The difference between ignorant and educated people is that the latter know more facts. But that has nothing to do with whether they are stupid or intelligent. The difference between stupid and intelligent people – and this is true whether or not they are well-educated – is that intelligent people can handle subtlety. They are not baffled by ambiguous or even contradictory situations – in fact, they expect them and are apt to become suspicious when things seem overly straightforward. – Neal Stephenson (1995)

God always favors the big battalions. – Frederick the Great

God fights on the side with the best artillery. – Napoleon Bonaparte

Description

“Analysis of the formulation and control of United States foreign policy in the Indo-Pacific region and the origin and content of contemporary policies; challenges and alternative policies.”

Text

You are responsible for obtaining the articles online. They may not be available from a Google search, however. You may have to use the databases available in the library such as EBSCO and others. I have tried to make sure each reading is accessible either by an online search or through a library database. However, if you cannot find an assigned reading, please contact me immediately by email so I can advise you. Make sure you have used SFA library databases before contacting me.

General Education Core Curriculum Objectives/Outcomes

This course is associated with the Masters in National Security and Intelligence. The course is not part of the general education core curriculum. No specific general education objectives or
outcomes are addressed in this course.

Program Learning Objectives

The following program learning outcomes for a political science major are addressed in this course:

The student will critically analyze and critique political institutions and/or complex contemporary political issues.

Student Learning Objectives

By the end of the course, you will be able to:

- Identify primary actors in Indo-Pacific region and whether they are status quo or revisionist.
- Understand domestic environments of key Indo-Pacific actors.
- Analyze challenges to American foreign policy goals and identify the sources of such challenges (e.g., state or non-state actors).
- Be able to identify and match means and ends in foreign policy in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Identify traditional and non-traditional security challenges for the United States in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Identify intelligence methods used in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Identify and analyze weaknesses of US intelligence capabilities in Indo-Pacific region.

Reading and Discussion

I expect you to have read, digested, and understood the assigned material prior to class. Class will primarily revolve around the discussion of these readings. I will ask one of you to introduce the reading. I’d like you to summarize the reading at that point. Thereafter, we will discuss topics and questions related to a given day’s readings.

Note that we will rarely use power point slides in this class and I will seldom lecture. Rather I hope for an ongoing conversation influenced by the readings. If you do not do the reading, the discussion will lapse along with your grade.

Participation Grades

Participation will account for 50% of the class. Each day you will receive a participation grade.

Gaming Conference
I would like to have one or more gaming exercises in class. I am not sure whether this will be possible given that the course is entirely online. However, I will see if I can find a game or simulation to help us understand the Indo-Pacific and especially the “tyranny of distance” facing the US as it attempts to project power across the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Examinations

There will be no exams in this class. Instead, you will have a paper.

Grading System

The grading system is as follows:

- Participation: 50% of grade.
- Paper: 50% of grade (due 4 December at 5:00 pm CST).

Late Work

Late work will be penalized 10 points for every day it is late.

Assignment Return Dates

All assignments will be returned within 10 school days of submission.

You final exam grade will be posted within the timeline set by the University.

Attendance Policy

Though I do not require attendance, I call on students at random. If you are not present, you will be given an “unprepared” (a “0”) for participation.

Academic Integrity (4.1)

Academic integrity is a responsibility of all university faculty and students. Faculty members promote academic integrity in multiple ways including instruction on the components of academic honesty, as well as abiding by university policy on penalties for cheating and plagiarism.

Definition of Academic Dishonesty

Academic dishonesty includes both cheating and plagiarism. Cheating includes but is not limited to (1) using or attempting to use unauthorized materials to aid in achieving a better grade on a component of a class; (2) the falsification or invention of any information, including citations, on an assigned exercise; and/or (3) helping or attempting to help another in an act of cheating or
plagiarism. Plagiarism is presenting the words or ideas of another person as if they were your own. Examples of plagiarism are (1) submitting an assignment as if it were one's own work when, in fact, it is at least partly the work of another; (2) submitting a work that has been purchased or otherwise obtained from an Internet source or another source; and (3) incorporating the words or ideas of an author into one's paper without giving the author due credit. Please read the complete policy at http://www.sfasu.edu/policies/4.1-student-academic-dishonesty.pdf.

