

School of Government

STRA 505
STRATEGIC CULTURE
(15 Points)

Trimester Two 2007

COURSE OUTLINE

Contact Details

Course Coordinator: **Dr Lance Beath**
Room RH 507, Level 5, Rutherford House, Pipitea Campus
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Module Dates, Times and Locations

Module Four: Friday 24 August 2007 8.30am – 6.00pm

Module Five: Friday 19 October 2007 8.30am – 6.00pm

Module Six: Friday 23 November 2007 8.30am – 6.00pm

Location: Classes will normally be held on the Pipitea Campus of Victoria University and you will be advised of your classroom one week prior to each module by email.

Course Objectives

One way of understanding strategic and security issues in the Asia Pacific region is through the underlying strategic culture of the region. This culture is very different from Western strategic culture and it also differs with each country across the region. With this in mind, the course offers a comparative examination of different strategic cultures within the Asia Pacific region. There are three main objectives. The first is to understand how other countries in the region approach strategic assessment and long range policy formulation. The second is to equip students to better contribute to New Zealand's strategic capability by benchmarking ourselves against Asian countries which are acknowledged leaders in long range thinking and implementation. Third, the course seeks to deepen our knowledge of strategic studies by familiarising ourselves with the emerging literature in the field and the leading strategic thinkers in the region.

But before doing any of these things it is important to begin by building some understanding of where the study of 'strategic culture' has come from and what its intellectual traditions and antecedents are. To do this the course readings are broken down into two parts. Part A consists of selected texts that look at strategic culture from a series of different perspectives. Part B is intended to introduce course members to the literature of strategic culture as it affects selected countries in the Asia Pacific region. Note that for comparative purposes both the United States and the Soviet Union/Russia are considered to be Asia Pacific powers whose strategic cultures are worthy of study in the context of this paper.

Course Content and Readings

Following are the principle issues and topic areas examined in the course along with the key readings:

A. ASPECTS OF STRATEGIC CULTURE

Topic One What is strategic culture? A critique; and, questions of methodology.

Ken Booth and Russell Trood Ed., (1999). *Strategic Cultures in the Asia-Pacific Region. Ch 1; Strategic Culture*. London: Macmillan Press. Pp. 3-28.

Alastair Ian Johnston (1995). *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History. Ch 1: Strategic Culture: A Critique*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Pp. 1-31. Also Pp. 32-60 and 248-266.

Jack L Snyder (1977). *The Soviet Strategic Culture: Implications for Limited Nuclear Options*. Project AIR FORCE. Rand Corporation. R-2154-AF. Sept 1977. 40 pages.

Colin S Gray (1999). *Strategic Culture as Context*. In *Modern Strategy*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 129-151.

Topic Two The impact of culture on cognition.

Richard E Nisbett (2005). *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners think differently – and why. Ch 1: The Syllogism and the Tao: Philosophy, Science and Society in Ancient Greece and China.* London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing. Pp. 1-28

Kishore Mahbubani (2004). *Can Asians Think?* Singapore: Marshall Cavendish. Pp. 19-37.

Topic Three Culture and conflict.

Samuel P Huntington (1993). *The Clash of Civilisations?* New York: Council on Foreign Relations. Pp. 1-25.

Fouad Ajami (1993). *The Summoning.* Ibid. Pp. 26-35.

Samuel P Huntington (1993). *If Not Civilisations, What?* Ibid. Pp. 56

Ng Aik Kwang (2001). *Why Asians are Less Creative than Westerners. Ch 7: How Asians and Westerners Deal with Conflict.* Singapore: Prentice Hall. Pp. 121-153.

Topic Four Culture and Language.

C J Moore (2004). *In Other Words. Ch 7: Asian Languages.* London: Allen & Unwin. Pp. 80-97.

Nicholas Ostler (2005). *Empires of the Word. Ch 4: Triumphs of Fertility: Egyptian and Chinese.* New York: Harper Collins. Pp 113-173.

Topic Five The Asia-Pacific region.

Muthiah Alagappa, ed (1998). *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences. Ch 2: International Politics in Asia: The Historical Context.* Stanford University Press. Pp. 65-111.

Peter J Katzenstein and Rudra Sil (2004). *Rethinking Asian Security: A Case for Analytical Eclecticism.* In JJ Suh, Peter J Katzenstein and Allen Carlson eds., (2004). *Rethinking Security in East Asia: Identity, Power, and Efficiency.* Stanford University Press. Pp. 1-33.

Yuen Foong Khong (2004). *Coping with Strategic Uncertainty: The Role of Institutions and Soft Balancing in Southeast Asia's Post-Cold War Strategy.* Ibid. Pp. 172-208.

