

XH397: GRAND STRATEGY FIELD STUDY
AMERICAN GRAND STRATEGY IN EAST ASIA
Dr. Max Margulies & MAJ Tom Fox
Summer 2020 Syllabus

Contact Information

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We encourage you to contact us by email with any questions or concerns about the course, especially to schedule AI to discuss any topics in more detail. These are valuable ways to clarify confusing concepts ask questions about readings, or receive feedback on your performance. You may contact us by calling or texting the above phone numbers in an emergency or if you have problems accessing the internet.

Overview

East Asia has rapidly become an area of primary importance to American politics and national security. The United States must determine to what extent its interests are threatened by the China's ever-growing economic influence and military modernization. Meanwhile, once-long stable alliances are under pressure from intra-regional rivalries, territorial disputes, and populist domestic movements, while North Korea continues to advance its nuclear capabilities and a trade-war simmers with one of the world's most important trading powers. These challenges and others raise the possibility of conflict with China, but war should not be assumed as a foregone conclusion.

Grand strategy offers a valuable toolbox for addressing these complicated issues. By emphasizing the prioritization of goals, the analysis of long-term and second-order consequences, and the holistic utilization of all of a country's resources, the study of grand strategy can help scholars and practitioners identify the policies that capitalize on American strengths and minimize American weaknesses. This three-week course aims to develop our skills as scholars of grand strategy and American national security. By the end of the course, we will understand the most pressing challenges impacting international politics and American interests in East Asia today and have developed foundational skills to help determine what policies can best achieve those interests.

The course meets the requirements of the capstone for the minor in Grand Strategy. It begins with a brief overview of the historical and contemporary context of American interests in the region, including several sources of uncertainty that could challenge the status quo. In the second week, we go into more detail on key topics, including American alliances, the economic system, and number of "hot-button" issues that could lead to conflict. The final block concludes on a more optimistic note by examining American cooperation with both Vietnam and China, before concluding with an evaluation of the prospects for regional peace and stability. You do not need any prior knowledge of Asian history or international relations for this course, but you should be prepared to immerse yourself in both during our three weeks together.

Course Objectives:

By the end of this course, students will:

1. Develop knowledge about key events in the history of American relations with countries in East Asia.
2. Understand American national interests in East Asia and how they fit with broader American national security goals.
3. Compare and analyze case studies to develop policy prescriptions that engage with contemporary debates about the future of American foreign policy in east Asia.
4. Deepen their critical reading skills and ability to critically analyze theories.
5. Develop critical writing, leadership, and communication skills to contribute successfully to individual and group learning.

Required Texts

There are two books that you must acquire for this course. All other readings or preparatory assignments will be available on the course Blackboard page. The only two that will not be on Blackboard are:

1. Michael J. Green, *By More than Providence: Grand Strategy and American Power in the Asia Pacific since 1783* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2017).
2. Lyle J. Goldstein, *Meeting China Halfway: How to Defuse the Emerging US-China Rivalry* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2015).

The first is available online from the West Point library for a temporary period. The second, unfortunately, is not, but is available for purchase as a paperback or e-book. Given extended delivery times, we strongly recommend you try to acquire these books as soon as possible. If you are having trouble gaining access to any of the readings, it is your responsibility to inform the instructors as soon as possible.

Required Assignments

This course adopts the standard SOSH department grading scale, ranging from A+ to F. Grades will be based on the following:

Participation	200 points
Seminar Leadership	100 points
Reading Response 1	150 points
Reading Response 2	150 points
Reading Response 3	150 points
TEE	250 points
TOTAL	1,000 points

Participation

This course is taught in a seminar style. Therefore, participation is critical to facilitate active learning. Grand strategy is a complex, rigorous, and often divisive field of study, and each lesson will provide ample opportunity for debate and discussion. We expect students to come to class having read and critically engaged with the assigned reading, and ready to express their reasoned thoughts, opinions, and questions during class. Students will be evaluated on the quality (not necessarily the quantity) of their participation. Quality participation includes—but is not limited to—answering tough questions, responding thoughtfully to classmate and instructor comments, and asking relevant questions.

