

Global Diplomacy and Asia: Modern History and Implications

Section 1

Instructor/Title	Seung-young (SY) Kim/ Professor
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【Course Outline / Description】

We will study major developments in global diplomacy and their impacts on East Asia since the late 19th century until today. While examining history of diplomacy in Europe and East Asia, this course will analyse major diplomatic strategies, such as balance of power, appeasement, deterrence, and containment, along with salient aspects of decision-making during international crises. We will also examine the roles played by the United States in diplomacy and crisis management in Europe and in the Asia-Pacific region. The final weeks of the course will discuss the lessons and implications of historical examples on the international relations of East Asia in the 21st century. As the recent international politics in East Asia has shown trends characterized as ‘the return of geo-politics,’ the study of modern international history offers useful insights and points of reference for diplomacy and statecraft in the region. Relevant established theories of foreign policy and decision-making will be introduced in the course; but theoretical analysis remains optional for this inter-disciplinary course.

Section 2

【Course Objectives/Goals/Learning Outcomes】

Upon completion of this class, student will be able to:

- analyze and explain major patterns of diplomacy in modern international history and their impacts upon East Asia, taking into account of the US role on those developments.
- analyze the role of central decision makers and governments when dealing with constraints imposed by international system and domestic situation.
- acquire some guides for good judgement and decision-making in diplomacy and crisis management.
- appreciate the role of diplomacy and force in international relations
- demonstrate the ability to discuss lessons and implications of diplomatic history on the recent international situation in East Asia.

Furthermore, this course is designed to help students:

- develop critical thinking, learning and communication skills;
- develop skills in identifying, accessing and evaluating sources of information, including primary historical materials;
- present argument through written and oral presentations based on academic research
- promote intellectual curiosity and life-long learning on international history and diplomacy.

Section 3

【Class Schedule/Class Environment, Literature and Materials】

* **General Advice for Reading:** Henry Kissinger's book Diplomacy is the essential reading. For other readings, please choose at least one item among the list of recommended readings for each session. Most of these readings are made available on Blackboard system, except main text book.

Lesson 1: Course Introduction

Aaron Friedberg, "Will Europe's past be Asia's Future?," *Survival*, 42: 3 (2000)

Lesson 2: Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Analysis

- Walter Lippmann, *US Foreign Policy: Shield of Republic* (1943) section on 'Lippmann Gap' ('Bankruptcy in Foreign Policy')
- Philip Zelikow, "Foreign Policy Engineering," *International Security*, 18: 4 (Spring, 1994), pp. 143-171
 - Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy*, TBA.
 - Thomas Otte, *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*.
- Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, chapter on 'principles of diplomacy'

Lesson 3: Concert and Balance of Power in Europe

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter 4, 5.
- Louise Richardson, "The Concert of Europe and Security Management in the Nineteenth Century," in Helga Haftendorn and Robert Keohane, eds, *Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions over Time and Space* (Oxford UP, 1999), pp. 48-77.
- Michael Sheehan, *Balance of Power* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 1-7; chapter 6.

Lesson 4: Triple Intervention to Competition for concession

- William Langer, *Diplomacy of Imperialism* (New York: Alfred Knoff, 1960), VI, XII, XVI
- Immanuel Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, chapter 13 (Foreign Encroachment in Formosa, Sinkiang, and Annam)
 - Lloyd Eastman, *Throne and Madarins*, chapter 2 (France in Vietnam)
- Richard Sims, *French Policy towards The Bakufu and Meiji Japan 1854-96*, chapter 5, pp. 110-42.

Lesson 5: Kaiser and Global Context of Diplomacy, and the Road to WWI in Europe

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter 7, 8.
- Felix Gilbert and David Clay Large, *The End of the European Era*, pp.90- 105
- Frank McDonough, *The Origins of the First and Second World Wars* (Cambridge UP, 1997), 3-25.**
 - John C.G. Rohl, *Kaiser Wilhelm II* (Cambridge UP, 2014), pp. 73-99.**

Lesson 6: Open Door, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to the Quadruple Entente in Asia

-Langer, *Diplomacy of Imperialism*, XXIII

-Ian Nish, pp. Phillips Payson O'Brien, "Origins of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance: in the shadow of the Dreibund," in Phillips Payson O'Brien, ed., *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902-1922*, pp. 8-25.

-S.-Y. Kim, "Open Door or Spheres of Influence?: Diplomacy for the Japanese-French Entente of 1907:" *International History Review* (2018), TBA.**

- Raymond A. Esthus, "The Changing Concept of the Open Door, 1899-1910," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 46; 3 (Dec., 1959), pp. 435-454

Lesson 7: Wilsonian Diplomacy and Paris Peace Conference

-Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter, 9, 10.

