



LEAM 2015

**EAST ASIA DYNAMICS.
BETWEEN BEING REGIONAL
AND GLOBAL**

CONFERENCE BROCHURE

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Łódź, June 2nd 2015

Dear Participants, Guests, Friends,

On behalf of the Department of East Asian Studies I am pleased to welcome you to the **11th Lodz East Asia Meeting – East Asia Dynamics. Between Being Regional and Global**. This year's conference will continue the success of the preceding Conferences organized by our unit since 2004 and I do hope it will provide a legacy for those to come.

We, as the Department of East Asia Studies are one of Asian Studies units in Poland. What is worth mentioning we offer Bachelor degree in Asian Studies in English and next year we will start Asian Studies at the Master level. Apart from teaching we develop our in-depth research in the field of Chinese and Japanese foreign policy. We have forth National Science Centre's grants: on sovereign wealth funds in Asia, paradiplomacy in China, Russia and India, the issue of identity in China's foreign policy and institutional changes in Japan foreign policy.

For the fourth time the Lodz East Asia Meeting becomes an important and international forum for cooperation and exploration of new ideas regarding the region of East Asia. We do hope the participants will enjoy friendly atmosphere and share their thoughts on the latest developments in the region.

I wish that this conference will give an opportunity for the future cooperation between us and become a place where one enjoys catching up with old friends and colleagues, as well as making new ones.

Enjoy your stay in Lodz! Welcome to our University!

Professor Małgorzata Pietrasiak

Head of Department of East Asian Studies

ABOUT DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES AND LODZ EAST ASIA MEETING

Department of East Asian Studies (DEAS) was established in 2005 as part of the Institute of International Studies, at the Faculty of International and Political Studies of University of Lodz.

The department is chaired by prof. Małgorzata Pietrasiak. Academic interests of the DEAS faculty concentrate on political, economic, and social processes that take place in East Asia, political systems of countries of the region, their relations with other international actors, and on issues of ethnic and religious minorities. The research is mainly focused on three countries: China, Japan and, Vietnam.

Apart from research, the DEAS faculty also teach a wide variety of classes at the International Relations faculty. Together with the Department of Middle East and North African Studies, graduate courses specializing in oriental studies are offered. Moreover in 2014/2015 we launched **Asian Studies B.A. degree**. This project is the starting point of our future activities in the field.

The Department also carries out numerous Asia-related projects. Among others, the annual **Lodz East Asian Meetings**, which is an academic conference for young faculty and experienced scholars who deal with Asian affairs. There are study tours to different Asian countries as well. The Department closely cooperates with **Student's Associations of East Asia and Pacific**.

Moreover since its first edition in 2002, the **Lodz East Asian Meeting (LEAM)** gathers scholars, researchers, and students in all disciplines, specializing in East Asian studies. Being the first academic conference of its kind in Poland, gradually it has become one of the most important venues for academic exchange in the field. In the beginning it was directed at post-graduate and doctoral students from Polish tertiary institutions, and with time LEAM came to encompass young academics from various fields. The goal of these meetings is to contribute to the creation of a leading and internationally renowned study center at the University of Lodz, focusing on current East Asian problems. All of this culminated with the result that in 2012, for the first time, it was possible to invite international speakers as well as renowned specialists to take part in the conference.

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University of
LODZ



DEPARTMENT
OF EAST ASIAN
STUDIES



Faculty of
International and
Political Studies
University of Lodz



11th Lodz East Asia Meeting
“East Asia Dynamics. Between Being Regional and Global”
2-3 June 2015

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME



Ministry
of Foreign Affairs
Republic of Poland

PISM | POLSKI INSTYTUT SPRAW MIĘDZYNARODOWYCH
THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



11th Lodz East Asia Meeting
“East Asia Dynamics. Between Being Regional and Global”
2-3 June 2015

organized by the **Department of East Asian Studies**
with the **Students’ East Asian and Pacific Studies Association**

Honorary Patronage

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland

Grzegorz Schetyna

Supported by

UNIVERSITY OF LODZ
FACULTY OF INTERNATIONAL AND POLITICAL STUDIES
The Marshal’s Office of the Lodz Region
Polish Institute of International Affairs
Europe-China Academic Network
Institute for Asian Studies (Bratislava)
Pulaski Foundation

Venue: Faculty of International and Political Studies, University of Lodz
Narutowicza 59a, Lodz
Plenary Hall (Sala Rady Wydziału)

DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES

JUNE 2, 2015 (TUESDAY)

9:30- 10:00	<p style="text-align: center;">REGISTRATION</p>
10:00- 10:45	<p style="text-align: center;">PLENARY HALL</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Welcoming Remarks</u> Prof. Zofia Wysokińska Pro-Rector in Charge of International Affairs, University of Lodz</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Prof. Tomasz Domański Dean of the Faculty of International and Political Studies, University of Lodz</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Prof. Małgorzata Pietrasiak Chair of the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Lodz</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Opening Remarks</u> Prof. Dominik Mierzejewski <i>Developing Asian Studies at the University of Lodz</i></p>
10:45- 11:00	<p style="text-align: center;">COFFEE AND TEA BREAK</p>

D E P A R T M E N T O F E A S T A S I A N S T U D I E S

11:00-12:30	<p style="text-align: center;">PLENARY HALL PANEL 1 – KOREAN PENINSULA POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT MODERATOR: KAROL ŻAKOWSKI</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">ROOM 112 PANEL 2 – CHINA-TAIWAN DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT MODERATOR: DOMINIK MIERZEJEWSKI</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">ROOM A2 PANEL 3 –EUROPE-CHINA NEXUS MODERATOR: TOMASZ KAMIŃSKI</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">Jeroen Van den Bosch: The Personalization of Power in the People’s Democratic Republic of Korea: Part 1 – Internal Regime Decline</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Krzysztof Kozłowski: Whose Taiwan – Sunflower Movement, Taiwan Political Scene and Cross-Strait Relations</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Łukasz Zamecki: Impact of China on the EU raw materials policy</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">Rafał Wiśniewski: The Personalization of Power in the People’s Democratic Republic of Korea: Part 2 – Foreign Policy Dilemmas</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Runaya Qiaoan: There Is No Such Thing as a Free Lunch? - Re-examining the Chinese State-Civil Society Relations Through a Case Study of “Free Lunch”</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">OdaZachrisen: Economic relations with China - worth improving?</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">Milos Prachazka: A collapse of Democratic People’s Republic of Korea: a way the non-governmental actors could be involved</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Adrian Brona: Xi Jinping's Political Position as a Result of Legalization of PRC’s Political System</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Chiu Chung-Yu: The Conceptualization of “Overseas Chinese Community” from the Perspective of Post-Modernism – “Chinatowns in Europe”</p>
		<p style="text-align: center;">Łukasz Błoński: The Political Scene in China</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Artur Modlinski: The Guanxi concept in the internet era. The challenges for international business relationships in China</p>
		<p style="text-align: center;">Armstrong Chen: The Free Trade Zones in China</p>	

D E P A R T M E N T O F E A S T A S I A N S T U D I E S

12:30- 13:30	LUNCH		
13:30 15:00	PLENARY HALL PANEL 4 – REGIONAL DISPUTES IN EAST ASIA MODERATOR: GRZEGORZBYWALEC	ROOM 112 PANEL 5 – SECURITY ISSUES IN EAST ASIA MODERATOR: TOMASZ JURCZYK	ROOM A2 PANEL 6 – GOING BEYOND THE EAST ASIA REGION MODERATOR: ROBERT CZULDA
	Amrita Jash: China at Crossroads with Japan over Diaoyu Islands: A Study of Historical Memories in Shaping Foreign Policy	Marta Kosmala-Kozłowska: The Normative Dimension of the New Silk Road	Piotr Kozłowski: Multilateralising Japan's Security Policy: Abe's Two-Level Game
	Krystian Karolak: Political history and myths in China-Japan relations	Shingo Masunaga: Japan's emerging nationalism and its influences to conceptual multilateral security framework in the Asia-Pacific region	Przemysław Furgacz: The economic relations of the United States and China over the decade 2005-2014
	Ales Karmazin: The Strategy/Identity Nexus: China's and India's Approaches towards Southeast Asia	Martha Bartha-Rigó: The factors of Chinese security	Ladislav Galo: China's "checkbook diplomacy" and new financial bodies
	Michał Snopek: The dispute about Kuril Islands	Jerzy Kacała: Japanese increase in military spending - what does it mean for the East Asia?	Adrian Szumowski: The Dynamics of Power within American Tributary System (Yuen Fong Khong political thoughts)
15:00- 15:15	BREAK		

DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES

<p>15:15- 16:30</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">PLENARY HALL SPECIAL LECTURE: Japan and Regional Order PROFESSOR GLENN HOOK University of Sheffield</p>
<p>16:30- 17:00</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>COFFE AND TEA BREAK</i></p>
<p>17:00- 18:45</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">PLENARY HALL SPECIAL PANEL: Institutional Changes in Japan's Foreign Policy Making MODERATOR: PIOTR KOZŁOWSKI</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">Karol Żakowski (University of Lodz): Politicians' Role in Foreign Policy Making in Japan before the Central Government Reform</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Beata Bochorodycz (Adam Mickiewicz University): Hashimoto Cabinet and the Problem of the Military Bases in Okinawa</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Marcin Socha(University of Lodz): Prime Minister's Role in Shaping Japanese International Climate and Energy Policy</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Discussant: Prof. Glenn Hook (University of Sheffield)</p>
<p>20:00- 22:00</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">CONFERENCE DINNER VENUE: BIEDERMANN PALACE , Franciszkańska 1/3 St.</p>

DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES

JUNE 3, 2014 (WEDNESDAY)

9:00-10:30	<p align="center">PLENARY HALL PANEL 8 – PIVOTING EAST ASIA MODERATOR: KAROL ŻAKOWSKI</p>	<p align="center">ROOM 112 PANEL 9– SOUTHAND EAST ASIA DILEMMAS (I) MODERATOR: GRZEGORZ BYWALEC</p>
	<p align="center">Wrenn Yennie Lindgrene: Japan and Russia's Energy Embrace: here to stay?</p>	<p align="center">Michał Zaręba: Between conflict and cooperation. Hydropolitics in the Mekong River Basin</p>
	<p align="center">Marcin Kaczmarek: Russia-China relationship: from strategic partnership to peaceful power transition</p>	<p align="center">Joanna Dobkowska: Is the marriage still of convenience? The prospects of Australia-ASEAN relations</p>
	<p align="center">Anastasia Vishnevskaya: Implications of Ukraine crisis for EU-China and China-Russia relations</p>	<p align="center">Dominik Cholewski: A need for more transparency in the Pacific: An analysis of Australian and Chinese Defence White Papers</p>
	<p align="center">Michał Lubina: U.S. Pivot to Burma: a Failure or a Success Story?</p>	
10:30-	<p>COFFEE AND TEA BREAK</p>	

D E P A R T M E N T O F E A S T A S I A N S T U D I E S

10:45			
10:45-12:15	PLENARY HALL PANEL 10 – CHINA’S FOREIGN POLICY MODERATOR: RAFAŁ TUSZYŃSKI	ROOM112 PANEL 11 – SOUTH AND EAST ASIA DILEMMAS (II) MODERATOR: MICHAŁ ZARĘBA	ROOM A1 PANEL 12 – DEBATING TAIWAN AND BEYOND MODERATOR: CHIUCHUN-YU
	Robert Czulda: China – Iran Relations. Towards a Strategic Partnership?	Anna Michalak: South East Asia dilemmas of political development. Timor Leste perspective	Richard Q. Turcsányi: What power politics? The Nature of Power Relations in the East Asia and the Position of the Republic of China (Taiwan)
	Oana Burcu: The role of nationalism in China's foreign policy towards Japan	Cecilia Ronahati: Is ARF a Talking Shop or a Regional Security Organisation?	Mirośław Jurdeczka: National Innovation System of Taiwan: From catching up to forging ahead
	Anna Walkowiak: Chinese arms export: new tool of global foreign policy?	Pavel Hlavacek: Comparing Vietnamese and Philippines reactions to Chinese activities in South China Sea	Huang Chen-chen: The necessity and possibility for Taiwan to join ASEM
	Andrzej Kozłowski: China’s Cybersecurity Strategy – how the Rising Dragon perceives cyberspace	Mateusz Smolaga: Emerging donors in South, South-East and East Asia from a regional and global perspective	Paweł Wiszniuk: Ignoring the Constitution? Vote-value Disparity in Japanese House of Representatives Elections

DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES

12:15-13:00	<i>LUNCH</i>	
13:00-14:30	PLENARY HALL PANEL 12 – THE EVOLUTION OF ASIAN SWFs' INVESTMENT POLICIES MODERATOR: TOMASZ JURCZYK	ROOM 112 PANEL 13 – INTERNATIONAL LAW IN SOUTH ASIA MODERATOR: MAREK WASIŃSKI
	Piotr Wiśniewski: Asian and Gulf-Based Sovereign Wealth Funds (SWFs) as Competitors to Global Private Equity	Tomasz Grzywaczewski: The secession of Bangladesh: challenging the limits of right to self-determination
	Marcin Obroniecki: China's sovereign wealth funds' (SWFs) versus Gulf Cooperation Council's (GCC) countries' SWFs' investment patterns: a comparison	Tomasz Lachowski: Another 'forgotten genocide'? The 1984 Sikh Massacres under international legal scrutiny
	Tomasz Kamiński: Directions of Chinese SWFs investments	Mateusz Piątkowski: UAV's operations over Pakistan in the light of the International Humanitarian Law.
14:30-	PLENARY HALL	

DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES

16.15	<p align="center">SPECIAL PANEL: Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy in Poland and China MODERATOR: TOMASZ KAMIŃSKI</p>
	<p align="center">Adriana Skorupska (Polish Institute of International Affairs): Theory and Practice of paradiplomacy in Poland Dominik Mierzejewski (University of Lodz): Is China local? The discourse on paradiplomacy in China Rafał Tuszyński (University of Lodz): US-China sub-national cooperation: a role model? Tomasz Jurczyk (University of Lodz): Regional development in EU-China sub-national relations: the case of Lodz-Chengdu relations</p> <p align="center">Discussant: Adam Bralczyk (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland,<i>Department of Foreign Policy Strategy</i>)</p>
16:15	<p align="center">PLENARY HALL Closing remarks</p>

Key note speaker: Professor Glenn Hook (University of Sheffield)

Glenn Hook's research interests are in the area of the international relations of contemporary Japan, particular in relation to East Asia, as well as in security and risk in East Asia.

His work explores Japan's role in the restructuring of the East Asian political economy and spatial scales of order at the regional, subregional and microregional levels. His work details the role of both state and nonstate actors in the political, economic and security dimensions of regional relations and how new orders and sites of governance emerge in the process of global and regional transformations.

A continuing interest remains Japanese defence and security policy. His research has challenged the realist approach dominant in the field by drawing attention to the domestic constraints imposed on the policy-making process, examining issues of structure, agency and particularly norms in determining security policy.

The role of the Japanese state in mediating risk is a more recent interest. This has led to collaborative work analysing the way the state mediates both internal and external risks and how this impacts on the security of the citizen.

Major Publications

Japan's International Relations (coauthor), Routledge, 2012 (third edition).

Decoding Boundaries in Contemporary Japan. The Koizumi Administration and Beyond, (editor) Routledge, 2011.

Global Governance and Japan: the institutional architecture (coeditor), Routledge, 2007

Contested Governance in Japan: Sites and Issues (editor, 2005, Routledge Curzon).

Japan and Okinawa: Structure and Subjectivity (co-editor), London, Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Microregionalism and World Order (co-editor), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Abstracts (in alphabetical order)**Mrs Márta Bartha-Rigó (Corvinus University of Budapest)*****The factors of Chinese security***

The definition of security has changed a lot since 1648. It has widened and deepened together with the changes in the international system. In the post-cold-war area some scholars distinguish the levels of the security, namely individual, state and global security. The state has got quite a difficult position in this triangle, how to solve the balance among the three levels. The People's Republic of China tries to put itself in this system as well which may be more essential to Beijing to cope with because the state's survival is in the focus. The paper is going to analyse the different levels in the Chinese security in order to introduce the Chinese „version” of security and the main motivation behind the Chinese foreign relations. The author tries to set up a new model for the research, the so called Trinity of the factors. In this trinity the state, the society and international relations are going to be examined, what connections they have among each other and how to influence each other. The purpose of this new model is to show the Chinese steps behind multilateralism which are hand in hand with the security.

Mr Lukasz Blonski (University of Warsaw)***The political scene in China***

In my paper, I would like to reveal the core of the political in China. I believe that thanks to media research it is possible to portray entanglements between actors and institutions and explain how they affect the sphere of the politics and country's functioning. In order to grasp it, I am using a method of discourse analysis, carrying out research on daily newspapers. Discourse in China serves as performative - every media expression is being controlled by CPC authorities and it almost always serves as expression of their will. Media operates as doxa, but also creates the very border of conflict - space where powers of heterodoxy (society, free expression) and orthodoxy (the authority) are fighting for legitimization. By analyzing the discourse on central and local levels it is possible to see what different techniques particular Chinese leaders adopt and how they try to construct narratives around certain events that are later translated to institutional solutions. Such research should be enriched with an analysis of the personal network, interest groups, „princeling” connections, and individual backgrounds of the highest authorities. It both provides amazing insight into the dynamics of elite politics and also reaffirms the importance of personal networks in PRC's politics. Provided that it is backed by discourse analysis, it allows to observe the change which takes places in Chinese politics.

