

## HSEA 4842: EAST ASIA IN THE LONG COLD WAR, 1945-2010S

FALL 2016

Instructor: Victor Louzon

### Course overview

This course charts the history of East Asia in the long Cold War, from 1945 to contemporary developments, focusing mainly on China, Japan and Korea, with occasional forays into Southeast Asia.

What we term the “Cold War” from a narrowly Western perspective had remarkable peculiarities in the East Asian context. Not only was it actually “hot”, with frequent and bloody escalations of violence, but its chronological boundaries were, and still are, more fluid than in the United States or Europe. For East Asian countries, political forces and peoples, the Cold War was not only, and often not primarily, a global contest between two superpowers and/or ideologies. It was a struggle to redefine themselves and their place in the world after the collapse of colonial empires – European and Japanese – and during the rise of Soviet and American imperial hegemonies.

This task began on the very day Japan admitted defeat, August 15<sup>th</sup> 1945. Growing American and Soviet influence and rivalry in the region profoundly reshuffled power relations, but local actors at different scales used the superpowers for their own purposes as much as they supported them. China challenged the bipolar order as early as 1960. Lastly, the dissolution of the USSR did not entail the demise of Communist regimes in Beijing and Pyongyang (or Hanoi), nor a reunification between the two Koreas and the two sides of the Taiwan Strait.

### Course goals

This course aims at giving the students a general understanding of the Cold War and broader geopolitical dynamics in East Asia, from 1945 to the present day. To avoid the trap of confusing global history with the history of global powers and their influence, particular attention will be dedicated to the agency and strategies of local actors at different scales, first and foremost (but not exclusively) East Asian nation-states and contenders for statehood. Therefore, an important objective of this course will be to show how global and local agents made reciprocal use of one another in complex power games, and how world politics and ordinary lives intertwine. Last, in East Asia, the Cold War is still unfinished business: understanding its history can help us shed light on the conflicts and tensions of the present.

Previous knowledge of the overall history of the Cold War is recommended although not indispensable. Students who are unfamiliar with the time period are advised to read **Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times*, Cambridge University Press, 2006**. The book will be on reserve at the Starr East Asian Library; this is an important and useful book which students might consider buying.

### Attendance and behavior in class

Attendance is compulsory. If a student needs to miss one class for exceptional reasons, she or he must discuss it with the instructor beforehand.

Since this is a seminar course, it is indispensable that students read the texts assigned each week and participate actively in class discussions, which will be based on the readings.

Unless Services for Students with Disabilities confirms that you need an electronic device in order to take notes, laptop and pads are not allowed in class. Cell phones must be turned off or silenced and put away.

### **Disability Accommodation**

Students with disabilities are entitled to receive reasonable accommodations necessary for their full participation in the course and all of its requirements. If you are a student with a disability and have a DS-certified 'Accommodation Letter' please come to my office hours to confirm your accommodation needs. If you believe that you might have a disability that requires accommodation, you should contact Disability Services at 212-854-2388 and [disability@columbia.edu](mailto:disability@columbia.edu). For more information about accommodations and the process for acquiring them please see the following website: <http://www.college.columbia.edu/rightsandresponsibilities>.

### **Academic Integrity**

The academic integrity standards applied to this course will mirror those outlined in the University's official policy statements regarding intellectual honesty. These policies are listed here: <http://www.college.columbia.edu/academics/integrity-statement>. Any violations will be reported to the Office of Judicial Affairs and Community Standards.

### **Requirements and grading**

- 1) **Each week**, every student will write a **short post** (300-500 words) summarizing the main takeaways of the week's readings to help prepare for discussion. Oral participation and weekly posts will make up **30% of the final grade**.
- 2) **Each week, one or two students** (depending on the size of the group) will **present** the compulsory readings and start the discussion (**15% of the final grade**). NB: if two students are presenting, they will be given the same grade.
- 3) Each student will write a **critical book review** (ca. 1500 words), **due on week 7**. The book will be agreed on with the lecturer **by week 5**. A list of suggested works will be provided on the first day, but students are free to come forward with other ideas. The review should synthesize briefly the book's argument(s) and compare it with divergent views, as well as discuss its contribution to the field as well as any limitations (**20% of the final grade**).
- 4) Each student will write a **research paper, due on week 13**. The paper will address a question of the student's choice after approval by the lecturer. A list of suggested topics will be provided on the first day. Students are welcome to make other suggestions. The research paper should tackle a specific historical question based on diversified and up to date scholarship. Students are expected to confront points of view and defend their own position in a balanced, well-argued and organized manner. A bibliography must be included, as well as detailed references to the works used and cited. Using primary sources (historical documents) is welcome but not required. The expected length of the paper is 12-15 pages for undergraduate students and 15-20 pages for MA students (Times New Roman 12, double spaced). The topic must be set by week 4, a bibliography provided by week 6 and a first draft (at least half the length of the final paper) by week 10,

so that feedback can be given in time. The research paper accounts for **35% of the final grade**.

