

# Mid-Term Report:

## East Asian Peace Program 2011–14

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The East Asian Peace research program consists of a Core Group (CG) with seven members based at Uppsala University: Stein Tønnesson (program leader), Erik Melander (deputy program leader), Holly Guthrey (program coordinator), Elin Bjarnegård, Kristine Eck, Joakim Kreutz, and Isak Svensson; and 23 Research Associates (RAs) in 12 countries.

The background for the program was the statistical finding that while the East Asian region had approximately 80 per cent of all global battle deaths in armed conflict during the 1946–79 period, its share of battle deaths fell to an estimated 8,5 per cent in the 1980s, and then decreased further from 1990–2008 to 3,5 per cent. On the basis of this finding we formed the following two research questions in our 2010 application:

- A) How deep is the East Asian Peace?
- B) How can it be explained?

These questions guide the research undertaken by the EAP program. We seek to gauge the depth or quality of peace in the region, and we develop and test rival theories to explain East Asia's transition from intense and widespread warfare to relative peace after 1979.

We are now more than half way through the program and can point to a number of achievements: the research findings listed below; a broadened research agenda; close collaboration between qualitatively and quantitatively oriented researchers; many academic publications; and successful annual conferences.

This report answers the eleven questions asked in RJ's letter from 21 February 2014.

### **Changes in Relation to the Research Plan**

While we have remained faithful to the core ambitions of the program, new pathways have emerged as the program has developed. In our attempts to explain the East Asian Peace, the program aims to develop rival theories as opposed to seeking consensus and is thus dynamic in the pursuit of our research agenda. Thus, in line with the research plan, we explore the role of economic interdependence and national priorities for economic growth as alternative explanations of conflict avoidance between states, but have put greater emphasis than originally planned on the role of values, sentiments and public opinion in the making of foreign policy. On the domestic level, we have put more weight than originally intended on exploring the shift in rebel tactics from guerrilla warfare to unarmed campaigns.

Recent developments in the region have led us to pay more attention than originally intended to some countries (Thailand and Myanmar) and to some types of conflict (maritime disputes, inter-communal conflict, and struggles over historical memory).

We have turned our focus more strongly toward Thailand due to the fact that it defies the regional peace trend by having seen an upsurge of conflict: The Malay Muslim rebellion in the south; the yellow and red shirt confrontations with government forces in the capital; and the fighting at the border with Cambodia. Several East Asian Peace researchers have done work on Thailand: Anders Engvall, Thitinan Pongsudhirak, Bjarnegård, Melander, Svensson, and Tønnesson.

The reforms in Myanmar since 2011 have also drawn much attention, notably from Kreutz, Eck, and Tønnesson, who have co-operated on a spin-off project funded by the Norwegian MFA. Our main emphasis is on the country's peace process and how it is affected by democratisation. Kreutz is also increasingly looking at inter-communal conflicts both in Myanmar and elsewhere.

The international tensions that have developed since 2009 have led the program to pay increased attention to the maritime disputes in the East China and South China Sea. Three of our researchers have special competence in the law of the sea (Zou Keyuan, Song Yann-huei, Tønnesson). The maritime disputes in East Asia provide a test of the strength of international law, and thus serve as a basis for discussing normative explanations of the East Asian Peace.

The biggest change in relation to the original research plan is that we no longer actively pursue constructivist explanations after Timo Kivimäki left the program in 2012. For three reasons, however, this has not much damaged the program. First, he published many articles while he was with us and has since produced a monograph: *The Long Peace of East Asia* (Ashgate 2014). Second, constructivist approaches are also pursued in RA Mikael Weissmann's doctoral thesis *The East Asian Peace* (Palgrave Macmillan 2012). Third, and most importantly, we were able to recruit three new CG members (Eck, Kreutz, and Guthrey), who have opened up other fruitful venues of research. They have contributed to a change of emphasis in the program, which is presented in the New Questions section below.

## **Research Findings**

The following is a list of what the CG considers to be the main findings so far. We would like to emphasize that this is a selection and not an exhaustive list. Many other findings are reported in our publications and conference papers, listed in *Appendix 1* and *Appendix 2*, respectively.

### ***The East Asian Peace confirmed***

Kivimäki confirmed the existence of the East Asian Peace by testing it against a range of indicators of violence. The only counter-trend he could find was a rapid increase in arms expenditures. Melander has, however, also found another worrisome trend: An increasing number of East Asian states resort to frequent torture. In this sense the 'quality' or 'depth' of the peace has been reduced. Hence, we put much emphasis on exploring the 'quality' of domestic peace in the regional countries.

### ***Many new conflicts have begun during the East Asian Peace***

Kreutz has established from data on conflict onsets and endings that the reduction in the number of armed conflicts after 1980 was due to a high number of conflict endings rather than a low number of conflict onsets. Many new conflicts began, particularly in the 1990–97 period, although even more conflicts ended. Between 1997 and 2010, however, there was a downward trend both in conflict onsets and endings. This is also the global pattern.

### ***Trends differ between Northeast and Southeast Asia***

Ryu Yongwook has pointed at important differences in conflict trends between the Southeast and Northeast Asian sub-regions. While there is continued internal armed conflict in many countries in Southeast Asia, such deadly conflicts are almost non-existent in Northeast Asia. However, Ryu Yongwook has demonstrated that militarized interstate disputes (MIDs) not resulting in deaths have increased in Northeast Asia while they have decreased in Southeast Asia.

### ***Economic interdependence dampens interstate conflict***

Goldsmith has established a striking correlation between the East Asian Peace and increasing intra-regional trade and investments. Economic interaction may have thus worked structurally to prevent war, either because of bonds built across borders or because mutual dependence increases opportunity costs.

### ***Industrialised societies have more unarmed and less armed conflict***

Svensson has shown that strategic *nonviolence* is more feasible in societies where social networks are economically interdependent with the state (i.e., societies with organized labour) than in societies dominated by self-sustained agriculture. Economic development thus contributes to explaining the transition from guerrilla warfare to nonviolent forms of conflict.

### ***National priority shifts explain the onset of regional peace***

Through a historical study of national leadership and decision-making Tønnesson has found that the East Asian Peace was the cumulative effect of a series of national priority shifts at different junctures, each giving top priority to economic growth and thus stability. The political priority given to growth provides a more convincing explanation of the East Asian Peace than structural interdependence. This has implications for how we gauge the sustainability of regional peace.

### ***Values favouring gender equality are associated with deep peace***

The findings of Bjarnegård and Melander provide a basis for a gendered theory of peace. Their research shows that countries where individuals have tolerant attitudes in general and gender-equal attitudes in particular have a much lower risk of violent conflict than societies emphasizing honour and militarized masculinity. This holds both at the individual and country level and has withstood falsification in several empirical tests. A transition to a deep peace is therefore associated with a broad societal value change of a kind that has not yet taken place in most of East Asia.

### ***Loss of outside support has reduced armed conflict***

Outsider support to warring parties—in the form of weapons, money, bases, and training—has become less common in East Asia. Svensson and Melander have found that this explains a large part of the reduction in the intensity of internal armed conflicts. The frequent and extensive support offered during the Cold War was related to great power rivalry, and the death tolls were higher when great power involvement increased. This finding draws on new data on secondary support, in part collected by the program.

