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 Cambridge, MA 02138

Office Hours: Thursdays 11:30am-12:30am By appointment only

<u>Course Website</u>: http://my.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=myharvard&subkeyword=k66138&tab groupid=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:

Yahuda, Michael, <u>The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific, Since 1945</u>, London: Routledge, 2004, 2nd edition.

Alagappa, M. (ed.), <u>Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences</u>, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998.

**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 <u>International Politics of the Asia-Pacific</u>
- 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 <u>phanna@fas.harvard.edu</u> 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: <u>http://lib.harvard.edu</u>. 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-, 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).

SYLLABUS OUTLINE ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY GOVERNMENT 1765 SPRING 2009

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 1 st Indochina war): de-colonization and bipolarisation
Lecture 3 (2 February)	Asia-Pacific security in historical perspective II (from 2 nd 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 WWIII?: 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

Yahuda, Michael, <u>The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific</u>, London, Routledge, 2nd edition 2004, pp. 21-71.

Hara, Kimie, 'Rethinking the Cold War in the Asia-Pacific', <u>The Pacific Review</u>, vol. 12, no. 4, 1999, pp. 515-36.

Supplementary Reading

Godement, François, <u>The New Asian Rennaisance: From Colonialism to the Post-Cold</u> <u>War Era</u>, London, Routledge, 1997, pp. 85-113.

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

Stubbs, Richard, <u>Rethinking Asia's Economic Miracle</u>, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2005, Chapter 2, pp. 35-91.

Lim, Robyn, <u>The Geopolitics of East Asia: The Search For Equilibrium</u>, London, Routledge, 2003.

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

Yahuda, Michael, <u>The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific</u>, London, Routledge, 2nd edition 2004, pp. 72-98.

Hughes, Christopher W., 'Conceptualising the globalisation-security nexus in the Asia-Pacific', <u>Security Dialogue</u>, vol. 32, no. 4, December 2001, pp. 407-421.

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

Friedberg, Aaron, 'Ripe for rivalry: prospects for peace in a multipolar Asia', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 18, no. 3, Winter 1993/1994, pp. 5-33.

Supplementary reading

Betts, Richard, 'Wealth, power and instability: East Asia and the United States after the Cold War', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 18, no. 3, Winter 1993/1994, pp. 34-77.

Mearsheimer, John, 'Back to the future: instability in Europe after the Cold War', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 15, no. 1, 1990, pp. 5-56.

Ross, Robert, 'The geography of the peace: East Asia in the twenty first century', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 23, no. 4, 1999, pp. 81-118.

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

Berger, Tom, 'Set for stability? Prospects for conflict and cooperation in East Asia', Review of International Studies, vol. 26, 2000, pp. 405-428.

Friedberg, Aaron, 'The future of US-China relations: is conflict inevitable?', International Security, vol. 30, no. 2, 2005 pp. 7-45.

Supplementary reading

Acharya, Amitav, <u>Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order</u>, London, Routledge, 2001.

Adler, Emmanuel and Michael Barnett (eds.), <u>Security Communities</u>, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, chapters 1 and 2.

Busse, Nicolas. 'Constructivism and Southeast Asian security', <u>The Pacific Review</u>, vol. 12, no. 1, 1999, pp. 39-60.

Berger, Thomas U., 'Power and purpose in Pacific East Asia: a constructivist interpretation', in Ikenberry, John and Mastanduno, Michael (eds.) <u>International</u> <u>Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific</u>, New York, Columbia University Press, 2003, pp. 387-420.

Katzenstein, Peter J (ed.) <u>The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in</u> <u>World Politics</u>, New York, Columbia University Press, 1996.

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

Burke, Anthony, <u>What makes security possible: some thoughts on Critical Security</u> <u>Studies</u>, Department of International Relations Working Paper, Australian National University, January 2007, pp. 1-19. Available at: http://rspas.anu.edu.au/ir/pubs/work_papers/07-1.pdf

McDonald, Matt, 'Human security and the construction of security', <u>Global Society</u>, vol. 16, no. 3, 2002, pp. 277-295.

Supplementary reading

Security Dialogue Forum, 'What is Human Security?', <u>Security Dialogue</u>, vol. 35, no. 3, 2004, pp. 345-88.

Burke, Anthony and McDonald, Matt, 'Introduction: Asia-Pacific security legacies and futures', in Anthony Burke and Matt McDonald (eds.) <u>Critical Security in the Asia-Pacific</u>, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007, pp. 1-9.

Mutimer, David, 'Critical Security Studies: a schismatic history', in Alan Collins (ed.) <u>Contemporary Security Studies</u>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 53-74.

Krause, Keith and Williams, Michael C. (eds.) <u>Critical Security Studies</u>, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Booth, Ken (ed.) <u>Critical Security Studies and World Politics</u>, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005.

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

US Department of Defense, <u>The United States Security Strategy for the East Asia</u> <u>Pacific Region</u>, Washington DC, 1998, <u>http://www.dod.mil/pubs/easr98/easr98.pdf</u>.

