

**MOSCOW STATE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
(MGIMO-UNIVERSITY),  
THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF RUSSIA**

**B.A. in Government and International Affairs  
School of Government and International Affairs**

**Department of Asian and African Studies**

**«Approved»**

**Director of School of Government and International Affairs**

**Mikhail Troitskiy**

**«\_\_\_»\_\_\_\_\_ 2018**

**Conflict and Cooperation in East Asia**

The course program developed by Dr. Anna Kireeva, 2018

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The course “Conflict and Cooperation in East Asia” is elaborated in accordance with the MGIMO Educational Standard for the Bachelor’s Program in International Affairs (program track “Government and International Affairs”).

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Director of the MGIMO library\_\_\_\_\_ Marina Reshetnikova

The program is approved by Department of Asian and African Studies on

\_\_\_\_\_ Prof. Dmitry Streltsov

**PART 1:  
INSTRUCTOR INFORMATION, COURSE DESCRIPTION  
AND TEACHING METHODS**

**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: 3<sup>rd</sup>
- Number of ECTS credits allocated: 2
- Name of lecturer(s) and office hours:  
Dr. Anna Kireeva, PhD  
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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

Types of work	Academic hours
<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>
Total for lectures and seminars	<b>32</b>
Lectures	14
Seminars	13
Written tests	3
<b>Homework</b>	<b>40</b>
Preparation for lectures, seminars and tests	40

### 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**

1. Buzan Barry, Weaver Ole. *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. - Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. – Chapters 5, 6 (Northeast and Southeast Asian RSCs during the Cold War; The 1990s and beyond: an emergent East Asian complex).

### **SUPPORTING READINGS**

1. Ravenhill John. *The economic-security nexus in the Asia-Pacific region // Security Politics in the Asia-Pacific / ed. by William T. Tow*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. - pp. 188-207.
2. Ravenhill John. *Economics and security in the Asian-Pacific region // The Pacific Review*. – 2013. – Vol. 26, No. 1. – pp. 1-15.

## **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**

1. Koldunova Ekaterina. *Post-Crisis Regional Cooperation in East Asia: New Trends and Developments // Regions and Crises: New Challenges for Contemporary Regionalisms / Ed. by Lorenzo Fioramonti*. - Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. - pp. 200-219.
2. Pempel T.J. *Soft Balancing, Hedging and Institutional Darwinism: The Economic-Security Nexus and East Asian Regionalism // Journal of East Asian Studies*. – 2010. – No. 10. – pp. 209-221.

### **SUPPORTING READINGS**

1. Pempel T.J. *Northeast Asian Economic Integration: A Region in Flux // Asia-Pacific Review*. – 2007. – Vol 14, No. 2. – pp. 45-61.
2. Ravenhill John. *Economics and security in the Asian-Pacific region // The Pacific Review*. – 2013. – Vol. 26, No. 1. – pp. 1-15.
3. Sumsy Victor. *Records and Challenges of Regionalism in Southeast Asia. // International Trends*. – 2017. – Vol. 15. – No. 3 (50). – pp. 4-9.
4. Telo Mario. *The Pathways of Integration in the Asia-Pacific // International Trends*. – 2017. – Vol. 15. – No. 3 (50). – pp. 10-24.

## **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?
2. What are the potential implications of TPP and RCEP? What positive and negative consequences are they expected to have?
3. What effects could TPP and RCEP have on regional development and regional order? What are the obstacles to their realization?

### **COMPULSORY READINGS**

1. Potential Macroeconomic Implications of the Trans-Pacific Partnership / Global Economic Prospects. January 2016. - pp. 225-233.
2. Basu Das Sanchita, Jagtiani Reema B. The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership: New Paradigm or Old Wine in a New Bottle? // ISEAS Economics Working Paper. No.2014-3. November 2014. – pp. 1-32.

