

IRPG833

The United States, East Asia and the World: Hegemony, Conflict and Rivalry

S2 Day 2019

Dept of Modern History, Politics & International Relations

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General Information

Unit convenor and teaching staff

Lecturer

Lloyd Cox

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Contact via 98504096

Level 2, South Wing of Hearing Hub Building

Thursday 12-2

Credit points

4

Prerequisites

Admission to MIntRel or PGDipIntRel or MIntCommMIntRel or MIntBusMIntRel or MIntRelMIntTrdeComLaw or MTransInterMIntRel or GradCertIntRel or GradDipIntRel or MSecStrategicStud or MCrim or MIntell or MCTerrorism or MPPP or MPPPMIntRel

Corequisites

Co-badged status

Unit description

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the United States began increasing its presence in East Asia. In the first instance the focus was on participation in the opening of Japan and China to western trade and influence, but by the end of the century the US had established a colonial foothold in the Philippines and Guam. The was the beginning of a long-term pattern of increasing US intrusion into East Asia, which would see it fight three major wars and emerge as the undisputed hegemon in the region. Today, this regional hegemony is challenged by the rise of an assertive, outward looking China. This unit places these developments in their historical context, while examining their contemporary expressions in emerging diplomatic, economic and military rivalry. Although touching in other countries, the main focus is on the US's relationships with China, Japan the Koreas and Australia.

Important Academic Dates

Information about important academic dates including deadlines for withdrawing from units are available at https://www.mq.edu.au/study/calendar-of-dates

Learning Outcomes

On successful completion of this unit, you will be able to:

To enhance students' understanding of the role that the United States plays in

contemporary global and East Asian affairs

To illuminate the historical continuities (and discontinuities) in U.S. foreign policy in East Asia

To enable students to critically evaluate the main theoretical and ideological approaches to U.S. foreign policy in East Asia

To sharpen students' understanding of the relationship between, and the blurring of, 'domestic' and 'international' spheres of U.S. politics

To enhance students' capacity to clearly express, in written form, ideas and debates that are central to US foreign policy and international relations in East Asia

General Assessment Information

Late Submissions

Late Submission Penalty: "Unless a Special Consideration request has been submitted and approved, (a) a penalty for lateness will apply – two (2) marks out of 100 will be deducted per day for assignments submitted after the due date – and (b) no assignment will be accepted more than seven (7) days (incl. weekends) after the original submission deadline. No late submissions will be accepted for timed assessments – e.g. quizzes, online tests."

Assessment Tasks

Name	Weighting	Hurdle	Due
Review Article	20%	No	Wednesday 14/8/2019
Major Essay	40%	Yes	Wednesday 2/10/2019
Final Exam	30%	No	4/11 (internals) 10/11 (externals)
Participation	10%	No	All year

Review Article

Due: Wednesday 14/8/2019

Weighting: 20%

Students are to write a short review (1000 words) of one of the readings posted on ilearn for weeks one and two. The author should (1) situate the article within the broader debates of which it is a part; (2) summarize the key arguments of the article and (3) provide a critical evaluation (do you find the article convincing, and why?). All students should submit their reviews via turnitin, by midnight on the due date.

On successful completion you will be able to:

• To enhance students' understanding of the role that the United States plays in

contemporary global and East Asian affairs

- To illuminate the historical continuities (and discontinuities) in U.S. foreign policy in East Asia
- To enable students to critically evaluate the main theoretical and ideological approaches to U.S. foreign policy in East Asia
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Major Essay

Due: Wednesday 2/10/2019

Weighting: 40%

This is a hurdle assessment task (see <u>assessment policy</u> for more information on hurdle assessment tasks)

Students will write a 2000 word essay chosen from a list of essay topics that will be put on ilearn in week 2 of thus unit. This essay must be correctly referenced and provide a bibliography. All students should submit their essays via turnitin by midnight on the due date.