White House, <u>The National Security Strategy of the United States of America</u>, Washington DC, 2002, <u>http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf</u>.

Pempel, T. J., 'How Bush bungled Asia: how unilateralism, militarism and economic abdication weakened the US across Asia', <u>The Pacific Review</u>, vol. 21, 5, 2008, pp. 57-72.

Supplementary reading

Mastanduno, Michael, 'Incomplete hegemony: the United States and security order in Asia', in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.) <u>Asian Security Order: Instrumental and Normative Features</u>, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003, pp. 141-170.

Ikenberry, John G., 'America in East Asia: power, markets, and grand strategy', in Ellis S. Krauss and T. J. Pempel (eds.) <u>Beyond Bilateralism: US-Japan Relations in the New East Asia</u>, Stanford University Press, 2003, pp. 37-54.

Cox, Michael, 'The USA and Asia-Pacific', in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (eds.) <u>US</u> <u>Foreign Policy</u>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 275-291. Weeks, Stanley B. and Meconis, Charles A., <u>The Armed Forces of the USA in the Asia-Pacific Region</u>, London, I. B. Tauris, 1999.

Blackwill, Robert D. and Dibb, Paul (eds.) <u>America's Asian Alliances</u>, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2000.

Armacost, Michael H and Okimoto, Daniel I., <u>The Future of America's Alliances in</u> <u>Northeast Asia</u>, Washington DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2004.

Ikenberry, G., 'American Hegemony and East Asian Order', <u>Australian Journal of</u> <u>International Affairs</u>, vol. 58, no. 3, 2004, pp. 353-67.

Beeson, Mark, 'US hegemony and Southeast Asia: the impacts of, and limits to, US power and influence', <u>Critical Asian Studies</u>, vol. 36, no. 3, 2004, pp. 445-462.

Beeson, Mark, 'American ascendancy; conceptualizing contemporary hegemony', in Mark Beeson (ed.) <u>Bush and Asia: America's Evolving Relations with East Asia</u>, London, Routledge, 2007, pp. 3-23.

Michael J. Green, 'The United States and East Asia in the Unipolar Era', in Quansheng Zhao (ed.) <u>Future Trends in East Asian International Relations</u>, London, Frank Cass, 2002, pp. 21-46.

Gurtov, Mel, <u>Superpower on Crusade: The Bush Doctrine in US Foreign Policy</u>, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006, pp. 27-55.

Johnson, Chalmers, <u>Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire</u>, New York, Owl Books, 2000.

Buckley, Roger, <u>The United States in the Asia-Pacific since 1945</u>, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, Chapter 6, pp. 181-215.

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

Johnson, Alastair Iain, 'Is China a status quo power?', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 27, no. 4, Spring 2003, pp. 5-56.

Shambaugh, David, 'China engages Asia: reshaping regional order', <u>International</u> <u>Security</u>, vol. 29, no. 3, Winter 2004/2005, pp. 64-99.

Office of the Secretary of Defense, Annual Report to Congress Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2008, Department of Defense, Washington DC, 2008, available at:

http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/China_Military_Report_08.pdf

Supplementary reading

Information Office of the State Council People's Republic of China, China's National Defense in 2006, Beijing, 2006 Available at: <u>http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/china/doctrine/wp2006.html</u>

Ross, Robert, 'China's naval nationalism: sources, prospects and the US response', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 34, no. 2, 2009, pp. 46-81.

Christensen, Thomas, 'Fostering stability or creating a monster? The rise of China and US policy toward East Asia', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 31, no. 1, 2006, pp. 81-126.

Friedberg, Aaron, 'The future of US-China relations: is conflict inevitable?', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 30, no. 2, 2005 pp. 7-45.

Lampton, David M., <u>The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money, and Minds</u>, Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 2008, pp. 37-78.

Shirk, Susan, China: Fragile Superpower, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007.

Kang, David C., <u>China Rising: Peace, Power, and Order in East Asia</u>, New York, Columbia University Press, 2008.

Goldstein, Avery, Rising to the Challenge: China's Grand Strategy and International <u>Security</u>, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005.

Johnston, Alastair Iain, Social States: <u>China in International Institutions 1980-2000</u>., Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Dreyer, June, 'China's power and will: the PRC's military strength and grand strategy', <u>Orbis</u>, vol. 51, no. 4, pp. 647-660.

Christensen, Thomas, 'Rising problems without catching up: China's rise and challenges for US security policy', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 5-40.

Thomas Bickford, <u>Myths and Realities of China's Military Power</u>, http://www.fpif.org/briefs/vol6/v6n14chinamil.html

Gill, Bates, <u>Rising Star: China's New Security Diplomacy</u>, Washington DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2007.

Johnston, Alastair Iain and Ross, Robert S. (eds.) <u>New Directions in the Study of</u> <u>China's Foreign Policy</u>, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006.

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

Soeya, Yoshihide, 'Japan: normative constraints versus structural imperatives', in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.) <u>Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences</u>, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1998, pp. 198-231.

Hughes, Christopher W. and Krauss, Ellis S., 'Japan's new security agenda', <u>Survival:</u> <u>The IISS Quarterly</u>, vol. 49, no. 2, Spring 2007, pp. 157-176.

