

ASIAN STUDIES 512

SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL IN NORTHEAST ASIA

Spring 2004

Class Time: Monday & Wednesday, 2:00-3:50 p.m.
Classroom: B209
Instructor: Dr. Jing-dong Yuan
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Office Hours: Tuesday, 2:00-4:00 p.m., or by appointment

I. Scope and Objectives

This course introduces the basic principles of security, arms control, and nonproliferation and applies these concepts to the Northeast Asian region. The first part of the course presents some of the basic arms control concepts, describes the existing international organizations and regimes, provides a brief historical overview of the U.S.-Soviet arms control negotiation, and discusses contemporary issues in nuclear, chemical, biological and missile proliferation and international nonproliferation efforts. The second half of the course surveys arms control and nonproliferation issues in Northeast Asia, including the challenges of missile proliferation, missile defenses, and the evolving security dynamics in the region. It will review in detail the security and arms control policies of the major powers in the region and discuss the impact of their interactions on regional peace and stability.

The central focus of the course is on preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical and biological weapons) and their delivery systems (ballistic and cruise missiles). The principal objective of the course is to give students a better understanding of the politics of arms control and nonproliferation as well as nonproliferation challenges such as export controls and verification in a changing international security environment. The course is also designed to cope with proliferation problems and the ways that arms control can contribute to national and regional security. A secondary objective is to introduce to students some of the literature and sources of information about security, arms control and nonproliferation. You will learn how and where to look when you have a question about nearly any aspect of this topic. And finally, the course will help students to develop and improve their analytical skills, in particular their ability to distill vast amounts of information quickly into data that is useful for practical business and policy analysis.

II. Textbook and Assigned Readings

There are three required textbooks for this course. All are available in the MIIS Bookstore.

- Jeffrey A. Larsen, ed., *Arms Control: Cooperative Security in a Changing Environment* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002). A copy is placed on reserve in the MIIS Library.
- Joseph Cirincione, with Jon B. Wolfsthal and Miriam Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenals: Tracking Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002). A copy is placed on reserve in the MIIS Library.
- Richard J. Ellings and Aaron L. Friedberg, eds., *Strategic Asia 2003-04: Fragility and Crisis* (Seattle: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2003).

III. Assignments and Grading

Students are required to write three papers:

- (1) A 3-page (double-spaced) **book report** on a topic related to security, arms control and nonproliferation. A suggested reading list will be provided but students are free to select their own books in consultation with the instructor. Presentations of book reports will be scheduled beginning on February 25th. (20%)
- (2) A **research proposal** on a topic in consultation with the instructor. The proposal should be 5-page long (double-spaced) and should contain the following elements: (a) a research question or a hypothesis; (b) a statement about the importance of the research question/hypothesis; (c) the current state of knowledge; (d) methodological issues; (e) an outline of the paper; and (f) a bibliography. Research outlines are due on April 5th. (20%)
- (3) A **final paper**, approximately 15-20 pages long (double-spaced), developed from the research proposal. It should contain an introduction; presentation and discussion of data; analysis; key findings; and a conclusion. Presentation of final papers will be arranged toward the end of the semester. All final papers are due on the last day of class (May 10th). (40 %)
- (4) **Class Participation**. Students are expected to have done the assigned readings before each class and actively participate in class discussions. For each lesson, a student will be assigned as the lead discussant and should be able to summarize the key points of the readings and raise questions for class discussion. (20%)

IV. Course Outline

January 21

Introduction: Contending Theories of International Relations

Introduction of course; self-introduction; discussion of assignments and scheduling.

Readings: Ole R. Holsti, "Models of International Relations: Realist and Neoliberal Perspectives on Conflict and Cooperation," in Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and Eugene R. Wittkopf, eds., *The Global Agenda: Issues and Perspectives*. Sixth Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001), pp.119-133; Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?" *Foreign Policy* 110 (Spring 1998), pp.82-96; Kenneth Waltz, "Structural Realism after the Cold War," *International Security* 25:1 (Summer 2000); Robert Axelrod and Robert O. Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions," in Kenneth A. Oye, ed., *Cooperation Under Anarchy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

January 26

Security Dilemma, Military Power, and the Changing Nature of Threats

Readings: Robert Jervis, "Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace," *American Political Science Review* 96:1 (March 2002), pp.1-14; K. J. Holsti, "Power, Capability, and Influence in International Politics," in Kegley and Wittkopf, *The Global Agenda*, pp.13-25; Lawrence Freeman, "International Security: Changing Targets," *Foreign Policy* 110 (Spring 1998), pp.48-64; Richard K. Betts, "The New Threat of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1998), pp.26-41; Barry R. Posen, "Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony," *International Security* 28:1 (Summer 2003), pp.5-46.

