

Contemporary US Foreign Policy in the Asia-Pacific: Theory and Practice

Summer Semester 2013

Format: Seminar Course

Discipline: Political Science

Schedule: Thursdays, 14:00-16:00

Venue: Room 203, JFKI

Department of Political Science

John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies (JFKI)

FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN

Course Convener:

Salvador Santino F. Jr. Regilme, B.A., M.A.

JFKI, Graduate School of North American Studies

santino.regilme@fu-berlin.de

University Webpage: <http://www.gsnas.fu-berlin.de/doctoralstudents/2011/regilme/index.html>

Personal Webpage: <http://userblogs.fu-berlin.de/santinoregilme/>

Office/Consultation Hours: every Thursday, after class, 16:30-18:30 – by appointment via email

Course Description:

The primary objective of this course is to investigate the theoretical underpinnings and actual practices of contemporary US foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific. It will introduce students to the classic theoretical perspectives on global politics that will aid in understanding the formulation and actual practice of US foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific. It will critically explore existing theoretical and empirical literature on the role of the US in the Asia-Pacific region as a topic of interest in the study of 'International Relations', but will also include some articles and readings written by and for practitioners in the US-Asia Pacific foreign policy community.

The course is divided into three parts. The *first part* introduces central theoretical perspectives on the dynamics of world politics and examines the application of these analytical insights in understanding the actual formulation and practice of US foreign policy. The *second part* broadly surveys the substance and actual dynamics of contemporary US foreign policy in Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia as two distinct sub-regions that comprise the Asia-Pacific region. The *third part* critically examines several contemporary foreign policy challenges and issues for the US in the Asia-Pacific such as the rise of China as a global power, terrorism in Southeast Asia, the security problem in the Korean Peninsula, and the bilateral relations of the US with its two most important Asian allies such as Japan and the Philippines.

Course Requirements:

“Referat” or Formal Seminar Presentation – Leading a critical discussion of at least one session as planned in the course outline. The presentation should last for a maximum of 45 minutes (minimum of 30 minutes). The discussant/s may opt to use visual aids (e.g. PowerPoint presentation) and/or discussion handouts. All students, regardless of the need to have a graded evaluation or just a mere participation assessment from the course convener, are required to lead at least one of the sessions. Depending on the class size, a seminar presentation for one session may be conducted by an individual or as a group.

Critical reflection paper – This is a review essay about any of the relevant topics covered in this course. Whether or not you are taking the course for mere participation (*teilnahmeschein*) or as a graded course (*leistungsschein*), the following points detail the requirements needed to successfully complete the course. Students should inform the instructor (at least informally 2 weeks after the first session at the latest) which mode of participation the former wish to be evaluated.

Teilnahmeschein - “**Participation credits**” require **one seminar presentation and one critical reflection paper (app. 1,000 words)**

Leistungsschein – “**Graded credits**” require **at least one seminar presentation (depending on class size) and one critical reflection paper (4,000 words).**

General Course Guidelines

- *Format of the seminar.* The course follows a seminar format. Essentially, this means that the success of the course largely depends on the active participation of students in class discussion. It requires students to read before class all the compulsory articles/texts for that particular session. Reading the optional texts and relevant parts of the recommended references is strongly encouraged especially for those who are planning to pursue graduate studies in political science.
- *Prerequisites.* The Kennedy Institute in cooperation with its Graduate School offers this seminar course. However, participants with prior knowledge in political science and strong interest in the role of the US in global politics are encouraged to enroll in this course. However, if you happen not to have a strong foundation in undergraduate political science, the list of recommended references and optional readings indicated in this course outline will be valuable. Moreover, it would be helpful if students can also make an effort in reading, at least weekly, relevant news about US policies and interactions with countries and actors in the Asia-Pacific (refer to the web links provided at the end of the course outline).
- *Seminar presentation.* The 45-minute seminar presentation should be conducted in a way that provokes intelligent and theoretically informed class discussion of the required readings. The recommended outline of the seminar presentation should include the following elements: (1) introduction to the texts; (2) main questions of the texts; (3) key arguments [think also about possible counter-arguments!] of the text; (4) supporting evidence; and (5) critical and intelligent remarks about the policy-oriented and theoretical implications of the readings’ arguments to US foreign policy. If you are not leading the discussion for that session, you are still required to participate actively in the class discussion by contributing your informed insights based on your critical reflection and understanding of the texts.
- *Readings.* The list of recommended references include textbooks, edited volumes, and scholarly manuscripts. It is not required to buy these materials. However, if you plan to pursue graduate studies in political science/international relations, familiarity with these texts may be helpful. The instructor has soft copies of these materials. All the required texts will be uploaded in the class management software provided by the FU Berlin at least one week before the scheduled session.
- *Critical reflection papers.* **All reflection papers should be submitted sometime in July (July 15, 2013/negotiable, subject to class consultation at the start of the semester).** Course participants may consider writing a paper about a specific contemporary foreign policy challenge faced by the US in the Asia-Pacific. Ideally the paper (for *Leistungsschein/graded evaluation*) should have a clear research question, hypotheses, theoretical arguments, empirical analysis, and supporting empirical evidence. For further advice on this matter, please refer to the web links at the end of this course outline. For the participation credits (*Teilnahmeschein*), the paper should be a brief review essay of a relevant article (or a relevant topic) covered in this course. To discuss your topic proposals,