Supplementary reading

Hughes, Christopher W. (2009) *Japan's Remilitarisation*, London: Routledge [also available on line at HOLLIS under e-journals under *Adelphi Papers*]

Hughes, Christopher W. (2004) *Japan's Reemergence as a 'Normal' Military Power*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. [also available on line at HOLLIS under e-journals under *Adelphi Papers*]

Lind, Jennifer, 'Pacifism or passing the buck? Testing theories of Japanese security policy', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 92-121.

Samuels, Richard J., <u>Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East</u> <u>Asia</u>, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 2007.

Berger, Thomas U., 'From sword to chrysanthemum: Japan's culture of anti-militarism', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 17, no. 4, 1993, pp. 119-150.

Hook, Glenn, Gilson, Julie, Hughes, Christopher W. and Dobson, Hugo, <u>Japan's</u> <u>International Relations: Politics, Economics and Security</u>, London, Routledge, revised 2nd edition 2005, Chapter 6, pp. 143-176, and Chapter 11, pp. 249-273.

Twomey, Christopher, 'Japan, a circumscribed balancer', *Security Studies*, vol. 9, no. 4, 2000, pp. 167-205.

Katzenstein, Peter J. and Okawara, Nobuo (1993) 'Japan's national security: structures, norms, and policies', *International Security*, 17 (4): 84-118.

Katzenstein, Peter J. and Okawara, Nobuo (2001) 'Japan, Asian-Pacific security, and the case for analytical eclecticism', *International Security*, 26 (3): 153-185.

Heginbothan, Eric and Samuels, Richard J., 'Japan's Dual Hedge', <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, vol. 81, no. 5, September/October 2002, pp. 110-123.

Oros, Andrew L., <u>Normalizing Japan: Politics, Identity and the Evolution of Security</u> <u>Practice</u>, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2008.

Katzenstein, Peter J., <u>Rethinking Japanese Security</u>, London, Routledge, 2008.

Kliman, Daniel M., Japan's Strategy in the Post-9/11 World: Embracing a New Realpolitik, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2006.

McCormack, Gavan, <u>Client State: Japan in the American Embrace</u>, London, Verso, 2007.

Berger, Thomas, Mochizuki, Mike M. and Tsuchiyama Jitsuo (eds.) Japan in International Politics: The Foreign Policies of an Adaptive State, Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner 2007.

Rozman, Gilbert, Togo, Kazuhiko and Ferguson, Joseph P. (eds.) Japanese Strategic <u>Thought Toward Asia</u>, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2007.

Hughes, Christopher W. and Fukushima, Akiko, 'US-Japan Security Relations: Toward Bilateralism Plus?', in Ellis S. Krauss and T. J. Pempel (eds.) <u>Beyond Bilateralism:</u> <u>US-Japan Relations in the New East Asia</u>, Stanford University Press, 2003, pp. 55-86.

Hughes, Christopher W., Japan's Security Agenda: Military, Economic and Environmental Dimensions, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2004, pp. 159-206.

Hook, Glenn D., <u>Demilitarization and Remilitarization in Contemporary Japan</u>, London, Routledge. 1996.

Ikenberry, John G. and Inoguchi, Takashi, <u>Reinventing the Alliance: US-Japan Security</u> <u>Partnership in an Era of Change</u>, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Kenneth Pyle, Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose, New York, Public Affairs, 2007.

Wan, Ming, Sino-Japanese Relations: Interaction, Logic and Transformation, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006.

Green, Michael J., <u>Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challenges in an Era of</u> <u>Uncertain Power</u>, New York, Palgrave, 2001. Fruhstuk, Sabine, <u>Uneasy Warriors: Gender, Memory and Popular Culture in the</u> Japanese Army, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2007.

Heginbotham, Eric. and Samuels, Richard J. (1998) 'Mercantile realism and Japanese foreign policy', <u>International Security</u>, 22 (4) Spring: 171-203.

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

<u>Defending Australia in the Asia-Pacific Century: Force 2030</u>. Australian Defence White Paper 2009, <u>Executive Summary</u>, pp. 11-14. Available at: <u>http://www.defence.gov.au/whitepaper/docs/defence_white_paper_2009.pdf</u>

Tow, William, 'Deputy sheriff or independent ally? Evolving Austraian-American ties in an ambiguous world order', <u>The Pacific Review</u>, vol. 17, no. 2, 2004, pp. 271-290.

Verrier, J., 'Australia's self-image as a regional and international security actor: some implications of the Iraq war', <u>Australian Journal of International Affairs</u>, vol. 57, no. 3, 2003, pp. 455-71.

Supplementary reading

Pettman, Jan Jindy, 'Questions of identity: Australia and Asia' in Ken Booth (ed.), *Critical Security Studies*, Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner, 2005, pp. 159-177.

George, Jim., 'Will the chickenhawks come home to roost? Iraq, US preponderance and its implications for Australia', <u>Australian Journal of International Affairs</u>, vol. 57, no. 2, 2003, pp. 235-42.

