

School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations

11 March - 15 November 2009
Political Science and International Relations Programme
Trimesters 1 and 2, 2009

INTP 442:
ARMED CONFLICT AND
HUMAN SECURITY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

Course Coordinator: Dr David Capie
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Office Hours: Monday 2-4pm or by appointment
Seminars: Wednesday 11-1 in Kirk 204



Course Delivery

This course is taught in weekly two-hour seminars.

Communication of additional information

Additional information about this course (including any changes to the course outline and assessment information below) will be announced in lectures and/or emailed to students using Blackboard. If you do not use your Victoria student email address as your primary account, please arrange to have it

forward emails to your preferred address. It is your responsibility to make sure you get any emails sent out via Blackboard.

Course Content

This course introduces theoretical approaches to the study of conflict and regional order and applies them to issues in the contemporary Asia-Pacific region. We will explore several leading theoretical frameworks including realism, neoliberalism and constructivism, and examine how they help us understand key security issues in the region. These issues include real and potential inter-state and intra-state conflicts, transnational crime, and a range of so-called “non-traditional” and “human security” challenges. While an understanding of specific countries and cases of conflict is important, the emphasis in the course is on developing the ability to think critically about how different theoretical approaches help us (or don’t help us) understand the changing security picture in the Asia-Pacific region.

Learning objectives

The course is a graduate seminar on contemporary Asia-Pacific security issues. By the end of the course students should have a good understanding of the key issues and actors in Asia-Pacific security. Students should also be able explain and think critically about regional security in the context of broader theoretical analyses of international politics.

There are three forms of assessment. The short research essay tests students understanding of key concepts and theories relevant to understanding regional security. The research essay is designed to test students’ capacity for undertaking detailed research into a chosen topic, presenting this information in a coherent form, and demonstrating knowledge of key theoretical concepts and debates in the field. The final exam tests students’ knowledge of theories, concepts and cases covered in the class discussions and readings.

Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 12 hours per week to the course. This includes one two-hour seminar per week.

Essential texts

You must purchase (and read!) the following texts:

- INTP 442: Conflict and Security in the Asia-Pacific Region
- Muthiah Alagappa (ed.) *Asian Security Order* (Stanford University Press, 2003)

Books of Readings are distributed from VicBooks in the Student Union Building.

In addition, you will find the following journals useful:

Asian Security

Asian Survey

Chinese Journal of International Politics

Comparative Connections (online journal published by CSIS Pacific Forum)

Contemporary Southeast Asia

International Organization

International Relations of the Asia-Pacific

International Security

Journal of Contemporary China

Journal of East Asian Studies

Pacific Affairs

The Pacific Review

The prescribed readings (listed in this course outline and the tutorial guide) comprise an integral part of the course. You are expected to read them. They will be discussed in detail in seminars and examined in the final exam. Any additional readings will be handed out in lectures and made available via Blackboard.

Mandatory course requirements

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) submit the short essay and the research essay, in the format specified and with appropriate references, by the due dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work);
- b) sit the final exam;
- c) attend a minimum of twelve seminars.

Assessment requirements

The word limits, weighting and dates for each piece of course work are as follows:

Short Essay	2000-2500 words*	20%	due: 5pm, Wednesday 29 April
Research Essay	6000-8000 words*	40%	due: 5pm, Monday 12 October
Final exam	3 hours	40%	date announced later in the year

* *excludes bibliography and footnoted references*

In keeping with programme policy, all returned assignments and tests will carry a letter grade.

Penalties for late submission of the short essay

The short essay must be submitted on or before the due date. An extension will only be granted to those who meet the university's *aegrotat* rules, viz. a medical certificate, or personal bereavement, or critical personal circumstances involving the health of a close relative, or exceptional circumstances beyond your control.

Late essays must be handed to the course organiser or to the School Secretary who will record on the essay the date and time it was received before handing it to the course organiser. Students will be penalised for late submission of essays – a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

Uniform Deadline for all Honours Work

There is a uniform deadline for the final submission of all written in-term work (including research papers) for honours courses. Students are advised that this deadline will be firmly adhered to; extensions will only be granted in exceptional circumstances, under the conditions stipulated in Victoria University's *aegrotat* regulations. Extensions must be approved by the Honours Coordinator (Professor Stephen Levine) in advance of the deadline. In 2009 the deadline will be 5 p.m. on **Monday 12 October**. *Work not submitted by this deadline will not be taken into consideration when determining final results.*

The Final Examination

This will be a three-hour, closed-book examination. Students will be required to answer three questions, with all questions carrying equal marks. In 2009 the final examination period is 27 October-14 November.

Return of Marked Work

Written work will generally be returned in seminars or during office hours. If you need to collect an essay from the POLS office, please do so only between the hours of 2-3pm Monday to Friday. Please

respect the fact that our administrators have many important responsibilities other than dealing with enquiries about essays, so only collect marked work in the 2-3pm window.

