

**McGill University**  
**Political Science 349**  
**FOREIGN POLICY: ASIA**

Prof. T.V. Paul  
Leacock 540

Fall 2017  
Office Hours: Mon & Wed 2:25-3:25 pm

**Objectives:** This course provides an overview of the foreign policies of three key states of Asia: Japan, China, and India. We will study the historical evolution, goals and determinants of their foreign policies, and the conflictual and cooperative interactions of these states with other countries in Asia and the world. We will also cover the efforts at institutionalized cooperation in East, Southeast, and South Asia. The course begins with a discussion of various approaches to foreign policy analysis, intended to provide the necessary theoretical and conceptual tools to understand the foreign policy behavior of states.

**Reading Materials:** A reader containing all materials is available for purchase at the McGill Bookstore. The book: Baldev Nayar and T.V. Paul, *India in the World Order: Searching for Major Power Status* (Cambridge University Press, 2003) is on purchase at the McGill Bookstore.

**Requirements:** All students are expected to attend lectures. All readings are required, and are fair game for the exams, even if they are not discussed in class! Ensure therefore that you are always caught up with the readings, if you intend to make the most out of this class. If you do not do so already, make sure you regularly read the international political section of a newspaper or newspaper's website, especially the sections on Asia. *The Guardian* and the *New York Times* are excellent options, as are the BBC, NPR and CNN websites.

**Evaluation**

Mid-term Examination	20%
Research Essay	20%
Conferences	10%
Final Examination	50%

The exams consist of identifications and essays. Participation is primarily your contributions in conferences. Conferences will be conducted by a TA as a discussion group and this will be a useful opportunity for you to both clarify materials and think through your ideas. The essay could be on a specific foreign policy topic pertaining to one or more Asian countries. Credit will be given to essays that apply a conceptual or theoretical framework in the analysis. **Deadline: Wednesday Nov. 22, 2017.** Be aware that the university rules stipulate severe penalties for plagiarism and double submission.

**Statement on Academic integrity**

"McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see [www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/](http://www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/) for more information).

## **Part I: Understanding Foreign Policy**

### **9/6 Introduction**

Steve Smith, "Theories of Foreign Policy: A Historical Overview," *Review of International Studies* (1986), 13-29.

Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy*, No. 145 (Nov-Dec 2004), 52-62.

### **9/11 Goals and Strategies of Foreign Policy**

K.J. Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*, Prentice Hall, 82-114

Philip Zelikow, "Foreign Policy Engineering," *International Security*, 18, (1994):143-71.

### **9/13 Sources of Foreign Policy**

Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*, 269-307.

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Thinking about Strategic Culture," *International Security*, 19, 4 (Spring 1995), 32-56.

### **9/18 Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis**

Zacher, Mark and R. Matthew, "Liberal International Theory," in C. Kegley ed., *Controversies in International Relations Theory*, New York: St. Martins, 1995:117-139.

David Houghton, "Reinvigorating the Study of Foreign Policy Decision Making: Towards a Constructivist Approach," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3, 1, 2007, 24-45.

Gideon Rose, "Neo-Classical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics*, 51, 1 (1998), 144-154; 168-172.

### **9/20 Foreign Policy Learning and Adaptation**

Jack Levy, "Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield," *International Organization*, Spring 1994:279-312.

Charles Hermann, "Changing Course: Why Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly*, 34, no. 1 (March 1990), 3-21.

### **9/25 Asia In the International System**

Stephan Haggard, "The Balance of Power, Globalization and Democracy: International Relations Theory in Northeast Asia," *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 4 (2004), 1-38.

Paul, T.V. *South Asia's Weak States: Understanding the Regional Insecurity Predicament*. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2010, 3-27.

## **Part II: Foreign Policy of Japan**

### **9/27 The Historical Background; Post-War Objectives**

Robert Scalapino, "The Foreign Policy of Modern Japan," in Roy Macridis ed., *Foreign Policy in World Politics*, 8th edn., Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1992:186-221.

### **10/2 Explaining Japanese Foreign Policy: Security Dimensions**

Jennifer M. Lind, "Pacifism or Passing the Buck: Testing Theories of Japanese Security Policy," *International Security*, 29, No. 1 (2004), 92-121.

### **10/4 Political Economic Dimensions**

Kent Calder, "Japanese Foreign Economic Policy Formation: Explaining the Reactive State," *World Politics*, 40, No. 4 (July 1988), 517-541.

### **10/11 Post-Cold War Era Foreign Policy**

Keiko Hirata, "Who Shapes the National Security Debate? Divergent Interpretations of Japan's Security Role," *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 35, no. 3 (Fall 2008), 123-151.

Bjorn Jerden and Linus Hagstrom, "Rethinking Japan's China Policy," *Journal of East Asian Studies*

12 (2012), 215-250.

