

IP675 -- SEMINAR: RUSSO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

Spring 2005

Tuesday, 2:00-3:50 p.m.

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Introduction

This year Japan and Russia are commemorating the 150 years of diplomatic relations and the 100th anniversary of the Russo-Japanese War. Despite their status as two of the most important global powers, the two countries' relations remain limited and constrained. Most observers blame this state of affairs on the absence of a peace treaty between Tokyo and Moscow due to the seemingly irreconcilable dispute over the group of islands lying between the two countries, known as "the Northern Territories" in Japan and as the "southern Kuriles" in Russia. While the importance of the territorial dispute cannot be overstated, there are other aspects to the bilateral relations that are often overlooked in contemporary discussions of those relations. In this seminar, we will take a comprehensive and in-depth look at Russo-Japanese relations, including historical, political, cultural, and economic factors.

The course will be divided into four parts: (1) the history of bilateral relations from the 17th century to the 20th century; (2) cultural aspects of bilateral relations; and (3) a simulated negotiation of a peace treaty. In the first part, we will examine the turning points in the history of Russo-Japanese relations, including the 1855 Treaty of Amity, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, the Soviet-Japanese War of 1945, the Cold War, the series of bilateral summits after the end of the Cold War, and economic cooperation in the development of the Russian Far East in recent years. The second part will be devoted to the study of each country's culture as a factor influencing Russian-Japanese relations, with a particular emphasis on mutual perceptions and negotiating behavior of Russians and Japanese. Our understanding of the history of Russo-Japanese relations and cultural factors in the bilateral interactions prepare us for the third (and final) part of the semester, when we will simulate a peace treaty negotiation between Moscow and Tokyo.

Learning Objectives

The seminar is designed to help students learn about the history and the current state of Russo-Japanese relations, including political, security, cultural, and economic dimensions, and develop an appreciation of the two side's mutual perceptions and attitudes, which affect their interaction. Students will also develop skills to read official documents (in English translations) and academic analyses, view policy issues from the

perspective of a diplomatic negotiator, and develop their own analytical perspectives on issues of interest to them.

Assignments

In order to achieve the above objectives, students are given the following assignments:

1. **Brief paper** (5 double-spaced pages; 15 points; **due March 1**): Choose one historical episode in Russian/Soviet-Japanese relations before the Second World War and another episode from the postwar period, identify common cultural factors between the two episodes, and discuss them in terms of the role of those factors in facilitating or hampering effective communication and understanding between the two countries.
2. **Simulation paper** (5 double-spaced pages; 25 points; **due April 19**): In consultation with the instructor and classmates, each student will be assigned to write a paper on one aspect of the territorial dispute from the perspective of one side or the other. Topics and sides will be chosen so that we will produce a complete set of negotiating papers to be used in the simulation exercise. The aspects to be included in the papers are, from each side's perspective, geographical, legal, political, economic, security, and historical factors that support its position on the territorial dispute and the need to conclude a peace treaty in order to place Russo-Japanese relations on a solid, peaceful footing for the 21st century.
3. **Simulation** (20 points): The students will be divided into two national teams and negotiate a peace treaty. It is hoped that the team will be able to reach agreement on a partial or full resolution of the territorial dispute. Each member will be given an assignment to familiarize her/himself with one issue for negotiation and educate her/his teammates on that issue as well as represent her/his team's position on the issue in bilateral talks.
4. **Final document** (5 double-spaced pages; 10 points; **due May 11**): Following the simulation, representatives of the two teams will write up a summary document representing the two sides' positions at the conclusion of the simulation. The instructor will name the representatives. The others will each write a **2-page** document explaining their side's position appearing in the final document.
5. **Research paper** (15-20 double-spaced pages; 30 points; **due May 13**): The final paper will be on any topic of interest to you. The topic may be related to the peace treaty negotiation or it may be on some other topic discussed in class.

Textbooks

You are encouraged to purchase the following books:

- Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, *The Northern Territories Dispute and Russo-Japanese Relations*, 2 volumes, International and Area Studies, Research Series/Number, Series/Number 97, Berkeley: University of California

Berkeley, 1998.

- Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, Jonathan Haslam, and Andrew C. Kuchins, eds., *Russia and Japan: An Unresolved Dilemma between Distant Neighbors*, International and Area Studies, Research Series/Number 87, Berkeley: University of California Berkeley, 1993.
- Tsuneo Akaha, ed., *Politics and Economics in the Russian Far East: Changing Ties with Asia-Pacific*, London: Routledge, 1997
- Watanabe Koji, ed., *Engaging Russia in Asia Pacific*, Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 1999. (Note that Watanabe is the editor's family name.)

Other reading assignments are placed on reserve in the MIIS Library. In addition, the instructor will distribute other documents throughout the semester.

Grading

Your final grade will be determined according to the following scale:

97-100 points	A+
94-96 points	A
90-92 points	A-
87-89 points	B+ (considered a good grade)
84-86 points	B
80-83 points	B-
77-79 points	C+
74-76 points	C
70-73 points	C-
0-69 points	F

Course Schedule

I. The Prewar Period

January 25

Read: Hasegawa, *The Northern Territories Dispute and Russo-Japanese Relations*, pp. 1-73.

Familiarize yourself with the geography of the Russian Far East, the Kurile Islands, and Japan.

II. The Second World War and the Postwar Period

February 1

Read: Hasegawa, *The Northern Territories Dispute and Russo-Japanese Relations*, pp. 74-176. (On reserve)

Jonathan Haslam, "The Pattern of Soviet-Japanese Relations since World War II," in Hasegawa et al, eds., *Russia and Japan: An Unresolved Dilemma between Distant Neighbors*, pp. 3-48. (On reserve)

III. The Gorbachev and Yeltsin Periods

February 8

Read: Hasegawa, *The Northern Territories Dispute and Russo-Japanese Relations*, pp. 217-407. (On reserve)

Igor Tyshetskii, "The Gorbachev-Kaifu Summit: The View from Moscow," in Hasegawa et al, eds., *Russia and Japan: An Unresolved Dilemma between Distant Neighbors*, pp. 83-99. (On reserve)

Hasegawa, *The Northern Territories Dispute and Russo-Japanese Relations*, pp. 411-511. (On reserve)

Mike M. Mochizuki, "The Soviet/Russian Factor in Japanese Security Policy," in Hasegawa et al, eds., *Russia and Japan: An Unresolved Dilemma between Distant Neighbors*, pp. 125-160. (On reserve)

Tsuneo Akaha, "A Paradigm Shift in Russo-Japanese Relations," *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 347-362. (On reserve)

IV. The Putin Period

February 15

Read: Ha Yong-Chool, "Engaging Russia for Peace in Northeast Asia," in Watanabe Koji, ed., *Engaging Russia in Asia Pacific*, pp. 23-45.

Yang Mingjie, "Russia's Regional Security Role," in Watanabe Koji, ed., *Engaging Russia in Asia Pacific*, pp. 46-53.

Watanabe Koji, "Engaging Russia -- A Japanese Perspective," in Watanabe Koji, ed., *Engaging Russia in Asia Pacific*, pp. 67-81.

V. The Russian Far East and Russo-Japanese Economic Relations

February 22

Read: Tsuneo Akaha, "The Russian Far East as a Factor in Northeast Asia," *Peace Forum* (Kyung Hee University, Korea), No. 25 (Winter 1997/98), pp. 91-108. (On reserve)

Nobuo Arai and Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, "The Russian Far East in Russo-Japanese Relations," in Akaha, eds., *Politics and Economics in the Russian Far East*, pp. 157-186.

Tsuneo Akaha and Takashi Murakami, "Soviet/Russian-Japanese Economic Relations," in Hasegawa et al, eds., *Russia and Japan: An Unresolved Dilemma between Distant Neighbors*, pp. 161-186. (On reserve)

Judith Thornton and Alexander Temkin, "The Consequences of Crisis for the Russian Far East Economy and for the Russo-Japanese Economic Relationship," in Hasegawa et al, eds., *Russia and Japan: An Unresolved Dilemma between Distant Neighbors*, pp. 299-339. (On reserve)

March 1 *** Brief paper due ***

Read: Tsuneo Akaha, Pavel A. Minakir, and Kunio Okada, "Economic Challenge in the Russian Far East," in Akaha, eds., *Politics and Economics in the Russian Far East*, pp. 49-69.