To prepare for class, be sure to take notes while you read. I have provided lesson objectives for each class topic. The readings provide guidance for answering these questions, so you should read with these in mind and come to class ready to cite arguments from the readings to support your answers. While reading, pay attention to key ideas and arguments. Think about how the authors, topics, and historical cases relate to each other, and whether you agree with their arguments and descriptions. Remember, authors are presenting their own ideas: I encourage you to disagree, challenge, or extend them.

While cadets come to this class with different levels of familiarity with the topics, all cadets have the ability to ask questions of the instructor and each other; if you have any concerns at all about how to do this, please speak to one of the instructors—the sooner, the better.

Cadet Seminar Leadership

Before the first class meeting, each student will email the instructors with a list of their top three preferences for lessons when they would like to be the class leader. We will give out assignments on a first-come, first-serve basis for one lesson during which you will have leadership responsibilities. This assignment requires you to lead the class by providing your classmates with a brief presentation and handout about that lesson's material. You must also guide discussion for at least the first 30 minutes of class. Your grade will reflect:

1. Demonstrated knowledge of and effort to answer the following questions: What are the key takeaways from the lesson's readings? How do the readings help answer the lesson objectives? What does the lesson tell us about American interests and the obstacles to achieving them? How does this lesson relate to previous lessons?
2. Ability to ask engaging discussion questions that go beyond the lesson objectives and maintain class participation for up to 30 minutes.
3. Clarity of visual aids and handouts. Your handout—due at the start of class—must summarize key material and include at least one visual (map, photos, diagrams, etc).

We encourage creativity in your leadership assignment. You must organize and summarize key lesson ideas, but you should also consider and raise critiques of the assigned authors. Refer to the guidance for the AIAD participation: be critical, be thoughtful, and be curious.

Reading Responses

Once per week, for a total of three times over the course, you will write a short response paper that synthesizes the readings from *any two* lessons during that week (since the last one was due). These response papers must be 3–4 pages, double-spaced, in Times New Roman font with 1” margins. Your grade on these responses will reflect how thoroughly you understand and analyze the ideas that the readings presented in those lessons. You should not summarize the readings beyond what is necessary for you to advance your own ideas. Describe how American interests with respect to these lessons may or may not conflict with each other, critique the arguments and evidence the authors present, and tie the lessons into the broader themes of the course. A good strategy for guiding your response paper is to answer the question, “what can we learn or what questions can we ask from thinking about these two lessons together, rather than separately?” Consider this an opportunity to explore ideas or reactions you have to readings in even more detail than usual. Refer to the guidance for participation and seminar leadership, and do not feel you need to treat all readings or both lessons equally. These responses are due by email to the instructors at the start of class on the date listed in the syllabus reading schedule, below.

For your third response paper, instead of writing about two lessons from the final part of the syllabus, you may read one of the books from the class’s supplemental cultural reading list and write about how it illustrates or relates to themes from the course as a whole. You must still make references to specific readings from the syllabus, but you do not need to limit yourself to two lessons.

TEE

The Term End Exam is a cumulative, oral evaluation that tests your comprehension of course material. Before the end of the last class, you will sign up for a 20-minute conversation with the instructors that will take place on Teams sometime during the following week. The instructors will provide more information about what to expect on the final day of class, but be prepared for questions and semi-structured conversation. You are not permitted any notes during the TEE.

Policies

Class Meetings and Absences

All class meetings will take place from 1100-1300 ET in the Blackboard Collaborate Ultra course page. You must turn your camera on when you are speaking, but otherwise you can keep it off. Please keep your microphone off when you are not speaking or getting ready to speak. Feel free to dress comfortably and use fun backgrounds (as long as you do both appropriately). You should also feel free to eat (quietly) or have pets/family members visit our virtual classroom. We want you to be as relaxed and comfortable as possible during this stressful time. However, we reserve the right to change these policies if we believe they are negatively affecting class participation. If you experience any connectivity issues that affect your attendance or audio or video participation, you must let the instructors know as soon as possible so we can work out

alternative ways for you to participate. In general, this class will meet synchronously each day, though we will occasionally provide asynchronous opportunities.