Higgott, Richard. and Kim Nossall, 'Australia and the search for a security community in the 1990s', in Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett (eds.) <u>Security Communities</u>, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 265-294.

McDonald, Matt., 'Constructing insecurity: Australian security discourse and practice post-2001', <u>International Relations</u>, vol. 19, no. 3, 2005, pp. 297-320.

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

Henderson, Jeannie, <u>Reassessing ASEAN, Adelphi Paper 328</u>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999 [available as an e-journal under Adelphi Papers]

Than, Tin Maung Maung, 'Myanmar: preoccupation with regime survival, national unity and solidarity', in Alagappa, M. (ed.), <u>Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences</u>, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998, pp. 390-416.

Anwar, Dewi Fortuna, 'Indonesia: domestic priorities define national security', in Alagappa, M. (ed.), <u>Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences</u>, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998, pp. 477-512.

Supplementary reading

Chapters on Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, The Philippines and Singapore in Alagappa, M. (ed.), <u>Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences</u>, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Simon, Sheldon W., 'Asian armed forces: internal and external tasks and capabilities', in Sheldon W. Simon (ed.) <u>The Many Faces of Asian Security</u>, New York, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2001, pp. 49-70.

Sukma, Rizal, 'Indonesia and regional security: the quest for cooperative security', in Tan, See Seng and Acharya, Amitav (eds.), <u>Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation: National Interests and Regional Order</u>, New York, ME Sharpe, 2004, pp. 71-87.

Mak, J. N. 'Malaysian defense cooperation and security cooperation', in Tan, See Seng and Acharya, Amitav (eds.), <u>Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation: National Interests and Regional Order</u>, New York, ME Sharpe, 2004, pp. 127-153.

Alagappa, Muthiah (ed.) <u>Coercion and Governance: The Declining Political Role of the</u> <u>Military in Asia</u>, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2001.

Collins, Alan, <u>Security and Southeast Asia: Domestic, Regional and Global Issues</u>, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2003.

Acharya, Amitav, <u>Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia</u>, London, Routledge, 2000.

Huxley, Tim, <u>Defending the Lion City: The Armed Forces of Singapore</u>, Crows Nest, Allen and Unwin, 2000.

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 Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n_korea/6party/joint0509.html

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

Available at:

http://www.globalasia.org/Current_Issues/V4N2_2009/Leon_V_Sigal.html

Nicolas Eberstadt, 'La Grande Illusion, Korean Style' <u>http://www.nautilus.org/DPRKBriefingBook/multilateralTalks/Eberstadt-LaGrande.htm</u> <u>l.</u>

Hughes, Christopher W. (2009) 'Supersizing the DPRK threat: Japan's evolving military posture and North Korea', *Asian Survey*, 49 (2): 291-311.

Gary Samore, 'The North Korean Nuclear Crisis', <u>Survival</u>, vol. 45, no. 1, Spring 2003, pp. 7-24.

Supplementary reading

Pritchard, Charles L., <u>Failed Diplomacy: The Tragic Story of How North Korea Got the</u> <u>Bomb</u>, Washington DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2007.

Funabashi, Yoichi, <u>The Peninsula Question: A Chronicle of the Second North Korean</u> <u>Nuclear Crisis</u>, Washington DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2008.

Sigal, Leon V., 'Six myths about dealing with Pyongyang', http://www.nautilus.org/fora/security/0102C_Sigal.html#sect2

Sigal, Leon V., 'N. Korea: fibs versus facts' http://www.nautilus.org/fora/security/0338_Sigal.html

Nicolas Eberstadt, 'La Grande Illusion, Korean Style' <u>http://www.nautilus.org/DPRKBriefingBook/multilateralTalks/Eberstadt-LaGrande.htm</u> <u>1.</u>

Cha, Victor D. and Kang, David C., <u>Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies</u>, New York, Columbia University Press, 2003.

O'Hanlon, Michael and Mochizuki, Mike, <u>Crisis on the Korean Peninsula: How to Deal with a</u> <u>Nuclear North Korea</u>, Washington DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2003. Cumings, Bruce, 'Nuclear imbalance of terror: the American surveillance regime and North Korea's nuclear programme', in Bruce Cumings, <u>Parallax Visions: Making Sense</u> of American-East Asian Relations at the End of the Century, Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1999, pp. 121-50.

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

Cha, Victor D., 'The rationale for "enhanced" engagement of North Korea: after the Perry policy review', <u>Asian Survey</u>, vol. 39, no. 845, pp. 845-866. *OR*

Cha, Victor D., 'Engaging North Korea credibly', <u>Survival</u>, vol. 42., no. 2, Summer 2000, pp. 136-155.

OR

Cha, Victor D., 'Hawk engagement and preventive defense on the Korean Peninsula', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 27, no. 1, Summer 2002, pp. 40-78.

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

Hughes, Christopher W., Japan's Economic Power and Security: Japan and North Korea, London, Routledge, 1999.

Hughes, Christopher W., 'The political economy of Japanese sanctions towards North Korea: domestic coalitions and international systemic pressures', <u>Pacific Affairs</u>, vol. 79, no. 3, Fall 2006, pp. 455-481.

