

Course Description and Aims:

This course develops a framework for understanding and explaining a nation's foreign policy, and it surveys the foreign policies of several states during the last century individually and in comparison with other states. The major powers do not rule the world in the 21st century as they did throughout history, but they continue to exert substantial influence on virtually every critical issue, whether the nuclear weapons in North Korea; war in Afghanistan; democratization or terrorism in failing states; or world trade. For the purpose of this course, the "**major**" powers include both "**great**" powers that have permanent seats and veto power on the UN Security Council (U.S., England, France, Russia, and China) and "**middle**" **powers** that include advanced countries such as Germany and Japan. The course also analyse foreign policies of emerging countries as well as how states formulate policies to cope with current global challenges.

The foreign policy of the United States; Russia and China other powers since 1945; objectives and realities; relations between these powers; the foreign policy role played by the Western European powers, Japan and India. Students will analyze; assess; evaluate comparative foreign policies.

Lecturer: Dr. Titipol Phakdeewanich Office 2109, Tuesday and Thursday 8:00-09:50am - titipol.pha@mahidol.ac.th

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Assessment

Participation	10%
Midterm Exam	30%
Group Presentation	20%
Final Exam	40%

Course Learning Outcomes

At the completion of the course the student will be able to:

- 1. Examine the key theoretical and conceptual framework of foreign policy formulation
- 2. Examine the history of the foreign policies of the major powers and how the ends and means of a state's foreign policies evolve. To comprehend the major challenges faced by major powers today
- 3. Compare and contrast how major power countries cooperate and compete through their foreign policies
- 4. Assess the efficiencies of foreign policies in response to international and domestic challenges
- 5. Predict whether there would be continuities or changes in the policies; and suggest the better alternatives where possible

Topic No.	Торіс
1	Introduction: Understanding National Interests and National Power, how the power of a nation influences its foreign policies.
2	Foreign policy analysis: Theoretical and historical perspectives, Realism and foreign policy, Liberalism and foreign policy, Constructivism and foreign policy
3	 Analysing foreign policy: Actors, context, and goals State actors and Non state actors Discussing the role of actors and structures in 'process' and 'policy' Discussing the influence of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) on Foreign Policy
4	 Discussing foreign policy since 1945: The Rise and the decline of Great Power A brief discussion on British Empire in the 19th century The establishment of the hegemonic power of the United States in the Post WW II The decline of the power of the United States or the rise of the rest?
5	Discussing Hard Power, Soft Power, and Smart Power
6	 The Evolution of Foreign Policy in the 21st Century Examining the Global Challenges, including COVID-19 pandemic, human trafficking, democracy, environment, and free market Discussing the role of five permanent members, namely China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States, of the United Nations Security Council. How can the UN Security Council advocate its "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security."
7	Review Midterm
8	 Foreign Policy of the United States U.S. Foreign policy in Perspective Transformational Diplomacy, initiated by Condoleezza Rice, United States Secretary of State The assertion of the U.S. influences through "Smart Power", under the leadership of Hillary Rodham Clinton, United States Secretary of State
9	 Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China (PRC) The Open Door Policy, initiated by Deng Xiaoping in December 1978 to open the door to foreign businesses. China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) The Implication of China's non-interference policy on global issues, including democracy and human rights
10	Foreign Policy of Japan

	 Discussing the Fukuda Doctrine since 1970s, introduced by Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda, and its implication on Japan-ASEAN Relations Foreign Policy of Japan and its strategy of economic cooperation within Asean and the GMS (Greater Mekong Subregion)
11	 Foreign Policy of ASEAN Countries Examining ASEAN's policy of non-interference and its implications on the state of democracy and human rights within ASEAN
12	 Foreign Policy of Thailand Thai-U.S. relations: Democracy versus Military Cooperation Economic interest and Thai foreign policy Thailand's soft power in the region

Assessment Methods & Criteria

1. Participation 10%

Students are expected to actively and regularly participate during the lecture, peer presentation, class discussion exercises, and group work which are evenly distributed throughout the trimester. Punctuality, attendance, attentiveness, contribution and behavior will be taken into consideration. It is important to keep up with the course materials in order to be able do so. Relevant readings will be made available to students electronically or in print.

2. Group Presentation 20%

Students are expected to select foreign policies of the following countries, namely U.S., China, Japan, or ASEAN for their presentaions. They will research, read, synthesise and present in class. Presentations will be in powerpoint format and address issues to be assigned. Critical thinking ability, content, and delivery are important assessment criteria. The presentation shall last no more than 15 minutes, following by Q&A where the presenting group encourages discussion and participation from their listening audience. The presentations of reading materials must (a) briefly summarize the main arguments of the presented text, (b) point out problematic or questionable sections of the reading, (c) provide updated content as necessary, and (d) provide 2-3 questions for further in-class discussion in relation to the presented materials.

