Indo-Pacific Command Seminar

March 14-18, 2022.

Venue: Honolulu Hawai´i

**Learning Outcomes:**

* To gain knowledge and deepen your understanding of contemporary security issues in the Indo-Pacific Command area of responsibility
* To consider the impact of recent developments in the region for U.S. security policies and developments in Washington for policies towards the region
* To hear local voices – either in person or through written materials
* In line with the 2017 National Security Strategy, the 2018 National Defense Strategy and President Biden’s Interim National Security Strategic Guidance, to assess the global activities of China and Russia in the Indo-Pacific Command AOR
* To consider the impact of recent developments for states, and for third party actors such as businesses, NGOs, religious groups, etc.
* To enhance your understanding of the strategic context for meeting the security challenges posed by these developments

*This course is designed to bring you many different perspectives and local ‘voices’ on the Indo-Pacific Command AOR. Consequently, the readings may disagree with each other and some of them you may find provocative. We do not endorse any one approach but hope you will read widely and reach your own considered conclusions.*

***Day One: Monday March 14, 2022***

Moderator: Dr. Joanna Spear

**8.15-8.45: Welcome and Introduction:**

Speaker: Dr. Joanna Spear, Director of the FAO Regional Skill Sustainment Initiative

**8.45-10.15: Session One: An Assessment of the CCP and Xi Jinping’s Goals and Outcomes**

Speaker:

Key Questions:

* How does Xi Jinping perceive China’s core interests?
* What are his domestic goals?
* What prompted the “common prosperity” agenda?
* How robust is the system of control that Xi Jinping is building?
* How is Xi Jinping managing the military?
* What are his international goals?
* How important to Xi Jinping is Chinese foreign and defense policy?

Required Readings:

Ian Johnson, “What Xi Jinping’s Elevated Status Signals for Chinese Foreign Policy,” In Brief blog, *Council on Foreign Relations*, November 12, 2021. At: <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/what-xi-jinpings-elevated-status-signals-chinese-foreign-policy>

Elizabeth Economy, “Xi Jinping’s New World Order: Can China Remake the International System,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2022. At: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-12-09/xi-jinpings-new-world-order?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=twofa&utm_campaign=Xi%20Jinping%E2%80%99s%20New%20World%20Order&utm_content=20211210&utm_term=FA%20This%20Week%20-%20112017>

Zang Jun, “Why China Continues to Rise,” *Project Syndicate*, December 17, 2021. At: <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/china-technological-development-despite-international-hostility-by-zhang-jun-2021-12?utm_source=Project+Syndicate+Newsletter&utm_campaign=54286ec9d0-sunday_newsletter_19_12_2021&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_73bad5b7d8-54286ec9d0-93627701&mc_cid=54286ec9d0&mc_eid=e58253d80d> The author is based in Shanghai, China.

Recommended Readings:

Jude Blanchette and Evan S. Mederios, “Is the Chinese Communist Party Ready for the Future?” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (2021), pp. 21-43. At: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2021.1933739>

Nan Li, “Succeeding Xi Jinping,” War on the Rocks blog, September 28, 2021. At:<https://warontherocks.com/2021/09/succeeding-xi-jinping/>

**10.15-10.45 Coffee Break**

**10.45-12.15: Session Two: The U.S.-China Relationship**

Speaker:

Key Questions:

* What has led to rising tensions between the two states – structure or agency?
* How can the two manage their economic interdependence?
* Is deglobilization possible? Is it desirable?
* What interests do the United States and China have in common?
* Can the two manage their strategic rivalry?