students should schedule a consultation with the instructor at least 2 weeks before the end of the course.

- *Consultation Hours.* Students should discuss the topics of their reflection papers with the instructor. Please refer to the details above regarding office hours and contact details. A one-page discussion paper (list of talking points and/or proposed outline of the critical reflection paper) should be given at least 2 days before the scheduled consultation.

Recommended References:

Acharya, A, and B. Buzan, eds. (2009). *Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and Beyond Asia*. London and New York: Routledge.

Dosch, J., Davison, R. O., & Connors, M. 2012. *The New Global Politics of the Asia Pacific*. Oxford and New York: Routledge.

Goh, E., and Simon, S.W. eds. (2007). *China, the United States, and Southeast Asia: Contending Perspectives on Politics, Security, and Economics*. Oxford: Routledge.

Han, L. C. ed. 2011. *New directions in the American presidency*. Oxford and New York: Routledge.

Hobson, J. M. 2002. *The State and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Miller, L. B, Parmar, I. and Ledwidge, M. eds. 2011. *New Directions in US Foreign Policy*. Oxford and New York: Routledge.

Reus-Smit, C, and D. Snidal, eds. 2011. *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, S., Hadfield, A. and Dunne, T. 2012. *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yahuda, M. 2011. *The international politics of the Asia-Pacific*. Oxford and New York: Routledge.

COURSE OUTLINE:

1. Introduction

- a. Slaughter, A. (2007). *The Idea That Is America: Keeping Faith With Our Values in a Dangerous World*. New York: Basic Books. P. 1-16 (Introduction)
- b. Milne, D. (2012). "Pragmatism or What? The Future of US Foreign Policy ." *International Affairs* 88(5): 935-51.

OPTIONAL:

- c. Mahbubani, K. (2008). The Case Against the West: America and Europe in the Asian Century. *Foreign Affairs* 87 (3) pp. 111-124

INTRODUCTION TO WORLD POLITICS

2. Theoretical Perspectives - International Relations 1: How does world politics work?

- a. Waltz K. (1993), "Structural Realism after the Cold War," *International Security*, 25:1 (Summer), pp. 5-41.
- b. Keohane R.O. and Nye J.S. (2000), "Globalization: What's New? What's Not? (And so What?)," *Foreign Policy*, 118 (Spring), pp. 104-119.

RECOMMENDED REFERENCES:

- c. Reus-Smit, C, and D. Snidal, eds. 2011. *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- d. Acharya, A, and B. Buzan, eds. (2009). *Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and Beyond Asia*. London and New York: Routledge.
- e. Hobson, J. M. (2002). *The State and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- f.

3. Theoretical Perspectives - International Relations 2: How does world politics work?

- a. Wendt A. (1992), "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2., pp. 391-425.
- b. Hobson, J. (2000). *The State and International Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter on Marxism- p. 109-144

OPTIONAL:

- c. Kaplan, M.A. (1957), "Balance of Power, Bipolarity and Other Models of International Systems," *The American Political Science Review*, 51:3 (September), pp. 684-695.

RECOMMENDED REFERENCES:

- d. Reus-Smit, C, and D. Snidal, eds. 2011. *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- e. Acharya, A, and B. Buzan, eds. (2009). *Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and Beyond Asia*. London and New York: Routledge.
- f. Hobson, J. M. (2002). *The State and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

INTRODUCTION TO US FOREIGN POLICY

4. Theoretical Perspectives on US Foreign Policy

- a. Parmar, I., Miller, L.B. & Ledwidge, M., (2009). *New Directions in US Foreign Policy*, Oxford and New York: Routledge. P. 3-62
- b. Stuart, D. (2008). "Foreign Policy Decision Making". In Reus-Smit, C. & Snidal, D. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

OPTIONAL:

- c. Acharya, A. (2007). The Emerging Regional Architecture of World Politics. *World Politics*. 59(4) Pp. 629-652
- d. Walt, S. (2001). Beyond Bin Laden: Reshaping US Foreign Policy. *International Security*. Vol. 26, No. 3, Pages 56-78

RECOMMENDED REFERENCES:

- e. Miller, L. B, Parmar, I. and Ledwidge, M. eds. (2011). *New Directions in US Foreign Policy*. Oxford and New York: Routledge.
- f. Smith, S., Hadfield, A. and Dunne, T. (2012). *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

OVERVIEW: US IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC

5. Introduction to Empirical Perspectives : The Role of the US in the Asia-Pacific

- a. Cha, V.D. (2010) Power play Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia; *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 158-196
- b. Cossa, R.A. et.al. (2009) The United States and the Asia-Pacific Region: Security Strategy for the Obama Administration

OPTIONAL:

- c. Rahawestri, M. (2010). Obama's Foreign Policy in Asia. *Security Challenges* Vol. 6 No. 10 pp. 109-120
- d. De Castro, R. (1994). US Grand Strategy in Post-Cold War Asia-Pacific. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 16(3) 342-353

UNITED STATES IN NORTHEAST ASIA

6. Empirical Perspectives I: US Foreign Policy in Northeast Asia

- a. Krasner, S. (2001). Organized Hypocrisy in nineteenth-century East Asia. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*. 173-197
- b. Nau, Henry, (2002) "From Bilateralism to Multilateralism: American Policy in East Asia," Chap. 6 in Nau, *At Home Abroad*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press: 152-189

OPTIONAL:

- c. Art, R.J. (2010). The United States and the Rise of China: Implications for the Long Haul. *Political Science Quarterly*. Volume 125, Number 3, Fall 2010 , pp. 359-391(33)

7. Foreign Policy Challenge – 1. 1: The United States and the Rise of China

- a. Goh, E. (2005). *Meeting the China Challenge: The US in Southeast Asian Regional Security Strategies*. Washington: East West Center
- b. Jacques, M. (2009). *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and The Birth of A New Global Order*. New York: Penguin Press. Pp. 316-363

OPTIONAL:

- c. Foot, R. & Walter, A., (2012). Global Norms and Major State Behaviour: the Cases of China and the United States. *European Journal of International Relations*, pp.1–20.
- d. Economy, E. (2005). "China's Rise in Southeast Asia: Implications for the United States." *Journal of Contemporary China* 14(44): 409–25.
- e. Regilme, S.S.F.J. (2010). "Making Sense of China." *Global Politics: An International Affairs Magazine*. <http://www.global-politics.co.uk/blog/2010/08/26/making-sense-china/> (July 23, 2012).

8. Foreign Policy Challenge 1.2: US Foreign Policy in the Korean Peninsula

- a. Manyin, M. & Nikitin, M. (2008). *US Assistance to North Korea*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA485982>
- b. Oh, Kongdan. (2010) "The United States between Japan and Korea: keeping alliances strong in East Asia." in *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, Volume 22 No 2 (June 2010) pgs 127-140

9. Foreign Policy Challenge – 1.3: US-Japan Bilateral Relations

- a. Calder, K. (2004) "Securing Security through Prosperity," *Pacific Review*, 17, 1 (2004): 135-57.
- b. Hemmer, Christopher and Katzenstein, Peter J. "Why is there No NATO in Asia?" *International Organization*, 56, 3 (Summer 2002): 575-608.

OPTIONAL

- c. Cowhey, Peter F. 1993. "Domestic Institutions and the Credibility of International Commitments: Japan and the United States." *International Organization* 47(2): 299–326.
- d. Cossa, Ralph A. 2005. "US Security Strategy in Asia and the Prospects for an Asian Regional Security Regime." *Asia-Pacific Review* 12(1): 64–86.

UNITED STATES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

10. Empirical Perspectives II: US Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia

- a. Haacke, J. (2011). *Playing Catch-Up: The United States and Southeast Asia*. LSE IDEAS Report, London School of Economics.
- b. Mauzy, D.K. & Job, B.L., (2007). *US Policy in Southeast Asia: Limited Re-engagement after Years of Benign Neglect*. *Asian Survey*, 47(4), pp.622–641.

OPTIONAL

- c. Jones, L. (2011). "Beyond Securitization: Explaining the Scope of Security Policy in Southeast Asia." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 11(3): 403–32.

11. Foreign Policy Challenge – 2.1: US Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia as the "Second Front on the War on Terror"

- a. De Castro, R. (2004). Addressing International Terrorism in Southeast Asia: A Matter of Strategic or Functional Approach? *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 26 (2) pp. 193-217
- b. Foot, R., (2005). Collateral Damage: Human Rights Consequences of Counterterrorist Action in the Asia-Pacific. *International Affairs*, 81(2), pp.411–425

OPTIONAL:

- c. Sidel, J. (2007). *The Islamist Threat in Southeast Asia: A Reassessment*. Washington: East West Center.