### ***Existence of organizational infrastructure of unarmed campaigns explains whether or not governmental repression will backfire***

Svensson has found that pre-existing infrastructure (including media institutions) reduces the likelihood that an unarmed protest movement can be successfully repressed by a government. This could explain that East Asian societies with a recent history of non-violent campaigns are less likely to see such movements being successfully repressed.

### ***Maritime disputes can only be resolved through international law***

Although maritime boundary disputes cause much tension in the region, they can only be resolved on the basis of international law. Incidents and naval posturing can either perpetuate the disputes or serve as preludes to a negotiated or adjudicated solution on the basis of the law of the sea. Tønnesson has presented this controversial finding in several publications.

### ***Nationalism's impact on international disputes is determined by domestic politics***

Only to the extent that national decision-makers are driven by domestic political considerations do they allow nationalism to influence their behaviour in international disputes. This finding has emerged from Ryu Yongwook's study of the history struggles between China and Japan and Thitinan Pongsudhirak's analysis of the border dispute between Thailand and Cambodia.

### ***The East Asian Peace is fragile***

Several findings make us question the sustainability of the East Asian Peace. Melander and Bjarnegård have found that values associated with deep peace are not prevalent in East Asia. Armed conflicts prevail in several Southeast Asian countries. No regional organization exists that can prevent or help resolve conflicts. Militarized interstate disputes are increasingly frequent and a rapid build-up of arms is ongoing. We reported these findings in SIPRI Yearbook 2013. Tønnesson has furthermore found in a review essay for the *Journal of Peace Research* that neither deterrence nor interdependence can be relied upon to ensure future regional peace.

## **New Questions**

An important development in the program is a broadening of our thematic ambition to explore repression, communal conflict, post-conflict reconciliation, and values related to gender. While this reflects intentions expressed in the original research plan, it does represent a change of emphasis. This has come about through Melander and Bjarnegård's research on cultural values as well as through the recruitment of Eck (repression), Kreutz (communal conflict), and Guthrey (post-conflict reconciliation) as new CG members.

The change allows us to explain the East Asian Peace and gauge its sustainability through studies of multiple forms of violence—both lethal and non-lethal—and use this as a basis for conceptualising the quality of peace in ways that take into consideration not just the avoidance of armed conflict but also matters such as equality, human rights, inter-communal tolerance, and understanding. The underlying assumption guiding this change in emphasis is that societies with a deep peace are less likely to see a resurgence of armed conflict than societies with a shallow peace. The same premise is likely to apply to international relations, where border agreements, regional institutions, respect and dedication to international laws and norms, and cross-border economic integration may be seen as indicators of a deeper, more sustainable peace. Theoretically, our research projects probe the question of whether the East Asian Peace should be viewed as elite-driven phenomenon or also a community-driven development.

In a project that speaks to both of the program's two main questions, Eck asks whether one explanation for the absence of armed conflict is that governments in East Asia have found successful methods for suppressing civil and political liberties. This idea addresses both why

there may be an absence of armed conflict in East Asia—because it is being hindered through repressive state policies—and the depth and quality of peace. In a normative sense, the absence of armed conflict in a state which provides its citizens with full human rights is qualitatively different from the absence of armed conflict in a state which keeps a lock on opposition through imprisonment, torture, and draconian laws. In the context of such states, one can pose the counterfactual: would we continue to see a decline in armed conflict if repressive laws were removed? If the answer is in the negative, one must ask whether peace is being purchased at the price of human rights.

Kreutz explores inter-communal relations in East Asia, including the rise of such violence in Indonesia, East Timor, and Myanmar. These issues are also addressed in Paul Staniland's work on state/rebel constituencies.

Guthrey's research will explore social and communal dimensions of conflict, with a particular focus on reconciliation and other post-conflict processes. By investigating the aftermath of conflict on the local level, we may be able to better understand whether peace in the region is of a high quality and the degree to which it is fragile.

Another new question concerns the impact of popular opinion and nationalism on the potential for crisis escalation. Allan Dafoe and Jessica Weiss use survey experiments to gauge how public opinion would react to an East Asian military crisis. They test the extent to which the Chinese government may expect to obtain rally effects (increased support) or diversionary effects (reduced attention to domestic problems). They also investigate whether China is likely to face domestic audience costs (public disapproval for backing down in a crisis) or whether citizens are willing to reward compromise. Dafoe furthermore investigates the conditions under which coercive acts increase, rather than decrease, public opinion's resolve.

Towards the end of the program we intend to widen our geographic perspective and make comparisons between East Asia and other regions. While scholars have already looked at the diffusion of *conflicts* across regions, there has been remarkably little interest in analysing the spread of *peace*. A preliminary review of regional conflict patterns undertaken by Kreutz shows regional declines of warfare since the mid-1990s also in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. What are the similarities and differences between the trends in East Asia and other regions? The first step in addressing these questions will be to compare conflict patterns across regions, and then use the theoretical insights gained in the East Asian Peace program to explain trends in other regions. We hope to be able to situate our findings in a global setting, thus providing a basis for spin-off projects, and contributing to the general international relations literature.

## **International Networking**

International networking is enhanced by the Advisory Board (AB) and the 23 RAs. In addition to its three Swedish members, the AB includes scholars based in China, South Korea, New Zealand, and the USA. Our second and third annual conferences were held at Yonsei University in Seoul and the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam in Hanoi. One conference was organised in Preston, UK. Our fourth annual conference will take place at Peking University, from 29 October–2 November 2014. We plan to organize the fifth annual conference at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok in November 2015.

The 23 RAs (see *Appendix 4*) have provided us with a network of loyal participants who not only carry out their projects individually or in teams, but also attend conferences and workshops, comment on manuscripts, and provide advice. We see our international network as one of the program's strengths.

## Publication Strategy

For a list of outputs, see *Appendix 1: Publications*

The main output to be produced by the East Asian Peace program are articles in peer reviewed journals and monographs published by university presses. Conference papers, lectures, and talks are also important to the program as they help to pave the way for peer-reviewed publications. We also publish chapters in edited volumes but have prioritized this less than the aforementioned venues. Although we have a substantial publication record, there is much we planned to write, but have not yet published. The evolution of the research agenda has necessitated that we write some articles that were not originally planned and give up or postpone some of those we had hoped to write.

Our dissemination strategy has thus far been to make journal articles published through the program available on our website, with permission from publishers. These can be found at: <http://pcr.uu.se/research/eap/Publications/>.

Our researchers have many articles in progress, which will be submitted to journals during 2014–2016. In addition, the CG researchers are working on the following book manuscripts:

Tønnesson is working on two books, which will incorporate findings from the program:

i. *Peace through Priority for Growth: East Asia 1945–2015*. The proposition is that the East Asian Peace came about mainly as a result of national priority shifts in East Asian countries. They shifted from ideological, expansionist, or nationalist goals to economic growth. Once this had been defined as an overriding national priority, it became imperative to seek internal and external stability, and to have friendly relations with the USA, the world's leading power. The shifts happened in the aftermath of national crises at different junctures: Japan 1945–46; South Korea 1961; Indonesia 1965; Singapore 1965; Malaysia 1969–71 and/or 1981; Taiwan 1972–75; China 1978–79; Vietnam 1987; Myanmar 2011. The book also discusses why no similarly radical priority shifts have occurred in the Philippines, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Mongolia, or North Korea.

ii. *From People's War to People Power: East Asia's Growing Internal Peace*. The focus of this work is on internal conflicts, revolution, and rebellion. The book presents the history of guerrilla warfare from the 1920s onward, and the emergence and spread of the doctrine of People's War up until the mid-1970s. Then it analyses the decline of guerrilla warfare, with armed rebellions collapsing or petering out, while new rebels turned to demonstrations and other unarmed tactics. The victory of the paradigmatic People Power 'revolution' in the Philippines 1986 is key, as well as the repression of several unarmed campaigns (i.e., Beijing 1989). Various explanations for the shift from armed to unarmed rebel tactics are explored: defeats, urbanization, infrastructural expansion, eradication of jungles, technological change, increased state capacity for repression and surveillance, and ideological shifts. The book may be written jointly with Svensson.