Required Readings:

Watch: Kurt Campbell on Carnegie Connects, January 6, 2022. At: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LwQS2O24FBE>

David Shambaugh, “Seeking Some Stability: The U.S.-China Leader’s Summit,” *China-US Focus*,November 24, 2021. At: <https://www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/seeking-some-stability-the-us-china-leaders-summit> and a different take: Zhao Minghau, “Chinese, U.S. Leaders Against ‘New Cold War,’” *China-US Focus*,November 19, 2021. At: <https://www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/chinese-us-leaders-against-new-cold-war>

Ryan Hass, “The “New Normal” in US-China Relations: Hardening Competition and Deep Interdependence,” *Brookings*, Order from Chaos blog, August 12, 2021. At: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/08/12/the-new-normal-in-us-china-relations-hardening-competition-and-deep-interdependence/>

Recommended Readings:

Asia Society Center for U.S.-China Relations and University of California-San Diego 21st Century China Center, *China’s New Direction: Challenges and Opportunities for U.S. Policy* (2021 Report of the Task Force on U.S.-China Policy). At: <https://asiasociety.org/sites/default/files/inline-files/2021-china-new-direction-report.pdf>

Dmitri Trenin, “The Impact of Sino-American Rivalry on Russia’s Relations with China,” *Carnegie Moscow Center*, October 18, 2021. At:<https://carnegiemoscow.org/commentary/85580?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss> Also relevant for Session Eight.

Michael C. Horowitz, “War by Timeframe: Responding to China’s Pacing Challenge,” War on the Rocks blog, November 19, 2021. At:<https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/war-by-timeframe-responding-to-chinas-pacing-challenge/>

Watch: “Fareed Zakaria Hosts CHINA’s IRON FIST: Xi Jinping and the Stakes for America,” *CNN,* Nov 21, 2021. At: <https://cnnpressroom.blogs.cnn.com/2021/11/18/fareed-zakaria-hosts-chinas-iron-fist-xi-jinping-and-the-stakes-for-america/> (Free Subscription Required).

Janan Ganesh, “America’s Political and Business Elites No Longer Agree on China,” *Financial Times*, October 19, 2021. At: <https://www.ft.com/content/77bb9c77-2e4b-4169-bfd6-615eeb95be23?emailId=616f3cde66865c0004b254a1&segmentId=60a126e8-df3c-b524-c979-f90bde8a67cd>

Demetri Sevastopulo, “US Intelligence Officials Warn Companies in Critical Sectors on China,” *Financial Times*, October 22, 2021. At: <https://www.ft.com/content/4b2a8252-164c-402b-9413-dee87a373cc3?emailId=6172b84cd913ff0004773708&segmentId=3d08be62-315f-7330-5bbd-af33dc531acb>

Aaron Friedberg, “The American-Chinese Rivalry and the Future of Globalization,” *Texas National Security Review*, Vol. 5, Issue 1 (Winter 2021-22). At: <https://tnsr.org/2022/01/the-american-chinese-rivalry-and-the-future-of-globalization/#_ftn1>

***Foreign Language Resources***:

Korean:

Soo Chan Park, “‘CCTV로 언론인·유학생 실시간 감시’ 중국, 5G 기술로 철권통치,” *Chosun Ilbo*, November 30, 2021. At: <https://www.chosun.com/international/china/2021/11/30/AMGNXU552ZCDBL6GJOHWFIZJCA/>

이성현 (Seong Hyun Lee), "미국을 '기울어가는 패권국'으로 치부하는 시진핑의 시선," *Sisa Journal (시사저널)*, November 30, 2021. At: <http://www.sisajournal.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=228643>

**12.15-13.30: Lunch break**

**13.30-15.00: Session Three: The Transformation of the Belt and Road Initiative**

Speaker:

Key Questions:

* What strategic ambitions drove the 2013 launch of China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)?
* What benefits is China deriving from the initiative?
* How have other countries reacted to the BRI?
* How is the BRI being “Greened” by China?
* Is the BRI now being retooled to serve domestic purposes?

Required Readings:

Nadège Rolland, “Beijing’s Response to the Belt and Road Initiative’s ‘Pushback’: A Story of Assessment and Adaptation,” in Bijam Omrani (ed.), *Great Potential, Many Pitfalls: Understanding China’s Belt and Road Initiative* (London: Routledge, 2022), pp. 38-57.

