**PUBPOL 475.002 PUBPOL 750.002 FA 2023 U.S. Diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific**

**Fall 2023**

**Instructor: Daniel Shields, Ambassador (Retired)**

<https://diplomacy.umich.edu/faculty/daniel-shields>

**Email: dashield@umich.edu; shieldsdaniel3@gmail.com**

**Phone: 717-317-3829**

**Note: The instructor is retired from the U.S. Department of State.  The views he expresses are his own and do not necessarily reflect U.S. government policy.**

**Office Hours: Weekdays 11:45 a.m. - 12:45 p.m., Weiser Diplomacy Center Suite, Weill Hall 3316**

**When you finish reading the Syllabus, please go to Module 1.**

**Course Objectives**

The course objectives are to evaluate aspects of the past, present, and future of diplomatic interactions between the United States and the other nations of the Indo-Pacific region.  While there is no universally agreed definition of the scope or the limits of the Indo-Pacific, the region is sometimes described as encompassing the area “from Hollywood to Bollywood,” where the Indian and Pacific Oceans converge through the Bay of Bengal, the Straits of Malacca, and the South China Sea.  The course focuses on the period since the September 8, 1951 signing of the Treaty of San Francisco, which ended the state of war in the Pacific after World War II.  The 75th anniversary of the Treaty will be in 2026, and in the context of that approaching anniversary, the focus of the course will be on examining some of the (many) matters the Treaty left unresolved.  Specifically, the course will examine security problems involving three of the areas that had been, to varying degrees, occupied by Imperial Japan before and/or during World War II: 1) Mainland Southeast Asia, particularly Burma/Myanmar; 2) Maritime Southeast Asia and the South China Sea; and 3) the Korean Peninsula.  We will evaluate how the associated diplomatic problems developed historically; how governments today are seeking, amid constraints, to use diplomacy to address the problems; and what future conditions might make it possible for diplomats to address effectively these items of unfinished business from the era of the Treaty of San Francisco.

**Course Content**

First, after an introductory session on the Treaty, we will analyze diplomatic efforts to integrate Mainland Southeast Asia into a broader regional order, paying attention to Cambodia and the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in the early 1990s.  We will assess how problems involving Burma/Myanmar, including the February 2021 coup d’état and the Rohingya issue, hinder the integration today of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and we will consider what might be done in the future to address such problems.  Note: The course uses the term Burma/Myanmar.   In 1989, the ruling military government changed the country’s name from Burma to Myanmar.  As for the U.S. government, former White House spokesperson Jen Psaki said, “our official policy is that we say ‘Burma’ but use ‘Myanmar’ as a courtesy in certain communications,” according to press reports.  International organizations, including ASEAN, generally use Myanmar.

Second, we will analyze efforts to manage tensions in Maritime Southeast Asia, centering on the South China Sea.  We will examine ongoing attempts to conclude an ASEAN-China South China Sea Code of Conduct and evaluate how claims and conduct issues might be settled in the future.

Third, we will discuss efforts to bring stability to the Korean Peninsula and to address the threat there of nuclear proliferation.  We will examine the challenges the United States currently faces in resuming diplomacy with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and consider what it might take in the future to address the nuclear issue diplomatically.  We will then close with an examination of future prospects for addressing the Korean Peninsula and other unfinished business from the Treaty of San Francisco.

Following educational theorist David A. Kolb’s experiential learning cycle, we will use diplomacy simulations to learn about U.S. diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific through concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation.  The diplomacy simulations, set in 2025 in the leadup to the 75th Anniversary in 2026 of the Treaty of San Francisco, will involve issues relating to Burma/Myanmar, the South China Sea, and the Korean Peninsula, and will allow us to experiment with the potential, and to test the limits, of certain diplomatic approaches that have been proposed to improve regional security in the Indo-Pacific.