#### **SUPPORTING READINGS**

1. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP): In Brief /CRS Report for Congress. February 9, 2016. - 11 p.
2. Basu Das Sanchita. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement Holds Strategic Underpinnings // ISEAS Perspective. 10 May 2016. - 11 p.
3. Solis Mireya. The new geopolitics of trade in Asia // Brookings. November 11, 2017. URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/11/15/the-new-geopolitics-of-trade-in-asia/>
4. 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/>
5. TPP Full Text // Office of the United States Trade Representative. URL: <https://ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/trans-pacific-partnership/tpp-full-text>

### **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**

1. Zhao Hong. China's One Belt One Road: An Overview of the Debate // Trends in Southeast Asia. – 2016. - No. 6. – pp. 1-31.

#### **SUPPORTING READINGS**

1. Cai Peter. Understanding China's Belt and Road Initiative / Lowy Institute for International Policy. – March 2017. – 22 p.
2. David Arase. China's Two Silk Roads Initiative: What It Means for Southeast Asia // Southeast Asian Affairs. – 2015. - Volume 31. – pp. 25-45.
3. Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. March 28, 2015. URL: [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/zxxx\\_662805/t1249618.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1249618.shtml)
4. Zhao Hong. China's New Maritime Silk Road: Implications and Opportunities for Southeast Asia // Trends in Southeast Asia. – 2015. No.3. – 27 p.

*Test on topics 1-4.*

### **Topic 5. Balance of Power and Power Shift in East Asia.**

#### 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.

### **COMPULSORY READINGS**

1. Kireeva Anna. Power shift in East Asia: trends, policies and implications // The Prospects of Integration and International Cooperation in East Asia: Russian-Taiwanese Symposium, 23–26 August 2016. - Vladivostok: Far Eastern Federal University, 2016. - pp. 141–153.
2. William Tow. Bipolarity and the Future of Security in East Asia // Trends in Southeast Asia. – 2016. – No. 10. – pp. 1-28.

### **SUPPORTING READINGS**

1. Asia-Pacific Regional Security Assessment 2016. Key developments and trends / The International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2016. - Chapter 9. Naval-Capability Development in the Asia-Pacific.
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.).
3. Kireeva Anna. Regional Strategies and Military Buildup in East Asia and Indo-Pacific: A Russian perspective // Maritime Affairs. – 2014. – Volume 10. – Issue 2. – pp. 33-51.
4. Yahuda Michael. The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific. – Oxon, N.-Y.: Routledge, 2011. – Chapters 8, 9, 10, 11.

## **Topic 6. Major power politics: US-China-Japan-Russia-India strategic interaction**

### *Lecture 4.*

*Summary.* U.S. Obama’s Administration Pivot/Rebalance to Asia and Trump’s post-pivot policy. China’s grand strategy and the reasons for China-US strategic competition. Economic interdependence in Sino-American relations and political and security issues overview (Taiwan, the Korean Peninsula, territorial disputes in East and South China Sea, Tibet, democracy and human rights, etc.). US-Japan political and security alliance, economic cooperation and trade issues. Japan’s strategy in East Asia and transformation of security policy. Debate over Japan’s transition to a ‘normal state’. Japan-China economic cooperation and strategic rivalry for regional leadership. Economic interdependence in China-Japan relations and political and security issues overview (history issues, East China sea territorial dispute, threat perception and security dilemma, Taiwan, South China Sea). Russia-China strategic partnership and Russia-US confrontation: recalibration of the strategic triangle. Russia’s own Asian pivot, Russia-Japan rapprochement and Russia-India strategic partnership. India’s Look East and Act East Policy. China-India economic cooperation and strategic competition. Security issues in Sino-Indian relations (encirclement in the India Ocean and counter-encirclement, border issues, China-Pakistan-India triangle). India’s strategic partnership with the US and Japan.

### **COMPULSORY READINGS**

1. Pivot to the Pacific? The Obama Administration’s “Rebalancing” Toward Asia / CRS Report for Congress. March 28, 2012. – 28 p.