Helen Davidson, “China Owed $385bn - Including ‘Hidden Debt’ From Poorer Nations, Says Report,” *The Guardian*, September 30, 2021. At: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/sep/30/42-nations-owe-china-hidden-debts-exceeding-10-of-gdp-says-report>

Ralph Jennings, “China Hits Reset on Belt and Road Initiative,” *Voice of America*, October 30, 2021. At: <https://www.voanews.com/a/china-hits-reset-on-belt-and-road-initiative/6290954.html>

Jonathan Wheatley, “Chinese Loans Deter Poor Nations from Seeking Debt Relief, Says Paris Club Chair,” *Financial Times*, December 30, 2021. At: <https://www.ft.com/content/db7753b7-a2b5-469c-9441-e85afb44ea12?shareType=nongift>

Recommended Readings:

Debate over Chinese aid. Contrast: Deborah Brautigam and Meg Rithmire, “The Chinese ‘Debt Trap’ is a Myth,” *The Atlantic*, February 6, 2021. At: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2021/02/china-debt-trap-diplomacy/617953/> with: Brahma Chellany, “China’s Debt Trap Diplomacy,” May 2, 2021. At: <https://thehill.com/opinion/international/551337-chinas-debt-trap-diplomacy>

Deep Pal, “China’s Influence in South Asia: Vulnerabilities and Resilience in Four Countries,” *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 13, 2021. At:<https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/10/13/china-s-influence-in-south-asia-vulnerabilities-and-resilience-in-four-countries-pub-85552>

Shah Meer Baloch, “Protests in Pakistan Erupt Against China’s Belt and Road Plan,” *The Guardian*, August 20, 2021. At: <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/aug/20/water-protests-in-pakistan-erupt-against-chinas-belt-and-road-plan> Also relevant for session 12.

Adnan Aamir, “China-Pakistan Belt and Road Initiative Hits Buffers: Disagreements, Terrorism and COVID-19 Stymie CPEC Projects,” *Nikkei Asia*, November 30, 2021. At: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Asia-Insight/China-Pakistan-Belt-and-Road-Initiative-hits-buffers> Also relevant for session 12.

Gregory V. Raymond, “Religion as a Tool of Influence: Buddhism and China’s Belt and Road Initiative in Mainland Southeast Asia,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (December 2020), pp. 346-371.

***Foreign Language Resources***:

**15.00-15.15: Coffee break**

**15.15-16.45: Session Four: China’s Cyber Activities**

Speaker:

* How is China utilizing and deploying Artificial Intelligence?
* What are the implications of Chinese machine learning developments for the competition with the U.S.?
* How is China using cyber tools to control its population?
* Which states are eager to purchase Chinese surveillance technologies? Why?

Required Readings:

Flora Carmichael, “How A Fake News Network Pushes Pro-China Propaganda,” *BBC News*, August 5, 2021. At: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-58062630>

Cate Cadell, “China Harvests Masses of Data on Western Targets, Documents Show,” *Washington Post*, December 31, 2021. At: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/china-harvests-masses-of-data-on-western-targets-documents-show/2021/12/31/3981ce9c-538e-11ec-8927-c396fa861a71_story.html>

Recommended Readings:

Ben Buchanan and Fiona S. Cunningham, “Preparing the Cyber Battlefield: American and Chinese Perspectives on Cyber Escalation Risks,” *Texas National Security Review*, Vol. 3 No. 4 (Fall 2020), pp. 54-81. At: <http://dx.doi.org/10.26153/tsw/10951>

Michael Clarke, “Turning Ghosts into Humans: Surveillance as an Instrument of Social Engineering in Xinjiang,” War on the Rocks blog, November 2, 2021. At: <https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/turning-ghosts-into-humans-surveillance-as-an-instrument-of-social-engineering-in-xinjiang/>