Dr Beata Bochorodycz (Adam Mickiewicz University)***Hashimoto Cabinet and the Problem of the Military Bases in Okinawa***

The problem of the relocation of the Futenma military air station from the densely populated area in Ginowan city in Okinawa has been a difficult and contested issue in Japanese domestic and foreign affairs since at least 1996. President Clinton and PM Hashimoto decided then on the relocation within 5-7 years and the construction of the Futenma Replacement Facility (FRF) within the prefecture, although initially majority of local citizens expected the relocation to be

outside Okinawa. 19 years later there is no prospect for implementation, especially after the electoral victory of the anti-base governor Onaga Takeshi in November 2014. The local protests seem as the most important factor preventing the construction of FRF in Henoko, north-western part of the main island of Okinawa. Why is the local protest, however, not a sufficient factor for stopping the construction and altering the original decision? Who makes decisions in regard to the US military bases in Japan? Is that the Prime Minister, the parliamentarians or the bureaucrats from the North American Bureau in the Foreign Ministry? These are the basic research questions, which will be focused on, with a special attention given to the decision making process under Prime Minister Hashimoto, since it is under his leadership that the issue was set on the agenda and decided upon. Furthermore, this case study is to allow a comparison with numerous studies of the process under Hatoyama Cabinet.

Mr Adrian Brona (Jagiellonian University)

Xi Jinping's Political Position as a Result of Legalization of PRC's Political System

Xi Jinping is often described as much more influential leader of the People Republic of China than his predecessors – Hu Jintao and Jiang Zemin. His quick consolidation of power may be attributed to a few factors. First of them is Xi Jinping's connection with Jiang Zemin, powerful leader who keep a lot of influence. Second is being so called "princeling", descendant of the Communist Party of China. Third is weakness of Hu Jintao, who failed to help his protégés in securing high governmental and party offices. The paper argue, that apart of those factors, Xi Jinping's political position is a result of legalization of PRC's political system. China political thought since ancient times was shaped mostly by two competitive schools: Confucianism and Legalism. First of them opted for harmonious society and emperor as virtuous example to follow. Second emphasizes on giving great power to the ruler who shouldn't be controlled by legal system. Those two schools was often combined into one called "confulegalism", with one of them having greater impact than the other on the nature of state. The paper explain post-1989 political development in PRC as shifting toward more Legal and less Confucian order with power centralized in hands of the one person through holding many high political posts and centralization of decision-making, which eventually may lead to marginalization of the concept of collective leadership.

Ms Oana Burcu (University of Nottingham)

The role of nationalism in China's foreign policy towards Japan

During the last decade the number of studies discussing the rise of Chinese nationalism has increased. However, little has been written on the relationship between Chinese nationalism and its foreign policy. This paper discusses the role of nationalism on China's foreign policy towards Japan, in relation to 2010 and 2012 Diaoyu/Senkaku islands dispute. The analysis involves a three step flow process: triggers of nationalism, mechanisms of influence, and the impact on foreign policy; within each of these steps the predominant trigger, mechanism and impact from 2010 and 2012 events is identified and placed into a comparative analysis. Chinese nationalism is understood as the interaction between bottom-up and top-down forces, where the former is represented by activists, netizens and public opinion, and the later by officials and foreign policymakers. Primary data representing both forces was collected through interviews with academics, researchers, journalists, activists and participants to protests. Critical discourse analysis was ran on secondary data collected from authoritative sources such as People's Daily and semi-authoritative sources such as local and national publications. Preliminary findings

suggest that triggers of nationalism were stronger in 2012 when military state actors became vocal in their warnings towards Japan; threats to identity and the nation also motivated the public and policymakers discourses. Among key mechanisms of influence, protests, boycotts and backchannels were key to pressurising the Chinese Government to stand firm against Japan. The paper concludes with discussions on the mixed impact that these findings had on China's foreign policy.

Dr Armstrong Chen (King & Wood Mallesons)

The Free Trade Zones in China

Since 2001, Shanghai has proposed to construct the city to be "four centers", namely the international economics center, the international finance center, the international trading center and international shipping center, which has received widespread attention. The development of the financial industry plays a crucial role in the establishment of "international shipping center". And after the establishment of Shanghai Free Trade Zone ("FTZ") , a series of reform measures have been taken, which will greatly promote the construction of Shanghai to be the international shipping center.

Ms Huang Chen-Chen (Tamkang University)

The necessity and possibility for Taiwan to join ASEM

ASEM(Asia-Europe Meeting) is an informal summit organized by the heads of states from European countries and Asian countries every two year, and its main object is to promote and the comprehensive development of the partnership between Europe and Asia by the free dialogues of politics, economic cooperation, and cultural interaction. At present, ASEM is the highest level dialogue institution between Europe and Asia which represents the Europe can affect the Asia-Pacific affairs, and by ASEM, Europe can not only build the closer relationship with Asia, but also can have a greater influence to world. However, since the ASEM was set, Taiwan is never between invited to join it because of the strong pressure which is caused by Continental China and for this reason, Taiwan is out of the process of the cooperation of the Europe-Asia cooperation and interaction that to be in the crisis of being eliminated, and this is a implicit enormous worry for Taiwan to develop urgently the exterior relations with Europe countries. This essay will be started with the ASEM setting background, characteristics, and the China's role in ASEM, then will be leaded to the impact and the importance that ASEM caused to Taiwan, and the analysis of the Taiwan's role in contemporary world, the end will provide with the solutions to strengthen and deepen the exterior relations between Europe and Taiwan, and to firm the exterior relations in the Asian zone.

Mr Chung-Yu Chiu (University of Lodz)

The Conceptualization of "Overseas Chinese Community" from the Perspective of Post-Modernism - "Chinatowns in Europe"

The Overseas Chinese lived in more than 20 different European countries, especially in France, Britain and Netherlands. They built the third culture in foreign soil. Chinatown was flexible and typical model. Even so, it still is the imperfect replication of real Chinese culture. In this case study, fragmentation and reproduction of Overseas Chinese culture, Chinatown is not only the market, but also a display of the third culture coexisting with the real one in the world. In order to

understand 'the nostalgia, transnationalism and nowadays of Overseas Chinese', author will discuss it by the concept of 'Depthlessness and Rupture' of Post-Modernism. Chinatown was the castle for providing the protection to Chinese immigrants and the refuge before, now it is changing. In the late of 20 century, more foreigners walk into Chinatown and appreciate that what the Chinese culture is. And it is the common memory of Chinese culture to Overseas Chinese and the students studying abroad, and also still the first choice to understand Chinese traditional conventions to the foreigners.

Mr Dominik Cholewski (University of Lodz)

A need for more transparency in the Pacific: an analysis of Australian and the People's Republic of China's Defence White Papers

It is a well documented element, that China is becoming an ever increasing presence in the Pacific. For states that are situated in the area, and with vested interests, this of course poses many questions as to what the Middle Kingdom is doing in the area. Australia is just one of those states that since the early 1990s has been keeping an eye on China's rise, economically, politically, and militarily. It is this last aspect that in recent years has begun to unnerve Australia, who is preoccupied with China's military modernisation. The paper will present an analysis of Australia and China's Defence White Papers, pinpointing the key differences in how the two states view each other and their actions in the region. Though China publishes its defence white papers quite prolifically, they are vague when it comes to its intentions in the region, especially in the areas in which Australia deems itself a guarantor and stabiliser. On the hand Australia's white papers address the issue directly, stating its intentions towards China is an open manner; whereas China, with its use of buzzwords and overarching statements, is vague if anything. Thus, Australia is left in a position where it does not know where it or the region stands in China's greater plan.

Dr Robert Czulda (University of Lodz)

China – Iran Relations. Towards a Strategic Partnership?

Despite President Hasan Rouhani's promise to end international isolation, Iran remains a state with a short list of friends and allies. One of them is China, which has been increasing its influence projection beyond the region of East Asia and seeking new partners. China remains Iran's strongest advocate in the UN Security Council and a supplier of selected technologies – both civilian and military. At the same time, Iran could become China's even more important supplier of energy resources and a doorway to the Middle East. Both states have much in common, including a long-lasting desire to increase its self-reliance and geopolitical influence. Those elements, as well as Iran's worsening economic situation and an urgent need for new technologies, might boost bilateral relations. This paper aims at presenting the current level of Iran-China relations, including the role of China in Iranian foreign policy. Also, its goal is to answer a question – can both states become strategic partners if a nuclear accord with P5+1 is reached?

Ms Joanna Dobkowska (University of Warsaw)

Is the marriage still of convenience? The prospects of Australia-ASEAN relations

While Australia is celebrating 40 years of partnership with ASEAN, the quality of this relation is evoking some doubts. On the one hand, described as 'a marriage of convenience', the partnership seems to lack positive engagement from Australia which is focused rather on securing its ties with the major players in the region: the United States, China, Japan, and India. On the other hand, many scholars point out that this attitude is a weakness of Australian foreign policy and tightening the ties with ASEAN could prove a good solution to the dilemma of the growing Sino-American rivalry.

At the beginning of the fifth decade of their cooperation it is worth considering though if ASEAN is indeed such a good potential partner to Australia. While the most frequently cited reasons for the underdeveloped cooperation are misperceptions and cultural misunderstandings, they seem to be only an element – albeit an important one – of the complex matrix of interests Australia has in the Southeast Asia. The aim of this paper is to examine Australian interests towards ASEAN – and its member states – to determine if the closer partnership with the Association would indeed be beneficial in the long term, and which role does Southeast Asia play in the Australian vision of Asia-Pacific.