On successful completion you will be able to:

- To enhance students' understanding of the role that the United States plays in contemporary global and East Asian affairs
- To illuminate the historical continuities (and discontinuities) in U.S. foreign policy in East Asia
- To enable students to critically evaluate the main theoretical and ideological approaches to U.S. foreign policy in East Asia
- To sharpen students' understanding of the relationship between, and the blurring of,
 'domestic' and 'international' spheres of U.S. politics
- To enhance students' capacity to clearly express, in written form, ideas and debates that are central to US foreign policy and international relations in East Asia

Final Exam

Due: 4/11 (internals) 10/11 (externals)

Weighting: 30%

For internal students, the final exam will be two hours long and will require you to write three short essays drawn from a list of 12, which will cover content from the entire unit. Internal students will do the exam during normal class time, while external students will do the exam as a take home test over the weekend 8-10 November. I will post the questions on Friday 8 November at midday. External students must submit their test via turnitin, in one file, labelled with their family name, no later than midnight on Sunday 10 November.

On successful completion you will be able to:

- To enhance students' understanding of the role that the United States plays in contemporary global and East Asian affairs
- To illuminate the historical continuities (and discontinuities) in U.S. foreign policy in East Asia
- To enable students to critically evaluate the main theoretical and ideological approaches to U.S. foreign policy in East Asia
- To sharpen students' understanding of the relationship between, and the blurring of,
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Participation

Due: **All year** Weighting: **10%**

For internal students, participation marks will be assigned for 'participation', not just for attending tutorials. I will be grading you on the regularity and quality of your in class participation. Students will get marks for having obviously done the reading for that week, and for engaging critically with the topic that we are discussing. I will be taking notes on individual student participation as we go.

For external students, participation marks will be assigned for regularly 'participating' on the online discussion forums. I will be grading you on the regularity and quality of your in contributions, and on your engagement with other students' comments. Students will get marks for having obviously done the reading for that week, and for engaging critically with the topic that we are discussing. Students' contributions should be made in the same week that the topic is being dealt with in class. Contributions should be a minimum of 200 words, but there is no upper limit.

On successful completion you will be able to:

- To enhance students' understanding of the role that the United States plays in contemporary global and East Asian affairs
- To illuminate the historical continuities (and discontinuities) in U.S. foreign policy in East Asia
- To enable students to critically evaluate the main theoretical and ideological approaches to U.S. foreign policy in East Asia
- To sharpen students' understanding of the relationship between, and the blurring of, 'domestic' and 'international' spheres of U.S. politics

Delivery and Resources

Welcome to IRPG 833. Many scholars speculate that the American Century that Henry Luce proclaimed in 1941 is being displaced by an Asian Century. The explosive growth of capitalist economies in Asia has shifted the center of gravity in the global political economy, which poses many challenges for US hegemony and foreign policy in Asia. This unit explores the nature of these challenges, and examines the past, present and possible futures of US foreign policy in Asia, with a focus of US-China rivalry. In so doing, we pay particular attention to the shifting contours of US foreign policy under President Trump, and what it might mean for the United State's position in Asia.

Week 1 (29 July) Introduction: The United States and East Asia in the Age of Trump

In this first week, an overview of the unit will be provided, followed by an introductory lecture that identifies the significance of the Trump Presidency for US foreign policy in East Asia, and the key issues that the United States faces in East Asia today. These include economic challenges entailed by increased integration and competition in the region, and security challenges posed by the rise of China, North Korean nuclear proliferation, and juggling the competing claims of various bilateral relationships and alliances. We will also explore in a preliminary way some of the issues raised by President Trump's recent posturing in the region, and his shifting of US trade policy onto a more protectionist footing

Reading

Lowell Dittmer, 'Trump on China', Asian Perspectives 41 (2017), pp. 673-700.

Jennifer Lind, 'Asia's other Revisionist Power: Why U.S. Grand Strategy Unnerves China', *Foreign Affairs*, 96 (2017), pp. 74-82.

Peter Harris, 'The Imminent US Strategic Adjustment to China', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* Vol. 8, No 3 (2015) pp. 219-250

Week 2 (5 August) Hiroshima and the Shaping of US Hegemony in East Asia

In the first of several historically focused lectures, we explore the roots of US power in East Asia. We start with the US's nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, which represented both the end of an era and the beginning of a new one: the era of US hegemony in the Asia-Pacific and the so-called "free world". We explore the foundations and nature of US hegemony, and the ways in which the early years of the Cold War shaped US priorities and actions in East Asia for decades to come.