Hughes, Christopher, *Japan's Foreign and Security Policy under the Abe Doctrine*, Houndmills, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2015, 1-27.

### **10/16: Foreign Policy in the Korean Peninsula**

Daniel Byman and Jennifer Lind, "Pyongyang's Survival Strategy: Tools of Authoritarian Control in North Korea," *International Security*, 35, no. 1 (Summer 2010), pp. 44-74.

### **10/18: Mid-term**

## **Part III: Foreign Policy of China**

### **10/23 Explaining China's Foreign Policy Behavior**

Yong Deng, *China's Struggle for Status*, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2008:1-17; 38-54.

### **10/25 The Maoist Era**

Edward Friedman, "Maoist and Post-Mao Conceptualization of World Capitalism," in Kim ed., *China and the World*, 55-85.

### **10/30 The Deng Era**

Harry Harding ed., *China's Foreign Relations in the 1980s*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984 (Chs. by Kenneth Lieberthal 43, 55-70 and Bruce Reynolds 71,82-106).

### **11/1 The Post-Cold War Period**

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security*, 27, no. 4 (2003), 5-25.

Poh, Angela and Mingjiang Li, "A China in Transition: The Rhetoric and Substance of Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping," *Asian Security*, 13, no.2, 2017, 84-97.

### **11/6 China and its Neighbors**

Rajagoplan, Rajeswari, and Arka Biswas, "India-China Relations under Xi Jinping," *China: an International Journal*, 15, no.1, February 2017, 120-139.

Ba, Alice D., "ASEAN's Stakes: The South China Sea's Challenge to Autonomy and Agency," *Asia Policy*, no.21, January 2016, 47-53.

### **11/8 China as a Rising Power**

He Kai, "China's Bargaining Strategies for a Peaceful Accommodation after the Cold War," in T.V. Paul ed., *Accommodating Rising Powers*, Cambridge Uni. Press, 2011, 201-221.

Ferdinand, Peter, "Westward ho- The China Dream and One Belt, One Road," *International Affairs*, 92, 4, 2016, 941-957.

## **Part IV: Foreign Policy of India**

### **11/13 Historical Background**

Nayar and Paul *India in the World Order* Chaps 1-3.

Kanti Bajpai, "Indian Strategic Culture," in *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances* ed. Michael R. Chambers (Strategic Studies Institute, November 2002)243-286.

### **11/15 The Nehru Era: Non-alignment**

Nayar and Paul, *India in the World Order*, Ch 4.  
M.S. Rajan, *Studies On India's Foreign Policy*, New Delhi: ABC Publishing, 1993:214-228;  
323-331.

### **11/20 The Post-Nehru Era**

Nayar and Paul, *India in the World Order*, Ch.5.  
A.K. Damodaran and U.S. Bajpai eds., *Indian Foreign Policy: The Indira Gandhi Years*, New  
Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1990, 72-93.

### **11/22 Post-Cold War Era**

Nayar and Paul, *India in the World Order*, Ch.6 and 7.  
Tandon, Aakriti, "India's Foreign Policy Priorities and the Emergence of a Modi Doctrine,"  
*Strategic Analysis*, 40, 5, 2016, 349-56.  
Hall, Ian, "Multi-alignment and Indian Foreign Policy under Narendra Modi," *The Round  
Table*, 105, no. 3, 2016, 271-86.

### **11/27 India as a Rising Power**

Sinha, Aseema, "Partial Accommodation without Conflict: India as Rising Link Power," in  
T.V. Paul ed., *Accommodating Rising Powers: Past, Present and Future* (Cambridge  
University Press, 2011, 222-245.  
Paul T.V. and Mahesh Shankar, "Status Accommodation through Institutional Means:  
India's Rise and the Global Order" in T.V. Paul, Deborah Larson and William Wohlforth  
eds, *Status in World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 2014:165-191.

## **Part V: Conflict and Cooperation in Asia**

### **11/29 Conflict & Cooperation in South Asia**

Paul, T.V. *The India-Pakistan Conflict: An Enduring Rivalry*, Cambridge, Cambridge  
University Press, 2004: pp.3-24; 251-66.  
Dinshaw Mistry, "Complexity of Deterrence among New Nuclear States: The India-Pakistan  
Case," in T.V. Paul, Patrick Morgan and James Wirtz, eds., *Complex Deterrence:  
Strategy in the Global Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 183-203.  
Peter Jones, "South Asia: Is a Regional Security Community Possible?" *South Asian Survey*,  
15, no. 2 (2008), 183-193.

### **12/4 Southeast Asia and East Asia**

Amitav Acharya, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia*, London: Routledge,  
2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2009: 54-87.  
David Martin Jones and Michael L.R. Smith, "Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the  
Evolving East Asian Order," *International Security*, 32, no. 1 (Summer 2007), 148-184.

### **12/6 Review**