Government 1765

ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY

Spring 2010
Tuesdays & Thursdays 10-11:30am

Prof. Christopher W. Hughes

Department of Government
CGIS Knafel Building, Room K406
1737 Cambridge Street
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Office Hours:
Thursdays 11:30am-12:30am
By appointment only

Course Website:
http://my.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=myharvard&subkeyword=k66138&tabgroupid=icb.k66138.tabgroup.top

COURSE DESCRIPTION
Surveys key security dynamics, actors and issues in the Asia-Pacific. Topics include: the US alliance system in the Asia-Pacific; China’s military rise; Japanese militarization; the security capabilities of the Koreas and Southeast Asia, Australia; insurgency and transnational terrorism; territorial disputes; North Korea and Taiwan; nuclear proliferation; missile defences; arms races; maritime security, energy security, and transnational crime; and multilateral security cooperation. All issues are studied in conjunction with major paradigmatic and critical theoretical approaches. No prior knowledge of the Asia-Pacific region, security studies, or International Relations theory is necessary.
READINGS FOR THE COURSE

**Recommended purchases:**
The following books have been ordered for the course and should be available at the COOP:


**This book is also available through the Harvard Library as an e-book. Just search on HOLLIS and then link on the link to the e-book.**

**Required and supplementary readings:**
- The course reading list is divided into ‘required’ and ‘supplementary’ readings.
- The expectation is that all students should read the required readings for each week, generally two or three journal articles or book chapters.
- The supplementary readings provide additional article, chapter, and book reading ideas for the assignments.

**Electronic readings/reserves:**
- All of the required readings for each week are available electronically and online for easy access. The only exception are a few chapters in Yahuda’s *International Politics of the Asia-Pacific*
- To access e-reserves, go to http://my.harvard.edu and enter your Harvard ID and PIN. Select ‘Courses’ and “Gov 1765.” Then, select ‘Reserves List’ and click on the ‘digital version’ of the reading you would like to access
- During shopping period, any student may access the available e-reserves for this class. However, once enrolment is set (Study Card day), only those students enrolled in Government 1765 will be able to access the course’s e-reserves.
- Students who have difficulty accessing e-reserves should contact Paul Hanna, Stacks/Circulation Supervisor, Fung Library, at phanna@fas.harvard.edu to receive other assistance.

**Online electronic journals:**
- In addition to e-reserves, nearly all journal article readings should be available through online journal resources found in the Harvard Library system, such as JSTOR and EBSCO.
- Go to the HOLLIS mainpage: http://lib.harvard.edu. Then you can access e-resources and e-journals. You will need to enter your Harvard ID number and PIN.
- From there, you can browse to find the relevant journal/issue/article to read, print, or download.
COURSE REQUIREMENTS

For undergraduates:
Lecture attendance/discussion/question and answer 25%
Mid-term exam 25%
Final exam 50%

For graduate students:
Lecture attendance/discussion/question and answer 25%
Mid-term exam 25%
Final exam 50%
OR
Lecture attendance/section discussion 25%
Term Paper 75%

• The mid-term is to be emailed out on 11 March. Students are required to write one essay, from a choice of 2-3 questions. Electronic versions of your exams must be emailed back by 5 pm on 12 March. The essay should not exceed 2,500 words/c. 7 pages double spaced.

• The final exam date is in early to mid-May, at a date to be announced by the Registrar. The final exam will consist of two consist of three parts, each worth 1/3 of the exam grade.
--Part I: identify and give the significance for Asia-Pacific Security of 5 terms/concepts/events;
--Part II: one essay on a topic connected to a specific theme from one or more weeks in the course. You will have a choice of 2-3 questions.
--Part III: one essay that integrates your knowledge and understanding of general features of East Asian international relations. You will have a choice of 2-3 questions

• The long paper for those graduate students which wish to take this option is a research paper of 20-25 pages (including notes and bibliography), to be decided in consultation. Students are recommended to make an appointment with me to brainstorm on possible paper topics. Students should email me beforehand a brief idea of the topic. The paper may cover any aspect of the course. It might want to consider an issue of historical importance in Asia-Pacific Security, or test a particular IR/international security theory relating to regional security.

Excepting those who have documented reasons for seeking an extension, late assignments will be graded down a third of a grade each day they are late (e.g. A to A/-, A/- to A-, etc).

Grading will be carried out taking into consideration a variety of factors, including comprehension (understanding of theories and empirical knowledge); analysis (ability to manipulate and apply theories and empirical evidence in support of an overall argument and conclusions); critique (ability to unpack arguments and reveal their strengths and weaknesses, and to innovate with original perspectives); and presentation (proper and accurate scholarly writing and presentation).
Lecture 1 (26 January) Course introduction: what is the Asia-Pacific, what is security, and why study them?