January 28

Deterrence and Nuclear Strategy: Theory, Practice and the Contemporary Debates

Readings: Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960, chapter 3, pp.92-125); Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, "Deterrence and Crisis Management," in Lebow and Stein, eds., *We All Lost the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp.324-347; Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), chapter one, "The Theory of the Nuclear Revolution," pp.1-45.

February 2

The Causes and Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation

Readings: Tanya Ogilvie-White, "Is There A Theory of Nuclear Proliferation? An Analysis of the Contemporary Debate," *The Nonproliferation Review* 4:1 (Fall 1996), pp.43-60; Ariel E. Levite, "Never Say Never Again: Nuclear Reversal Revisited," *International Security* 27:3 (December 2002), pp. 59-88; Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), pp.3-87.

February 4

Arms Control and Nonproliferation: Concepts, Regimes and Organizations

Readings: Jeffrey A. Larsen, “An Introduction to Arms Control,” in Larsen, ed., *Arms Control*, pp.1-15; Michael O. Wheeler, “A History of Arms Control,” in Larsen, ed., *Arms Control*, pp.19-39; “The International Non-Proliferation Regime,” in Cirincione *et al.*, *Deadly Arsenals*, pp.25-34; Joseph Cirincione, “Addressing Proliferation through Multilateral Agreement: Success and Failure in the Nonproliferation Regime,” in Janne E. Nolan, Bernard I. Finel, and Brian D. Finlay, eds., *Ultimate Security: Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction* (New York: The Century Foundation Press, 2003), pp.47-74.

February 9

Arms Control during the Cold War: The US-Soviet Experiences

Readings: Forrest E. Waller Jr., “Strategic Offensive Arms Control,” in Larsen, ed., *Arms Control*, pp.99-117; Avis Bohlen, “The Rise and Fall of Arms Control,” *Survival* 45:3 (Autumn 2003), pp.7-34; David Holloway, *The Soviet Union and the Arms Race*. Second Edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), “Introduction to the Second Edition,” pp.ix-xxvi; John W.R. Lepingwell, “START II and the Politics of Arms Control in Russia,” *International Security* 20:2 (Fall 1995), pp.63-91.

February 11

Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Readings: “Global Trends,” in Cirincione *et al.*, *Deadly Arsenals*, pp.3-23; Leonard Spector, “Nuclear Proliferation,” and Marie Isabelle Chevrier, “Chemical and Biological Weapons,” in Larsen, ed., *Arms Control*, pp.119-141, pp.143-161; Cirincione, *Deadly Arsenals*, pp.35-68; Karla J. Cunningham, “How Can Weapons of Mass Destruction Be Controlled?” in Edward Drachman and Alan Shank, eds., *You Decide! Controversial Global Issues* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), pp.37-57.

February 16

Missile Proliferation, Missile Nonproliferation, and Missile Defense

Readings: “Missile Proliferation,” in Cirincione, *Deadly Arsenals*, pp.69-99; Dinshaw Mistry, “Beyond the MTCR: Building a Comprehensive Regime to Contain Ballistic Missile Proliferation,” *International Security* 27:4 (Spring 2003), pp.119-149; Mark Smith, “Preparing the Ground for Modest Steps: A Progress Report on the Hague Code of Conduct,” “W. Pal S. Sidhu and Christopher Carle, “Missile Controls: Blind Spot or Blind Alley?” *Disarmament Diplomacy* (August 2003); *Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) Guidelines* <<http://projects.sipri.se/expcon/mtrguidelines.htm>>; Edward Drachman, “Will a U.S.-Built National Missile Defense System Enhance Global Security,” in Drachman and Shank, eds., *You Decide!* pp.81-107.

