Seoul National University

Graduate School of International Studies

**EAST ASIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY**

**Spring 2019 (Wednesday 14:00 – 16:50)**

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**Course Objective**

This course is intended to discuss key security issues of East Asia. As an advanced seminar, the course will provide students with both a historical and theoretical framework to understand and analyze current security topics in East Asia. Special attention will be given to the security situation of Northeast Asia and the national security strategy of the countries in the region. The first part of the course will look into the major wars in East Asia in the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Second, the course will discuss current security issues and national security strategies of six East Asian countries including: The U.S., China, Japan, Russia, North Korea and South Korea. Finally the course will discuss three different approaches in analyzing today’s East Asian security situation: realist, liberalist, and constructivist. (This course is designed as an advanced Ph.D. level seminar course on East Asian security with in-depth analysis and discussions. MA candidates must have taken ‘Understanding International Security’ as a prerequisite).

**Required Texts**

• S.C.M. Paine, *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895: Perceptions, Power and Primacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

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

• T.J. Pempel, *Remapping East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

• J.J. Suh, Peter J. Katzenstein, and Allen Carlson, *Rethinking Security in East Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

• John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986).

• *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999).

**Course Requirements**

1. Class participation (20%)
2. Group Presentation (30%)
3. Final essay (50%)

**Guidelines**

• Good attendance and **active class participation** will be reflected in grade.

• In their **group presentation**, students would summarize the readings of each week and present a case for given discussion topics. The presentation should provide frank and detailed discussion of each issue related to East Asian security questions given by the lecturer.

• Students are required to write **a short policy paper** in which they will discuss challenges, problems and policy options for issues related to the 21st century East Asian security.

• Students are always welcome to **ask the instructor** for clarification during or after class when confused. Yet, if you miss a class, please do not come to instructor for explanations or lecture notes. You may contact other students for this.

• All students must exhibit professionalism in and out of classroom. Students are required to uphold an **honor code** regarding “academic standards, cheating, plagiarism, and the documentation of written work,” and be aware of **the serious result in case of violation.**

**The updated syllabus will be distributed in the class.**

**Class Schedule and Reading Assignments**

**I. Introduction (March 6)**

* 1. Will there be a war in East Asia?
  2. Where? And When?
  3. How to prevent/prepare?
  4. Which national strategy?

**PART ONE: EARLY MODERN WARS IN EAST ASIA**

**II. The Opium Wars 1839-43, 1856-60 (March 13)**

- The East meets the West

- Sino-British conflict

- China’s response to the West

Readings:

• Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W Norton & Co, 2000), pp. 117-193.

• Ssu-yu Teng and John King Fairbank, *China’s Response to the West, A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), pp. 17-36.

• Hsin-pao Chang, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1964), pp. 189-230.

**III. The Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95 (March 20)**

- China and Japan in the late 19th Century

- The reversal of the balance of power

- The clash of two orders

- Rising Japan

Readings:

• S.C.M. Paine*, The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895: Perceptions, Power and Primacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

• Jonathan Spence, pp. 194-262.

• Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 1-168.

**IV. The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-05 (March 27)**

- Russians and Japanese in Korea

- Portsmouth Treaty and Roosevelt

- U.S.-Japan relations in the early 20th century

- Korea, the prize of imperial competition

Readings:

• Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 169-244. 397-423.

• Raymond A. Esthus, *Theodore Roosevelt and Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), pp. 3-127.

• Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895-1937* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), introduction, and pp. 101-157, 431-438.

• “First Impression of the Japanese Army”, *A Staff Officer’s Scrap-Books*, pp. 1-35.

**V. The Pacific War (April 3)**

- Japan’s over expansion

- America at war

- Collision in the Pacific

- Japan, embracing defeat

Readings:

• Walter LaFeber, *Clash: U.S.-Japanese Relations throughout History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), pp. 128-256.

• John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), pp. 19-84, 203-521.

• *War without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), pp. 3-32, 262-317.

• “The Bombed: Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japanese Memory, “ in Philip West, Steven I. Levine, Jackie Hiltz, eds., *America’s Wars in Asia: A Cultural Approach to History and Memory* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998) pp. 27-48.