Justin Sherman, “Beijing’s Growing Influence on the Global Undersea Cable Network,” *China Brief*, Vol. 1, No. 18, Jamestown Foundation (September 23, 2021). At: <https://jamestown.org/program/beijings-growing-influence-on-the-global-undersea-cable-network/?mc_cid=6908224938&mc_eid=4a79b81d3c>

Jordan Robertson and Jamie Tarabay, “Chinese Spies Accused of Using Huawei in Secret Australia Telecom Hack,” *Bloomberg Cybersecurity*, December 16, 2021. At: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-12-16/chinese-spies-accused-of-using-huawei-in-secret-australian-telecom-hack>

***Foreign Language Resources*:**

**16.45-17.45: Session Five: FAO Professional Development session**

This will be run by our colleagues at DLNSEO

**17.45: No Host Reception**

***Day Two: Tuesday March 15, 2022***

Moderator: Dr. Graham Pitts, Associate Director of the FAO Regional Skill Sustainment Initiative

**8.30-10.00: Session Six: Taiwan Under Threat?**

Speaker:

Key Questions:

* How does Taiwan seek to manage its relations with China?
* How has Taiwan’s approach changed over time?
* Can deepening cross-strait economic ties forge a better general relationship between Taiwan and China?
* How is China’s approach to Taiwan changing?
* How are other regional powers looking at the Chinese challenge to Taiwan?

Required Readings:

Michael A. Hunzeker, “Taiwan’s Defense Plans are Going Off the Rails,” War on the Rocks blog, November 18, 2021. At:<https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/taiwans-defense-plans-are-going-off-the-rails/> *and the response*: Raymond Kuo, “The Counter-Intuitive Sensibility of Taiwan’s New Defense Strategy,” War on the Rocks blog, December 6, 2021. At: <https://warontherocks.com/2021/12/the-counter-intuitive-sensibility-of-taiwans-new-defense-strategy/>

James Timbie and Admiral James O. Ellis Jr., “A Large Number of Small Things: A Porcupine Strategy for Taiwan,” *Texas National Security Review*, Vol. 5, Issue 1 (Winter 2021-22). At: <https://tnsr.org/2021/12/a-large-number-of-small-things-a-porcupine-strategy-for-taiwan/>

Recommended Readings:

Lonnie Henley, “PLA Operational Concepts and Centers of Gravity in a Taiwan Conflict,” Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Hearing on Cross-Strait Deterrence, February 18, 2021. At: <https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/2021-02/Lonnie_Henley_Testimony.pdf>

Jeffrey W. Hornung, “Taiwan and Six Potential New Year’s Resolutions for the U.S.-Japanese Alliance,” War on the Rocks blog, January 5, 2022. At: <https://warontherocks.com/2022/01/taiwan-and-six-potential-new-years-resolutions-for-the-u-s-japanese-alliance/> Also relevant for Session Ten.

***Foreign Language Resources***:

**10.00-10.30 Coffee break**

**10.30-12.00: Session Seven: AUKUS**

Speaker:

Key Questions:

* What is the intent behind the AUKUS deal?
* What does each country hope to get out of the deal?
* How has China reacted to the AUKUS deal?
* How have other actors responded to it?

Required Readings:

Michael Shoebridge, “What is AUKUS and What is it Not?” Strategic Insights No. 166, *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, December 8, 2021. At: <https://ad-aspi.s3.ap-southeast-2.amazonaws.com/2021-12/What%20is%20AUKUS%20and%20what%20is%20it%20not.pdf?VersionId=uAcnyQeum5lvEdiJYxSRW5SubMT2AMlV> 8pp.

