# **Asia Pacific Security**

*Instructor*: **Dr Marc Lanteigne** (Centre for Defence and Security Studies, Massey University, Auckland, New Zealand)

Email: m.lanteigne@massey.ac.nz

16-27 July 2019, 0900-1200 (Field trips and class exercises to be announced.) Peking University 北京大学

# Course Information

Title	Asia-Pacific Security 亚太安全
Credit	3 PKU Credits, 48credit hours
Instructor	Dr. Marc LANTEIGNE, Massey University New Zealand
Email	m.lanteigne@massey.ac.nz
ТА	TBD
Classroom	TBD
Lecture time	MON, Class Period 2-4, 0900-1200
	TUE, Class Period 2-4, 0900-1200
	WED, Class Period 2-4, 0900-1200
	THU, Class Period 2-4, 0900-1200
	FRI, Class Period 2-4, 0900-1200
	Field trips and class exercises to be announced.

# Introduction

This short course introduces theoretical approaches to the study of conflict and cooperation, as well as regional order, and applies them to the contemporary Asia-Pacific region. Specific topics covered will include current history of Asian security, modern great power rivalry in Asia; real and potential inter-state and intra-state conflicts; a range of so-called 'non-traditional' and 'human security' challenges; and the role of regional institutions such as ASEAN, the ARF, APEC and the growing 'Belt and Road' initiative.

The course is designed allow students to acquire a broad introductory understanding of Asian security history from various perspectives, to gain familiarity with the security cultures and predicaments of major powers in Asia as well as other parts of East and Southeast Asia, and to explore the nature, rationale and consequences of Asian foreign and security policies and their institutions. The class will conclude with a model APEC summit, which will allow students to further learn about regional security issues from the perspective of the different governments in the region.

# Evaluation

Three parts of the evaluation will be calculated as follows:

- Participation and discussion (including for the Model APEC Summit) 40%
- Class Presentation: 15%
- Final paper: 25%
- Multiple choice exam: 20%

The first grading component is participation. Students are expected to attend every class (attendence will be taken) and be prepared to discuss the daily readings and released issues in class, including any questions they may have. Also, each student will be assigned a member economy of APEC for the simulation exercise on the second-to-last day of the class, and will be expected to present and participate while representing that economy.

The second grading component will be a short (maximum five minutes) oral presentation about a single course reading attached to the course. Presentations can be about the writing, its usefulness (and flaws) and how the writing fits (or not) into the study of Asian Security.

The third grading compenent will be a short paper (5 pages maximum) on a subject relevant to Asian Security. Students are encouraged to clear their topic with the course instructor before starting the writing process. Papers do require research on primary sources, but they should be also associated with the assigned texts and other relevant literature.

Papers should be submitted (by email) to the instructor at <u>m.lanteigne@massey.ac.nz</u> with the student's name and PKU ID number no later than **3 August 2019**. No late submissions will be accepted unless a legitimate reason is presented to the instructor at least three days in advance. If students have questions concerning how to pick up a topic and/or how to write paper(s), please consult with the instructor.

The fourth grading component will be a one-hour multiple choice exam, covering the readings and main course topics.

## **Objectives**

This course introduces theoretical and policy approaches to the study of conflict, cooperation, and regional order and applies them to the contemporary Asia-Pacific region, including East and Southeast Asia and the South Pacific. Specific topics covered will include developing great power rivalry in Asia; inter-state and intra-state conflicts; maritime security; a range of so-called 'non-traditional' and 'human security' challenges, including transitional crime, economic security and terrorism issues; and the role of regional institutions such as ASEAN, the ARF, APEC and the East Asian Summit in addressing current security issues. These will be examined within the overall idea of 'regionalism', meaning whether the Asia-Pacific is developing as a distinct security region in the international system.

Current theories of international security, including schools of realism and liberalism but also newer approaches such as critical theory, will be used to explain trends in the study of security issues in the region.

#### Texts

There are no textbooks for this class, and instead there will be assigned weekly readings as well as recommended articles for background research.

# Academic Integrity

Participation in this class commits the students and instructor to abide by a general norm of equal opportunity and academic integrity. It implies permission from students to submit their written work to services that check for plagiarism (such as Turnitin.com). It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with the definition of plagiarism. Violations of the norm of academic integrity will be firmly dealt with in the class.

#### Schedule

(Readings will be provided to the students before class, and students should arrive in class ready to discuss and debate the weekly readings. There may some later alterations to the reading list, but students will be alerted well beforehand.)