Bjarnegård and Melander will write a book on values and peace, drawing on their articles.

Kreutz is preparing a book on post-conflict security challenges which will combine statistical analysis with a few in-depth case studies including Myanmar and potentially Cambodia.

Eck plans to submit a book-length manuscript on repression in East Asia to an academic publisher in 2016.

Based on her dissertation, Guthrey is writing a book exploring the impact of post-conflict reconciliation processes on victims of mass violence in the Asia-Pacific region, which she plans to submit in 2014.

The CG has discussed the possibility of editing a book with key contributions from the program, and some invited chapters discussing rival explanations for the East Asian Peace.

In 2016, priority will be given to producing a Swedish language booklet presenting our main findings. It will be launched at the final conference in Uppsala. We aim to gain attention from the Swedish media by linking up with ongoing events and debates about East Asia and about gender, peace, and militarized masculinity.

## **Conferences**

For a list of conferences, workshops, and panels where our researchers have presented their work, see *Appendix 2: Conferences*.

Our annual conferences (Uppsala 2011, Seoul 2012, Hanoi 2013, Beijing 2014, Bangkok 2015, Uppsala 2016) all follow the same format, with one or two public events meant to draw widespread attention, and a number of parallel panels used to develop our academic research.

## **Integration at Uppsala University**

The program was initiated by two researchers based outside of Uppsala University (Tønnesson and Kivimäki), and includes RAs located in 12 countries. Although setting up the administration of the program in Uppsala moved slowly at first because Tønnesson was based in Washington DC until September 2011, the program has since become well integrated in the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, as evidenced in the following summary:

- Former Dag Hammarskiöld Professor Peter Wallensteen serves as chair of the AB.
- Tønnesson is adjunct professor at Uppsala University, where he works half time, while he spends the other half of his working time at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO).
- Professor Melander of Uppsala University serves as deputy program leader.
- The program co-ordinator (first Susanne Schaftenaar, now Dr Guthrey) works full-time at the Department.
- The Department strongly supports the program.

- The program works closely with the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), using its existing data and contributing new data developed from our research.
- The first annual conference was held in Uppsala. So will the last.
- All seven CG researchers now work in Uppsala.
- East Asian Peace visiting scholars have benefited the whole Department.
- A project initiated by the program obtained funding for a PhD project. This allowed program co-ordinator Susanne Schaftenaar to join Uppsala University's PhD program.
- The program has strengthened the Department's cooperation with the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). Two PRIO researchers, Research Professors Pavel Baev and Henrik Urdal, are East Asian Peace RAs.
- The program has deepened Department relations with the East Asian region, and enhanced knowledge of the area in the Department's research and teaching.

## **Spin-off Effects**

The main spin-off effects from the program have been:

- Isak Svensson and Susanne Schaftenaar's project on non-violent rebellion (starting in 2014).
- A project on "Thailand's missing peace" at PRIO, conducted by Tønnesson with funding from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA).
- Two projects on ethnic and religious conflicts in Myanmar by Tønnesson and Marte Nilsen (PRIO), with funding from the Norwegian MFA.
- A project on Russia and the East Asian Peace by Tønnesson and Pavel Baev (PRIO) with funding from the Norwegian Ministry of Defence.
- Generation of new data from a survey of attitudes and experiences with violence in Thailand, conducted by Bjarnegård and Melander, in cooperation with RA Karen Brounéus, and the King Prajadhipok Institute (KPI) in Bangkok, which was responsible for the collection of data. This took place between November 2012 and February 2013. The survey data are being analysed by several program researchers and will underpin our work on values and attitudes. The study addresses issues such as gender, democracy, reconciliation, tolerance, and trust.

## **Internal Organization**

The program has an eight-member AB, a three-member leadership group (LG) and seven-member CG in Uppsala, and 23 RAs. The program website (<http://pcr.uu.se/research/eap/>) documents East Asian Peace program's main activities.

The AB, which meets once annually, is chaired by Peter Wallensteen (Uppsala) and consists of Kevin P. Clements (Dunedin), Bates Gill (Sydney), Börje Ljunggren (Stockholm), Moon Chung-in (Seoul), Robert S. Ross (Boston), Thommy Svensson (Göteborg), and Wang Yizhou (Beijing). In addition to their input on program-related matters, they also conduct quality control of manuscripts produced by RAs.



The LG consists of program leader Tønnesson, deputy program leader Melander, and program coordinator Guthrey. At the outset, the CG included Kivimäki, Bjarnegård, Melander, Svensson, and Tønnesson. Kivimäki's contract was terminated by Uppsala University on 16 July 2012 and funds allocated to him were retracted by the RJ Board on 25 October 2012. Kivimäki signed a settlement with Uppsala University on the termination of his contract on 18 April 2013. As a result, the CG was widened to include Kreutz, Eck, and Guthrey.

When the CG had only 4–5 members, we met bi-weekly to discuss research and administrative matters, including fundraising. This contributed to cohesion. After the CG was widened, the three LG members now meet on a bi-weekly basis. The full CG meets in conjunction with our frequent scholarly workshops, where we discuss manuscripts in progress.

Susanne Schaftenaar served as program coordinator until January 2014 (when she received PhD education funding). At that point, Dr Guthrey was recruited as a researcher, with responsibility for program coordination. The coordinator prepares the annual conferences, ensures contractual relations with the RAs, monitors expenses, revises the budget, prepares LG meetings and CG workshops, reports on other meetings, maintains the program website and the program's electronic archive, welcomes visiting scholars, and ensures cooperation with the university administration.

The cohesion of the program is ensured by the fact that the whole CG is based in Uppsala, that CG workshops and LG meetings are held regularly, and that we comment on each other's writings.

