

## **INTA 3131/6131 Pacific Security Issues, Spring 2024**

This is a Core IMPACTS course that is part of the Social Sciences area.

Core IMPACTS refers to the core curriculum, which provides students with essential knowledge in foundational academic areas. This course will help students master course content, and support students' broad academic and career goals.

This course should direct students toward a broad Orienting Question:

- How do I understand human experiences and connections?

Completion of this course should enable students to meet the following Learning Outcome:

- Students will effectively analyze the complexity of human behavior, and how historical, economic, political, social, or geographic relationships develop, persist, or change.

Course content, activities and exercises in this course should help students develop the following Career-Ready Competencies:

- Intercultural Competence
- Perspective-Taking
- Persuasion

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 3:30 p.m. – 4:45 p.m.

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Office hours: Wednesday 2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m. Please use [Book time with Dalton Lin: Office Hours](#) to book time slots.

## Course Description

This course aims to introduce students to primary security issues in the Western Pacific region and provide some tools to consider the subject. Topics to be covered include the international security structure in the Western Pacific, the cross-Taiwan Strait dispute, the North Korean nuclear issue, and territorial disputes in the South China Sea and East China Sea.

## Reading Materials

The following books are required for the course:

Thomas J. Christensen, *Worse than a Monolith: Alliance Politics and Problems of Coercive Diplomacy in Asia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011)

Shelly Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011)

Victor Cha and David Kang, *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2018)

Other readings are available on *Canvas* or through the Georgia Tech Library online resources.

## Requirements and Evaluation

This course is run primarily as seminars that require active and engaged participation. Students enrolled in this course have the following responsibilities:

(1) **Make two intelligence briefings**, one before February 27 and one after.

When preparing for your briefing, survey news about the Western Pacific since the last class session, and choose a few you think are critical to the Pacific regional security environment and present them in class.

When briefing, tell the class what the news is, why it is important, and what to follow in the future. Each briefing should be less than 5 minutes.

If you don't find anything "critical," choose a few news pieces and tell the class why you don't think they are not crucial enough to deserve attention.

(2) **Submit one response paper** on one of the following discussion topics:

- Alternative Explanations of the Cross-Strait Dispute
- Prospects for the Cross-Strait Dispute
- Hawkish Arguments on Dealing with North Korea
- Dovish Arguments on Dealing with North Korea
- Prospects for the North Korean Nuclear Issue
- Scholarly Explanations of China's Strategies in the South China Sea
- China's Gray-zone operations in the South China Sea
- Prospects for the South China Sea Disputes
- Japan's Role in the East China Sea Disputes and Beyond

The response paper should be single-spaced, two pages in length at maximum, with 12-point fonts and 1-inch margins. Students who submit response papers on a topic will help lead the topic's discussion. Therefore, please end your response paper with a few discussion questions.

Response papers are due at 10:00 p.m. the day before the topic's session. For example, we will discuss "Alternative Explanations of the Cross-Strait Dispute" on February 15, so your response papers are due February 14 at 10:00 p.m. To submit your response papers, please go to our course page on Canvas, click "Discussions," and post your response papers under the matching topic title.

When writing your response paper, respond to the week's readings and ask yourself: What are the security issues? How are the security issues related to concepts learned in class? How do the readings explain the issues? What do the authors of the readings suggest in dealing with the issues? Have the issues' developments validated the course concepts or the authors' analyses? Why or why not? Then, you help lead the discussion in class by raising these questions and inviting your classmates to share their thoughts.

(3) **Complete a policy memo** on one security issue in the Western Pacific.

The range of possible issues is vast: U.S.-China competition in the Pacific island nations, climate change, the future of various regional alliances, China's Belt and Road Initiative in various Southeast Asian countries, and supply-chain security, to name a few. Your assignment is to produce a well-researched analytical policy memo on the issue.

In this analysis, you will need to:

1. Clearly describe the issue.
2. Analytically evaluate the current policy outcomes by applying the knowledge learned in class.
3. Provide policy recommendations.

Length guidelines: 2 pages, 12-point font, 1" all around.

Stylistic guidelines:

1. Use the policy memo format provided.
2. Don't forget page numbers.
3. Consult scholarly sources for your evidence; do not rely solely on journalistic sources.
4. Use endnotes instead of footnotes for your citations.