Carlin, Robert L. and Wit, Joel S., <u>North Korean Reform: Politics, Economics and</u> <u>Security</u>, Adelphi Paper 382, London, Routledge/IISS.

Son, Key-Young, <u>South Korean Engagement Policies and North Korea: Identities</u>, <u>Norms and the Sunshine Policy</u>, London, Routledge, 2006.

Wit, Joel S., Poneman, Daniel B., and Gallucchi, Robert L., <u>Going Critical: The First</u> <u>North Korean Nuclear Crisis</u>, Washington DC, The Brookings Institution Press, 2004.

Samuel S. Kim and Tai Hwan Lee (eds.) <u>North Korea in Northeast Asia</u>, New York, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002.

Noland, Marcus, <u>Avoiding the Apocalypse: The Future of the Two Koreas</u>, Washington DC, Institute for International Economics, 2000.

Eberstadt, Nicholas, <u>The End of North Korea</u>, Washington DC, The AEI Press, 1999.

Smith, Hazel., 'North Korean foreign policy in the 1990s: the realist approach', in H. Smith, C. Rhodes, D. Pritchard, and K. Magill (eds), <u>North Korea in the New World Order</u>, London, Macmillan, 1996, pp. 93-113. *OR*

Smith, Hazel., "Opening up" by default: north Korea, the humanitarian community and the crisis', <u>The Pacific Review</u>, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 453-478. *OR*

Smith, Hazel, 'Bad, mad, sad or rational actor? Why the "securitization" paradigm makes for poor policy analysis of north Korea', <u>International Affairs</u>, vol. 76, no. 3, July 2000, pp. 593-618.

Mazaar, M. J., <u>North Korea and the Bomb: A Case Study in Non-Proliferation</u>, London, Macmillan, 1995.

Oberdorfer, D. (1997) <u>The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History</u>, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley.

Cumings, Bruce (1997) <u>Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History</u>, W. W. Norton and Company, New York.

Oh, Kongdan and Hassig, Ralph C., <u>North Korea: Through the Looking Glass</u>, Washington DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2000.

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

Scott D. Sagan, 'Why do states build nuclear weapons?: three models in search of a bomb', *International Security*, vol. 21, no. 3, Winter 1996-1997, pp. 54-86.

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: http://www.nbr.org/publications/asia_policy/AP3/AP3Hughes.pdf

Mochizuki, Mike M. 'Japan tests the nuclear taboo', <u>The Non-Proliferation Review</u>, vol. 14, no. 2, 2007, pp. 303-328.

<u>US Nuclear Posture Review 2001. Excerpts to US Congress</u> Available at Global Security.Org:

http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/policy/dod/npr.htm

Supplementary reading

Alagappa, Muthiah (ed.) <u>The Long Shadow: Nuclear Weapons and Security in Twenty</u> <u>First Century Asia</u>, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Walt, Kenneth, <u>The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Better</u>, *Adelphi Papers*, Number 171, London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1981, Available at: <u>http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/waltz1.htm</u>

Kurt M. Campbell, Robert J. Einhorn and Mitchell B. Reiss (eds.) <u>The Nuclear Tipping</u> <u>Point: Why States Reconsider Their Nuclear Choices</u>, Washington DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2005.

Benjamin L. Self and Jeffrey W. Thompson (eds.) Japan's Nuclear Option: Security, Politics and Policy in the 21st Century, Washington DC, Henry L. Stimson Center, 2003

Hughes, Llewellyn, 'Why Japan won't go nuclear (yet)', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 31, no. 4, Spring 2007, pp. 67-96.

Howlett, Darryl, 'Nuclear proliferation', in Baylis, John and Smith, Steve (eds.) <u>The</u> <u>Globalization of World Politics</u>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 3rd editions, 2005, pp. 499-519.

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

Required reading

<u>The Taiwan Relations Act</u> Available online: <u>http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/ea/uschina/taiwact.htm</u>

O' Hanlon, Michael, 'Why China cannot conquer Taiwan,' <u>International Security</u>, vol. 25, no. 2, Fall 2000, pp. 51-86.

Christensen, Thomas, 'Rising problems without catching up: China's rise and challenges for US security policy', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 5-40.

Supplementary reading

Bush, Richard C.. <u>Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait</u>, Washington DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2005.

Van Vranken Hickey, Dennis, <u>Foreign Policy Making in Taiwan: From Principle to</u> <u>Pragmatism</u>, London, Routledge, 2002007.

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

Deans, Phil, 'Contending nationalisms and the Diaoyutai/Senkaku dispute', <u>Security</u> <u>Dialogue</u>, vol. 31, no.1, 2000, pp. 119-131.

Calder, Kent E. 'Asia's empty gas tank', Foreign Affairs, 75, no. 2, 1996, pp. 55-69.

Andrews-Speed, Philip, Liao, Xuanli, and Dannreuther, Roland, <u>The Strategic</u> <u>Implications of China's Energy Needs, Adelphi Papers</u>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005. (Available on electronic journals).