Lecture 2 (28 January) Asia-Pacific security in historical perspective I (from Korea to 1st Indochina war): de-colonization and bipolarisation

Lecture 3 (2 February) Asia-Pacific security in historical perspective II (from 2nd Indochina war to Tiananmen Square): the end of the Cold War and globalization

Lecture 4 (4 February) Theories of conflict and security in the Asia-Pacific I: Structural Realism

Lecture 5 (9 February) Theories of conflict and security in the Asia-Pacific II: Liberalism & Constructivism

Lecture 6 (11 February) Theories of conflict and security in the Asia-Pacific III: Marxism, Critical Security, Human Security

Lecture 7 (16 February) US hegemonic military power and alliance systems

Lecture 8 (18 February) China’s peaceful rise?

Lecture 9 (23 February) Japan’s remilitarisation?

Lecture 10 (25 February) Australia: US deputy sheriff?

Lecture 11 (2 March) ASEAN & Southeast Asian militaries: external defence or internal repression?

Lecture 12 (4 March) North Korean nuclear crisis(es)

Lecture 13 (9 March) Nuclear proliferation in the Asia-Pacific

11 MARCH  MIDTERM EXAM

Lecture 14 (23 March) Taiwan: crucible of conflict or peaceful interdependence?
Lecture 15 (25 March)  Much Ado About Nothing or WWII?: Territorial disputes and energy security
Lecture 16 (30 March)  Armed to the teeth?: Asia-Pacific arms races and military-industrial complexes
Lecture 17 (1 April)  Not the Pirates of the Caribbean: Maritime Security and anti-piracy
Lecture 18 (6 April)  Transnational crime, narcotics and security
Lecture 19 (8 April)  Environmental degradation, infectious diseases, and Human Security
Lecture 20 (13 April)  Terrorism and the US ‘war on terror’
Lecture 21 (15 April)  ASEAN Regional Forum: Asia-Pacific Security Community or talking shop?
Lecture 22 (20 April)  The Six Party Talks and new multilateral security frameworks
Lecture 23 (22 April)  Regional security futures: peaceful interdependence, ‘Long war’, new Cold War?
Lecture 24 (27 April)  Student presentations
Lecture 1 (26 January)
COURSE INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS THE ASIA-PACIFIC AND WHAT IS SECURITY, AND WHY STUDY THEM?

The purpose of this session is to provide an overview of the structure of the course, and to introduce students to some of the key theories, concepts and themes that will be addressed in the following weeks. It considers different possible definitions of the Asia-Pacific region in terms of security interaction, and different definitions of security itself.

No set readings for this week

Lecture 2 (28 January)
ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE I (FROM KOREAN WAR TO 1ST INDOCHINA WAR): DECOLONISATION AND BIPOLARISATION

This session begins to provide an overview of the key historical processes and related conflicts which have affected the development of Asia-Pacific security in the post-war period and continue to impact into the twenty first century. It examines, in brief, the end of the Pacific War, the shock of the Korean War on US security strategy, the formation of alliances in the Cold War period, and the effect of the end of decolonisation overlain by bipolarisation on the security of Northeast and Southeast Asia.

Required reading


Supplementary Reading

Acharya, Amitav, The Quest for Identity: International Relations of Southeast Asia, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 43-77


Lecture 3 (2 February)

ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE II (FROM 2ND INDOCHINA WAR TO TIANANMEN SQUARE): THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND RISE OF GLOBALISATION

Required reading


Lecture 4 (4 February)

THEORIES OF CONFLICT AND SECURITY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC I: STRUCTURAL REALISM

The purpose of the next three sessions is to consider the main paradigms/perspectives in the study of international security, their key assumptions about conflict and cooperation, and how they might be applied to understanding contemporary security dynamics in the Asia-Pacific. The objective of the sessions is not to present any one way of understanding Asia-Pacific security, but rather to provide an overview of theories and concepts that will be revisited in later lectures as a means to comprehending the complexities of the region. We start by looking at the usual default theory of conflict in the Asia-Pacific—Structural Realism—and how it might be applied to the region.