Instructions for the Research Essays

For the short essay, students must answer one of the assigned questions. These will be handed out in class in week two. For the major research essay, you may write on any topic related to conflict and security issues (broadly understood) in the Asia-Pacific region. The essay should engage in some way with the literatures and themes covered during the course. If you are in doubt, check with me.

It is important that you write clearly and that all written work is carefully proof read and spell checked. Essays should be word-processed, ensuring adequate line spacing and margins are provided, and stapled in top left hand corner. Number your pages. While there is some flexibility about referencing style, you must be consistent throughout your written work. The layout and referencing should conform with the instructions specified in the Political Science and International Relations essay guide, which is available from the POLS office. If you need help with writing, you should contact the Student Learning Centre.

You should start thinking about the topic for your major research essay as soon as possible. Honours can be a very stressful year, especially as the final uniform deadline draws near. Start early and don't hesitate to come and see me if you need help or would like me to suggest some possible research topics.

Statement on legibility

Students are expected to write clearly. Where work is deemed 'illegible', the options are:

- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) within a specified time frame after which penalties will apply
- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) and lateness penalties apply
- if the student does not transcribe it to an acceptable standard, the work will be accepted as 'received' (so any associated mandatory course requirements are met) but not marked.

Statement on the use of Turnitin

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://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 Head of 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 means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

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* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>

This website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates.

Seminar Programme 2009

11 March Introduction and course administration

18 March Asian security: the historical context

Muthiah Alagappa, 'International Politics in Asia: The Historical Context', in Muthiah Alagappa, *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Factors*, Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, 1998, pp.65-111

T. J. Pempel, 'Introduction: Emerging Webs of Regional Connectedness', in T. J. Pempel, *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region*, Cornell University Press, 2005, pp.1-28

Muthiah Alagappa, "Introduction" in *Asian Security Order*, 1-32

25 March IR theory and Asian Security

Avery Goldstein, "Balance-of-power politics: consequences for Asian security order," in *Asian Security Order*, 171-209

Ming Wan, "Economic Interdependence and Economic Cooperation: Mitigating Conflict and Transforming Security Order in Asia," *Asian Security Order*, 280-310

Amitav Acharya, "Regional Institutions and Asian Security Order: Norms, Power and Prospects for Peaceful Change" *Asian Security Order*, 210-240

Further Reading

Muthiah Alagappa, "Rethinking Security: A Critical Review and Appraisal of the Debate," in *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1998) 27-64 [on Blackboard]

Hugh White, "Why War in Asia remains thinkable", *Survival* (December 2008) [on Blackboard]

Richard Bitzinger and Barry Desker, "Why East Asian War is Unlikely," *Survival* (December 2008) [on Blackboard]

1 April Regions and Regionalism

Paul Evans, "Between Regionalism and Regionalization: Policy Networks and the Nascent East Asian Institutional Identity," in T. J. Pempel, *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region*, Cornell University Press, 2005, pp.1-28 [Blackboard]

Mark Selden, "East Asian Regionalism and its Enemies in Three Epochs" *Japan Focus* (March 2009) available at: http://www.japanfocus.org/Mark_Selden-East_Asian_Regionalism_and_its_Enemies_in_Three_Epochs_Political_Economy_and_Geopolitics_16th_to_21st_Centuries

Further reading

Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell, *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organization and International Order* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995) chapters 2-3

Samuel Kim, 'Regionalization and Regionalism in East Asia', *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 4 (2004),

Richard Stubbs, 'ASEAN Plus Three: Emerging East Asian Regionalism', *Asian Survey*, 42 (2002)

Peter Katzenstein, 'Regionalism and Asia', *New Political Economy*, 5 (2000),

8 April China: Responsible Stakeholder or Revisionist Power?

John J. Mearsheimer, 'China's Unpeaceful Rise', in *Current History*, April 2006, pp.160-162

Alastair Iain Johnston, 'Is China a Status Quo Power?', in *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 4, 2003, pp.5-56

Rosemary Foot, 'Chinese Strategies in a US-Hegemonic Global Order: Accommodating and Hedging', in *International Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 1, 2006, pp.77-94

Further Reading

Alistair Iain Johnston, *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2008)

[Thomas J. Christensen, "Posing Problems without Catching Up: China's Rise and Challenges for US Security Policy" *International Security* 25:4 \(Spring 2001\)](#)

29 April Japan: Pacifist State or 'Normal' Power?

Kenneth B. Pyle, 'Japan's Historic Change of Course', *Current History*, September 2006, pp.277-283

Richard J. Samuels, 'Securing Japan: The Current Discourse', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 33, No.1, 2007, pp.125-152

Jennifer M. Lind, "Pacifism or Passing the Buck?" *International Security*, vol. 29, no. 1 (2004) [Blackboard]

Further Reading

Richard Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007)

Peter J. Katzenstein. *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Peter J. Katzenstein and Nobuo Akawara, "Japan and Asia-Pacific Security: the Case for Analytical Eclecticism," *International Security*, vol. 26 (3) [Blackboard]

Llewelyn Hughes, "Why Japan Won't Go Nuclear (yet) – an Examination of the Domestic and International Constraints on the Nuclearization of Japan," *International Security* (Spring 2007)

Mochizuki, Mike M. "Japan Tests the Nuclear Taboo," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol.14, No.2, July, 2007.