Your grade will mainly reflect (1) your demonstrated research effort and (2) your success in presenting and supporting a clear analytical argument with specific evidence from relevant sources. Substantively excellent papers with significant style problems will not be awarded a grade in the A range.

**Your policy memo is due on April 26, 2024.**

**(4) Submit a discussion handout** for your proposed policy memo topic (no more than one page)

Your discussion handout is due at 10:00 p.m. on the day before your presentation. In the handout, you should answer the following questions: What is the security issue? Why does it matter? What interests are at stake, and for whom? What is the current policy? How well does the policy serve the interests at stake? The assigned article on April 11, "How Much Risk Should the United States Run in the South China Sea?" by M. Taylor Fravel and Charles L. Glaser, provides an excellent thought structure to guide your research.

**(5) Proactively participate in class discussion.**

Your participation grade is determined by your class participation, policy memo topic presentation, feedback on others' topics, and Q&A in intelligence briefings.

Grades will be determined as follows:

- Intelligence briefing (10%, 5% each)
- Response paper (10%)
- Discussion handout (10%)
- Class participation (35%)
- Policy memo (35%)

## **Course Information and Policies**

**Announcements:** Important information about the course will be announced through Canvas. I encourage students to set up receiving notifications from Canvas to avoid

missing critical communication (Go to Canvas, then Account, then Notifications, and check Announcement).

**Office Hours:** I will hold office hours each week. Please use [Book time with Dalton Lin: Office Hours](#) to make appointments. Feel free to email me to set up appointments if the assigned office hours do not accommodate your schedule.

**Cheating and Plagiarism:** Cheating and plagiarism are serious offenses and directly violate the Georgia Tech Academic Honor Code. Plagiarizing is defined by Webster's as "to steal and pass off (the ideas or words of another) as one's own: use (another's production) without crediting the source." If caught cheating or plagiarizing, you will be dealt with according to the GT Academic Honor Code. For any questions involving these or any other Academic Honor Code issues, please consult the professor or [www.honor.gatech.edu](http://www.honor.gatech.edu).

This course is offered by the Ivan Allen College of Liberal Arts. The Ivan Allen College supports the Georgia Institute of Technology's commitment to creating a campus free of discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity, or veteran status. We further affirm the importance of cultivating an intellectual climate that allows us to better understand the similarities and differences of those who constitute the Georgia Tech community, as well as the necessity of working against inequalities that may also manifest here as they do in the broader society. If you have any concerns about inclusive diversity in this course, please don't hesitate to raise them to the instructor.

**\*\*\*Note: Syllabus subject to change\*\*\***

## **Schedule**

### **January 9: Introduction**

### **January 11: Mini lecture on structural realism and liberalism**

- John Mearsheimer, "Structural Realism," in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, editors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 71-88. Canvas.

- Jessica L. Weeks, “Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict,” *American Political Science Review* Vol. 106, No. 2 (2012): 326-347.

### **Topic One: The Evolution of the Pacific Security Structure—What Historical Lessons We Have Learned?**

#### **January 16: The Theoretical Framework**

- Glenn H. Snyder, “The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics,” *World Politics* Vol. 36, No. 4 (1984), pp. 461-95.
- Christensen, *Worse than a Monolith*, Chapter 1.

#### **January 18: The Evolution of the Pacific Security Structure—The Twilight of the Cold War**

- Christensen, *Worse than a Monolith*, Chapter 2.

#### **January 23: The Evolution of the Pacific Security Structure—Deterrence Failures and the Korean War**

- Christensen, *Worse than a Monolith*, Chapter 3.

#### **January 25: The Evolution of the Pacific Security Structure—U.S. Regional Alliance Formation**

- Christensen, *Worse than a Monolith*, Chapter 4.
- Victor Cha, “Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia,” *International Security* Vol. 34, No. 3 (2009), pp. 158-96.

#### **January 30: The Evolution of the Pacific Security Structure—The Sino-Soviet Split and the Lead-up to the Vietnam War**

- Christensen, *Worse than a Monolith*, Chapter 5.

### **February 1: The Evolution of the Pacific Security Structure—The Sino-U.S. Rapprochement and the Japan and Taiwan Issues**

- Christensen, *Worse than a Monolith*, Chapter 6.

