

The Era of Uncertainty Leadership: East Asian responses to a G-Zero World and the role of Middle Powers

Host: Social Science Research Institute (SSRI), International Christian University

Dates: October 19th-20th, 2017

Symposium synopsis:

The United States' declining capacity to exert leadership in the global arena will have regional and global consequences in the realms of economics, politics, security and peace and prosperity. The repercussions of this trend are still not understood well but we have seen countries within East Asia offer alternatives. China is promoting the One Belt One Road initiative (BRI) and the Regional Comprehensive Partnership (RCP) as a win-win strategy to build peace and prosperity in the region. Japan, along with 10 other signatories of the TPP are hoping to shape the region through a new trade agreement that sets new trade rules. We have also seen an expansion in the number and quality of security cooperation with countries in the region to deal with growing uncertainty. Even the geographic concept of the Indo-Pacific has gained prominence as different countries are trying to reconceptualise what the region's shape will be in the decades to come.

With these trends in mind, this workshop goal is twofold. First, it aims to examine how East Asia nations are responding to this decline or as what some scholars call a G-Zero world, one in which no single country can exert leadership. Speakers from India, China, Japan, Korea and Southeast Asia will explore what the G-Zero world means for their countries and how they perceive the vacuum in global leadership will be filled by new great power arrangements. This discussion is especially salient now in which populism in the US has led to the election of a President who actively campaigned against globalization and the expansion of trade ties.

Second, this workshop aims to explore the roles of middle power countries in navigating and finding leadership opportunities during an era of uncertainty. At a normative level, middle powers such as Canada and South Korea offer novel paradigms to foster cooperation and understanding that lie outside the security sphere. Developing a deeper understanding of the role of middle powers in inculcating stability into the region can contribute to reducing instability in the region as well as.

Location: Dialogue House, International Christian University

<https://www.icu.ac.jp/en/about/campus/>

Schedule

Friday 9:30-11:30

Panel 1: Perspectives from Northeast Asia

Changing East Asian Security Architecture and the Role of Middle Powers like South Korea

Professor Chaesung CHUN, Professor at the Department of International Relations in Seoul National University

Japan as a Staunch Pro-U.S. Middle Power

Dr. Masashi NISHIHARA, President of the Research Institute for Peace and Security

Changing East Asian Power Structure and China's Choice

Professor Qingsi LI, Professor, School of International Studies, and Chair, Department of Diplomacy, Renmin University of China

Korea as a Middle Power? Stuck between the Eagle and the Dragon

Professor JJ Suh, Professor of Politics and International Studies, International Christian University

LUNCH 11:30-12:45

Friday 13:00-15:00

Panel 2: Perspectives from South and Southeast Asia

Middle Powers and Regional Trade: TPP, RCEP and the Indian Perspective

Dr. Amitendu Palit, Senior Research Fellow and Research Lead (Trade and Economic Policy) at the Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS) in the National University of Singapore

Seeking Partnership with the Philippines in Maritime Security: The Case of the Special Japan-Australia Strategic Partnership

Professor Renato Cruz De Castro, Professor in the International Studies Department, De La Salle University, Manila, and holder of the Charles Lui Chi Keung Professorial Chair in China Studies

Vietnam's foreign policy in the current era of uncertainty

Dr. Viet Nguyen, Department of International Politics & Diplomacy of the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam

G-Zero World and Trade: A Return to Bilateralism and Self-interest

Professor Bryan Mercurio, Professor and Vice Chancellor's Outstanding Fellow of the Faculty of Law at the Chinese University of Hong Kong

Friday 15:15-17:15

Panel 3: Perspectives from Western Countries

G-Zero World realities and Canada as a Middle Power

Professor Stephen Nagy, Professor of Politics and International Studies, International Christian University

The role of Germany in an Era of Uncertainty

Professor Wilhelm Vosse, Professor of Politics and International Studies, International Christian University & Director of Social Science Research Institute (SSRI)