February 18

WMD Proliferation and Terrorism

Readings: Richard A. Falkenrath, Robert D. Newman, and Bradley A. Thayer, *America's Achilles' Heel: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1998), chap. 2, pp.97-165; Christopher F. Chyba, "Toward Biological Security," *Foreign Affairs* 81:3 (May/June 2002), pp.122-136; Jessica Stern, "Dreaded Risks and the Control of Biological Weapons," *International Security* 27:3 (December 2002), pp. 89-123.

February 23

Global Arms Control Challenges: Implementation and Enforcement

Readings: Tanya Ogilvie-White and John Simpson, "The NPT and Its 2003 PrepCom Session: A Regime in Need of Intensive Care," *The Nonproliferation Review* 10:1 (Spring 2003); Joseph F. Pilat, "Verification and Transparency: Relics or Future Requirements?" in Larsen, ed., *Arms Control*, pp.79-96; William W. Keller, "'Globalization' and Nonproliferation: Security and Technology at a Crossroad?" in Nolan *et al.*, eds., *Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction*, pp.177-201; Jing-dong Yuan, "The Future of Export Controls: Developing New Strategies for Nonproliferation," *International Politics* 39:2 (June 2002), pp.131-151.

February 25

Book Report Presentation and Discussion (1)

March 1

Book Report Presentation and Discussion (2)

March 3

Carnegie DVD on the Proliferation Threat

March 6-14 (Spring Break)

March 15

Current Northeast Asian Security and Arms Control Issues

Readings: Richard J. Ellings and Robert A. Scalapino, "Introduction: Fragility and Crisis," in Ellings and Friedberg, eds., *Strategic Asia 2003-04*, pp.3-29; David C. Kang, "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Framework," *International Security* 27:4 (Spring 2003), pp.57-85; Jon B. Wolfsthal, "Asia's Nuclear Dominos?" *Current History* (April 2003), pp.170-175; Victor D. Cha, "Nuclear Weapons, Missile Defense, and Stability: A Case for 'Sober Optimism'," in Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Asian Security Order: Instrumental*

and Normative Features (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp.458-496; Brad Roberts, "East Asia," in Larsen, ed., *Arms Control*, pp.253-267.

March 17

TBA

March 22

The United States and Northeast Asia: National Security Strategy in a New Era

Readings: The White House, *United States National Security Strategy* (September 2002); Robert G. Sutter, "United States: U.S. Leadership – Prevailing Strengths Amid Challenges," in Ellings and Friedberg, eds., *Strategic Asia 2003-04*, pp.33-52; Michael Mastanduno, "Incomplete Hegemony: The United States and Security Order in Asia," in Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Asian Security Order: Instrumental and Normative Features* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp.141-170; Mel Gurtov, *Pacific Asia? Prospects for Security and Cooperation in East Asia* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002), chap.7 "The United States and East Asia," pp.189-209; William T. Tow, *Asia Pacific Strategic Relations: Seeking Convergent Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), chap. 6 "The Super-Power Respondent: The United States," pp.168-202.

March 24

Security and Arms Control: US Perspectives and Policies

Readings: "United States," in Cirincione *et al.*, *Deadly Arsenals*, pp.175-185; Amy B. Zegart, "Running in Place: An Institutional Analysis of U.S. Nonproliferation Organization since the Cold War," *The Nonproliferation Review* 10:2 (Summer 2003), pp.30-50; David A. Kay, "Iraq and U.S. Nonproliferation Policy," in Janne E. Nolan, Bernard I. Finel, and Brian D. Finlay, eds., *Ultimate Security: Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction* (New York: The Century Foundation Press, 2003), pp.107-126; Rose Gottemoeller, "Cooperative Inducements: Crafting New Tools for Nonproliferation," *ibid.*, pp.127-154; Robert S. Litwak, "Non-proliferation and the Dilemmas of Regime Change," *Survival* 45:4 (Winter 2003-04), pp.7-32.

March 29

Russian Security Policy in the Post-USSR Era

Readings: William C. Wohlforth, "Russia: Russia's Soft Balancing Act," in Ellings and Friedberg, eds., *Strategic Asia 2003-04*, pp.165-180; Neil MacFarlane, "Realism and Russian Strategy after the Collapse of the USSR," in Kapstein and Mastanduno, *Unipolar Politics*, pp.218-260; Eugene B. Rumer and Celeste A. Wallander, "Russia: Power in Weakness?" *The Washington Quarterly* 27:1 (Winter 2003-04), pp.57-73; Celeste A. Wallander, "Wary of the West: Russian Security Policy at the Millennium," *Arms Control Today* (March 2000), pp.7-12.