Recording

We do not permit any type of recording of our class discussions. There are several reasons for this. We want you to stay engaged with our in class conversations and learn to take good notes; we fear that recordings disincentivize both of these things by giving you the option of temporarily “checking out” because you have the fallback of listening to the recording later. In addition, we want to encourage an open academic environment where everyone feels comfortable sharing their ideas. In sum, recordings might lead to more reserved participation.

Documentation of Sources

You must cite any sources you use on written assignments IAD DAW, including assistance, notes, and study guides written or provided by someone other than you. Remember, we love when students talk about their ideas with each other outside of class, but any idea that is not yours and not common knowledge (not just direct quotes) must be cited through a works cited page and either footnotes or parenthetical citations. Scholarship is about having a conversation, and citations allow readers to know what ideas you are engaging with and where they should look if they want more information. Do not hesitate to ask the instructor for guidance if you have any questions about whether something needs to be cited or how to cite it correctly. You should feel free to use any widely accepted citation style as long as you are consistent and accurate.

For the purpose of this course, common knowledge includes in-class discussion, lectures, and conversations/information provided by the instructors during class or in AI—unless the instructors are citing an assigned class reading. In other words, conversations during class or with the instructors do not need to be cited. However, summaries of ideas from readings do need to be cited, and you should keep in mind that much of what we talk about in class can probably be traced back to a reading. We expect you to cite relevant readings in your written assignments. When in doubt, ask the instructors.

While you may not submit work that has been graded in another class, we welcome efforts to build on ideas you have developed in other classes. We strongly encourage you to meet with us to discuss how to do this successfully, if you are interested.

Late Assignments

The penalty for late submissions is 20 percentage points per 24-hour period after the deadline. The severe penalty is designed to incentivize timely submissions, which are key in an accelerated class schedule. You must notify your instructor in advance if you are submitting work late. You must complete all graded assignments, late or not, to receive credit for this course.

Regrade Policy

To request a regrade, you must 1) Review instructor feedback and your notes, then wait 24 hours after receiving your grade; 2) Within one week of receiving your grade, meet with your

instructor to discuss the basis of your disagreement; 3) If you still believe a regrade is warranted, submit a brief memo explaining the basis of your disagreement to the instructor within 48 hours of the meeting. The instructor will then ask two disinterested international affairs instructors to regrade the assignment. The final grade will be an average of all three grades. In other words, your grade may go up or down. Note that penalties for late submission are not subject to revision through the regrade process.

Lesson Schedule

1) 18 MAY: **Historical Context: The United States in East Asia**

Lesson Objectives: What are the historical roots of American interests in East Asia? How has the American role in the region changed over time?

- Michael Green, *By More than Providence*, 1-12, 19-25, 30-38, 51-55, 74-77, 102-108. (45)

2) 19 MAY: **Historical Context: East Asian and Colonial/Post-Colonial Memory**

Lesson Objectives: How do East Asian societies view the events of the last two centuries, particularly as they relate the American role in the region? How do these historical memories shape international relations today?

- Daniel Sneider, “Interrupted Memories: The Debate over Wartime Memory in Northeast Asia,” (32)
- Henry Kissinger, *On China*, pages 57-63 and 86-90 (11)

3) 20 MAY: **Contemporary Context: What do the US and China want?**

***GUEST LECTURE BY LTG(R) H. R. MCMASTER

Lesson Objectives: What are American national interests in East Asia, today? How compatible are they with Chinese national interests?