How a Traditional Middle Power Adapts To a G-Zero World: The Case of Australia

Dr. Thomas Wilkens, Senior Lecturer Centre for International Security Studies, University of Sydney

The US-Japan-India Relationship: Mini-lateralism in Indo-Pacific

J. Berkshire Miller, Visiting fellow with the Japan Institute of International Affairs, Senior fellow with the Tokyo-based Asian Forum Japan and the director of the Ottawa-based Council on International Policy

Closing Remarks 17:15-17:30

Participants' Abstracts and Biographies

Changing East Asian Security Architecture and the Role of Middle Powers like South Korea

Author: Chaesung Chun

Lacking formidable multilateral mechanism to solve crucial security problems, East Asia is still dominated by great power politics. Going through the post-Cold War period, East Asian countries failed to establish strong mechanisms to deal with the so-called "Thucydides trap" between the United States and China, the rise of nationalism, economic problems rising from neoliberal capitalism, and the salience of geo-economy over liberal market peace. Great powers tend to promote strong nationalism, protectionism, and populism which put tremendous burden on small and middle powers in the region. East Asian countries have diverse tasks to perform to establish stable regional order, first among which is to complete modern transition in the sense that norms such as sovereign equality, mutual recognition, and territorial integrity should be respected.

Great powers tend to pursue the so-called absolute sovereignty and long for the hegemonic status, which aggravates security dilemma among them. How to transform this offensive realist world into defensive realist world is the main concern of middle powers, because the clash among titans will be a disaster to them. Middle powers may pursue the role of advising great powers to lessen the security dilemma and mutual distrust, finding a way for multilateral and peaceful solution, and transforming the regional order into mutually respecting one with right knowledge, public diplomacy, and bonds of transnational civil society. Concrete issues will be a test for the feasibility of middle powers' role, and in the case of South Korea, how to deal with North Korean nuclear crisis will be a crucial one. If South Korea succeeds in enlightening the true nature of North Korean crisis, and fostering the cooperation among great powers, especially between the United States and China, the case of solving the North Korean crisis may be a model case for dealing with other security issues in the region.

Chaesung Chun is a Professor at the Department of International Relations in Seoul National University, majoring in international relations theory and security relations in East Asia. He is now a visiting professor at Keio University. He is also a director of Asian Security Initiative of East Asian Institute. He was a member of Committee for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Ministry of Defense, and the Ministry of Reunification of South Korea. He received his MA degree from the Seoul National University, and Ph.D degree from Northwestern University in the field of International Relations Theory. Major books and articles include *East Asian International Relations*(2011), *Is Politics Moral: Reinhold Niebuhr's Transcendental Realism*(2012), "A Study on the Formation of European Modern States System," "Critique of constructivism from the perspective of postmodernism and realism," "The Rise of New Powers and the Responding Strategies of Other Countries,"

Japan as a Staunch Pro-U.S. Middle Power

Author: Masashi Nishihara

Given the current high tension between the United States and North Korea, Japan as an important ally of the United States supports President Trump's approach to North Korea in the form of intensely pressurizing economic sanctions to enforce its abandonment of nuclear and ballistic missile programs. At the same time, the Japanese fear that the perceived decline of the US power may place Japan in a dangerous situation. Japan also would like to retain its partnership with other middle powers such as ASEAN countries, which may be critical of Trump's provocative remarks against Kim Jong-un. This raises the question of how Japan should play its role in adjusting to and navigating "the new world"?

Masashi Nishihara became President of the Research Institute for Peace and Security in 2006. 2000-2006: President of the National Defense Academy, Yokosuka. 977-99: Professor of International Relations at the Academy. Degrees: B.A. from Kyoto University, M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from the University of Michigan. Visiting Fellow at the Australian National University in 1979, and at the Rockefeller Foundation, New York, in 1981-82.

He specializes in international and Asian security. He is the author of many works on Japanese foreign and security policy issues. He is a regular contributor to The Sankei Shimbun's column with his recent article's English version as "Why the US should not depend upon China to sanction North Korea," Japan Forward (August 21, 2017) .