Reading

Michael H. Hunt, 'East Asia in Henry Luce's "American Century" in Michael J. Hogan, *The Ambiguous Legacy: US Foreign Relations in the American Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 232-278.

Gar Alperovitz, *The Decision to use the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), pp. 319-365.

J. Samuel Walker, 'Recent Literature on Truman's Atomic Bomb Decision: A Search for Middle Ground', *Diplomatic History*, Vol 29, 2 (2005) pp. 311-334.

Week 3 (12 August) Challenges to US Hegemony; The Chinese Revolution and the Korean Civil War

To say that the US was hegemonic in East Asia in the years immediately following the conclusion of the Second World War, is not the same as saying that its supremacy was unchallenged. The two greatest challenges to US hegemony in these years were the Chinese Revolution in October 1949 and the Korean War (1950-1953). These events would shape US perceptions of and activities in East Asia for decades to come, and their effects continue to be felt right up to the present day. This week we explore the causes and consequences of these events and discuss the US's involvement.

Reading

Chen Jian, 'Mao and Sino-American Relations' in Melvyn P. Leffler and David S. Painter, *The Origins of the Cold War: An International History* (2nd edn.) (New York: Routledge 1994), pp. 283-298.

Warren I. Cohen, 'The Korean War and its Consequences', in Warren I. Cohen, *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations (Vol. V): America in the Age of Soviet Power, 1945-1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 58-80.

Week 4 (19 August) The Vietnam War and US Credibility in East Asia

As part of the general policy of containment, the US supported first French colonialists, then a brutal, dictatorial regime, in what became South Vietnam. Their military involvement intensified over time, to the point where they deployed combat troops in March 1965. The ensuing Vietnam War was fought on the rationale of the domino theory (if South Vietnam fell to Communists then neighboring states would surely follow) and the need to maintain US credibility - in the eyes of both allies (Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Australia etc) and enemies (China, North Korea, the USSR). In this lecture we examine the Vietnam war in the broader context of US diplomacy and efforts to preserve hegemony in East Asia.

Readings

Robert Dallek, 'Fear, Ambition, and Politics' in Robert J. McMahon (ed), *Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War* (3rd edn.) (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003), pp. 177-189.

Fredrick Logevall, 'Choosing War' in Robert J. McMahon (ed), *Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War* (3rd edn.) (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003), pp. 189-205.

Week 5 (26 August) Detente and Normalizing Relations with China

Increasingly exhausted and economically weakened by the Vietnam war, the US sought detente (a relaxation of tensions) with both the USSR and China from the late 1960s. This expressed

itself in a normalization of relations with China after 1972, which would grow into a flourishing economic relationship by the early 1990s, though not without tensions and crises along the way. This week we explore the evolving relationship that the United States developed with China in the 1970s and 1980s, and discuss how this effected China's immediate neighbors. This is important as it laid the foundations for the US's relationship with China today, which includes many tensions and contradictions that are at the heart of the unfolding economic and security challenges that the US faces in the region.

Reading

Raymond L. Gartoff, 'Establishing Triangular Diplomacy: China and American-Soviet Relations, 1969-1972', in Raymond Gartoff, *Detente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan* (1994), pp. 227-278.

Week 6 (2 September) End of the Cold War: Promises and Challenges

More than one US statesman has commented that US foreign policy was easy during the Cold War because we knew who our enemy was. Consequently, the end of the Cold War created uncertainty about how the United States should exercise its power on the world stage in general, and East Asia in particular. We identify and examine some key episodes in the decade after the end of the Cold War (e.g., the Taiwan crisis of 1995, the forced landing of a US spy plane on Chinese territory in 2001, North Korea's nuclear ambitions throughout this period), in order to illustrate the challenges that the US faced in East Asia after the end of the Cold War.

Reading

Richard Betts, 'Wealth, Power, and Instability: East Asia and the United States after the Cold War', *International Security*, Vol. 18, 3 (1993-94), pp. 34-77.