### **SUPPORTING READINGS**

1. Asia-Pacific Rebalance 2025. Capabilities, Presence and Partners. - Center for Strategic and International Studies. January, 2016. – Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4.
2. Lukin Alexander. Russia’s Pivot to Asia: Myth or Reality? // Strategic Analysis. – 2016. – Vol. 40, Issue 6. – pp. 573-589.
3. Naidu G.V.C. India and East Asia: The Look East Policy / G.V.C. Naidu // Perceptions. - Spring 2013. - Vol. XVIII. - Number 1. - pp. 53-74.
4. Rajendram D. India's New Asia-Pacific Strategy: Modi acts East / Lowy Institute for International Policy. October 2014. - 20 p.
5. Rozman Gilbert. A US Perspective. Preview of the Impact of the Trump Post-Pivot Policy // The Asan Forum. 02.03.2017. URL: <http://www.theasanforum.org/a-us-perspective-6/>
6. Sakaki Alexandra. Japan’s Security Policy: A Shift in Direction under Abe? / SWP Research Paper.

Berlin. March 2015. – 35 p.

## **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?
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**

1. US Policy Toward China: Recommendations Under New Administration / Chairs Schell O., Shirk S.L. Task Force Report. Asia Society, Center on U.S.-China Relations. UC San Diego. February 2017. – pp. 31-65.
2. Blank Stephen, Lukin Alexander, Rozman Gilbert. Uneasy Triangle: China, Russia, and the United States in the New Global Order / Center on Global Interests. October 2015. – 30 p.

### **SUPPORTING READINGS**

1. Kireeva Anna. The US-Russia-China Triangle: Positive Scenario I, Positive Scenario II // The Asan Forum. April 17, 2017. June 17, 2017. [http://www.theasanforum.org/category/alternative-scenarios/?post\\_id=8234&c\\_id=8244#content\\_wrap](http://www.theasanforum.org/category/alternative-scenarios/?post_id=8234&c_id=8244#content_wrap)
2. Lo Bobo. Russia, China and the United States. From Strategic Triangularism to the Post-Modern Triangle / IFRI. Winter 2010. – 35 p.
3. U.S.-China Relations: An Overview of Policy Issues / CRS Report for Congress. August 1, 2013. - 65 p.

## **Topic 8. China and Japan in East Asia: strategic rivals or partners?**

### *Seminar 4.*

Questions for discussion:

1. What are the driving forces of China-Japan strategic competition in East Asia? How do their relations with the U.S. affect it?
2. What are the major security and political issues in Sino-Japanese relations?
3. 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?
4. What role does economic interdependence play in bilateral relations? Can China and Japan be considered partners in East Asia?

### **COMPULSORY READINGS**

1. Old Scores and New Grudges: Evolving Sino-Japanese Tensions // International Crisis Group Asia Report № 258, 24 July 2014. – pp. 1-36.
2. Smith Paul J. China-Japan Relations and the Future Geopolitics of East Asia // Asian Affairs. - 2009. - Vol. 35. - Issue 4. - pp. 230-256.

### **SUPPORTING READINGS**

1. Dangerous Waters: China-Japan Relations on the Rocks // International Crisis Group Report. Asia Report № 245, 8 April 2013. – 59 p.
2. East China Sea: Preventing Clashes from Becoming Crises // International Crisis Group Report. Asia Report №280. 30 June 2016. - 24 p.
3. Bjorn Jerden, Hagstrom Linus. Rethinking Japan's China Policy: Japan as an Accommodator in the



- Rise of China, 1978-2011 // *Journal of East Asian Studies*. – 2012. – Vol. 12. – pp. 215-250.
4. Hughes Christopher W. Japan's 'Resentful Realism' and Balancing China's Rise // *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*. – 2016. – Vol. 9, No. 2. – pp. 109–150.

