Conflict and Cooperation in East Asia
Undergraduate Course Syllabus

Instructor
Associate Prof. Anna A. Kireeva
This syllabus is designed in accordance with the MGIMO Educational Standard for the Bachelor Program in International Affairs.

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Director MGIMO Library_________________________ M.V. Reshetnikova
1.1 General information

Template

- Full course title: Conflict and Cooperation in East Asia
- Type of course: Elective
- Level of course: B.A.
- Year of study: 3rd
- Number of ECTS credits allocated: 2
- Name of lecturer(s) and office hours:
  Dr. Anna Kireeva, PhD
  Associate Professor, Department of Asian and African Studies
  Office hours: Tuesday, 13:00-14:20, office 107.
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1.2 Course aims and learning outcomes

The course is aimed at:

- Providing students with the knowledge and understanding of major trends of cooperation and regionalism in East Asia as well as major regional conflicts (the strategic competition between the U.S. and China, China and Japan, China and India, the Taiwan issue, the security issue on the Korean Peninsula and territorial disputes in the East and South China Sea);
- Introducing students to the key tendencies of power shift in East Asia and the logic behind conflict and cooperation among the major states (the U.S., China, Japan, India and Russia), middle and small powers;
- Developing the ability to analyze ongoing mega-regional projects of the Trans-Pacific Partnership, Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership and Belt and Road Initiative, their respective frameworks, principles, goals and both positive and negative potential implications;
- Developing critical thinking while analyzing the literature in order to understand what states officially proclaim and what their policy actually is in this strategically important region of the world.

Learning outcomes

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- Analyze the key trends of cooperation and regionalism in East Asia, possess the knowledge about the main mega-regional projects of the Trans-Pacific Partnership, Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership and Belt and Road Initiative and their implications;
- Identify the main regional conflicts in East Asia, their roots and policy of the parties involved;
- Assess the main contradictions between major actors in East Asia, the differences of their strategies and policies in major security conflicts (the Taiwan issue, the security issue on the Korean Peninsula and territorial disputes in the East and South China Sea);
- Conduct comparative analysis of current policies of actors involved in major security conflicts without losing sense of historical context of the conflicts’ development;
- Demonstrate the logic of interaction between conflict and cooperation in East Asia.
1.3 Course requirements and grading plan

Course requirements
Students are required to attend no less than 90% of classes. Students are to be prepared for all class discussions and tests. Conscientious reading of the assigned materials is compulsory. Students are required to take three tests and participate in discussions in seminars. Students are expected to check their e-mails regularly and keep track of the course timeline at the on-line page of the course at MGIMO distance learning environment (ed.mgimo.ru) in order to be prepared for seminars and tests.

Grading plan
- Class discussions – 50%
  Students are required to attend all the lectures and seminars and participate in class discussions. Students are to prepare for each seminar having read the compulsory materials and contribute to discussions in a constructive way with the material learned from reading list. As lectures are designed to be interactive as well, students are to prepare for them reading required materials.

- In-class tests – 50%
  Students are required to write three tests, aimed at assessing how students have mastered their reading, lecture and seminar materials over three sets of topics. Students are notified in advance about the dates of tests and the topics covered in the test according to the course syllabus.

PART 2. COURSE CONTENT

2.1 Types of work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of work</th>
<th>Academic hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total for lectures and seminars</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectures</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Seminars</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Written tests</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Homework</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation for lectures, seminars and tests</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2. Course content and readings by topic

**Topic 1. Introduction. The Making of East Asia, East Asian Miracle and Asian Paradox**

Course introduction and framework. Course structure, outline of main topics and requirements.

Lecture 1.

*Summary*. The objective of the lecture is to provide an overview of development of East Asia into a single region and of the interplay between conflict and cooperation in the region. Northeast Asia and South East Asia after the Second World War: post-colonial legacy and post-war order. San Francisco order in Asia-Pacific and the US role in it. Regional development and conflicts in Asia in cold war period and formation of ASEAN. East Asian miracle: key characteristics and causes. Japanese economic miracle, ‘flying geese’ model and emergence of Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs). Chinese economic miracle and China’s rise. The making of East Asia as a single region in the post-cold war period and emergency of production networks. East Asia versus Asia-Pacific: defining the region. Legacies of cold war in the region. Asian paradox and economic-security nexus: development of
economic cooperation and remaining security conflicts. Major security conflicts in East Asia: security conflict on the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan issue, territorial disputes, U.S.-China strategic rivalry in world and regional order, China-Japan strategic competition for leadership.

