

# **Islands, Nukes and Memories: Conflict in East Asia**

## **GO 498/Colby College**

Spring 2017  
Wed 1:00-3:30

Professor Walter Hatch  
[wfhatch@colby.edu](mailto:wfhatch@colby.edu)  
x-5305  
skype address: professor.wfh

Office Hours:  
T 4-5; W 10-11  
Diamond 265  
on-line most M and some W evenings

### Course Description:

East Asia is a region of booming and increasingly interdependent economies. However, it also is an increasingly unstable neighborhood with badly strained if not always openly hostile relations. For one thing, the People's Republic of China, a rising power in the world, seems more and more willing to challenge the hegemony of the United States, especially in Asia. The U.S. maintains a nuclear umbrella over Japan, a frequent critic of the PRC, supports Vietnam and other Southeast Asian nations in their maritime disputes with China, and also protects Taiwan from invasion by the Chinese military. Will the world's leading superpowers come to blows in this region? On top of that, Japan has been likened to "He Who Shall Not Be Named" (okay, Voldemort) by the People's Republic of China, and is frequently condemned by South Korea. Tokyo has territorial disputes with both Beijing (over control of the Senkaku of Diaoyu islands in the East China Sea) and with Seoul (over control of Dokdo or Takeshima in the East or Japan Sea). These disputes are fed by an underlying well of bad blood over history. Beijing and Seoul believe Tokyo has failed to apologize sufficiently for its brutal behavior in the past, especially during World War II, and that it remains a dangerous (and mostly closeted) militarist. Meanwhile, the region is home to the last remaining Stalinist regime on earth – North Korea, which has used a small arsenal of nuclear weapons to threaten some of its neighbors as well as the United States. We will consider all of these threats to peace, and will try to understand how they came into being. We also will consider policy implications.

### Course Objectives:

In addition to introducing you to the literature on the international relations in East Asia, this seminar is designed to help you strengthen your grip on the following skills you already should have begun to acquire as a government or global studies or East Asian studies major:

- a) Analysis (the ability to use theory, logic and evidence to think and write analytically)
- b) Research (the ability to independently investigate a problem over an extended period)
- c) Written and verbal exposition (the ability to effectively organize and clearly communicate your ideas)
- d) Collegial Discussion (the ability to make cogent comments to peers, listen carefully as they do the same, and work together to make sense of difficult, sometimes abstract problems)

Class format:

This is a seminar. With the exception of the first few classes, as well as the first hour of our case studies, where I will tend to dominate, this will be a joint venture of intellectual exploration. You should expect to read, write, talk, and listen a lot. My job will be to stimulate curiosity as much or more than to impart knowledge.

Required materials:

Three books are available at the Colby Book Store:

- Steven M. **Goldstein**, *China and Taiwan* (Polity Press, 2015)
- Andrei **Lankov**, *The Real North Korea: Life and Politics in the Failed Stalinist Utopia* (Oxford University Press, 2014).
- **Hasegawa and Togo**, *East Asia's Haunted Present: Historical Memories and the Resurgence of Nationalism* (Praeger: 2008)

Most of the other readings are available on the course Moodle site or in the Colby e-library (searching by journal name, etc.). I will distribute some others.

Hatch House Rules:

- You cannot pass this course without completing all required assignments and without attending at least 11 of our 13 meetings.
- Written work should be completed by the given deadline – and when that deadline coincides with a class meeting, it must be completed before class begins. Any work received after the assigned time will be penalized at the rate of one-half letter grade per day. I will not extend deadlines, or waive the penalty, except in the extraordinary case of a verifiable family emergency or documented medical problem. Plan ahead and build a cushion into your time budget so that you aren't derailed by last-minute surprises (like a broken printer or a computer virus).
- I will vigorously enforce Colby's policy on academic dishonesty, which includes cheating on exams and plagiarizing the work of others. The policy is outlined in your student handbook, in the 2014-15 course catalogue, and here: <http://libguides.colby.edu/avoidingplagiarism>
- If you have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism and/or how to avoid it, please refer to the Colby library site (above) or to this CBB site: <http://abacus.bates.edu/cbb/index8698.html?q=node/60>
- Please treat other members of this seminar with respect. I will do my best to maintain the integrity of this community by discouraging any action or speech that denigrates the race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, social class, or political ideology of others.
- Please take notes the old-fashioned and pedagogically superior way (pen or pencil and paper). I find that a laptop also creates a physical barrier between you and others.
- Please turn off and put away your cellphone. I don't want to ever hear it or see it during class.
- No audio, video, or photographs may be recorded during the seminar without my explicit consent.
- I reserve the right to modify the syllabus.