Supplementary reading

Valenica, Mark J., 'The East China Sea dispute: context, claims, issues and possible solutions', <u>Asian Perspective</u>, vol 31, no. 1, 2007. Available at: <u>http://www.asianperspective.org/articles/v31n1-f.pdf</u>

Wang, Jianwei, 'Territorial disputes and Asian security; sources, management and prospects, in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.) <u>Asian Security Order: Instrumental and Normative Features</u>, Stanford, Stanford University Press, California, 2003, pp. 380-423.

Stares, Paul B. (ed.) <u>Rethinking Energy Security in East Asia</u>, Tokyo, Japan Centre for International Exchange. 2000. pp. 19-43.

Wesley, Michael, 'The geopolitics of energy security in Asia', in Wesley, Michael (ed.) <u>Energy Security in East Asia</u>, London, Routledge, 2007, pp. 1-12.

Security Dialogue, vol. 34, no. 1, March 2003, Special Edition on the South China Sea

Hara, Kimie, <u>Cold War Frontiers in the Asia-Pacific: Divided Territories in the San</u> <u>Francisco System</u>, London, Routledge, 2007.

Williams, Brad, <u>Resolving the Russo-Japanese Territorial Dispute: Hokkaido-Sakhalin</u> <u>Relations</u>, London, Routledge, 2007. Zou, Keyuan, Law of the Sea in East Asia, Chapter 1, p. 13-30.

Valencia, Mark J. China and the South Seas Disputes, Adelphi Paper No. 298, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995.

Song Yann-Huei, Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea: Taiwan's Perspective, London, World Scientific, 1999.

Lam, Peng Er, 'Japan and the Spratlys dispute: aspirations and limitations', Asian Survey, vol. 36, no. 10, October 1996, pp. 995-1010.

Lin, Cheng-yi, 'Taiwan's South China Sea Policy', Asian Survey, 37 (4), April 1995: 323-339.

To, Lee Lai, 'ASEAN and the South China Sea conflicts', The Pacific Review, vol. 8, no. 3, 1995, pp. 531-43.

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

Ball, Desmond, 'Arms and affluence: military acquisitions in the Asia-Pacific region', International Security, vol. 18, no. 3, Winter 1993-94, pp. 78-112.

Heginbotham, Eric, 'The fall and rise of navies in East Asia: military organizations, domestic politics and grand strategy', International Security, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 86-125.

Supplementary reading

Huxley, Tim and Willett, Susan, Arming East Asia, Adelphi Paper 329, Oxford, Oxford University Press/IISS, 2005.

[Available on line through electronic journals]

Christensen, Thomas J., 'China, the U.S.-Japan alliance and the security dilemma in East Asia,' International Security, vol. 23, no. 4, 1999, pp. 49-80.

Acharya, Amitav, Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia, London, Routledge, 2000, Chapter 5, pp. 128-164.

Bitzinger, Richard A.,, New Arms Industry? Adelphi Paper 325, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.

Bitzinger, Richard A., 'The globalization of the arms industry: the next proliferation challenge', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 19, no. 2, 1994, 170-198.

Green, Michael J., <u>Arming Japan: Defense Production, Alliance Politics, and the Postwar</u> <u>Search for Autonomy</u>, New York, Columbia University Press, 1995.

Samuels, Richard J. (1994) <u>Rich Nation, Strong Army: National Security and the</u> <u>Technological Transformation of Japan</u>, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Buzan, Barry and Herring, Eric, <u>The Arms Dynamic in World Politics</u>, Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner, 1998.

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

Raymond, Catherine Zara, 'Piracy in Southeast Asia: New Trends, Issues and Responses', <u>Harvard Asia Quarterly</u>, vol. 9, no. 4, 2005 Available at: http://www.asiaquarterly.com/content/view/30/

Samuels, Richard J., "'New fighting power!" Japan's growing maritime capabilities and East Asian security', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 32, no. 3, 2008, pp. 84-112.

Supplementary reading

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

Guan, Kwa Chong and Skogan, John K., <u>Maritime Security in Southeast Asia</u>, London, Routledge, 2007.

Murphy, Martin M., <u>Contemporary Piracy and Maritime Terrorism: The Threat to</u> <u>International Security, Adelphi Paper</u>, London, IISS/Routledge, 2007.

Eklof, Stefan, <u>Pirates in Paradise: A Modern History of Southeast Asia's Maritime</u> <u>Marauders</u>, Copenhagen, NIAS Press, 2006.

Ho, Joshua and Zara Raymong, Catherine, <u>The Best of Times, The Worst of Times:</u> <u>Maritime Security in the Asia-Pacific</u>, London, World Scientific, 2005. Valencia, Mark J., <u>The Proliferation Security Initiative: Making Waves in Asia</u>, London, Routledge/IISS, 2005

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

Alan Dupont, 'Transnational crime, drugs and security in East Asia', <u>Asian Survey</u>, vol. 39, no. 3, 1999, pp. 433-55.

Emmers, Ralf, 'ASEAN and the securitization of transnational crime in Southeast Asia', <u>The Pacific Review</u>, vol. 16, no. 3, 2003, pp. 419-438.