March 31

Russian Security and Arms Control Policy

Readings: “Russia,” in Cirincione *et al.*, *Deadly Arsenals*, pp.105-137; Igor Khripunov, “Russia and Global Security: Approaches to Nuclear Arms Control and Nonproliferation,” *NBR Analysis* 12:4 (August 2001), pp.3-55; Nikolai Sokov, “The Russian Nuclear Arms Control Agenda after SORT,” *Arms Control Today* (April 2003), pp.7-11; Stephen J. Cimbala, “U.S.-Russian Security Cooperation and SORT,” *The Nonproliferation Review* 10:2 (Summer 2003), pp.105-122.

April 5

Chinese Security Policy after the Cold War

Research outlines due

Readings: Thomas J. Christensen and Michael A. Glosny, “China: Sources of Stability in U.S.-China Security Relations,” in Ellings and Friedberg, eds., *Strategic Asia 2003-04*, pp.53-79; Avery Goldstein, “An Emerging China’s Emerging Grand Strategy: A Neo-Bismarckian Turn? in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp.57-106; Alastair Iain Johnston, “China’s International Relations: The Political and Security Dimensions,” in Samuel S. Kim, ed., *The International Relations of Northeast Asia* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), pp. 65-100; Evan S. Medeiros and M. Taylor Fravel, “China’s New Diplomacy,” *Foreign Affairs* 82:6 (November/December 2003), pp.22-35.

April 7

The Evolution of Chinese Arms Control and Nonproliferation Policy

Readings: “China,” in Cirincione *et al.*, *Deadly Arsenals*, pp.141-162; China State Council Information Office, *White Paper on China’s Nonproliferation Policy* (Beijing: State Council Information Office, December 2003); Bates Gill and Evan S. Medeiros, “Foreign and Domestic Influences on China’s Arms Control and Nonproliferation Policies,” *The China Quarterly* 161 (March 2000), pp.66-94; Jing-dong Yuan, “China’s Pragmatic Approach to Nonproliferation Policy in the Post-Cold War Era,” in Suisheng Zhao, ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy: Pragmatism and Strategic Behavior* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2003), pp.151-176.

April 12

Dire Strait? China, Taiwan, and the United States

Readings: Richard Halloran, “Taiwan,” *Parameters* 33:1 (Spring 2003), pp.22-34; Robert S. Ross, “Navigating the Taiwan Strait: Deterrence, Escalation Dominance, and U.S.-China Relations,” *International Security* 27:2 (Fall 2002), pp.48-85; Vincent Wei-cheng Wang, “The Chen Shui-bian Administration’s Mainland Policy: Toward a *Modus Vivendi* or Continued Stalemate?” *American Asian Review* 20:3 (Fall 2002), pp.91-124; Steve Chan, “Extended Deterrence in the Taiwan Strait,” *World Affairs* 166:2 (Fall 2003), pp.109-125; Pan Zhongqi, “US Taiwan Policy of Strategic Ambiguity: A Dilemma of Deterrence,” *Journal of Contemporary China* (May 2003), pp.387-407.

April 14

The Security Environment on the Korean Peninsula

Readings: Victor D. Cha, “South Korea: Anchored or Adrift,” pp.109-1129; Nicholas Eberstadt and Joseph P. Ferguson, “North Korea: The Korean Nuclear Crisis – On to the Next Level,” pp.131-163; in Ellings and Friedberg, eds., *Strategic Asia 2003-04*; Samuel S. Kim, “North Korea and Northeast Asia in World Politics,” in Samuel S. Kim and Tai Hwan Lee, eds., *North Korea and Northeast Asia* (Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002), pp.3-58; Woosang Kim, “Korea and the Northeast Asia Security System in the Twenty-First Century,” in Ralph A. Cossa, ed., *U.S.-Korea-Japan Relations: Building Toward a “Virtual Alliance”* (Washington, DC: The CSIS Press, 1999), pp.39-54; David C. Kang, “International Relations Theory and the Second Korean War,” *International Studies Quarterly* 47:3 (September 2003), pp. 301-324.