-Michael Sheehan, *Balance of Power*, pp. 152-63.

-William R. Keylor, *The Twentieth-Century World*, 4th edition, chapter 2 (The Paris Peace and New International Order)

-Thomas J. Knock, "Playing for Hundred Years Hence: Woodrow Wilson's Internationalism and his Would-Be Heirs," in John Ikenberry and Tony Smith eds., *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsoniaism in the Twentieth-first Century*, chapter 1.

-John W. Cogan, "Wilsonian Diplomacy in War and Peace," Gordon Martel ed., *American Foreign Relations Reconsidered 1890-1993*, chapter 5

Lesson 8: Western Powers' concerns about Japan during WWI

-Antony Best, "Britain, Japan, and the Crisis over China, 1915-16," in Antony Best and Oliviero Frattolillo, eds, *Japan and the Great War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 52-70.**

-Xu Guoqi, "China and Empire," in Robert Gerwarth and Erez Manela eds., *Empires at War, 1911-1923* (Oxford UP, 2014), pp. 214-34

-Peter Lowe, "Great Britain and Japan's entrance into the Great War, 1914-1915," in Phillips O'Brien, ed. *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902-1922*, pp. 159-75.

-Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment* (New York: Oxford UP, 2007), chapter 6 (Korea)

- Paul E. Dunscomb, *Japan's Siberian Intervention, 1918-1922: 'A Great Disobedience Against the People'* (Lexington Books, 2011), chapter 2.

Lesson 9: Collective Security in Europe in the 1920s

-Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter (2), 9, 10, (11)

-Patrick O. Cohrs, *The Unfinished Peace after World War I* (Cambridge UP), Chapters 16 (Locarno conference) and 24 (Kellog-Briand pact)

-Robert Young, *France and the Origins of the Second World War* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), pp. 7-21

-Joseph Nye, *Understanding International Conflict* (New York: Pearson, 2005, or other editions), pp. 85-90

Lesson 10: China Question and Naval Arms Control in the Pacific (Washington conference system in Asia)

- David Armstrong, "China's Place in the New Pacific Order," Erik Goldstein ed., *The Washington Conference, 1921-22*, pp. 249-266.
- Sadao Asada, "Between the Old Diplomacy and the New, 1918-1922," *Diplomatic History*, 30; 2 (April 2006), pp. 211-30.
- Sadao Asada, "From Washington to London: The Imperial Japanese Navy and the Politics of Naval Limitation, 1921-30," Erik Goldstein ed., *The Washington Conference, 1921-22*
- John Dreifort, *Myopic Grandeur: The Ambivalence of French Foreign Policy toward the Far East, 1919-1945*, chapter 2.

Lesson 11: Collapse of Collective Security in the early 1930s (can be docu session)

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter 12 (pp. 288-304)
- Carolyn Kitching, "The search for disarmament: Anglo-French Relations, 1929-1934," *Anglo-French Relations in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 158-179.
- Nicholas Atkin, *The French at War 1934-1944*, chapter 2.
- Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship*, pp. 359-87.
- Allan Todd, *Democracies and dictatorships Europe and the world* (2001), 22-52.

Lesson 12: Limit of Diplomacy: Western Response to Japanese Expansion in Asia

- Dorothy Borg, *The United States and the Far Eastern Crisis of 1933-1938*, chapter 1 (Manchurian Incident and the Tangku Truce).
- Peter Lowe, *Britain in the Far East*, chapter 8 ("The Manchurian crisis and after, 1931-1937).
- Christopher Thorn, *The Limits of Foreign Policy: The West, the League and the Far Eastern Crisis of 1931-1933*, pp. 131-167; 202-272
- Ian Nish, *Japanese Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period*, 65-91
- Dreifort, *Myopic Grandeur*, chapter 4 ("Manchurian Crisis: from Mukden to Shanghai")
- Jack Snyder, "Japan's Bid for Autarchy," Snyder, *Myth of Empire*, 112-152
- Ann Trotter, *Britain and East Asia, 1933-1937*, chapter 5 (Britain, China, and the Amai Statement)

Lesson 13: British and French Appeasement and the Road to WWII

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, Chapter 12 (pp. 305-319), chapter 13, 14, 15.
- Frank McDonough, "When Instinct Clouds Judgement," in Frank McDonough ed, *The Origins of the Second World War*, chapter 11.
- Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *France and the Nazi Threat* (New York: Enigma Books, 2004), pp. 233-37, chapter XI (Year of Munich).
- Robert Young, *France and the Origins of the Second World War* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), pp. 22-36.
- Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *France and the Nazi Threat*, pp. 233-37, 262-3, chapter XI
- Robert Yong, *In Command of France: French Foreign Policy and Military Planning, 1933-1940*, chapter 8
- Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship*, pp. 387-410.

