

**PP 5193: Asian International and Strategic Thought**  
Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore  
**Class Timings:** Tues, 2-5 pm  
**Classroom:** SR 3-5  
**January 2017**

**Professor Kanti Bajpai**

**Office:** OTH Floor 3, Wing A

**Office Hours:** Wednesday 2-5 pm

**Phone:** 6-6796

**Email:** [sppkpb@nus.edu.sg](mailto:sppkpb@nus.edu.sg)

**Course Description**

This course is about Asian international and strategic thought, in particular the international and strategic thought of four of China, India, Japan, and Singapore. It asks: how have these four key countries thought about international relations and about how to deal with threats to national security. The objective here is to identify key values, principles, concepts, and lines of argument developed by leaders and thinkers and to compare and contrast these to each other and to Western thought. What is the range of thinking in Asia? How has Asian thought changed over time? In the case of China and India, as rising powers will their past and contemporary thought influence how we think about international order? Students will read the writings of leaders and thinkers in English or English translation as well as interpretive writings by country experts.

At the heart of International Thought is the question of order. Is order based on the threat and use of force, the existence of rules and institutions, or deeper acknowledgment of a common humanity? Should order be primarily between countries or should order transcend national boundaries and apply to all human beings? At the heart of Strategic Thought, is the question of how states can use their national resources – military, diplomatic, economic, cultural – to enhance their security from external and internal threats. How have Asians thought about these issues? How does Asian thought compare to various streams of Western thought? What are the similarities and differences between various Asian currents? How does Asian thinking influence their policies? These are the questions that will be central to the classes and assignments.

**Course Objectives**

This course is aimed to help students:

- Get an overview of the main streams of international and strategic thought in China, India, Japan, and Singapore by reading leading thinkers of those societies and important secondary interpretations
- Develop a comprehension of the range of thinking and why it is important for the policies of these countries
- Understand key thinkers and conceptualizations
- Think critically and analytically about Asian thought
- Assess if and how Asian thought gives us insights into international life and strategy and what the similarities and differences may be between the four traditions as well as between Asia and the West
- Write a paper on a key topic or debate on international and strategic thought within one or more of the four countries.

### **Readings and Class Sessions**

The readings for the course are mostly online. You can access them using JSTOR, the Muse Project, various websites as indicated in the Course Structure, or the Library (e.g. if they are e-books). I will also put materials on IVLE when and if necessary.

I have tried to keep the readings to a manageable amount. You are expected to do all the starred readings (\*) prior to class. Students are encouraged to do the other readings but those are not compulsory: however, they should be helpful for the short papers and term paper. After the first lecture, the course will be conducted seminar style, with the instructor lecturing initially to set the context and then having the class open up to student presentations on the subject. The number of student presentations will depend on the number of students in the course. After the student presentation, the instructor will lecture on the topic and then the class session will open up to more general discussion amongst all the students and the instructor.

It is important to bear in mind that the approach here is twofold: a critical assessment of the concepts and arguments presented in the readings; and a problem-solving concern in which we think about the implications for the foreign and security policies of these countries.

### **Assessment**

Students will be assessed in the following ways:

Term paper	40%	Due date: in class Week 13
Short paper 2	20%	Due date: in class Week 9

Short paper 1      20%  
Class presentation 10%  
Participation      10%

Due date: in class Week 5

**The term paper** will be 4000 words in length (the bibliography is not included in the 4000 words). The precise subject of the term paper should be discussed and finalized with the instructor. It should deal with a key thinker or tradition of thinking in one country. The paper should try elucidate some of the key principles and lines of argument of the thinker or tradition and to ask if those principles and lines of argument have affected policy.

**The short papers** will be 2000 words in length. They are intended to be “reaction” papers and should assess the readings from the point of view of a policy maker – what would he or she “get” from the readings? You can choose the readings from any 2 weeks to which you will react.

In all assessments, students will also be judged on organization, clarity of expression, and presentation of the material (proper footnoting and references, correct use of subheadings, etc., in the papers). There will be penalties for late submission of the short and term paper. The grading scale is from F (Fail) to A+ (Excellent).

Please Note: The NUS norm is that no more than 30 percent of the students in a class should get A grades.

### **Plagiarism and Academic Honesty**

The LKY School’s Academic Code of Conduct lists academic integrity as one of six important values. According to this Code, we have agreed to ‘make every effort to understand what counts as plagiarism and why this is wrong’.

