

The United States and East Asia (G8870)
Fall 2007
Wednesday 4:10-6:00

Professor Gerald Curtis

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Office Hours: Thursday 4-5 and by appt.

Overview

This course examines US relations with East Asia, defined for our purposes as including Japan, China, South and North Korea, Taiwan and the member states of ASEAN. The course is divided into two parts. During the first half of the semester we will have guest lecturers most weeks. These weeks will be a combination of lecture and discussion. During the second half of the semester, we will divide the class into five groups, each of which will be responsible for organizing one of the week's discussions, including a power point presentation of relevant data. All of this will be explained at the first class. The first half of the semester will focus on US policy; in the second half we will turn our attention to the foreign policies of the countries in the region and discuss their implications for the United States.

Admission

Students who wish to take this colloquium should have had previous course working or professional experience dealing with the politics and foreign policy of at least one of the countries in the region. Students interested in taking the course should fill out a brief questionnaire and bring it to class on September 5th. I will post the roster of admitted students later in the afternoon of the 5th.

Requirements

Students taking this course are required to attend class, do the readings, participate in the discussions, and write a research paper of between 4000-5000 words. I am quite flexible about what research topics would be appropriate for this course. They should deal with some aspect of international relations in East Asia that is relevant to US policy, though the paper itself need not deal directly with US policy. In other words, a paper about the debate in Japan over the issue of collective self-defense, or a paper about

China's energy acquisition strategy would be acceptable. The main thing is to find a topic that you want to research and write about and that provides analysis that is relevant for people thinking about US policy options in East Asia. Purely speculative essays are not acceptable – Will Japan go nuclear? Will the North Korean regime collapse? Will China become democratic? and the like are not research papers. The papers can deal with contemporary issues or they can be entirely historical. But whatever the time frame and the topic, they have to be research papers, not long op-ed pieces. The deadline for submission is December 12th.

Readings

All readings that are not available on line should be on reserve at the Lehman Library. In addition the following books have been ordered and should be available at the Labyrinth Bookstore: David Shambaugh, ed., (2006) *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*, Berkeley: University of California Press; Kenneth Pyle, (2007) *Japan Rising, The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose*, Cambridge: Public Affairs TM; Bates Gill, (2007), *Rising Star, China's New Security Diplomacy*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, Naoko Munakata (2006), *Transforming East Asia: The Evolution of Regional Economic Integration*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press; Morton Abramowitz and Stephen Bosworth, (2006), *Chasing the Sun: Rethinking East Asian Policy*, Washington, D.C.: Century Foundation.

Syllabus

September 5 Introduction and Course Organization

September 12 The US in East Asia: Identifying the Issues

Autumn issue of *Global Asia*

September 19 US Security Policy in East Asia

Guest: James Shinn, US Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Asia and the Pacific

US Department of Defense, *The National Security Strategy of the United States*,
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>

other readings to be assigned

September 26 The United States and the Two Koreas

Guest: Victor Cha, Professor of International Affairs, Georgetown University and former White House National Security Council staff

Cha, Victor and Kang David, *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies*, New York: Columbia University Press, Chapters 3 & 4

Mazarr, Micheal, "The Long Road to Pyongyang" *Foreign Affairs Magazine* 86:5 (Sept/Oct Issue)

Chung, Jae Ho, 'China's Ascendancy and the Korean Peninsula: From Interest Reevaluation to Strategic Realignment?' in David Shambaugh (ed.) (2006) *Asia and Pacific; Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, chapter 6

Kang, David C "Japan: U.S. Partner or Focused on Abductees?" *Washington Quarterly* 28:4 (Autumn 2005)

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

Snyder, Scott "South Korea's Squeeze Play" *Washington Quarterly* 28:4 (Autumn 2005)

Sutter, Robert G. (2005) *China's Rise in Asia: Promises and Perils*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, chapter 4 – Relations with the Korean Peninsula

Perry, Charles, and Toshi Yoshihara. 2004. *Alliance Diversification and the Future of the US-Korean Security Relationship*. Dulles, VA: Brassey's. Entire volume.