Withheld Grades Semester Grades Policy 5.5)

Ordinarily, at the discretion of the instructor of record and with the approval of the academic chair/director, a grade of WH will be assigned only if the student cannot complete the course work because of unavoidable circumstances. Students must complete the work within one calendar year from the end of the semester in which they receive a WH, or the grade automatically becomes an F. If students register for the same course in future terms the WH will automatically become an F and will be counted as a repeated course for the purpose of computing the grade point average. For additional information, go to http://www.sfasu.edu/policies/course-grades-5.5.pdf.

Students with Disabilities

To obtain disability related accommodations, alternate formats and/or auxiliary aids, students with disabilities must contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS), Human Services Building, and Room 325, 468-3004 / 468-1004 (TDD) as early as possible in the semester. Once verified, ODS will notify the course instructor and outline the accommodation and/or auxiliary aids to be provided. Failure to request services in a timely manner may delay your accommodations. For additional information, go to http://www.sfasu.edu/disabilityservices/.

Acceptable Student Behavior

Classroom behavior should not interfere with the instructor’s ability to conduct the class or the ability of other students to learn from the instructional program (see generally, the Student Conduct Code, policy 10.4 – http://www.sfasu.edu/policies/student-code-of-conduct-10.4.pdf). Unacceptable or disruptive behavior will not be tolerated. Students who disrupt the learning environment may be asked to leave class and may be subject to judicial, academic or other penalties. This prohibition applies to all instructional forums, including electronic, classroom, labs, discussion groups, field trips, etc. The instructor shall have full discretion over what behavior is appropriate/inappropriate in the classroom. Students who do not attend class regularly or who perform poorly on class projects/exams may be referred to the Early Alert Program (also known as iCare). This program provides students with recommendations for resources or other assistance that is available to help SFA students succeed.

Some examples of inappropriate behavior include, but are not limited to:

1. arriving late for class;
2. talking while your classmates are talking or I am talking;
3. distracting your classmates or me; and/or,
4. using a cell phone (texting, talking, ringing, or otherwise), tablet, or other electronic device (you may, of course, use a notebook or tablet for note taking purposes).

Masks

Masks (cloth face coverings) must be worn over the nose and mouth at all times if meeting in person and any student not wearing a mask will be asked to leave the class. All incidents of not wearing a mask will be reported to the Office of Student Rights and Responsibilities. Students who are reported for multiple infractions of not wearing a mask may be subject to disciplinary actions.


Communications

Each student must use their jacks.sfasu.edu email account. This is official SFA policy. You are deemed to have received any message sent to your jacks.sfasu.edu account. If you use another account, have your SFA email forwarded to that account. Make sure your jacks.sfasu.edu email does not go to a quarantine folder and/or is not interpreted as spam. All official communications in this class will be sent to your jacks.sfasu.edu account.

Extra Credit

No extra credit will be given in this class.

Keep Copies of Your Work

Students are required to keep an extra copy of each assignment until the instructor has returned the graded assignment. Students are also required to keep graded, returned copies of all exams, quizzes, and writing assignments until two weeks after the final exam or until you appeal a grade, whichever comes later.

Course Complaints

Any course complaints or problems should first be discussed with the course instructor for the particular course. Difficulties can usually be resolved there. If the complaint cannot be resolved, the next person to see is the appropriate department chairperson.
CHANGES TO SYLLABUS

I RESERVE THE RIGHT TO MODIFY ANY PORTION OF THE CLASS AND/OR SYLLABUS. SHOULD THE NEED ARISE I WILL NOTIFY YOU BY EMAIL AT YOUR JACKS.SFASU.EDU ACCOUNT.