The framing device for the course is a hypothetical question: what if Malaysia, scheduled to be the 2025 Chair of ASEAN, used its year as the Chair to try to address diplomatically three of the issues (Burma/Myanmar, the South China Sea, and the Korean Peninsula) left unresolved by the Treaty of San Francisco?  In terms of the roles in the simulations, the instructor will play a moderator from the United Nations.  The students will play the roles of the Foreign Ministers representing the countries convened by Malaysia for a simulated ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) meeting.  The real-life ARF has 27 members and in the simulations each student will sign up to play one of the 27 roles.  (There will be fewer than 27 students in the class, so the instructor will answer any questions that arise about those ARF members which no student has signed up to play.)  The Indo-Pacific is of great interest to all members of the ARF.  The members are:

1) Australia

2) Bangladesh

3) Brunei Darussalam

4) Cambodia

5) Canada

6) People’s Republic of China

7) European Union (EU)

8) India

9) Indonesia

10) Japan

11) Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK)

12) Republic of Korea (ROK)

13) Laos

14) Malaysia (2025 ASEAN and ARF Chair)

15) Mongolia

16) Myanmar (Burma)

17) New Zealand

18) Pakistan

19) Papua New Guinea

20) Philippines

21) Russia

22) Singapore

23) Sri Lanka

24) Thailand

25) Timor-Leste

26) United States

27) Vietnam

The simulations will be opportunities for you to try your hand at a simulated version of diplomacy, which can be understood as “communications between governments” or, more expansively, “communications involving governments and/or international organizations and intended to advance interests and/or values through persuasion.”  Remember that diplomacy can make use of all the other instruments of national power, including the informational, military, economic and other instruments.  Also keep in mind that the U.S. Department of State, charged with using diplomacy to support the President in implementing his national security agenda, faces its own important internal institutional challenges, including improving its record on fostering Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Accessibility, as noted in the link below.

<https://www.state.gov/deia-strategy/>

**Course Requirements**

Active participation is essential to the success of the course.  When you go into role, playing a particular country in the simulations, be as imaginative and creative as you can, within the scope of your instructions from your capital.  It is good to have fun with the simulations, but remember to keep treating your colleagues professionally and courteously, even when you are in role.

Course requirements are as follows.

* Complete three writing assignments: each a two-page, single-spaced, memo.  In the memos, you will consider whether (Memo 1) Burma/Myanmar, (Memo 2) the South China Sea, and (Memo 3) the Korean Peninsula are national security problems that U.S. diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific could help address in the future.  (If you prefer, you may focus in your memos on the diplomacy of another country, rather than U.S. diplomacy.)  At the end of each memo, you will add a one-paragraph "comment" to reflect on what you learned from the experience of participating in the simulation.
* You will demonstrate active participation, including in the simulations and the class discussions; reading and analyzing assigned texts; attendance and punctuality.

Through the process of drafting the three memos, you are expected to develop the following specific skills:

* the analytic skills needed to make credible and convincing recommendations relating to foreign policy and diplomacy;
* the persuasive communications skills appropriate to the diplomatic arena;
* the ability to integrate analytic, institutional, and communication skills in the context of foreign policy and diplomacy;
* a sophisticated grasp of how the United States can make use of diplomacy to address national security problems and advance national interests/values in the Indo-Pacific; and
* the ability to learn experientially (in diplomacy simulations) through reflective observation.

Specific guidance on the memos will be provided through the relevant Assignments and Modules in Canvas.

**Assignments and Grading**

The assignments will be the three two-page memos.  If you turn in a memo late, this will negatively affect the grade.  Overall grading will reflect: a) performance on the three memos and b) general class participation. The specific grading approach will be as follows:

* 30% of the grade will be based on the Burma/Myanmar diplomacy memo;
* 30% of the grade will be based on the South China Sea diplomacy memo;
* 30% of the grade will be based on the Korean Peninsula diplomacy memo; and
* 10% will be for general class participation.

The expectation is that you will be present for each class and participate in each discussion, especially if you are asked a question.  You do not have to force a comment in every class just for the sake of saying something, but if you find yourself going through consecutive classes without saying a word, you are probably not participating enough to get full credit for class participation.  Coordinate with the instructor promptly if for some reason you cannot attend a particular class or if you have any concerns about actively participating in class discussion.  Unexcused absences will negatively affect participation.