Required reading

Supplementary reading


Lecture 5 (9 February)

THEORIES OF CONFLICT AND SECURITY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC II: LIBERALISM AND CONSTRUCTIVISM

We now move on to consider the two main paradigms and perspectives contending with Structural Realism—Liberalism and Constructivism.
**Required reading**


**Supplementary reading**


**Lecture 6 (11 February)**
THEORIES OF CONFLICT AND SECURITY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC III: MARXISM, CRITICAL SECURITY, HUMAN SECURITY

This session considers a range of alternative, less mainstream, paradigms and perspectives in the study of international security and their potential application to the Asia-Pacific region. These perspectives, although less prevalent in contemporary US IR and Security Studies, are gaining increasing purchase in the Asia-Pacific region itself and in other regions. Some of this theory is difficult, but it is worth thinking about for the new insights it can offer, even if not strictly ‘theory’ in a US positivistic/predictive sense.

**Required reading**

Supplementary reading


Lecture 7 (16 February)
US HEGEMONIC MILITARY POWER AND ALLIANCE SYSTEMS

In this session, we consider the role of the US as the pre-eminent military, indeed hegemonic power, in Asia-Pacific security. We examine in particular the US’s national military capabilities and security strategy, and its key role in Asia-Pacific security through the maintenance and adjustment of its bilateral ‘hub and spokes’ alliance network.

Required reading


Supplementary reading


Lecture 8 (18 February)
CHINA’S PEACEFUL RISE?

This session examines the debate concerning China’s rising national power and military capabilities and the impact on regional stability. We consider whether China is essentially a status quo power, or whether it will inevitably seek to defend its national interests with military force and challenge the US centred security order in East Asia.

Required reading


**Supplementary reading**

Available at:  

Ross, Robert, ‘China’s naval nationalism: sources, prospects and the US response’,  


Dreyer, June, ‘China’s power and will: the PRC’s military strength and grand strategy’, *Orbis*, vol. 51, no. 4, pp. 647-660.


Thomas Bickford,  
*Myths and Realities of China's Military Power*,  
http://www.fpf.org/briefs/vol6/v6n14chinamil.html

Lecture 9 (23 February)
JAPAN’S REMILITARISATION?

The purpose of this session is to consider the evolution of Japan’s security role in the Asia-Pacific. We consider what has been the security trajectory of Japan to date and how is it changing after the Cold War and especially post-9/11. Is Japan emerging as a more independent actor, or a bigger player in multilateral security; or is it devoting its energies to supporting US regional and global hegemony. We also consider the dominant theoretical explanations for Japan’s security behaviour.

Required reading


Supplementary reading
[also available on line at HOLLIS under e-journals under Adelphi Papers]

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Lecture 10 (25 February)
AUSTRALIA: US DEPUTY SHERIFF?
This session examines Australia’s expanding military role in the region in the form of intervention missions, strengthening alliance ties with the US, and new security links with Japan and other powers.

Required reading


Supplementary reading


Lecture 11 (2 March)
ASEAN & SOUTHEAST ASIAN MILITARIES: EXTERNAL DEFENCE OR INTERNAL REPRESSION?
This session considers the past and future role of individual Southeast Asian states and ASEAN as a whole as a defence actor in the international politics of Pacific-Asia. It examines the military capabilities of these states, the functions of these military for
internal political governance, and the moves by states to increase bilateral and multilateral security cooperation.

**Required reading**


**Supplementary reading**


**Lecture 12 (4 March)**
**NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR CRISIS(ES)**
This session considers the development and impact of North Korea’s nuclear ambitions on regional security since the early 1990s. It examines the motivations behind North Korea’s nuclear programme, the impact on regional security cooperation, and other elements of North Korean insecurity, including energy and food crises.

**Required reading**

Joint Statement of the Fourth Round of the Six Party Talks, September 2005

Sigal, Leon V., ‘North Korea policy on the rocks: what can be done to restore constructive engagement’, *Global Asia: A Journal of the East Asia Foundation*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2009

Nicolas Eberstadt, ‘La Grande Illusion, Korean Style’


**Supplementary reading**


Sigal, Leon V., ‘Six myths about dealing with Pyongyang’, [http://www.nautilus.org/fora/security/0102C_Sigal.html#sect2](http://www.nautilus.org/fora/security/0102C_Sigal.html#sect2)

Sigal, Leon V., ‘N. Korea: fibs versus facts’

Nicolas Eberstadt, ‘La Grande Illusion, Korean Style’


Sigal, L. V. (1998) Disarming Strangers: Nuclear Diplomacy with North Korea, Princeton, Princeton University Press, Chapters 1 (pp. 3-14), 8, 9, 10 (pp. 207-254).


The Nautilus Institute, The North Korea Briefing Book http://www.nautilus.org/DPRKBriefingBook/briefingtabs.html [information site from the Nautilus Institute containing coverage of a range of topics related to North Korea, and a wealth of on-line academic and policy studies


OR


OR


Lecture 13 (9 March)
NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC
This session follows on from the North Korean nuclear issue and asks how it may impact upon the risks of nuclear proliferation in East Asia and the overall security situation, with particular reference to Japan’s nuclear option. It asks why states seek to join the nuclear club, including issues of national security but also issues of domestic and international prestige.

