***A Draft to Be Updated***

Seoul National University

Graduate School of International Studies

**EAST ASIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY**

**Spring 2022 (Monday 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 students who have taken ‘Understanding International Security’ as a prerequisite may be eligible for this course*).**

**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)

• Kishore Mahbubani, Has China Won?: *The Chinese Challenge to American Primacy* (New York: Public Affairs, 2020)

**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.

• Students can use their own **laptops** for note taking in class, yet web browsing, on-line chatting, and/or other course-unrelated activities will NOT be allowed. **No cell phone use** (including phone call, texting message, and/or phone applications) will be permitted during the class. Any violations will directly affect attendance and participation grades.

• 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**

**I. Introduction (March 7)**

* 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 14)**

- 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

• COLUM LYNCH, “State Department Lawyers Concluded Insufficient Evidence to Prove Genocide in China,*” Foreign Policy*, FEBRUARY 19, 2021, <https://foreignpolicy.com/author/colum-lynch/> .

***Discussion Topic 1. Controversy on Hong Kong, Uighur, Xinjiang between China and the West***

**III. The Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95 (March 21)**

- 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.

***Discussion Topic 2. East China Sea tension between China and Japan***

**IV. The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-05 (March 28)**

- 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.

***Discussion Topic 3. Northern Territory between Japan and Russia***

**V. The Pacific War (April 4)**

- Japan’s ambition and over expansion

- America’s war with Japan and making it ally

- Collision in the Pacific

- Japan, embracing defeat while keeping Imperial House

Readings:

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

• S.C.M. Paine, *The Wars for Asia 1911-1949* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 3-48, 171-222.

• Liu Xing, “How History Created its own Dramas: A Study of John Dewey’s Experiences in his 1919 Visits in Japan and China,” *The Journal of Northeast Asian History* Vol. 13, No. 2 (Winter 2016), pp. 9-31.

• 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.

***Discussion Topic 4. How to make a peace between the US, Japan, and Korea***

**PART TWO: NSS OF KEY COUNTRIES**

**VI. The U.S. (April 11)**

- NSS of US

- Peaceful Decline or Re-bounce

- New threat, old power politics

- Engage or disengage

- From Asia Pivot to America First

Readings:

• The White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*(February 2015) <https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf>

• The White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*(December 2017)

• Joseph R. Biden, Jr., “Why America Must Lead Again: Rescuing U.S. Foreign Policy After Trump,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2020 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-01-23/why-america-must-lead-again>

• Joseph R. Biden, Jr. “Remarks by President Biden to Department of Defense Personnel,” FEBRUARY 10, 2021 The Pentagon Arlington, Virginia <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/02/10/remarks-by-president-biden-to-department-of-defense-personnel/>

• Daniel Coats, *Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community* (January 29, 2019) <https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/os-dcoats-012919.pdf>

• The White House, *United States Strategic Approach to the PRC* (2020. 5.20). <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/U.S.-Strategic-Approach-to-ThePeoples-Republic-of-China-Report-5.20.20.pdf>

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

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

• Kurt M. Campbell and Ely Ratner, “The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations,” Foreign Affairs March/April 2018 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2018-02-13/china-reckoning>

• Kurt M. Campbell and Jake Sullivan, “Competition Without Catastrophe: How America Can Both Challenge and Coexist With China,” Foreign Affairs, September/October 2019 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/competition-with-china-without-catastrophe>

• KURT M. CAMPBELL AND RUSH DOSHI, “How America Can Shore Up Asian Order: A Strategy for Restoring Balance and Legitimacy,” Foreign Affairs, January 12, 2021

• Remarks by Vice President Pence on the Administration’s Policy Toward China

(October 4, 2018), The Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-vice-president-pence-administrations-policy-toward-china/>

• John J. Mearsheimer, “Realism and Restraint,” *The Horizons*, Summer 2019, No.14

• Michael D. Swaine, “Creating an Unstable Asia: the U.S. “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” Strategy,” Foreign Affairs, MARCH 02, 2018 <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/03/02/creating-unstable-asia-u.s.-free-and-open-indo-pacific-strategy-pub-75720>

• 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.

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

• Patrick Porter, “Why America's Grand Strategy Has Not Changed: Power, Habit, and the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment” *International Security* Spring 2018, Vol. 42, No. 04, pp. 9–46.

• Ashley Tellis, “Waylaid by Contradictions: Evaluating Trump’s Indo-Pacific Strategy,” *The Washington Quarterly* • 43:4 pp. 123–154, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2020.1849992>

• Jennifer Lind and Daryl Press, “Joe Biden Would Strengthen the U.S.-South Korea Alliance, But Is That Best For America?” The National Interest, Sep. 21. 2020.