Tuvia Gering, “Why China is Genuinely Worried About AUKUS,” *Sup China*, November 29, 2021. At: <https://supchina.com/2021/11/29/why-china-is-genuinely-worried-about-aukus/> Contrast with: Jia Deng, “ AUKUS: Why Beijing Didn’t Go Ballistic,” The Interpreter, *Lowy Institute* (Sydney), October 14, 2021. At: <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/aukus-why-beijing-didn-t-go-ballistic>

Recommended Readings:

Manjari Chatterjee Miller, “The Quad, AUKUS and India’s Dilemmas,” *Council on Foreign Relations*,October 13, 2021. At: <https://www.cfr.org/article/quad-aukus-and-indias-dilemmas> Also relevant for Session 13.

Jack Detsch, “Turnbull: AUKUS Subs Deal is an ‘Own Goal’,” *Foreign Policy*, October 6, 2021. At:<https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/10/06/aukus-us-uk-australia-biden-morrison-turnbull-submarines/>

Caitlin Talmadge, “Don’t Sink the Nuclear Submarine Deal: The Benefits of AUKUS Outweigh the Proliferation Risks,” *Foreign Affairs*, September 27, 2021. At:<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-09-27/dont-sink-nuclear-submarine-deal>

***Foreign Language Resources***:

**12.00-13.30 Lunch**

**13.30-15.00: Session Eight: Russia in Asia**

Speaker:

Key Questions:

* Is Russia building allies in the region? How?
* How does Russia seek to maintain those relationships?
* What are the implications of the new India-Russia defense deals for the United States?
* What is the tenor of the China-Russia relationship today?
* How should the U.S. respond to the China-Russia relationship?

Required Readings:

Alexander Lukin, “Have We Passed the Peak of Sino-Russian Rapprochement?” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Fall 2021), pp. 155-173. At: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0163660X.2021.1970904>

Timothy W. Crawford, “How to Distance Russia from China,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Fall 2021), pp. 175-194. At: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/0163660X.2021.1970903>

Nandan Unnikrishnan, “Despite Complex Global Power Equations, India and Russia Will Maintain Good Ties in 2022,” Commentaries, *Observer Research Foundation* (New Delhi), December 31, 2021. At: <https://www.orfonline.org/research/india-and-russia-will-maintain-good-ties-in-2022/>

Dmitri Trenin, “Russia-India: From Rethink, to Adjust, to Upgrade,” *Carnegie Moscow*, December 2, 2021. At: <https://carnegiemoscow.org/commentary/85903>

Recommended Readings:

Dmitri Trenin, “The Impact of Sino-American Rivalry on Russia’s Relations with China,” *Carnegie Moscow Center*, October 18, 2021. At:<https://carnegiemoscow.org/commentary/85580?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss> Also relevant for Session Two.

***Foreign Language Resources***:

**15.00-15.15: Break**

**15.15-16.45: Session Nine: North Korea Update**

Speakers:

Key Questions:

* What is the latest news in U.S.-North Korean Diplomacy?
* How has “summitry” changed that relationship?
* Are relations between North and South Korea hostile for the long-term?
* How does China regard international diplomatic efforts with North Korea?

Required Readings:

Scott Snyder, “How Kim Jong-un Advanced North Korea’s Military in a Decade,” In Brief blog, *Council on Foreign Relations*, December 17, 2021. At: <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/north-korea-kim-jong-un-nuclear-decade-ten-years>

Recommended Readings:

Greg Waldron, “Seoul to Fund Indigenous Attack Helicopter; Replace Chinooks,” *Flight Global*, January 5, 2022. At: <https://www.flightglobal.com/helicopters/seoul-to-fund-indigenous-attack-helicopter-replace-chinooks/147015.article?utm_campaign=FG-INTERNATIONAL-Singapore-FILLER-11012021-JM&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_content=FG-INTERNATIONAL-Singapore-FILLER-11012021-JM>

**Foreign Language Resource:**

***Day Three: Wednesday March 16, 2022***

Moderator: Dr. Joanna Spear

**8.30-10.00: Session Ten: Japanese Domestic and International Policies**

Speaker:

Key Questions:

* How is the Japanese economy performing?
* How do Japanese immigration policies affect its economy?
* Do they affect Japan’s international standing?
* What are the key concerns for Japan’s defense planning?
* How does Japan regard China’s regional policies?
* How is Japan’s Taiwan policy evolving?