Late work will be sanctioned (minus 5% for each day).

## SCHEDULE AND WEEKLY READINGS

All the readings listed below are compulsory. Some of the texts can be accessed online via CLIO. The other ones are available at several of the Columbia Libraries, and will all be put on reserve at the Starr East Asian Library. Students might consider buying **Tsuyoshi Hasegawa (ed.), *The Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1991*, Stanford University Press, 2011**, which we will use a lot.

### 1. Introduction and course administration

### 2. The age of self-determination?

Prasenjit Duara, “Decolonization and its legacy”, in John McNeill and Kenneth Pomeranz (eds.) *The Cambridge World History*, vol. VII, Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 395-419 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations*, Princeton University Press, 2009, pp. 28-65.

Dietmar Rothermund, *The Routledge Companion to Decolonization*, Routledge, 2006, pp. 41-101.

Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 1-55 and 190-208.

### 3. New masters in East Asia? The birth of U.S. and Soviet hegemonies

Marc Gallicchio, *The Scramble for Asia: U.S. Military Power in the Aftermath of the Pacific War*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2008, pp. 1-97.

Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan*, Belknap Press, 2005, pp. 252-289 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, Norton, 1999, pp. 65-84 and 203-224.

### 4. Dealing with enemies from within – old and new

John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, Norton, 1999, pp. 405-484.

Barak Kushner, *Men to Devils and Devils to Men: Japanese War Crimes and Chinese Justice*, Harvard University Press, 2015, pp. 69-107.

Konrad Lawson, “Wartime Atrocities and the Politics of Treason in the Ruins of the Japanese Empire, 1937-1953,” PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2012, pp. 271-345 (<https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/9795484>).

Deadline for choosing a research paper topic.

### 5. Leaning to one side: the Chinese revolution, the USSR and the US (1945-1950s)

Mao Zedong, “Leaning to one side” (1949), in Wm. Theodore de Bary and Richard Lufrano (eds.), *Sources of Chinese Tradition. From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century*, vol. II, Columbia University Press, 2000 (second edition), pp. 452-453.

Niu Jun, "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 University Press, 1998, pp. 47-89 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

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

Odd Arne Westad, "Struggles for Modernity: The Golden Years of the Sino-Soviet Alliance", in Tsuyoshi Hasegawa (ed.), *The Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1991*, Stanford University Press, 2011, pp. 35-62.

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, 1945-1991*, Stanford University Press, 2011, pp. 63-80.

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

Deadline for choosing the book to be reviewed

## **6. The first salvos: the Korean War, its origins and outcome**

Haruki Wada, *The Korean War: An International History*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2014, pp. 1-43.

Niu Jun, "The birth of the People's Republic of China and the road to the Korean War," in Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. I, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 221-241 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Chen Jian, "Reorienting the Cold War: The Implications of China's Early Cold War Experience, Taking Korea as a Central Test Case", in Tsuyoshi Hasegawa (ed.), *The Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1991*, Stanford University Press, 2011, pp. 81-97.

William Stueck, "The Korean War," in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. I, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 266-288 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Charles Armstrong, *Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950-1992*, Cornell University Press, 2013, pp. 52-93 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Nobuo Shimotomai, "Kim Il Sung's Balancing Act between Moscow and Beijing, 1956-1972", in Tsuyoshi Hasegawa (ed.), *The Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1991*, Stanford University Press, 2011, pp. 122-151.

Deadline for submitting a bibliography for the research paper.

## **7. Nationalism and ideology in the Indochina Wars (1946-1975)**

Christopher Goscha and Christian Ostermann (eds.), *Connecting Histories: Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia (1945-1962)*, Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2009:

- Christopher Goscha and Christian Ostermann, "Introduction", pp. 1-14.
- Ilya V. Gaiduk, "Soviet Cold War Strategy and Prospects of Revolution in Southeast Asia", pp. 123-136.

- Christopher Goscha, “Choosing between the Two Vietnams: 1950 and Southeast Asian Shifts in the International System”, pp. 207-257.

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, The University of North Carolina Press, 2001, pp. 118-144 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Fredrik Logevall, “The Indochina Wars and the Cold War, 1945–1975” in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, 2010, vol. II, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 281-304 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-79*, Yale University Press, 2008 (3<sup>rd</sup> edition), pp. 1-27.

Deadline for submitting the book review

### **8. The Chinese way: challenging Soviet hegemony in the Communist world**

Sergey Radchenko, “The Sino-Soviet Split,” in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. I, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 349-372 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Zhou Enlai's speech at Bandung (1955)

(<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/121623.pdf?v=e1cd06384e2e67bdff11f809ead78849>)

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, The University of North Carolina Press, 2001, pp. 145-162 and 205-237 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Rana Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle With the Modern World*, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 200-243.