- Avery Goldstein and Edward Mansfield, “The Political Economy of Regional Security in East Asia,” in *The Nexus of Economics, Security, and International Relations in East Asia*, edited by Avery Goldstein and Edward Mansfield (Stanford University Press, 2012), pages 1-25. (25)
- 2017 National Security Strategy, pages 45-47 (3)
- Max Fisher and Audrey Carlsen, “How China is Challenging American Dominance in Asia,” *The New York Times*, March 9, 2018. (7)
- H.R. McMaster, “How China Sees the World,” *The Atlantic*, May 2020. (15)

4) 21 MAY: **The American Alliance System I: Foundations**

Lesson Objectives: What explains the development of U.S. Alliances in East Asia? Are these logics still relevant today? What are the benefits and risks of alliance commitments?

- Victor Cha, “Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia,” *International Security* 34:3 (Winter 2009/2010), 158-196. (39)
- Michael Pompeo and Mark Esper, “South Korea is an Ally, Not a Dependent,” *The Wall Street Journal*, January 16, 2020. (2)
- Jessica Lee, “U.S. Should Strengthen Its Korean Alliance,” *The Wall Street Journal*, January 23, 2020. (2)

5) 22 MAY: **Domestic Politics and Populism**

Lesson Objectives: How was the rise of transnational populism affected the preferences of American allies and adversaries in East Asia? What role does domestic politics play in

Chinese foreign policy? To what extent do these domestic factors shape American options in the region?

- Joshua Kurlantzick, “Southeast Asia’s Populism is Different but Also Dangerous,” Council on Foreign Relations, November 1, 2018. (9)
- Jessica Chen Weiss, “A World Safe for Autocracy?” *Foreign Affairs* 98:4 (2019). (9)
- Jessica Chen Weiss, “How Hawkish Is the Chinese Public? Another Look at ‘Rising Nationalism’ and Chinese Foreign Policy,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 28:119 (2019), 679-695. (18)

6) 25 MAY: **China in Comparative Perspective**

***ASYNCHRONOUS LESSON: REFERENCE INSTRUCTOR GUIDANCE AND USE DISCUSSION DOCUMENT PROVIDED

Lesson Objectives: Will American-Chinese relations resemble a new Cold War? How might the future of American-Chinese relations differ from the Cold War?

- Michael Green, *By More than Providence*, 157-187. (31)
- Melvyn P. Leffler, “China Isn’t the Soviet Union,” *The Atlantic*, December 2, 2019 (8)
- Avery Goldstein, “China’s Real and Present Danger,” *Foreign Affairs* 92:5 (2013), 136-144. (9)
- Odd Arne Westad, “The Sources of Chinese Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs* 98:5 (2019). (9)

7) 26 MAY: **China as a Rising Power**

***RESPONSE PAPER #1 DUE

Lesson Objectives: What do international relations theories say about how rising powers behave? About how other states respond? Does China seem to follow these predictions?

- Joshua Shiffrin, “Should the United States Fear China’s Rise?” *The Washington Quarterly* 41:4 (2019), 65-83 (14)
- Michelle Murray, *The Struggle for Recognition in International Relations*, Chapter 1 (28)
- Oriana Skylar Mastro, “China’s Military Modernization Program,” American Enterprise Institute, September 4, 2019. (12)

8) 27 MAY: **Economic Interdependence and Regional Institutions**

Lesson Objectives: How do economic relationships within Asia and between Asia and the United States constrain strategic options? What are the key economic organizations in East Asia, and how much influence do they have?

- Lyle Goldstein, *Meeting China Halfway*, Chapter 4: “Mutually Assured Dependence,” 79-108 (25)
- Stephen Haggard, “The Organizational Architecture of the Asia-Pacific: Insights from the New Institutionalism,” in *Integrating Regions: Asia in Comparative Context*,

edited by Miles Kahler and Andrew MacIntyre, 195-221 (Stanford University Press, 2013). (25)

9) 28 MAY: **The Belt and Road Initiative**

Lesson Objectives: What is the goal of the Belt and Road Initiative? How does it affect Chinese influence? Is it a threat to American interests?

- Sarwar Kashmeri, *China's Grand Strategy*, pages 11-26 (15)
- Andrew Erickson, "Make China Great Again," *War on the Rocks*, October 30, 2019. (11)
- Yong Wang, "Offensive for defensive: the belt and road initiative and China's new grand strategy," *The Pacific Review* 29:3 (2016), 455-463 (8)

10) 29 MAY: **Contemporary Issues: The American Alliance System II**

Lesson Objectives: Who are the key American allies in the region today? What shapes whether alliances will strengthen or weaken? Are allies currently a burden or an advantage?