Required Readings:

Leo Lewis, “Japan’s New Year Resolutions are Bound to Fail,” *Financial Times*, January 8, 2022. At: <https://www.ft.com/content/0ae82b33-94cf-49b3-aad6-9161204f84bf?emailId=61db5aff430f330004d48e0f&segmentId=60a126e8-df3c-b524-c979-f90bde8a67cd>

Ryan Ashley, “Japan’s Revolution on Taiwan Affairs,” War on the Rocks blog, November 23, 2021. At: <https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/japans-revolution-on-taiwan-affairs/>

“US-Japan Joint Leaders' Statement: ‘U.S.-Japan Global Partnership for a New Era,’” April 16, 2021,<https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/100177718.pdf>

Recommended Readings:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, “Trends in Chinese Government and Other Vessels in the Waters Surrounding the Senkaku Islands, and Japan's Response,” last updated June 11, 2021,<https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/page23e_000021.html>

Jeffrey W. Hornung, “Taiwan and Six Potential New Year’s Resolutions for the U.S.-Japanese Alliance,” War on the Rocks blog, January 5, 2022. At: <https://warontherocks.com/2022/01/taiwan-and-six-potential-new-years-resolutions-for-the-u-s-japanese-alliance/> Also relevant for Session Six.

**10.00-10.30: Break**

**10.30-12.00: Session Eleven: Japan and South Korea**

**Speaker:**

Key Questions:

* What are the main issues in the dispute between Japan and South Korea?
* How does Japan regard South Korea?
* How does South Korea regard Japan?
* Have these perceptions ever softened?
* How is South Korea’s March 2022 Presidential election influencing and being influenced by this issue?
* Is there scope for the United States to bring these allies together?

Required Readings:

Jiji, “Japan and South Korea Face Lost Decade, Locked in Mutual Distrust,” *Japan Times*, January 4, 2022. At: <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2022/01/04/national/sk-japan-issues/> [short]

Yuki Tatsumi, “Will Japanese-South Korean Relations Ever Get Back on Track?” *The Diplomat*, November 25, 2021. At: <https://thediplomat.com/2021/11/will-japan-south-korea-relations-ever-get-back-on-track/>

Daniel Sneider and Cheol Hee Park, “Debate - Resolved: The United States Can Fix the Japan-South Korea Problem,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, July 9, 2021. At: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/resolved-united-states-can-fix-japan-south-korea-problem>

S. Nathan Park, “Japan Wasted A Golden Chance for Olympic Reconciliation,” *Foreign Policy*, July 29, 2021. At: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/07/29/japan-olympics-korea-relations/>

Recommended Readings:

Editorial, “Biden’s High-Stakes on Repairing Japan-South Korea Relations,” *East Asia Forum* (Australia), July 12, 2021. At: <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2021/07/12/bidens-high-stakes-on-repairing-japan-south-korea-relations/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, “Japan - Republic of Korea Relations,” showing Japan’s perspective on issues between the two countries. At: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/korea/index.html>

“Kishida Says No Plans to Review Japan’s 1993 'Comfort Women’ Apology,” *Japan Times*, December 9, 2021. At: <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2021/12/09/national/kishida-comfort-women/> [short]

Jiji, “Frayed Japan-South Korea Ties Preclude Foreign Ministers Talks,” *Japan Times*, December 5, 2021. At: <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2021/12/05/national/politics-diplomacy/frozen-korea-talks/> [short]

**12.00-13.30: Lunch**

**13.30-15.00: Session Twelve: Out of Area but Important to Indo-Pacom - Pakistan**

Speaker:

Key Questions:

* How stable is Pakistan’s government?
* What is the relationship between China and Pakistan?
* How is the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor progressing?
* How is the relationship between the United States and Pakistan?
* What is the current state of relations between Pakistan and India?