6 May The Korean Peninsular

David C. Kang, 'South Korea's Not-So-Sharp Right Turn', *Current History*, September 2008, pp.256-262

Christopher W. Hughes, 'North Korea's Nuclear Weapons: Implications for the Nuclear Ambitions of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan', *Asia Policy*, No. 3, 2007, pp.75-104

Andrew Scobell, 'North Korea End-Game or Mid-Game? Some Scenarios and their Implications for US-China Relations', in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol.16, No.61, 2007, pp.315-323

Hazel Smith, "Bad, Mad, Sad or Rational Actor? Why the Securitization Paradigm Makes for Poor Policy Analysis of North Korea" *International Affairs*, 76:3 (2000) pp.593-617

Stephen Epstein, "The Axis of Vaudeville: Images of North Korea in South Korean pop culture," *Japan Focus* (March 2009) available at: [http://www.japanfocus.org/ Stephen_Epstein-The_Axis_of_Vaudeville_Images_of_North_Korea_in_South_Korean_Pop_Culture](http://www.japanfocus.org/Stephen_Epstein-The_Axis_of_Vaudeville_Images_of_North_Korea_in_South_Korean_Pop_Culture)

13 May Nationalism, Reconciliation and Historical Memory

Bruce Cumings, 'Why Memory Lingers in East Asia', *Current History*, September 2007, pp.257-262

Yinan He, 'History, Chinese Nationalism and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict', *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol.16, No.50, 2007, pp.1-24

Jennifer Lind, "An Unhappy Phase in a Certain Period" in her *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2008) [Blackboard]

Further Reading

Victor D. Cha, 'Hypotheses on History and Hate in Asia: Japan and the Korean Peninsula', in Yoichi Funabashi (ed.) *Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific* (USIP Press, Washington DC, 2003) pp.37-59, 203-208

Daiki Shibuichi, "The Yasukuni Shrine Dispute and the Politics of Identity in Japan: Why All the Fuss?" *Asian Survey*, Vol.45, No.2, March-April, 2005, pp.197-215.

Gerrit W. Gong, "The Beginning of History: Remembering and Forgetting as Strategic Issues" [The Washington Quarterly 24:2 \(Spring 2001\) pp.45-57.](#)

20 May The United States and Asia

Michael Mastanduno, "Incomplete Hegemony: The United States and Security Order in Asia" in *Asian Security Order*, 141-170

T. J. Pempel, 'How Bush Bungled Asia: Militarism, Economic Indifference and Unilateralism have weakened the United States across Asia', *The Pacific Review*, Vol.21, No.5, 2008, pp.547-581

Michael J. Green, 'The United States and Asia after Bush', *The Pacific Review*, Vol.21, No.5, 2008, pp.583-594

Donald Emmerson, "Crisis and Consensus: America and ASEAN in a New Era," available online at: http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/22400/Crisis_and_Consensus.pdf [also on Blackboard]

David Capie, "Between a Hegemon and a Hard Place: the 'War on Terror' and Southeast Asian –US Relations" *The Pacific Review*, vol. 17, no.2 (2004) available here: <http://falcon.arts.cornell.edu/lsr32/articles/pdf344/PR-0604-US-SEA.pdf>

27 May Territorial Disputes

Jianwei Wang, 'Territorial Disputes and Asian Security: sources, management and prospects,' in *Asian Security Order*, 380-423

Scott L. Kastner, 'Does Economic Integration across the Taiwan Strait make Military Conflict Less Likely?', *Journal of East Asian Studies*, Vol.6, 2006, pp.319-346

Randall Schriver and Mark Stokes, 'Taiwan's Liberation of China', *Current History*, September 2008, pp.276-281

M. Taylor Fravel, 'Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China's use of Force in Territorial Disputes', *International Security*, Vol.32, No.3, 2007, pp.44-83

Sung-jae Choi, 'The Politics of the Dokdo Issue', *Journal of East Asian Studies*, Vol.5, 2005, pp.465-494

Sastrohandoyo Wiryo, 'Indonesia and Southeast Asian Territorial Peace Processes', in *AEJ*, Vol.6, 2008, pp.15-30

3 June Southeast Asian Security Dynamics

David Dewitt, "Common, Comprehensive and Cooperative Security," *The Pacific Review*, vol. 7 no. 1 (1994) 1-15

Mohammed Ayoob, 'Defining Security: A Subaltern Realist Perspective,' in in Keith Krause and Michael Williams (eds.), *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (UCL Press, London, 1997) 121-46.