3. Midterm examination: 30%

The examination will comprise essay answer questions which will require students to draw on lectures, course readings and short personal research to answer questions. Students will write a structured argumentative essay with relevant reference to topics, issues and associated theoretical frameworks that have been discussed in class. Answers can be concise, but must be precise and attend to all aspects of the question (read the questions carefully!). Midterm examination will take place in week 7.

4. Final examination: 40%

The examination will comprise essay answer questions which will require students to draw on lectures, course readings and short personal research to answer questions. Content, argumentation, structure and grammar will be taken into consideration when grading. Final examination will be held in week 13.

Introduction

Topic description: Recent changes in the world complicate foreign policy formulation of states. This week discusses recent changes in the world such as the end of the Cold War, the new world order, globalization, transnational challenges, migration crisis, economic recession, climate change and terrorist threats. We will explore how these changes affect and complicate foreign policy formulation of states. As part of the introduction, the lecture will examine the definition of policy and discuss the distinction between domestic policy and foreign policy. The lecture will discuss ideas around national interests and national power, and how the power of a state and non-state actors influence foreign policies. This will enable students to identify actors involved in foreign policy making and implementation.

Expected learning outcomes: Students will be able to describe the key conceptual frameworks of foreign policy formulation. Students should be able to identify the major challenges faced by major powers today and how they respond to those challenges.

Readings and activities:

Core readings:

- Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Timothy. (eds) (2016) Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chapter 9 Element of National Power, in Morgenthau, Hans J., Thompson, Kenneth W. and Clinton, David. (2005) *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, McGraw Hill Higher Education.
- Nye, Joseph. S. (2010) The future of power: And use in the twenty-first century. New York, NY: Public Affairs.
- Current news articles on the related topic.

Supplementary readings:

- Titipol Phakdeewanich (2015) US-Thai relations: A question of democracy versus obscurity?, in The Nation (2015) Available at https://titipol.blogspot.com/2015/02/us-thai-relations-question-of-democracy.html
- Current news articles on the related topic
- Morgenthau, Hans J., Thompson, Kenneth W. and Clinton, David. (2005) Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, McGraw Hill Higher Education.

Activities: Students will participate in a brainstorming exercise and class discussion to answer a list of questions derived from the lecture and assigned readings on some of the major global challenges today. These questions are designed to help students understand this week's concepts and express their understanding in their own words. Students' contribution will be counted towards their overall participation credits.

Foreign Policy Analysis

Topic description: This lecture will discuss historical perspectives on foreign policy and international relations theory, including realism, liberalism, and constructivism, which have been utilised to examine foreign policy formation.

Expected learning outcomes: The student will be able to examine the key theoretical frameworks of foreign policy formulation. Using the framework, students will be able to find state behavior and foreign policy patterns of states.

Readings and activities:

Core readings:

- Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Timothy. (eds) (2016) Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Current news articles on the related topic.

Supplementary readings:

Activities: Students will participate in a brainstorming exercise and class discussion to answer a list of questions derived from the lecture and assigned readings on some of the major global challenges today. These questions are designed to help students understand this week's concepts and express their understanding in their own words. Students' contribution will be counted towards their overall participation credits.

Analysing Foreign Policy: Actors, Contexts, and Goals

Topic description: Due to the complex nature of foreign policy making process, this lecture will explore the influences of both domestic and international actors on foreign policy analysis. The lecture will examine the role and influence of state actors and non-state actors, especially the role multinational corporations (MNCs) on foreign policy. It has been observed that government do not normally have absolute control on foreign policy-making process. The lecture's question will explore to what extent the increasing pluralistic nature of foreign policy making process constrains the influence of the state to dictate foreign policy outcomes.

Expected learning outcomes: The student will be able to examine the key factors influencing foreign policy formulation. Students will be able to examine these factors across time and space to identify how these effect government behavior and foreign policy patterns of states, and how they provide viable choices or limitations to the foreign policies the states can pursue.

Readings and activities:

Core readings:

- Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Timothy. (eds) (2016) Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Current news articles on the related topic.

Supplementary readings:

Activities: Students will apply the theoretical frameworks to analyse current foreign affairs topics covered by the assigned news articles. Students' contribution will be counted toward their overall participation credits.