Required Readings:

Arif Rafiq, “The China Pakistan Economic Corridor: Slower May be Better,” *Middle East Institute*, November 3, 2021. At: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/china-pakistan-economic-corridor-slower-may-be-better>

Alexia D’Arco, “U.S.-Pakistan Relations: Another Groundhog Day?” *Diplomatic Courier*, November 17, 2021. At: <https://www.diplomaticourier.com/posts/u-s-pakistan-relations-another-groundhog-day?fbclid=IwAR0Ke1MFixe_5lU_awyh7UqKRlQpfDxFYPtmANkAX0Rp2Jr0im7ws2P87yY>

Shah Meer Baloch, “Protests in Pakistan Erupt Against China’s Belt and Road Plan,” *The Guardian*, August 20, 2021. At: <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/aug/20/water-protests-in-pakistan-erupt-against-chinas-belt-and-road-plan> Also relevant for session 3.

Recommended Readings:

Madiha Afzal, “An Uneasy Limbo for US-Pakistan Relations Amidst the Withdrawal from Afghanistan,” Order from Chaos blog, *Brookings Institution*, August 6, 2021. At: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/08/06/an-uneasy-limbo-for-us-pakistan-relations-amidst-the-withdrawal-from-afghanistan/>

Abdul Sayed, “The Evolution and and Future of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan,” *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*,December 21, 2021. At: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/12/21/evolution-and-future-of-tehrik-e-taliban-pakistan-pub-86051>

David Sacks, “The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor - Hard Reality Greets BRI’s Signature Initiative,” Asia Unbound blog, *Council on Foreign Relations*, March 30, 2021. At: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/china-pakistan-economic-corridor-hard-reality-greets-bris-signature-initiative>

Adnan Aamir, “China-Pakistan Belt and Road Initiative Hits Buffers: Disagreements, Terrorism and COVID-19 Stymie CPEC Projects,” *Nikkei Asia*, November 30, 2021. At: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Asia-Insight/China-Pakistan-Belt-and-Road-Initiative-hits-buffers>

**15.00-15.15: Break**

**15.15-16.45: Session Thirteen: India Update**

Speaker:

Key Questions:

* Is Prime Minister Narendra Modi still popular in India?
* How have his promised economic reforms fared?
* How has his government performed in the face of the pandemic?
* What are India’s foreign policy priorities?
* How are Sino-Indian relations best characterised at the moment?
* What are the foreign policy challenges that India faces?

Required Readings

CSIS, “India’s Economic Reform Agenda: A Scorecard,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*. Updated Monthly. At: <https://indiareforms.csis.org/>

Vijay Gokhale, “The Indian Ocean as a Region of Future Contestation,” *Law School Policy Review and Kautilya Society* (Bangalore), January 22, 2021. At: <https://lawschoolpolicyreview.com/2021/01/22/the-indian-ocean-as-a-region-of-future-contestation/> Also relevant for Session Fourteen.

Manjari Chatterjee Miller, “The Quad, AUKUS, and India’s Dilemmas,” *Council on Foreign Relations*,October 13, 2021. At: <https://www.cfr.org/article/quad-aukus-and-indias-dilemmas> Also relevant for Session Seven.

Ashok Sajjanhar, “Putin’s Visit to India: The Launch of a Revitalised Partnership,” Comment, *Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence and Security Analyses* (New Delhi), December 16, 2021. At: <https://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/putin-visit-to-india-launch-of-a-revitalised-partnership-ashoksajjanhar>

Recommended Readings

Harsh V. Pant and Premesh Saha, “India, China and the Indo-Pacific: New Delhi’s Recalibration is Underway,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Winter 2020), pp. 187-206.