Michale Mastanduno, 'Preserving the Unipolar Moment: Realist Theories and US Grand Strategy after the Cold War', *International Security*, Vol 21, 4 (1997), pp. 49-88.

Week 7 (9 September) Essay Writing Workshop

Clarity of writing expresses clarity of thinking, while clarity of thinking is manifested in clear writing. With this in mind, we will use this week to discuss what a good University Masters essay should accomplish and what it should include. I will begin by giving a presentation, which will be followed by a practical exercise and then a discussion. We will end by briefly considering each of the essay topics that will be on the ilearn site from week two.

No Reading for the week

Week 8 (30 September) The US and the Japanese Alliance

The United States has had a permanent military presence in Japan since 1945, and continues to do so despite the ostensible rationale for its presence having long since ended. The US's alliance with Japan, and its military bases on Japanese soil, constitute the bedrock of US

hegemony and strategy in East Asia. It has taken on renewed importance with the growing influence of China in the region, though the Trump administration has created some uncertainty around the relationship. In this lecture we examine the nature and relevance of the US-Japan alliance, and analyze its role in the contemporary era.

Reading

Linus Hagstrom, "Power Shift' in East Asia? A Critical Reappraisal of Narratives on the Diaoyu/ Senkaku Islands Incident in 2010' *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 10 (2012) pp. 267-297.

Christopher W. Hughes, 'Japan's 'Resentful Realism' and Balancing China's Rise', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 9, No 2 (2016), pp. 111.

Week 9 (7 October) Labor Day - No Classes today

Week 10 (14 October) The US and the Korea Peninsular

As we saw in week three, the Korean Peninsular has been a central element in the US's strategic posture in east Asia since the end of the Second World War. It has continued to be so for different but related reasons. We examine these reasons, paying particular attention to the shifting US orientation to North Korea over the past decade, and how this impacts on diplomacy in the entire region. We end by considering the implications of the latest round of posturing and sabre rattling by both North Korea and the United States.

Reading

John Delury, 'Trump and North Korea: Reviving the Art of the Deal', *Foreign Affairs*, 96 (2017) pp. 46-51.

Bruce Cummings, 'The North Korean Problem: Dealing with Irrationality', *Current History*, Vol 108 (2009), pp. 284-290.

Jae Jeok Park, 'The US-led alliances in the Asia -Pacific: hedge against potential threats or an undesirable multilateral security state', *The Pacific Review*, Vol 24 No. 2 (2011), pp. 137-158.

Week 11 (25 October) The United States and China

As China's economy has grown, so to has its political and diplomatic influence in the region. China has become increasingly assertive in promoting its regional agenda, sometimes at the expense of its neighbors, all of whom look to the US as a guarantor of their security. More broadly, China is challenging the unrivaled hegemony that the US has enjoyed in East Asia for decades. In this lecture we expand on some of the themes that we began to talk about in the previous session, and examine the politics of increased US and Chinese rivalry.

Reading

Christopher Layne, 'The US-China Power Shift and the End of Pax Americana', International

Affairs, Vol 91, 1 (2018), pp. 89-111.G.

John Ikkenberry, 'Between the Eagle and the Dragon: America, China and Middle State Strategies in East Asia', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol 131, 1 (2016) pp. 9-43.

Jihyun Kim, 'Possible Future of the Contest in the South China Sea', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 9, No 1 (2016) pp. 27-57

Week 12 (28 October) War and Peace in East Asia?

Recent developments in the South China Sea, along with Trump's escalating Trade War, have been interpreted by many as a dangerous escalation of brinkmanship that could, ultimately, lead to war. Most liberal internationalists reject this interpretation as exaggerated, arguing that the level of economic integration between the US and Chinese economies precludes the possibility of war. We evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the contending positions, and put the US/ Chinese rivalry into a longer-term historical perspective, before summing up what we have learned over the previous 12 weeks.

Reading

Charles A. Kupchan, 'The Normative Foundations of Hegemony and the Coming Challenge to Pax Americana', *Security Studies*, Vol. 23, 2 (2014) pp. 219-257.