ASSIGNMENTS

Topics

A. Systemic Issues (Week 1-2) (minimum 12 hours outside of class)


2. M. Anton, American and the International Order, American Affairs (March 2017)


4. Stephen Walt, How Not to Fix the Liberal World Order, Foreign Policy (March 6, 2017) (online)


B. Strategy (Weeks 3–4) (minimum 12 hours outside of class)


5. Suzanne Nossel, Smart Power, *Foreign Affairs* 83/2 (2004), 131-142


7. Mia Rapp Hooper, Uncharted Waters: Extended Deterrence and Maritime Disputes, *The Washington Quarterly* 38/1 (Spring 2015), 127-146


http://search.proquest.com/docview/214307371/fulltextPDF

http://www.jstor.org/stable/3093261

C. China (Week 5-14) (minimum 27 hours outside of class)

1. What Went Wrong

a. Kurt Campbell and Ely Ratner, The China Reckoning, *Foreign Affairs* 97/2 (March/April 2018), 60-70

b. Austin Lowe, “China Lost the United States First,” *Foreign Policy* (11 September 2019)

   https://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR663.html

2. Domestic Politics in China


h. Xiaoming Zhang, Deng Xiaoping and China's Decision to Go to War with Vietnam, *Journal of Cold War Studies* 12/3 (Summer 2010), 3-29 [https://myweb.rollins.edu/tlairson/china/chivietwar.pdf](https://myweb.rollins.edu/tlairson/china/chivietwar.pdf)

3. Authoritarianism


g. Nur Iman, I Was a Model Uighur. China Took My Family Anyway *Foreign Policy* (8 October 2019)
https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/10/08/i-was-a-model-uighur-china-took-my-family-anyway/

h. Kamaran Malik, Uproar over control of social credit system, Asia Times (10 July 2019)
https://asiatimes.com/2019/07/uproar-over-control-of-social-credit-system/


j. Orville Schell, China’s Cover-Up: When Communists Rewrite History, Foreign Affairs 97/1 January/February 2018), 22-27

k. Yuen Yuen Ang, Autocracy with Chinese Characteristics, Foreign Affairs 97/3 (May/June 2018), 39-46

l. Kelsang Dolma, Tibet Was China’s First Laboratory of Repression, Foreign Policy (31 August 2020)

4. Demographics

a. Nicholas Eberstadt, With Great Demographics Comes Great Power: Why Population Will Drive Geopolitics, Foreign Affairs 98/4 (July/August 2019), 146-157

b. Lyman Stone, The Chinese Communist Party Wants a Han Baby Boom Than Isn’t Coming, Foreign Policy (30 June 2020)
https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/06/30/chinese-communist-party-han-baby-boom-sterilization-ethnic-minorities/

5. China’s Goals and Strategy

b. Odd Arne Westad, The Sources of Chinese Conduct: Are Washington and Beijing Fighting a New Cold War, *Foreign Affairs* 98/5 (September/October 2019), 86-95

c. Jude Blanchette et al., Hidden Harbors: China’s State-Backed Shipping Industry, *CSIS Briefs* (8 July 2020) 

d. Austin Lowe, “China Lost the United States First,” *Foreign Policy* (11 September 2019) 

e. Timothy Heath and Andrew Erickson, Is China Pursuing Counter-Intervention? *The Washington Quarterly* 38/3 (Fall 2015), 143-156


h. 2015 China's Military Strategy, *State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China* 

https://doi.org/10.1080/09592296.2017.1420535


3. Andrew S. Erickson, Numbers Matter: China’s Three ‘Navies’ Each Have the World’s Most Ships, *The National Interest*, February 26, 2018


6. Made in China 2025


c. Laura Zhou and Orange Wang, How “Made in China 2025” became a lightning rod in “war over China’s national destiny,” *South China Morning Post* (18 January 2019) 

d. Jude Blanchette and Jonathan Hillman, China’s Digital Silk Road after the Coronavirus, *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (13 April 2020) 

e. Ding Yi, China’s Tztek to Acquire German Firm to Enter Semiconductor Testing Market, *CX Tech* (23 June 2020) 

https://nationalinterest.org/feature/china-beating-america-ai-supremacy-106861

g. David Zweig and Siqin Kang, America Challenges China’s National Talent Programs, *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (May 2020)