- Lyle Goldstein, *Meeting China Halfway*, Chapter 9: "Keystone," 225-262. (29)
- Mira Rapp-Hooper, "A Tale of Two Allies," *War on the Rocks*, February 20, 2017 (5)
- Mira Rapp-Hooper, "Ties that Bind: Why Asian Alliances will Survive Trump," *War on the Rocks*, January 12, 2017. (3)
- David Kang, *American Grand Strategy and East Asian Security*, Chapter 1 (15)

11) 1 JUNE: **Contemporary Issues: North Korea**

Lesson Objectives: Why has the conflict between North and South Korean been so intractable? Why has it been so difficult for the United States to make progress with respect to the North Korean nuclear program? Is war likely on the Korean peninsula, and if so, what would it look like?

- Lyle Goldstein, *Meeting China Halfway*, Chapter 8: "Bipolarity Reconsidered," 191-224. (28)
- Mira Rapp-Hooper, "The Cataclysm that Would Follow a 'Bloody Nose Strike in North Korea,'" *The Atlantic*, January 31, 2018. (4)
- Tanisha Fazal, "A New Korean War would kill more US military personnel than you might think," *The Washington Post*, January 8, 2018. (5)
- Scott Snyder, "The Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asian Stability," in *International Relations of Asia*, edited by David Shambaugh and Michael Yahuda, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 293-313 (19)
- Bombshell Podcast, May 5, 2020: 2:30–26:25 (skip 3:30-7:50).

12) 2 JUNE: **Contemporary Issues: Maritime Disputes**

Lesson Objectives: What are they key obstacles to resolution of existing maritime disputes in East Asia? How does the militarization of offshore islands impact the balance of power and coercive capabilities of regional actors?

- Mira Rapp-Hooper, “Uncharted Waters: Extended Deterrence and Maritime Disputes,” *The Washington Quarterly* 38:1 (2015), 127-146. (17)
- M. Taylor Fravel, “Territorial and Maritime Boundary Disputes in Asia,” in *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations of Asia*, edited by Saadia Pekkanen, John Ravenhill, and Rosemary Foot (Oxford University Press, 2014), selections. (8)
- Feng Zhang “China’s Long March at Sea: Explaining Beijing’s South China Sea Strategy, 2009–2016,” *The Pacific Review* (2019). (25)

13) 3 JUNE: **Contemporary Issues: Taiwan**

Lesson Objectives: Why has the conflict between Taiwan and China been so intractable, and what has enabled them to cooperate more deeply in recent years? What is the likelihood of conflict over the sovereignty of Taiwan, and what might that conflict look like? What American interests are at stake in this dispute?

- Lyle Goldstein, *Meeting China Halfway*, Chapter 3: “Imagine,” 46-78 (26)
- Gordon Chang, “The China Threat Cannot be Ignored,” *The National Interest*, July 30, 2018. (5)
- Jennifer Lind, “Geography and the Security Dilemma in Asia,” in *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations of Asia*, edited by Saadia Pekkanen, John Ravenhill, and Rosemary Foot (Oxford University Press, 2014). (14)
- Amy King, “Taiwan’s Place in Northeast Asia’s Memory Contests: Can Strategic Diplomacy Help?” *Global Asia*, December 26, 2016. (6)

14) 4 JUNE: **Contemporary Issues: Trade**

***RESPONSE PAPER #2 DUE

Lesson Objectives: How has the trade war between China and the United States affected their relationship? How has it affected the region more broadly? What explains why there is conflict over trade in the region?

- Jennifer Lind and Daryl G. Press, “Markets or Mercantilism? How China Secures Its Energy,” *International Security* 42:4 (2018), pages 170-176 and 185-204 (27 pages)
- Rosemary Foot and Amy King, “Assessing the Deterioration in China-US Relations,” *China International Strategy Review* 1 (2019), 39-50. (12)
- Bombshell Podcast, May 5, 2020: 38:40–45:10.

