

# NAVIGATING INTERNATIONAL ORDER TRANSITION WORKSHOP II

FRIDAY 10 SEPTEMBER 2021



This workshop is part of the Global Research Network on Peaceful Change ([GRENPEC](#))

*Starting at Brisbane-10pm; DC-8:00 am; Montreal-8:00 am; London-1 pm; Copenhagen 2pm; New Delhi 5:30pm – please note time zone differences*

+++++

- To Change or Not to Change: International Order Transition and Foreign Policy Choices in the Post-Covid World

**Presenters:** Kai He and Huiyun Feng, Griffith University

**Discussant:** Rosemary Foot, Oxford University

- Moving Goalposts: Competing Metrics for Evaluating America's Asia Strategy

**Presenters:** Zack Cooper and Emily Carr, American Enterprise Institute

**Discussant:** Satu Limaye, East West Center

- Structure and Agency in Order Transition: How Non-Great Powers Navigate Systemic Change in the Indo-Pacific,

**Presenters:** T.V. Paul and Jaeyoung Kim, McGill

**Discussant:** Anders Wivel, Copenhagen

- “Global” Britain views the Indo Pacific: Commerce, Competitors and Colleagues

**Presenters:** Shaun Breslin, Warwick and Peter Burnham, Birmingham

**Discussant:** John Nilsson-Wright, Cambridge

- Inscribing ‘Leading Power India’ on the Indo-Pacific Space

**Presenter:** Kate Sullivan de Estrada, Oxford

**Discussant:** Rajesh Rajagopalan, Jawaharlal Nehru University

## **TO CHANGE OR NOT TO CHANGE: INTERNATIONAL ORDER TRANSITION AND FOREIGN POLICY CHOICES IN THE POST-COVID WORLD**

Like it or not, the world is changing. The COVID pandemic has accelerated the international order transition and intensified the strategic rivalry between the US and China. This paper examines how this structural change in the international system has affected states' policy choices in the Indo Pacific against the background of US-China strategic competition. Borrowing insights from neoclassical realism, we develop a cost-benefit perception model to explain the policy variations of different states during the period of international order transition. We suggest that policymakers will perceive potential change of the international order through a cost-benefit prism. The interplays between the perceived costs and the perception of benefits from the international order transition will shape states' policy choices among four strategic options: (1) hedging to bet on uncertainties, (2) bandwagoning with rising powers to support changes; (3) balancing against rising powers to resist changes, (4) buckpassing to ignore changes. Moreover, because the international order is multifaceted in natural, a state might adopt different strategies to cope with potential changes in the various domains of the international order. It increases the level of complexity in states' policies during order transition. This paper focuses on theoretical framework building and exploration with empirical illustrations on international relations dynamics in the Indo Pacific.



**Presenter: Kai He** is a Professor of International Relations and the Director of the Centre for Governance and Public Policy, Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia. He is an Australian Research Council (ARC) Future Fellow (2017-2020). He was a postdoctoral fellow in the Princeton-Harvard China and the World Program (2009-2010). He is the author of *Institutional Balancing in the Asia Pacific: Economic Interdependence and China's Rise* (Routledge, 2009), the co-author of *Prospect Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis in the Asia Pacific: Rational Leaders and Risky Behavior* (Routledge, 2013), and the author of *China's Crisis Behavior: Political Survival and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 2016).



**Presenter: Huiyun Feng** is an Associate Professor in the School of Government and International Relations at Griffith University, Australia. She is a former Jennings Randolph Peace Scholar at United States Institute of Peace. Her publications have appeared in the *European Journal of International Relations*, *Security Studies*, *The Pacific Review*, *International Politics*, *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, and *Asian Perspective*. She is the author of *Chinese Strategic Culture and Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Confucianism, Leadership and War* (Routledge, 2007) and the co-author of *Prospect Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis in the Asia Pacific: Rational Leaders and Risky Behavior* (Routledge, 2013).



**Discussant: Rosemary Foot** is a Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, an Emeritus Fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford, and a Research Associate of Oxford's China Centre. In 1996, she was elected a Fellow of the British Academy. Her research interests and publications cover security relations in the Asia-Pacific, human rights, Asian regional institutions, China and regional and world order, and China-US relations. Author or editor of 13 books, her latest book is entitled *China, the UN, and Human Protection: Beliefs, Power, Image* (Oxford University Press, 2020).