7. Belt and Road Initiative (One Belt/One Road)

a. Hong Yu, Motivation behind China’s ‘One Belt, One Road’ Initiatives and Establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, *Journal of Contemporary China*, 26/105 (November 2016), 353-368

b. Wenjuan Nie, Xi Jinping’s Foreign Policy Dilemma: One Belt, One Road or the South China Sea, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 38/3 (2016), 422-444


8. **Propaganda**

a. Nikhit Sonnad, “China’s internet propaganda is more subtle and sophisticated than it ever has been,” *Quartz* (23 May 2016)  
https://qz.com/690650/chinas-internet-propaganda-is-more-subtle-and-sophisticated-than-it-ever-has-been/

9. **Intelligence**

a. Kzauhiro Kida and Shinichi Hashimoto, “China's version of GPS now has more satellites than US original,” *Nikkei Asian Review* (19 August 2019)  


https://warontherocks.com/2015/08/a-guide-to-chinese-intelligence-operations/

d. Peter Mattis, Everything We Know about China’s Secretive State Security Bureau, *The National Interest* (9 July 2017)  

e. Section 3: Chinese Intelligence Services and Espionage Threats to the United States,  

10. Cyber, Artificial Intelligence, and Technology


d. Michele Flournoy and Michael Sulmeyer, Battlefield Internet: A Plan for Securing Cyberspace, *Foreign Affairs* 97/5 (September/October 2018), 40-46


f. Paul Cornish, Governing Cyberspace through Constructive Ambiguity, *Survival* 57/3 (June/July 2015), 153-176


h. Elinor Sloan, Robotics and War, *Survival* 57/5 (October/November 2015), 107-120

11. Southeast Asia and South China Sea (including Taiwan)

a. Jihyun Kim, Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea, Strategic Studies Quarterly (Summer 2015), 107-141

b. Ely Ratner, Course Correction: How to Stop China’s Maritime Advance, Foreign Affairs, 96/4 (July/August 2017), 64-__


d. Michael Tkacik, Understanding China’s Goals and Strategy in the South China Sea: Bringing Context to a Revisionist Systemic Challenge – Intentions and Impact, Defense & Security Analysis, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Fall 2018), 1-23

e. Ketian Zhang, Cautious Bully: Reputation, Resolve, and Beijing’s Use of Coercion in the South China Sea, International Security 44/1 (Summer 2019), 117-159

f. Jennifer Lind, Life in China’s Asia, Foreign Affairs 97/2 (March/April 2018), 71-82


12. East Asia and East China Seas (Japan and Koreas)


d. Victor Cha and Katrin Katz, The Right Way to Coerce North Korea, *Foreign Affairs* 97/3 (May/June 2018), 87-100

e. Robert Jervis and Mia Rapp-Hooper, Perception and Misperception on the Korean Peninsula, *Foreign Affairs* 97/3 (May/June 2018), 103-117


13. India and Himalayas

https://www.csis.org/analysis/frozen-line-himalayas

c. Sumit Ganguly and Frank O’Donnel, China is Taking Advantage of India’s Intelligence Failure, *Foreign Policy* (27 August 2020)  

d. Harsh Pant, A Rising India’s Search for a Foreign Policy, *Orbis* (2009), 250-264


14. China’s Challenges


d. Minxin Pei, China’s Coming Upheaval: Competition, the Coronavirus, and the Weaknesses of Xi Jinping, *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2020), 82-95

D. United States (minimum 27 hours)

1. Domestic

a. Stephen Walt, All Great-Power Politics is Local, *Foreign Policy* (24 August 2020)  
https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/08/24/all-great-power-politics-is-local/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=2
b. Actions Needed to Address the Main Factors Causing Maintenance Delays for Aircraft Carriers and Submarines, Government Accountability Office (20 August 2020)


e. The Cost of Replacing Today’s Air Force Fleet, Congressional Budget Office (December 2018)

f. Long-Range Emerging Threats Facing the United States as Identified by Federal Agencies, Government Accountability Office (13 December 2018)

g. Lindsey Sheppard, Artificial Intelligence and National Security, CSIS (November 2018)
h. Considerations for Maintaining U.S. Competitiveness in Quantum Computing, Synthetic Biology, and Other Potentially Transformational Research Areas, Government Accountability Office (26 September 2018)  