## Course Requirements:

- *Research paper* (35% of course grade: this includes meeting deadlines for developing a research question (March 1<sup>st</sup>), for delivering a rough draft (April 12<sup>th</sup>), and completing the final product (May 5<sup>th</sup>). Most of you will write a paper of no more than 3,000 words (10 pages) that analyzes some question about the international relations of East Asia. (You can't write about the issue you analyze in your policy brief. See below.) Others (who opt to use this class to complete your "significant writing" project for the government major) will write much longer papers. Either way, your paper will be judged primarily on its analytical quality, i.e., its use of compelling logic and solid evidence to persuasively defend a proposition. I will provide additional guidance in class and during individual meetings with students. For now, please note: Description is not analysis. Also note: You only have a month to come up with a paper topic/research question!
- *Policy Brief* (15%). You will prepare a policy brief on one of our four case studies: 1) The fate of Taiwan (merger with the mainland under PRC governance or autonomy); 2) Ownership of Senkaku/Diaoyu (Japan or China); 3) Historical Memory (Japan v PRC and ROK); and 4) Korean nukes (confrontation or engagement with the DPRK). Please see the handout on this assignment.
- *Oral presentations* (15%). You will speak formally before the seminar on two occasions, presenting a) about the domestic politics and foreign policy of either the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, Japan, the Republic of Korea (South Korea), or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea); and b) a policy position associated with one of our case studies. Please see the handout that spells out these assignments.
- *Class participation* (35%). A successful seminar relies not only on the routine attendance but also the active participation (oral and aural) of all members. This, in turn, relies on preparation (reading and thinking carefully before each meeting). I promote this preparation/participation by requiring you to do one of two things every week. More often, you will be expected to come to class with a typewritten outline (no more than two single-spaced pages on each reading) that: a) identifies the author's main argument(s); b) situates him/her in the literature on the international relations of East Asia (What theory, if any, does s/he use? What ideological "camp" does he or she belong to?); c) summarizes the author's key findings; and d) highlights the strengths and weaknesses of his/her argument(s). Although you will hand in your outline at the end of class, it is chiefly for your own use. Alternatively, I will occasionally ask seminar participants to write a brief memo (no more than 2 double-spaced pages) that answers a question I will pose about one or more of the upcoming readings. In that case, memos will be due in the box outside my office by 11:59 pm on the Monday before we meet, and will be returned to you at the beginning of the seminar at which those readings are discussed. Please see the handout on these assignments.

## Course plan:

### February 1: Theorizing Conflict and Cooperation in East Asia

John Mearsheimer, "The Gathering Storm: China's challenge to U.S. Power in Asia," in *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 31, 2010, pp. 381-396

John Ikenberry, "Between The Eagle and the Dragon: America, China and Middle State Strategies in East Asia," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 130 No. 1, March 2016, pp. 9-43

David Kang, "Getting Asia Wrong," *International Security* vol. 27, no. 4, Spring 2003, pp. 57-85

### February 8: The History of International Relations in East Asia

Mark Selden, "Nation, Region, and the Global in East Asia," in *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 41-1-10, October 11, 2010

<http://japanfocus.org/-Mark-Selden/3422>

Warren I. Cohen, "China's rise in historical perspective," in *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 30, no 4-5, 2007, pp. 683-704

Walter Hatch, "Turning Asian, Turning Western: A Study of Japanese 'Identity' from a Gramscian Perspective," *Pacific Review*, Vol. 23 No. 3, July 2010, pp. 377-406

### February 15: China and Taiwan – Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy

David Shambaugh, "Contemplating China's Future," *The Washington Quarterly*, Fall 2016, pp. 121-130