#### Week 1

16 July: International Security Concepts - Where Does Asia Fit?

Is Asia distinct as a security region? What security problems and issues does the Asia-Pacific face which are unique to the region and which are not? This opening section will discuss how to approach Asian security using theories and practical applications.

Robert Jervis, 'Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,' *World Politics* 30(2) (January 1978): 167-214

Timo Kivimäki, 'East Asian Relative Peace- Does it Exist? What is It?' *Pacific Review*23(4) (September 2010): 503-26.

Ja Ian Chong and Todd H. Hall, 'One Thing Leads to Another: Making Sense of East Asia's Repeated Tensions,' *Asian Security* 13(1)(2017): 20-40.

17 July: China's Rise – Security and Insecurity

China as a rising power is facing a number of growing security questions. Relations with neighbours, including Japan and Southeast Asia, have become more difficult over maritime disputes and borders, while China-US relations have also grown more strained under Presidents Obama and Trump. Moreover, China is now finding itself beset by 'great power' security questions. How will Beijing's security policies change in the future?

Alessandro Uras, 'The South China Sea and the Building of a National Maritime Culture: A New Chinese Province in the Making,' *Asian Survey*57(6)(November/December 2017): 1008-31.

M. Taylor Fravel, 'Shifts in Warfare and Party Unity: Explaining China's Changes in Military Strategy,' *International Security* TBD 42(3) (Winter 2017-18).

James Char\* and Richard A. Bitzinger, 'A New Direction in the People's Liberation Army's Emergent Strategic Thinking, Roles and Missions,' *China Quarterly* 232(December 2017): 841-65.

Peter Ferdinand, 'Westward Ho- The China Dream and 'One Belt, One Road': Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping,' *International Affairs* 92(4)(July 2016): 941-57.

#### 18 July: Japan and South Korea in Regional Security

Japan in recent years has begun to transform its security policies away from strict pacifism and towards a more pragmatic view, but how is this change being seen in China and the United States as well as elsewhere in Asia? As well, South Korea is also reading into a difficult period as it seeks to balance its relations with Beijing and Washington.

Eric Heginbotham and Richard J. Samuels, 'Mercantile Realism and Japanese Foreign Policy,' *International Security* 22(4)(Spring 1998): 171-203.

Giulio Pugliese, '*Kantei* Diplomacy? Japan's Hybrid Leadership in Foreign and Security Policy, *Pacific Review* 30(2)(2016): 152-68.

Liselotte Odgaard, 'Maritime Security in East Asia: Peaceful Coexistence and Active Defense in China's Diaoyu/Senkaku Policy,' *Journal of Contemporary China* 26(103)(2017): 118-133.

Shale Horowitz, 'South Korea and Japan since World War II: Between Ideological Discord and Pragmatic Cooperation,' *Pacific Focus* 31(1) (April 2016): 79-99.

Jaganath Sankaran, 'Missile Defence and Strategic Stability: Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) in South Korea,' *Contemporary Security Policy* 38(3)(2017): 321-44.

#### 19 July: Southeast Asia – Seeking Coherency

Ever since the founding of ASEAN in the 1960s Southeast Asia has been looking for new directions in its security policies. While the situation today is a far cry from the conflicts of previous decades, the region still has to deal with strong internal security challenges as well as the problems of being on the 'front line' in larger Asia-Pacific security issues. Peter Dutton, 'A Maritime or Continental Order for Southeast Asia and the South China Sea?' *Naval War College Review* 69(3) (Summer 2016): 5-13.

Tang Siew Mun, 'Is ASEAN Due for a Makeover?' *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 39(2)(August 2017): 239-44.

Trevor Wilson, 'Strategic Choices in Myanmar's Transition and Myanmar's National Security Policies,' *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies* 3(1)(January 2016): 62-71.

Marc Lanteigne, ' "The Rock That Can't Be Moved": China's Revised Geostrategies in Myanmar,' *Pacific Review* (December 2017): 1-19.

20 July: Silk Roads and More – Security (and Other) Organisations in the Asia-Pacific

Despite major strides in security cooperation and organisation-building in Asia, there still has yet to be the equivalent of an 'Asian NATO' in the Pacific. However, there are many examples of informal cooperation in security affairs, and more recently China has taken the lead in building and proposing new forms of cooperation to better develop Asian security and 'win-win' situations.

Hong Yu, 'Motivation behind China's "One Belt, One Road" Initiatives and Establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank,' *Journal of Contemporary China*, (November 2016): 1-16.

