

*University of Pennsylvania*  
*Political Science 398, Spring 2003*

**U.S. Foreign Policy in East Asia**

Prof. Jennifer Amyx  
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**Class**

Friday, 9:30am-12:30 pm  
UC Center, Rm. 317

**Office**

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**Course Description**

Through an analysis of American foreign policy in East Asia in the postwar period, this course will examine a number of contentious issues in U.S. foreign policy while also exposing students to the domestic political systems of countries in the region. The course begins with an overview of the foreign policy-making process in the United States, of nations and political systems in the region of East Asia, and of key historical events serving as a backdrop to U.S. diplomacy in East Asia. The course then examines a number of contentious issues / themes through the study of particular diplomatic developments. For example, we will consider the relevance today of the traditional “hub and spokes” model of U.S. diplomacy in the region, wherein bilateral forums of negotiation centered on the U.S. serve as the linchpin for economic and security affairs. We will also examine the rise of regionalism in East Asia and the American response. Will the U.S. tolerate the evolution of regional institutions excluding the U.S.? How will such developments affect American diplomacy in the region and America’s bilateral relations with Asian nations? U.S. foreign policy issues in Asia are increasingly subject to resolution within regional organizations such as APEC or international organizations such as the WTO and the result has been to generate far more complicated coalitions and strategies for U.S. diplomacy in Asia. Other issues explored in the course include the increasing role of private sector actors (corporations, NGOS, etc.) in shaping U.S. relations in East Asia.

**Course Aims**

The aims of the course are four-fold. First, the course aims to provide a thorough overview of the conduct of U.S. foreign policy in East Asia over the postwar period, including the examination of a number of specific issues and cases. In the process, you should also gain a better understanding of the political regimes in various countries in the region. Second, the course aims to have you assess the utility of alternative conceptual lenses in explaining different aspects of U.S. foreign policy in East Asia. Alternative conceptual lenses lead one to see, emphasize and worry about different aspects of particular events. Therefore, one’s primary conceptual lens or level of analysis will heavily influence one’s policy prescriptions. Third, you will be asked to use the insights generated to

consider the challenges and opportunities facing the U.S. in this region in the coming years. Finally, the course is intended as a means for you to hone your critical thinking and analytical skills through class debate and the writing of short analytical papers.

Given these course aims, the readings will combine introductory / survey articles comprised primarily of description with articles from the academic literature containing more theoretical arguments. Four videos will also be shown over the course of the semester and it is my hope that these videos will help give you a better sense of the atmosphere and issues surrounding various cases. In a few class sessions, guests from the policy community in D.C. may also join us and engage with you in discussion. I hope to have a confirmed list of guests by the second week of classes.

### **Course Policies**

This seminar will require active participation by each student. The class will be divided into 5 study / debate groups of 3 students. 10 of our class meetings, part of class time will be spent on a debate between two of the groups. I will provide you with the points of debate the week before. Each group will debate a total of 4 times and each student will be required to submit a short paper in the class in which he/she is part of the debate. The writing of the paper should assist in preparation for the debate. In preparing for the debates and writing the papers, you need not refer to materials outside of the reading list but you are welcome to access outside resources, if you like. I encourage all of you to bring in recent newspaper articles or other material that you come across and which might be relevant to a particular week's topic.

### **Grading**

Your final grade will be calculated as follows:

In-class quiz: 5%

4 short papers: 10% each

Quality of class and debate participation / performance: 25%

Take-home final exam: 30%

Papers submitted after the due dates will be penalized one-third grade per day (i.e. from A to A-, from A- to B+, etc.). I will provide more information on how to write the papers in the second week of class.

The in-class quiz, given in the second class, will cover some important basic facts. On Part I of the quiz, you will be asked to label a blank map of East Asia with the names of countries and capital cities. On Part II, you will be asked to provide the names of currencies for each country in the region.

### **Readings**

The following books are required for the course and should be available for purchase:

David M. Lampton, *SAME BED, DIFFERENT DREAMS: Managing U.S.-China Relations, 1989-2000* (Univ. of CA Press, 2001) \$17.95

THE RISE OF CHINA (NY: Council on Foreign Relations, 2002) \$14.95

Leonard Schoppa, *BARGAINING WITH JAPAN: What American Pressure Can and Cannot Do* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1997) \$24.00

Paul Blustein, *THE CHASTENING: Inside the Crisis That Rocked the Global Financial System and Humbled the IMF* (NY: Public Affairs, 2001) \$24.00

In addition to these readings, I will distribute some short articles and papers in class and give you the URLs for articles on the reading list that can be obtained electronically.