Supplementary reading

McFarlane, John. 'Transnational Crime and Asia-Pacific Security', in Sheldon W. Simon (ed.) <u>The Many Faces of Asian Security</u>, New York, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2001, pp. 197-230.

OR

McFarlane, John, 'Cooperation on countering transnational criminal networks in the Asia-Pacific: cautious optimism for the future?, in Amitav Acharya and Evelyn Goh (eds.) <u>Reassessing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific</u>, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2007, pp. 219-236.

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

Anwar, Dewi Fortuna, 'Human security: an intractable problem in Asia', in Alagappa, M. (ed.), <u>Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences</u>, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998 pp. 536-567.

Elliot, Lorraine, 'ASEAN and environmental security cooperation: norms, interests and identity', <u>The Pacific Review</u>, vol. 16, no. 1, 2003, pp. 29-52.

Supplementary reading

Ho, Satomi, 'Japan's Human Security Policy: A Critical Review of its Limits and Failures', Japanese Studies, vol. 28, no. 1, 2008, pp. 101-112.

Acharya, Amitav, 'Human security and Asian regionalism: a strategy of localization', in Amitav Acharya and Evelyn Goh (eds.) <u>Reassessing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific</u>, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2007, pp. 237-251.

Lang, Hazel J., "Freedom from fear": conflict, displacement and human security in Burma (Myanmar)', in Burke, Anthony and McDonald, Matt (eds.), <u>Critical Approaches to Security in the Asia-Pacific</u>, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007, pp. 105-120.

Gilson, Julie. and Purvis, Philippa., 'Japan's pursuit of human security: humanitarian agenda or political pragmatism?' Japan Forum, vol. 15, no. 3, 2003, pp. 192-207.

Tow, William T., Thakur, Ramesh and Hyun, In-Taek (eds.), <u>Asia's Emerging Regional</u> <u>Order: Reconciling Traditional and Human Security</u>, Tokyo, New York and Paris, United Nations University Press, 2000.

Schreurs, Miranda, 'Problems and prospects for regional environmental cooperation in East Asia', in Melissa Curley and Nicholas Thomas (eds.) <u>Advancing East Asia</u> <u>Regionalism</u>, London, Routledge, 2007, pp. 229-246.

Alan Dupont, <u>The Environment and Security in Pacific Asia. Adelphi Paper 319</u>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998.

Levy, M., 'Is the environment a national security issue?', <u>International Security</u>, vol. 20, 1995, pp. 35-62.

The Pacific Review, vol. 17, no. 4, 2004, Special Edition on Globalization and Economic Security in East Asia.

Collins, Alan, <u>Security and Southeast Asia: Domestic, Regional and Global Issues</u>, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003

Lee, Grace O. M. and Warner, Malcolm, <u>The Political Economy of the SARS</u> <u>Epidemic: The Impact on Human Resources in East Asia</u>, London, Routledge, 2008.

Renwick, Neil, <u>Northeast Asian Critical Security: Exploring Democratic Freedoms</u> andSocial Justice, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Alan Dupont, <u>East Asia Imperilled: Transnational Challenges to Security</u>, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Nesadurai, Helen E. S. (ed.) <u>Globalisation and Economic Security in East Asia:</u> <u>Governance and Institutions</u>, London, Routledge, 2006. Andrew H. Tan and J. D. Kenneth, Boutin (eds.) <u>Non-Traditional Security Issues in</u> <u>Southeast Asia</u>, Singapore, Select Publishing/Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, 2001, Chapters 14-17, pp. 468-569.

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

Capie, David, 'Between a hegemon and a hard place: the 'war on terror' and Southeast Asian-US relations', <u>The Pacific Review</u>, vol. 17, no. 2, 2004, pp. 223-248.

Acharya, Amitav, 'The Myth of the Second Front: Localizing the 'War on Terror' in Southeast Asia, <u>The Washington Quarterly</u>, vol. 30, no. 4, 2007, pp. 75-90.

Natasha Hamilton-Hart, 'Terrorism in Southeast Asia: expert analysis, myopia and fantasy', <u>The Pacific Review</u>, vol. 18, no. 3, 2005, pp. 303-325.

Supplementary reading

Gurtov, Mel, 'American crusades: unilateralism, past and present', in Mel Gurtov and Peter Van Ness (eds) <u>Confronting the Bush Doctrine: Critical Views from the Asia-Pacific</u>, London, Routledge, 2005, pp. 1-38.

Haacke, Jurgen, 'The War on Terror: Implications for the ASEAN region', in Christopher M. Dent (ed.) <u>Asia-Pacific Security and Economic Cooperation: New Regional Agendas</u>, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 113-135.

Leheny, David, 'The war on terrorism in Asia and the possibility of secret regionalism', in T. J. Pempel (ed.) <u>Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region</u>, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2004, pp. 236-255.

Foot, Rosemary, <u>Human Rights and Counter-Terrorism in America's Asia</u> <u>Policy, Adelphi Paper 363</u>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004.