• Kishore Mahbubani, Has China Won?: *The Chinese Challenge to American Primacy* (New York: Public Affairs, 2020)

***Discussion Topic 5. How to deal with Rising Competition with China***

**VII. China (April 18)**

- 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

• The State Council Informational Office of PRC, China’s Policies on Asia Pacific Security Cooperation (Jan. 11, 2017) <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/32832/Document/1539908/1539908.htm>

• 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, “Chinese Views on the U.S. National Security and National Defense Strategies,” MAY 01, 2018, CHINA LEADERSHIP MONITOR <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/05/01/chinese-views-on-u.s.-national-security-and-national-defense-strategies-pub-76226>

• 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.

• Michael D. Swaine, “Chinese Views of Foreign Policy in the 19th Party Congress,” JANUARY 11, 2018, CHINA LEADERSHIP MONITOR <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/01/11/chinese-views-of-foreign-policy-in-19th-party-congress-pub-75240>

• David Shambaugh, *China’s Future* (Polity, 2016), Ch.1 and 5, pp.1-20, 137-172.

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

• 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

• Andrea Gilli and Mauro Gilli , “Why China Has Not Caught Up Yet: Military-Technological Superiority and the Limits of Imitation, Reverse Engineering, and Cyber Espionage” *International Security* Winter 2018/19, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 141–189

• Andrew Chubb, “PRC Assertiveness in the South China Sea ; Measuring Continuity and Change, 1970–2015,” *International Security*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Winter 2020/21), pp. 79–121, <https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00400>

• Kishore Mahbubani, Has China Won?: *The Chinese Challenge to American Primacy* (New York: Public Affairs, 2020)

• The Plot Against China?, How Beijing Sees the New Washington Consensus

By Wang Jisi

• Becoming Strong, The New Chinese Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs,

By Yan Xuetong July/August 2021, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-06-22/becoming-strong>

***Discussion Topic 6. What Rising China Wants?***

**VIII. Japan (April 25)**

- NSS of Japan

- Burden of history

- Normal country

- Alliance with the U.S.

Readings:

• Japan Ministry of Defense, NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM GUIDELINES

for FY 2019 and beyond, December 18, 2018, <http://www.mod.go.jp/j/approach/agenda/guideline/2019/pdf/20181218_e.pdf>

• Japan Ministry of Defense, *Defense of Japan 2020* [*https://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w\_paper/wp2020/DOJ2020\_EN\_Full.pdf*](https://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/wp2020/DOJ2020_EN_Full.pdf)

• “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).

• T. J. Pempel, “Back to the Future? Japan’s Search for a Meaningful New Role in the Emerging Regional Order” *Asian Perspective* Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 361-380 (2015)

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

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

• 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.

• Eric Heginbotham and Richard J. Samuels, “Active Denial: Redesigning Japan's Response to China's Military Challenge” *International Security* Spring 2018, Vol. 42, No. 04, pp. 128–169

• 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 (October 1, 2019), pp. 1-37. <https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20191001_RL33436_a2895e6c8713626541f58de916e27dfe44f05649.pdf>

• Richard L. Armitage and Joseph S. Nye, The U.S.-Japan Alliance in 2020: AN EQUAL ALLIANCE WITH A GLOBAL AGENDA, CSIS, December 2020.

• Alexis Dudden, *Troubled Apologies: Among Japan, Korea and the United Sates* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2008)

• Yoichiro Sato, “Explaining Japan’s North Korea Policy,” in Utpal Vyas, Ching-Chang Chen, Denny Roy ed. *The North Korea Crisis and Regional Responses* (East-West Center, 2015). Pp. 114-129.

***Discussion Topic 7. Aging Japan in between Ally and Neighbors***

**IX. Russia (May 2)**

- 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)

• Russian National Security Strategy, December 2015 <http://www.ieee.es/Galerias/fichero/OtrasPublicaciones/Internacional/2016/Russian-National-Security-Strategy-31Dec2015.pdf>

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

• National Security of Russia, Harvard Kennedy School, Belfer Center <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/national-security-russia>

• 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

• Elizabeth Wishnick, “The Sino-Russian Partnership and the East Asian Order,” *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 42, No. 3, July/Sep. 2018, pp. 355-386.

• 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>)

• Manilov, Valery. “National Security of Russia.” Paper, Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, Belfer Center, <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/national-security-russia>

• JEFF HAWN, SIM TACK, “Time to Think About a World Without Putin,” *Foreign Policy*, FEBRUARY 10, 2021 <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/02/10/world-without-putin-russia-what-is-next/>

***Discussion Topic 8. Russia’s Search for Security and Status***

**X. North Korea (May 9)**

- 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.

• Seong-chang Cheong, “The Anatomy of Kim Jong Un’s Power,” Global Asia, Vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 2014. Pp. 8-13.