## **Strengths, Weaknesses, and Challenges**

### ***Strengths***

- Two clear research questions ensure program cohesion; all projects are geared towards answering those two questions
- The combination of qualitative and advanced quantitative methods
- Uppsala University's supportive research environment
- Strong international network, including an active AB and 23 RAs
- Our work is part of a growing field. Topic draws increasing attention because peace is threatened
- Flexibility in being able to respond to new developments during the program, notably the increased salience of maritime conflicts, the opening up of Myanmar, and the upsurge of violence in Thailand
- The combination of social scientists and historians
- Substantial international academic outreach through the network of RAs, our conferences, and publications
- Collecting and analysing novel data

### ***Weaknesses***

- Some globally oriented researchers lack area competence, while some area specialists are unfamiliar with quantitative methods

- Researchers tend to group together during conferences according to sub-regional focus (Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia), international or domestic research orientation, and policy versus academic emphasis
- Limited public (non-academic) outreach
- Gender balance of AB and our annual conference is skewed
- Few researchers with a background in economics
- Only a few publications in the highest ranking journals
- Several RAs are behind schedule in completing their projects

### *Challenges*

- Ensuring the completion of books and articles
- Further developing the research environment in Uppsala and maintaining the international network after the end of the program
- Designing and implementing a public outreach strategy (including in Swedish)
- Establishing causal relationships that convince both quantitatively and qualitatively oriented researchers
- Finding ways to address the cleavages between researchers in order to further enhance synergy within the program

## Appendix 1: Publications

### *Articles in peer-reviewed journals (published or accepted for publication)*

- Elin Bjarnegård and Erik Melander (2011). 'Disentangling gender, peace and democratization: the negative effects of militarized masculinity,' *Journal of Gender Studies* 20(2): 139–154.
- Elin Bjarnegård and Erik Melander (2013). 'Revisiting Representation: Communism, Women in Politics, and the Decline of Armed Conflict in East Asia,' *International Interactions* 39(4): 558–574.
- Anders Engvall and Magnus Andersson (forthcoming). 'The Dynamics of Conflict in Southern Thailand.' *Asian Economic Papers*. (accepted for publication.)
- Ben Goldsmith (2013). 'Different in Asia? Developmental states, trade, and international conflict onset and escalation.' *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 13(2): 175–205.
- Ben Goldsmith (2014). 'Domestic political institutions and the initiation of international conflict in East Asia: some evidence for an Asian democratic peace.' *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 14(1): 59–90.
- Timo Kivimäki (2010). 'East Asian relative peace - does it exist? What is it?', *The Pacific Review*, 23 (4)2010, 503–526.
- Timo Kivimäki (2011). 'Security and Peace in East Asia and the Asia-Pacific,' review essay, *Asian Security* 7(2): 169–175.
- Timo Kivimäki (2011). 'East Asian Relative Peace and the ASEAN Way,' *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 11(1): 57–85.
- Timo Kivimäki (2012). 'Southeast Asia and Conflict Prevention. Is ASEAN Running Out of Steam?' *The Pacific Review* 25(4): 403–427.
- Timo Kivimäki (2012). 'The Creation and Implementation of the ASEAN Charter,' Review Essay, *Asian Security* 8(2), 2012: 213–219.
- Timo Kivimäki (2012). 'Sovereignty, Hegemony and Peace in Western Europe and in East Asia,' *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 12(3): 419–447.
- Joakim Kreutz (2012). 'From tremors to talks: Do natural disaster produce ripe moments for resolving separatist conflicts?' *International Interactions* 38(4): 482–502.
- Liselotte Odgaard and Thomas G. Nielsen (2014). 'China's Counterinsurgency Strategy in Tibet and Xinjiang.' *Journal of Contemporary China* DOI: 10.1080/10670564.2013.843934 (published online 21 Jan).
- Song Yann-huei and Stein Tønnesson (2013). 'The impact of the law of the sea on conflict and conflict management in the South China Sea.' *Ocean Development and International Law* 44(3): 235–269.
- Isak Svensson (2011). 'East Asian Peacemaking: Exploring the patterns of conflict management and conflict settlement in East Asia,' *Asian Perspective* 35(2): 163–185.
- Isak Svensson and Mathilda Lindgren (2011). 'From bombs to banners? The decline of wars and the rise of unarmed uprisings in East Asia,' *Security Dialogue* 42: 219–237.
- Isak Svensson and E. Harding (2011). 'How holy wars end: exploring the termination pattern of religious conflicts in Asia.' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 23: 133–149.
- Isak Svensson, Elvira Bobekova, Scott Pearse-Smith (2013). 'Rivers of Peace: Institutionalised Mekong River Cooperation and the East Asian Peace.' *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 12: 7–34.

- Isak Svensson, Charles Butcher & Jonathan Sutton (2014). 'Explaining Political Jiu-jitsu: Communications Infrastructure and the Outcomes of Regime Violence against Unarmed Protests,' *Journal of Peace Research*, (accepted in Jan 2014).
- Charles Butcher & Isak Svensson (2014). 'Manufacturing Dissent? Modernization and the Onset of Major Nonviolent Campaigns,' *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, (accepted in March 2014).
- Ren Xiao (2013). "The Rise of a Liberal China?", *The Journal of Global Policy and Governance* 2 (1): 85–103.
- Stein Tønnesson (2009). 'What Is It that Best Explains the East Asian Peace Since 1979? A Call for a Research Agenda,' *Asian Perspective* 33(1): 111–136.
- Stein Tønnesson (forthcoming). 'The South China Sea: Law Trumps Power,' *Asian Survey* (accepted).
- Zou Keyuan (2013). 'Building a 'Harmonious World': A Mission Impossible?' *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 30(2): 75–99.
- Zou keyuan (2014). 'Maintaining Maritime Peace in East Asia: A Legal Perspective.' *Journal of Territorial and Maritime Studies*, Vol.1 (2) (accepted).

### ***Submitted articles***

- Elin Bjarnegård & Erik Melander. 'Dangerous Democracies: the Combustive Combination of Democracy and Gender Inequality,' submitted to *World Politics*.
- Elin Bjarnegård & Erik Melander. 'Equality and Hostility: Attitudes Around the Pacific,' submitted to the *Journal of Peace Research*.
- Jong Kun Choi. 'Crisis Stability or General Stability? Assessing Northeast Asia's Peace in the Post-Cold War,' submitted to *International Relations of the Asia Pacific*.
- Benjamin Goldsmith. 'The East Asian Peace as a Second-order Diffusion Effect,' submitted to *International Studies Review* (special issue).
- Holly Guthrey. 'Broken Promises in the Quest for Truth: Examining Victims' Perceptions of Truth Commission Participation in Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste,' submitted to *International Journal of Transitional Justice*.
- Holly Guthrey. 'Local Norms and Truth-Telling: Examining Experienced Incompatibilities within Truth Commissions of Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste,' submitted to *The Contemporary Pacific*.
- Joakim Kreutz. 'Engaging the West: why China supported democratization in Myanmar,' submitted to *International Security*.
- Joakim Kreutz. 'Rallying around the riot: explaining communal violence against the Rohingya but not the Karen in Burma/Myanmar', submitted to *Journal of Asian and African Studies*.
- Stein Tønnesson. 'Distrust, Deterrence, Dependence: Can Peace be Preserved with China?' review essay submitted to *Journal of Peace Research*.

### ***Monographs***

- Elin Bjarnegård (2013). *Gender, Informal Institutions and Political Recruitment. Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation*. Palgrave.
- Timo Kivimäki (2012). *Can Peace Research Make Peace?* Ashgate.
- Moon Chung-in (2012). *The Sunshine Policy*. Yonsei University Press.

- Isak Svensson (forthcoming): *International Mediation Bias and Peacemaking: Taking Sides in Civil Wars*. Routledge, ISBN: 0415660742
- Isak Svensson (2012). *Ending Holy Wars: Religion and Conflict Resolution*. University of Queensland Press.
- Wang Yizhou 2011. (In Chinese.) [Creative Involvement: A New Direction for China's Foreign Policy.] Peking University Press.
- Wang Yizhou 2013. (In Chinese.) [Creative Involvement: The Evolution of China's Global Role.] Peking University Press.
- Mikael Weissmann (2012). *The East Asian Peace: Conflict Prevention and Informal Peacebuilding*. Palgrave Macmillan.