**COMPULSORY READINGS**

**SUPPORTING READINGS**

**Topic 2. Regionalism and Integration in East Asia**
Lecture 2.

*Summary.* Major trends of East Asian regionalism development. Integration in ASEAN, Connectivity Master Plan and ASEAN Community. ASEAN and ASEAN-centric institutions: soft institutionalist approach. ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN plus 3, ASEM, East Asia Summit. Economic liberalism agenda and APEC. East Asian regionalism versus Asia-Pacific regionalism. Bilateral and multilateral FTAs as a ‘Noodle bowl’. Major characteristics of mega-FTAs in East Asia: Free Trade Area in Asia-Pacific (FTAAP), Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) as China’s blueprint for regional and trans-regional development. Competing mega-regional projects (TPP, RCEP, BRI) as competing visions for regional order.

**COMPULSORY READINGS**

**SUPPORTING READINGS**

**Topic 3. Trans-Pacific Partnership and Regional Comprehensive Partnership: A Comparative Analysis**

*Seminar 1.*
Questions for discussion:
1. What are the key characteristics and principles of Trans-Pacific Partnership and Regional Comprehensive Partnership? What common agenda and differences do they have? What changed with Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP)?
2. What are the potential implications of TPP/CPTPP and RCEP? What positive and negative
consequences are they expected to have?
3. What effects could TPP/CPTPP and RCEP have on regional development and regional order? What are the obstacles to their realization?

**COMPULSORY READINGS**

3. Goodman M.P. From TPP to CPTPP // CSIS. 08.05.2018. URL: [https://www.csis.org/analysis/tpp-cptpp](https://www.csis.org/analysis/tpp-cptpp)

**SUPPORTING READINGS**


**Topic 4. Belt and Road Initiative**

*Seminar 2.*

Questions for discussion:
1. What is the framework and major principles of the Belt and Road Initiative?
2. What are the goals behind the BRI? How is China supposed to benefit from the BRI in terms of economics, trade, investment, foreign policy and geopolitics?
3. What strategic implications could the BRI have for East Asia and for ASEAN centrality? What could be its positive and negative consequences?

**COMPULSORY READINGS**


**SUPPORTING READINGS**


*Test on topics 1-4.*

Lecture 3.

Summary. The U.S. preeminence in Asia-Pacific: hub-and-spoke system of military-political alliances, economic and technological preponderance, liberal trade rules defining regional order. The U.S. military capabilities in East Asia. The phenomenon of China’s rise in economics, politics, security. Modernization of China’s People’s Liberation Army and anti-access/area-denial strategy in the first and second island chains. Japan’s relative decline and comparison of comprehensive national power with China. Middle powers in East Asia: South Korea, Australia, Indonesia. India’s and Russia’s positions in the balance of power. Power shift in East Asia and its implications. What regional order?: China as a revisionist state, United States, Japan and other allies as status-quo powers. Contested ASEAN centrality. Strategies of regional states vis-à-vis China amid the power shift: bandwagoning, balancing, hedging. Indo-Pacific as a contested space for strategic competition between the US and its allies and partners on the one hand and China on the other.

Compulsory Readings

Supporting Readings
2. Foundation of the National Power in the Asia-Pacific / Edited by Ashley J. Tellis with Alison Szalwinski and Michael Wills; The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2015. – Chapters 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 (China, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, U.S.).


Lecture 4.


Compulsory Readings

**SUPPORTING READINGS**


**Topic 7. US-China relations and US-Russia-China strategic triangle**

**Seminar 3.**

Questions for discussion:

1. What are the drivers behind Sino-American strategic competition in East Asia and the Indo-Pacific?
2. What are the major political and security issues in US-China relations? What are the key contradictions between the states?
3. What is the role of economic interdependence in Sino-American relations? What economic issues exist and how important are they?
4. What is the logic behind the US-Russia-China strategic triangle and how has it transformed?