• Glyn Ford, “Forks in the Road to Reform: Socio-Economic Changes Under Kim Jong Un,” Global Asia, Vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 2014. Pp. 44-51.

• 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

• JOSEPH R. DETRANI, “Denuclearization of North Korea Is Possible,” 38 North, FEBRUARY 1, 2021 <https://www.38north.org/2021/02/denuclearization-of-north-korea-is-possible/>

• BRADLEY O. BABSON, “The Road Ahead for the North Korean Economy After the Party Congress,” 38 North, FEBRUARY 17, 2021 <https://www.38north.org/2021/02/the-road-ahead-for-the-north-korean-economy-after-the-party-congress/>

• 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 (July 27, 2018), pp. 1-38 (https://fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R41259.pdf)

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

• Oriana Skylar Mastro, “Conflict and Chaos on the Korean Peninsula: Can China's Military Help Secure North Korea's Nuclear Weapons?” *International Security*, Volume 43 |Issue 2 |, Fall 2018, pp.84-116

• Seong-ho Sheen, US Coercive Diplomacy toward Pyongyang: Obama vs Trump, Korean Journal of Defense Analysis, Vol. 32, No. 4 December 20, pp. 517-538.

• JOHN DELURY, “North Korea in 2020: In Search of Health and Power,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 61, Number 1, pp. 74–82

***Discussion Topic 9. Kim Jong Un’s Search for Security and Survival***

**XI. South Korea (May 16)**

- NSS of ROK

- South Korean Democracy

- ROK-US Alliance: Between Eagle and Dragon

- Making Peace on the Peninsula and North Korean Contingency

Readings:

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

• Seung-chan Boo, “North Korea’s Nuclear Reality, South Korea’s Arms Anxiety,” *Global Asia*, Vol. 13, No. 1 Spring 2018.

• 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)

• The Blue House, *Moon Jae-In Administration’s National Security Strategy* (November 2018) file:///G:/Research/Materials/SouthKorea/국가안보전략(문재인정부201812).pdf

• Kim Sung han, “The Day After: ROK–U.S. Cooperation for Korean Unification” *The Washington Quarterly* Volume 38, 2015 - Issue 3, pp. 37-58.

• Jong Kun Choi, The Perils of Strategic Patience with North Korea, The Washington Quarterly, Volume 38, 2015 - Issue 4, pp. 57-72

• Yul Sohn, “South Korea’s Drive for Middle-Power Influence,” *Global Asia*, Vol. 11, No. 1 Spring 2016.

• 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

Setting the Record Straight on OPCON Transition in the U.S.-ROK Alliance

*by Shawn P. Creamer*

July 16, 2021

Chung Min Lee , “South Korea’s Grand Strategy in Transition: Coping with Existential Threats and New Political Forces,” in Edited by

Ashley J. Tellis, Alison Szalwinski, and Michael Wills, Strategic Asia 2017–18: power, ideas, and military strategy in the Asia-Pacific, 106-139.

• Ian Bowers and Henrik Stålhane Hiim, “Conventional Counterforce Dilemmas: South Korea's Deterrence Strategy and Stability on the Korean Peninsula,” International Security Volume 45 | Issue 3 | Winter 2020/21, p.7-39 <https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/isec_a_00399>

***Discussion Topic 10. South Korea in the Middle***

**PART THREE: THEORIES AND FUTURE OF EAST ASIAN SECURITY**

**XII. Theories on East Asian Security (May 23)**

- 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.

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• 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.

***Discussion Topic 11. What theory for the Asian Century?***

**XIII. East Asian Security in 21ST Century (May 30)**

- China, a new stakeholder?

- U.S.-Japan Alliance

- The Future of Korean Peninsula

- War or Peace?

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)

• 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 Regional 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.

• David Shambaugh, U.S.-China Rivalry in Southeast Asia: Power Shift or Competitive Coexistence? *International Security* Spring 2018, Vol. 42, No. 04, pp. 85–127

• T. J. Pempel, “Divergent Memories Versus Collective Cooperation: Ambivalent Relations in Northeast Asia,” *The Journal of Northeast Asian History*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Summer 2016), pp. 9-37.

• Roy D. Kamphausen, John S. Park, Ryo Sahashi, and Alison Szalwinski, “The case for US-ROK-Japan Trilateralism: Strengths and Limitations’ The national bureau of Asian research, NBR special report #70, February 2018

• MICHAEL D. SWAINE, “What Kind of Global Order Should Washington and Beijing Strive For?” Carnegie Endowment, MARCH 20, 2020 <https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/03/20/what-kind-of-global-order-should-washington-and-beijing-strive-for-pub-82315>

Jaehan Park , “The Korean Peninsula: The Geopolitical Pivot of Northeast Asia,” Orbis February 2021

**XIV. Reading Week/Field Trip (June 6)**

**XV. Final Paper (June 13)**