Przystup, James, and Kang Choi. 2004. *The US-ROK Alliance: Building Mature Partnership*. Washington, DC: Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University. Available at: www.ndu.edu/inss/press/Spelrepts/SR_04/SR04.pdf

O'Hanlon, Michael, and Mike Mochizuki. 2003. "Toward a Grand Bargain with North Korea." *Washington Quarterly* 26:4 (Autumn), pp. 7-18. Available at: www.twq.com/03autumn/docs/03autumn_ohanlon.pdf

October 3 The United States and ASEAN

**Guest: Bilahari Kausikan, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Singapore**

Wang, Gungwu 'China and Southeast Asia: The Context of a New Beginning' in David Shambaugh (ed.) (2006) *Asia and Pacific; Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*. Berkeley: University of California Press

MacIntyre, Andrew. 2004. "American and Japanese Strategies in Asia: Dealing with ASEAN." In *Beyond Bilateralism, US-Japan Relations in the New Asia-Pacific*, eds. Ellis S. Krauss and T.J. Pempel. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 115-132.

Acharya, Amitav. 2001. *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia*. New York: Routledge.

Johnston, Alastair Iain. 2003. "Socialization in International Relations: The ASEAN Way and International Relations Theory." In *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, eds. G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastundono. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 102-162.

Soesastro, Hadi. 2003. "ASEAN as a Regional Actor." In *ASEAN-Japan Cooperation, A Foundation for East Asian Community*. Japan Center for International Exchange. Tokyo: JCIE, pp. 33-46.

October 10 The United States and China

Guest: TBA

Bates Gill, *Rising Star: China's New Security Diplomacy*, esp. chapters 5-7

Shambaugh, David, 'Return to the Middle Kingdom? China and Asia in the Early Twenty-first Century' in David Shambaugh (ed.) (2006) *Asia and Pacific; Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, chapter 1

Zhang, Yunling and Tang Shiping, 'China's Regional Strategy' in David Shambaugh (ed.) (2006) *Asia and Pacific; Power Shift: China and Asia's New*

Dynamics. Berkeley: University of California Press, chapter 2

Fravel, M. Taylor “Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes” *International Security* 30: 2 (October 2005) (for students interested in territorial disputes in China’s foreign policy)

Wang Jisi, “China’s Changing Role in Asia,” Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, January 2004.

http://www.acus.org/Publications/occasionalpapers/Asia/0401-China_Changing_Role_Asia.pdf

Medeiros, Evan S., “Strategic Hedging and the Future of Asia-Pacific Stability” *Washington Quarterly* 29:1 (Winter 2005-6)

Friedberg, Aaron L, “The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?” *International Security* 30:2, (Fall 2005), 7-45

Pentagon 2006 Annual Report on The Military Power of the People’s Republic of China.

Thomas J. Christensen, “Posing Problems without Catching Up: China’s Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security Policy,” *International Security* 25:4 (Spring 2001), pp. 5-40

October 17 No Class – Makeup Class to Be Scheduled

October 24 The United States-Japan Alliance

Guest: Sheila Smith, Council on Foreign Relations

Kenneth Pyle, *Rising Japan*, especially chapter 2,8,10,11

INSS Special Report (The Armitage-Nye Report). 2000. “The US and Japan: Advancing Toward a Mature Partnership.” Washington, DC: Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University.

www.ndu.edu/inss/press/Spelrepts/SR_01/SFJAPAN.pdf

CSIS Report (The Second Armitage-Nye Report) 2006 “The US-Japan Alliance: Getting Asia Right Through 2020,” Center for Strategic and International Studies
www.csis.org/component/option,com_csis_pubs/task,view/id,3729/

Berger, Thomas. 1996. “From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan’s Culture of Anti-Militarism.” In *East Asian Security: An International Security Reader*, ed. Michael Brown et. al. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 300-323.