**COMPULSORY READINGS**


**SUPPORTING READINGS**

Topic 8. Russia and China: friends or partners?

Seminar 4.

Questions for discussion:

1. What are the driving forces of Russia-China strategic cooperation? What have the two countries accomplished?
2. How does US factor affect Russia-China relations?
3. How have Russia-China relations changed since 2014? What are the major issues and imbalances?

Compulsory readings


Supporting readings


Test on topics 5-8.

Topic 9. The Taiwan Issue in East Asia.

Lecture 5.

Summary. The roots and historical developments of the Taiwan issue: Republic of China versus the People’s Republic of China (PRC). The U.S. factor and U.S.-Taiwan alliance. Conflicts in the Taiwan Strait. Two alternative models of social and economic development of Taiwan and PRC. PRC’s evolution of Taiwan’s policy from forceful to peaceful unification and ‘One China Policy’. U.S.-China rapprochement and Taiwan Relations Act (1979). Evolution of Taiwan’s China policy from Chiang Kai-shek to Chiang Ching-kuo. Taiwan’s economic miracle and democratization. Taiwan under the Kuomintang (KMT) administrations of Lee Teng-hui and formation of the two-party politics in Taiwan. Cross-Strait contacts and development of Cross-Strait relations. Taiwan under the administration of Chen Shui-bian of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 2000-2008, its relations with PRC and the U.S. amid the Cross-Strait Crises. Ma Ying-jeou’s KMT administration of Taiwan (2008-2016) and stabilization of Cross-Strait relations. Economic cooperation and Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (2010). The problem of Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement and the Sunflower movement in Taiwan (2014). Differences in policy towards China between Pan-Green and Pan-Blue coalitions. Power transition to DPP’s administration of Tsai Ing-wen in 2016 and change in Cross-Strait relations. Prospects for Cross-Strait relations.

Seminar 5.

Questions for discussion:

1. What are the grounds for the strategic significance of Taiwan’s issue in East Asia?
2. What are the roots of the Taiwan issue and why it still exists today? How could you describe the U.S. role?
3. What are the key characteristics of PRC’s and Taiwan’s position on Cross-Strait relations and how their policy evolved? What are the major differences between Kuomintang and Democratic Progressive Party on Cross-Strait relations?
4. What are the core elements of the U.S. policy towards the Taiwan Strait?
5. What are major scenarios of the development of Cross-Strait relations and which of them seems more likely?
COMPULSORY READINGS

SUPPORTING READINGS

Topic 10. Security Issues on the Korean Peninsula


Seminar 6. Questions for discussion:
1. What are the grounds for strategic significance of the issue of the Korean Peninsula in East
Asia? What are the elements of this issue?
2. What are the roots of the Korean issue and why it exists today?
3. How did North Korea’s, South Korea’s, US’ and China’s policy towards this issue evolved? What are the key elements of positions of major states today?
4. How could Russia’s and Japan’s policy towards security issues on the Korean Peninsula be characterized?
5. What are the reasons for escalation of the security situation on the Korean Peninsula since 2016? How has the policy of major actors evolved? What are the prospects and limitations of the current search for bilateral and multilateral negotiations?
6. What actions could be suggested to resolve the issue and what further scenarios could there be for its development?

**COMPULSORY READINGS**
3. Toloraya Georgy. Can a Russia-China Axis Help Find a Solution to Problems on the Korean Peninsula?, 38 North, June 8, 2017. URL: https://www.38north.org/2017/06/gtoloraya060817/

**SUPPORTING READINGS**
Topic 11. Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea.

Lecture 7.


Seminar 7.
Questions for discussion:
1. What are the grounds for the strategic significance of the South China Sea territorial disputes?
2. What are the major features of the policy of claimant states and how did it evolve: China, the Philippines, Vietnam, Taiwan, Malaysia, Brunei?
3. What actions constitute China’s more assertive policy since 2009, what are its present and possible future implications?
4. What are the key elements of the U.S. position on the SCS dispute and its major actions since 2008? What consequences does American involvement have for regional stability?
5. What is the content of The Hague Arbitrage ruling and what effect has it had on the SCS conflict? How can the progress over the Framework for the Code of Conduct for the SCS be assessed? Does it have a potential to help mitigate tensions in the SCS?