2. International Engagement (Agencies, IGOs, etc.)


3. Strategy – Options and Choices


c. Tim Huxley and Benjamin Schreer, “Standing up to China,” Survival 57/6 (2015), 127-144

d. Andrew Krepinevich, How to Deter China, Foreign Affairs 94/2 (March 2015), 78-86

e. Kenneth Ekman, Applying Cost Imposition Strategies against China, Strategic Studies Quarterly (Spring 2014), 26-59

f. Aaron Friedberg, The Debate over US China Strategy, Survival 57/3 (June/July 2015), 89-110

g. Harry Harding, Has U.S.-China Policy Failed? The Washington Quarterly 38/3 (Fall 2015), 95-122

h. Sharon Weinberger, The Return of the Pentagon’s Yoda, Foreign Policy (12 September 2018)
Danil Bochkov, Energy Deals in South China Sea are off if Russia wants Strong China Ties, *South China Morning Post* (28 August 2020)
https://www.scmp.com/comment/opinion/article/3099105/energy-deals-south-china-sea-are-limits-if-russia-wants-strong

Anatol Lieven, Stay Calm About China, *Foreign Policy* (26 August 2020)

Dave Makichuk, Space Weapons to Counter China, Russia ‘coming’, *Asia Times* (28 August 2020)
https://asiatimes.com/2020/08/new-space-weapons-to-counter-china-russia-on-way-official/?mc_cid=9c1c756e82&mc_eid=1a1f625c1b


Michael Mandelbaum, The New Containment: Handling Russia, China, and Iran, *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2019), 123-131

Chad Bown and Dougland Irwin, Trump’s Assault on the Global Trading System: And Why Decoupling from China Will Change Everything, *Foreign Affairs* 98/5 (September/October 2019), 125-137


t. Kurt Campbell and Jake Sullivan, Competition without Catastrophe: How American Can Both Challenge and Coexist with China, *Foreign Affairs* 98/5 (September/October 2019), 96-111


4. Economic Leadership and the Dollar

https://chinapower.csis.org/china-digital-currency/?utm_source=CSIS+All&utm_campaign=2d4b1c9ef9-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2018_09_04_03_13_COPY_01&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_f326fc46b6-2d4b1c9ef9-145363901


E. Crisis Control (minimum 3 hours)


https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/united-states-china-war-thucydidestrap/406756/


F. Nuclear Weapons (minimum 9 hours)


5. Michael Tkacik, Indian Nuclear Weapons: No First Use or No Full Disclosure, *Defence Studies*, 17/1 (January 2017), 84-109


G. Non-Traditional Issues (minimum 1 hour)


H. Future, Reflections, and Overall Thoughts (minimum 11 hours)


This is used to advise undergrads on writing papers. You can ignore it, but I’ve left it here in case you’re looking for guidance.

TERM PAPER

My experience at SFA is that students are often not prepared to write a quality term paper. Consequently, I have put together a short check list of things you should be sure to include in your paper. NOTE: this list is not exhaustive. These are only a few of the areas in which I have seen large-scale and repeated mistakes. Please see me if you are unsure about what else goes into a university-level term paper.

1. Use print no larger than 12 point font.

2. Double space between lines – except in indented quotes where you should single-space. A quote should be indented if it includes more than 50 words.

3. Number the pages. Do not number the title page.

4. Use margins of 1” on the sides, top, and bottom of the paper. I will measure and take off points on this issue.

5. Your paper should make an argument. Do not simply explain something to me. That was high school. As you prepare for the work world you need to be able to research and evaluate information on some topic. You must then clearly write a convincing argument about the topic.

6. Use a minimum of ten refereed “journal” sources (you should use more). You may not use text books or encyclopedias as one of these five (though clearly you may use such sources in addition to the five). A website does not count. Though the journal may be accessed on the Internet, it must be a journal that can also be found in print. You may also use other Internet sources, but they do not meet the requirement of at least ten journal sources.