Lorenz Lüthi, “Chinese Foreign Policy, 1960-1979,” in Tsuyoshi Hasegawa (ed.), *The Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1991*, Stanford University Press, 2011, pp. 152-180.

Alexander C. Cook (ed.), *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History*, University of California Press, 2014 (electronic resource available online via CLIO):

- Alexander C. Cook, “Introduction: the spiritual atom bomb and its global fallout”, pp. 1-22
- Xu Lanjun, “Translation and internationalism”, pp. 76-95.

### **9. Japan in the Cold War, between neutralization and autonomy**

Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, “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. I, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 244-266 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Michael Schaller, “Japan and the Cold War, 1960–1991”, in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the Cold War*, vol. III, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 156-180 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

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

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*, Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2011, pp. 180-240.

Carol Gluck, "The Idea of Showa", in Carol Gluck and Stephen R. Graubard (eds.), *Showa: The Japan of Hirohito*, Norton, 1992, pp. 1-26.

## 10. The developmental state in capitalist East Asia

Chalmers Johnson, "The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept", in Meredith Woo-Cumings (ed.), *The Developmental State*, Cornell University Press, 1999, pp. 32-60.

Bruce Jacobs, "Taiwan and South Korea: Comparing East Asia's Two "Third-Wave" Democracies", in *Issues & Studies*, 43:4 (2007), pp. 227-260 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Gregg Brazinsky, "Korea's Great Divergence: North and South Korea between 1972 and 1987", in Tsuyoshi Hasegawa (ed.), *The Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1991*, Stanford University Press, 2011, pp. 241-264.

Murray A. Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996", in Murray A. Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A New History*, M.E. Sharpe, 2007 (2<sup>nd</sup> expanded edition), pp. 366-402.

Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, I.B. Tauris, 2004, pp. 161-179 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Ezra Vogel, "Nation Rebuilders: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Lee Kuan Yew, Deng Xiaoping, and Park Chung Hee", in Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (eds.), *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, Harvard University Press, 2011, pp. 213-241 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Deadline for submitting a first draft of the research paper (at least half the length of the final paper).

## 11. An Asian détente?

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, The University of North Carolina Press, 2001, pp. 238-276 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

Henry Kissinger, *On China*, Penguin, 2011, chapters 9 and 10.

Jaw-ling Joanne Chang, "Taiwan's Policy Toward the United States, 1969-1978", in William C. Kirby, Robert S. Ross, and Gong Li (eds.), *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History*, Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 209-251.

Christopher Goscha, "Vietnam, the Third Indochina War and the meltdown of Asian internationalism", in Sophie Quinn-Judge and Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Third Indochina War: Conflict between China, Vietnam and Cambodia, 1972-1979*, Routledge, 2006, pp. 152-186.

Chen Jian, "China and the Cold War after Mao", in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. III, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 181-200 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

## 12. Is the Cold War over in East Asia? Geopolitical legacies

Martin K. Dimitrov, *Why Communism Did Not Collapse. Understanding Authoritarian Regime Resilience in Asia and Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 3-39 and 303-312.

Murray A. Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A New History*, M.E. Sharpe, 2007 (2<sup>nd</sup> expanded edition):

- Murray A. Rubinstein, "Political Taiwanization and Pragmatic Diplomacy: The Eras of Chiang Chingkuo and Lee Tenghui, 1971–1994", pp. 436-495.
- Cal Clark, "Taiwan Enters Troubled Waters: The Elective Presidencies of Lee Tenghui and Chen Shuibian", pp. 496-534.

Charles Armstrong, *Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950-1992*, Cornell University Press, 2013, pp. 243-293 (electronic resource available online via CLIO).

## 13. Is the Cold War over in East Asia? Memory wars and the (re)writing of the past

Sheila Miyoshi Jager and Rana Mitter (eds.), *Ruptured Histories. War, Memory and the Post-Cold War in Asia*, Harvard University Press, 2007:

- Carol Gluck, "Operations of Memory: "Comfort Women" and the World", pp. 47-77.
- Rana Mitter, "China's "Good War": Voices, Locations, and Generations in the Interpretation of the War of Resistance to Japan", pp. 172-192.
- Bruce Cumings, "The Korean War: What is it that We Are Remembering to Forget", pp. 266-291.
- Sheila Miyoshi Jager and Rana Mitter, "Epilogue: New Global Conflict? War, Memory and Post-9/11 Asia", pp. 322-331.

Movies:

Tsui Hark, *The Taking of Tiger Mountain*, 2014 (movie available at the Starr East Asian library; **a screening will be organized outside of class hours**).

Optional: Xie Tiel, *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, 1970 (libretto available at the Starr East Asian library; movie available in Chinese on Youtube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cjE0LDNycE8>).

Deadline for submitting the finished research paper.