### **February 6: The Evolution of the Pacific Security Structure—From the Cold War to Post-Cold War**

- Christensen, *Worse than a Monolith*, Chapter 7.
- Kurt M. Campbell and Jake Sullivan, "Competition without Catastrophe: How American Can Both Challenge and Coexist with China," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 98, No. 5 (September/October 2019), pp. 96-110.
- Dalton Lin, "The Belt and Road Initiative and China's Pursuit of Agenda-Setting Power," *Orbis* Vol. 67, No. 4 (2023), pp. 496-523.

### **Topic Two: The Taiwan Strait Dispute**

#### **February 8: Lecture—Past, Present, and Prospects for the Taiwan Strait Dispute**

- Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters*, Chapters 1, 2 & 4.
- Adam P. Liff and Dalton Lin, "The 'One China' Framework after 50 Years (1972-2022): The Myth of 'Consensus' and Its Evolving Policy Significance Today," *The China Quarterly* No. 252 (2022), pp. 977-1000.

#### **February 13: Lecture—The Cross-Strait Commitment Problem**

- Dalton Lin, "'One China' and the Cross-Taiwan Strait Commitment Problem," *The China Quarterly* Vol. 252, pp. 1094-1116.
- Robert S. Ross, "The 1995-1996 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Coercion, Credibility, and the Use of Force" *International Security* 25:2 (Fall 2000) pp.87-123
- Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters*, Chapter 7.

## **February 15: Alternative Explanations of the Cross-Strait Dispute**

- Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters*, Chapter 8.
- Shirley Lin, *Taiwan's China Dilemma* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), Chapter 1. Canvas.
- Alan M. Wachman, *Why Taiwan?* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), Chapters 1 & 2. Canvas.
- Scott Kastner, "Is the Taiwan Strait Still a Flash Point?" *International Security* 40:3 (Winter 2015/16), pp. 54-92.

## **February 20: Prospects for the Cross-Strait Dispute**

- Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Strait Talk: United States-Taiwan Relations and the Crisis with China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), Chapter 1. Canvas.
- Alan D. Romberg, *Rein in at the Brink of the Precipice: American Policy toward Taiwan and U.S.-PRC Relations* (Washington, DC: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2003), Chapter 1. Canvas.
- Richard Haass and David Sacks, "American Support for Taiwan Must Be Unambiguous," *Foreign Affairs*, September 2, 2020. Canvas.
- Bonnie S. Glaswer; Michael J. Mazarr; Michael J. Glennon; Richard Hass and David Sacks, "Dire Straits," *Foreign Affairs*, September 24, 2020. Canvas.

## **Topic Two: The North Korean Nuclear Issue**

### **February 22: History of the Issue and Policy Debates**

- Council on Foreign Relations, "North Korean Nuclear Negotiations, 1985-2019," <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/north-korean-nuclear-negotiations>
- Sue Mi Terry and Max Boot, "The Wrong Lessons from North Korea," *Foreign Affairs*, April 22, 2015. Canvas.
- Robert L. Gallucci and Joel S. Wit, "Nuclear Knowledge: What North Korea Says about Iran," *Foreign Affairs*, May 5, 2015. Canvas.
- Jong Kun Choi, "The Perils of Strategic Patience with North Korea," *The*



*Washington Quarterly* Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 57-72.

- Cha and Kang, *Nuclear North Korea*, Chapter 1.

#### **February 27: Hawkish Arguments on Dealing with North Korea**

- Cha and Kang, *Nuclear North Korea*, Chapters 1 & 4.

#### **February 29: Dovish Arguments on Dealing with North Korea**

- Cha and Kang, *Nuclear North Korea*, Chapters 2 & 3.

#### **March 5: Prospects for the North Korean Nuclear Issue**

- Cha and Kang, *Nuclear North Korea*, Chapter 6.
- Jung H. Pak, "What Kim Wants: The Hopes and Fears of North Korea's Dictator," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 99, No. 3 (2020), pp. 96-106.
- Robert Jervis and Mira Rapp-Hooper, "Perception and Misperception on the Korean Peninsula," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 97, No. 3 (2018), pp. 103-117.
- Sue Mi Terry, "North Korea's Nuclear Opportunism: Why Kim Jong Un Chose to Exploit the Ukraine Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, March 24, 2022. Canvas.
- Jamie Kwong and Ankit Panda, "Diplomacy with Pyongyang Might Still Work Better Than Coercion," *Foreign Affairs*, November 15, 2023. Canvas.

