

2024 Fall Semester

Contemporary International History and Politics of Northeast Asia

Section 1

Instructor	Dr. Seung-young Kim
Office/Building	Nakamiya campus, Rm 2412
Office Hours	To be announced on the first day of teaching.

【Course Outline / Description】

This course examines international history and politics of Northeast Asia since 1969, utilizing both historical and theory-driven analysis. After introducing essential theories of foreign policy and historical background, it analyzes foreign policies of two Koreas, the United States, Japan, China, and Russia in Northeast Asia. The course maintains particular focus on these countries' policies to deal with developments surrounding the Korean peninsula, while considering their efforts to address broader changes in East Asia including Taiwan question. While examining related countries' diplomacy and strategy toward Northeast Asia, this course also addresses general trends of their foreign policies with a view to nurture comparative perspective on foreign policy and diplomacy. Although relevant established theories of international relations and foreign policy are introduced, theory-driven analysis remains optional for students in this interdisciplinary course.

Section 2

【Course Objectives/Goals/Learning Outcomes】

After taking this course, students can

- acquire knowledge about recent history of diplomacy in Northeast Asia since 1969
- acquire an understanding about the interactions among major powers in Northeast Asia
- understand various sources of foreign policy: leadership style and beliefs of decision-makers, domestic political context, and international environment.
- develop knowledge about theoretical frameworks to analyze foreign policy.
- understand the role of culture and identity as shaping forces of international history and foreign policy.
- analyze the process of diplomacy and decision-making.

Furthermore, this course is designed to help students:

- Develop critical thinking, learning and communication skills.
- Develop skills in identifying, accessing, and evaluating various sources of information.
- Present arguments through written and oral presentations based on research.
- Promote intellectual curiosity and life-long learning on international relations and diplomacy of East Asian countries and the United States.

Section 3

【Class Schedule/Class Environment, Literature and Materials】

Lesson 1: Course Introduction

- Thomas Berger, "Set for Stability? Prospects for Conflict and Cooperation in East Asia," Review of International Studies, vol. 26, no. 3. (July 2000), pp. 405-28.*

Lesson 2: Theories of International Relations I: Realism to neo-classical realism

- Karen A. Mingst, Essentials of International Relations (Norton, 2017), pp. 71-83.*

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- Stephen Walt, "One World Many Theories," Foreign Policy (Spring, 1998), pp. 29-46
- Gideon Rose, "Review: Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," World Politics, 51; 1 (Oct., 1998), pp. 144-172.

Lesson 3: Theories of International Relations II: Liberal and Constructivist theories

- Karen A. Mingst, Essentials of International Relations (Norton, 2017), pp. 83-89, 92-97.*
- Stephen Walt, "One World and Many Theories," Foreign Policy (Spring 1998), pp. 29-46.
- Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," International Security, 23;1 (Summer 1998) *
- Michael Desch, "Culture Clash: Assessing the Importance of Ideas in Security Study," International Security, 23, 1 (summer 1998), 141-170

Lesson 4: Diplomacy and Policy Engineering (History and Policy)

- Hans J. Morgenthau, "Future of Diplomacy," in Robert Jervis ed., International Politics (2005), pp. 104-113.
- Thomas Otte, "Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger," TBA
- Philip Zelikow, "Foreign Policy Engineering," International Security, 18; 4 (Spring, 1994), pp. 143-171 *

Lesson 5: Leaders and their beliefs (with examples of Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson, and Truman)

- Joseph Grieco and John Ikenberry, Introduction to International Relations, chapter 4 (Analysis of Foreign Policy), pp. 113-14, 126-29. *
- Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," International Security, 25; 4 (Spring, 2001), pp. 107-146
- Seung-young Kim, American Diplomacy and Strategy toward Korea and Northeast Asia (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 27-42.
- Erez Manela, The Wilsonian Moment (Oxford UP, 2007) [on Korean situation], pp. 119-135

Lesson 6: Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy: Bureaucratic Politics, Interest Groups, and Public Opinion (Examples from imperial Germany and Japan, and Cuban Missile Crisis)