### ***Edited volumes***

- Cedric de Coning, Thomas Mandrup and Liselotte Odgaard, eds (forthcoming). *The BRICS and Coexistence: An Alternative Vision of World Order*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Song Yann-huei and Zou Keyuan, eds. (2014). *Major Law and Policy Issues in the South China Sea: European and American Perspectives*, London: Ashgate.

### ***Book chapters***

- Elin Bjarnegård (2012). 'Who's the Perfect Politician? Clientelism as a Defining Feature of Thai Politics' in Dirk Tomsa and Andreas Ufen, eds., *Party Politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and Electoral Competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*. Routledge.
- Jong Kun Choi (2013). 'Bolstering Economic Interdependence despite Bullying Memories in Northeast Asia.' In T.J. Pempel, ed., *The Economy-Security Nexus in Northeast Asia*. London: Routledge: 89–109.
- Jong Kun Choi and Joung Yun Bae (2014). 'The Implications for Seoul of an Operationally Nuclear North Korea.' In Gregory J. Moore, ed. *North Korea Nuclear Operationality: Regional Security and Nonproliferation*, Washington DC: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014: 53–76.
- Joakim Kreutz (2014). 'How civil wars end (and recur)', in Edward Newman and Karl DeRouen (eds.) *The Routledge handbook of civil war*. London: Routledge.
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## **Appendix 2: Conferences, Workshops, and Panels**

The program participants have taken part in a number of externally workshops and conferences and have given numerous lectures about key topics within the program, which are too many to list. The following are academic events organized by the East Asian Peace program exclusively:

### ***First Annual Conference, Uppsala University, 16–18 September 2011***

Title: Democracy and Peace in East Asia

It opened with a public panel debate: ‘Is Democracy Good for Peace? Asian Perspectives’ among Wang Yizhou, Robert S. Ross, and Moon Chung-in (moderated by Stein Tønnesson)

#### *Papers:*

Miriam Coronel Ferrer: ‘Political Violence and Political Survival: Philippine Presidentialism under Gloria Macapagal Arroyo’

Anders Engvall: ‘Political Conflict, Contested Areas, and Violence in Southern Thailand’

Hoang Anh Tuan: ‘Doi Moi in Vietnam and its Contribution to the East Asian Peace’

Jong Kun Choi: ‘Crisis Stability or General Stability in Northeast Asia?’

Timo Kivimäki: ‘Democracy and War in East Asia’

Mei Shanshan: ‘Democracy as Threat and Opportunity: How China Views its Democratic Neighbors’

Erik Melander & Elin Bjarnegård. ‘Gender and the East Asian Peace: investigating the role of communism’

Thomas Nielsen & Liselotte Odgaard: ‘China’s Counterinsurgency Strategy in Tibet and Xinjiang’

Ryu Yongwook: ‘Can Identity Explain Interstate Conflict? Identity Distance Theory and Regional Conflict in Northeast and Southeast Asia.’

Isak Svensson & Erik Melander: ‘Changing Patterns of Secondary Support in East Asia’

Chih-mao Tang: ‘Southeast Asian Peace: A Mixed Democratic and Capitalist Trajectory’

Stein Tønnesson: ‘Peace by Growth as Priority’

Wang Dong: ‘The Promise and Perils of Hedging Strategy: A Preliminary Theoretical Framework’

Zou Keyuan: ‘Building a ‘Harmonious World’: A Mission Impossible?’

### ***Core group workshop, Bangkok, 9-11 March 2012***

Present: Stein Tønnesson, Erik Melander, Elin Bjarnegård, Isak Svensson, Timo Kivimäki, Susanne Schaftenaar, Anders Engvall, Peter Wallensteen.

The core group and research associate Anders Engvall discussed several works in progress and incorporated a data discussion. The participants visited Chulalongkorn University on Friday 9 March to attend a conference on ‘Democracy and Crisis in Thailand.’ Duncan McCargo was invited to talk about ‘Further reflections on the Southern Thai conflict.’

#### *Papers:*

Elin Bjarnegård & Erik Melander: ‘The regional impact of norm-changes on gender relations and peace - situating East Asia’

Elin Bjarnegård & Erik Melander: Thailand Survey Presentation.  
Anders Engvall 2012: 'Militia Violence in Southern Thailand'  
Stein Tønnesson & Isak Svensson: 'Unarmed insurrections in East Asia and the Middle East'  
Timo Kivimäki: 'Military Non-Interference and the East Asian Peace'

***Panel at the International Studies Association (ISA) convention, San Diego, 3 April 2012***

*Panel title*

Regional peace studies: Exploring regional trends in peace and armed conflicts

*Papers*

Timo Kivimäki: 'Regional Context and the Successfulness of National Strategies for Peace: East Asia vs. Europe'  
Elin Bjarnegård & Erik Melander: 'The regional impact of norm-changes on gender relations and peace - situating East Asia'  
Thomas Mandrup: 'State fragility and its regional implications for peace and stability: The Case of East Africa'  
Stein Tønnesson & Isak Svensson: 'Saffron Revolutions and Arab Springs: Successful and Failed Insurrections in East Asia and the Middle East'  
Benjamin E. Goldsmith & Gorana Grgic. 'Exploring the Institutional Foundations of Authoritarian Peace in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America'.

***Workshop on Securing Maritime Peace in East Asia: The Role of International Law in cooperation with the University of Central Lancashire, Preston UK, 23–24 April 2012***

The workshop was hosted by research associate Zou Keyuan at the University of Central Lancashire. The EAP Program co-funded it.

*Papers*

Ramses Amer, Associate Professor, Department of Oriental Languages, Stockholm University, Sweden & Ms. Jianwei Li, Director, Centre for Marine Scientific Research, National Institute for South China Sea Studies, China: 'Enhancing Maritime Peace in East Asia Through the Charter of the United Nations – Non-Use of Force and Peaceful Settlement of Disputes'  
Erik Franckx, Professor of International Law, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium: 'Fisheries in the South China Sea: A Centrifugal or Centripetal Force?'  
Timo Kivimäki, Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Denmark: 'Legalism in East Asian Peace and Security Order'  
James Kraska, Howard S. Levie Chair in Operational Law, Naval War College, USA: 'Application of the Regime of Islands to the South China Sea'  
Craig Laverick, PhD Candidate, Lancashire Law School, UCLan, UK 2012: 'Compliance with Soft Law: The ISM Code and East Asian Practices'  
Lee Seokwoo, Professor of International Law, Inha University, Republic of Korea. 'Maritime Conflict Management between Two Koreas'  
Liu Nengye, PhD Candidate, Department of International Law, Ghent University, Belgium 2012: 'Towards a Mandatory Port State Control System in East Asia'  
Ted McDorman, University of Victoria, Canada: 'Maritime Peace in Southeast Asia: International Law At Work?'