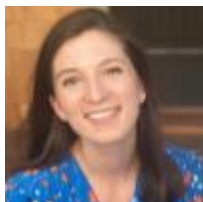
---

## MOVING GOALPOSTS: COMPETING METRICS FOR EVALUATING AMERICA'S ASIA STRATEGY

At least three distinct American viewpoints exist on the ongoing power shift in Asia, each animated by a different set of assumptions and metrics for judging success. One group of experts believes the Trump administration adopted the wrong strategy. They argue that success should be measured by the extent to which the United States positively shapes Chinese behavior and dampens Sino-American tensions. A second view is that a more competitive approach to China is warranted, but that the Trump administration's execution of that strategy was flawed. These observers suggest that the key metric in judging U.S. strategy should not be the quality of bilateral ties with China, but rather ally and partner willingness to work with the United States to develop effective multilateral responses. A third perspective is that the Trump administration adopted the right basic strategy on China and implemented it relatively well. Advocates of this view tend to believe that the key metric for judging America's strategy should be whether countries are actively balancing against China, not whether third countries harbor positive views of the United States. This paper will analyze each position and assess its likely importance to future U.S. strategy in the Indo-Pacific.



**Presenter: Zack Cooper** is a research fellow at the America Enterprise Institute and co-director of the Alliance for Securing Democracy. He teaches at Princeton and Georgetown and previously served as a staffer at the Pentagon and White House.



**Presenter: Emily Young Carr** is research assistant at the American Enterprise Institute, where she focuses on China security policy and US strategy in the Indo-Pacific. She holds a BA in government from Dartmouth College.



**Discussant: Satu Limaye** is Vice President of the East West Center (EWC), serving concurrently as Director EWC in Washington and the Asia Matters for America initiative. He is Founding Editor of the Asia Pacific Bulletin. He is also Senior Advisor, Center for Naval Analyses (CNA) and Senior Fellow on Asia History and Policy at the Foreign Policy Institute at Paul H. Nitze School of International Studies (SAIS). He is a graduate of Georgetown University and received his doctorate from Oxford University (Magdalen College) as a George C. Marshall Scholar.

He publishes and speaks widely on Asia-Pacific regional issues and supports various US government, foundation, fellowship and professional organizations. Among his current affiliations are the Korea Economic Institute (KEI) Advisory Council and The Asia Foundation Task Force on US-Southeast Asia Relations.

Recent publications include: “America’s ‘Pacific Principle’ in an Indivisible Pacific Islands Region,” (Asia-Pacific Bulletin); “Despite Stumbles, America’s Engagement with Southeast Runs Deep,” (Global Asia); Raging Waters: China, India, Bangladesh, and Brahmaputra Water Politics (Marine Corps University Press); Russia’s Peripheral Relevance to US-Indo Pacific Relations (Center for the National Interest); Weighted West: The Indian Navy’s New Maritime Strategy, Capabilities, and Diplomacy (Center for Naval Analyses); and ASEAN is Here to Stay and What that Means for the U.S. (The Diplomat).

Previously, Dr. Limaye served on the research staff of the Strategy, Forces & Resources Division at the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA) and Director of Research & Publications at the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies.

---

## **STRUCTURE AND AGENCY IN ORDER TRANSITION: HOW NON-GREAT POWERS NAVIGATE SYSTEMIC CHANGE IN THE INDO-PACIFIC**

In this concluding paper we argue that order transitions pose major foreign policy challenges to non-great power states in international politics. However, the extant power transition theories in IR pay almost exclusive attention to the structural dimension, i.e., the great powers’ impact on non-great powers than vice versa. Indo-Pacific has many examples of agency, here referred to smaller state’s foreign policy choices, shaping the contours of great power-driven orders. During the Cold War era, smaller states formed the nonaligned movement which had its roots in the Bandung conference on 1955, led by newly emerging Asian-African states. The Southeast Asian states formed ASEAN in 1967 to deal with the Cold War and its negative impact in the region. At the end of the Cold War, ASEAN once again became active by engaging US, China and other powers through the ARF and related institutional venues. Regional states have also taken active policy changes in trade relationships by concluding the CTPP and RCEP even without the US participating in them. The presence of intensified globalization and resultant economic interdependence of China and the US vis-a-vis each other and other states in Asia Pacific gives them many options to deal with the emerging structural conflict. Unless China becomes overtly expansionist, challenging the existential security of regional states and the US counters with active military balancing, states are likely to follow hedging-plus strategies including soft balancing, limited hard balancing and diplomatic engagement. The threat level that the rising power in particular poses and domestic contestation over foreign policy will jointly determine how the regional states navigate the changes. Some may even find the early phases of the rivalry useful to bargain economic benefits from competing powers as smaller states have done in South Asia, vis- a-vis China and India. The paper will discuss the strategies outlined in the other papers in this workshop and then make some general conclusions on order transition and regional state strategies while locating the role of non-great powers in peaceful change in international politics.