- Grieco and Ikenberry, Introduction to International Relations, pp. 114-25, 129-136. *
- Fareed Zakaria, "Domestic Politics" International Security, 17; 1 (Summer, 1992), pp. 177-198. (Read, pp 181-83 in particular)
- Stephen D. Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)," Foreign Policy, No. 7 (Summer, 1972), pp. 159-179. * (Read 162-64 in particular*)
- Piers Robinson, "The Role of Media and Public Opinion," Foreign Policy: Theory, Actors, Cases (Oxford UP, 2008), pp. 137-53. *
- Louise Young, "Imagined Empire," The Cultural Construction of Manchukuo, in Peter Duus ed, The Japanese Wartime Empire (Princeton UP, 1996), pp. 71-96.

Lesson 7: Historical context: Modern Korea and two Koreas in World Politics since 1945

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- Chae-Jin Lee, Troubled Peace, pp. 9-52 *
- Seung-young Kim, American Diplomacy and Strategy toward Korea and Northeast Asia (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 136-43.

Lesson 8: Two Koreas and their neighbors in the 1960s

- Lee, pp. 52-63. *
- Iokibe Makoto, Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan, pp. 90-96.
- Seung-young Kim, Book Review on Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950-1992 (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2013), by Charles K. Armstrong, Pacific Affairs (December, 2014)
- Byung Chul Koh, "Policy Toward Reunification," in Youngnok Koo and Sung-joo Han, eds, The Foreign Policy of the Republic of Korea (New York: Columbia UP, 1985)

Lesson 9: Japanese foreign policy during early cold war (Yoshida, Hatoyama, and Kishi cabinets)

- Iokibe, Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan, chapters 2 *
- Hirata K., Japan as Reactive State: Applying the case of Japan-Vietnam Relations," Japanese Studies, 18: 2 (1998), TBA (draft paper available via internet, FREE)

Lesson 10: Nixon Doctrine and Okinawa Reversion (Sato Cabinet)

- Lee, pp. 64-69. *
- Iokibe, Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan, Chapter 3.*
- Glenn H. Snyder, "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics," World Politics, 36: 4 (Jul., 1984), pp. 461-495.

Lesson 11: South Korea's Pursuit of nuclear weapons and inter-Korean Dialogue

- Lee, pp. 70-75, 95-98.
- S-Y Kim, "Security, Nationalism, and the Pursuit of Nuclear Weapons and Missiles: South Korean Case, 1970-1982," Diplomacy & Statecraft, 12: 4 (December, 2001), pp. 53-80. *
- Lyoung Choi, "The first nuclear crisis in the Korean Peninsula, 1975-76," Cold War History (April 2013), pp. 71-90.

Lesson 12: The Sino-US Rapprochement and Japanese policy toward Korea and China (Tanaka cabinet)

- S-Y Kim, "Japanese Diplomacy towards Korea in Multipolarity: History and Trend," Cambridge Review of International Affairs (March 2007), pp. 159-178.*
- Iokibe, Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan, Chapter 4.
- Robert Hoppens, The China Problem in Postwar Japan (Bloomsbury, 2015), pp. 111-126.

Lesson 13: Miki Takeo and Korean Question; Japan's Independent Diplomacy

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-Lee, pp. 75-95.

-S-Y Kim, "Miki Takeo's Initiative on the Korean Question and the US-Japanese Diplomacy, 1974-76," Journal of American-East Asian Relations, 20:4 (December 2013), pp. 377-405. *

-Iokibe, The Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan, chapter 4.

-Robert Hoppens, The China Problem in Postwar Japan, pp. 171-198 (chapter 7: from Peace Treaty to Economic Cooperation)

Lesson 14: Carter administration and Korea and China question

-Lee, pp. 81-95, 98-111. *

-S-Y Kim, "Balancing Security Interest and 'Mission' to Spread Democracy: American Diplomacy toward South Korea from 1969 until Today," in Robert Wampler, ed., Trilateralism and Beyond: Great Power Politics and the Korean Security Dilemma (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2012), pp.50-87 (Read the first half).

-Lyeong Choi, "Human Rights, Popular Protest, and Jimmy Carter's Plan to Withdraw U.S. Troops from South Korea," Diplomatic History, 41: 5 (November 2017), pp. 933-958.