Indermit Gill, Yukon Huang and Homi Kharas, ed., (2007). *Perspectives on East Asian Development: An Introduction.* In *East Asian Visions: Perspectives on Economic Development.* Singapore: a co-production of the World Bank and the Singapore Institute of Policy Studies. Pp. 1-23.

Tommy Koh (2007). *Asia's Challenges.* Ibid. Pp. 142-177.

Kishore Mahbubani (2007). *From Confucius to Kennedy: Principles of East Asia Governance*. Ibid. Pp. 188-202.

Fareed Zakaria (1994). *Culture is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew*. Foreign Affairs March/April 1994. Pp. 109-126

B. THE STRATEGIC CULTURE OF SELECTED COUNTRIES IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

United States

Colin S Gray (1988). *The Geopolitics of Super Power. Ch 5: Geopolitics and Strategic Culture. Ch 6: The American Way*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky. Pp. 39-52; 53-65.

Thomas Donnelly (2006). *Countering Aggressive Rising Powers: A Clash of Strategic Cultures*. Foreign Policy Research Institute. Elsevier Ltd. Orbis. Summer 2006. Pp. 413-428.

Frank L Miller, Jr. (2003). *Impact of Strategic Culture on U.S. Policies for East Asia*. US Army War College, Carlisle Papers in Security Strategy Series. November 03.

China

Andrew Scobell (2003). *China's Use of Military Force: Beyond the Great Wall and the Long March. Ch 2: The Chinese Cult of Defence. Ch 9: Conclusion: Explaining China's Use of Force*. Cambridge University press. Pp. 15-39; 192-198.

Michael D Swaine (2005). *Chinese Crisis Management: Framework for Analysis, Tentative Observations, and Questions for the Future*. In *Chinese National Security: Decision Making Under Stress*. Andrew Scobell and Larry Wortzel ed., Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College. Pp. 5-53.

Paul Godwin (2006). *China as a Major Asian Power: The Implications of its Military Modernisation (A View from the United States)*. In *Shaping China's Security Environment: The Role of the People's Liberation Army*. Andrew Scobell and Larry Wortzel ed., Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College. Pp. 105-135.

John J Tkacik Jr (2006). *How the PLA Sees North Korea*. Ibid. Pp. 139-172.

Srikanth Kondapalli (2006). *The Chinese Military Eyes South Asia*. Ibid. Pp. 197-282.

Michael Pilsbury (2003). *The Assassin's Mace Debate: Pipe Dream or Silver Bullet?* Chinese Military Update. RUSI periodical Nov/Dec 2003, Vol 1, No 6.

Perry L Pickert (2006). *China's Multilateral Diplomacy: Strategy or Stratagem?* Testimony for the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations Committee on International Relations. US House of Representatives. 14 February 2006.

David Lai (2004). *Learning from the Stones: A GO Approach to Mastering China's Strategic Concept*, Shi. US Army War College. Inaugural Publication in the 'Advancing Strategic Thought Series'. Accessed at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/. May 04.

W A C Adie (1972). *Chinese Strategic Thinking under Mao Tse-tung*. Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No. 13. Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University. Pp. 1-26.

Japan

Miyamoto Musashi (1645). *A Book of Five Rings: The Classic Guide to Strategy. Introduction and The Ground Book*. Translated by Victor Harris. New York: The Overlook Press. Pp. 34-50.

Ruth Benedict (1946). *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture. Ch 3: Taking One's Proper Station*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. Pp. 43-75.

Jeffrey K Liker (2004). *The Toyota Way: 14 Management Principles from the World's Greatest Manufacturer. Ch 22: Build Your Own Lean Learning Enterprise, Borrowing from the Toyota Way*. New York: McGraw Hill. Pp. 289-310.

Peter J Katzenstein and Nobuo Okawara (2004). *Japan and Asian-Pacific Security*. In JJ Suh, Peter J Katzenstein and Allen Carlson eds., (2004). *Rethinking Security in East Asia: Identity, Power, and Efficiency*. Stanford University Press. Pp. 97-130.

Korea

Robert Scalapino (1994). *Korea in the Cold War and its Aftermath*. In *East Asia in Transition: Toward a New Regional Order*. Robert Ross (ed). Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore. New York: M E Sharpe Inc. Pp. 183-215.

Nicholas Eberstadt (1996). *Assessing 'National Strategy' in North and South Korea*. In *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*. Vol. VIII No. 1 Summer 1996. Korea Institute for Defense Analyses. Pp. 55-76.

Vietnam

Library of Congress Country Studies (1987). *Vietnam: Strategic Thinking*.

