

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF THE AMERICAS  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

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|----------------|---|---|
| Course         | : | PhD   |
| Course No      | : | AW656N  |
| Course Title   | : | The United States and the Indo-Pacific Region |
| Course Type    | : | Optional                                      |
| Course Teacher | : | Prof. Arvind Kumar                            |
| Credits        | : | 4 (Four)                                      |
| Semester       | : | Winter Semester                               |
| Contact Hours  | : | 4 per week                                    |

**Course Objectives**

The objective of the course would be to assess and analyse how the concept got evolved and is gaining momentum as a geopolitical construct. How challenging it is to contextualize the emergence of the Indo-Pacific region from Great powers 'perspective will form a part of understanding. A modest attempt will be made to assess and analyse the challenges and prospects for building an Indo-Pacific security architecture. The role of the United States' in building the security architecture will also be examined.

China's rise and its power trajectory in the Indo-Pacific will be analysed in detail. Whether the existing QUAD which seems to be in the process of formalization would realise its strategic goals will be debated at length.

**Learning Outcomes**

It is expected that there will be a holistic understanding of the geographical adjustments and geopolitical dimensions of the Indo-Pacific region. An attempt will be made to learn the issues relating to the United States' and the Indo-Pacific Region from India's prism.

**Evaluation Methods**

Sessional Work and end Semester Examination

The class is expected to be interactive. Analytical skills will be used in the class. The discussion on all the themes will use both primary and secondary source materials. Some of the classes will be on Seminar mode and the Research Scholars' will lead the discussion.

**Course Content**

**UNIT I: Understanding Indo-Pacific Region from Great Powers Perspective**

- Notion of Indo-Pacific Region and its varying Dimensions from Great Powers Perspective
- Locating Footprints of the United States' in the Indo-Pacific Region
- The United States as a Pacific Nation: Geographical and Geopolitical Context

## **UNIT II: Post-World War II: The US as a Superpower and the Indo-Pacific Region**

- The Cold War and History of US Power Trajectory in the Indo-Pacific Region
- The Korean War and the Rise of US Military Alliance Framework
- Domino Theory and the Containment Strategy
- The Indo-China War and American Entanglement in the Region
- Sino-American Rapprochement: The Churning of Geopolitics in the Region
- American Withdrawal from Indo-China: Limits of Power
- Rise of the Asian Tigers & US Role in Political Economy

## **UNIT III: The End of Cold War and the US in the Indo-Pacific Region**

- The Soviet Collapse and Emergence of Multipolarity
- The Primacy of Economics in US Grand Strategy
- Shifting US Security Arrangements
- Asian Regionalism, Regional Order and US Role
- Asian Financial Crisis and Implications for US Role

## **UNIT IV: Rise of China in the Indo-Pacific Region & US Responses**

- Rise of China and the Question of American Hegemony
- Accommodating or Containing a Rising China: Implications for US Grand Strategy
- America's Asia Rebalancing Strategy and Trans Pacific Partnership Initiative
- Cementing Alliances and Building New Strategic Partnerships
- The Indo-Pacific Strategy of the US

## **UNIT V: The Rise of the Indo-Pacific Era and US Grand Strategy**

- From Rebalancing to Free and Open Indo-Pacific
- New Threats and Challenges in the Indo-Pacific Region
- Countering 'Near Peer Competitors' in the Indo-Pacific Region
- Implications for US Strategic Posturing and Power Trajectory
- Locating the Quad and Indo-US Strategic Partnership in the Indo-Pacific Region

## **Readings**

### **Unit I**

Michael Green (2017), *By More than Providence: Grand Strategy and American Power in the Asia Pacific since 1783*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Howard K. Beale (1984), *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

George C. Herring (2017), *The American Century and Beyond: U.S. Foreign Relations, 1893-2014*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Stephen E. Ambrose and Douglas G. Brinkley (2010), *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*, New York: Penguin.

## **Unit II**

Roger Buckley (2002), *The United States in the Asia-Pacific since 1945*, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Victor Cha (2016), *Powerplay: The Origins of the American Alliance System in Asia*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Robert McMahon (1999), *The Limits of Empire: The United States and Southeast Asia since World War II*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Emrys Chew (2009), “US Foreign Policy and Southeast Asia: From Manifest Destiny to Shared Destiny”, *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*, Singapore.