*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**

1. Relations Across the Taiwan Strait: Still a Major Political and Security Problem // *Asia-Pacific Regional Security Assessment*. IISS, 2016. - pp. 9-21.
2. Glasier Bonnie. Prospects for Cross-Strait Relations as Tsai Ing-wen Assumes the Presidency in Taiwan / CSIS. April 2016. – pp. 1-9.
3. Glasier Bonnie. Managing Cross-Strait Ties in 2017 / CSIS. January 2017. – pp. 1-9.

### **SUPPORTING READINGS**

1. Political Changes in Taiwan under Ma Ying-jeou / ed. by J.-P. Cebastan, J. deLisle. – L., N-Y, 2014. – Parts 3, 4, 5.
2. Fell David. Taiwan's external relations: Balancing international space and Cross-Strait relations // *Government and Politics in Taiwan*. – L., N-Y.: Routledge, 2011. - pp. 151-170.
3. Hu Shaohua. Japan and the Cross-Taiwan Strait Conflict // *Journal of Chinese Political Science*. - Fall 2006. - Vol. 11. - No. 2. – pp. 83-103.
4. Matsuda Yasuhiro. Japan-Taiwan Relations in the New DPP Era // *Asia-Pacific Bulletin*. East-West Center. Number 334. February 11, 2016, - 2 p.

## **Topic 10. Security Issues on the Korean Peninsula**

### *Lecture 6.*

*Summary.* The Korean issue as a two-fold question: unification of the Korean Peninsula and DPRK's nuclear and missile program. The roots of the Korean issue and its historical development during the cold war. North Korea as a state belonging to the socialist camp and South Korea as a capitalist state. South Korea-U.S. military alliance. South Korean economic miracle and democratization. North Korea's *juche* and *songun* policy. The collapse of the USSR, causes and development of North Korea's nuclear and missile program. First Korean crisis and Framework Agreement between the DPRK and the US (1994). KEDO and relations around the Korean Peninsula in 1990s. South Korea's Kim Dae-jung's Sunshine policy and relations between the two Koreas during the liberal decade of presidents Kim Dae-jung (1998-2003) and Roh Moo-hyun (2003-2008). Second Korean crisis (2002-2003) and the launch of Six-party talks. China's relations with North Korea and its role on the Korean Peninsula. Six-party talks (2003-2009) and North Korea's nuclear test (2006). Relations between the two Koreas during the administrations of South Korea's conservative presidents: Lee Myung-bak (2008-2013) and Park Geun-hye (2013-2017). U.S.-South Korea military cooperation and North Korea's development of nuclear and missile programs. Escalated security tensions in 2016, 2017 and 2018: North Korea's stepping up of nuclear and missile program, South Korea's decision to deploy THAAD, UN SC sanctions, U.S. Donald Trump's aggressive rhetoric and provocative actions. Strained relations between North Korea and China and the transformation of China's position towards DPRK. Power transition to Moon Jae-in in South Korea in 2017 and prospects for resumption of South-North dialogue. Russia's position on resolution of security issues on the Korean Peninsula and Russian-Chinese roadmap of June 2017. Japan's position on the North Korean nuclear and missile program. Possible military actions on the Korean Peninsula. Proposals of settling the security conflicts on the Korean Peninsula and scenarios for future.

### *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 present escalation of the security situation on the Korean Peninsula since 2016? How has the policy of major actors evolved?
6. What actions could be suggested to resolve the issue and what further scenarios could there be for its development?

### **COMPULSORY READINGS**

1. The North Korean Nuclear Challenge: Military Options and Issues for Congress / Congressional Research Service. November 7, 2017. – pp. 1-31.
2. U.S. - South Korea Relations / Congressional Research Service. May 23, 2017. – pp. 1-9.
3. Georgy Toloraya. Can Diplomacy Work with North Korea? 38 North. December 13, 2017. URL: <https://www.38north.org/2017/12/gtoloraya121317/>
4. Georgy Toloraya. 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**