Discussing foreign policy since 1945: The Rise and the decline of Great Power

Topic description: With reference to a discussion relating to the distribution of power within international political arena, as well as the American hegemony, this lecture will examine the rise and the decline of great powers. The lecture will briefly discuss the phrase 'the sun never sets on the British Empire' and explore the rising power of the United Kingdom during the height of the British Empire in the 19th century, and its power faded from the international stage. Then the lecture will examine the hegemonic power of the United States in the Post WW II and discuss whether we are now observing the decline of the power of the United States or the rise of the rest? In addition, the lecture will discuss the rising power of China in the 21st century.

Expected learning outcomes: The student will be able to utilise comparative methods to examine foreign policies using historical evidence. They will also be able to critically examine the rise and decline of major powers and how the ends and means of a state's foreign policies evolve over time.

Readings and activities:

Core readings:

- Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Timothy. (eds) (2016) Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Current news articles on the related topic.

Supplementary readings:

Activities: Students will apply theoretical and conceptual frameworks from class to examine the case of China-debating whether China is a rising power in the same sense the US was? Will it be a regional hegemon or a global one like the US? Students' contribution will be counted toward their overall participation credits.

Discussing Hard Power, Soft Power, and Smart Power

Topic description: It is important to understand the nature of power in international relations and global affairs. This lecture will primarily base its discussion of hard power, soft power, and smart power, on the work of Joseph Nye. It has been observed that soft power and smart power have increasing been employed in the foreign policy making-process of governments. The lecture will fundamentally discuss the utilisation of soft power and smart power as foreign policy tools of the United States and China in the 21st century.

Expected learning outcomes: The student will be able to critically discuss the decision of the state to utilise hard power, soft power, and smart power as power as foreign policy tools. Discussing students if soft power is something that states can use in the same way as hard power? Thus, they can examine the consequences of those choices made by the state.

Readings and activities:

Core readings:

- Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Timothy. (eds) (2016) Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Current news articles on the related topic.

Supplementary readings:

Activities: Students will participate in a brainstorming exercise and class discussion to answer a list of questions derived from the lecture and assigned readings on some of the major global challenges today. These questions are designed to help students understand this week's concepts and express their understanding in their own words. Students' contribution will be counted towards their overall participation credits.

The Evolution of Foreign Policy in the 21st Century

Topic description: International affairs in the 21st century are often defined by security concerns and economic prosperity, partly because of technological development and increasing interdependence. Therefore, this lecture will examine some of the current global challenges, including the COVID-19 pandemic, human trafficking, democratic backsliding, environment, and free market, experienced by countries across the globe. The lecture will also discuss the role of the five permanent members, namely China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States, of the United Nations Security Council, especially on their role promotion and protection of human rights.

Expected learning outcomes: The student will be able to utilise the notion of 'national interest' to understand the decisions of the state on its foreign policy priorities, with respect to the current global challenges in the 21st century.

Readings and activities:

Core readings:

- Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Timothy. (eds) (2016) Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Current news articles on the related topic.

Supplementary readings:

• United Nations Security Council https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/

Current news articles on the related topic

Activities: Students will participate in a brainstorming exercise and class discussion to answer a list of questions derived from the lecture and assigned readings on some of the major global challenges today. These questions are designed to help students understand this week's concepts and express their understanding in their own words. Students' contribution will be counted towards their overall participation credits.

Review and Midterm

Topic description: Review and Midterm

Expected learning outcomes: Students will be able to examine the key theoretical and conceptual frameworks of foreign policy formulation, and survey the history of foreign policies of the major powers and how the ends and means of a state's foreign policy evolves. They will comprehend the major challenges faced by major powers today. Students will be able to compare and contrast how major powers cooperate and compete. Furthermore, they will have the frameworks needed to assess the efficiencies of foreign policies in response to international and domestic challenges, and predict

whether there will be continuity or change in these policies, and suggest alternatives where possible.

Readings and activities: Review and Midterm Exam

Foreign Policy of the United States

Topic description: Back in 1998, Madeleine Albright, former U.S. Secretary of State argued that the U.S. is the indispensable nation. This argument remains true, despite the rising power of other states that challenge the hegemonic power of the U.S. The lecture will discuss the evolution of foreign policy in the U.S., prior and after the end of the Cold War. The lecture will discuss the notion of 'Transformational Diplomacy', initiated by Condoleezza Rice, former U.S. Secretary of State, which highlight the important of working in partnership with all involved actors to promote democracy. Furthermore, the lecture will discuss U.S. 'smart power' under the Obama Administration, and foreign policy under the Trump Administration.

Expected learning outcomes: The student will be able examine the domestic and international influences on the formation of foreign policy in the U.S. This will enable students to critically discuss whether the U.S. can remain 'the indispensable nation' in the 21st century.