• Claudia Schneider, “The Japanese History Textbook Controversy in East Asian Perspective,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 617, (May 2008), pp. 107-122.

• Kimie Hara, “Years from San Francisco: Re-Examining the Peace Treaty and Japan's Territorial Problems,” Pacific Affairs, Vol. 74, No. 3 (Autumn 2001), pp. 361-382.

**PART TWO: NSS OF KEY COUNTRIES**

**VI. The U.S. (April 10)**

- NSS of US

- Peaceful Decline or Re-bounce

- New threat, old power politics

- Engage or disengage

- Asia Pivot and Rebalance

Readings:

• The White House, *National Security Strategy* (February 2015) https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015\_national\_security\_strategy.pdf

• Department of Defense, “Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense, “ (January 2012)

• Hillary Clinton, "America's Pacific Century," *Foreign Policy*, (November 2011).

• Joseph Nye, “The Future of American Power,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 89, No. 6 (November/December 2010), pp. 2-12.

• Colin Dueck, “New Perspectives on American Grand Strategy,” *International Security* Vol. 28, No. 4 (Spring 2004), pp.197-216. .

• Victor D. Cha, “Powerplay Origins of the US Alliance System in Asia,” *International Security* Vol. 34, No. 3 (Winter 2009/10), pp. 158-196

• Christopher Layne, “The Waning of US Hegemony - Myth or Reality?” *International Security* Vol. 33, No. 2 (Summer 2009), pp. 147-172.

• Ashley Tellis, “Balancing without Containment: A US Strategy for Confronting China’s Rise,” *Washington Quarterly* Vol. 36, No. 4 (Autumn 2013), 109-124.

• Michael Beckley, “China’s Century?: Why America’s Edge Will Endure,” *International Security* Vol 36, No. 3 (Winter 2011/2012)

• Joseph Nye, “Our Pacific Predicament, “ *The American Interest* (March/April 2013)

• Patrick Tyler, *A Great Wall: Six Presidents and China*, (New York: A Century Foundation Book, 1999), pp. 3-179.

**VII. China (April 17)**

- NSS of China

- Peaceful Rise

- Threat or stakeholder?

- Coping with the U.S.

Readings:

• The State Council Information Office of the PRC, “China’s Military Strategy,” Chinese Ministry of Defense, May 2015

• Zheng Bijian, “China’s Peaceful Rise to Great Power Status,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 84, No. 5, September/October 2005.

• Wang Jisi, “China’s Search for Grand Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 2 (March/April 2011), pp. 68-79.

• Michael D. Swaine, “China’s Assertive Behavior - Part One: On ‘Core Interests’.” *China Leadership Monitor* No. 34, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Winter 2011)

• Michael D. Swaine, “Xi Jinping’s Address to the Central Conference on Work Relating to Foreign Affairs: Assessing and Advancing Major-Power Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics,” China Leadership Monitor, no.46.

• Yan Xuetong, “The Instability of China-US Relations,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* Vol. 3, 2010, pp. 263-292.

• Alastair Iain Johnston, “Stability and Instability in Sino-US Relations: A Response to Yan Xuetong’s Superficial Friendship Theory,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* Vol. 4, 2011, pp. 5-29.

• M. Taylor Fravel and Evan S. Medeiros, “China’s Search for Assured Retaliation: The Evolution of Chinese Nuclear Strategy and Force Structure” *International Security*, Vol 35, No. 2 (Fall 2010), pp. 48-87.

• Denny Roy, “Japan and China” *Return of the Dragon: Rising China and Regional Security* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2013), pp. 81-102.

• International Crisis Group, “Stirring up the South China Sea (III): A Fleeting Opportunity for Calm,” *Asia Report N◦267*, (7 May 2015)

• Randall L. Scheller and Xiaoyu Pu, “After Unipolarity: China’s Visions of International Order in an Era of US Decline,” *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Summer 2011), pp. 41-72

• Robert G. Sutter, *China’s Rise in Asia* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2005), pp. 1-75.

**VIII. Field Trip (April 24)**

**IX. Japan (May 1)**

- NSS of Japan

- Burden of history

- Normal country

- Alliance with the U.S.