In 1986-95 he served on the Council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London. In 2001-2004 he was a member of Prime Minister Jun'ichiro Koizumi's Task Force on External Relations. He also served on Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's panels on the establishment of a National Security Council in 2013 and on his Statement commemorating the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II in 2015.

Changing East Asian Power Structure and China's Choice

Author: Li Qingsi

East Asia is experiencing dramatic changes right now, from the economic, political to military, due to the relative American decline of influence and the rise of China. Though the US-dominated security arrangement still largely remains as the basic power structure in East Asia, it can no longer dictate the regional affairs as it did in the past. Particularly after taking power in the White House, President Trump decided to withdraw from TPP, suspend Obama's Pivot to Asia Strategy, and even consider to terminate FTA with South Korea, many allies and friends and middle powers in particular worry that the American declining role in East Asia will create power vacuum and lead

to instability. As a kind of lonely but rising power, China faces many challenges in handling the complicated East Asia regional relations, however how will China-US and East Asia middle powers reshape their relations and particularly how will China respond is definitely critical to the regional security and stability.

Dr. Li Qingsi, Professor, School of International Studies, and Chair, Department of Diplomacy, Renmin University of China, specializing in American politics and foreign policy, China-US relations and Chinese foreign policy.

EU Erasmus Mundus visiting scholar 2010; Fulbright/APSA Congressional Fellowship Program, 2004-2005; Adjunct Professor, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, August 1998-June 1999; visiting scholar to University of Kent at Canterbury 1994-1995.

Publications: “Analysis to Obama second term foreign policy trends”, *Contemporary International Studies* (May 2013); “The Diplomatic Role of Social Organizations: A Comparative Study Based on China-West Interactions”, *World Economics and Politics*, (June 2009); “Comparative Studies on Soft Power Diplomacy between China and the US : A Case Study on Southeast Asia”, *Teaching and Research*, (March 2009); “Interpreting Obama Phenomenon”, *Contemporary International Studies* (Nov. 2008), “Analysis on American Presidency: a Case Study on Bush Doctrine” *Journal of Renmin University of China* (Sept. 2009); “The new changes of US-EU relations and its impact on China”, *Teaching and Research* (May 2008); “Foreign Lobbying the US Congress: Reality or Myth?” *American Studies Quarterly* (Oct. 2007), and author of *U. S. Congress and American Foreign Policy*, Renmin Press, May 2007, and dozens of Op-ed on China Daily etc.

Korea as a Middle Power? Stuck between the Eagle and the Dragon

Author: J.J. Suh

This paper discusses Koreans’ perception of the diffusion of power that has occurred in the world over the past couple of decades, the range of potential orders that may emerge, and the implications this has for Korea’s foreign policy and international role. It starts with an analysis of power continuity and change that Korea has experienced for the past twenty years. It then discusses the Roh and Lee administrations’ strategic discourses as two ideal types of Koreans’ perceptions of the two countries – the United States and China – whose shifting power has profoundly affected Korea’s geopolitical situation. The third section extends the discussion further by fully exploring strategic options Korea may have in the emerging 21st century order.

In doing so, the paper argues that the most significant shift of power for Korea is the rise of China as its largest trading partner that can vitally affect Korea's well-being and yet the United States remains the anchor of Korea's security policies that contributes most to Korea's survival needs. North Korea continues to pose a most immediate and most serious threat to Korea's core interests in a way that channels Koreans' strategic discussions into a focus on China and the United States as vital partners. While there is a high degree of consensus on these three players, the policy discussions and choices by the recent two administrations reveal some dimensions of policy differences, which constitute the discursive space that contain Koreans' assessments of the emerging order and their place within it. The Moon administration's "Northeast Asia Plus Community of Responsibility" represents an attempt to expand the main axis of policy discourse, but faces an uphill battle under the pressure generated by Trump, Xi, and Kim Jong Un.