15) 5 JUNE: **Contemporary Issues: Climate Change**

***GUEST LECTURE BY DR. KELLY SIMS GALLAGHER, START TIME 1230 ET

Lesson Objectives: How will climate change affect regional politics and American interests there in the coming years and decades? What are the prospects for cooperation within the region or with the United States to address climate change?

- Lyle Goldstein, *Meeting China Halfway*, Chapter 5: “Toxic Embrace,” 109-136. (24)
- Kelly Sims Gallagher and Xiaowei Xuan, *Titans of the Climate: Explaining Policy Process in the United States and China* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2018), chapter 1 (14)

- Mike Ives, “Rich Nations Vowed Billions for Climate Change. Poor Countries are Waiting,” *The New York Times*, September 9, 2018. (3)
- Asian Development Bank, *A Region at Risk: The Human Dimensions of Climate Change in Asia and the Pacific*, July 2017. Available at <https://www.adb.org/publications/region-at-risk-climate-change>. Skim Part 3 (pages 55–99)

16) 8 JUNE: **Case Study in Cooperation: Vietnam I**

Lesson Objectives: How has the history of American-Vietnamese relations affected their relationship today? What has enabled the two countries to have a cooperative relationship?

- Michael Green, *By More than Providence*, 299-336. (38)
- Mark E. Manyin, “U.S-Vietnam Relations,” Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, October 31, 2008, pages 9 (“Introduction”)-32 of the PDF (24)

17) 9 JUNE: **Case Study in Cooperation: Vietnam II**

Lesson Objectives: What role can Vietnam play in American grand strategy in East Asia? How does this role compare to other countries in the region? What explains the nature of Vietnam’s current relationship with China?

- Derek Grossman and Christopher Sharman, “How to read Vietnam’s Latest Defense White Paper,” *War on the Rocks*, December 31, 2019. (7)
- Lyle Goldstein, *Meeting China Halfway*, Chapter 10: “The New ‘Fulda Gap,’” 263-304 (30)

18) 10 JUNE: **Case Study in Cooperation: China**

Lesson Objectives: What conditions have enabled cooperation between the United States and China in the past, and how can we replicate them today? What issues are most ripe for cooperation?

- Michael Green, *By More than Providence*, 345-362, 368-386 (37)
- Kurt Campbell and Jake Sullivan, “Competition without Catastrophe,” *Foreign Affairs* 96 (2019). (15)

19) 11 JUNE: **The Liberal Order in East Asia**

Lesson Objectives: Does China support the existing liberal international order? To what extent can this order survive the rise of China and changing international norms?

- Liza Tobin, “Xi’s Vision for Transforming Global Governance: A Strategic Challenge for Washington and its Allies,” *Texas National Security Review* 2:1 (2018), 154-166. (12)
- Yuen Foong Khong, “A Regional Perspective on the U.S. and Chinese Visions for East Asia,” *Asia Policy* 13:2 (2018), 6-12. (7)
- Takashi Terada, “The Competing U.S. and Chinese Models for an East Asian Economic Order,” *Asia Policy* 13:2 (2018), 19-25. (7)

- Rapp-Hooper, “Parting the South China Sea: How to Uphold the Rule of Law,” *Foreign Affairs* 95:5 (2016), 76-82 (7)
- Kori Schake, *Safe Passage*, pages 286-292 (7)

20) 12 JUNE: **The American Future in East Asia**

***GUEST LECTURE BY DR. LYLE GOLDSTEIN

***RESPONSE PAPER #3 DUE

Lesson Objectives: Can the United States accomplish any of its goals in East Asia? Does it matter? What are the United States’ best options in East Asia for achieving its global interests

- Michael Green, *By More than Providence*, pages 518-548 (31)
- Lyle Goldstein, *Meeting China Halfway*, Chapter 12: “Conclusion,” pages 330-369. (35).