David Ong, University of Essex, UK: ‘Implications of Recent International Jurisprudence on Shared Marine Resources for East Asian Maritime Cooperation’

Michael Salter, Lancashire Law School, UCLan, UK: ‘Law, Power and International Politics with Special Reference to East Asia’

Stein Tønnesson, East Asian Peace Program, Uppsala University, Sweden & Professor Yann-huei Song, Research Fellow, Institute for European and American Studies, Academia Sinica, Taipei: ‘The Impact of the Law of the Sea on Conflict and Conflict Management in the South China Sea’

Wu Shicun, President, National Institute for South China Sea Studies & Dr. Nong Hong, Deputy Director, Centre for Ocean Law and Policy, National Institute for South China Sea Studies, China 2012. ‘Extended Continental Shelf Claims in East Asia: Intension for Legal Clarity, Political Dilemma in Reality’

Yao Huang, Professor of International Law, Sun Yat-sen University, China and Visiting Fellow, Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, Cambridge University, UK 2012: ‘Universal Jurisdiction over Piracy and East Asian Practice’

Zhen Sun, Department of Law, Cambridge University, UK: ‘Maritime Security and Shipping Safety in East Asia - Contemporary and Anticipated Challenges’,

Zou Keyuan, Lancashire Law School, UCLan, UK: ‘International Law for Maritime Peace in East Asia’

***Second annual conference, Yonsei University, Seoul, 26–27 Oct. 2012***

The conference was hosted and co-organised by Yonsei University under the theme ‘Big Powers and Sustainable Peace: Will the East Asian Peace Hold?’ Seventeen papers were presented and discussed in five panels. In addition, a public panel debate titled ‘Big Powers and Sustainable Peace: Will the East Asian Peace Hold? And what can we learn from the Nordic Peace?’ was held on 26 October. This incorporated a keynote speech by Christopher Hill. The panel was moderated by Chung-in Moon. Stein Tønnesson, Robert Ross, Wang Yizhou, Börje Ljunggren, and Hae-Won Jun were its main discussants. The conference ended with a field trip to the Joint Security Area of the Korean Peninsula.

*Papers*

Elin Bjarnegård & Erik Melander: ‘Values and Violence: Linking the attitudes of citizens to the state’s practice of torture’

Anders Engvall: ‘Mapping Patterns of Violence and Sources of Conflict in Southern Thailand’

Benjamin E. Goldsmith. ‘Why No Escalation? Market economies, political systems, and the absence of war in East Asia since 1979’

Hoang Anh Tuan: ‘US Rebalancing Toward the Asia-Pacific: How It Impacts on Sino-US Relations and the Management of Conflict in the South China Sea’

Joakim Kreutz: ‘The State as Leviathan or Lobbyist: Peace-making in Myanmar, 1930-2010’

Jong Kun Choi: ‘Crisis Stability or General Stability? Assessing Northeast Asia’s Peace in the Post-Cold War’

Rex Li: ‘China, the United States, and the Relative Peace in the Taiwan Strait’

Mei Shanshan: ‘The Origin of the East Asian Peace – How Political Reform in China under Deng Xiaoping Started’

Liselotte Odgaard and Zha Daojiong: ‘The Politics of Diffusion: Coexistence in China’s energy policy in Asia’

Ren Xiao: ‘How Changing Chinese Ideas Have Shaped the East Asian Peace’

Ria Shibata. 'Role of contact in dealing with prejudice, traumatic memory and enmification in Sino-Japanese relations'

Robert S. Ross: 'Chinese Nationalism and the American 'Pivot': Prospects for Asian Stability'

Ryu Yongwook: 'The 'History Problem', Aggressive Intentions and Threat Perception in Sino-Japanese Relations'

Isak Svensson: 'Protecting Protégés: Malaysian Mediation in the Philippines and Beyond'

Stein Tønnesson: 'Democratization and Conflict in East Asia'

Wang Dong: 'Cooperative Deterrence/ Compellence? --the Huangyan Island and the Game of the South China Sea'

Mikael Weissmann: 'The role of elite networks for the East Asian peace'

***Workshop funded by the Norwegian MFA on 'Thailand's Missing Peace' at PRIO, Oslo 13–14 May 2012***

Stein Tønnesson organised a workshop about 'Thailand's Missing Peace' in Oslo, Norway under a Norwegian funded MFA project at PRIO, with participation by EAP researchers.

*Papers:*

Elin Bjarnegård: 'Comparing Government Action – the different outcomes of red and yellow demonstrations'

Anders Engvall: 'Peace Building, Suppression and Violence in Southern Thailand'

Eva Hansson: 'Does inequality undermine the chances for democracy in Thailand?'

Srisompob Jitpiromsri: 'Discourses of Conflict and Peace Initiatives in Southern Thailand'

Duncan McCargo: 'Reconciling Truth? The Politics of Thailand's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2010-12' (co-authored with Naruemon Thabchumpon)

Marte Nilsen: 'The Identity of a Nation: Why the Patani Region Remains Out of Reach'

Thitinan Pongsudhirak: 'Thailand: Reconciling Monarchy and Democracy'

Stein Tønnesson: 'Why So Much Violence in Thailand?'

***Program workshop 'The depth of the East Asian peace,' Krusenberg, 6–8 June 2013***

In addition to the Core Group, the workshop was joined by Advisory Board members Thommy Svensson and Börje Ljunggren, as well as research associates Ryu Yongwook and Joakim Kreutz.

*Papers*

Elin Bjarnegård & Erik Melander. 'How gender equality explains attitudes to international conflict around the Pacific. Evidence from individual level survey data'

Joakim Kreutz. 'A Model of Peace? Elite characteristics, repression, and the outbreak of nonconflict in East Asia and beyond'

Ryu Yongwook. 'The 'History Problem', Aggressive Intentions and Threat Perception in Sino-Japanese Relations?'

Isak Svensson (with Charles Butcher). 'Manufacturing Dissent: Economic Structure and the Onset of Major Nonviolent Resistance Campaigns'

Stein Tønnesson. 'Why and How China Can Resolve its Disputes in the South China Sea: A Realist Triumph over Constructivist Identity Politics'

***Two panels at International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) 8, Macao, 24–27 June 2013***

Stein Tønnesson was convenor of two panels on the East Asian peace, with Mikael Montesano (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore) serving as discussant on all the papers at both panels.

Panel 1: Peace and Conflict Trends in East Asia and the World: A Quantitative-Qualitative Exchange

Panel 2: The East Asia Peace: Trends, institutionalised repression, conflict dynamics, and historical distrust

*Papers*

Anders Engvall. ‘The Dynamics of Conflict in Southern Thailand: A Quantitative Analysis of the Spatial Spread of Violence’

Benjamin E. Goldsmith. ‘An East Asian Difference? Are patterns of inter-state conflict in East Asia statistically distinct from those in other global regions, or could the post-1980 East Asian peace be a statistical anomaly?’

Joakim Kreutz. ‘A Model of Peace: Political Institutions, Elite Characteristics and the Outbreak of Nonconflict in East Asia (and Beyond)’

Erik Melander & Isak Svensson. ‘What Is Special about the East Asian Peace? Comparing the East Asian Region to Other Regions of the World Using Quantitative Methods’

Ryu Yongwook. ‘The ‘Black Swan’? Identity, Democratization, and Military-Security Relations between Korea and Japan’

Tang Chih-Mao. ‘The Effect of Hegemonic Competition on the East Asian Peace: A Quantitative Appraisal’

Stein Tønnesson. ‘A Qualitative Reading of Statistical Datasets on War and Political Violence in East Asia’

***Third Annual Conference, “Can the East Asian Peace Hold?,” Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam, Hanoi, 17–19 October 2013***

*Papers*

Elin Bjarnegård, Erik Melander, and Karen Brounéus. ‘Exploring the relationship between attitudes and behaviour: Patterns from a new survey on gender, peace and conflict in Thailand.’

Thawilwadee Bureekul, Stithorn Thananithichot, and Ratchawadee Saengmahamat. ‘Thailand’s Reconciliation by Public deliberation.’