**Presenter: T.V. Paul** is James McGill Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science at McGill University, Montreal, Canada and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. He served as the President of International Studies Association (ISA) for 2016-17. He is the Founding Director of the *Global Research Network on Peaceful Change* (GRENPEC). Paul is the author or editor of 21 books and over 75 scholarly articles/book chapters in the fields of International Relations, International Security, and South Asia. He is the author of the books: *Restraining Great Powers: Soft Balancing from Empires to the Global Era* (Yale University Press, 2018); *The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World* (Oxford University Press, 2013); *Globalization and the National Security State* (with N. Ripsman, Oxford University Press, 2010); *The Tradition of Non-use of Nuclear Weapons* (Stanford University Press, 2009); *India in the World Order: Searching for Major Power Status* (with B.R. Nayar Cambridge University Press, 2002); *Power versus*

*Prudence: Why Nations Forgo Nuclear Weapons* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); and *Asymmetric Conflicts: War Initiation by Weaker Powers* (Cambridge University Press, 1994). He is the lead editor of the *Oxford Handbook of Peaceful Change in International Relations* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming, 2021). Paul currently serves as the editor of the Georgetown University Press book series: *South Asia in World Affairs*. For more, see: [www.tvpaul.com](http://www.tvpaul.com)



**Presenter: Jaeyoung Kim** is a doctoral student in the Department of Political Science, at McGill University, Montreal, Canada. His dissertation deals with middle Power adaptation in East Asia.



**Discussant: Anders Wivel** is Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, where he also serves as Director of the Centre for Advanced Security Theory (CAST). From 2017 to 2019, he served as Chief Investigator and Deputy Head of Research at the Independent Inquiry of Danish Military Engagement in Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan. He has published widely on foreign policy, small states in international relations, and power politics, including recent articles in e.g., *International Affairs*, *Ethics and International Affairs*, *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, *International Studies Review*, *Global Affairs and European Security*. His most recent books are *Oxford Handbook of Peaceful Change in International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2021, co-edited with T.V. Paul, Deborah W. Larson, Harold Trinkunas and Ralf Emmers), *Handbook on the Politics of Small States* (Edward Elgar, 2020, co-edited with Godfrey Baldacchino) and *International Institutions and Power Politics: Bridging the Divide* (Georgetown University Press, 2019, co-edited with T.V. Paul).

---

## **“GLOBAL” BRITAIN VIEWS THE INDO PACIFIC: COMMERCE, COMPETITORS AND COLLEAGUES**

The UK's position on order transition in the Indo Pacific has been largely shaped by two and a half factors. The first is Brexit. In the discourse of its supporters, this has allowed for the transition from an over attachment to Europe to a “return” to “Global Britain”. In the first instance at least, this is manifest in rebuilding those extra-European preferential trade relations that were lost with the exit from the EU (for example, with South Korea, Singapore and Japan). Moves to potentially join the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership point to the ongoing importance that the government places on expanding commercial activities in the region; or at the very least, that the government places on the symbolic importance of being seen to be able to act independently. The second is a rethink of the consequences of China's rise. With the transition from the Cameron-Osborne leadership, the rush to do whatever it took to expand commercial relationships and opportunities with China (often in competition with other European states) has been tempered by a renewed focus on negatives as well, often spearheaded by a group of emboldened and active parliamentarians. These negatives encompass economic downsides, security challenges, ethical considerations, and a more general and often undefined concern over Chinese commitment to the rules based international order. This has a direct impact on relations with China, and also on broader conceptions of where “like minded” allies might be found to further UK ambitions; both within the region itself (including some who might feel

that they have been previously neglected by the UK) and in the broadly and ill-defined “West” more generally.