James Dobbins, 'War with China', *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Vol. 54, No. 4 (2012) pp. 7-24

Mel Gurtov, Will this be China's Century? A Skeptic's View (Boulder, Lynne Rienner 2013), pp. 137-148

Week 13 (4 November) Class Test for internal students (externals have a take home test that is due on Sunday 10 November)

For internal students there will be a 2 hour test that will be conducted in the usual lecture time and place.

Unit Schedule

week	Date	Lecture	Tutorial	Tasks
One	July 29	Introduction: The United States and East Asia in the Age of Trump	US hegemony; Trade Protectionism; US/China rivalry	None
Two	Aug 5	Hiroshima and the Shaping of US Hegemony in East Asia	The Decision; Orthodoxy and Revisionism; Consequences	None
Three	Aug 12	Challenges to US Hegemony; The Chinese Revolution and the Korean Civil War	Cold War and containment; "Losing China"; Korean Civil War	Review Article 14/ 8/2019
Four	Aug 19	The Vietnam War and US Credibility in East Asia	US credibility; Domino Theory; Escalation; Allies and Enemies	None

Five	Aug 26	Detente and Normalizing Relations with China	Detente; Kissinger and Nixon; Normalizing relations with the PRC; Taiwan	None
Six	Sept 2	End of the Cold War: Promises and Challenges	Collapse of "already existing Socialism"; New World Order; Taiwan Crisis; spy plane crisis	None
Seven	Sept 9	Essay Writing Workshop	Social Event instead of tutorial	None
Eight	Sept 30	The US and the Japanese Alliance	Content of the Alliance; Japanese Constitution; Island disputes with China; Trade	Essay Due 2/10/2019
Nine	Oct 7	Labour Day Holiday	No Tutorials	None
Ten	Oct 14	The US and the Korea Peninsular	Juche ideology; The Nuclear Problem; Trump and Kim	None
Eleven	Oct 21	The United States and China	Translating economic power into political and military power; Belt and Road initiative; South China Sea; Strategic Rivalry	None
Twelve	Oct 28	War and Peace in East Asia?	Theoretical approaches; Thucydides; Realism; Liberalism; the end of US hegemony?	None
Thirteen	Nov 4	Test (8-10 November for external students)	No Tutorial	Test

Policies and Procedures

Macquarie University policies and procedures are accessible from Policy Central (https://staff.mq.edu.au/work/strategy-planning-and-governance/university-policies-and-procedures/policy-central). Students should be aware of the following policies in particular with regard to Learning and Teaching:

- Academic Appeals Policy
- Academic Integrity Policy
- Academic Progression Policy
- Assessment Policy
- · Fitness to Practice Procedure
- Grade Appeal Policy
- Complaint Management Procedure for Students and Members of the Public
- Special Consideration Policy (Note: The Special Consideration Policy is effective from 4

 December 2017 and replaces the Disruption to Studies Policy.)

Undergraduate students seeking more policy resources can visit the Student Policy Gateway (htt ps://students.mq.edu.au/support/study/student-policy-gateway). It is your one-stop-shop for the key policies you need to know about throughout your undergraduate student journey.

If you would like to see all the policies relevant to Learning and Teaching visit Policy Central (http

s://staff.mq.edu.au/work/strategy-planning-and-governance/university-policies-and-procedures/policy-central).

Student Code of Conduct

Macquarie University students have a responsibility to be familiar with the Student Code of Conduct: https://students.mg.edu.au/study/getting-started/student-conduct

Results

Results published on platform other than <u>eStudent</u>, (eg. iLearn, Coursera etc.) or released directly by your Unit Convenor, are not confirmed as they are subject to final approval by the University. Once approved, final results will be sent to your student email address and will be made available in <u>eStudent</u>. For more information visit <u>ask.mq.edu.au</u> or if you are a Global MBA student contact globalmba.support@mq.edu.au

Student Support

Macquarie University provides a range of support services for students. For details, visit http://students.mq.edu.au/support/

Learning Skills

Learning Skills (mq.edu.au/learningskills) provides academic writing resources and study strategies to improve your marks and take control of your study.