Kavi Chongkitavorn. ‘ASEAN Regulations and Commitments in Resolving the South China Sea Disputes.’

Kristine Eck. ‘Repression and the East Asian Peace.’

Benjamin E. Goldsmith. ‘The East Asian Interstate Peace: A second-order diffusion effect?’

Hoang Anh Tuan. ‘Why the East Asian Peace is at Risk.’

Nicole Jenne. ‘Putting peace into perspective: What can a comparative research agenda tell us about security in Southeast Asia?’

Jong Kun Choi. ‘Territorial Disputes and International Relations Theories : Thinking of How to Resolve Territorial Disputes from IR Theoretical Perspectives.’

Rex Li. ‘Identity Tensions and Great Power Relations: Can Peace be Maintained in East Asia?’

Melissa Loja. ‘A Rule of Capture in the South China Sea? The policy and practice of China,

Vietnam and Philippines.’

Liselotte Odgaard and Dennis J. Blasko. ‘Peaceful coexistence, deterrence and active defense in China’s East China Sea strategy.’

Ren Xiao. ‘Will the Diaoyu/Senkaku Dispute Disrupt the East Asian Peace?’

Ryu Yongwook. ‘Does the history problem matter for the Japanese public? Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Japan.’

Tang Siew Mun. ‘Fault-Lines in East Asia: Implications for Regional Stability.’

Tetsuya Toyoda. ‘Taking Justice Seriously in East Asian Islands Disputes.’

Truong Minh Vu and Huynh Tam Sang. ‘Joint Development Possibilities in South China Sea: China and the logic of self-restraint.’

Stein Tønnesson. ‘Why the East Asian Peace Will Hold.’

Peter Wallensteen. ‘Quality Peace for East Asia? A comparison with Western European experiences.’

Wang Dong, Wang Baoyu, and Alastair Iain Johnston. ‘Does Social Contact Contribute to Peace in East Asia? The Impact of Imagined Social Contacts on Chinese Students’ Perceptions of Identity Differences in the Context of China-Japan Relations.

***Core Group workshop in Uppsala, 26–28 November 2013***

*Papers:*

Håvard Hegre: Predicting peace and conflict in East Asia

Isak Svensson (co-author Charles Butcher): The Changing Battlefield: Exploring the Trends of Unarmed Rebellions in East Asia

Stein Tønnesson and Isak Svensson: East Asia’s More Peaceful Rebels: Choices between armed and unarmed tactics

Kristine Eck: Repression and Civil Conflict in East Asia?

Stein Tønnesson and Elin Bjarnegård: The Thai Exception to the East Asian Peace

Elin Bjarnegård & Erik Melander: Dangerous Democracies: Exploring the Combustive Combination of Democracy and Gender Inequality

Elin Bjarnegård & Erik Melander: How Attitudes to Gender Equality Explain Hostility Around the Pacific: Evidence from Individual Level Survey Data

Stein Tønnesson: Will the East Asian Peace Hold?

***Core Group workshop in Uppsala, 5–6 February 2014***

*Papers:*

Elin Bjarnegård, Karen Brounéus and Erik Melander: “Exploring the relationship between

Stein Tønnesson: Explaining peace: “The Case of East Asia: Outline of a book project”

Joakim Kreutz: “The multilevel nature of autocratic audience cost: Explaining Chinese democracy promotion in Myanmar”

Sofia Ledberg: "A new analytic approach to the study of civil-military relations"

Holly Guthrey: “Exploring post-conflict reconciliation initiatives in East Asia: Brainstorming a new research project”

***Core Group workshop in Uppsala, 23 May 2014***

Discussing the mid-term evaluation report

*Core Group workshop in Uppsala, 11 September 2014*

Preparing for the RJ Hearing 19 September 2014

*'East Asia: Peace and Interdependence.' Fourth Annual Conference, to be held at Peking University, 29 Oct.–2 Nov. 2014*

*Paper panels:*

*Drivers of War and Peace*

Henrik Urdal: Do Recent Demographic Trends in East Asia Support Peace?

John Delury: Turning Borders Back into Frontiers: Historical Reflections on Northeast Asian Peace

Stein Tønnesson: Yoshida, Deng, and the East Asian Peace: the Impact of Economic Growth Policies

*Internal Peace and Violence*

Miriam Coronel Ferrer : The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro and East Asian Peace

Holly Guthrey (with Joakim Kreutz): Civil War Resolution in East Asia 1970–2010: Elite Pacts, Compromise, and Coercion

Joakim Kreutz: Ethnic Violence in the Shadow of Peace: Inter-communal Tension in East Asia 1975–2012

*Regional Conflict and Co-operation*

Isak Svensson: Mediating the East Asian Peace: Comparing the Mediation Processes in East Asia

Ren Xiao: East Asian Regionalism and Its Spillover Effect

Zou Keyuan: Maintaining Peace and Security in East Asia: International Law and Regional Institutional Building

*Memory and Inter-State Peace*

Yongwook Ryu: The History Problem as a Litmus Test: How China and Korea Assess Constitutional Revision in Japan

Zheng Wang: Historical Memory and the East Asian Peace: Memories, Nationalism, and International Security

Mei Shanshan: China Debates America's Decline: Implications for Understanding US-China Interdependence and East Asia Peace (2008–2014)

*Peace among Major Powers*

Pavel Baev: The impact of Russia-China strategic partnership on security in East Asia

Linus Hagström: What 'Peace' Enables: From Sino-Japanese Friendship to Increasing Tensions

Li Chenyang: Myanmar's Role in Sino-American Relations

### *Authoritarian Peace*

Kristine Eck: A Repressive Inheritance: Decolonization and Dissent in Malaya and Burma

Ben Goldsmith: Authoritarian Peace in East Asia?

Terence Lee: Defect or Defend: Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia

### *Peace in the Taiwan Strait*

Rex Li: Identity, Security and Economic Interdependence: Explaining the Relative Peace in the Taiwan Strait

Wang Dong: Efficient Deterrence and Cross-Strait Relations

Chang Yu-tzung: Gap in Economic Development and the Pace to Political Resolution of Cross-Strait Relations: Empirical Evidence in 10 Major Cities of China

### *Attitudes, Culture and Domestic Peace*

Eugenie Merieau: Political Culture(s) and Collective Action in Thailand

Ben Oppenheim: The Problem with the Periphery

Jessica Weiss and Allan Dafoe: Audience Costs in China

Elin Bjarnegård, Karen Brouneus, and Erik Melander: Violence for Political Purposes: Using Survey Data to Explain Violent Activism in Thailand

### *Peace and Boundaries*

Jong Kun Choi: Understanding East Asia's Territorial Conflicts from the IR's Theoretical Perspectives

Bill Hayton: Forget the Greeks: The Myth of Inevitable Conflict in the South China Sea

Song Yann-huei: The Implementation of the DOC and Consultations on the COC in the South China Sea: The Possibility of Cross-Strait Cooperation

Stein Tønnesson and Wang Zheng: China's Maritime Discourse and Legal Realities

### *Economic Growth and Interdependence*

T.J. Pempel (TBC): Why is East Asian Economic Interdependence not Reducing Security Tensions?

Scott Kastner: Economic Interdependence and the Prospects for Conflict and Peace in Northeast Asia

Steve Chan: East Asia's Enduring Rivalries: Ripe for Abatement?