Richard McGregor, "China's Private Party," *Wall Street Journal*, May 15, 2010

Baogang He and Mark Warren, "Authoritarian Deliberation: The Deliberative Turn in Chinese Political Development," in *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 9 No. 2 (June), 2011, pp. 269-289

**Goldstein**, *China and Taiwan* (class textbook), introduction and chaps 1-4; pp. 1-98

Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, "Taiwan Elections: Significance and Implications," in *Orbis*, August 19, 2016, pp. 504-514

Mumin Chen, "Embracing or Resisting the Giant Neighbor: Debates between KMT and DPP on Mainland Policy," in *China Report*, Vol. 49 No. 4, 2013, pp. 399-411

### February 22: Japan – Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy

Tomohito Shinoda, "Japanese Politics under the LDP," chapter one from *Contemporary Japanese Politics: Institutional Changes and Power Shifts* (Columbia UP, 2013), pp. 11-46

Kenji E. Kushida and Phillip Y. Lipscy, "The Rise and Fall of the Democratic Party of Japan," introduction to *Japan under the DPJ: The Politics of Transition and Governance* (Shorenstein Center, Stanford, 2013), pp. 3-42

Amy Catalinac, "From Pork to Policy: The Rise of Programmatic Campaigning in Japanese Elections," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 8 No. 1, January 2016, pp. 1-18

- Adam P. Liff, "Japan's Defense Policy: Abe the Evolutionary," *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2015 (38:2), pp. 79-99
- Kosuke TAKAHASHI, "Shinzo Abe's Nationalist Strategy," in *The Diplomat*, February 13, 2014
- Motoko Rich, "Japan Vote Strengthens Shinzo Abe's Goal to Change Constitution," in *New York Times*, July 10, 2016  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/11/world/asia/japan-vote-parliamentary-elections.html>

### March 1: South Korea – Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy

- Jamie Doucette and Se-Woong Koo, "Pursuing Post-democratisation: The Resilience of Politics by Public Security in Contemporary South Korea," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 2016 (46:2), pp. 198-221
- TK, "The Irrational Downfall of Park Geun-hye," a blog post, October 29, 2016  
<http://askakorean.blogspot.com/2016/10/the-irrational-downfall-of-park-geun-hye.html>
- Wootae Lee, "Different Choices of South Korea: Seeds of Discord in South Korea and US Relations," in *Pacific Focus*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (December) 2012, 443-465
- Sook-Jong Lee, "Future Direction of Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative: Maritime Disputes and South Korea's 'Trustpolitik'," *EAI Commentary* (No. 31), November 20, 2013
- Youngshik D Bong, "Built to last: The Dokdo territorial controversy; baseline conditions in the domestic politics and international security of Japan and South Korea," in *Memory Studies*, Vol. 6 No. 2, April 2013, pp. 191-203

### **Question for research is due**

#### March 8: Islands I (Taiwan)

- Goldstein** book, chapters 5-9, pp. 99-190
- Richard C. Bush, "U.S.-Taiwan Relations in the Trump Administration: No Big Fixes Needed," in *Asia Policy* (NBR), No. 23, January, 2017, pp. 29-42
- Peter Hays Gries and Jenny Su, "Taiwanese Views of China and the World: Party Identification, Ethnicity, and Cross-Strait Relations," in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 14 No. 1, 2013, pp. 73-96

#### March 15: Islands II (Senkaku/Diaoyu and Dokdo/Takeshima)

- David Welch, "The Justice Motive in East Asia's Territorial Disputes," *Group Decision and Negotiation*, January 2017 (26:1), pp. 71-92
- M. Taylor Fravel, "Explaining Stability in the Senkaku (Diaoyu) Islands Dispute," in Curtis, Kokubun, and Wang, editors, *Getting the Triangle Straight: Managing China-Japan-U.S. Relations* (JCIE, 2010), pp. 144-164
- Ken Jimbo, "The Japan-China Feud in the East China Sea: A Better Scheme for Status-Quo Management?" in *NBR Commentary*, November 19, 2013