Lesson 15: Review for the mid-term exam

Preparation for mid-term exam: No further readings assigned.

Lesson 16: Mid-term exam:

Preparation for mid-term exam: In class exam unless announced otherwise.

Lesson 17: The US & Japanese approaches toward Korea in the 1980s: security interests, democratization, and history issues.

-Lee, pp. 112-129.*

-Iokibe, The Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan, chapter 5.

-S-Y Kim, "Balancing Security Interest and 'Mission' to Spread Democracy," (Read the second half).

- Hong N. Kim, "Japanese-Korean Relations in the 1980s," Asian Survey, 27; 5 (May 1987), pp. 497-514. *

Lesson 18: South Korea's Nord Politik and Japan-North Korean negotiations

-Lee, pp. 129-157. *

- Linus Hagström and Marie Söderberg, "Taking Japan-North Korea Relations Seriously: Rationale and Background," Pacific Affairs, 79: 3, (Fall, 2006), pp. 373-385, via JSTOR.org.

-Iokibe, Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan, chapter 6 (this chapter is useful until the last week.)

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-Chae-Jin Lee, China and Korea: Dynamic Relations (Hoover Institution Press, 1996), TBA

-Jaehan Hwang and Lyong Choi, "Re-thinking normalization between the ROK and the PRC in the early 1990s," Cold War History, 15: 4 (2015)

Lesson 19: North Korean nuclear inspection crisis and Japan-North Korean relations (NKNR I)

-Lee, pp. 158-195.*

-Yoshihide Soeya, "A 'Normal' Middle Power," Japan as a 'Normal Country'?: A Nation in Search of its Place in the World (University of Toronto Press, 2011), chapter 3.

-Hans M. Kristensen & Robert S. Norris, "A history of US nuclear weapons in South Korea," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 73:6 (2017), 349-357, available FREE at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00963402.2017.1388656?needAccess=true>

Lesson 20: China –Taiwan relations in the 1990s

-Richard C. Bush, "Taiwan Policy Making since Tiananmun," in Bush, At Cross Purpose (NY: ME Sharpe, 2004), chapter 7. *

-Michael Yahuda, International Politics of the Asia-Pacific, 4th edition (2019), pp. 139-152.

Lesson 21: Sunshine Engagement Policy and tension in the US-South Korean relations (Public Opinion)

-Lee, pp. 195-209, 256-74. *

-Gi-Wook Shin and Hilary Jan Izatt, "Anti-American and Anti-Alliance Sentiments in South Korea," Asian Survey, * 51: 6 (Nov/ Dec. 2011), pp. 1113-33, (Asian Survey journal, available via www.JSTOR.org on campus computers).

-Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies," World Politics vol. 43, 1991, pp. 479-512.

-Scott A. Snyder, South Korea at the Crossroads (Columbia UP, 2018), pp. 83-113.

Lesson 22: The Six Party Talks and North Korea; Human Security (NKNR II)

-Lee, pp. 210-256.*

-John S. Park, 'Inside Multilateralism: The Six Party Talks', Washington Quarterly, 28:4 (Autumn 2005), pp. 75-91.

-Meredith Woo-Cumings, "The Political Ecology of Famine: The North Korean Catastrophe and Its Lessons," ADB Institute Research Paper 31 (January 2002), ADB Institute Tokyo, available FREE via google search.

-Scott Snyder, South Korea at the Crossroads, chapter 5. (Roh Moo-hyun's Balancer policy)*

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-Hazel Smith, "Bad, mad, sad or rational actor? Why the 'securitization' paradigm makes for poor policy analysis of north Korea" *International Affairs*, Jul., 2000, Vol. 76, No. 3 (Jul., 2000), pp. 593-617

-Leszek Buszynski, Negotiating with North Korea (Routledge, 2015), chapters 3, (4). _

-UNSC Resolution 2397 (2017), <https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13141.doc.htm>

Lesson 23: Chinese Foreign Relations amid its Ascendance and its Impacts

- John Garver, China's Quest, chapter 26 (Reassuring and Unnerving Neighbors: Japan), pp. 705-733.*

-Alexander Lukin, China and Russia (Polity, 2018), pp. 78-95.