Dr Przemysław Furgacz (College of Business and Entrepreneurship in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski)

The economic relations of the United States and China over the decade 2005-14

Over the last decade extraordinarily important and substantial changes took place in global economy. Many of them related to occurrences, developments and processes happening both within the Peoples' Republic of China, the United States and between these two biggest world economies. According to the experts of the International Monetary Fund, China in 2014 overtook the United States as the world's largest economy measured in overall GDP adjusting for power purchase parity. This is an occurrence of giant economic and political significance. It would not be an exaggeration to state that economic relations of China and the United States are nowadays the most important for economic prosperity of the whole globe. In the paper the author is going to focus on U.S. and China economic relations in the last 10 years with particular attention to trade and financial matters.

Mr Ladislav Galo (Slovak Academy of Sciences)

China's "checkbook diplomacy" and new financial bodies

New trends of the 21st century are constantly showing us notable rise of some states mainly in the Eastern regions of the world, which are progressively requesting bigger part in the global power. People's Republic of China is the most significant one of these countries. The power of this state is based primarily on its geographical and demographical size and on its constantly growing economy and that is why China continuously wants to participate on the defining of the global international politics and on influencing the world economy. It mostly reflects in the field of trade- and investment policy of this country, because thanks to the successful economy (trade surplus, amount of foreign exchange reserves) Chinese interests are taken into account not only on a regional level. According to the Chinese historical traditions these interests are represented

throughout a kind of diplomacy, which is based on using “soft power” in foreign policy. This approach of China became well-known as the “checkbook diplomacy”. In this way Chinese government is building new partnerships with countries from all over the world and is providing investments in industry, infrastructure building, mining, finance and many other sectors. This Chinese “checkbook diplomacy” is also supported by new financial bodies both in regional (e.g. Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank) and global (e.g. BRICS New Development Bank) level.

Mr Tomasz Grzywaczewski (University of Lodz)

The secession of Bangladesh: challenging the limits of right to self-determination

Despite the passage of more than forty years since East Pakistan seceded from Pakistan in the year 1971, this event still provokes serious disputes over legality and legal nature of the emergence of modern Bangladesh state. The aim of this paper is to examine what lessons for the contemporary international order might be learnt from this exceptional case of secession in the name of self-determination outside the salt-water decolonization context, which led to the creation of widely recognized sovereign state. The presentation shed the light on the different legal facets of Bangladeshis struggle for independence. The speech put the special attention on the alleged genocide of people of Bangladesh by Pakistan army as the prerequisite for the admissibility of secession. At the same time it will discuss the legal questions arising over the military intervention of Indian forces backing the anti-Pakistan insurgents as an action taken in self-defence and therefore justified under the Charter of United Nations. Finally the paper concludes that the Bangladesh case provides important guidelines for determining the limits of right to self-determination, when juxtaposed with the principle of territorial integrity. These boundaries become of the paramount importance for international security system in the second decade of XXI century due to the increasing number of different secessionist movements, notably in the Eastern Ukraine and other post-soviet states.

Dr Pavel Hlavacek (University of West Bohemia)

Comparing Vietnamese and Philippines reaction to Chinese activities in South China Sea

Vietnam and Philippines are two countries that have territorial disputes with China (PRC) over the control of certain islands in South China Sea. In the last 20 years these disputes occasionally erupted in military clashes with many casualties. Therefore, recent Chinese activities in the South China Sea once again open the question, how small actors may react to the rise of Great Powers (in this case the PRC). In my contribution, I would like to compare reactions of Vietnam and Philippine governments. Particularly, I would like focus on their "hedging strategies". I will demonstrate that both strategies differ quite significantly: while options of Vietnam remains limited because of geographical proximity to China, Philippines have more alternatives, including alliance with US against China.

Ms Amrita Jash (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

China at Crossroads with Japan over Diaoyu Islands: A Study of Historical Memories in Shaping Foreign Policy

China and Japan face a standoff over the sovereignty of five islets and three rocks in the East China Sea, known as the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands. The island dispute has brought the relations to a new low. China’s reactive assertiveness towards Japan over the islands is mainly argued from the

maritime security and economic interests. But China's growing forceful attitude makes the dispute much more complicated. There is a strong sentimental rhetoric attached that acts upon China's assertiveness. This can be analysed by examining China's perceptions of Japan based on its historical memories as the strong Chinese historical consciousness makes the dispute more than a case of the realist claims of sovereignty.

In this context, this paper critically analyses China's reactive assertiveness towards Japan over the islands by exploring China's perceptions of Japan. The central argument of the paper is that the reason for the subsistence of this territorial conflict is neither the economic nor the strategic value of the islands, but rather the emotional component it possess for China that defies the rational calculation of economic and political interests. It is because the Chinese perceptions born out of historical memories (Japanese aggression) that contribute to the threat perceptions in the present and that the perceived threat gets translated directly into a preference for a strong foreign policy behaviour towards Japan.

Mr Tomasz Jurczyk (University of Lodz)

Regional development in EU-China sub-national relations: the case of Lodz-Chengdu relations

Traditionally most city-to-city and region-to-region international relations focused on cultural and educational exchanges. Even those declaring facilitation of business links in many cases were simply offering a contact platform for entrepreneurs. Lodz-Chengdu cooperation offers an interesting case in EU-China sub-national relations as it evolved around the train connection linking both cities, and had been further strengthened by Lodzkie-Sichuan relations, with all parties involved sharing ambitions in building logistics hubs and industrial zones in their respective countries. In a sense, it resulted in the EU and Chinese regional development policies coming into contact with each other. This paper aims in examining Lodz-Chengdu relations from the perspective of regional development, and role of it in EU-China sub-national relations. Motives, tools and processes will be taken into consideration.

Mr Mirosław Jurdeczka (Warsaw School of Economics)

National Innovation System of Taiwan: From catching up to forging ahead

Taiwan is one of the greatest examples of medium size country innovation driven economy. Taiwanese government was involved heavily in building country industrialization policies and starting from the 1981 it decided to heavily focus on modernization and promoting investments in high technology sector. The importance of government driven national innovation systems can be seen easily through one of the most influential Taiwanese organisation Industrial Technology Research Institute. Indeed, the current leading Taiwanese semiconductor wafer fabrication firms, TSMC and UMC, were both spun off from technologies acquired through ITRI.

By this presentation I want to present how Taiwan developed its leading position in ICT sector, and how Universities, Science Parks and private sector cooperate on new frontiers of technology. One of the important aspects of promoting innovation is related to student exchange programs, that's how a latecomer economy like Taiwan can catch up to the more advanced ones and soon enough become a pioneer in its own way. I want to present the current challenges ahead of Taiwanese NIS regarding its position in Biotechnology sector. The experience Taiwan gained since

1981 and the begging of their ICT revolution is useful in building NIS for biotechnology but there is one significant difference. There is no possibility for obtaining this knowledge abroad Taiwan have to build it entirely by itself.

Mr Jerzy Kacała (University of Wrocław)

Japanese increase in military spending - what does it mean for the East Asia

The recently revealed Japanese defence budget has the highest overall value since 1997. What is more, it also marks third year in a row of steady increase in military spending, allowing Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to claim that he is, in fact, fulfilling is election promise to turn around the ongoing decrease in military spending that was happening before he assumed office in 2012. The goal of this paper is to analyse the actual scale of the changes in Japanese military spending that Shinzo Abe's government has introduced, as well as what impac those changes may have over the East Asia region, particularly in relation to the recently growing regional tensions.

Dr Marcin Kaczmarek (University of Warsaw)

Russia-China relationship: from strategic partnership to peaceful power transition

This paper argues that a peaceful power transition has taken place between Russia and China since the late-2000s. Despite growing asymmetry in material capabilities and contrary to the expectations of the majority of scholars, Moscow has decided to deepen bilateral co-operation with China, particularly in those spheres, where it stumbled before: the export of energy resources, arms sales, the development of the Russian Far East. Beijing, in turn, has exercised strategic restraint in its policies towards Russia. The importance of the Russo-Chinese power transition goes beyond the bilateral dimension and has serious implications for the international order. Not only have both states found modus vivendi in Central Asia but their global roles have evolved, with China gradually replacing Russia as the West's major interlocutor. The evolution of relations between two non-liberal great powers demonstrates that neither democratic political systems nor cultural affinity are necessary conditions for a peaceful power transition.

Dr Tomasz Kamiński (University of Lodz)

Directions of Chinese SWFs investments

The People's Republic of China has two major SWFs – the China Investment Company (CIC) and the SAFE Investment Company (SIC), a Hong Kong based subsidiary of SAFE. According to SWF Institute they command a total of US\$1.2 trillion under management. They are widely viewed as highly politicized, run in an obscure fashion and potentially dangerous for security of states that host their investments. On the basis of more than 200 transactions spanning the years 2007 -2014, I endeavor to demonstrate Chinese SWFs' investments in the world. The analyze is going to cover industrial as well as geographical distribution of the investments, also highlighting the methods of asset acquisition. The main aim of this paper is to compare investment strategies of both funds. Do they invest in similar way or rather their market behavior is different in term of sectoral and geographical scope of investments? If those differences exist, do they change the character of security threats linked with funds investment activities?