- Workshops
- StudyWise
- Academic Integrity Module for Students
- Ask a Learning Adviser

Student Services and Support

Students with a disability are encouraged to contact the <u>Disability Service</u> who can provide appropriate help with any issues that arise during their studies.

Student Enquiries

For all student enquiries, visit Student Connect at ask.mq.edu.au

If you are a Global MBA student contact globalmba.support@mq.edu.au

IT Help

For help with University computer systems and technology, visit http://www.mq.edu.au/about_us/ offices_and_units/information_technology/help/.

When using the University's IT, you must adhere to the <u>Acceptable Use of IT Resources Policy</u>. The policy applies to all who connect to the MQ network including students.

Graduate Capabilities

PG - Capable of Professional and Personal Judgment and Initiative

Our postgraduates will demonstrate a high standard of discernment and common sense in their professional and personal judgment. They will have the ability to make informed choices and decisions that reflect both the nature of their professional work and their personal perspectives.

This graduate capability is supported by:

Assessment task

Participation

PG - Discipline Knowledge and Skills

Our postgraduates will be able to demonstrate a significantly enhanced depth and breadth of knowledge, scholarly understanding, and specific subject content knowledge in their chosen fields.

This graduate capability is supported by:

Learning outcomes

- To enhance students' understanding of the role that the United States plays in contemporary global and East Asian affairs
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- To enable students to critically evaluate the main theoretical and ideological approaches to U.S. foreign policy in East Asia
- To sharpen students' understanding of the relationship between, and the blurring of, 'domestic' and 'international' spheres of U.S. politics
- To enhance students' capacity to clearly express, in written form, ideas and debates that are central to US foreign policy and international relations in East Asia

Assessment tasks

- · Review Article
- Major Essay
- Final Exam
- Participation

PG - Critical, Analytical and Integrative Thinking

Our postgraduates will be capable of utilising and reflecting on prior knowledge and experience, of applying higher level critical thinking skills, and of integrating and synthesising learning and

knowledge from a range of sources and environments. A characteristic of this form of thinking is the generation of new, professionally oriented knowledge through personal or group-based critique of practice and theory.

This graduate capability is supported by:

Learning outcomes

- To enhance students' understanding of the role that the United States plays in contemporary global and East Asian affairs
- To illuminate the historical continuities (and discontinuities) in U.S. foreign policy in East Asia
- To enable students to critically evaluate the main theoretical and ideological approaches to U.S. foreign policy in East Asia
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- To enhance students' capacity to clearly express, in written form, ideas and debates that are central to US foreign policy and international relations in East Asia

Assessment tasks

- · Review Article
- Major Essay
- Final Exam
- Participation

PG - Research and Problem Solving Capability

Our postgraduates will be capable of systematic enquiry; able to use research skills to create new knowledge that can be applied to real world issues, or contribute to a field of study or practice to enhance society. They will be capable of creative questioning, problem finding and problem solving.

This graduate capability is supported by:

Learning outcomes

- To enhance students' understanding of the role that the United States plays in contemporary global and East Asian affairs
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- To enhance students' capacity to clearly express, in written form, ideas and debates that are central to US foreign policy and international relations in East Asia

Assessment tasks

- · Review Article
- · Major Essay
- Final Exam
- Participation

PG - Effective Communication

Our postgraduates will be able to communicate effectively and convey their views to different social, cultural, and professional audiences. They will be able to use a variety of technologically supported media to communicate with empathy using a range of written, spoken or visual formats.

This graduate capability is supported by:

Learning outcomes

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Assessment tasks

- · Review Article
- Major Essay
- Final Exam
- Participation

PG - Engaged and Responsible, Active and Ethical Citizens

Our postgraduates will be ethically aware and capable of confident transformative action in relation to their professional responsibilities and the wider community. They will have a sense of connectedness with others and country and have a sense of mutual obligation. They will be able

to appreciate the impact of their professional roles for social justice and inclusion related to national and global issues

This graduate capability is supported by:

Learning outcomes

- To enhance students' understanding of the role that the United States plays in contemporary global and East Asian affairs
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Assessment tasks

- Major Essay
- Participation