

## Contemporary International History and Politics of Northeast Asia

### Section 1

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

#### 【Course Outline / Description】

This course examines international history 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 in East Asia.

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### 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.\*
- 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.
- 浅川公紀 (Asakawa Koki), 国際政治の構造と展開 (2014), chapter 1. (15-44)

#### 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 \*
- 浅川公紀, 国際政治の構造と展開 (2014), pp. 214-231.

#### 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
- 浅川公紀, 国際政治の構造と展開 (2014), pp. 232-240.
- 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,

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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.
- 浅川公紀, 国際政治の構造と展開 (2014), pp. 241-253.
- 花井 等, 新外交政策論(1998), pp. 88-109. (on role of public opinion)

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

- 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. \*
- Lyong 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.

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-Mori Kazuko, Nitchu Hyoryu, chapters, 1 ,2. (*Japanese reading*)

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

- 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 (cptr 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).
- Lyong 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

You should use readings assigned until now.

### Lesson 16: Mid-term exam: preparation for the mid-term exam

### 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.)
- Chae-Jin Lee, China and Korea: Dynamic Relations (Hoover Institution Press, 1996), TBA
- Jaehan Hwang and Lyong Choi, "Re-thinking normalisation 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.\*

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-Yoshihidea 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, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (2019), pp. 139-152.

-Mori Kazuko, Nitchuhvoryu, chapter 8 (on China's use of force) [*Japanese reading*]

### 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](http://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.

-Hanai Hitoshi, *Shin Gaikousesakuron*, pp. 88-109. -花井 等, 新外交政策論(1998), pp. 88-109 (\*Sum of western theories on public opinion and foreign policy). This will be used during Lesson 22 as well.

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

### Lesson 22: The Six Party Talks and North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons (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. \* Human Security vs Traditional Security

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

-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.

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- Mike M. Mochizuki, "Dealing with Rising China," Mochizuki et al, Japan in International Politics (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2007), chapter 11.
- Mori Kazuko, Nitsuhoryu, chapter 3 (Rise of anti-Japan feeling in China) [Japanese reading]

### 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://gjaia.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

- 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.]
- US Department of Defense, Indo Pacific Strategy Report, <https://media.defense.gov/2019/Jul/01/2002152311/-1/-1/1/DEPARTMENT-OF-DEFENSE-IN-DO-PACIFIC-STRATEGY-REPORT-2019.PDF>
- S-Y Kim, "American Elites' Strategic Thinking toward Korea," Diplomacy and Statecraft (2001), to be mounted to Blackboard.

### 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

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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. \*

-宮城 大蔵, 現代日本外交史 - 冷戦後の模索、首相たちの決断 (中公新書, 2016), read relevant pages.

### 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)

-宮城 大蔵, 現代日本外交史 - 冷戦後の模索、首相たちの決断 (中公新書, 2016), read relevant pages.

-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.

-Mori Kazuko, Nitsu Hyouryu, (Chapter 9 and final chapter)

-宮城 大蔵, 現代日本外交史 - 冷戦後の模索、首相たちの決断 (中公新書, 2016), read relevant pages.

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### Lesson 29: Dealing with nuclear armed North Korea: Moon Jae-in-Trump presidencies and Yoon Suk-yeol-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 Klingner, "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>

### 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.\*

#### 【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).  
**Alternatively, Japanese students** can purchase the same book in Japanese: 五百旗頭 真, 戦後日本外交史 (有斐閣アルマ, published in 2014 or earlier.)

#### 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 primary-source search exercise. \*Internet sites of primary historical sources will be provided at the beginning of the course.]

-Participation (attendance, presentation, and discussion): 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.