-Jae-ho Chung, "East Asia Responds to the Rise of China," Pacific Affairs, 82: 4 (2009/2010), pp. 173-92.

-Mike M. Mochizuki, "Dealing with Rising China," Mochizuki et al, Japan in International Politics (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2007), chapter 11.

Lesson 24: Debates about Spread of Nuclear Weapons (History, Theory, & Policy): Deterrence and Defense

-Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz. The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002, or 2012 editions)., pp. 46-89, 188-195*

-Scott Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?," International Security, 21: 3 (winter, 1996/97)

-Leszek Buszynski, Negotiating with North Korea (Routledge, 2015), conclusion*

-Toby Dalton, "Nuclear Nonproliferation After the Russia-Ukraine War," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, published: April 8, 2022, <https://gjia.georgetown.edu/2022/04/08/nuclear-nonproliferation-after-the-russia-ukraine-war/>
-about Iran Nuclear issue, see, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/continuing-duel-iran-containment-deterrence-and-iranian-arms-control-agreement>

Lesson 25: US Foreign Policy and East Asia since the End of the Cold War

Eric Heginbotham and Christopher P. Twomey, "America's Bismarckian Asia Policy," Current History, 104: 683 (September 2005), pp. 243-250

-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.]

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-US Department of Defense, Indo Pacific Strategy Report, <https://media.defense.gov/2019/Jul/01/2002152311/-1/-1/1/DEPARTMENT-OF-DEFENSE-INDO-PACIFIC-STRATEGY-REPORT-2019.PDF>

-S-Y Kim, "American Elites' Strategic Thinking toward Korea," Diplomacy and Statecraft (2001), to be mounted to Blackboard.

- Victor D. Cha, "Collective Resilience: Deterring China's Weaponization of Economic Interdependence," International Security, 48: 1 (summer 2023), pp. 91-124.

Lesson 26: Japan and Two Koreas in the 21st C (Koizumi's visits to North Korea & issues in ROK-Japan relations)

Japan-North Korean relations since Koizumi cabinet

-Hong Nack Kim, "The Koizumi Government and the Politics of Normalizing Japanese-North Korean Relations," East-West Center Working Papers, no. 14 (Feb. 2006) via: <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/sites/default/files/private/PSwp014.pdf> *

-Tomohito Shinoda, Koizumi Diplomacy (University of Washington Press, 2007), chapter 3 (The Rise of Kantei)

-John Swenson-Wright, "The Limit of 'Normalcy': Japanese-Korean Post-Cold War Interactions," Yoshihide Soeya, et al, Japan as a 'Normal Country'? (University of Toronto Press, 2011), chapter 6.

Cooperation and Tension in Japan-South Korean relations

-Keven J. Cooney and Alex Scarbrough, "Japan and South Korea: Can These Two Nations Work Together?," Asian Affairs, 35: 3 (Fall, 2008), pp. 173-92. **Or**

-Gilbert Roseman and Shinhwa Lee, "Unraveling the Japan-South Korea "Virtual Alliance,"" Asian Survey, 46: 5 (Sep/ Oct 2006), pp. 761-84. *

Lesson 27: Territorial Disputes in East Asia and Memories of History (group presentations)

-Thomas Berger, "The Politics of Memory in Japanese Foreign Relations," Mochizuki et al, Japan in International Politics (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2007). Chapter 9. *

- Yongwook Ryu, "The Yasukuni Controversy," Asian Survey,* 47: 5 (Sep. Oct. 2007), 705-26.

Jae Ho Chung, "China's "Soft" Clash with South Korea: The History War and Beyond," Asian Survey,* 49: 3 (May/June 2009), pp. 468-483.

-Carmen M. Argibay, "Sexual Slavery and the Comfort Women of World War II," Berkeley Journal of International Law, 21:2 (2003), FREE download from internet.

-Patrick Hein, "Unresolved Comfort Women Issue," Korean Journal of International Studies, 14: 3 (Dec. 2016), FREE download from internet.