### Class Schedule

#### January 17

#### **Introduction to E. Asia and U.S. Foreign Policymaking Process**

Introduction to the foreign policy-making process in the United States, to the nations that comprise East Asia, to key historical events serving as a backdrop to U.S. diplomacy in East Asia, and to various conceptual lenses / levels of analysis we will employ in the course.

#### January 24

#### **The Asian lobby in the U.S. & the role of perceptions in foreign relations**

- In-class quiz
- Reading: Excerpts from Pat Choate, Agents of Influence (1990); Chapters 6-8 (pp. 249-355) in Same Bed, Different Dreams.
- Video: "Occupied Japan: An Experiment in Democracy" (as a preview for next week)

#### January 31

#### **The U.S.-Japan Alliance**

- Debate: A vs. B
- Reading: Chalmers Johnson and E.B. Keehn, "The Pentagon's Ossified Strategy," in Foreign Affairs, Vol. 74, No.4, July/August 1995, pp. 103-114; Joseph Nye, Jr., "The Case for Deep Engagement," in Foreign Affairs, Vol. 74, No.4, July / August 1995, pp. 90-102;; Masaaki Gabe, "Futenma Air Station: The Okinawa Problem in Japan-U.S. Relations," Japan Echo Vol. 27, No.3 (June 2000), pp. 19-24; "The Question of a Resurgent Japan" in Kenneth Pyle, The Japanese Question: Power and

Purpose in a New Era (AEI Press, 1996), pp. 6-41; Yukio Okamoto, "Japan and the United States: The Essential Alliance," Washington Quarterly 25:2 (Spring 2002), pp. 59-72.

### February 7

#### **Sino-American Relations and the Taiwan Question**

- Debate: C vs. D
- Reading: Pages vii –57 in The Rise of China; pp. 15-110 in Same Bed, Different Dreams.

### February 14

#### **Sino-American economic / trade relations: the rise of China's economy**

- Debate: E vs. A
- Readings: "Bush's China-Trade Dilemma" The Wall Street Journal (Nov. 14, 2002); Pages 58-64, 91-114 and 121-134 in The Rise of China; pp. 111-203 in Same Bed, Different Dreams.

### February 21

#### **U.S. Role in Peacekeeping & Int'l Intervention in Cambodia & E. Timor**

We will examine Southeast Asian attitudes toward international intervention, recent developments in Cambodia and East Timor on the backdrop of America's Cold War period relations with these countries, and the role of U.S. pressure in influencing human rights investigations in East Timor.

- Debate: B vs. C
- Video: "The Diplomat: Jose Ramos Horta and East Timor's Fight for Independence").
- Reading: Part III (Chapters 9-12; pp. 127-188): "East Timor, the United States, and International Responsibility" in Richard Tanter, Stephen Shalom, and Mark Selden, eds. *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers: East Timor, Indonesia, and the World Community* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2001); Robert Orr, "Making East Timor Work: the United States as Junior Partner" *National Security Studies Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No.3, Summer 2001, pp. 133-140; Timothy Mapes, "New Nation East Timor Faces Tussle Over Rich Gas Field," The Wall Street Journal (May 20, 2002); Nicholas J. Wheeler, "East Timor and the New Humanitarian Intervention," *International Affairs* (Vol. 77, No. 4, October 2001), pp. 805-827; David Dickens, "Can East Timor Be a Blueprint for Burden-Sharing?" The Washington Quarterly (Vol. 25, No. 3, Summer 2002), pp. 29-40.

### February 28

#### **America's War Against Terrorism and the East Asian Response**

- Debate: D vs. E
- Reading: "Chien-Peng Chung, "China's 'War on Terror' in The Rise of

China, pp. 115-120; Andrew MacIntyre, "After Bali: Consequences and Cooperation", APEC Economies Newsletter, Vol. 6, No. 11, Nov. 2001 (2 pages); Heginbotham and Samuels, "Japan's Dual Hedge" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 5 (Sept/Oct 2002), pp. 110-122; Kikue Hamayotsu, "A 'Global' War against the Threat of 'Islam'? Responses from Malaysia and Indonesia in Comparative Perspective" Conference Paper, 2002; Barry Desher and Kumar Ramakrishna, "Forging and Indirect Strategy in Southeast Asia," Washington Quarterly 25:2 (Spring 2002), pp. 161-176.