Singapore

Lee Kuan Yew (2006). *Memoirs. From Third World to First. The Singapore Story: 1965-2000. Part One: Getting the Basics Right. Ch 1: Getting the Basics Right*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Editions. Pp. 19-46.

Narayanan Ganesan (1998). *Singapore: Realist cum Trading State*. In Muthiah Alagappa, ed (1998). *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences*. Stanford University Press. Pp. 579-607.

Malaysia

Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y Andaya (1982). *A History of Malaysia. Conclusion: Some Themes in Malaysian History*. Palgrave Publishers. Pp. 337-344.

Farish A Noor (2002). *The Other Malaysia: Writings on Malaysia's Subaltern History. Ch 16: How Mahathir became Mahazalim. Ch 26: Thomas De Quincey and the Malay from Nowhere. Ch 43: Domestic Policy by Other Means: Malaysia's Policy Towards the Muslim World Reconsidered*. Kuala Lumpur: Silverfish Books. Pp. 130-138; 195-202; 290-295.

Andrew Tan (2002). *Malaysia's Security Perspectives*. Working Paper No. 367. Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University. Pp. 1-45.

Richard W Baker and Charles E Morrison eds. (2005). *Asia Pacific Security Outlook 2005. Ch 11: Malaysia*. Pp. 112-120.

Jomo K S (2004). *Mahathir's Flawed Economic Policy Legacy*. In *Reflections: the Mahathir Years*. Bridget Welsh ed. Southeast Asia Studies Programme. Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC. Pp. 253-262.

Lee Hwok Aun (2004). *The NEP, Vision 2020, and Dr Mahathir: Continuing Dilemmas*. Ibid. Pp 270-281.

Johan Saravanamuttu (2004). *Iconoclasm and Foreign Policy – the Mahathir Years*. Ibid. Pp 307-317.

Lee Poh Ping (2004). *The Look East Policy, the Japanese Model, and Malaysia*. Ibid. Pp. 318-324.

Chandran Jeshuran (2004). *Malaysian Defense Policy under Mahathir: What Has Changed?* Ibid. Pp 333-342.

Indonesia

Richard W Baker and Charles E Morrison eds. (2005). *Asia Pacific Security Outlook 2005. Ch 8: Indonesia*. Pp. 86-95.

India

Romila Thapar (2000). *Cultural Pasts: Essays in Early Indian History. Ch 25: Indian Views of Europe: Representations of the Yavanas in Early Indian History. Ch 26: Black Gold: South Asia and the Roman Maritime Trade. Ch 44: The Tyranny of Labels*. New Delhi: OUP. Pp. 536-555; 556-588; 990-1014.

Sandy Gordon (1991). *India's Strategic Posture: 'Look East' or 'Look West'?* Working Paper No. 225. Strategic and Defence Studies Centre. Australian National University.

USSR/Russia

Jack L Snyder (1977). *The Soviet Strategic Culture: Implications for Limited Nuclear Options*. Project AIR FORCE. Rand Corporation. R-2154-AF. Sept 1977. 40 pages. (NB: because this reading is central to the development of strategic culture as a sub-disciplinary topic, it has been included in the reading pack under Aspects of Strategic Culture: Topic One: What is Strategic Culture?).

Andrei A Kokoshin (1998). *Soviet Strategic Thought, 1917-91. Ch 1: The Relationship between Policy and Strategy in Soviet Military Doctrine*. CSIA Studies in International Security. Massachusetts: MIT Press. Pp. 11-62.

Geoffrey Jukes (1972). *The Development of Soviet Strategic Thinking Since 1945*. Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No. 14. Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University. Pp. 1-44.

Learning Commitment

The learning objectives set for each course are demanding and, to achieve them, candidates must make a significant commitment in time and effort to reading, studying, thinking, and completion of assessment items outside of contact time. Courses vary in design but all require preparation and learning before the first module. Regular learning is necessary between modules (students who leave everything to the last moment rarely achieve at a high level). Expressed in input terms, the time commitment required usually translates to 65-95 hours (excluding class contact time) per course.

Assessment Requirements

Following are the assessment requirements:

- 1. One essay of 2,000 words (30%) reflecting course members' understanding of strategy and culture. The essay is to be based on a critique of one or more of the readings in Part A of the Reading Pack (Aspects of Strategy and Culture). An advanced draft of the essay is to be ready for discussion and presentation by course members at the module 4 on Friday 24 August 2007. The essay will then be finalised by course members taking into account class discussion and feedback – **the due date and time for the finished essay is 5.00pm, Friday 7 September 2007.****

2. A case study comprising a report of 3000 words, an annotated bibliography and a seminar presentation (combined weighting 70%), in which class members have an opportunity to demonstrate their ability to research and write about the strategic culture of a selected country in the Asia Pacific region – **the due date for the annotated bibliography is 5.00pm, Friday 12 October 2007. The bibliography will be presented and discussed at module 5 on Friday 19 October 2007. Case studies will be presented and discussed at module 6 on Friday 23 November 2007. Final reports are due at 5.00pm, Friday 30 November 2007.**

Please submit ALL assignments IN HARD COPY to:

Francine McGee,
School of Government,
Victoria University of Wellington,
Level 8 Reception,
Rutherford House,
23 Lambton Quay,
P.O. Box 600,
Wellington.