Flynt Leverett and Wu Bingbing, 'The New Silk Road and China's Evolving Grand Strategy,' *China Journal* (November 2016), (http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdfplus/10.1086/689684).

Xiao Ren, 'China as an Institution-Builder: the Case of the AIIB,' *The Pacific Review* 29(3)(2016): 435-42.

Deborah Elms, 'The Origins and Evolution of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Trade Negotiations,' *Asian Survey*56(6)(November/December 2016): 1017-1039)

# Week 2

23 July: Pivot No More? - The United States in Asian Security

Under President Obama, the United States attempted a 'pivot' policy to the Asia-Pacific, promising that the region would be of highly priority in American strategic planning. However, the reality has not matched the rhetoric, and with the arrival of President Trump, many assumptions about the US-East Asian security relationship may soon be torn up.

Gregory J. Moore, 'Avoiding a Thucydides Trap in Sino-American Relations (...and 7 Reasons why that Might be Difficult),' *Asian Security* (February 2017), (http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14799855.2017.1286162).

Hu Weixing, 'China and the United States in the Asia-Pacific: Towards a New Model or New Normal of Major Power Relations?' *China: An International Journal* 15(1)(February 2017): 63-82.

Tim Huxley and Benjamin Schreer, 'Trump's Missing Asia Strategy,' *Survival*59(3)(2017): 81-9.

#### 24 July: No Longer on the Sidelines: Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific

The states of Oceania have long been seen as being on the periphery of East Asia, but as a result of globalisation, and greater regional cooperation, this is becoming less ture in recent years. What can the South Pacific demonstrate to the study of greater Asian security studies?

Jacinta O'Hagan, 'Australia and the Promise and the Perils of Humanitarian Diplomacy, *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 70(6)(2016): 657-69.

Jason Young, 'Seeking Ontological Security Through the Rise of China: New Zealand as a Small Trading Nation,' *Pacific Review* (December 2016): 1-18.

Marc Lanteigne, 'Choppy Waters: The 'Return' of Fiji to Pacific Affairs after the 2014 Vote,' *Third World Thematics* 1(1)(2016): 46-62.

## 25 July: Human Security and Peacekeeping

Although cross-border conflicts in Asia are much rarer than during the cold war, nontraditional security issues, including low-level conflicts, terrorism and the instability of peacebuilding continue to be challenges for the Pacific Rim. However, the region is also becoming known for specific solutions to these problems.

Jason Ralph, 'The Responsibility to Protect and the Rise of China: Lessons from Australia's Role as a 'Pragmatic' Norm Entrepreneur,' *International Journal of the Asia-Pacific* (May 2016), <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/irasia/lcw002">https://doi.org/10.1093/irasia/lcw002</a>

Courtney J. Fung, 'What Explains China's Deployment to UN Peacekeeping Operations?' *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 16(3)(2016): 409-41.

Kazuto Suzuki, 'Twenty-Five Years of Japanese Peacekeeping Operations and the Self-Defense Forces' Mission in South Sudan,' *Asia-Pacific Review* 24(2)(2017): 44-63.

#### 26 July: The Model APEC Seminar

Students will take part in a simulation of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum, in order to develop a more hands-on understanding of the complexities of regional Asian diplomatic cooperation.

*Sample Reading*: Mireya Solís & Jeffrey D. Wilson, 'From APEC to Megaregionals: the Evolution of the Asia-Pacific Trade Architecture,' *Pacific Review* (March 2017): 1-15.

### 27 July: North Korea, and Conclusions

As we conclude the course, we will examine what is likely the most pressing issue in Asian Security today, namely the North Korean nuclear crisis and its potential effects on the rest of the region. Since its first nuclear weapons test in 2006, the DPRK has pushed forward with developing a more robust nuclear arsenal potentially the ability to attach them to long-rang missiles. This is not only a serious affairs for nearby states like China, Japan and South Korea, but for the United States and the greater Pacific Rim.

Seong-Yong Park, 'North Korea's Military Policy under the Kim Jong-un Regime,' *Journal of Asian Public Policy* 9(1)(2016): 57-74.

Mikael Weissmann & Linus Hagström, 'Sanctions Reconsidered: the Path Forward with North Korea,' *Washington Quarterly* 39(3)(2016): 61-76.

Victor D. Cha, 'The North Korea Question,' *Asian Survey* 56(2)(March/April 2016): 243-69.