Liselotte Odgaard: Return to Sender: Interdependence in the International Communication of the Chinese Military



## **Appendix 4: Staff and Project Titles**

For contact information, please refer to: <http://pcr.uu.se/research/eap/Researchers/> and [http://pcr.uu.se/research/eap/Advisory\\_Board/](http://pcr.uu.se/research/eap/Advisory_Board/)

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Boston College

Professor Thommy Svensson  
Associate Professor  
Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen

Professor Wang Yizhou  
Professor of international politics and China Foreign Affairs  
Associate Dean of the School of International Studies (SIS)  
Peking University

### ***Core Group***

Program Leader  
Professor Stein Tønnesson  
Department of Peace and Conflict Research  
Uppsala University

*Project titles:* 1) Maritime conflict in East Asia (completed); 2) Thailand's missing peace (ongoing); 3) Elections and violence in Myanmar (ongoing); 4) The impact of Russia-China partnership on stability in East Asia (ongoing; with Pavel Baev); 5) National priority shifts in East Asia (ongoing); 6) From people's war to people power (ongoing)

Deputy Program Leader

Dr Erik Melander

Department of Peace and Conflict Research

Uppsala University

*Project titles:* 1) Gender and Peace (ongoing; with Elin Bjarnegård); 2) Survey on Attitudes in Thailand (ongoing; with Elin Bjarnegård and Karen Brounéus); 3) Outside Support in East Asia (ongoing; with Isak Svensson)

Program Coordinator

Dr Holly Guthrey

Department of Peace and Conflict Research

Uppsala University

*Project title:* How durable is the East Asian Peace?: Exploring post-conflict justice and reconciliation initiatives in East Asia (ongoing)

Dr Elin Bjarnegård

Department of Political Science

Uppsala University

*Project titles:* 1) Gender and Peace (ongoing; with Erik Melander); 2) Survey on Attitudes in Thailand (ongoing; with Erik Melander and Karen Brounéus)

Dr Kristine Eck

Department of Peace and Conflict Research

Uppsala University

*Project title:* State repression and the East Asian Peace (ongoing)

Dr Joakim Kreutz

Department of Peace and Conflict Research

Uppsala University; and

Swedish Institute for International Affairs (UI)

*Project titles:* 1) Peace efforts and conflict dynamics in Burma/Myanmar (completed); 2) Inter-communal tension and the state in East Asia (ongoing); 3) The diffusion of peace in East Asia and beyond (ongoing)

Dr Isak Svensson

Department of Peace and Conflict Research

Uppsala University

*Project titles:* 1) Unarmed conflicts in East Asia (ongoing); 2) Mediation processes (ongoing); 3) Outside support in East Asia (ongoing; with Erik Melander)

### ***Research Associates***

The following research associates have been contracted under the programme, with grant letters countersigned by their employers (with the exception of Miriam Coronel Ferrer and Andreas Jarblad who have not yet been contracted):

Dr Pavel Baev

Research Director

Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)

*Project title:* The impact of Russia-China partnership on stability in East Asia (ongoing; with Stein Tønnesson)

Dr Karen Brounéus  
Psychologist  
Department of Peace and Conflict Research  
Uppsala University  
*Project title:* Survey on Attitudes in Thailand (ongoing; with Elin Bjarnegård and Erik Melander)

Dr Jong Kun Choi  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science & International Studies  
Yonsei University  
*Project title:* The surprising peace on the Korean peninsula: Crisis stability or general stability? (ongoing)

Ms Miriam Coronel Ferrer  
Department of Political Science  
University of the Philippines  
*Preliminary project title:* Why did democracy not stop the armed violence in the Philippines?  
(not yet begun)

Dr Allan Dafoe  
Department of Political Science  
Yale University  
*Project title:* Escalation, Reputation, and Audience Costs in the East China Sea (ongoing; with Jessica Weiss)

Dr Anders Engvall  
Assistant Professor, Deputy Director  
China Economic Research Center  
Stockholm School of Economics  
*Project title:* Economic factors behind escalation, de-escalation and absence of armed conflicts in Thailand (completed)

Dr Benjamin E. Goldsmith  
Associate Professor  
Department of Government & International Relations  
University of Sydney  
*Project title:* International conflict, market economies and political systems in East Asia (completed)

Dr Linus Hagström  
Senior Research Fellow  
Swedish Institute of International Affairs  
*Project title:* What 'Pacifism' Enables: From Sino-Japanese Friendship to Increasing Tensions? (ongoing)

Dr Hoang Anh Tuan  
Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam

*Project title:* The Doi Moi reforms and Vietnam's quest for peace and stability, 1986–1991 (ongoing)

Mr Andreas Jarblad

Department of Peace and Conflict Research

Uppsala University

*Preliminary project title:* Military modernization in East Asia: Implications for regional stability (not yet begun)

Dr Rex Li

Senior Lecturer in International Relations

Faculty of Media, Arts and Social Science

Liverpool John Moores University

*Project title:* 1) Identity, conflict and stability in China-Taiwan relations: why did the 1995–1996 Taiwan Strait crisis not lead to a war? 2) Identity and security: A constructivist analysis of the absence of armed confrontation between China and Taiwan in the Chen Shui-bian era (both ongoing)

Dr Liselotte Odgaard

Associate Professor

Institute for Strategy

Royal Danish Defence College

*Project title:* China's national security strategy in relation to separatist uprisings in Tibet and Xinjiang (completed)

Professor Thitinan Pongsudhirak

Institute of Security and International Studies (ISIS)

Faculty of Political Science

Chulalongkorn University

*Project title:* Sovereignty over Stones: Peace and Conflict in Contemporary Thai-Cambodian Relations (ongoing)

Dr Ren Xiao

Institute of International Studies

Fudan University

*Project title:* A region can change: China's ideational change and its implications for East Asia (ongoing)

Professor Robert S. Ross

Professor of Political Science

Boston College

*Project title:* China's emergence as naval power in historical and comparative perspective: Sources of great power tension and prospects for cooperation (ongoing)

Dr Ryu Yongwook

College of Asia and the Pacific

Australian National University (ANU)

*Project title:* The 'history problem', aggressive intentions and threat perception in Sino-Japanese relations (ongoing)

Professor Dr Song Yann-huei  
Research Fellow  
Institute of European and American Studies  
Academia Sinica  
*Project title:* The impact of the law of the sea on conflict and conflict management in the South China Sea (completed)

Dr Paul Staniland  
Assistant Professor  
University of Chicago  
*Project title:* Governing coercion: Violence and order on Asia's armed peripheries (ongoing)

Dr Henrik Urdal  
Senior Researcher  
CSCW, Peace Research Institute Oslo  
*Project title:* Do recent demographic trends in East Asia support peace? (ongoing)

Dr Wang Dong  
Associate Professor and Director  
School of International Studies  
Centre for Northeast Asian Strategic Studies  
Peking University  
*Project title:* Efficient deterrence and cross-strait relations (ongoing)

Dr Jessica Weiss  
Department of Political Science  
Yale University  
*Project title:* Controlling Audience Costs (ongoing; with Allan Dafoe)

Dr Mikael Weissmann  
Research Fellow  
The Swedish Institute of International Affairs  
*Project title:* Elite networks promoting peace in East Asia (ongoing)

Professor Zou Keyuan  
Harris Chair in International Law  
Lancashire Law School  
University of Central Lancashire  
*Project title:* Legal developments behind the East Asian Peace (ongoing)