## **Unit III**

Colin McInnes and Mark Rolls, eds. (1994), *Post-Cold War Security Issues in the Asia-Pacific Region*, New York: Routledge.

Renato De Castro (1994), ‘U.S. Grand Strategy in Post-Cold War Asia—Pacific,’ *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 342-353.

Mark Beeson (2004), “The United States and Southeast Asia: Change and Continuity in American Hegemony”, K. Jayasuriya (ed.) *Crisis and Change in Regional Governance*, London: Routledge.

Richard J. Ellings and Edward A. Olsen (1992-93), ‘A New Pacific Profile,’ *Foreign Policy*, no. 89, pp. 116-136.

## **Unit IV**

Lyle Goldstein (2017), ‘The US–China Naval Balance in the Asia-Pacific: An Overview,’ *The China Quarterly*, vol. 232, pp. 904-931.

Condoleezza Rice (2000), ‘Promoting the National Interest,’ *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 1, pp. 45-62.

Hillary Clinton, ‘America’s Pacific Century,’ *Foreign Policy*, October 11, 2011.

Stephen M. Walt (2006), *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

## Unit V

The U.S. Department of Defense, 'Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnership and Promoting a Networked Region,' June 1, 2019.

Michael R. Auslin, 'The Question of American Strategy in the Indo-Pacific,' A Hoover Institution Essay on a US Strategic Vision in a Changing World.

Jeff M. Smith (2018), *Asia's Quest for Balance: China's Rise and Balancing in the Indo-Pacific*, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.

Randall Doyle (2016), *The Geopolitical Power Shift in the Indo-Pacific Region: America, Australia, China, and Triangular Diplomacy in the Twenty-First Century*, USA: Lexington Books.

### **Suggested Readings:**

The White House, 'The National Security Strategy of the United States of America', December 2017.

The US Department of Defense, Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America: Sharpening the American Military Competitive Edge.

The US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Description of the National Military Strategy 2018.

H. D. P. Envall (2019), 'The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue: Towards an Indo-Pacific Order,' Policy Report, September, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Nicholas J. Spykman (2007), *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, USA: Transaction Publishers.

Howard K. Beale (1984), *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (2010), 'The Future of American Power: Dominance and Decline in Perspective,' *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 89, no. 6, pp. 2-12.

Robert S. Ross (2013), 'US Grand Strategy, the Rise of China, and US National Security Strategy for East Asia,' *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 20-40.

Robert G. Sutter (2015), *The United States and Asia: Regional Dynamics and Twenty-First-Century Relations*, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.

Robert D. Kaplan (2011), *Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power*, New York: Random House.

- Yuen Foong Khong (2013/14), 'Primacy or World Order? The United States and China's Rise—A Review Essay,' *International Security*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 153–175.
- Naurine, Shaun (2018), 'US Domestic Politics and America's Withdrawal from the TransPacific Partnership: Implications for Southeast Asia,' *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International Strategic Affairs*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 50-76.
- Chintamani Mahapatra (1990), *American Role in the Origin and Growth of ASEAN*, New Delhi: ABC Publishing House.
- Chintamani Mahapatra (2007), *US - Philippines Strategic Relations: Underpinning of an Unequal Association*, New Delhi: Reference Press.
- Chintamani Mahapatra (1998), *Indo-US Relations into the 21st century*, New Delhi, Knowledge World in association with the IDSA.
- Chintamani Mahapatra (2011), 'Complex Cold Warriors: US-China Relations & Implications for India', *Journal of Defence Studies*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 25-31.
- Michael H. Hunt and Steven I. Levine (2013), *Arc of Empire: America's Wars in Asia from the Philippines to Vietnam*, USA: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Randall Doyle (2007), *America and China: Asia-Pacific Rim Hegemony in the Twenty-first Century*, USA: Lexington Books.
- Michael Beckley (2018), *Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower*, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Mingjiang Li and Kalyan M. Kemburi, eds. (2014), *New Dynamics in US-China Relations: Contending for the Asia Pacific*, New York: Routledge.
- Huiyun Feng and Kai He, eds. (2018), *US-China Competition and the South China Sea Disputes*, New York: Routledge.
- Robert D. Kaplan (2015), *Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific*, New York: Random House.
- Rafiq Dossani and Scott W. Harold (2018), 'US Policy in Asia: Perspectives for the Future,' *Rand Corporation*, USA.
- Dinshaw Mistry (2016), 'Aligning Unevenly: India and the United States,' *East-West Centre*, Washington D.C.,
- Evan A. Feigenbaum and Robert A. Manning (2009), 'The United States in the New Asia,' *Council on Foreign Relations*, Special Report no. 50, New York,