***Collection of Primary sources:**

Walter L. Arnstein ed. *The Past Speaks: Sources and Problems in British History* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1993), vol. 2, chapter 16,

Lesson 14: 'Appeasement' in Asia and Road to the Pearl Harbour

- Peter Lowe, 'The Dilemmas of an Ambassador: Sir Robert Craigie in Tokyo 1937-41', *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies*, 1977, vol. 2, pp. 34-56.
- Marianne Bastid-Bruguere, "Frances' Deluded Quest for Allies: Safeguarding Territorial Sovereignty and the Balance of Power in East Asia," in Hans van de Ven and Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Negotiating China's Destiny in World War II*, chapter 1.
- Scott Sagan, "The Origins of the Pacific War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XVIII: 4 (spring 1988), 893-922.
- David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, pp. 500-544.
- John F. Laffy, "French Far Eastern Policy in the 1930s," *Modern Asian Studies*, 23: 1 (1989), pp. 117-149.
- Anthony Best, "The Road to Anglo-Japanese Confrontation, 1931-41," in Ian Nish and Kibata Yoichi, eds., *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, vol. 2: 1930-2000, (Macmillan, 2000)
- Kibata Yoichi, "Anglo-Japanese Relations from the Manchurian Incident to Pearl Harbour: Missed Opportunities?," in Ian Nish and Kibata Yoichi, eds., *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, vol. 2: 1930-2000, (Macmillan, 2000), pp. 1-25.
- Germany: James T.C. Liu, "German Mediation in the Sino-Japanese War," *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 8; 2 (Feb. 1949), pp. 157-71.

Lesson 15: Discussion and Review on Diplomacy and Changes in International Relations

(Coercive diplomacy; Crisis management)

-Glen Snyder and Paul Diesing, *Conflict among Nations* (1977), pp. 6-21

-Alex George, *Forceful Persuasion* (USIP, 1991), pp. 3-14, 67-84.

Lesson 16: mid-term exam (in class exam)

Lesson 17: Beginning of the Cold War and Containment

-Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapters, 17, 18.

-Mr. X (George Kennan), "Sources of the Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs* (July 1947).

-Wilson D. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947-1950* (Princeton UP, 1992), chapter 5 (Division of Germany)

Lesson 18: French efforts to recover its empire; British efforts to contain Cold War in Asia

-Christopher Goscha, *Penguin History of Modern Vietnam*, (Penguin, 2017), chapter 7.

Frederik Logevall, *Embers of War* (NY: Random House), chapter 5,

-Peter Lowe, *Containing the Cold War in East Asia* (Manchester UP, 1997), chapter 10 (Britain and Rollback in Korea)

-Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter 19.

-Kathryn Weathersby, 'Soviet Aims in Korea and the Origins of the Korean War, 1945-50: New Evidence from Russian Archives', working paper no. 8, Cold War International History Project, pp. 22-32. [free download, via any search engine], <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/ACFB76.pdf>

-Sergei N. Goncharov and John W. Lewis, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao and the Korean War* (Stanford UP, 1993), chapter 5.

-Ernest R. May, "Lessons" of the Past: The Use and Misuse of history in American Foreign Policy (London:Oxford U.P, 1973), chapter 3.

Lesson 19: Crises at Suez and Hungary, and the non-Alignment Movement

-Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter 21, 22.

-Lorenz M. Lutfi, "Non-Alignment, 1961-74," in Sandra Bott, et al., *Neutrality and Neutralism in the Global Cold War* (NY: Routledge, 2016). Chapter 5.

-Hugh Thomas, *The Suez Affair* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966), pp. 47-59, 123-166.

Primary Source Material (Handout-Reader for this week will include.):

- Anthony Eden, *Full Circle: The Memoirs* (London: Cassell, 1960), pp. 529-544
- Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Waging Peace* (New York: Doubleday, 1965), pp. 35-57, 672-675.
- James Eayers ed., *The Common Wealth and Suez: a Documentary Survey* (London: Oxford U.P., 1964), pp. 109-112, 204, 206-209, 216-218.
- Department of State, *The Suez Canal Problem, July 26-September 22, 1956* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), pp. 34-35, 37-53, 330-349, 364-367.