Tetsuo Sugano, "Russia's Economy and Development of the Far East," in Watanabe Koji, ed., *Engaging Russia in Asia Pacific*, pp. 82-92.

Evgenii B. Kovrigin, "Problems of Resource Development in the Russian Far East," in Akaha, eds., *Politics and Economics in the Russian Far East*, pp. 70-86.

James P. Dorian, "Minerals and Mining in the Russian Far East," in Akaha, eds., *Politics and Economics in the Russian Far East*, pp. 87-109.

March 8

Read: Takashi Murakami, "The Present Situation and Future Problems of Energy Production in the Russian Far East," in Akaha, eds., *Politics and Economics in the Russian Far East*, pp. 110-119.

Tsuneo Akaha, "Environmental Challenges in the Russian Far East," in Akaha, eds., *Politics and Economics in the Russian Far East*, pp. 120-134.

Tsuneo Akaha and Anna Vassilieva, "Environmental Consciousness in Sakhalin: Background and Views on the Sakhalin Offshore Oil-Gas Development," in Takashi Murakami and Shinichiro Tabata, eds., *Russian Regions: Economic Growth and Environment*, Sapporo, Japan: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 2000. (On reserve)

SPRING BREAK MARCH 12-20

VI. Mutual Perceptions

March 22

Read: Semyon Verbitsky, "Factors Shaping the Formation of Views on Japan in the USSR in the Postwar Period," in Gilbert Rozman, ed., *Japan and Russia: The Tortuous Path to Normalization, 1949-1999*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000, pp. 253-271. (On reserve)

Tsuneo Akaha, "Distant Neighbors: Japanese Intellectuals' Views of Russia," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, San Diego, March 9-12, 2000. (On reserve)

Gilbert Rozman, "Japanese Images of the Soviet and Russian Role in the Asia-Pacific Region," in Hasegawa et al, eds., *Russia and Japan: An Unresolved Dilemma between Distant Neighbors*, pp. 101-123. (On reserve)

VII. Russian and Japanese Cultures and Negotiating Styles

March 29

Read: Anna Vassilieva and Nikolai Sokov, *The Influence of Culture on Russian Negotiating Style*, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 1999, pp. 35-76. (On reserve)

Michael Blaker, "Japanese Attitudes toward Diplomacy and Negotiations," "Japanese Negotiating Strategies and Tactics," and "Analysis and Conclusions" in Blaker, *Japanese International Negotiating Style*, New York: Columbia University, 1977, pp. 1-53, 146-206, and 207-227, respectively. (On reserve)

VIII. The Territorial Dispute and Peace Treaty Negotiation

In preparation for the simulation of peace treaty negotiation, consult the following documents:

The Treaty of Amity, 1855. (On reserve)

The Portsmouth Treaty, 1905. (On reserve)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, *Joint Compendium of Documents on the History of Territorial Issue between Japan and Russia*, 1992. (On reserve; also available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/russia/territory/edition92/>).
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, *New Edition of the Joint Compendium of Documents on the History of Territorial Issue between Japan and Russia*, 2001. (On reserve; also available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/russia/territory/edition01/index.html>).

April 5

Preparation for Simulation -- no class

April 12

Read: Hasegawa, *The Northern Territories Dispute and Russo-Japanese Relations*, pp. 512-535.

Boris Slavinsky, "The Soviet-Japanese Postwar Peace Settlement in Retrospect," in Gilbert Rozman, ed., *Japan and Russia: The Tortuous Path to Normalization, 1949-1999*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000, pp. 33-45. (On reserve)

"The USSR and the Question of a Peace Settlement in the Far East," in *Soviet Foreign Policy*, Volume 2, 1945-1980, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1980, pp. 105-123. (On reserve)

April 19

***** Simulation paper due *****

Peace treaty negotiation simulation - opening remarks

April 26

Peace treaty negotiation simulation - continued

May 3

Peace treaty negotiation simulation - continued

May 10

Peace treaty negotiation simulation - final round

May 11

***** Final document due *****

May 13

***** Research paper due *****