Shushant Singh, “The Challenge of a Two-Front War: India’s China-Pakistan Dilemma,” Asia Issue Brief, *The Stimson Center*, April 2021. At: <https://www.stimson.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/The-Challenge-of-a-Two.pdf> 18pp.

Vijay Gokhale, “The Road from Galwan: The Future of India-China Relations,” *Carnegie India*, March 2021. At: <https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Gokhale_Galwan.pdf> 24pp.

Anurag Bisen, “India-Russia Cooperation in Indian Ocean Region, Arctic, and Russia Far East,” Policy Brief, *Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence and Security Analyses* (New Delhi), December 6, 2021. At: <https://www.idsa.in/policybrief/india%E2%80%93russia-cooperation-in-indian-ocean-region-arctic-anuragbisen-061221>

Mujib Mashal and Hari Kumar, “In India’s Water-Stressed Villages, Modi Seeks a Tap for Every Home,” *New York Times*, December 21, 2021. At: <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/21/world/asia/india-water-modi.html>

***Day Four: Thursday March 17, 2022***

Moderator: Dr. Graham Pitts

**8.30-10.00: Session Fourteen: The Maritime Domain**

Speaker:

Key Questions:

* What is China’s maritime strategy?
* What is China’s vision for the PLA Navy?
* Is China making excessive maritime claims?
* How is China regarding FON operations by western countries?
* Are China’s A2AD capabilities threatening to the United States and its allies?

Required Readings:

Kristen Gunness, “China’s Gray-Zone Capabilities in the East China Sea,” in Jonathan Greenert, ed. *Murky Waters in the East China Sea: Chinese Gray-Zone Operations and U.S.-Japan Alliance Coordination* (Washington, D.C.: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2021), 11–18. At: <https://www.nbr.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/publications/sr90_murkywaters_may2021.pdf>

Lonnie Henley, “PLA Operational Concepts and Centers of Gravity in a Taiwan Conflict,” Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Hearing on Cross-Strait Deterrence, February 18, 2021. At: <https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/2021-02/Lonnie_Henley_Testimony.pdf>

David Knoll, “Story Telling and Strategy: How Narrative is Central to Gray Zone Warfare,” Modern War Institute, West Point, August 24, 2021. At: <https://mwi.usma.edu/story-telling-and-strategy-how-narrative-is-central-to-gray-zone-warfare/>

Recommended Readings:

Hideshi Tokuchi, “The Gray Zone in the Definition of Gray-Zone Warfare: Challenges for Japan-U.S. Cooperation,” in Jonathan Greenert, ed. *Murky Waters in the East China Sea: Chinese Gray-Zone Operations and U.S.-Japan Alliance Coordination* (Washington, D.C.: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2021), 2–10. At: <https://www.nbr.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/publications/sr90_murkywaters_may2021.pdf>

John Bradford, “China’s Security Force Posture in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia,” Special Report, *United States Institute of Peace*, December 15, 2021. At: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2021/12/chinas-security-force-posture-thailand-laos-and-cambodia>

Vijay Gokhale, “The Indian Ocean as a Region of Future Contestation,” *Law School Policy Review and Kautilya Society* (Bangalore), January 22, 2021. At: <https://lawschoolpolicyreview.com/2021/01/22/the-indian-ocean-as-a-region-of-future-contestation/> Also relevant for Session Thirteen.

Andrew Chubb, “PRC Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Measuring Continuity and Change, 1970-2015,” *International Security*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Winter 2020/21), pp. 79-121.

**10.00-10.15: break**

**10.00-11.15: Session Fifteen: Simulation Exercise Part I: *Strategic Planning in an Uncertain and Dynamic World***

Simulation Moderators: Dr. Joanna Spear & Dr. Graham Pitts

There is no reading for this session

**11. 15-11.30: Break**

**11.30-12.45: Session Sixteen: Simulation Exercise Part II: *Strategic Planning in an Uncertain and Dynamic World***

Simulation Moderators: Dr. Joanna Spear & Dr. Graham Pitts

There is no reading for this session