 2004): Chapters 7 and 8.

\* T.J. Pempel, “Introduction: Emerging Webs of Regional Connectedness,” in T. J.

Pemepl, ed. *Remapping East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005): 1-30.

\* Gilbert Rozman, *Northeast Asia’s Stunted Regionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 2004): Chapters 1 and 8.

\* Lowell Dittmer, “The Emerging Northeast Asian Regional Order,” in Samuel Kim ed.

*The International Relations of Northeast Asia* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), pp. 331-362.

\* T.J. Pempel, “Transpacific Torii: Japan and the Emerging Asian Regionalism,” in

Peter Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraishi, eds. *Network Power* (Ithaca: Cornell

University Press, 1997): 47-82.

**December 8 Regional Strategic Implication of East Asian Cooperation**

Joshua Kurlantzick, “Pax Asia-Pacifica? East Asian Integration and Its Implications for

the United States,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2007): 67-77.

Wu Xinbo, “Chinese Perspective on Building East Asian Community in the

Twenty-first Century,” in Michael Green and Bates Gill. eds. *Asia’s New Multilateralsim* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009): 55-77.

Akiko Fukushima, “Japan’s Perspective on Asian Regionalism,” in Michael Green and

Bates Gill. eds. *Asia’s New Multilateralsim* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009): 103-127.

Amitav Acharya, “The Strong in the World of the Weak: Southeast Asia in Asia’s

Regional Architecture,” in Michael Green and Bates Gill. eds. *Asia’s New Multilateralsim* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009): 172-192.

<Recommended Readings>

\* Jonathan Kirshner, “States, Markets, and Great Power Relations in the Pacific,” in

John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno eds. *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003)

\* Zhang Yunling and Tang Shiping, “China’s Regional Strategy,” in David Shambaugh

ed. *Power Shift: China and Asia’s New Dynamics* (University of California Press, 2006)

\* Cheol Hee Park, “The Development of Korea’s Regional Strategy in Northeast Asia,”

in Hoon Jaung and Yuichi Morii, eds. *Cooperation Experiences in Europe and*

*Asia* (Tokyo: The University of Tokyo, 2003): 213-240.

\* David Shambaugh, “China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order,”

*International Security* 29:3 (Winter 2004/05)

\* Ippei Yamazaki, “Asia-Pacific Regionalism and Japan’s Strategy,” *Japan Review of*

*International Affairs* (Fall 2001)

***Final Paper is Due by 9 a.m.December 13(Monday): No late submission is allowed.***