Readings:

• Japan Ministry of Defense, *Defense of Japan 2015* (<http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/2015.html>)

• “Report of the Advisory Panel on the History of the 20th Century and on Japan’s Role and the World Order in the 21st Century” (August 6, 2015) (<https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/21c_koso/pdf/report_en.pdf>)

• “Prime Minister Abe Statement of the 70th Anniversary of the End of World War II,” (August 14, 2015) (<https://www.google.co.kr/?gfe_rd=cr&ei=rFTVVtvMD-zC8gf8obqABQ&gws_rd=ssl#newwindow=1&q=abe+statement+70th+anniversary>)

* Office of Prime Minister, Government of Japan, “National Security Strategy,” December 17, 2013 (<http://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryou/131217anzenhoshou/nss-e.pdf>)

• Richard J. Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo’s Grand Strategy and The Future of East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

• Richard Armitage “The U.S. and Japan: Advancing Toward Mature Partnership” INSS Special Report (October 2000).

• William Choong, “Japan’s New Politics,*” Survival*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Jun/Jul 2013), 47-54.

• Alexander Bukh, “Japan's History Textbooks Debate: National Identity in Narratives of Victimhood and Victimization,” Asian Survey, Vol. 47, No. 5 (September/October 2007), pp. 683-704.

• Tokyo Foundation, “Japan’s Security strategy Toward China: Integration, Balancing, and Deterrence in the Era of Power Shift,” Policy Proposal (October 2011)

• Mike Mochizuki and Samuel Parkinson Porter “Japan Under Abe: toward Moderation or Nationalism?” *Washington Quarterly* Vol. 36, No. 4 (Autumn 2013), 25-41.

• International Crisis Group, “Old Scores and New Grudges: Evolving Sino-Japanese Tensions,*” Asia Report N◦258*, (24 July 2014)

• Yoshihide Soeya, “A View from the Inside on Japan’s Perpetual Trust Gap,” *Global Asia* Vol. 8, No. 3 (Fall 2013), pp. 38-41.

• Emma Chanlett-Avery, Mark E Manyin, William H. Cooper, Ian E. Rinehard, “Japan-U.S. Relations: Issues for Congress” CRS Report for Congress (September 29, 2015), pp. 1-37. (<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33436.pdf>)

• Alexis Dudden, “Japan’s Border Disputes: Dokdo at the Center of Bigger Things,” [The Asan Institute for Policy Studies](http://en.asaninst.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Asan-Institute_Press-Release-Report-on-S.K-Attitudes-on-Japan.pdf) Issue Brief, No. 19, (8 March 2012)

**X. Russia (May 8)**

- Proactive or Reactive Power

- Status Quo or Revisionist

- European or Asian

- Russo-Sino-US Triangle

Readings:

• National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation to 2020 (May 12, 2009, unofficial translation)

• Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (Approved by President of the Russian Federation V. Putin on 12 February 2013, unofficial translation)

• Deborah Welch Larson & Alexei Shevchenko “Status Seekers: Chinese and Russian Responses to U.S. Primacy”, *International Security* Vol. 34, No.4 (Spring 2010), pp.63-95.

• Andrew C. Kruchins, “Russia, the 360-Degree Regional Power.” *Current History* (Oct 2011), pp. 266-271.

• Andrei P. Tsygankov, “Moscow’s Soft Power Strategy.” *Current History* (Oct 2013) pp. 259-264.

• Fiona Hill, “Mr. Putin and the Art of the Offensive Defense: Ukraine and Its Meanings”, *Brookings Institution*

• Mark Galeotti, Andrew S. Bowen, “Putin’s Empire of the Mind”, *Foreign Policy,* No.206 (May/June 2014) pp.16-19.

• Alexander Lukin, “What the Kremlin is Thinking”, *Foreign Affairs* Vol.91, No.4 (July/August 2014)

• Samuel Charap and Jeremy Shapiro, “Consequences of a New Cold War”, *Survival,* Vol.57 no.2 (April-May 2015) pp.37-46.

