

GOVERNMENT 50: EAST ASIAN SECURITY: THEORY AND PRACTICE

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
SPRING 2005

PROFESSOR JENNIFER LIND
209 SILSBY HALL, 646-2026

This course introduces and applies theories of international relations to inform contemporary debates about major East Asian security issues. After examining the historical and military background necessary to understand current events within the region, we will focus on China's emergence as a great power and the regional and global impact; the stability of deterrence in the Taiwan Strait; Japan's security strategy (its roots and future directions); the North Korean nuclear crisis, and the prospects and regional implications of Korean unification; disputes over history and calls for atonement from Japan's past victims of war and colonization; and the future of U.S. alliances within the region. The course also examines prospects for peace or instability stemming from trends such as East Asian nuclear proliferation, institution building, energy dependence, economic integration, and democratization.

Readings

Readings are drawn from academic journals, the popular press, and book excerpts. Readings not located in required books are posted on Blackboard. You should purchase the following books (available at local or online booksellers).

Richard K. Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005).

Warren I. Cohen, *East Asia At the Center* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Requirements

3 reading quizzes (4 quizzes will be given; the lowest score will be dropped)	15%
1 mid-term examination (in-class, May 3)	30%
1 take-home final exam (due Mon, June 6 at 1pm in Gov't Department office)	45%
Class participation	10%

Plagiarism in writing assignments will not be tolerated and will result in disciplinary measures that may include suspension. Plagiarism is the representation of the words or ideas of others as your own ideas. For more information, see <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/>.

Class Meetings and Office Hours

Class meets in the 10A timeslot (TuTh, 10:00-11:50 am). You must also be available during the X-hour period (Wed 3pm), in which office hours and occasional class meetings will be held. I hold office hours in 209 Silsby Hall on Wednesdays, 3:00-5:00.

Policies

Class attendance is mandatory. Reading quizzes are unannounced and will not be re-administered (if a student misses a quiz because of illness, that score will be the one dropped). Students should make sure that travel plans do not coincide with the midterm or paper deadline; adjustments will only be made in case of illness with doctor's note.

GOVERNMENT 50: EAST ASIAN SECURITY: THEORY AND PRACTICE
CLASS SCHEDULE AND READING LIST

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

March 29 **Introduction to Course**

March 31 **Historical Background: 19th century to WWII**

Warren I. Cohen, *East Asia At the Center* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), Chapters 9, 10, 11.

April 5 **Historical Background: WWII and After
Theories, Paradigms, and Levels of Analysis**

Cohen, *East Asia At the Center*, Chapters 12 and 13.

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, pp. 8-12

Stephen Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1998), pp. 29-47.

April 7 **The East Asian Balance of Power**

Jennifer Lind, "Pacifism or Passing the Buck? Testing Theories of Japanese Security Policy," *International Security* Vol. 29, No. 1 (Fall 2004), Excerpt, pp. 94-101.

Avery Goldstein, "Great Expectations: Interpreting China's Arrival," *International Security*, Vol. 22, no. 3 (Winter 1997/98), Excerpt, pp. 42-58.

David Shambaugh, "A Matter of Time: Taiwan's Eroding Military Advantage," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 23, Issue 2 (Spring 2000).

Nick Beldecos and Eric Heginbotham, "The Conventional Military Balance in Korea," *Breakthroughs* (Spring 1995), pp. 1-9.

II. COUNTRY STUDIES

April 12 **Japan: a "Normal Nation?"**

Christopher W. Hughes, "Japan's Re-emergence as a 'Normal' Military Power," Adelphi Paper 368-9, 2004, Chapters 1 and 2.

Thomas U. Berger, "From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan's Culture of Anti-militarism," *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 4. (Spring 1993), pp. 119-150

Jennifer Lind, "Pacifism or Passing the Buck?" pp. 92-126.

April 14 **The Past in Present**

"Ghosts Gathering," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 18, 1993.

Steven T. Benfell, "Why Can't Japan Apologize? Institutions and War Memory Since 1945," *Harvard Asia Quarterly* (Spring 2002).

Kitazawa Takuya, "Textbook History Repeats Itself," *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (July-September 2001), pp. 51-57.

Thomas Berger, "The Construction of Antagonism: the History Problem in Japan's Foreign Relations," in G. John Ikenberry and Takashi Inoguchi, eds., *Reinventing the Alliance: US-Japan Security Partnership in an Era of Change* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 63-90.

Nicholas D. Kristof, "The Problem of Memory," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 6 (November/December 1998), pp. 37-50.

April 19 The Stability of Deterrence on the Korean Peninsula

Robert A. Scalapino, "Korea in the Cold War and Its Aftermath," in Robert Ross, ed., *East Asia in Transition: Toward a New Regional Order* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 183-215.
David Kang, "North Korea: Deterrence through Danger," in Muthiah Alagappa, ed. *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 234-263.
Marcus Noland, "Why North Korea Will Muddle Through," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (July/August 1997), pp. 105-119.
Review: Beldecos and Heginbotham (see April 7)

April 21 The Rise of China

Avery Goldstein, "Great Expectations: Interpreting China's Arrival," *International Security*, Vol. 22, no. 3 (Winter 1997/98), pp. 36-73.
Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Spring 2003), pp. 5-56.
George Gilboy and Eric Heginbotham, "China's Coming Transformation," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (July/August 2001).
Minxin Pei, "Is China Democratizing?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 1 (Jan/Feb 1998), pp. 68-82.