Readings and activities:

Core readings:

- Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Timothy. (eds) (2016) Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Current news articles on the related topic.

Supplementary readings:

- Transformational Diplomacy https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2006/59339.htm https://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/59306.htm
- Titipol Phakdeewanich. (2012) The lords of democracy, in Bangkok Post Bangkokpost.com. Available at: https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/0pinion/282083/engaging-with-the-lords-ofdemocracy (Accessed: April 23, 2021)
- Titipol Phakdeewanich. (2015) US-Thai relations: A question of democracy versus obscurity? https://titipol.blogspot.com/2015/02/us-thai-relations-question-ofdemocracy.html

Activities: Students will participate in a brainstorming exercise and class discussion to answer a list of questions derived from the lecture and assigned readings on some of the major global challenges today. These questions are designed to help students understand this week's concepts and express their understanding in their own words. Students' contribution will be counted towards their overall participation credits.

Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China (PRC)

Topic description: The rising power of China has raised concerns among some members of the international community, especially Western countries, partly because China's so-called non-interference policy on global issues. The lecture will examine the implication of the Five Principles

of Peaceful Co-Existence, announced in 1949 by Chairman Mao Zedong. The lecture will begin to discuss the contribution of the Open Door Policy, initiated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, which led to rapid economic development in China and its rising economic power. Then, the lecture will discuss China's soft power through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This will enable student to examine China's economic power and the implications of China's so-called non-interference policy on global issues, including democracy and human rights.

Expected learning outcomes: The student will be able to critically discuss the changing structure of power within international stage and the role of China. Thus, they can examine the impact of China toward the solutions of global issues, such as inequality, democracy, and human rights.

Readings and activities:

Core readings:

- Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Timothy. (eds) (2016) Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Current news articles on the related topic.

Supplementary readings:

- Ruta, M. (2019) New silk roads: The economics of the belt and road initiative. Washington, D.C., DC: World Bank Publications.
- Bhattacharyay, Biswa Nath. (2011). Financing Infrastructure for Connectivity: Policy Implications for Asia. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute
- Asian Development Bank. (2009) *Infrastructure for a Seamless Asia*, Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/159348/adbi-infrastructure-seamless-asia.pdf

Activities: Students will participate in a brainstorming exercise and class discussion to answer a list of questions derived from the lecture and assigned readings on some of the major global challenges today. These questions are designed to help students understand this week's concepts and express their understanding in their own words. Students' contribution will be counted towards their overall participation credits.

Foreign Policy of Japan

Topic description: Despite the rising power of China, Japan remains an important actor on the global and regional stage, especially in Southeast Asia. The lecture will examine Japan's foreign policy and its impact on social and economic development in Southeast Asia. The lecture will begin a discussion on the Fukuda Doctrine since 1970s, introduced by Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda, and its implication on Japan-ASEAN Relations. Thus, this will provide a fundamental understanding to foreign Policy of Japan and its strategy of economic cooperation within ASEAN and the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS). Currently there are many international forums and involved actors in the region, therefore, student can examine international influences on Japan's foreign policy towards ASEAN.

Expected learning outcomes: The student will be able explain and examine domestic and international influences on foreign policy of Japan. Then, they can examine the balance of power in Southeast Asia.

Readings and activities:

Core readings:

- Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Timothy. (eds) (2016) Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Current news articles on the related topic.

Supplementary readings:

• Diplomatic Bluebook, an annual report on Japan's Foreign Policy and Activities published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/index.html

Activities: Students will participate in a brainstorming exercise and class discussion to answer a list of questions derived from the lecture and assigned readings on some of the major global challenges today. These questions are designed to help students understand this week's concepts and express their understanding in their own words. Students' contribution will be counted towards their overall participation credits.

Foreign Policy of ASEAN Countries

Topic description: With an estimated population of 673 million and rapid economic development, ASEAN and its member states have become increasingly important actors on the global stage. This lecture will examine the role and influence of ASEAN on the formation of foreign policies of member countries. The discussion will specifically focus on ASEAN's policy of non-interference and its implications on the state of democracy and human rights within ASEAN Countries.

Expected learning outcomes: The student will be able explain and examine domestic and international influences on foreign policy of ASEAN countries. Then, they can discuss whether there is any opportunity for ASEAN to truly promote democracy and human rights within ASEAN Countries.

Readings and activities:

Core readings:

- Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Timothy. (eds) (2016) Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Current news articles on the related topic.