• Clifford Gaddy and Michael O’Hanlon, “Toward a ”Reaganov“ Russia: Russian Security Policy after Putin”, *The Washington Quarterly,* August 03, 2015

• Paul Schwartz, “Sino-Russian Defense Relations Intensify”, *The Asan Forum.*

(<http://www.theasanforum.org/sino-russian-defense-relations-intensify/>)

• Olga Oliker, “Unpacking Russia’s New National Security Strategy”, *The Center for Strategic and International Studies,*

(<http://csis.org/publication/unpacking-russias-new-national-security-strategy>)

**XI. South Korea (May 15)**

- NSS of ROK

- South Korean Democracy

- ROK-US Alliance

- Between Eagle and Dragon

- North Korean Contingency

Readings:

• Anthony H. Cordesman, *The Korean Military Balance*, (CSIS, July 2011).

• Sunhyuk Kim and Wonhyuk Lim, “How to Deal with South Korea,” *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 30, No. 2 (Spring 2007), pp. 71-82.

• Jae Ho Chung, *Between Ally and Partner: Korea-China Relations and the United States* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2007), pp. 1-18, 75-121

• Hahm Chaibong, “The Two South Koreas: A House Divided,” *The Washington Quarterly*, 28: 3, Summer 2005, pp. 57-72

• Marcus Noland, “South Korea: The Backwater That Boomed” *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb 2014), pp. 17-22

• Paul B. Stares and Joel S. Wit, “Preparing for Sudden Change in North Korea” Council on Foreign Relations Special Report No. 42 (January 2009).

• Seongho Sheen, “A Smart Alliance in the Age of Complexity: ROK-US Alliance in the 21st Century” EAI Issue Briefing (June 1 2009)

• , “Dilemma of South Korea’s Trust Diplomacy and Unification Policy,” *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (December, 2014)

• Gen. Walter Sharp, “OPCON Transition in Korea,” Korea Chair Platform, CSIS (December 2, 2013)

• Yun Byung-se, “Park Geun-hye’s Trustpolitik: A New Framework for South Korea’s Foreign Policy,” *Global Asia* Vol. 8, No. 3 (Fall 2013), pp. 8-15.

• International Crisis Group, “North Korea: The Risks of War in The Yellow Sea,” Asia Report No. 198 (23 December 2010)

• Brendan Taylor, “Japan and South Korea: The Limits of Alliance” *Survival* Vol. 54, No. 5 (Oct/Nov 2012), pp. 93-100

**XII. North Korea (May 22)**

- NSS of DPRK

- North Korean Regime

- Nuclear program

- Future of North Korea

- North Korea and China

Readings:

• B.R. Myers, *The Cleanest Race: How North Koreans See Themselves and Why It Matters* (Melville House, 2010),

• Bruce Cumings, *Korea’s Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997), pp. 456-495.

• Daniel Byman and Jennifer Lind, “Pyongyang’s Survival Strategy: Tools of Authoritarian Control in North Korea,” *International Security*, Vol 35, No. 1 (Summer 2010), pp. 44-74.

• Christopher Hill, “The Elusive Vision of a Non-nuclear North Korea,” *Washington Quarterly* Vol. 36, No.2 (Spring 2013), 7-19

• Denny Roy, “North Korea: Bothersome Cline State” in *Return of the Dragon: Rising China and Regional Security* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2013), pp. 178-193.

• Victor Cha and Nicholas D. Anderson, “A North Korean Spring?” *Washington Quarterly* Vol. 35, No. 1 (Winter 2012), pp. 7-24.

• Gi-Wook Shin, David Straub, and Joyce Lee, “Tailored Engagement: Toward an Effective and Sustainable Inter-Korean Policy” (September 2014)Asia Pacific Research Center, Stanford University (http://fsi.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/tailored\_engagement\_web.pdf)

• Emma Chanlett-Avery, Ian Leinhart, Mary Beth Nikitin, “North Korea: US Relations, Nuclear Diplomacy, Internal Situation,” CRS Report for Congress (January 15, 2016), pp. 1-32 (<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R41259.pdf>)

* International Crisis Group, “North Korea: Beyond the Six-Party Talks” Asia Report No 269, 2015

**PART THREE: THREE APPROACHES TO EAST ASIAN SECURITY**

**XIII. Theories on East Asian Security (May 29)**

- Ripe for new rivalry?; Persisting tension; New threat

- Hope for peace; Growing interdependence; East Asian security institution

- No war, no community; Asian values and ideas

Readings:

• Aaron Friedberg, “Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia,” *International Security* Vol. 18, No. 3 (Winter 1993/1994), pp. 5-33.