**Plagiarism is “The unattributed use of a source of information that is not considered common knowledge. In general, the following acts are considered plagiarism: (1) failing to cite quotations or borrowed ideas, (2) failing to enclose borrowed language in quotation marks, (3) failing to put summaries or paraphrases in your own words, and (4) submitting someone else’s work as your own.”** (See <http://bcs.bedfordstmartins.com/resdoc5e/glossary-of-research-terms.htm>.) To avoid giving the impression that you are passing off other people’s work as your own, you will need to acknowledge conscientiously the sources of information, ideas, and arguments used in your paper. For this purpose, you can use any well accepted footnoting/referencing style.

All written submissions will be checked with turnitin.com for possible plagiarism.

## **Presentation**

- Making a presentation is an important skill.
- The aim is to get students to make a 10-minute presentation and to answer questions for 5 minutes from the class.
- The presentations will analyse the issue of the week, critically engaging the readings. In addition, students are expected to bring their own insights to the issue.
- We will begin the class with an introduction to the subject by the instructor and then go to the presentation(s).

## **Participation**

Active class participation not only helps students to put forward their arguments and critically engage the readings but it also gives them an opportunity to appreciate various points of views on a subject. Therefore, you are encouraged to speak up in class. Students will be graded on the *quality and quantity* of their interventions in class.

## **Course Structure**

### **Week 1: Shopping Week Introduction to the Course**

### **Week 2: What is International and Strategic Thought?**

\*Martin Wight, “Why is there no International Theory?” In H. Butterfield and M. Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations* (London: George Allen & Unwin), pp. 17–34.

\*David Armitage, *Foundations of Modern of International Thought*, Introduction, pp. 1-13.

\*Paul Kennedy, *Grand Strategy in War and Peace*, chapter 1, pp. 1-7.

Williamson Murray, “Thoughts on Grand Strategy and the United States in the Twenty-first Century,” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, vol. 13, no. 1, Fall 2010, pp. 76-88, <http://jmss.org/jmss/index.php/jmss/article/view/365/386>.

Tami Davis Biddle, *Strategy and Grand Strategy: What Students and Practitioners Need to Know*, United States Army War College, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/files/PUB1305.pdf>, pp. 1-18.

### **Week 3: Western and Non-Western International and Strategic Thought: The Debate on Non-Western International Relations (IR)**

\*Martin Wight “An Anatomy of International Thought”, *Review of International Studies*, 1987, pp. 221-27.

\*Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, “Why is there no non-Western international relations theory? An introduction,” *International Relations of Asia and the Pacific*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 287-312.

\*Giri Deshingkar, “Strategic Thinking in Ancient India and China: Kautilya and Sunzi”, [http://www.allempires.com/forum/forum\\_posts.asp?TID=6274](http://www.allempires.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=6274). (9 pp.)

\*Francois Jullien, *A Treatise on Efficacy*, pp. 15-31, chapter on “Relying on the Propensity of Things”.

\*Deepshika Shahi and Gennaro Ascione, “Rethinking the absence of post-Western International Relations theory in India: ‘Advaitic monism’ as an alternative epistemological resource”, *European Journal of International Relations*, June 2016, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 313-334.

Tami Davis Biddle, *Strategy and Grand Strategy: What Students and Practitioners Need to Know*, United States Army War College, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB1305.pdf>, pp. 19-37.

Lukas Milevski, *The Evolution of Modern Grand Strategic Thought*, Introduction.

### **Week 4: Chinese International Thought: Ancient Roots, Maoist Conceptions, Contemporary Ideas (Charles class)**

\*Yan Xuetong, *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power*, chapter 1, pp. 21-69.

\*Tingyang Zhao, “Rethinking Empire from a Chinese: Concept ‘All-under-Heaven’ (Tian-xia),” *Social Identities*, Vol. 12, No. 1, January 2006, pp. 29-41, <http://www.ou.edu/uschina/texts/Zhao.2006.SI.Tianxia.pdf>.

\*Xu Bijun, “Is Zhao’s Tianxia System Misunderstood?” *Tsinghua China Law Review*, vol. 6, 2014, [http://www.tsinghuachinalawreview.org/articles/PDF/TCLR\\_0601\\_XU.pdf](http://www.tsinghuachinalawreview.org/articles/PDF/TCLR_0601_XU.pdf). (skim)

\*‘Speech by Chairman of the Delegation of the People’s Republic of China, At

the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly', 1974,  
<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/deng-xiaoping/1974/04/10.htm>.