Mr Aleš Karmazin (Charles University in Prague)

The Strategy/Identity Nexus: China's and India's Approaches towards Southeast Asia

It has been acknowledged that national grand strategies have a social (normative) dimension as it could be seen, for example, in various analyses connecting grand strategy with strategic culture. As one possible way how to develop the connection between (A) social (normative, identity) dimension and (B) national strategy, this paper wants to look at China's and India's socialization into international society, which is the area thoroughly investigated by the English School of International Relations, and grand strategy. The paper is going to look at the historical aspect of China's and India's transformation into the modern state and their entry into global international society which was accomplished shortly after the WWII. Although the entry into global international society is connected to China's and India's dilemmas and sets of questions which have informed China's and India's global grand strategy and which have been re-emerging since then, the paper wishes to explore how the nexus between (A) socialization into the modern international order and international society and (B) grand strategy impacts on both states' approaches towards the region of Southeast Asia as the area which is highly contested (politically, economically, geographically, normatively) and which is ideal for analysing interconnections between identity and strategy. In other words, it is the area where strategy is function of identity and the other way around.

Mr Krystian Karolak (University of Lodz)

Political history and myths in China-Japan relations

Both China and Japan, being a very close neighbours, are linked to each other with common history issues, which are actually an essential problem in mutual relationship. Extremely problematic is the history from the beginning of the 20th century and also in the contemporary period, during which occurred many incidents that tarnished international relations between both countries. Among them we might indicate especially the treaty of Shimonoseki, massacre of Nanjing citizens in the second Sino-Japanese war and outbreak of the cultural revolution in China. Besides those aspects that were mentioned earlier, there are also territorial contestations, controversial visits of Japanese prime ministers in the Yasukuni shrine and nationalism amid Chinese and Japanese. Author during his speech would like to explore government rhetoric and usage of political myths and history, in order to clearly explain some aspects that were given to the society. For example in the case of Japan, history books were rewritten to forget the atrocities, aggressions, rapes. Everything in order to whitewash the actions of the Empire of Japan during World War II. It also seems to be on the lips of many politicians from the ruling party, who are trying to neglect the responsibility of their country.

Dr Marta Kosmala-Kozłowska (Collegium Civitas)

The Normative Dimension of the New Silk Road

The concept of the New Silk Road in both overland and maritime dimensions, or “One Belt, One Road” as it is now dubbed, has emerged over the last two years as a cornerstone of Chinese policies in and across Eurasia. It has received increasing Chinese support in institutions and funding, as well as has attracted increasing international attention and pledges of participation from many states in both Europe and Asia relevant to its success. However, the analyses of the

New Silk Road's gathering momentum have largely focused on its geopolitical and geoeconomic dimensions, whereas what seems equally important given the historical role of its namesake is the flow of norms and ideas that could occur with its emergence. The paper is therefore focusing on what values, primarily related to domestic political order and development, but also to the broader model of conducting international relations across Eurasia, that are associated with the plan. A popular view that requires critical scrutiny in this paper is that China uses the New Silk Road as a vehicle to recreate a form of tributary order at the expense of liberal one that have originated in the West.

Dr Anett Kozjek-Gulyás (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

The Chinese world view, human trust, satisfaction, human behavior, life purposes and value system of Chinese communities

The lecture summarizes the results of a survey research performed in a rural small town of China and Hungarian Chinese community. The explorative research compares the results of the Chinese sample and Hungarian Chinese sample to similar data of the European communities of the ESS (European Social Survey, Round 6, 28 countries) in six research topics: world view, human trust, satisfaction, human behavior, the purpose of life and human values. In the center of the world section the Chinese responders' opinion is that Beijing has the greatest charisma, the biggest influence from a cultural perspective, and also from the aspects of politics, new ideas and new technologies. The results of my Chinese research show that Chinese people are considerably more trustworthy and helpful than their European counterparts. The Chinese are most satisfied with their own country, but they rate the economic status of their country also at a prestigious place. They are least satisfied with the status of healthcare and education. The general satisfaction of people included in my Chinese sample is considerably higher than the average of the Europeans. According to the Chinese data, the most important value is the safety of their mother country, followed by the ambitious values of the world of beauties, freedom, family safety, politeness, respect for others.

Mr Andrzej Kozłowski (University of Lodz)

China's Cybersecurity Strategy – how the Rising Dragon perceives cyberspace.

Most of the news and articles related to activity of China in virtual domain touch the issues of robust cyberespionage campaign. However, the Chinese approach to cyberspace is far more complex and not only limited to stealing the most valuable data. The significance of this domain was stressed by the new elected president Xi Jinping's during the first meeting of Central Network Security and Informatization Leading Small Group and it was a signal of a new-high-level prioritization of cyber major strategic initiative. China has been developing a cohesive strategy in virtual domain perceiving it as a crucial in its economic, political and military development and tends to compete the United States on this area. This article is aimed at presenting the Chinese way of thinking about the cyberspace by describing the main motivations, incentives, objectives of its activity in virtual domain and tries to define the strategic interest of China in cyberspace. It is presenting and considering the China's Network Security Strategy and the current activity of China in virtual domain. In last part it focuses on the Chinese interpretation of U.S. activity in cyberspace with the particular question why these two countries could not find common language in mutual dialogue and have had problems with establishing the bilateral dialogue.

Prof. Krzysztof Kozłowski (Warsaw School of Economics)

Whose Taiwan – Sunflower Movement, Taiwan Political Scene and Cross-Strait Relations

The paper will concern the recent developments in Taiwanese internal politics, the emerging Taiwanese identity and their influence on cross-strait relations. On one hand, Taiwan policymakers have to answer the question concerning the framework of the future talks with the Mainland. The answer may jeopardize their position in coming elections. On the other hand, PRC authorities understand that the full potential of Taiwan–PRC relations based on status quo is already reached. In the coming future Chinese preferences may not be as easily taken into consideration as they were under Ma Ying-jeou Presidency. As the opportunities for integration within the existing ECFA framework dry out, the time is coming for a political decisions on their future. March 2014 has shown how potentially controversial these are. Sunflower Protests highlighted the major characteristics of Taiwanese democracy which are particularly important in context of Taiwan-PRC relations. These include: Taiwanese democracy is too strong not to be taken into account in high level diplomacy between Taipei and Beijing; Modes of thought of the most of established Taiwanese politicians have been changing too slowly since the end of the Martial Law to fully match the modern social reality of the Island; despite KMT failure in local elections in 2014 the Taiwanese political scene lacks effective opposition. The study is based on field research conducted during Taiwan Fellowship stay in Taipei between March and July 2014.

Dr Piotr Kozłowski (National Defence University in Warsaw)

Multilateralising Japan's Security Policy: Abe's Two-Level Game

There have been profound changes in Japanese foreign and security policy since Abe Shinzo came to power in Japan in 2012 that have moved Japan away from the precepts of post-war international engagement. Many of them are linked to the notion of expanding Japan's security ties beyond their bilateral alliance with the US while concurrently fostering multilateral engagements involving both the US and Japan. Under the doctrine of 'proactive contribution to peace' those changes increasingly endow Japan in attributes of normal power: offensive capabilities, intelligence, capacity to react to threats in cyberspace and outer space, arms exports, which grant increasing substance to multilateral security ties. The hurdles in finding authorisation and ways to implement those changes are in large part domestic, reaching from legal-institutional to political and economic, to societal. Given for how long they have been effective in stemming major change in Japan's foreign and security policy it is astounding that under Abe's leadership they have been occurring at such a rapid pace. The paper offers and explanation to the question how this overhaul has been possible by using Robert Putnam's concept of two-level game. Its author argues. through applying the concept to case studies of processes of security policy change in Japan. that Abe's government has skilfully managed to use, abuse or even construct external leverage to enforce acceptance for policy adjustments at home.

Mr Tomasz Lachowski (University of Lodz)

Another 'forgotten genocide'? The 1984 Sikh Massacres under international legal scrutiny

Crimes without accountability strengthens the impunity of wrongdoers. Crimes not addressed properly – with adequate legal tools – lead to forgetting and burying the memory and dignity of murdered people 'together' with buried victims. One of the most unknown massacres of XX

century remains the 1984 pogrom of Sikhs, organized and undertaken by the Indian army. Operation Blue Star of June 1984 was launched in order to remove the Sikh separatists from the Golden Temple, the holy place for Sikhs, based in the city of Amritsar, Punjab, which was occupied by the insurgents since 1982. The main aim of the paper is to examine whether the 1984 Sikh massacre (and subsequent events, including the consequences of the assassination of the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi) can be qualified as a genocide – or any other massive human rights violation belonging to the *international core crimes* group – under international law. The question whether the 1984 pogroms fall within the ambit of the notion of *international core crimes* seems to be relevant since such crimes are not subject to the statute of limitations, thus the direct perpetrators of the massacres shall be still prosecuted and punished. What is more, it remains a legal responsibility of the Indian authorities to commence the legal proceedings against the wrongdoers. Last, but not least, India, as legally responsible for conducting the 1984 Operation Blue Star is under a legal duty to make reparations for victims of a tragedy, including admitting its accountability and acknowledging the suffering of those killed and injured.

Dr Michal Lubina (Jagiellonian University)

U.S. Pivot to Burma: a Failure or a Success Story?