7. Be careful with Internet sources. While the Internet provides a great deal of information, much of this information is unreliable. In some sense, the Internet actually requires more from the student. As a general rule of thumb, if you cannot find the information in “hard copy” (a journal or book), it is not worthy of reproduction in your paper. Increasingly, however, information exists on the Internet that cannot be duplicated in hard copy. In this case, you should look more carefully at the source and make a determination about its credibility. While the United Nations (www.un.org) is relatively credible, another site may not be. Anticipate doubts your reader might have and argue the source’s credibility in an endnote. Indeed, you should even try to note the biases of “reliable”
sources. For example, we should acknowledge that given the United Nation’s Charter and history, the organization probably sees sovereignty as creating more problems than it solves in international politics. We therefore might expect to find a general bias in favor of weakening state sovereignty. You should be aware of this bias and make your reader aware. You might even seek out sources on the other side of the sovereignty issue. Note: nothing in this paragraph relieves you of the requirement to find five journal sources that can be found in print.

8. When you cite to the Internet, be certain I can retrieve the source. If I type in an Internet source and cannot locate it, I will consider the source nonexistent.

9. List the sources at the back of your paper in bibliographic form (include a full citation: Author’s name, title of book or article, title of journal if using an article, year and date of publication, publisher, and page of publication).

10. Direct quotes in your paper should use quotation marks and be followed by an endnote (not a footnote). Direct quotes should also indicate the precise page number on which the quote is located. Endnotes should use the Chicago Manual of Style. Examples may be found here: http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html.

11. You may use shortened citations after the first use of a source, but do not use “Ibid.” “Id.” or other such form.

12. On your cover sheet, include only:
   a. paper title;
   b. date submitted;
   c. course name, and,
   d. Stephen F. Austin State University.

13. Plagiarism: Anytime you use the ideas, words, or expression of others, you must acknowledge the author. This is why we use sources and citations. When you do not cite to the author but use his or her idea, you have plagiarized. It is the equivalent of fraud or stealing. You can be expelled from school for plagiarism. At this point in your academic career, it is better to use too many citations than too few. You should review the University Policy on Academic Integrity A-9.1 for further information. You may access this policy at: http://www.sfasu.edu/policies/academic_integrity.asp. Please see me with any questions.

14. The very last page in the paper should have your name, student identification number, and paper title on it. Your name should not be included anywhere else in the paper (including the first page). This approach allows me to more easily grade blindly.
15. Note the difference between a citation and the bibliography. The bibliography is a list at the end of your paper that tells the reader all of the sources you used. A citation tells the reader specifically (source and page number) where an idea or quote was found. Papers should include both citations and a bibliography. A bibliography alone will not suffice.

16. Page requirements and/or limitations DO NOT include your title page, your bibliography, your endnotes, or any additional addenda such as the “name page” I ask for. If you are asked to write a 10 page paper, this means 10 pages in the body of the paper. Other material does not count toward your page requirements.

17. If you do not cite properly, I reserve the right to fail you on those grounds alone.

18. I expect a statement of what your paper is going to demonstrate somewhere in the first two paragraphs. Tell me up front what your paper is about. What will you investigate and how will you do it? Do not make your reader guess. This is one of the single greatest weaknesses in papers at SFA. One easy way to achieve this is to begin your paper with the words: “This paper will…”

19. Organization is very important and tends to be under-emphasized by students. If it is easy for the reader to follow the argument, the paper typically gets a better grade. Take the time to outline and organize before you write. Consider rewriting things and moving paragraphs around so as to improve organization (sarcasm intended).

20. Make an argument. Convince your reader of something. The strongest arguments often get the best grades. Similarly, in the real world, those who can convince others in written form tend to get big raises and live in nice houses. I know this duplicates number 5 above. It is important.

21. Proof your paper a number of times after writing it. Ideally, you should proof it once for each area you want to review. A short but incomplete list would include punctuation, organization, sentence structure, paragraph structure, transitions, and so forth.

22. Take pride in what you produce.

23. After you write your paper (or as you write it), go through this list and check off each and every item to make sure you have not forgotten anything.