

Spring 2023  
PS7622 The International Relations of the Cold War in East Asia  
(322 M5390)

Class Information:

- Time: Tuesdays, 13:20-15:10
- Place: Room 609, Social Sciences Building

Instructor:

- Name: **Shiu Cheung Alan Kwan** ([alan.s.c.kwan1@gmail.com](mailto:alan.s.c.kwan1@gmail.com))

**Course Description:**

Is there a new Cold War between China and the United States? This graduate seminar course examines the history of the Cold War in East Asia from 1945 onwards to answer this question, on the premise that we must understand the legacies of the Cold War to make sense of the US-China rivalry and competition in the present. This course focuses mainly on China, Japan, and Korea, occasionally covering key events in Southeast Asia, because the Cold War in East Asia differed from the Cold War in Europe. While the Cold War came to a definitive end in the West with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the same cannot be said in the case of East Asia, where both China and Korea remain divided into two separate states. Not only are the chronological boundaries of the Cold War more fluid in the case of East Asia, the Cold War actually turned “hot” in East Asia, resulting in frequent and bloody escalations of violence. For countries in East Asia, the Cold War was not only a global contest between two rival superpowers and ideologies. It was a struggle to define themselves and their place in the world after the collapse of the European and Japanese empires and during the rise of the American and Soviet hegemonies in the region.

Drawing on readings from history, political science, and international relations, this seminar assesses competing theories and explanations for key events in the Cold War in East Asia, and whether these theories are useful in helping us better understand contemporary international politics in East Asia.

## Course Objectives:

While previous knowledge of the overall history of the Cold War would be helpful, it is not a prerequisite for students wishing to enroll in this course. By the end of this course, students should demonstrate:

- A good historical understanding of the key topics of the Cold War in East Asia;
- A reasonable degree of literacy in the existing literature on the Cold War in East Asia; and
- A good understanding of arguments drawn from history and international relations used to explain the Cold War and the ability to analyze and critique these arguments

## Requirements:

**Active Participation:** Each weekly seminar's readings will be centered around one topic with one to two discussion questions. You should prepare for discussion in each week's seminar by completing the readings of the week and being prepared to the discussion questions.

**Class Presentation:** Students will be asked to take turns to prepare a presentation, each lasting a maximum of thirty minutes covering the readings and discussion questions listed for each week. In this presentation, you should include:

1. Your understanding of what issues the selected books and articles are dealing with and how they respond and analyze those issues;
2. Your critiques of the analysis and interpretations proposed in the books and articles.

**Writing:** Each student is required to submit two Review Essays, one in Week 9 on any topic covered in Weeks 3 to 8, and one in Week 16 on any topic covered in Weeks 10 to 15. Your review essays should analyze one or more the key issues that the assigned readings address, locate the authors' chief positions and arguments regarding those issues, and comment critically on the state of the debate and the value of individual contributions to it. It should be no more than 3,000 words and be in a font size no smaller than 12 in a Microsoft Word document. **Your Review Essays should be emailed to me by 5pm on Tuesday of Weeks 9 and 16.** Late submissions will be penalized one third of a grade for each day that the assignment is late (e.g. from a B to a B-).

## **Grading:**

- Mid-Term Review Essay on any of the weekly seminar topics covered in weeks 3 to 9 (45%)
- End of Term Review Essay on any of the weekly seminar topics covered in weeks 10-16 (45%)
- Class Participation (10%)

## **Week 1 (2/21): Introduction and course administration**

## **Week 2 (2/28): Peace Memorial Day**

## **Week 3 (3/7): The arrival of the US and Soviet hegemonies in East Asia**

1. How did the United States become an Asian power and what was the nature of the immediate post-war settlement?
2. How useful is neo-realism in explaining the nature of the immediate post-war settlement?

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 1979), chapter 6, pp. 102-129.

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War* (London: Allen Lane, 2005), chapter 1, pp. 5-48.

Charles S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and its Predecessors* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006), chapter 1, pp. 24-78; chapter 4, pp. 151-191.