One of the most interesting aspects of post-2011 U.S. pivot to Asia has been Washington's policy towards Burma/Myanmar. Until 2011 US policy towards Rangoon (later: Naypyidaw) was based on moral grounds: supporting democracy and human rights. Since 2011, however, the growing Chinese dominance in Southeast Asia has forced Washington to react. The policy towards Burma became more pragmatic, nuanced and conciliatory. The question is whether it was more effective? Since 2011 Burma became one the Obama's administration pivot to Asia's hallmarks. Frequent visits to Burma of important US officials, including twice president Obama himself, growing economic engagement in Burma, and – unimaginable before – military cooperation with the Tatmadaw (Burmese army), all symbolize the changing face of US policy towards Burma. In public it was justified by political reforms in Burma (release of political prisoners, free by-elections, ceasefire with ethnic guerillas etc.). In reality, it was all made to contain growing Chinese influences in this part of the world. President Obama himself declared his Burma policy a great success. This paper will try to prove that consequences of U.S. pivot to Burma, are first are foremost the success of Burmese generals. They liberated themselves from the odium of "cruel regime", still hold the power and are able to balance American in Chinese influence to their own benefits.

Mr Shingo Masunaga (Tallinn University)

Japan's emerging nationalism and its influences to conceptual multilateral security framework in the Asia-Pacific region

In April 2014, Public Security Information Agency (PSIA), an intelligence service of Japan, mentioned emerging xenophobia among Japanese as a threat to domestic peace and order for the first time in its annual report 2013. Indeed, Japanese nationalism had recently transformed into 'xenophobia'. Traditional 'Black-van' right wings of Japan who adores imperial family, proclaims true independence of Japan from the U.S. and taking back disputed Kuril islands from Russia are about to be replaced by far radical 'civil' right wings like 'Zaitokukai' (The Citizens Group That Will Not Forgive Special Privileges for Zainichi Koreans in Japan). The 'civil' right wings root in current trend of antipathy against its neighbours in Japan. On the other hand,

Japanese government moving forward to create multilateral security framework in the Asia-Pacific region. On 6th March 2014, Shigeru Ishiba, the LDP Secretary General at the time, proclaimed to create 'Asian NATO' in the context of Japan's revision of Right of Collective Self-Defence (RCSA). In consequence, it is rational for Japan's neighbours such as China and South Korea to be cautious against the movement toward creation of Japan-led. multilateral security framework in the Asia-Pacific region besides emerging nationalism/xenophobia in Japan as it definitely reminds them of Japan's 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' (GEACPS) during the WW2.

Dr Anna Michalak (University of Lodz)

South East Asia dilemmas of political development. Timor Leste perspective.

East Timor is the youngest of the countries of Southeast Asia, building its democratic legitimacy only since 2002. Although geographically it is a small country, because of natural resources (vide: dispute with Australia over oil and gas resources) and tourism values (vide: the Indonesian plans of tourism infrastructure development), it is seen as an important (easy to handle) partner to other - more developed - countries in the region. Given the difficult journey to regain sovereignty, this young democracy is still facing problems that neighboring countries solved in the middle of the last century (eg. construction of the nation, the creation of state structures, enacting the rule of law). These difficulties had resulted in civilization, financial and social dissimilarity of Timor Leste in comparison to other countries in the region. As a result they created the difficulties for Timor Leste to be accepted as a member of ASEAN structures. The aim of the article is to present the way of Timor-Leste to join ASEAN, the road which has not yet finished, but contrary to expectations, is likely to end in success.

Prof. Dominik Mierzejewski (University of Lodz)

Is China local? The discourse on paradiplomacy in China

The paper aims to presents the different approach to China's foreign policy. As broaden public acknowledge China's "go global" strategy involves new actor in Mainland China foreign activities. To some extent the Chinese central government used the local to channel all this activities like it the case of Guangdong-ASEAN or Western China-Central Europe relations. in this context the paradiplomacy (sub-national actors) is relatively new phenomena in international relations. the key question to be answered in the paper is whether Chinese scholars perceive paradiplomacy as an important pillar of China's foreign activities and to what extent the activity might play a role in shaping Beijing's foreign policy? The author analyzes basic nations of paradiplomacy, the basic characteristic points of sub-national cooperation and the role played by local foreign activities in China's foreign policy.

Mr Artur Modliński (University of Lodz)

The guanxi concept in the Internet era. The challenges for international business relationship in China.

The objective of the article is to analyze the role of Internet in the business communication between Chinese and European partners taking into consideration the Guanxi concept of relationship building. Hammond & Glenn (2004) suggest that the Guanxi practices are becoming

the fundamentals for the modern Social Media which have developed by dint of the millennial tradition of China. However, the idea presented by the authors seem to be too simplistic and idealistic. The contacts in the real life and through Internet are differing and virtual communication is provoking a lot of misunderstandings and constraints even among the business partners from the same culture. For this reason, there must be analyzed the assumptions of Guanxi concept in the area of business relationships and then, such principals must be confronted with modern theoretical approaches developed by communication and marketing science. The author is focusing on the deontological, axiological and teleological perspective of the phenomena, taking into consideration the most up-to-date concepts in international business communication. Finally, the author is proving the juxtaposition of suggestions and comments which can serve as the practical insight into the relationship building between China and its European partners from the business perspective.

Mr Marcin Obroniecki (Bank Zachodni WBK)

China's sovereign wealth funds' (SWFs) versus Gulf Cooperation Council's (GCC) countries' SWFs' investment patterns: a comparison

Out of the 10 biggest SWFs in terms of assets under management, as many as 3 (including the Hong Kong Monetary Authority) come from China, which makes the country a key origin of worldwide SWFs investments. However, in order to properly understand the specificity of China's SWFs' presence, it is necessary to compare it globally with other SWFs' investment behaviours, and especially with the investments of GCC SWFs, which represent 4 of the 10 biggest SWFs. The aim of the presentation will be to present the similarities and analyze the differences between China's and GCC's SWFs' investment patterns.

Mr Mateusz Piątkowski (University of Lodz)

Uav's operations over Pakistan in the light of the international humanitarian law

Since 2001 the U. S operations in Afghanistan extended broadly the range of its activity in the Afghanistan's neighbouring states. Pursuing the 'unlawful combatants' U. S military used their latest developments - like the Unnamed Aerial Vehicles to directly hit the troop staging areas. The intelligence data quickly revealed that the insurgency had been widely organised by the supporting groups in the Pakistan. Soon, the shield of border and Pakistani sovereignty has become a myth, while under the secret acceptance of the government, U. S military started to engage and destroy the terrorist cells in Pakistan. Many experts considered it as grave violation of norms of the international public law, while some of the aerial operations accidentally targeted the non-combatants. In this aspect arise multiple question concerning the international humanitarian law The laws and customs of war apply with the existence of the armed conflict - judicial decisions of the International Criminal Court for former Yugoslavia required to distinguish a threshold of the intensity - does the Pakistan became a territory for the armed conflict which had its origins in the Afghanistan? What *ius in bello* laws would apply in case of UAV's operation? The aim of the presentation is to cross-examine the relevant rules and customs of international humanitarian law concerning the use of unnamed technology over Pakistan soil.

Mr Miloš Procházka (Comenius University in Bratislava)

A collapse of Democratic People's Republic of Korea: a way the non-governmental actors could be involved

A prediction of North Korean collapse expected to happen after the end of the Cold war was supposedly made on wrong assumptions. It seems that the North Korean regime remains (outwardly) stable today and the changes in international situation together with sanctions against the regime didn't contribute to its collapse. But what is the probability that the North Korean regime will survive another decade? Many experts tend to believe that the regime under Kim Jong-un has embarked on the path of reforms and this will enable him to ensure the continued persistence next decade or two. Despite of the proclaimed stability there are certain signs that North Korean regime is gradually declining. But, it is evident that the main actors in East Asia, namely USA, China, Japan, Russia and South Korea, are not well prepared for possible, but most likely, collapse of North Korea. There is no common approach toward North Korea because every player defends its own interests, often contradictory. Moreover, within past 25 years we have witnessed how diplomacy with regard to North Korea failed across the board. Korean Peninsula is nor safer nor it is more economically stable. In addition to the nation state influence, the non-state actors have irreplaceable role in the process too. The goal is to explore two aspects of the involvement of non-state actors in the collapse of the DPRK - in preparation for and in the course of probable collapse itself.

Ms Runya Qiaoan (Masaryk University)

There Is No Such Thing as a Free Lunch? - Re-examining the Chinese State-Civil Society Relations Through a Case Study of "Free Lunch"

On October 26th, 2011, State Council of China launched the Rural Compulsory Education Nutrition Improvement Program to cover lunches of approximately 26 million students from 680 Chinese cities by an annual appropriation of 16 billion RMB. This move of central government is widely considered as catalysed by Free Lunch for Children, which is a project initiated by Deng Fei, a renowned journalist, together with 500 journalists, to advocate donations for lunches of children in rural China. How could a social project like Free Lunch that started on such a big scale and operated with an advocacy nature be allowed to exist in authoritarian China and how could its advocacy even be answered by Chinese central government? This paper is going to analyse the case of Free Lunch For Children and try to figure out what implications on state - civil society relations we can draw from this very case. After examining the Autonomous-Adversary Model, the Corporatist Model, and the Consultative-Authoritarianism Model of state-society relations, the paper argues that we are witnessing a paradigm shift from corporatist model to consultative authoritarian model in terms of Chinese state - civil society relations not only on the local level, but also on the central level.