The half is some sort of national self-identity. The oft repeated commitment to maintaining free and open sea lanes of communication in the Asia Pacific might have economic drivers and consequences. But it might also owe something to residual conception of great power responsibilities and legacies. So too might perceptions of India’s evolving global role and ambitions, and power and politics in Hong Kong. Of course, as a P5 member, the UK does have a level of global authority and responsibility that all but four of the world’s other countries don’t have. But a conception of how Britain acted globally in the past might have at least some impact on how the proponents of Global Britain think it should act in the Indo Pacific in the future.



**Presenter: Shaun Breslin** is Professor of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick. He is also Co-Editor of *The Pacific Review*. His academic work focuses on the political economy of contemporary China, with a side interest in comparative studies of regional integrational projects. His latest book is “China Risen: Studying China’s Global Rise” (Bristol University Press, 2021). These interests have brought him into close

contact with UK policy makers and officials in recent years as they respond to the actual and potential impact of China’s rise.



**Presenter: Peter Burnham** is Professor of Politics and International Studies at the University of Birmingham. His research interests focus on radical political economy, research methods and UK politics, policy making and foreign policy. He is currently working on a study of the China Research Group in the House of Commons in the context of the rise of similar groups in the US and Australia.



**Discussant: John Nilsson-Wright** is a University Senior Lecturer in Modern Japanese Politics and International Relations, based at the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge. His research is on East Asian international relations, with a particular interest in the relationship between the USA and Japan during the Cold War, as well contemporary regional security issues, and political changes in the

region.

Along with his academic role at Cambridge, John was Head of the Asia Programme at Chatham House, and maintains a Senior Research Fellow position in the programme with responsibility for Northeast Asia. He provides commentary in media about the political situation in the East Asian region, including on the foreign policies and domestic politics of North and South Korea and Japan.

John holds a DPhil in International Relations, and a BA in Politics, Philosophy and Economics, both from the University of Oxford, and an MA in International Relations from Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC. He has been a visiting researcher at a variety of East Asian universities, including Tohoku University in Japan, and Seoul National University in South Korea.

## INSCRIBING “LEADING POWER INDIA” ON THE INDO-PACIFIC SPACE

The emerging geopolitical imaginary of the Indo-Pacific draws in India geographically, by folding in all or part of the Indian Ocean, and politically, by anticipating that India will ‘take sides’ on the United States-China rivalry that in large part defines this space. As India seeks elevation to the status of a prominent Indo-Pacific actor, and as key Indian state officials project India as a ‘leading power’, how far do India’s Indo-Pacific vision and policy practice map on to external material and social expectations of India as one of a ‘concert’ of Indo-Pacific powers? This paper first examines some of the external expectations of an Indian role in the Indo-Pacific by reading the contemporary policy discourse of the other Quad members (the US, Australia and Japan) through critical histories of international order that trace and identify shifting social conceptions of great power concerts. Rather than passively or uncritically embracing a vision of order management in the Indo-Pacific emanating from Washington, Canberra or Tokyo, the paper then engages with the status scholarship to argue that India is actively communicating and practicing an alternative vision of leadership as its elites reckon with the still limited reach of its power projection, and that they are seeking, through various means, to inscribe a particularly Indian brand of leadership on the new Indo-Pacific space.



**Presenter: Kate Sullivan de Estrada** is Associate Professor in the International Relations of South Asia and Director of the Contemporary South Asian Studies Programme at the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies, University of Oxford. She is a Fellow of St Antony’s College and a Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Her research focuses on a rising India, on nuclear politics in South Asia, and on current contestations around maritime security in the Indian Ocean. She is author of *Rising India: Status and Power* (2017, with Rajesh Basrur), and editor of *Competing Visions of India in World Politics: India’s Rise Beyond the West* (2015). Her research features in *International Affairs*, *Review of International Studies*, *Survival*, *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, and *Contemporary Politics*, among others. She has delivered expert testimony on the UK-India relationship to two recent UK parliamentary inquiries, worked with the Indian Ocean Commission as an Oxford Policy Exchange Network Fellow, and engages frequently with the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office on South Asia.



**Discussant: Rajesh Rajagopalan** is Professor of International Politics at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. His research and publications focus on international political theory and India’s foreign and security policies.