### March 7

#### **The U.S.-Korea Alliance**

- No debate (class discussion instead)
- Readings: Ralph Cossa and Alan Oxley, "The U.S.-Korea Alliance" in Blackwill and Dibb, America's Asian Alliances (MIT Press. 2000), pp. 61-86; Victor Cha, "Balance, Parallelism, and Asymmetry: United States-Korea Relations" Journal of East Asian Studies Vol. 1, No. 1 (February 2001), pp. 179-209. David Steinberg, "Rising Anti-American Sentiment in Korea," The Korea Times (May 17, 2002); David Steinberg, "U.S. Forces are Needed in Northeast Asia," International Herald Tribune (Jan. 14, 2003); Kim Dae-joong, "Anti-Americanism," The Chosun Ilbo (Oct. 22, 2002); Tim Shorrocks, "The Fissure in US-South Korean Relations" Asia Times Online (Nov. 27, 2002).

### March 14

#### **PENN'S SPRING BREAK**

### March 21

#### **Screening of 2 videos** (Instructor in Seoul for conference).

- Video: "Japan's Bubble Economy"  
Provides background on Japan's current economic problems and discusses the role of the dollar/yen exchange rate and U.S. pressure in the inflation of Japan's bubble. This video is particularly relevant to the April 18 and 25 classes.
- Video: "The Crash"  
Interviews with various actors related to the Asian financial crisis discuss the role of U.S. investors and the U.S. government in this crisis. This video is particularly relevant to the April 4 and 11 classes.
- Reading: The Chastening, Chapters 1-6.

### March 27

#### **Videoconference with South Korean university students**

\* Note: Class will be held on Thursday evening, 6-9pm. We will first meet over pizza from 6-7pm to do some preparation for the videoconference to

follow from 7-8:30pm with a class of Korean students in Seoul. The topic will be U.S. relations with North Korea and the role of 3<sup>rd</sup> parties in U.S. negotiations with North Korea. We will explore the issue of whether North Korea is different from Iraq, how the North Korean issue affects nuclear proliferation in East Asia and what role is played by third parties such as China, South Korea and Japan in U.S. diplomacy with North Korea. Since we will be discussing this issue with Korean students, we will focus in particular on Korean perceptions of U.S.-North Korean relations, how Koreans perceive America's response to problems in North Korea affecting South Korea, etc.

- Readings: "China: the Forgotten Nuclear Power" in The Rise of China, pp. 65-75; "The Dilemma of Third Parties" (pp. 204-245) in Same Bed, Different Dreams; collection of recent articles from The New York Times; "Part I: Engaging North Korea" in Korean Economic Institute (2002), Cooperation and Reform on the Korean Peninsula, pp. 1-45.
- Debate: Debate groups A and C will be charged with taking the lead in facilitating discussion / debate with the Korean students, so will work together rather than debating each other for this week's class.

#### April 4

##### **America's response to the Asian financial crisis**

What was the role of the U.S.-dominated IMF? How did America's response to the Asian financial crisis differ from its response to the Mexican peso crisis and what explains the difference?

- Debate: E vs. B
- Reading: The Chastening, Chapters 7-13.

#### April 11

##### **Rise of Regionalism in East Asia and the American Response**

- Debate: B vs. D
- Reading: Jennifer Amyx, "Moving Beyond Bilateralism in Regional Financial Crisis Management? Japan and the Asian Monetary Fund" Paper presented at the 2002 Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting; 19 pages; Group 21, "Japan Must Introduce an Asian Currency," *Japan Echo*, vol. 26, no.3 (June 1999), pp. 24-27; C.H. Kwan, "A Japanese Perspective" in *Yen Bloc: Toward Economic Integration in Asia* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press), 2000: pp. 109-127; collection of newspaper articles.

#### April 18

##### **U.S.-Japan Trade Relations**

- Debate: C vs. E
- Reading: Schoppa, Bargaining with Japan, Chapters 1-4, pp. 1-116 and

Chapter 8, pp. 215-253.

**April 25**

**Japan's financial crisis and the relevance of U.S. pressure for reform**

- Debate: B vs. D
- Reading: Jennifer Amyx, "A New Face for Japanese Finance: Assessing the Impact of Recent Reforms" (29 pages); Schoppa, Bargaining with Japan, Chapters 5 and 8 (pp.117-145 and 181-214); Ronald McKinnon and Kenichi Ohno, Dollar and Yen (MIT, 1997), Ch.1: pp. 1-19.

**May 2**

**Take-home final exam distributed**

**May 8**

**Final exam due by 5pm**

Exam should be e-mailed to me as an attachment (MS Word or PDF). If I do not acknowledge receipt within 24 hours, please contact me to ensure I received it.