Dr Cecilia Ronahati (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

Is ARF a Talking Shop or a Regional Security Organisation?

The two main approaches for security questions of Southeast Asia are complete opposites: one states, that the so-called integration process is not effective, the other describes an upsurging region with growing capacity on efficient policy-making and security opportunities. Both

approaches analyze the role of ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) in the present and future security cooperation of the Southeast Asian region. This paper examines the ARF from two basic points of view: First, the paper will look over the main reasons and interests at the moment of the foundation of the ARF and the way to develop its institutional background (as much as it has). Also it will count the former priorities in the ASEAN security dialogue. Then, - using a sharp comparative method - the paper shows and examines the differences between what the ASEAN security community assumes, following the ASEAN political and Security Blueprint, and those, which the ARF assumes, following the ARF Concept Paper and documents. Since the main argument pro and/or contra a successful ARF is usually in connection with its wide membership, the paper chooses a different way to measure the cooperation: the analysis will focus on the multilateral documents signed to be undertaken by the nations of the Southeast Asian region. Comparing the commitments of ASEAN Security Community and ARF this paper is searching for the answer: which - if any - describes more an efficient security cooperation?

Dr Mateusz Smolaga (the graduate of PhD studies at the Faculty of Journalism and Political Studies - University of Warsaw)

Emerging donors in South, South-East and East Asia from a regional and global perspective

South Asia, East Asia and South-East Asia have a significant number of recipients of development assistance, including the Least Developed Countries. The importance of this part of the world in terms of global trade and geopolitics is self-evident and contributes to the reasons why major members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC), including Japan and South Korea, have a clear interest in being actively engaged in development cooperation within the region. There are, however, at least five emerging donor states, also active in the region, who operate outside the framework of the DAC. The aim of the text is to provide a brief comparative analysis of the development activities of: India, PR China, RO China, Singapore and Thailand. While the differences in scales of development assistance offered by the identified list of emerging donors might seem to be immediately apparent, the potential contributions from the 'perceived' smaller players should not be underestimated. The international system of development assistance could be enriched by the recognition of the importance of contributions made by these 'smaller' donors. The recognition of the value of all parties' contributions could go some way to addressing the trust deficit between all players not only on the regional level but also globally. To achieve this, both traditional and emerging donors should study their potential partners and, where possible, seek opportunities to strengthen their cooperation.

Mr Michał Snopek (University of Warsaw)

The dispute about Kuril Islands

The aim of the paper is to present the outline of the Japanese - Russian relations, on the issue of the Kuril Islands. The paper is divided into three parts. The first one is the presentation of the history of the disputed territories. Even considering the fact, that most of these issues are relative old, they still have a lesser or greater influence today, affecting the relations between the two countries. It is a short part, but in many aspects, really important. The second part is dedicated to present the attempts to improve relations, between the two countries, in the years following the death of Stalin. This period covers all governments since the Nikita Khrushchev, up to Vladimir Putin. At this part it will be explained, why both countries, when speaking about disputed territories, think about a different islands. It will also show, what hopes a Japanese government

had with the beginning of Vladimir Putin cadence, and whether these expectations were fulfilled. The last, third part of the paper, will be dedicated to present the current situation between these two countries. It will not only focus on the situation in the Far East, but will also be dedicated to the actions of Vladimir Putin in the European arena and their influences to relationships between the two countries.

Mr Marcin Socha (University of Lodz)

Prime Minister's Role in Shaping Japanese International Climate and Energy Policy

One of the most vivid effects of institutional changes in Japanese politics is an increased role of the prime minister as an integral actor in shaping Japanese foreign and internal policy. After institutional reform introduced on 2001 one can observe examples of increased prime minister's presence in many aspects of agenda setting and policy formulation process. One such an example is prime minister's engagement in Japanese climate policy development. During difficult ratification process of Kyoto Protocol in 2005 the opinion of prime minister Jun'ichiro Koizumi became the final voice in the disputes among ministerial organizations. Each of Koizumi's successors presented ambitious climate mitigation policy as an integral part of Japanese contribution to solving global issues. Climate contributions peaked in 2009 when prime minister Yukio Hatoyama from Democratic Party presented overtly ambitious plan of reducing Japanese CO2 emissions by 25% before 2020. After the Great East Japanese earthquake in 2011 climate policy moved to the very end of Japanese political priority list and was replaced by more urging matters concerning energy security and nuclear policy development. Prime ministers became more engaged in various initiatives concerning securing oil and LNG supplies as well as exporting Japanese nuclear and energy technologies abroad. The main aim of my presentation is to identify areas of increased prime minister's presence in Japanese foreign energy and climate strategy and determine the impact of prime minister's actions on overall Japanese energy policy formulation process.

Mr Adrian Szumowski (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University)

The Dynamics of Power within American Tributary System

In 2013, Yuen Fong Khong presented interesting paper outlining the interpretation of contemporary international system according to classical principles of Chinese political thought. According to its conclusions, late-Westphalian international order is constructed from nation-states, which forms rigid, hierarchical structure with the United States on top. Main aim of paper is to revisit this concept with inclusion of disruption of its functions. The theoretical framework for this reapproachment will be the notion of Dynamics of Power. Subsequently it will be subdivided on three sections, First is the analysis of impact of non-governmental organizations on tributary system. The most visible evidence of this phenomenon was the rise of so called Islamic State. Second is the development of mechanisms of crisis management mechanisms, as in Ukrainian crisis. Third is the centrifugal tendencies omnipresent in late-Westphalian international environment. Those deliberation will be focused around issue of Power projection mechanisms, and their evolution. Paper conclusion will be dedicated to reconstruction of American Tributary System and Dynamics of Power theory in draft of more complex theory of international relations.

Mr Richard Q. Turcsányi (Masaryk University)

What power politics? The Nature of Power Relations in the East Asia and the Position of the Republic of China (Taiwan)

The paper is examining power position of Taiwan in East Asia and strategies it has used to struggle for its foreign policy goals. By taking into account both power sources and intentions as integral parts of the concept of power, the paper allows seeing how various strategies using different sources of power scored with regards of situational outcomes. After the conceptualization and operationalization of power, the paper looks at goals of Taiwan in foreign policy and its actual accomplishments in the previous decade. It follows with an analysis of Taiwan's sources of power and offers an interpretation of the casual link between the types of power sources and situational outcomes. It is discussed that for Taiwan to effectively use its sources of power, a tacit consensus on foreign policy goals is desperately needed. Furthermore, while status quo is regarded as essentially only possibility to unite fractions of Taiwan's society, foreign policy must look beyond and try to safeguard the practical utilities of status quo for Taiwan, such as participation in relevant technically oriented international organization, providing human security in cooperation with international society, and sustaining high level interconnectedness with global economy, including fair market access to major trading partners. To achieve this, it is suggested, functioning relations with China and the real autonomy of Taiwan polity are the two corner stones for Taiwan's security, prosperity and freedom. While structural position in the region is perhaps the most important factor for Taiwan to sustain beneficial situation, it has little control over it, similarly to its disadvantaged institutional position in both global and regional international organizations. What it should and can, however, focus on, is the development of a vibrant high-skilled domestic economy, soft power appeal especially to its regional neighbors with China at the first place, and a certain level of deterrent-oriented military providing an additional maneuvering space.

Mr Rafał Tuszyński (University of Lodz)

US-China sub-national cooperation: a role model?

How Sino-American relations evolve is said to be the crucial for the 21st century world order. Yet, political understanding on the highest level may not substitute the actual understanding on the lower levels of government. In the case of US and China sub-national cooperation becomes more and more important, since stronger government-to-government ties commensurate with the growing awareness in both countries that closer cooperation at the sub-national level will improve bilateral relationship. This article aims at outlining the types of activities already under way involving sub-national authorities in the US and China (state/province (or lower) level). Although US case may be exceptional due to the federal character of the state, where particular states has taken on some of the functions of a nation-state, while China is a country of unitary character, this has also helped create something of a state model for sub-national international cooperation on many fronts. Thus it can also be argued that the model of US-China sub-national cooperation is highly developed. Should the two nations go to collectively arrive at any kind of agreement to any non-geopolitical issues, it would most certainly involve active participation of sub-national authorities from both sides. Simultaneously, strong sub-national ties may in some instances help to attain goals important to both countries on the global level.

Ms Anastasia Vishnevskaya (Free University of Berlin)

Implications of Ukraine crisis for EU-China and China-Russia relations.

One year after the annexation of Crimea Europe is not anymore what it used to be. The Ukrainian crisis, going on for more than a year now, though appears to be a regional one, has long-lasting and far-reaching international implications. Over the last couple of months numeral articles in newspapers and magazines on both sides of the Atlantic have appeared, saying, on average, “China is winning the Ukrainian conflict”. Indeed, China was able to make a beneficial gas deal with Russia, the USA got distracted from its “Pacific Turn” and had to return to Europe and European companies have searched in China for new partners in order to replace the once they have lost in Russia due to the sanctions and local economic crisis. While many Western papers are close to panic, the Russian ones sound cheerful about the Sino-Russian rapprochement. Russian foreign policy experts praise the gas deal and call China “Russia’s little sister” – a claim, demonstrating how badly the Russian expert community is detached from the reality. The question, however, remains: how far-reaching is Russia’s Chinese turn and visa-versa? Will it have serious implications for the EU? And will it pose a fundamental challenge to solving the conflict in Ukraine? In my paper I analyse Chinese and Russian official’s statements and experts contributions in order to find what long-term implications for the EU and the region this shift in Sino-Russian relations might have.