**Assignment Schedule and Due Dates**

* September 13: Submit a two-page memo on whether Burma/Myanmar is a national security problem that U.S. diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific could help address in the future.  If not, why not?  If so, how?  Include a one-paragraph reflection (comment) on what you learned from the experience of the Burma/Myanmar simulation.
* September 27: Submit a two-page memo on whether the South China Sea is a national security problem that U.S. diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific could help address in the future.  If not, why not?  If so, how?  Include a one-paragraph reflection (comment) on what you learned from the experience of the South China Sea simulation.
* October 11: Submit a two-page memo on whether the Korean Peninsula is a national security problem that U.S. diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific could help address in the future.  If not, why not?   If so, how?  Include a one-paragraph reflection (comment) on what you learned from the experience of the Korean Peninsula simulation.

**Course Schedule**

There are 14 Modules (sessions or classes) in the course.  All readings will be available through Canvas in 14 Modules.

* Module 1 on August 29 will be a lecture/discussion on the unfinished business from the 1951 Treaty of San Francisco.
* Modules 2-5 will focus on Mainland Southeast Asia Burma/Myanmar issues through a past-oriented lecture discussion (Module 2 on August 31), a present-oriented lecture/discussion (Module 3 on September 5), and a two-part future-oriented simulation (Module 4 on September 7 and Module 5 on September 12), with a two-page memo (see above) due on September 13.
* Modules 6-9 will cover South China Sea issues, following the same pattern used on Burma/Myanmar: a past-oriented lecture discussion (Module 6 on September 14), a present-oriented lecture/discussion (Module 7 on September 19), and a two-part future-oriented simulation (Module 8 on September 21 and Module 9 on September 26), with a two-page memo (see above) due on September 27.
* Modules 10-13 will focus on Korean Peninsula issues.  Again, the pattern will be a past-oriented lecture discussion (Module 10 on September 28), a present-oriented lecture/discussion (Module 11 on October 3), a two-part future-oriented simulation (Module 12 on October 5 and Module 13 on October 10), with a  two-page memo (see above) due on October 11.
* Finally, Module 14 on October 12 will end the course with a lecture/discussion on possible opportunities for future U.S. diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific in connection with the 75th Anniversary in 2026 of the Treaty of San Francisco.

A chronological breakdown follows.

**Introduction**

August 29 (Module 1): Complete assigned readings (available through Modules) in connection with introductory lecture/discussion: “Unfinished Diplomatic Business from the 1951 Treaty of San Francisco.”

**Mainland Southeast Asia (Burma/Myanmar)**

August 31 (Module 2): Complete assigned readings in connection with lecture/discussion: “Mainland Southeast Asia Past – Establishing ASEAN in 1967 and integrating Cambodia, Laos, Burma/Myanmar, and Vietnam (the ‘CLMV countries’) into ASEAN.”

September 5 (Module 3): Complete assigned readings in connection with lecture/discussion: “Mainland Southeast Asia Present – How Burma/Myanmar Issues hinder ASEAN Integration.”

September 7 (Module 4): Complete assigned readings in connection with first part of simulation in class: “Mainland Southeast Asia Future Simulation -- Negotiating the 2025 ARF Communique on Burma/Myanmar.”

September 12 (Module 5):  Continue with second part of simulation.

September 13 (Assignment 1): Submit a two-page memo on whether Burma/Myanmar is a national security problem that U.S. diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific could help address in the future.  If not, why not?  If so, how?  Include a one-paragraph reflection on what you learned from the experience of the Burma/Myanmar simulation.

**Maritime Southeast Asia (South China Sea)**

September 14 (Module 6): Complete assigned readings in connection with lecture/discussion: “South China Sea Past – Limited Progress on Claims (2000 China-Vietnam Gulf of Tonkin Agreement), Conduct (2002 ASEAN-China Declaration on Conduct), and Arbitration (2016 Hague Tribunal Finding.)”