\*Yaqing Qin, "A Relational Theory of World Politics", *International Studies Review* (2016), pp. 1-15.

Daniel Bell, "War, Peace and China's Soft Power," in Daniel Bell, *China's New Confucianism: Politics and Everyday Life in a Changing Society*, pp. 19-37.

David Kang, *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute*, chapter 4, pp. 54-81.

William Callahan, *China Dreams: 20 Visions of the Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 44-65.

### **Week 5: Chinese Strategic Thought: Historical Legacies, Post 1949 Trends** (Yuen Foong Khong class)

\*Alastair Ian Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), chapter 3.

\*Zhongqi Pan, "Guanxi, Weiqi and Chinese Strategic Thinking", *Chinese Political Science Review*, 2016, <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s41111-016-0015-1>, pp. 303-321.

\*Gilbert Rozman, *Chinese Strategic Thought Towards Asia*, Overview, pp. 1-44.

Alastair Ian Johnston, "Cultural Realism and Strategy in Maoist China," <http://www.ou.edu/uschina/texts/Johnston1996CulturalRealismMao.pdf>, pp. 216-268.

### **Week 6: Chinese Strategic Thought: Contemporary Arguments**

\*Zheng Bijian, "China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great-Power Status", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 5 (Sept/Oct 2005),  
[http://home.sogang.ac.kr/sites/jaechun/courses/Lists/b7/Attachments/22/China's%20peaceful%20rise%20to%20Great%20power%20status\\_Zheng%20Bijian.pdf](http://home.sogang.ac.kr/sites/jaechun/courses/Lists/b7/Attachments/22/China's%20peaceful%20rise%20to%20Great%20power%20status_Zheng%20Bijian.pdf), pp. 18-24.

\*Ye Ziching, *Inside China's Grand Strategy: The Perspective from the People's Republic* (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 2011), chapter 1, pp. 13-75.

\*Wang Jisi, "China's Search for a Grand Strategy: A Rising Great Power Finds Its Way", *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2011,  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2011-02-20/chinas-search-grand->

[strategy](#), pp. 68-79.

## **Week 7: Indian International Thought: Hindu Past, Nationalist Stirrings**

\*Benoy Kumar Sarkar, “The Hindu Theory of the State,” *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 1 (Mar., 1921), pp. 79-90

\*Kautilya, *Arthashastra* (Rangarajan edition), pp. 505-534.

George Modelski, “Kautilya: Foreign Policy and International System in the Ancient Hindu World,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (Sep., 1964), pp. 549-560.

\*Mahatma Gandhi, *All Men Are Brothers*, pp. 113-118.

\**Gandhi On Non-Violence*, pp. 35-48.

\*Mahatma Gandhi, *The Essential Writings*, pp. 67-105.

\*M.S. Golwalkar, *Bunch of Thoughts*, chapter 2, pp. 239-254.

\*Rabindranath Tagore, “Nationalism in India”,  
<http://tagoreweb.in/Render/ShowBook.aspx?ct=Essays&bi=72EE92F5-BE50-40D7-8E6E-0F7410664DA3>.

Kanti Bajpai, “Indian Conceptions of Order and Justice: Nehruvian, Gandhian, Hindutva, and Neo-Liberal.” In Rosemary Foot, John Lewis Gaddis, and Andrew Hurrell, eds., *Order and Justice in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 236-261.

Rahul Sagar, “‘Jiski Lathi, Uski Bhains’, The Hindu Nationalist View of International Politics,” in Bajpai, Basit, and Krishnappa, eds., *India’s Grand Strategic Thought and Practice*, pp. 234-257.

## **Week 8: Indian Strategic Thought: Ancient Roots, Post-Independence Influences**

\*Bharat Karnad, *Nuclear Weapons and Indian Security: The Realist Foundations of Strategy* (New Delhi: Macmillan, 2002), chapter 1, pp 1-65.

\*Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, pp. 597-632 (especially pp. 597-610).

\*Jawaharlal Nehru, “The Growth of Violence,” *Jawaharlal Nehru’s Speeches*, Volume 2, pp. 259-273.

Gopal Krishna, “India and International Order: Retreat from Idealism,” in Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, eds., *The Expansion of International Society*



(Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), pp. 269-87.

George K Tanham, "Indian Strategic Culture", *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 1, 1992, pp. 129-142.

**Week 9: Indian Strategic Thought: Contemporary Ideas** (Rohan Mukherjee class)

\*Pratap Mehta, 'Still Under Nehru's Shadow? The Absence of Foreign Policy Frameworks in India', *India Review*, 8:3, 2009, pp. 209-233.