- Shinju Fujihara, "Japan's 'Senkaku Problem': Power Shift and Partisan Conflict," a paper presented the Contemporary Japanese Politics Study Group, Harvard University, April 12, 2013
- Ji Young Kim, "Territorial or Historical Dispute? The Dokdo/Takeshima Dispute, Symbolic Politics, and the Japan-South Korea Security Relationship in 2005-6," a paper for the Association for Asian Studies conference, March 2011
- Kimura Kan, "Why Can't Seoul and Tokyo Get Along?" in *Nippon.com*, January 30, 2014

March 22: No class (spring break)

March 29: Historical Memories I

- Walter Hatch, "Bloody Memories: Affect and Effect of World War II Museums in China and Japan," in *Peace & Change*, Vol. 39 No. 3 (July, 2014), pp. 366-394
- Daniel Sneider, "Textbooks and Patriotic Education: Wartime Memory Formation in China and Japan," in *Asia-Pacific Review*, Vol. 20 No. 1, 2013, pp. 35-54
- Thomas Berger, "Dealing with Difficult Pasts: Japan's History Problem" from a Theoretical and Comparative Perspective," in **Hasegawa and Togo** (class textbook), pp. 17-41
- Jennifer Lind, "The Perils of Apology: What Japan Shouldn't Learn from Germany," in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88 No. 3 (May/June), 2009, pp. 132-146

April 5: Historical Memories II

- Kazuhiko Togo, "Japan's Historical Memory: Overcoming Polarization toward Synthesis," in **Hasegawa and Togo**, pp. 59-79
- Jin Linbo, "Japan's Neo-Nationalism and China's Response," in **Hasegawa and Togo**, pp. 165-179
- Cheol Hee Park, "Historical Memory and the Resurgence of Nationalism: A Korean Perspective," in **Hasegawa and Togo**, pp. 190-203

April 12: DPRK – Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy

- Lankov**, *The Real North Korea* (class textbook), introduction (pp. xiii-xvii), chapters 1-5, pp. 3-219

**Rough draft of paper is due**

April 19: North Korea's nuclear program I

- Lankov**, Interlude (pp. 221-230), chapters 6-7 and conclusion, pp. 231-288
- James K. Williams, "Reigning in a Rogue: Achieving and Drafting a North Korean Nuclear Deal," *Chicago-Kent Journal of International and Comparative Law* (17:1), December 30, 2016  
<http://scholarship.kentlaw.iit.edu/ckjicl/vol17/iss1/6/>
- Seong-Ho Sheen, "Coping with the North Korean Survival Game: The Cheonan Incident and its Aftermath," in *EAI Issue Briefing* No. MASI 2010-02, July 1, 2010

Christopher Hill, "The Elusive Vision of a Non-nuclear North Korea," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 2013, pp. 7-19

[https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy\\_files/files/publication/TWQ\\_13Spring\\_Hill.pdf](https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/TWQ_13Spring_Hill.pdf)

Holtz, "As North Korea's nuke threats mount, will Trump respond 'outside the box'?" *Christian Science Monitor*, January 27, 2017

<http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-Pacific/2017/0127/As-N.-Korea-s-nuke-threats-mount-will-Trump-respond-outside-the-box>

#### April 26: North Korea's nuclear program II

Nina Tannenwald, "Justice and Fairness in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime," in *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 2013, pp. 299-317

John Feffer, "Should South Korea Get the Bomb?" *Foreign Policy in Focus*, April 7, 2016

<http://fpif.org/south-korea-get-bomb/>

Norman Dombey, "North Korea's Bomb," *London Review of Books* (39:2), February 2, 2017, pp. 8-9

Shen Dingli, Chung-in Moon and Andrei Lankov, "North Korea's nuclear weapons: What now? Development and Disarmament Roundtable," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, June-August 2016

<http://thebulletin.org/north-koreas-nuclear-weapons-what-now>

#### May 3: Wrap-up

William T. Tow and Satu Limaye, "What's China Got to Do with It? U.S. Alliances, Partnerships in the Asia-Pacific," in *Asian Politics & Policy*, Vol. 8 No. 1, 2016, pp. 7-26

Walter Hatch, "European Integration and Asian Subordination: U.S. Power and Identity in Two Regions," a chapter for an edited volume on Regionalism and Hegemony, forthcoming.

**Research papers due in my office in two days (by Friday May 5<sup>th</sup> at noon)**