#### **March 7, 12, 14: Discussing Policy Memo Proposals**

#### **March 19, 21: Spring Break**

#### **Topic Three: The South China Sea Disputes**

#### **March 26: History of the Issue and Interests at Stake**

- Council on Foreign Relations, Timeline: China's Maritime Disputes, <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/chinas-maritime-disputes>
- Exploring Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative, <https://amti.csis.org/>. Especially Maps of Chinese Power Projection Capabilities in the South China Sea, Maritime Claims of the Indo-Pacific, and South China Sea Features (all under the tab MAPS) and the Island Tracker database (under the tab ISLAND TRACKER).
- Derek Watkins, "What China Has Been Building in the South China Sea," *New York Times*, February 29, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/07/30/world/asia/what-china-has-been-building-in-the-south-china-sea-2016.html?searchResultPosition=1> (Canvas has a non-multimedia version)
- Megan Specia and Mikko Takkunen, "South China Sea Photos Suggest a Military Building Spree by Beijing," *New York Times*, Feb. 8, 2018. Canvas.
- Ben Dolven, Susan V. Lawrence, and Ronald O'Rourke, *South China Sea Disputes: Background and U.S. Policy*, CRS In Focus, December 22, 2020, <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10607>.
- Ronald O'Rourke, *U.S.-China Strategic Competition in South and East China Seas: Background and Issues for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, December 29, 2020, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42784.pdf>, pp. 1-40.

For further reading:

Tufts University Fletcher School, Law of the Sea: A Policy Primer, <https://sites.tufts.edu/lawofthesea/chapter-two/> (especially Chapter 2)

### **March 28 and April 2: Scholarly Explanations of China's Strategies in the South China Sea**

- M. Taylor Fravel, "China's Strategy in the South China Sea," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* Vol. 33, No. 3 (2011), pp. 292-319.
- Andrew Taffer, "State Strategy in Territorial Conflict: A Conceptual Analysis of China's Strategy in the South China Sea," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* Vol. 37, No. 1 (2015), pp. 85-108.
- Ketian Zhang, "Cautious Bully: Reputation, Resolve, and Beijing's Use of Coercion in the South China Sea," *International Security* Vol. 44, No. 1 (2019), pp. 117-159.
- Andrew Chubb, "PRC Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Measuring Continuity and Change, 1970-2015," *International Security* Vol. 45, No. 3 (2021), pp. 79-121.

#### April 4, 9: China's Gray-zone operations in the South China Sea

- Andrew Erickson and Ryan Martinson, "War without Gun Smoke: China's Paranaival Challenge in the Maritime Gray Zone," in Andrew Erickson and Ryan Martinson (eds.), *China's Maritime Gray Zone Operations* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2019). Canvas.
- Bonnie Glaser and Matthew Funaiolo, "South China Sea: Assessing Chinese Paranaival Behavior within the Nine-Dash Line," in Andrew Erickson and Ryan Martinson (eds.), *China's Maritime Gray Zone Operations* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2019). Canvas.
- Case: The Second Thomas Shoal and Whitsun Reef
  - "China Coast Guard Harass Second Thomas Shoal Resupply Mission," USNI, October 6, 2023. <https://news.usni.org/2023/10/06/china-coast-guard-harass-second-thomas-shoal-resupply-mission#:~:text=The%20Philippines%20conducted%20a%20successful,despite%20China's%20attempts%20at%20obstruction> (see the recounts of Chinese actions)
  - "South China Sea Tensions: Confrontation between China and the Philippines." Al Jazeera, September, 10, 2023. <https://youtu.be/Faj9EhkgBIY>
  - "South China Sea: Biden Says US Will Defend the Philippines If China Attacks," BBC, October 26, 2023. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-67224782?fbclid=IwAR2xLTh5PJFWIR1-vW6Fxjtb3L2JvvuGqDAMfT7fAbm8lcyjulguW2YByrU>
  - "US, Philippines Discuss Chinese 'Swarming' in South China Sea," Al Jazeera, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/1/us-philippines-discuss-chinese-swarming-in-south-china-sea>.
  - "Philippines Releases Video Showing Chinese Boats at Whitsun Reef," WION, December 3, 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHZnf2Phj3I>
- Alexander Vuving, "China's Grand-Strategy Challenge: Creating Its Own Islands in the South China Sea," *The National Interest*, December 8, 2014. Canvas.
- James R. Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, "Deterring China in the "Gray Zone": Lessons of the South China Sea for U.S. Alliances," *Orbis* Vol. 61, No. 3 (2017), pp.