Alternatively, please consult US government documents here:

<http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=header&id=FRUS.FRUS195557v16>

Lesson 20: Cuban Missile Crisis and the US Escalation in Vietnam

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapters 25, 26, 27.
- Fredrik Logevall, *Choosing War* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1999), pp. 75-90, 193-97.
- Documents available in FRUS (Foreign Relations of the United States) on Cuban Missile crisis: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v11>
- Stephen D. Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)," *Foreign Policy* No. 7 (Summer, 1972), pp. 159-179

Lesson 21: Détente Diplomacy

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter, 28, 29

For primary the US gov't documents on US-PRC rapprochement:
<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v17>

Robert S. Ross, "From Lin Biao to Deng Xiaoping: Elite Instability and China's U. S. Policy," *The China Quarterly*, no. 118 (June 1989), pp. 265-299, via JSTOR.org from K. Gaidai library.

Gong Li, "The Difficult Path to Diplomatic Relations,, China's U.S. Policy, 1972-1978," William Kirby and R. S. Ross ed., *Normalization of U.S. -China Relations* (Harvard Asia Center, 2005), chapter 4.

An article on Taiwan, TBA.

Lesson 22: From New Cold War and the End of the Cold War

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter 30.
- David Painter, *Cold War: International History* (London: Routledge, 1999), chapter 6 (The Rise and Fall of the Second Cold War)
- Michael Yahuda, *The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific* (2011), chapter 3.

Lesson 23: Diplomacy for German Unification and Lessons for Korea (presentations)

- W.R. Smyser, *From Yalta to Berlin: The Cold War Struggle over Germany*, pp. 338-96
- Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, chapter 5 and 6.
- Frédéric Bozo, *Mitterrand, the End of the Cold War, and German Unification* (Berghahn Monographs in French Studies, 2009), pp. 214-58, 278-300.
- John S. Park, "Inside multilateralism: The six - party talks," *The Washington Quarterly*, 28:4, 73-91

Lesson 24: Will Europe's Past Be Asia's Future?

- Aaron Friedberg, TBA
- Thomas Berger, TBA
- Asia Paradox, TBA

Lesson 25: Intervention or Restraint in US Foreign Policy in Asia in the 21st C:

- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter 31.
- Barry Posen, *Restraint: A new Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy* (Cornell UP, 2014), pp. 87-128.
- Barry Posen, "'Pullback' The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2013) [Free to check from internet with title search.]
- Useful Websites on related debates.

<https://www.state.gov/p/eap/ci/index.htm>

<http://www.foreignpolicyi.org/content/obama-administrations-pivot-asia>

Lesson 26: North Korean nuclear issue: appeasement or engagement?

- William J. Perry, *My Journey at the Nuclear Brink* (Stanford Security Study, 2015), chapter 14, 22.
- Christopher R. Hill, "The Elusive Vision of a Non-nuclear North Korea," *Washington Quarterly*, 36: 2(2013), pp. 7-19.
- Leszek Buszynskui, *Negotiating with North Korea* (Routledge, 2013), pp. 152-96.
- Andrew H. Kydd, "Pulling the Plug: Can There Be a Deal with China on Korean Unification?," *Washington Quarterly*, 38: 2 (summer 2015), pp. 63-77.

- Scott D. Sagan, "Korean Missile Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, 96: 6 (Nov/ Dec. 2017), pp. 72-82.

Lesson 27: Whither risen China?: Lessons from Imperial Germany

- Debates on nature of ascent China's foreign policy, TBA

Lesson 28: Lessons of History for Japanese diplomacy (General discussion)

- Readings, TBA. (please consult with web magazine *Diplomat*, and/ or journal article in *Foreign Affairs*, etc.)

Lesson 29: Course wrap up, Final thoughts, and general discussion

Lesson 30: Final Exam Review

【Textbooks/Reading Materials】

Main Textbook

- Henry A. Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (Simon & Schuster, 1995 or later edition)

Recommended book for reference

- Antony Best and Joseph Maiolo, *International History of the Twentieth Century and Beyond* (Routledge, 2014).

*** additional readings will be made available via Blackboard system, or provided by the professor.**

Section 4

【Learning Assessments/Grading Rubric】

- Short paper**, report of historical primary source (about 300-500 words): 10 %, due three weeks after the mid-term exam
- Participation** (with presentation and discussion): 20 %
 - Mid-term** exam: 30%
 - Final** Exam: 40%

Section 5

【Additional Information】

Please note that this course requires active contribution and participation by students.

Following essential overview of historical development through lecture, each session proceeds with students' presentations and discussion. While examining classical cases of diplomatic history and international crises, the participants will discuss their implications to recent situation in East Asia and the Pacific region.