• “The Future of US-China Relations,” *International Security* Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall 2005), pp.7-45.

• John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), pp. 1-28, 360-402.

• “The Gathering Storm: China’s Challenge to US Power in Asia,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* Vol. 3, (2010), pp.381-396.

• T.J. Pempel, *Remapping East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 1-53, 195-215, 256-275.

• Gilbert Rozman, “Northeast Asian regionalism at a crossroads: Is an East Asian Community in sight?,” in Martina Timmermann and Jitsuo Tsuchiyama ed. *Institutionalizing Northeast Asia* (Tokyo: United Nation University Press, 2008), pp. 83-97.

• Yuen Foong Khong, “Coping with Strategic Uncertainty: The Role of Institutions and Soft Balancing in Southeast Asia’s Post-Cold war Strategy” J.J. Suh, Peter J. Katzenstein, and Allen Carlson, *Rethinking Security in East Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 172-208.

• Yong Wook Lee, “Nonhegemonic or Hegemonic Cooperation? Institutional Evolution of East Asian Financial Regionalism,” *The Korean Journal of International Studies* Vol. 13-1 (April 2015), pp. 89-115.

• Thomas U. Berger, “Power and Purpose in Pacific East Asia: A Constructivist Interpretation,” in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno ed. *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 387-419.

• David Kang, “Hierarchy and Stability in Asian International Relations,” in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno ed. *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 163-189.

• , “Paper Tiger: Why Isn’t the Rest of Asia Afraid of China?” *Foreign Policy*, (April 25, 2013)

• Feng Zhang, “How Hierarchic was the historical East Asian system?,” *International Politics* Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 1-22.

• Amitav Acharya, “Will Asia’s Past Be Its Future?” *International Security* Vol. 28, No. 3 (Winter 2003), pp. 149-164.

• , “Theoretical perspectives on International Relations in Asia,” David Shambaugh and Michael Yahuda ed*. International Relations of Asia* (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), pp. 57-82.

**XIV. East Asian Security in 21ST Century (June 5)**

- China, a new stakeholder?

- U.S.-Japan Alliance

- The Korean Peninsula

- Southeast Asia

Readings:

• Henry Kissinger, “The Future of US-China Relations: Conflict Is a Choice, Not a Necessity,” *Foreign Affairs,* March/April 2012, pp. 44-55.

• Thomas Fingar, “Ties that Bind: Strategic Stability in the US-China Relationship,” *Washington Quarterly* Vol. 36, No. 4 (Autumn 2013), 125-138.

• Andrew Yeo, “Bilateralism, Multilateralism, and Institutional Change in Northeast Asia’s Regional Security Architecture” EAI Fellows Program Working Paper Series No. 30 (April 2011)

• Kurt M. Campbell, Nirav Patel, Vikram J. Singh, *The Power of Balance: America in iAsia* (Washington D.C.: Center for a New American Security, 2008).

• Richard L. Armitage and Joseph S. Nye, *The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Getting Asia Right through 2020* (Washington D.C.: CSIS Report, 2007 February).

• Chae-Jin Lee*, A Troubled Peace: U.S. Policy and the Two Koreas* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2006), pp. 275-295.

• Seongho Sheen, “Northeast Asia’s Aging Population and Reginal Security: Demographic Peace?” *Asian Survey* Vol. 53, No. 2 (March/April 2013), 292-318.

• Richard Ross, “The Geography of Peace: East Asia in the 21st Century,” *International Security* Vol. 23, No. 4 (Spring 1999). pp. 81-118.

• Thomas Berger, “Overcoming a difficult past: The history problem and institution building in Northeast Asia,” in Martina Timmermann and Jitsuo Tsuchiyama ed. *Institutionalizing Northeast Asia* (Tokyo: United Nation University Press, 2008), pp. 98-117.

**XV. Final Paper (June 12)**