Seoul National University

Graduate School of International Studies

**EAST ASIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY**

**Spring 2016 (Wednesday 13:30 – 16:30)**

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# Course Objective

This course is intended to discuss situation and 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. The first part of the course will look into the major wars in East Asia in the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Afterwards, the course will discuss three different approaches in analyzing today’s East Asian security situation: realist, liberalist, and constructivist. Finally, the course will discuss current security issues among the major East Asian countries including: U.S.-China relations vis-à-vis the Taiwan Strait, Japan’s past and future, and new security threats and mechanisms in Southeast Asia. Special attention will be given to the security situation of Northeast Asia and the national security strategy of the countries in the region. (This course is designed for Ph.D. course work with in-depth analysis. MA candidates must have a certain background in IR theory and security study).

# 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 aspects and problems of policy 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.**

**Class Schedule and Reading Assignments**

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

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

1. **The Opium Wars (March 9)**

* 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, 1894-5 (March 16)**

* 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, 1904-5 (March 23)**

* 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 (March 30)**

* 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.

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

**VI. Realist Approach (April 6)**

* Ripe for new rivalry?
* Persisting tension
* New threat

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.
* G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno ed. *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 213-270, 421-439.

**VII. Liberalist Approach (April 13)**

* Hope for peace
* Growing interdependence
* East Asian security institution

Readings:

* T.J. Pempel, *Remapping East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 1-53, 195-215, 256-275.
* 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.
* Takeshi Yuzawa, “The Evolution of Preventive Diplomacy in the ASEAN Regional Forum: Problems and Prospects,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. XLVI, No. 5 (September/October 2006), pp. 785-804.

**VIII. Constructivist Approach (April 20)**

* No war, no community
* Asian values and ideas
* 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.
* , “International Relations Theory and East Asian History: An Overview,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* Vol. 13, No. 2 (May/Aug 2013), 181-206.
* , “Paper Tiger: Why Isn’t the Rest of Asia Afraid of China?” *Foreign Policy*, (April 25, 2013)
* 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.
* Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein, “Why is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism,” *International Organization* Vol. 56, No. 3 (Summer 2002), pp. 575-607.

**PART THREE: SECURITY ISSUES TODAY**

**IX. The U.S. (April 27)**

* Graceful Decline or Re-bounce
* New threat, old power politics
* Engage or disengage
* Asia Pivot and Rebalance

Readings:

* 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.
* The White House, *National Security Strategy* (May 2010)
* Department of Defense, “Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense, “ (January 2012)
* Hillary Clinton, "America's Pacific Century," *Foreign Policy*, (November 2011).
* Aaron Friedberg, “Bucking Beijing: An Alternative US China Policy,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 91, No. 5 (September/October 2012)
* 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)
* Karl W. Eikenberry, “China’s Place in U.S. Foreign Policy,” *The American Interest* Vol. 9, No. 6 June 2015
* Department of State, “Assistance Secretary Russel’s Testimony on Opportunities and Challenges in the US-Japan and US-Republic of Korea Alliance,” Washington D.C. (March 4, 3014)
* Patrick Tyler, *A Great Wall: Six Presidents and China*, (New York: A Century Foundation Book, 1999), pp. 3-179.

**X. China (May 4)**

* Peaceful Rise
* Threat or stakeholder?
* Coping with the U.S.

Readings:

* Zheng Bijian, “China’s Peaceful Rise to Great Power Status,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 84, No. 5, September/October 2005.
* Robert G. Sutter, *China’s Rise in Asia* ( Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2005), pp. 1-75.
* David M. Lampton, *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money, and Minds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), pp. 37-77.
* 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.
* Michael D. Swaine, “China’s Assertive Behavior - Part One: On ‘Core Interests’.” *China Leadership Monitor* No. 34, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Winter 2011)
* Wang Jisi, “China’s Search for Grand Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 2 (March/April 2011), pp. 68-79.
* 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
* The State Council Information Office of the PRC, “China’s Military Strategy,” Chinese Ministry of Defense, May 2015
* 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.
* 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.

**XI. Japan (May 11)**

* 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)
* Richard J. Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo’s Grand Strategy and The Future of East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).
* Kenneth B. Pyle, Michael Finnegan, Michael J. Green, Kent E. Calder, Andrew L. Oros, and Yuki Tatsumi, “Round Table: A New Stage for the U.S.-Japan Alliance?” *Asia Policy* No. 10 (July 2010), pp. 1-41.
* Christopher W. Hughes, “Japanese Military Modernization: In Search of a ‘Normal’ Security Role,” Ashley J. Tellis and Michael Wills ed., *Strategic Asia 2005-06: Military Modernization in an Era of Uncertainty* (Seattle: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2005), pp. 105-134.
* Yasuhiro Izumikawa, “Explaining Japanese Antimilitarism Normative and Realist Constraints on Japan’s Security Policy,” *International Security*, Vol 35, No. 2 (Fall 2010), pp. 123-160.
* Tokyo Foundation, “Japan’s Security strategy Toward China: Integration, Balancing, and Deterrence in the Era of Power Shift,” Policy Proposal (October 2011)
* Richard Armitage “The U.S. and Japan: Advancing Toward Mature Partnership” INSS Special Report (October 2000).
* 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, “Dangerous Waters: China-Japan Relations on the

Rocks,” Asia Report No. 245 (8 April 2013)

* William Choong, “Japan’s New Politics,*” Survival*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Jun/Jul 2013), 47-54.
* 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 (May 1, 2013), pp. 1-33.

**XII. South Korea (May 18)**

* 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)
* 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

**XIII. North Korea (May 25)**

* 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.
* Mary Beth Nikitin, “North Korea’s Nuclear Weapons: Technical Issues,”

CRS Report for Congress (April 3, 2013)

**XIV. East Asian Security in 21ST Century (June 1)**

* 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.
* Evelyn Goh, “Great Powers and Hierarchical Order in Southeast Asia, Analyzing Regional Security Strategies,” *International Security* Vol. 32, No. 3 (Winter 2007/08), pp. 113-157.
* Richard Ross, “The Geography of Peace: East Asia in the 21st Century,” *International Security* Vol. 23, No. 4 (Spring 1999). pp. 81-118.

**XV. Final Paper (June 8)**