\*C. Raja Mohan, "Beyond Non-Alignment", *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: Penguin Viking, 2003), pp. 29-56.

\*Kanti Bajpai, "Indian Grand Strategy: Six Schools of Thought." In Kanti Bajpai, V. Krishnappa, and Saira Basit, eds., *India's Grand Strategic Thought and Practice: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014), pp. 113-150.

Vipin Narang and Paul Staniland, 'Institutions and Worldviews in Indian Foreign Security Policy', *India Review*, 11:2, 2012, pp. 76-94.

**Week 10: Japanese International and Strategic Thought Upto World War 2** (Naoko Shimazu class)

\*Kenneth Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," in the Marius B. Jensen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 5, The Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), especially pp. 688-696.

\*Ryoko Nakano, *Beyond the Western Liberal Order: Yanaihara Tadao and Empire as Society*, pp. 17-40.

\*Ryoko Nakano, "'Pre-History' of International Relations in Japan: Yanaihara Tadao's Dual Perspective of Empire", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2. March 2007, pp. 301-319.

\*Ishii, Kikujiro, "The Permanent Bases of Japanese Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, January 1933, pp. 220-228.

Ryoko Nakano, "Uncovering *Shokumin*: Yanaihara Tadao's Concept of Global Civil Society" *Social Science Japan Journal*, vol. 9, no. 2, October 2006, pp. 187-202. [[Download](#)]

Kiyoshi K. Kawakami. 1921. *What Japan Thinks*. New York: The MacMillan



Company, chapter 6, pp. 93-103 (on Japanese navalism).

## **Week 11: Japanese International and Strategic Thought after 1945**

(Graham Ong-Webb, NTU, class)

\*Michael Green, *Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challenges in an Era of Uncertain Power*, Palgrave 2001, Chapter 1, pp. 11-34, on the Yoshida Doctrine.

\*Richard J. Samuels. 2007. *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia*, chapter 5, pp. 109-132.

\*Bert Edström, *Japan's Evolving Foreign Policy Doctrine: From Yoshida to Miyazawa*, Conclusion, pp. 159-179.

\*Nobumasa Akiyama, "Human Security at the Crossroad: Human Security in the Japanese Foreign Policy Context", *IPSHU English Research Report Series No. 19, Conflict and Human Security: A Search for New Approaches of Peace-building* (2004), pp. 252-270.

\*Government of Japan, *National Security Strategy of Japan*, 2013, pp. 48-68.

Gilbert Rozman, "Internationalism and Asianism in Japanese Strategic Thought from Meiji to Heisei", *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 9 (2), pp. 209-232.

Gilbert Rozman et al., "Overview", in Rozman et al., *Japanese Strategic Thought Towards Asia*, pp. 1-32.

## **Week 12: Singapore's International and Strategic Thought: The Origins**

\*Lee Kuan Yew, *One Man's View of the World*, chapter 1 ("China"), pp. 12-68.

\*Graham Allison and Robert D. Blackwill, with Ali Wyne, *Lee Kuan Yew: The Grand Master's Insights on China, the United States, and the World*, chapter 9 ("How Lee Kuan Yew Thinks"), pp. 127-149.

\*S. Rajaratnam, "Singapore: Global City" speech, 1972,  
<http://www.nas.gov.sg/archivesonline/data/pdfdoc/PressR19720206a.pdf>.

\*Ang Cheng Guan, *Lee Kuan Yew's Strategic Thought*, chapter 1, pp. 1-37.

Chan Heng Chee' "Small State Survival", in Shashi Jayakumar and Rahul Sagar, eds., *The Big Ideas of Lee Kuan Yew*, pp. 152-165.

Bilahari Kausikan, "Playing Chess," in Shashi Jayakumar and Rahul Sagar, eds., *The Big Ideas of Lee Kuan Yew*, pp. 166-177.

### **Week 13: Singapore's International and Strategic Thought: Contemporary Arguments**

\*George Yeo, "Between North and South, East and West," in *On Bonsai, Banyan and the Tao*, pp. 492-504.

\*Kishore Mahbubani, *Can Asians Think?* chapter 1, pp. 19-37.

\*Kishore Mahbubani, *The New Asian Hemisphere*, chapter 6, pp. 235-279.

\*Bilahari Kausikan, *Dealing with an Ambiguous World* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2017), pp. 124-149.