Kurt Campbell and Brian Andrews (2013), 'Explaining the US 'Pivot' to Asia,' *Chatham House*, UK.

Ashley Tellis (2015), 'Balancing without Containment: An American Strategy for Managing China,' *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D.C.,

Michael D. Swaine (2015), 'Conflict and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific: A Strategic Net Assessment,' *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D.C.,

Michael Green, et.al (2016), 'Asia-Pacific Rebalance 2025: Capabilities, Presence and Partnerships: An Independent Review of US Defense Strategy in the Asia-Pacific,' *Centre for Strategic and International Studies* (CSIS), Washington D.C.

G. John Ikenberry (2004), 'American Hegemony and East Asian Order,' *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 58, no. 3, pp. 353-67.

Matthew P. Goodman, Scott Miller and Amy Searight (2017), 'US Economic Strategy in the Asia-Pacific: Update and Recommendations,' *Centre for Strategic and International Studies* (CSIS), Washington D.C.

Ashton Carter (2016), 'Reflections on American Grand Strategy in Asia,' Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

Mark Beeson (2006), *Bush and Asia: America's Evolving relations with East Asia*, New York: Routledge.

Banning Garrett (2003), "Strategic Straightjacket": The United States and China in the 21st Century", Jonathan Pollack (eds.) *Strategic Surprise: Sino-American Relations in the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Newport: Naval War College Press.

Evelyn Goh (2005), "Meeting the China Challenge: The U.S. in Southeast Asian Regional Security Strategies", East-West Center, Washington D.C.

Michael Hudson (2003), *Super Imperialism: The Origin and Fundamentals of U.S. World Dominance*, London: Pluto Press.

Paul M. Kennedy (1989), *Rise and fall of great Powers: economic change and military conflict from 1500-2000*, USA: Vintage Books.

Evan S. Medeiros et al. (2008), *Pacific Currents: The Responses of U.S. Allies and Security Partners in East Asia to China's Rise*, Pittsburgh: RAND Corporation.

Ron Huisken (2004), "America and China: A Long Term Challenge for Statesmanship and Diplomacy", Working Paper No. 386, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University.

Andrew Scobell and Larry M. Wortzel (2000), "The Asia-Pacific in the U.S. National Security Calculus for a New Millennium", Strategic Studies Institute, United States Army War College.

Richard L. Armitage and Joseph S. Nye (2007), “The U.S.-Japan Alliance Getting Asia Right through 2020”, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington D.C.

Emma Chanlett Avery and Bruce Vaughn (2008), “Emerging Trends in the Security Architecture in Asia: Bilateral and Multilateral Ties among the United States, Japan, Australia, and India”, CSR Report for Congress, Washington DC.

Kurt M. Campbell (2010), “Principles of U.S. Engagement in the Asia-Pacific”, Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, DC.

Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross (1996), “Competing Vision for US Grand Strategy”, *International Security*, vol. 21, no.3, pp. 5-53.

Martin L. Lasater (1996), *The New Pacific Community: U.S. Strategic Options in Asia*, Boulder: Westview Press.

Ashley J. Tellis, ‘Protecting American Primacy in the Indo-Pacific’, Congressional Testimony, Senate Armed Services Committee, April 25, 2017.

Dan McDaniel (2012), ‘India, China and the United States in the Indo-Pacific Region: Coalition, Co-existence or Clash?’, Australian Defence College.

Kai He and Mingjiang Li (2020), ‘Understanding the Dynamics of the Indo-Pacific: US-China Strategic Competition, Regional Actors and Beyond,’ *International Affairs*, vol. 96, no. 1, pp. 1–7.