Compulsory readings

SUPPORTING READINGS

Test on topics 9-11.

2.3. Questions to prepare for the in-class tests:
1. What are the key elements of regional order in East Asia? What factors brought about the making of Northeast and Southeast Asia into a single region?
2. How can be described the Asian paradox and political-security nexus in East Asia?
3. What are the major trends of development of East Asian regionalism? What are the strong points and challenges of East Asian regionalism?
4. What are the key characteristics of the Trans-Pacific Partnership, its potential implications, positive and negative consequences?
5. What are the key characteristics of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, its potential implications, positive and negative consequences?
6. What are the major principles of the Belt and Road Initiative, the goals behind it, its potential implications, positive and negative consequences?
7. What factors brought about the power shift in East Asia? How has the balance of power shifted among the major regional actors (the U.S., China, Japan) and other powers?
8. How do East Asian states respond to power shift in the region? What do Indo-Pacific dynamics bring into regional interactions?
9. How can the relations among major actors be defined in terms of cooperation and competition (the U.S., China, Japan, Russia and India)? What issues could be listed in each case?
10. What drives China-US strategic competition? What are the major political, security and economic issues in US-China relations?
11. What is the role of economic interdependence in Sino-American relations?
12. What is the logic behind the US-Russia-China strategic triangle and how has it transformed?
13. What are the driving forces of Russia-China strategic cooperation? What have the two countries accomplished?
14. How have Russia-China relations changed since 2014? What are the major issues and imbalances? How does the US factor affect Russia-China relations?
15. What is the difference in China’s and Japan’s positions in territorial dispute in the East China Sea? How has escalation of the dispute over Senkaku/Diaoyu islands affected bilateral relations and threat perception?
16. Why is Taiwan’s issue strategically significant for East Asia? What are its roots and why it still exists today?
17. What are the key elements of PRC’s and Taiwan’s position towards Cross-Strait relations?
18. What are the key elements of the U.S. position towards Cross-Strait relations? What role does the U.S. play in the Taiwan issue?
19. Why is the Korean issue strategically significant for East Asia? What are its key elements and their roots?
20. What are the key elements of North Korea’s and South Korea’s position towards security issues on the Korean Peninsula?
21. What are the key elements of the U.S. and China’s position towards security issues on the Korean Peninsula? How can Russia’s and Japan’s positions be described?
22. What are the major events in the escalation of the situation on the Korean Peninsula since 2016 and what are further scenarios for its development?
23. Why is the South China Sea dispute strategically significant for East Asia and the Indo-Pacific? What are the parties, their claims and areas of control?
24. What are the key elements of the PRC’s, Vietnam’s, the Philippines’ and the U.S.’ position towards the South China Sea dispute?
25. What are the major events in the escalation of the situation in the South China Sea dispute since 2009? How can the policies of major actors be characterized?
26. What are possible scenarios of evolution of the SCS dispute, taking into consideration recent legal and regional developments?

2.5. Consolidated reading list (in the alphabetic order)

COMPULSORY READINGS
8. Goodman M.P. From TPP to CPTPP // CSIS. 08.05.2018. URL: https://www.csis.org/analysis/tpp-cptpp
12. Kireeva Anna. Power shift in East Asia: trends, policies and implications // The Prospects of


SUPPORTING READINGS


19. Foundation of the National Power in the Asia-Pacific / Edited by Ashley J. Tellis with Alison Szalwinski and Michael Wills; The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2015. – Chapters 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 (China, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, U.S.).
38. Rowden Rick. 9 Ways the TPP is Bad for Developing Countries // Foreign Policy. July 7, 2015. – URL: http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/07/07/9-ways-the-tpp-is-bad-for-developing-countries/
51. Toloraya Georgy. How Russia Can Help the United States Defuse the Korean Crisis, 23 North,
August 28, 2016. URL: https://www.38north.org/2017/08/gtoloraya082817/