April 26 Deterrence in the Taiwan Strait

Roger Cliff, "Taiwan: In the Dragon's Shadow," in Muthiah Alagappa, ed. *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 288-314.
Robert S. Ross, "Navigating the Taiwan Strait," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Fall 2002), pp. 48-85.
Michael A. Glosny, "Strangulation from the Sea? A PRC Submarine Blockade of Taiwan," *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Spring 2004), pp. 125-160.
Review: Shambaugh (April 7)

April 28 The United States and China: Collision Course?

Robert Gilpin, "Hegemonic War and International Change," in Betts, pp. 93-104.
Randall L. Schweller, "Managing the Rise of Great Powers: History and Theory," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., *Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power*, (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 1-31.
Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, "The Coming Conflict with America," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (March/April 1997).
Robert S. Ross, "China II: Beijing as Conservative Power," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (March/April 1997), pp. 33-44.
Zbigniew Brzezinski and John J. Mearsheimer, "Debate: Clash of the Titans," *Foreign Policy*, no. 146 (Jan/Feb 2005), pp. 46-50.

May 3 In-Class Midterm Examination

III. REGIONAL TRENDS AND PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY

May 4 **Institutions and Cooperation** (X-HOUR MEETING)

- Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?" *Foreign Policy*, no. 110 (Spring 1998), pp. 82-96.
- Amitav Acharya, "Ideas, Identity, and Institution-Building: From the 'ASEAN Way' to the 'Asia-Pacific Way?'" *Pacific Review*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1997), pp. 319-346.
- Miles Kahler, "Institution-Building in the Pacific," in Andrew Mack and John Ravenhill, eds., *Pacific Cooperation: Building Economic and Security Regimes in the Asia-Pacific Region* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995), pp. 16-39.

May 10 **Democratic Peace in Asia?**

- Minxin Pei, "The Fall and Rise of Democracy in East Asia," in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, eds., *Democracy in East Asia* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
- Michael Doyle, "Liberalism in World Politics," in Betts, pp. 291-306.
- Mansfield and Snyder, "Democratization and War," in Betts, pp. 318-330.
- Jennifer M. Lind, "Logrolling for Peace: How Economic Interdependence Overcomes the Dangers of Democratization," International Studies Association, Honolulu, HI, March 2005.

May 11 **Economics, Energy, and Interdependence** (X-HOUR MEETING)

- Norman Angell, "The Great Illusion," in Betts, pp. 226-227.
- Geoffrey Blainey, "Paradise is a Bazaar," in Betts, pp. 228-235.
- Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, "Power and Interdependence," in Betts, pp. 139-145
- "Going for the Jugular," *Economist*, June 10, 2004.
- Kent Calder, "Asia's Empty Tank," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (March/April 1996).
- Eugene Gholz and Daryl G. Press, "Paying to Keep the Peace," *Regulation*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 40-44.
- Yun-Han Chu, "The Political Economy of Taiwan's Mainland Policy," in Zhao, ed., *Across the Taiwan Strait: Mainland China, Taiwan, and the 1995-1996 Crisis* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

May 17 **Nuclear Proliferation**

- David C. Kang and Victor D. Cha, "The Korea Crisis," *Foreign Policy*, no. 136 (May/June 2003), pp. 20-28.
- Jonathan D. Pollack, "The United States, North Korea, and the End of the Agreed Framework," *Naval War College Review* (Summer 2003), pp. 11-48.
- Kenneth Waltz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better," in Betts, pp. 433-444
- Scott Sagan, "More Will Be Worse," in Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (New York: Norton, 1995), pp. 47-91.

May 19 **Ballistic Missile Defense**

- Michael D. Swaine and Loren Runyon, "Ballistic Missiles and Missile Defense in Asia," NBR Report, Vol. 13, No. 3 (June 2002), pp. 5-82.
- Thomas J. Christensen, "Theater Missile Defense and Taiwan's Security," *Orbis*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Winter 2000).

May 24 Spirals and Regional Stability

- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," in Betts, pp. 382-397.
Jack Levy, "The Offensive-Defensive Balance of Military Technology," in Betts, pp. 411-422.
Thomas J. Christensen, "China, the US-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia,"
International Security, Vol. 23, no. 4 (Spring 1999), pp. 49-79.
Jennifer M. Lind, "Spirals, Security, and Stability in East Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 4
(Spring 2000), pp. 190-195.
David C. Kang, "Getting Asia Wrong: the Need for New Analytical Frameworks," *International
Security*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Spring 2003), pp. 57-85.

IV. U.S. POLICY AND EAST ASIA

May 26 The Future of America's Asian Alliances

- Stephen Walt, "Why Alliances Endure or Collapse," *Survival* Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 156-179.
Michael Mastanduno, "Incomplete Hegemony: The United States and Security Order in Asia," in
Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Asian Security Order: Instrumental and Normative Features* (Stanford,
Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. 141-170.
Joseph P. Nye, Jr., "The Case for Deep Engagement," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 4 (July/Aug 1995).
Christopher Layne, "Less is More: Realistic Foreign Policies for East Asia," *National Interest*, Spring
1996.
Review: Gholz and Press, "Paying to Keep the Peace." (May 11)

**May 31 East Asia and the War on Terror
Summing Up**

- Paul Midford, "Japan's Response to Terror: Dispatching the SDF to the Arabian Sea," *Asian Survey*, Vol.
43, No. 2 (July/August 2002), pp. 329-351.
Chien-peng Chung, "China's War on Terror," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (July/Aug 2002), pp. 8-12.
John Gershman, "Is Southeast Asia the Second Front?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (Jul/Aug 2002),
pp. 60-74.