J.J. Suh is currently Professor at International Christian University (Tokyo, Japan). He has served as Associate Professor and Director of Korea Studies at SAIS, Johns Hopkins University and Assistant Professor in Department of Government at Cornell University as well as on the Presidential Commission on Policy Planning (Republic of Korea). An expert on the U.S.-Korea relations, U.S. policy toward Asia, international relations of East Asia, international security, and IR theory, he is currently working on regional orders in East Asia, human security, and North Korea. He has authored and edited numerous journal articles and books, including *Power, Interest and Identity in Military Alliances* (2007); *Rethinking Security in East Asia: Identity, Power and Efficiency* (2004); *Truth and Reconciliation in the Republic of Korea: Between the Present and Future of the Korean Wars* (2012); *Origins of North Korea's Juche: Colonialism, War, and Development* (2012); "The Imbalance of Power, the Balance of Asymmetric Terror: Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) in Korea," "Changes in U.S. Military Strategy and the U.S.-Korea Alliance," "The Two-Wars Doctrine and the Regional Arms Race: Contradictions in U.S. PostCold War Security Policy in Northeast Asia," and "War-Like History or Diplomatic History? Historical Contentions and Regional Order in East Asia."

He is a recipient of numerous grants and fellowships including Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research, SSRC-MacArthur Foundation Fellowship for Peace and Security in a Changing World, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smith Richardson Foundation grant, and East West Center fellowship. He was Distinguished Professor at Ewha Womans University, visiting professor at Seoul National University, research professor at Yonsei University, visiting scholar at MIT and visiting fellow at University of California, Irvine. He received his Ph.D. and Master in political science from University of Pennsylvania and B.A. in physics from the University of Chicago.

Middle Powers and Regional Trade: TPP, RCEP and the Indian Perspective

Author: Amitendu Palit

The regional architecture in Asia has been witnessing the simultaneous development of two mega trade agreements – the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). Initially led by the US but later abandoned, the TPP is being revived by other members led by Japan and Australia. RCEP – a collective of ASEAN and its six FTA partners – is unable to progress despite several rounds of negotiations due to sharp differences

among members. This paper will examine developments and issues surrounding TPP and RCEP as trade constructs reflecting the role and involvement of middle powers in regional trade. It will try to shed light on the abilities of middle powers to effectively converge on trade agendas and withstand pressures from superpowers to posit trade deals as geostrategic alliances. The paper will specifically contextualize the perspective of India – a rising power with rapid economic growth and keen desire to play a prominent role in global and regional affairs – in its examination.

Dr Amitendu Palit is Senior Research Fellow and Research Lead (Trade and Economic Policy) at the Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS) in the National University of Singapore. He is an economist specializing in international trade policies and regulations, political economy of international trade, comparative economic studies and public policies. His current research is on trade and regional architectures in the Asia-Pacific, trade regulations and governance, China-India comparative economic developments, and political economy of economic reforms. He worked in India's Ministry of Finance for a decade and handled India's external sector, industrial and infrastructure policies. He was on Advisory Committees of India's Planning Commission and the International Labour Organisation (ILO). His books include *The Trans-Pacific Partnership, China and India: Economic and Political Implications* (Routledge, UK; 2014), *China India Economics: Challenges, Competition and Collaboration* (Routledge, UK; 2011), *Special Economic Zones in India: Myths and Realities* (Anthem, UK; 2008, co-authored) and *South Asia: beyond the Global Financial Crisis* (edited; World Scientific, 2011). He has several publications in leading academic journals. He is a consultant for the Commonwealth Secretariat, International Institute of Sustainable Development (IISD) and the Ministry of Commerce, India. A columnist for India's Financial Express, he writes for the China Daily, Wall Street Journal, East Asia Forum, Business Times and other leading global publications. He also appears regularly as an expert on the BBC, Bloomberg News, Channel News Asia, CNBC and Reuters.