Required reading

Hughes, Christopher W., ‘North Korea’s nuclear weapons: implications for the nuclear ambitions of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan’, Asia Policy, vol. 2, no. 1, January 2007, pp 105-123.


Available at Global Security.Org:
Supplementary reading


Lecture 14 (23 March)
TAIWAN: CRUCIBLE OF CONFLICT OR PEACEFUL INTERDEPENDENCE?

Required reading
The Taiwan Relations Act
Available online: http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/ea/uschina/taiwact.htm


Supplementary reading


US Department of Defense, The Security Situation in the Taiwan Strait, 1999
Lecture 15 (25 March)
MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING OR WWIII?: TERRITORIAL DISPUTES AND ENERGY SECURITY

This seminar examines issues of territory, sovereignty and potential conflict in the Asia-Pacific, with a particular focus on the South China Sea, and the Senkakus/Diaoyutai, Takeshima/Tokto and East China Sea. It also examines how concerns over energy and other resources contribute to a potentially volatile security mix across the region.

Required reading


Supplementary reading
Available at: http://www.asianperspective.org/articles/v31n1-f.pdf


**Lecture 16 (30 March)**

**ARMED TO THE TEETH?: ASIA-PACIFIC ARMS RACES AND MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES**

This session considers the causes of arms build-ups in the Asia-Pacific and the implication for regional stability, with a particular focus on the international and domestic causes compared.

**Required reading**


**Supplementary reading**


[Available on line through electronic journals]


Lecture 17 (1 April)
NOT THE PIRATES OF THE CARIBBEAN: MARITIME SECURITY AND ANTI-PIRACY

Piracy seems hard to take seriously at first sight as a major security issue in the Asia-Pacific. However, this session considers the rising phenomenon of piracy in post-Cold War East Asia, its impact on maritime security and as a driver of anti-piracy cooperation.

Required reading
Available at: http://www.asiaquarterly.com/content/view/30/


Supplementary reading
Dillon, Dana Robert, ‘Piracy in East Asia: a growing barrier to maritime trade’, Heritage Foundation, 22 June 2000
Available at: http://www.heritage.org/Research/AsiaandthePacific/BG1379.cfm


Lecture 18 (6 April)
TRANSNATIONAL CRIME, NARCOTICS AND SECURITY

This session considers just how substantive transnational crime is a security issue in the Asia-Pacific, regional states’ responses, and the process by which transnational crime has become ‘securitised’.

Required reading


Supplementary reading

OR

Lecture 19 (8 April)
ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION, INFECTIOUS DISEASES, AND HUMAN SECURITY

This session considers the rising importance of environmental degradation, infectious diseases such as SARS, HIV/AIDS and Avian Flu, and Human Security in Asia-Pacific security. It asks how credible these problems and concepts are as mainstream regional security agenda items, and how East Asian and Western versions of these security issues diverge.

Required reading

Supplementary reading


Lecture 20 (13 April)
TERRORISM AND THE ‘WAR ON TERROR’
This week’s session examines transnational terrorism in the Asia-Pacific, the implications for national security, and the influence of the US ‘war on terror’ on existing and future security cooperation in the region.

Required reading


Supplementary reading


Lecture 21 (15 April)
ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM: ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY COMMUNITY OR TALKING SHOP?

In this session we move on to analyse whether the states of the Asia-Pacific are able to forge effective security frameworks to address both the traditional and non-traditional security agendas in the region. The session examines the past characteristics of Asia-Pacific frameworks, and traces the origins and activities of the ARF and other multilateral frameworks, to consider whether they offer feasible alternatives to existing security arrangements.

Required reading
The ASEAN Regional Forum : A Concept Paper
Available at: http://www.aseansec.org/3635.htm


Supplementary reading


Lecture 22 (20 April)
THE SIX PARTY TALKS AND NEW MULTILATERAL SECURITY FRAMEWORKS

This week’s lecture considers three forms of past, future and reemergent regional security frameworks—alliances and their extension; new great power security management in the form of the Six Party Talks; and the role of the UN and multinational intervention.

Required reading

**Supplementary reading**


**Lecture 23 (22 April)**

REGIONAL SECURITY FUTURES: PEACEFUL INTERDEPENDENCE, ‘LONG WAR’, NEW COLD WAR?

This final session considers some future security scenarios for the Asia-Pacific region. Is the region still set for rivalry, peace or a reversion to another form of security order?
Core reading