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Introduction and chapter 1, pp. 1-38.

## **Week 4 (3/14): The origins of the US-Japan alliance**

1. How did Japan become the central component of the United States' presence in East Asia?
2. How useful is Stephen Walt's theory on the origins of alliances in explaining the US-Japan alliance?

John Swenson-Wright, *Unequal Allies? United States Security and Alliance Policy Toward Japan, 1945-1960* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005), chapters 1 & 2, pp. 21-77.

Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1987), chapters 1, 2, 5, and conclusion, pp. 1-50, 147-181, 262-287.

Sayuri Guthrie-Shimuzu, "Japan, the United States, and the Cold War, 1945-1960," in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 244-266.

Naoko Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 255-296.

### **Week 5 (3/21): The loss of China and the rise of the PRC**

1. Why did the United States and China fail to establish relations with each other in 1949?
2. What were some of the consequences of this?

Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), introduction, chapters 1 to 4, pp. 3-138.

Stephen Ambrose, *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938* (London: Penguin, 1998), chapters 5 & 6, pp. 79-116.

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), chapter 2, pp. 38-49.

Michael M. Sheng, "Chinese Communist Policy Towards the United States and the Myth of the 'Lost Chance', 1948-1950," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1994), pp. 475-502.

### **Week 6 (3/28): Leaning to one side and origins of the Sino-Soviet alliance**

1. Outline the origins and phases of Sino-Soviet cooperation and assess the consequences for the region and the two states involved.
2. How did US policy towards the PRC spur cooperation between the PRC and the Soviet Union?

Mao Zedong, "Leaning to one side" (1949), in W.M. Theodore de Bary and Richard Lufrano (eds.), *Sources of Chinese Tradition, Volume 2: From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 452-453.

Niu Jin, "The Origins of the Sino-Soviet Alliance," in Odd Arne Westad (ed.), *Brothers in Arms: the Rise and Fall of the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1945-1963* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 47-89.

Odd Arne Westad, *Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1946-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. 297-326.

Ilya V. Gaiduk, "The Second Front of the Soviet Cold War: Asia in the System of Moscow's Foreign Policy Priorities, 1945-1946," in Tsuyoshi Hasegawa (ed.), *The Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1951* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 63-80.

Chen Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War: The Making of Sino-American Confrontation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 33-63 and pp. 92-121.

#### **Week 7 (4/4): National Holiday**

#### **Week 8 (4/11): The Korean War**

1. Should the Korean War best be seen as an international or a civil conflict?
2. Might the war have been averted?

Stephen E. Ambrose, *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938* (London: Penguin, 1998), chapter 7, pp. 116-132.

William Stueck, *The Korean War: An International History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), chapter 1, pp. 10-47.

John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), chapter 3, pp. 54-85.

Rosemary Foot, *The Wrong War: American Policy and the Dimensions of the Korean Conflict, 1950-1953* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), introduction, chapter 2 and 3, pp. 23-88; conclusions, pp. 232-247.

#### **Week 9 (4/18)\* Submit Mid-Term Review Essay**

### **Week 10 (4/25): The Taiwan Crises**

1. How potentially explosive were the crises over Taiwan in 1950s and what prevented them from spiraling out of control?
2. What role did containment play in the American response to these crises?

Ronald W. Pruessen, "Over the Volcano: The United States and the Taiwan Strait Crisis, 1954-55," in Robert S. Ross and Jian Changbin (eds.), *Re-examining the Cold War: US-China Diplomacy, 1954-1973* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 77-106.

Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), chapter 6, pp. 194-242.

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), chapter 7 and 8, pp. 163-277.

Simei Qing, "Inducement versus Containment: US China Policy under Eisenhower," in Robert S. Ross and Jian Changbin (eds.), *Re-examining the Cold War: US-China Diplomacy, 1954-1973* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 169-205.