Grimes, William. 2003. “Institutionalized Inertia: Japanese Foreign Policy in the Post Cold War World.” In *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, eds. G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 313-386.

Ralph Cossa, “US-Japan Defense Cooperation: Can Japan Become the Great Britain of Asia? Should it?” in Michael H. Armacost and Daniel I. Okimoto, eds., *The Future of America's Alliances in Northeast Asia*, The Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford Institute for International Studies (Stanford: Asia-Pacific Research Center, 2004)

Calder, Kent E. “China and Japan's Simmering Rivalry” *Foreign Affairs* 85:2 (Mar/Apr 2006)

Mochizuki, Mike M. ‘China-Japan Relations: Downward Spiral or a New Equilibrium?’ in David Shambaugh (ed.) (2006) *Asia and Pacific; Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, chapter 5

Christensen, Thomas J. 2003. “China, the US-Japan Alliance and the Security Dilemma in East Asia.” In *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, eds. G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastundono. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 25-56.

Wu Xinbo, “The Security Dimension of Sino-Japanese Relations: Warily Watching One Another,” *Asian Survey*, 40:2, (Mar-Apr 2000), pp 296-310.

October 31 The United States and East Asian Regionalism

Guest: Ellen Frost, Institute for International Economics

Munakata, Naoko, *Transforming East Asia: The Evolution of Regional Economic Integration*

Stubbs, Richard. 2002. "ASEAN Plus Three: Emerging East Asian Regionalism?" *Asian Survey* 42:3 (May-June), pp. 440-455.

Anwar, Dewi Fortuna. 2003. "Human Security: An Intractable Problem in Asia," in *Asian Security Order, Instrumental and Normative Features*, ed. Muthiah Alagappa. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 536-570.

Wan, Ming. 2003. "Economic Interdependence and Economic Cooperation: Mitigating Conflict and Transforming Security Order in Asia." In *Asian Security Order, Instrumental and Normative Features*, ed. Muthiah Alagappa. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 280-310.

Hemmes, Christopher, and Peter J. Katzenstein. 2002. "Why is There no NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism." *International Organization* 53:3 (Summer), pp. 595-607.

Alagappa, Muthiah. 2003. "Constructing Security Order in Asia: Conceptions and Issues." In *Asian Security Order, Instrumental and Normative Features*, ed. Muthiah Alagappa. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 141-170.

Matsudono, Michael. 2003. "Incomplete Hegemony: The United States and Security Order in Asia." In *Asian Security Order, Instrumental and Normative Features*, ed. Muthiah Alagappa. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 141-170.

**Make Up Class -- Date to be decided Organization of Student Presentations
(Students are expected to circulate a reading list at least one week before the
class. Taiwan readings are suggested below because they are not
covered in the earlier classes)**

November 7 China As a Great Power: Implications for the US

November 14 Rising Japan? What It Means for the US

November 21 Korea's Strategic Options: The US Response

November 28 The Taiwan Issue: Is Resolution Possible?

Richard C. Bush, *Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2005) especially Chapters 5, 6, 9, 10, 11

Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, editor, *Dangerous Strait: the U.S.--Taiwan--China crisis* (New York : Columbia University Press, 2005), selected chapters

Robert S. Ross, "Taiwan's Fading Independence Movement," *Foreign Affairs* Mar/Apr 85:2 (2006)

Kenneth Lieberthal, "Preventing a War Over Taiwan," *Foreign Affairs* 84:2 (March/April 2005)

Andrew J. Nathan, "What's Wrong with American Taiwan Policy," *The Washington Quarterly*, 23:2 (2000). Available at www.twq.com/spring00/232nathan.pdf.

Yun-han Chu "Taiwan's National Identity Politics and the Prospect of Cross-Strait Relations" *Asian Survey* 44: 4 (Jul/Aug 2004) (Chu is Senior Fellow of the Institute of Political Science at Academia Sinica, Taipei, and Professor of Political Science at National Taiwan University)

December 5 Summing Up