-Mori Kazuko, Nitsuhyoryu, chapter 5 (on territorial dispute, between China and Japan)

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-Richard McGregor, Asia's Reckoning, Chapter 12 (China lays down the law), chapter 13 (Nationalization)

Lesson 28: Coping with Ascent China

-Graham Allison, "The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War?" The Atlantic (September 24, 2015).*

-Michael Yahuda, The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific (Routledge, 2019), pp. 160-183.*

- Zheng Wang, Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations (Columbia UP, 2012), conclusion

Leszek Buszynski, "Russia and North Korea: Dilemmas and Interests," Asian Survey, 49:5 (September/October 2009), pp. 809-830.

Eric Heginbotham, "The Foreign Policy Essay: China's ADIZ in the East China Sea," Lawfare (Sep. 2014) <http://www.lawfareblog.com/2014/08/the-foreign-policy-essay-chinas-adiz-in-the-east-china-sea/>

Chong-pin Lin, "Behind Rising East Asian Maritime Tensions with China: Struggle without Breaking," Asian Survey, 55: 3 (May/ June 2015), pp. 478-501.

Christopher Yung, "The PLA Lobby and its Influence over China's Maritime Sovereignty," in Phillip C. Saunders and Andrew Scobell, PLA Influence on China's National Security Policymaking (Stanford UP, 2015), pp. 274-99.

Taylor Fravel, "China's Potential Lessons from Ukraine for Conflict over Taiwan," The Washington Quarterly, 46: 3 (2023), pp. 7-25 [Open Access: Freely available via internet]

Lesson 29: Dealing with nuclear armed North Korea: Moon Jae-in-Trump presidencies and Yoon Sok-ryul-Biden presidencies.

-Jung H. Pak, "The good, the bad, and the ugly at the US-North Korea summit in Hanoi," Brookings paper series, (Monday, March 4, 2019) <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/03/04/the-good-the-bad-and-the-ugly-at-the-us-north-korea-summit-in-hanoi/> and <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/03/05/key-takeaways-from-the-second-summit-between-president-trump-and-kim-jong-un/>

-Papers presented at Brookings Seminar (Dec 7 2022) on "South Korean foreign policy in the Indo-Pacific," <https://www.brookings.edu/topic/north-korea/>

-Bruce Klinger, "ASSESSING THREATS TO U.S. VITAL INTERESTS: North Korea," (Oct 18, 2022), <https://www.heritage.org/military-strength/assessing-threats-us-vital-interests/north-korea>

-Scott A. Snyder, South Korea at the Crossroads (Columbia UP, 2018), chapter 9 (Korea between the US and China), Epilogue.

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-Min-hyung Kim, "Is Non-Nuclearization Sustainable? Explaining South Korea's Strategic Choices," Washington Quarterly, 46; 2 (2023), pp. 127-140.

Lesson 30: Japanese Diplomacy in Asia: Review for the Final Exam

-Andrew L. Oros, Japan's Security Renaissance, chapter 5 (New Security Policies under Abe Shinzo 2012-2016).

-Sheila A. Smith, Japan Rearmed (Harvard UP, 2019), Conclusion.*

- Eric Heginbotham, Samuel Leiter & Richard J. Samuels, "Pushing on an Open Door: Japan's Evolutionary Security Posture," Washington Quarterly, 46; 2 (2023), pp. 47-67. [Open Access, Freely available via internet]

【Textbooks/Reading Materials】

-Chae-Jin Lee, A Troubled Peace: U.S. Policy and the Two Koreas (Johns Hopkins University, 2006)

-Mokoto Iokibe, ed, The Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan (New York: Routledge, 2011).

Section 4

【Learning Assessments/Grading Rubric】

-Midterm exam: 30%

-Short essay: 10% (due within three weeks after mid-term exam) [either on theoretical issues or a historical primary-source search exercise]

-Participation (attendance, presentation, discussion, and *potentially* Reading Journal): 20%

-Final Exam: 40 %

Section 5

【Additional Information】 This course expects and requires active participation by students through discussions and presentations. Your participation is mandatory and reflected in the final grade.