Abuza, Zachary, Militant <u>Islam in Southeast Asia: Crucible of Terror</u>, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006.

Rabasa, Angel M., <u>Political Islam in Southeast Asia: Moderates, Radicals and</u> <u>Terrorists, Adelphi Paper 358</u>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.

Richardson, Michael, <u>A Time Bomb for Global Trade: Maritime-Related Terrorism in</u> an Age of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Singapore, ISEAS, 2004. Abuza, Zachary, Political Islam and Violence in Indonesia, London, Routledge, 2007.

Tan, Andrew, <u>A Handbook of Terrorism and Insurgency in Southeast Asia</u>, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishers, 2007.

Vicziany, Marika, Wright-Neville, David and Lentini, Pete (eds.) <u>Regional Security In</u> <u>The Asia Pacific: 9/11 and After</u>, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 2004.

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

<u>The ASEAN Regional Forum : A Concept Paper</u> Available at: <u>http://www.aseansec.org/3635.htm</u>

Hemmer, Christopher and Katzenstein, Peter J., 'Why is there no NATO in Asia? Collective identity, regionalism and the origins of multilateralism', <u>International Organization</u>, vol. 56, no. 3, 575-607.

Garofano, John, 'Power, institutions and the ASEAN regional forum: a security community for Asia', <u>Asian Survey</u>, vol. 42, no. 3, 2002, pp. 502-521.

Supplementary reading

Haacke, Jurgen, <u>ASEAN's Diplomatic and Security Culture: Origins, Development and</u> <u>Prospects</u>, London, Routledge, 2003, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 16-51.

Acharya, Amitav, <u>Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia</u>, London, Routledge, 2000, Chapter 6, pp. 165-93.

Goh, Evelyn, <u>Developing the Mekong: Regionalism and Regional Security in</u> <u>China-Southeast Asian Relations</u>, London, IISS/Routledge, 2007.

Leifer, Michael, <u>The ASEAN Regional Forum: Extending ASEAN's Model of Regional</u> <u>Security, Adelphi Paper No. 302</u>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996.

Goh, Evelyn, 'The ASEAN Regional Forum in United States East Asian strategy', The <u>Pacific Review</u>, vol. 17, no. 1, 2004, pp. 47-69.

Yuzawa, Takeshi, Japan's Security Policy and the ASEAN Regional Forum: The Search for Multilateral Security in the Asia-Pacific, London, Routledge, 2007.

Hill, Cameron, J. and Tow, William T., 'The ASEAN Regional Forum: material and ideational dynamics', in Mark Beeson (ed.) <u>Reconfiguring East Asia: Regional Institutions and Organisations After the Crisis</u>, London, Curzon, 2002, pp. 161-183.

Narine, Shaun, 'ASEAN and the ARF: The Limits of the ASEAN Way', <u>Asian Survey</u>, vol. 37, no. 10, October 1997, pp. 961-76.

Johnston, Alastair Iain, and Evans, Paul, 'China's engagement with multilateral security institutions', in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross (eds.) <u>Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power</u>, London, Routledge, 1999, pp. 235-272.

Emmers, Ralf, <u>Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF</u>, London, Routledge, 2003.

Foot, Rosemary, 'China in the ASEAN Regional Forum: organizational processes and domestic modes of thought', <u>Asian Survey</u>, vol. 38, no. 5, 1998, pp.425-440.

Acharya, Amitav, <u>A New Regional Order in Southeast Asia: ASEAN in the Post-Cold</u> <u>War Era, Adelphi Paper No. 279</u>, London, Brassey's, 1993.

Henderson, Jeannie, <u>Reassessing ASEAN, Adelphi Paper No. 328</u>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Acharya, Amitav 'ASEAN and Asia-Pacific multilateralism: managing regional security', in Amitav Acharya and Richard Stubbs (eds.) <u>New Challenges for ASEAN:</u> <u>Emerging Policy Issues</u>, Vancouver, UBC Press, 1995, pp. 182-202.

Snitwongse, Kasuma, 'ASEAN's security cooperation: searching for a regional order', <u>The Pacific Review</u>, vol. 8, no. 3, 1995, pp. 518-30.

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

Okwara, Nobuo and Katzenstein, Peter J. 'Japan and Asian-Pacific security regionalization, entrenched bilateralism and incipient multilateralism' <u>The Pacific Review</u>, vol. 14, no. 2, 2001, pp. 165-194.

Foot, Rosemary, 'The UN's contribution to Asia-Pacific security architecture', <u>The</u> <u>Pacific Review</u>, vol. 16, no.2, 2003.

Supplementary reading

Hughes, Christopher W., 'Japan and multilateralism in the North Korean nuclear crisis: road map or dead end?', in Hagstrom, Linus and Sodeberg, Marie (eds.) <u>North Korea</u> <u>Policy: Japan and the Great Powers</u>, London, Routledge, 2006, pp. 151-170.

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Blair, Dennis C. and Hanely, John T. J, 'From wheels to webs: reconstructing Asia-Pacific security arrangements', <u>Washington Quarterly</u>, vol. 24, no. 1, 2000, pp. 7-17.

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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

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