Amitav Acharya, "The Periphery as Core: The Third World and Security Studies," in Keith Krause and Michael Williams (eds.), *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (UCL Press, London, 1997) 299-327

Donald K Emmerson, ed. *Hard Choices: Security, Regionalism and Democracy in Southeast Asia*, (Brookings Institution Press, 2008)

15 July ASEAN: Talk-Shop or Security Community?

Amitav Acharya 'The Evolution of ASEAN Norms and the Emergence of the 'ASEAN Way'' from his *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia*, Routledge, London, 2001, pp.47-79

Noel M. Morada, 'ASEAN at 40: Prospects for Community Building in Southeast Asia', in *Asia-Pacific Review*, Vol.15, No.1, 2008, pp.36-55

Donald K. Emmerson, 'Security, Community, and Democracy in Southeast Asia: Analyzing ASEAN', *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Vol.6, No.2, pp.165-185

David Martin Jones and Michael L. R. Smith, 'Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order', *International Security*, Vol.32, No.1, 2007, pp.148-184

See also the Special Issue of *The Pacific Review* "ASEAN at 40" vol. 21 no.4 (September 2008)

22 July Regional Institutions: Process, Persuasion and Progress

Yuen Foong Khong and Helen E. S. Nesadurai, 'Hanging Together, Institutional Design, and Cooperation in Southeast Asia: AFTA and the ARF', in Amitav Acharya and Alistair Iain Johnston (eds.), *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp.32-82

'Persuasion' in Alistair Iain Johnston, *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2008, pp.155-196

David Martin Jones and Michael L. R. Smith, 'Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order', *International Security*, Vol.32, No.1, 2007, pp.148-184

Further Reading

Brian L. Job, "Track 2 Diplomacy: Ideational Contribution to the Evolving Security Order," in *Asian Security Order*, 241-279

Douglas Webber, "Two funerals and a wedding? The ups and downs of regionalism in East Asia and the Asia-Pacific after the crisis," *The Pacific Review*, Volume 14, Number 3, 339-372

John Ravenhill, 'A Three Bloc World? New East Asian Regionalism', *International Politics of the Asia Pacific*, 2 (2002)

John Ravenhill, *APEC and the Construction of Pacific Rim Regionalism* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001)

29 July Human and Non-Traditional Security in Asia

Dewi Fortuna Anwar, "Human Security: An intractable problem in Asia" in *Asian Security Order*, 536-570

Paul Evans, "Human Security and East Asia: In the Beginning," *Journal of East Asian Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2 [Blackboard]

"Introduction" in Mely Caballero-Anthony, Ralf Emmers and Amitav Acharya, (eds.) *Understanding Non-Traditional Security in Asia: Dilemmas in Securitization*, (Ashgate, 2005) [Blackboard]

Further Reading

Mely Caballero-Anthony, "Combating Infectious Diseases in East Asia: Securitisation and Global Public Goods for Health and Human Security," *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring/Summer 2006, pp. 105-127.

David Capie, "Localization as Resistance: The Contested Diffusion of Small Arms Norms in Southeast Asia" *Security Dialogue*, vol.39, no.6 (2008)

See the various chapters in Sorpong Peou (ed.), *Human Security in East Asia* (Routledge, London, 2008)

Mely Caballero-Anthony, "Non-Traditional Security and Multilateralism in Asia: Reshaping the Contours of Regional Security Architecture", in Bates Gill and Michael Green, eds., *Asia's New Multilateralism: Cooperation, Competition and the Search for Community* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008)

Ralf Emmers, "The securitization of transnational crime in ASEAN" Working paper no. 39 (RSIS, Singapore, 2002): available at: <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/WorkingPapers/WP39.pdf>

5 August Managing Internal Conflicts

Arun Swamy and John Gershman "Managing Internal Conflicts: The Dominance of the State," in *Asian Security Order*, 497-535

Additional readings to be distributed based on the case-studies chosen by the class

August 12 Managing Internal Conflicts 2

Readings to be distributed based on the cases chosen by the class

August 19 Looking ahead: the future of the Asian security order

David C. Kang, "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks," *International Security*, vol. 27, no.4 (2003)

Amitav Acharya, "Will Asia' Past Be Its Future?" *International Security*, vol. 28, no.3 (2004) 149-164

G. John Ikenberry, "A New Order in East Asia?" in Kent Calder and Francis Fukuyama (eds.) *East Asian Multilateralism: Prospects for Regional Stability* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2008)