September 19 (Module 7): Complete assigned readings in connection with lecture/discussion: “South China Sea Present – Ongoing Efforts towards an ASEAN-China Code of Conduct.”

September 21 (Module 8): Complete assigned readings in connection with first part of concrete experience simulation in class: “South China Sea Future Simulation -- Negotiating the 2025 ARF Communique on the South China Sea.”

September 26 (Module 9):  Continue with second part of simulation.

September 27 (Assignment 2): Submit a two-page memo on whether the South China Sea is a national security problem that U.S. diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific could help address in the future.  If not, why not?  If so, how?  Include a one-paragraph reflection on what you learned from the experience of the South China Sea simulation.

**Korean Peninsula**

September 28 (Module 10): Complete assigned readings in connection with lecture/discussion: “Korean Peninsula Past – Armistice, DPRK nuclear issue, Agreed Framework, Six-Party Talks, Trump-Kim Summits.”

October 3 (Module 11): Complete assigned readings in connection with lecture/discussion: “Korean Peninsula Present – Challenges in Resuming Diplomacy with the DPRK.”

October 5 (Module 12): Complete assigned readings in connection with first part of concrete experience simulation in class: “Korean Peninsula Future Simulation -- Negotiating the 2025 ARF Communique on the Korean Peninsula.”

October 10 (Module 13):  Continue with second part of simulation.

October 11 (Assignment 3): Submit a two-page memo on whether the Korean Peninsula is a national security problem that U.S. diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific could help address in the future.  If not, why not?  If so, how?  Include a one-paragraph reflection on what you learned from the experience of the Korean Peninsula simulation.

**Conclusion**

October 12 (Module 14): Complete assigned readings in connection with lecture/discussion: “Making Diplomatic Use of the 75th Anniversary in 2026 of the 1951 Treaty of San Francisco.”

**Course Policy on Use of Generative Artificial Intelligence**

The instructor has reviewed, and he encourages the students to review, the information in genai.umich.edu on the use of Generative Artificial Intelligence (GenAI.)   In this context, use of GenAI is permitted in the course depending on the activity type.  The appropriate model, in the instructor’s view, is outlined in the following language: Temple University Center for the Advancement of Teaching: [https://teaching.temple.edu/sites/teaching/files/resource/pdf/Chat-GPT%.](https://teaching.temple.edu/sites/teaching/files/resource/pdf/Chat-GPT%25.)

“The use of generative AI tools (e.g. ChatGPT, Dall-e, etc.) is permitted in this course for the following activities:

Brainstorming and refining your ideas;

Fine tuning your research questions;

Finding information on your topic;

Drafting an outline to organize your thoughts; and

Checking grammar and style.

The use of generative AI tools is not permitted in this course for the following activities:

Impersonating you in classroom contexts, such as by using the tool to compose discussion board prompts assigned to you or content that you put into a Zoom chat.

Completing group work that your group has assigned to you, unless it is mutually agreed upon that you may utilize the tool.

Writing a draft of a writing assignment.

Writing entire sentences, paragraphs or papers to complete class assignments.”

If you have questions about use of GenAI for any specific activity in the course, please ask the instructor.

**Ford School Inclusivity Statement:** Members of the Ford School community represent a rich variety of backgrounds and perspectives. We are committed to providing an atmosphere for learning that respects diversity. While working together to build this community we ask all members to:

* share their unique experiences, values and beliefs
* be open to the views of others
* honor the uniqueness of their colleagues
* appreciate the opportunity that we have to learn from each other in this community
* value one another’s opinions and communicate in a respectful manner
* keep confidential discussions that the community has of a personal (or professional) nature
* use this opportunity together to discuss ways in which we can create an inclusive environment in Ford classes and across the UM community.

**Ford School Public Health Protection Policy:** In order to participate in any in-person aspects of this course--including meeting with other students to study or work on a team project--you must follow all the public health safety measures and policies put in place by the State of Michigan, Washtenaw County, the University of Michigan, and the Ford School.  Up to date information on U-M policies can be found [here](https://campusblueprint.umich.edu/).  It is expected that you will protect and enhance the health of everyone in the Ford School community by staying home and following self-isolation guidelines if you are experiencing any symptoms of COVID-19.