1. Berkofsky Alex. Japan's North Korea policy: Trends, controversies and impact on Japan's overall defence and security policy / Austria Institut für Europa und Sicherheitspolitik, 2011. Nr.2. - 33 p.
2. Fu Ying. The Korean Nuclear Issue: Past, Present, and Future. A Chinese Perspective // Brookings. Strategy Paper 3. May 2017. - 24 p.
3. Su Fei, Saalman Lora. China's engagement of North Korea. Challenges and Opportunities for

- Europe // SIPRI. February 2017. - pp. 1-38.
4. The North Korea Crisis and Regional Responses / East-West Center. Honolulu, 2015. - 168 p.
  5. Toloraya Georgy, Vorontsov Alexander. Military Alert on the Korean Peninsula: Time for Some Conclusions / Carnegie Moscow Center. May 2014. – 34 p.
  6. 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/>
  7. Toloraya Georgy. The Security Crisis in Korea and its International Context: Sources and Lessons from a Russian Perspective // The Korean Journal of Defence Analysis. - September 2011. - Vol. 23, No. 3. - pp. 335-352.

## **Topic 11. Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea.**

### *Lecture 7.*

*Summary.* Strategic positioning of the South China Sea (SCS) in East Asia. Conflict in the South China Sea in the context of China-US strategic competition and the shape of regional order. South China Sea disputes in Paracel Islands, Spratly Islands and Scarborough Shoal: parties (PRC, Taiwan, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei), their claims and areas of control. PRC's and Indonesia's dispute over the EEZ north of the Natuna islands. The roots and historic evolution of the territorial disputes in the SCS. PRC's expansion in the SCS in 1974 and 1988. PRC's actions, conflict escalation in 1990s and negotiations for the Declaration of Conduct in the SCS. Signing of the DOC in 2002 and relative stabilization. SCS dispute escalation in 2008-2009 and the new phase of tensions in the beginning of 2010s. The Philippines' actions and China's reactive assertiveness. The U.S. involvement into the SCS disputes under rebalance to Asia policy, its causes and effects. The problem of concluding the Code of Conduct in the SCS. 2012 Scarborough Shoal stand-off and 2014 China-Vietnam conflicts. China's land reclamation activities in the Spratlys and military build-up on the Paracel and Spratly islands since 2014. The Hague Arbitrage Ruling over the case of the Philippines against China in 2016: its contents and regional reactions. The U.S. Freedom of navigation operations (FONOPs) in the SCS and China's reaction. Japan's further involvement into the SCS through cooperation with Vietnam and the Philippines. SCS in Australia's security strategy. The evolution of the Philippines' and Vietnam's policy towards the SCS conflict. The SCS issue in China-US relations and new developments under president Donald Trump. Russia's position and possible scenarios for future developments in the SCS.

### *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**

1. Stirring up the South-China Sea (II): Regional Responses // International Crisis Group Asia Report № 229, 24 July 2012. – pp. 1-32.
2. Storey Ian. China's Terraforming in the Spratlys: A Game Changer in the South China Sea? / Ian Storey // ISEAS Perspective. - 2015. - #29. - 23 June 2015. - 12 p.
3. ASEAN Focus. Special Issue on the South China Sea Arbitration / ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute. July 2016.- pp. 2-24.

### **SUPPORTING READINGS**

1. Stirring up the South-China Sea (I) // International Crisis Group Asia Report № 223, 23 April 2012. – 50 p.
2. Stirring up the South-China Sea (III): A Fleeting Opportunity for Calm // International Crisis Group Asia Report № 267, 7 May 2015. – 42 p.
3. Storey Ian. Assessing the ASEAN-China Framework for the Code of Conduct for the South China Sea // ISEAS Perspective. - 2015. - #62. - 8 August 2017. - 7 p.
4. Fravel M. Taylor. U.S. Policy Towards the Disputes in the South China Sea Since 1995 // Policy Report. S. Rajarathnam School of International Studies. March 2014. - 10 p.
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*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?
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 drives China-Japan strategic competition and how relations with the U.S. affect it? What are the major political, security and economic issues in China-Japan relations?
14. What is the role of economic interdependence in Sino-Japanese 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? 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)**

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