Ms Anna Walkowiak (University of Warsaw)

Chinese arms export: new tool of global foreign policy?

Arms export due to its links with the international security has both political and economic importance. On the one hand nowadays it is very difficult for the most of the states to maintain and develop their arms industry, thus securing their independence in arms production, without exporting part of it. On the other hand decisions about arms export should take into account the possible use of weapons against exporter and transfers influence on international security. Arms export could be used as foreign policy tool: creating additional links between exporters and importers, strengthening existing alliances, showing support, but also as a leverage. According to SIPRI researchers only the biggest exporters – powers are able to use arms export as policy tools. In the first decade of the 21st century China became one of the top global arms exporters and it increased range of offered military systems. At the same time China “went global”, strengthening its involvement in different regions of the world. Therefore China is in position to use its arms export as foreign policy tool and the question is if and in what way it will seize the opportunity. The purpose of this presentation is to analyze the changes in China’s arms export in the 21st century, determine, if there exist connections between transfers of Chinese arms and Beijing’s national interests and present circumstances in which China is using arms export as foreign policy tool.

Dr Piotr Wiśniewski (Warsaw School of Economics)

Asian and Gulf-Based Sovereign Wealth Funds (SWFs) as Competitors to Global Private Equity

Recent transaction related evidence demonstrates a major shift among Asian and Gulf-Based SWFs toward more investment exposure to nonpublic equity holdings. Another distinctive trend among such SWFs relates to their conspicuous emphasis on the early

stages of the private equity investment cycle (including allocations to venture capital startups). The presentation will help highlight both tendencies and will hypothesize on their ramifications for the global private equity industry and broadened access to financing by young innovative companies."

Mr Jeroen Van den Bosch (Adam Mickiewicz University)

The Personalization of Power in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea: Part 1 – Internal Regime Decline.

North Korea is the last totalitarian regime left on this planet. Unlike Soviet Russia under Iosif Stalin or the People's Republic of China under Mao Zedong, North Korea has been ruled by the Kim Family since its inception. Unlike the former, personalization of power has only increased. This paper compares the little information we have on personalized totalitarian regimes and their transitions to authoritarianism and combines it with the insights from political regimes theories about the dynamics and impact of personal rule over time. The authors will try to prove that this increase of personal power actually has been weakening the regime over time, and could be the cause of its internal disintegration. (The lecture will be completed by Part 2 – Foreign Policy Dilemmas, which focuses on the impact of this trend on North Korea's foreign relations.)

Dr Rafal Wisniewski (Adam Mickiewicz University)

The Personalization of Power in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea: Part 2 – Foreign Policy Dilemmas (with Jeroen Van den Bosch)

All non-democratic regimes (both totalitarian and authoritarian) have much more incentives to try to control or manipulate their relations to other states and international organizations in order to insulate themselves from external influences and threats. The PDRK has been an extreme case of self-isolation within the international arena. Based on the theories of linkage and leverage (Levitsky & Way, Tolstrup, et al.) the authors will analyze to which extent this isolation is a result of the Kim family's internal drive to maintain absolute personal power. Moreover the authors will show that the personalization of internal power severely limits the foreign policy choices of the regime, curtailing any prospects for development, stabilization and has even put the regime on a path dependency to self-destruction. (The lecture complements Part 1 – Internal Regime Decline, which focuses on the impact of this trend on North Korea's internal regime stability.)

Mr Paweł Wiszniuk (University of Lodz)

Ignoring the Constitution? Vote-value Disparity in Japanese House of Representatives Elections

The aim of the presentation is to analyze the problem of vote-value disparity in Japan, focusing on the elections to the House of Representatives. Despite overrepresentation in one-seat constituencies, Liberal Democratic Party also benefits from malapportionment. Although democracy should be based on equality, even under pressure of the judiciary, ruling party doesn't seem to be interested in proper reform. Different courts ruled latest three elections unconstitutional, or, to be precise, "in unconstitutional state". Recent changes were insufficient, and the problem is still alive. Further questions relate to the role of demographic changes, that may force elites to reform the shape and size of constituencies.

Mrs Wrenn Yennie Lindgren (The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)

Japan and Russia's Energy Embrace: here to stay?

Since the triple disaster in Japan in 2011, the energy dimension of Japan-Russia relations in the Russian Far East (RFE) has developed substantially. The integration of the energy markets of the world's top liquefied natural gas (LNG) importer, Japan, and major energy exporter, Russia, has paralleled a warmer bilateral political climate and been accelerated by Russia's turn to the East. In the aftermath of the Ukraine crisis, the globe's energy landscape has been significantly altered and both Russia and Japan face new constraints economically and in terms of bilateral cooperation. While Japan and Russia have managed to maintain dialogue and energy cooperation despite Japan's membership in the sanctions regime, questions remain about how bilateral energy relations will develop in the face of competition from Japan's traditional energy suppliers, the recent drop in the oil price, and ongoing Japanese government efforts to diversify energy sources. How has the sanctions regime affected the energy dimension of Russia's "Go East" strategy? How will rivalry among states in the "Asian vector" likely impact East Asia's energy diplomacy in the coming years? In considering the consequences of the Fukushima and Ukraine crises on Japan-Russia energy relations and the energy dimension of Russia's pivot to Asia, the study is placed in a wider context of recent geopolitical developments and energy security in the Asia-Pacific region. (East Asia as a Region, point #1)

Ms Oda Zachrisen (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)

Economic relations with China - worth improving?

Does China's economic influence in East Asia translate into political concessions from countries it is in maritime territorial disputes with? Previous research suggests that European countries have tried to appease China in order to improve bilateral relations when political tensions have harmed economic ties. I analyze how tensions in the South China Sea and East China Sea have affected Sino-Filipino and Sino-Japanese trade, investment and tourism flows. Have Japan and the Philippines followed appeasement strategies in order to improve bilateral relations? I argue that tensions have visibly, but not dramatically, affected economic links. However, the Philippines' and Japan's perceptions of China mainly as an economic opportunity have changed due to maritime tensions in 2010 and 2012. As a result, China's economic influence in East Asia is not translating into appeasement strategies from their regional neighbors. Despite the potential economic benefits of an appeasement strategy, a perception of China as a proximate threat to what Japan and the Philippines consider their maritime space have resulted in diplomatic and military counterbalancing strategies. The strategies are characterized by strengthened claims to maritime space and closer coastguard and military cooperation with each other and the United States.

Dr Łukasz Zamecki (University of Warsaw)

Impact of China on the EU raw materials policy

The thesis of the paper is a claim that China's position in the area of raw materials increase the degree of institutionalization of the EU raw materials policy. China is using its monopolistic position in the field of extraction of certain raw materials. China's increasing demand for raw materials, which is reducing world supply of the commodities, determines the actions of the EU.

Mr Michał Zaręba (University of Lodz)

Between conflict and cooperation. Hydropolitics in the Mekong River Basin

The Mekong is one of the longest transboundary river in Asia which provides major natural resources for over 80 million people living in all six riparian states, China and five Southeast Asia countries, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. The Mekong is the largest inland fishery, crucial transportation route and water in lower basin is also used for irrigation but the river has primarily great hydropower potential. Rapid development of hydroenergy in the region, especially in China and Laos, may pose a threat for integrity of the Mekong system. It could generate growing misunderstandings and conflict of interests between countries in the basin and even lead to the arm clashes although numbers of international agreements over water resources and existence of regional organizations. This paper examines hydropolitical relations between all riparian states after The II World War and answers the question whether hydropower expansion in the Mekong Basin leads to conflict or generates platform for cooperation. Article also points factors which create interstate tensions and agreements and indicates major goals of hydropolitics of riparian countries.

Dr Karol Żakowski (University of Lodz)

Politicians' Role in Foreign Policy Making in Japan before the Central Government Reform

Decision-making process in Japan has been characterized by extensive powers possessed by the bureaucrats who often overshadowed their political superiors. Foreign policy making was not an exception. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) boasted strong control over Japan's diplomacy. While the role of civil servants was theoretically limited to implementation of the decisions made by the politicians, in reality the administrative staff used a range of informal sources of power to act as arbiters of state matters. Only since the entry into force of Hashimoto's administrative reform in 2001, did top-level decision makers gain new institutional tools that helped them to conduct an independent foreign policy on more regular basis. Without denying this conventional wisdom, I argue that the politicians could occasionally play a significant role in Japan's diplomacy even before implementation of institutional changes at the beginning of the 21st century. Under special circumstances, prime ministers, chief cabinet secretaries and foreign ministers were able to exert a considerable influence on the course of foreign policy, sometimes even changing its direction. Up to the 1990s the most influential figures in the government had enough authority to overcome domination of the bureaucrats and impose their will on MOFA.