322-339.

- Ely Ratner, "Learning the Lessons of Scarborough Reef," *The National Interest*, November 21, 2013, <https://nationalinterest.org/commentary/learning-the-lessons-scarborough-reef-9442>

#### **April 11: Prospects for the South China Sea Disputes**

- Shisheng Zhao, "East Asian Disorder: China and the South China Sea Disputes," *Asian Survey* Vol. 60, No. 3 (2020), pp. 490-509.
- Huong Le Thu, "Vietnam's Response to the United States' Changing Approach to the South China Sea," *Asia Unbound*, August 3, 2020, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/vietnams-response-united-states-changing-approach-south-china-sea>
- Pham Ngoc Minh Trang, "South China Sea: The Disputes and Southeast Asia's Culture of International Law", *The Diplomat*, October 22, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/10/south-china-sea-the-disputes-and-southeast-asias-culture-of-international-law/>
- China Power, China's Coercive Trade Measures toward Australia: A Conversation with Jeffrey Wilson, December 22, 2020, [https://chinapower.csis.org/podcasts/chinas-coercive-trade-measures-toward-australia/?utm\\_source=CSIS+All&utm\\_campaign=33ccf89bf6-EMAIL\\_CAMPAIGN\\_2018\\_09\\_04\\_03\\_13\\_COPY\\_01&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_f326fc46b6-33ccf89bf6-185685017](https://chinapower.csis.org/podcasts/chinas-coercive-trade-measures-toward-australia/?utm_source=CSIS+All&utm_campaign=33ccf89bf6-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2018_09_04_03_13_COPY_01&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_f326fc46b6-33ccf89bf6-185685017)
- Oriana Skylar Mastro, Contingency Planning Memorandum No. 36: Military Confrontation in the South China Sea, Center for Preventive Action, May 21, 2020, <https://www.cfr.org/report/military-confrontation-south-china-sea>.
- M. Taylor Fravel and Charles L. Glaser, "How Much Risk Should the United States Run in the South China Sea?" *International Security* Vol. 47, No. 2 (Fall 2022), pp. 88-134.

#### **Topic Four: The East China Sea Disputes**

##### **April 16: History of the Issue and Interests at Stake**

- Council on Foreign Relations, Tensions in the East China Sea, <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/tensions-east-china-sea>
- Council on Foreign Relations, China's Maritime Disputes in the South China Sea and East China Sea, September 17, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d8qo3h50OHc&feature=youtu.be>
- Todd Hall, "More Significance than Value: Explaining Developments in the Sino-Japanese Contest Over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands," *Texas National Security Review* Vol. 2, No. 4 (2019), pp. 11-37. <https://tnsr.org/2019/09/more-significance-than-value-explaining-developments-in-the-sino-japanese-contest-over-the-senkaku-diaoyu-islands/>
- Alessio Patalano, "What Is China's Strategy in the Senkaku Islands?" *War on the Rocks*, September 10, 2020. <https://warontherocks.com/2020/09/what-is-chinas-strategy-in-the-senkaku-islands/>

#### **April 18: Japan's Role in the East China Sea Disputes and Beyond**

- Adam P. Liff, "China, Japan, and the East China Sea: Beijing's 'Gray Zone' Coercion and Tokyo's Response," *Global China*, Brookings Institute, December 2, 2019, [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/FP\\_20191202\\_east\\_china\\_sea\\_liff.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/FP_20191202_east_china_sea_liff.pdf)
- Kazuto Suzuki, "Japan's View of the North Korean Threat," *IAI Commentary* Vol. 18, No. 22 (2018). Canvas.
- Jeffrey W. Hornung, *Japan's Potential Contributions in an East China Sea Contingency* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2020), Summary and Chapter 2. Canvas.
- Adam P. Liff, "Kishida the Accelerator: Japan's Evolution After Abe," *Washington Quarterly* Vol. 46, No. 1 (2023), pp. 63-83.

#### **April 23: Prospects**

- Bonnie Glaser and Oriana Skylar Mastro, "How an Alliance System Withers," *Foreign Affairs*, September 9, 2019. Canvas.
- Kurt M. Campbell and Rush Doshi, "How America Can Shore Up Asian Order," *Foreign Affairs*, January 12, 2021. Canvas.
- Discuss: <https://chinasurvey.csis.org/>