Students should keep a copy of all submitted work.

ANZSOG candidates taking this course as an elective should note that they take it for 24 points, and not 15 points. Accordingly, the learning outcomes to be achieved by ANZSOG candidates are wider and deeper than those expected for non-ANZSOG candidates. The content of those learning outcomes, and the means whereby they will be assessed, will be negotiated and confirmed with the Course Coordinator at the start of the course.

Penalties

The ability to plan for and meet deadlines is a core competency of both advanced study and public management. Failure to meet deadlines disrupts course planning and is unfair on students who do submit their work on time. It is expected therefore that you will complete and hand in assignments by the due date. Marks may be deducted where assignments are submitted after the due date. For out of town students, two calendar days' grace is given to allow for time in the post.

If ill-health, family bereavement or other personal emergencies prevent you from meeting the deadline for submitting a piece of written work or from attending class to make a presentation, you can apply for and may be granted an extension to the due date. Note that this applies only to extreme unforeseen circumstances and is not necessarily awarded. You should let your Course Coordinator know as soon as possible in advance of the deadline if you are seeking an extension.

Mandatory Course Requirements

To fulfil the mandatory course requirements for this course, you are required to:

1. Submit all assignments by the due date;
2. Attend all contact sessions of the course.

Communication of Additional Information

Any additional communication during the course will be conveyed to course members by email

Withdrawal Dates

Students giving notice of withdrawal from the course after 4 September 2007 will not receive a refund of tuition fees.

Students giving notice of withdrawal from the course after 23 October 2007 are regarded as having failed the course, unless the Associate Dean subsequently gives approval to withdraw.

Faculty of Commerce and Administration Offices

Railway West Wing (RWW) - FCA Student and Academic Services Office

The Faculty's Student and Academic Services Office is located on the ground and first floors of the Railway West Wing. The ground floor counter is the first point of contact for general enquiries and FCA forms. Student Administration Advisers are available to discuss course status and give further advice about FCA qualifications. To check for opening hours, call the Student and Academic Services Office on (04) 463 5376.

Easterfield (EA) - FCA/Education/Law Kelburn Office

The Kelburn Campus Office for the Faculties of Commerce and Administration, Education and Law is situated in the Easterfield Building - it includes the ground floor reception desk (EA 005) and offices 125a to 131 (Level 1). The office is available for the following:

- Duty tutors for student contact and advice.
- Information concerning administrative and academic matters.
- Forms for FCA Student and Academic Services (e.g. application for academic transcripts, requests for degree audit, COP requests).
- Examinations-related information during the examination period.

To check for opening hours, call the Student and Academic Services Office on (04) 463 5376.

Notice of Turnitin Use

Student work provided for assessment in this course **may be** checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine www.turnitin.com. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism. **At the discretion of the School, handwritten work may be copy typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin.** You are strongly advised to check with your tutor or the course coordinator if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted materials on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were one's own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website at www.vuw.ac.nz/home/studying/plagiarism.html

General University Policies and Statutes

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied. See the Victoria University Calendar available in hardcopy or under "About Victoria" on the VUW homepage at www.vuw.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/calendar_intro.html

Information on the following topics is available electronically at www.vuw.ac.nz/home/studying/downloads/course_outlines_general_information.pdf

- Academic Grievances
- Student and Staff Conduct
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support

Manaaki Pihipihinga Programme

Manaaki Pihipihinga is an academic mentoring programme for undergraduate Māori and Pacific students in the Faculties of Commerce and Administration, and Humanities and Social Sciences. Sessions are held at the Kelburn and Pipitea Campuses in the Mentoring Rooms, 14 Kelburn Parade (back courtyard), Room 109D, and Room 210, Level 2, Railway West Wing. There is also a Pacific Support Coordinator who assists Pacific students by linking them to the services and support they need while studying at Victoria. Another feature of the programme is a support network for Postgraduate students with links to Postgraduate workshops and activities around Campus.

For further information, or to register with the programme, email manaaki-pihipihinga-programme@vuw.ac.nz or phone (04) 463 5233 ext. 8977. To contact the Pacific Support Coordinator, email pacific-support-coord@vuw.ac.nz or phone (04) 463 5842.