- d. Regilme, S.S.F.J. (2009). Bilveer Singh on the ‘Taliban’ of Southeast Asia. *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review* 9(2): 89–92.

12. Foreign Policy Challenge – 2.2: US Democracy Promotion in Southeast Asia

- a. McFaul, M. (2004). “Democracy Promotion as a World Value.” *The Washington Quarterly* 28(1): 147–63.
- b. Robinson, W. I. (1996). *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3 – “The Philippines: ‘Molded in the Image of American Democracy’”, p. 117-145

OPTIONAL:

- a. Carothers, T. (2007). *US Democracy Promotion: During and After Bush*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- b. Carothers, T. (2003). Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror. *Foreign Affairs* 84
- c. Regilme, S.S.F.J. (forthcoming). Bringing the Global Political Economy Back In: Neoliberalism, Globalization, and Democratic Consolidation. *International Studies Perspectives*
- d. Kurki, M. (forthcoming) Politico-Economic Models of Democracy in Democracy Promotion.” *International Studies Perspectives*
- e. Stanley Foundation (2005) Challenges to Democracy in Southeast Asia: Rethinking US Policy. <http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/publications/pdb/SPC05SEApb.pdf>
- f. Sidel, J. T. (2008). “Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy Revisited: Colonial State and Chinese Immigrant in the Making of Modern Southeast Asia.” *Comparative Politics* 40(2): 127–47.
- g. Bridoux, J & Gebel, A. (2012) ‘Flexibility versus Inflexibility: Discursive Discrepancy in US Democracy Promotion and Anti-corruption Policies’, *Third World Quarterly*, 33:10

13. Foreign Policy Challenges 2.3: US-Philippines Bilateral Relations

- a. McCoy, A. (2009). *Policing America’s Empire: The United States, The Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State*. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press. Chapter 1: Capillaries of Empire, pp. 15-58;
- b. De Castro, R. (2012). *Future Challenges in the US-Philippines Alliance*. Washington DC: East West Center. <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/sites/default/files/private/apb168.pdf>

OPTIONAL:

- c. United States Government Document: *The US –Philippines Alliance: Deepening the Security and Trade Partnership*. Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation and Trade of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33233.pdf>
- d. Doty, R. (1993). Foreign policy as social construction: a post-positivist analysis of US counterinsurgency policy in the Philippines. *International Studies Quarterly*. 37(3). Pp. 297-320
- e. Regilme, S.S.F.J., (2011) Review: Alfred McCoy: Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 29(4), pp.122–126.

14. Foreign Policy Challenges 3: US Economic Policy in the Asia Pacific (OPTIONAL)

- a. Hsiao, Frank S T, Mei-chu W Hsiao, and Akio Yamashita. (2003). The Impact of the US Economy on the Asia-Pacific Region: Does It Matter? *Journal of Asian Economics* 14(2): 219–41.
- b. Vaughn, Bruce, and Wayne M Morrison. (2006). *China-Southeast Asia Relations: Trends, Issues, and Implications for the United States*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.
- c. Hormats, R. (2011). US Economic Policy and the Asia Pacific. <http://www.state.gov/e/rls/rmk/2011/172307.htm>

OPTIONAL:

- d. Martin, M. F. (2012). *The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Meetings in Vladivostok, Russia: A Preview*. United States Congressional Research Service. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42674.pdf>

Links to Relevant Online Academic Resources

- Reference Management Software For Your Critical Reflection Papers:
 - Mendeley <http://www.mendeley.com> (Mac and Windows/ Free)
 - Papers <http://mekentosj.com/papers/> (Mac/ Not Free)
- Must-Read Peer-Reviewed Political Science Journals Published by the American Political Science Association: http://www.apsanet.org/content_5924.cfm (*gated access to each journal*)
- Must-Read Peer-Reviewed Political Science Journals Published by the International Studies Association <http://www.isanet.org/pubs/journals.html> (*gated access to each journal*)
- News Websites
 - The Diplomat (Current Affairs Magazine for the Asia Pacific) - <http://thediplomat.com/>
 - The Washington Post <http://www.washingtonpost.com/>
 - The New York Times <http://www.nytimes.com/>
 - Channel News Asia <http://www.channelnewsasia.com/asiapacific/>
 - Asia Times Online <http://www.atimes.com/>
 - Al Jazeera News www.aljazeera.com/
 - BBC News <http://www.bbc.com/news/>
 - The Guardian <http://www.guardian.co.uk/>
- How to Write a Political Science Research Paper - <http://www.uvm.edu/~cbeer/ps174/ResearchPaper.htm>
- Useful for Preliminary Web Searches for Scholarly Papers – <http://scholar.google.com>
- George Orwell's *Politics and the English Language*: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/orwell46.htm>