**Student Mental Health and Wellbeing:** The University of Michigan is committed to advancing the mental health and wellbeing of its students.  We acknowledge that a variety of issues, both those relating to the pandemic and other issues such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, and depression, can directly impact students’ academic performance and overall wellbeing. If you or someone you know is feeling overwhelmed, depressed, and/or in need of support, services are available.  You may access the Ford School’s embedded counselor Paige Ziegler (contact information TBD) and/or counselors and urgent services at [Counseling and Psychological Services](https://caps.umich.edu/) (CAPS) and/or [University Health Service](https://www.uhs.umich.edu/mentalhealthsvcs) (UHS).  Students may also use the Crisis Text Line (text '4UMICH' to 741741) to be connected to a trained crisis volunteer.  You can find additional resources both on and off campus through the [University Health Service](https://uhs.umich.edu/stressresources) and through [CAPS](https://caps.umich.edu/article/um-mental-health-resources).

**Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** The University of Michigan recognizes disability as an integral part of diversity and is committed to creating an inclusive and equitable educational environment for students with disabilities. Students who are experiencing a disability-related barrier should contact Services for Students with Disabilities <https://ssd.umich.edu/>; 734-763-3000 or ssdoffice@umich.edu). For students who are connected with SSD, accommodation requests can be made in Accommodate. If you have any questions or concerns please contact your SSD Coordinator or visit SSD’s Current Student webpage. SSD considers aspects of the course design, course learning objects and the individual academic and course barriers experienced by the student. Further conversation with SSD, instructors, and the student may be warranted to ensure an accessible course experience.

**Academic Integrity:** The Ford School academic community, like all communities, functions best when its members treat one another with honesty, fairness, respect, and trust. We hold all members of our community to high standards of scholarship and integrity. To accomplish its mission of providing an optimal educational environment and developing leaders of society, the Ford School promotes the assumption of personal responsibility and integrity and prohibits all forms of academic dishonesty, plagiarism and misconduct. Academic dishonesty may be understood as any action or attempted action that may result in creating an unfair academic advantage for oneself or an unfair academic advantage or disadvantage for any other member or members of the academic community. Plagiarism involves representing the words, ideas, or work of others as one’s own in writing or presentations, and failing to give full and proper credit to the original source. Conduct, without regard to motive, that violates the academic integrity and ethical standards will result in serious consequences and disciplinary action. The Ford School's policy of academic integrity can be found in the [**MPP**](https://www.dropbox.com/s/wuq2jfmbpflm4f2/FINAL%202023%20Masters%20Handbook.pdf?dl=0)  [**BA**](https://www.dropbox.com/s/zhllbd4vpfr439r/FINAL%202023%20BA%20Handbook.pdf?dl=0), and [**PhD Program**](https://www.dropbox.com/s/06x1tzt1e32pjjw/FINAL%202023%20PHD%20Handbook.pdf?dl=0) handbooks. Additional information regarding academic dishonesty, plagiarism and misconduct and their consequences is available [**here**](https://rackham.umich.edu/academic-policies/section8/#112).

***Use of Technology:*** Students should follow instructions from their instructor as to acceptable use of technology in the classroom, including laptops, in each course. All course materials (including slides, assignments, handouts, pre-recorded lectures or recordings of class) are to be considered confidential material and are not to be shared in full or part with anyone outside of the course participants. Likewise, your own personal recording (audio or video) of your classes or office hour sessions is allowed only with the express written permission of your instructor.  If you wish to post course materials or photographs/videos of classmates or your instructor to third-party sites (e.g. social media), you must first have informed consent. ***Without explicit permission from the instructor and in some cases your classmates, the public distribution or posting of any photos, audio/video recordings or pre-recordings from class, discussion section or office hours, even if you have permission to record, is not allowed and could be considered academic misconduct.***

**Please review additional information and policies regarding** [**academic expectations and resources**](https://intranet.fordschool.umich.edu/academic-expectations) **at the Ford School of Public Policy.**