Supplementary readings:

Activities: Students will participate in a brainstorming exercise and class discussion to answer a list of questions derived from the lecture and assigned readings on some of the major global challenges today. These questions are designed to help students understand this week's concepts and express their understanding in their own words. Students' contribution will be counted towards their overall participation credits.

Foreign Policy of Thailand

Topic description: As a longtime ally of the U.S., the lecture will examine the implication of the U.S. foreign policy on Thailand domestic and foreign policy. This will primarily focus on the promotion of democracy and military cooperation between Thailand and the U.S., especially during the Vietnam War period. While democracy and human rights have been an important elements of U.S. foreign policy, question arises whether the U.S. can claim it has promoted democracy and human rights in the Thai context. Following this discussion, the lecture will examine whether Thai foreign policy is dominated by its economic interests and whether Thailand has any soft power.

Expected learning outcomes: The student will be able explain and examine domestic and international influences on foreign policy of Thailand. This will enable students to evaluate whether Thailand can play a leading role within ASEAN.

Readings and activities:

Core readings:

- Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Timothy. (eds) (2016) Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Current news articles on the related topic.

Supplementary readings:

- Pasuk Phongpaichit and Baker, C. (1999) Thailand: Economy and Politics, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press
- Titipol Phakdeewanich. (2012) The lords of democracy, in Bangkok Post Bangkokpost.com. Available at: https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/282083/engaging-with-the-lords-ofdemocracy (Accessed: April 23, 2021)
- Titipol Phakdeewanich. (2015) US-Thai relations: A question of democracy versus obscurity? https://titipol.blogspot.com/2015/02/us-thai-relations-question-ofdemocracy.html

Activities: Students will participate in a brainstorming exercise and class discussion to answer a list of questions derived from the lecture and assigned readings on some of the major global challenges today. These questions are designed to help students understand this week's concepts and express their understanding in their own words. Students' contribution will be counted towards their overall participation credits.

Recommended Reading List

Bell, Daniel. (2000) The end of ideology: On the exhaustion of political ideas in the fifties, with "the resumption of history in the new century." London, England: Harvard University Press.

Cameron, Fraser. (2005) US foreign policy after the cold war: Global hegemon or reluctant sheriff? 2nd ed. London, England: Routledge.

Collins, Alan. (2015) Contemporary security studies. 4th ed. Edited by A. Collins. London, England: Oxford University Press.

Cox, Michael. and Stokes, Doug. (eds.) (2008) US Foreign Policy. London, England: Oxford University Press.

Dunne, Tim., Kurki, Milja. and Smith, Steve. (eds.) (2016) International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity. 4th ed. London, England: Oxford University Press.

Hart, Joan. A. and Spero, Jeffrey. E. (1997) The politics of international economic relations. 5th ed. London, England: Routledge.

Huntington, Samuel. P. (2002) The clash of civilizations: And the remaking of world order. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Huntington, Samuel. P. (2006) Political order in changing societies. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Jackson, Robert. and Sorensen, Georg. (2006) Introduction to international relations: Theories and approaches. 3rd ed. London, England: Oxford University Press.

Jones, Geoffrey. (2004) Multinationals and global capitalism: From the nineteenth to the twenty first century. London, England: Oxford University Press.

Lairson, Thomas. D. and Skidmore, David. (2016) International political economy: The struggle for power and wealth in a globalizing world. London, England: Routledge.

Phraxayavong, Viliam. (2009) History of aid to Laos: Motivations and impacts. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Mekong Press.

Morgenthau, Han. J. and Thompson, Kenneth. W. (1993) Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace. Maidenhead, England: McGraw Hill Higher Education.

Ruta, M. (2019) New silk roads: The economics of the belt and road initiative. Washington, D.C., DC: World Bank Publications.

Schoenbaum, Thomas. J. (2006) International relations: The path not taken. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Steve., Hadfield, Amelia. and Dunne, Tim. (eds.) (2016) Foreign policy: Theories, actors, cases. 3rd ed. London, England: Oxford University Press.

Stiglitz, Joseph.E. (2008) Making Globalisation Work. Dublin, Ireland: Economic & Social Research Institute.

Strange, Susan. (1994) States and markets: An introduction to international political economy. 2nd ed. London, England: Frances Pinter.

Sylvan, David. and Majeski, Stephen. (2009) U.S. Foreign Policy in Perspective: Clients, enemies and empire. London, England: Routledge.

Woods, Ngaire. (ed.) (1996) Explaining International Relations since 1945. London, England: Oxford University Press.

Zakaria, Fareed. (2004) The future of freedom: Illiberal democracy at home and abroad. New York, NY: WW Norton.

Zakaria, Fareed. (2008) The post-American world. New York, NY: WW Norton.