### **Week 11 (5/2): The Vietnam War (seminar 1)**

1. How useful is it to think of the Vietnam War as a colonial war, and why did the United States become involved?

Mark Philip Bradley, "Making Sense of the French War: The Postcolonial Moment and the First Vietnam War, 1945-1954," in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall (eds.), *The First Vietnam War: Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 16-41.

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), chapter 5, pp. 118-145.

Marilyn B. Young, "'The Same Struggle for Liberty': Korea and Vietnam," in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall (eds.), *The First Vietnam War: Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 196-215.

Robert D. Schulzinger, *A Time for War: The United States and Vietnam, 1941-1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), chapters 4 to 6, pp. 69-154; chapters 9 and 10, pp. 215-273.

### **Week 12 (5/9): The Vietnam War (seminar 2)**

1. How did the Vietnam War end and what were the ramifications of the conflict?
2. Is there evidence to support the view that China, the Soviet Union, and the United States viewed themselves as being strategically interdependent?

Robert Schulzinger, *A Time for War: The United States and Vietnam, 1941-1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), chapters 11, 12 and conclusion, pp. 274-337.

Michael Schaller, "Détente and the Strategic Triangle: Or, Drinking your Mao Tai and Having Your Vodka, too," in Robert S. Ross and Jian Changbin (eds.), *Re-examining the Cold War. US-China Diplomacy, 1954-1973* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 361-393.

James G. Herschberg and Chen Jian, "Informing the Enemy: Sino-American 'Signaling' and the Vietnam War, 1965," in Priscilla Roberts (ed.), *Behind the Bamboo Curtain: China, Vietnam, and the World beyond Asia* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006), pp. 193-257.

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), chapter 8, pp. 205-238.

### **Week 13 (5/16): The Sino-Soviet split**

1. What are the origins and phases of the Sino-Soviet split and what were its consequences for the region and the two states involved?
2. How useful is the security dilemma in explaining the Sino-Soviet split?

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (January 1978), pp. 167-214.

Gordon H. Chang, *Friends and Enemies: The United States, China and the Soviet Union, 1948-1972* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990), chapters 1 and 2, pp. 5-81; chapter 5, pp. 143-175.

Lorenz M. Luthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), chapters 3 through 5, chapter 10 and conclusion, pp. 80-194, pp. 302-353.

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), chapter 3, pp. 49-85.

### **Week 14 (5/23): Détente and the US-China rapprochement**

1. Was détente possible because of the weakening of the great powers during the Vietnam War, the cyclical crisis in capitalism, or the rise of popular protests?
2. What effect did the US-China rapprochement have on Sino-Japanese relations?

Lien-Hang Nguyen, "The Vietnam Decade: The Global Shock of the War," in Niall Ferguson, Charles S. Maier, Erez Manela, and Daniel J. Sargent (eds.), *The Shock of the Global: the 1970s in Perspective* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 159-172.

Charles S. Maier, "Malaise: The Crisis of Capitalism in the 1970s," in Niall Ferguson, Charles S. Maier, Erez Manela, and Daniel J. Sargent (eds.), *The Shock of the Global: the 1970s in Perspective* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 25-48.

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), chapter 9, pp. 238-277.

Kazuhiko Togo, "Japan's Foreign Policy under Détente: Relations with China and the Soviet Union, 1971-1973," in Tsuyoshi Hasegawa (ed.), *The Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1991* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 180-240.

### **Week 15 (5/30): Post-Cold War regional order and prospects for multilateralism**

1. What are the prospects and requirements for the establishment of a new security order in East Asia?
2. One vision of such an order sees a multipolar region with states competing against each other, while another competing vision sees a much more hierarchical order taking shape. Which do you find more credible and why?

Aaron Friedberg, "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Winter 1993-1994), pp. 5-33.

David Kang. "Hierarchy and Stability in Asian International Relations", G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno (eds.) *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 163-89.

Muthiah Alagappa, "Conceptualizing Security: Hierarchy and Conceptual Traveling," in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 677-701.



Muthiah Alagappa, "Asian Practice of Security: Key Features and Explanations," in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 611-76.

**Week 16 (6/6): Submit End of Term Review Essay**