April 19

Security and Arms Control: (North and South) Korean Perspectives and Policies

Readings: Victor D. Cha and David C. Kang, *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp.13-69; Daniel A. Pinkston and Phillip C. Saunders, “Seeing North Korea Clearly,” *Survival* 45:3 (Autumn 2003), pp.79-102; Gary Samore, “The Korean Nuclear Crisis,” *Survival* 45:1 (Spring 2003), pp.7-24; Michael O’Hanlon and Michael Mochizuki, “Toward a Grand Bargain with North Korea,” *The Washington Quarterly* 26:4 (Autumn 2003), pp.7-18; Joel S. Wit, “A Strategy for Defusing the North Korean Nuclear Crisis,” *Arms Control Today* 33:1 (January/February 2003), pp.6-10; Leon V. Sigal, “Negotiating with the North,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 59:6 (November/December 2003), pp.19-25.

April 21

Japanese Security Policy after the Cold War

Readings: Michael H. Armacost, “Japan: Tilting Closer to Washington,” in Ellings and Friedberg, eds., *Strategic Asia 2003-04*, pp.81-107; Eugene A. Matthews, “Japan’s New Nationalism,” *Foreign Affairs* 82:6 (November/December 2003), pp.74-90; Tsuneo Akaha, “Beyond Self-Defense: Japan’s Elusive Security Role under the New Guidelines for US-Japan Defense Cooperation,” *Pacific Review*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (1998), pp. 461-483; Nobuo Okawara and Peter J. Katzenstein, “Japan and Asia-Pacific Security: Regionalization, Entrenched Bilateralism, and Incipient Multilateralism,” *Pacific Review*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2001), pp. 165-194.

April 26

Security and Arms Control: Japanese Perspectives and Policies

Readings: Katsuhisa Furukawa, “Making Sense of Japan’s Nuclear Policy: Arms Control, Extended Deterrence, and the Nuclear Option,” in Benjamin L. Self and Jeffrey W. Thompson, eds., *Japan’s Nuclear Options: Security, Politics, and Policy in the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: The Stimson Center, 2003), pp.95-147; Ken Jimbo, “A Japanese Perspective on Missile Defense and Strategic Coordination,” *The Nonproliferation Review*

9:2 (Summer 2002), pp.56-62; Yuri Kase, "Japan's Nonnuclear Weapons Policy in the Changing Security Environment: Issues, Challenges, and Strategies," *World Affairs* 165:3 (Winter 2003), pp.123-131.

April 28

Building Regional Security Institutions in Asia

Final Paper Presentation (1)

Readings: David Dewitt, "Common, Comprehensive, and Cooperative Security," *Pacific Review* 7:1 (1994), pp.1-15; Amitav Acharya, "Regional Institutions and Asian Security Order: Norms, Power, and Prospects for Peaceful Change," in Alagappa, ed., *Asian Security Order*, pp.210-240; Brian L. Job, "Track 2 Diplomacy: Ideational Contribution to the Evolving Asian Security Order," *ibid.*, pp.241-279; Amitav Acharya, *Regionalism and Multilateralism: Essays on Cooperative Security in the Asia-Pacific* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 2003), chap. 1 "Regionalism, Multilateralism and the Study of Asia-Pacific Security," pp.1-22; John S. Duffeld, "Asia-Pacific Security Institutions in Comparative Perspective," in Ikenberry and Mastanduno, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, pp.243-270.

May 3

The Future of Arms Control: Course Summary

Final Paper Presentation (2)

Readings: Jonathan Schell, "The Folly of Arms Control," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2000) pp. 22-26; George Bunn, "The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty: History and Current Problem," *Arms Control Today* (December 2003); Patricia A. FcFate, "Arms Control in Outer Space," pp.291-308; John A. Nagl, "Arms Control in the Year 2025," pp.329-342; James J. Wirtz, "Conclusion: The Future of Arms Control," pp.343-351; in Larsen, ed., *Arms Control*.

May 5

Final Paper Presentation (3)

May 10

Final Paper Presentation (4)

Final Paper Due