Seeking Partnership with the Philippines in Maritime Security: The Case of the Special Japan-Australia Strategic Partnership

Author: Renato Cruz De Castro

This paper examines Japan's and Australia's efforts to enhance the maritime capabilities of the Philippines in the face of China's maritime expansion in the South China Sea. It observes that both Japan and Australia are middle powers that are members of a loose association of maritime democracies called "Democratic Security Diamond (DSD)." A brain child of Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, the DSD was formed by four naval powers—Australia, India, the United States, and Japan—to safeguard safe guard the maritime commons stretching from the Indian Ocean to the Western Pacific. As members of the DSD, Japan and Australia have emphasized the relevance of the regional security architecture through the creation of multilateral organizations as a means of upholding a stable and rules based order in East Asia. Both are also actively involved in joint assistance to the development and maritime capacity building of third countries

threatened by the rise of China such as the Philippines. Since the formation of their special strategic partnership in 2012, Japan and Australia have assisted the Philippines in building up its navy, coast guard, and air force. In conclusion, this paper argues that in building up the country's maritime security capabilities, the Philippines should look at the prospect of signing a Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) with Australia and the Japan and forming a trilateral security partnership made up of Tokyo, Canberra, and Manila.

Renato Cruz De Castro is a full professor in the International Studies Department, De La Salle University, Manila, and holds the Charles Lui Chi Keung Professorial Chair in China Studies. He was a visiting research fellow in the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) from June to August 2017. From September to December 2016, he was based in East-West Center in Washington D.C. as the U.S.-ASEAN Fulbright Initiative Researcher from the Philippines. He is an alumnus of the Daniel Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Hawaii, U.S.A. In 2009, Dr. De Castro became the U.S. State Department ASEAN Research Fellow from the Philippines and was based in the Political Science Department of Arizona State University. He earned his Ph.D. from the Government and International Studies Department of the University of South Carolina as a Fulbright Scholar in 2001, and obtained his B.A. and two master's degrees from the University of the Philippines.

Professor De Castro has conducted several courses on International Relations and Security Studies in the National Defense College and Foreign Service Institute. He is also a member of the Board of Trustees of the Albert Del Rosario Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ADR Institute), and was a consultant in the National Security Council of the Philippines during the Aquino Administration. Professor De Castro's research interests include Philippine-U.S. security relations, Philippine defense and foreign policies, U.S. defense and foreign policies in East Asia, and the international politics of East Asia. He has written over 90 articles on international relations and security that have been published in a number of scholarly journals and edited works in the Philippines, Japan, South Korea, Canada, Malaysia, France, Singapore, Taiwan, Germany, the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States.

Vietnam's foreign policy in the current era of uncertainty

Author: Viet Nguyen

The paper explores Vietnam's foreign policy in a new regional order with leadership uncertainty. It examines how Vietnam perceives the opportunities and challenges arising from such order, and responds accordingly. The new developments and complexity of international relations in the Asia Pacific region induces Vietnam to adjust its foreign policy, most notably since the 12th Party

Congress in 2016. It presents Vietnamese most updated foreign policy towards major powers and neighboring countries.

The paper argues that the ongoing power transition in the region brings about significant security challenges for Vietnam, including threats to its sovereignty regarding the disputes over the South China Sea, and the difficulties in maintaining and managing its current balanced relations with major powers. The paper also presents some recommendations for what roles Vietnam and regional middle powers should play in such new context.

Dr. Viet T. Nguyen obtained his PhD in International Relations from the University of Virginia, USA in 2014. He worked at the Department of International Politics & Diplomacy of the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam, and serves as Dean of the Department since September 2017.

His recent research projects have included “Readjustment of major power relations in Asia Pacific since the world economic crisis 2008” and “Security Architecture of the Asia Pacific”. He is currently working on a research project for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam (MOFA) entitled “National identity in Vietnam’s international integration: theories and practice”, and “Escalating tension on the Korean Peninsula: causes and impacts”.

With his expertise on theories of international relations and security, he teaches various courses at the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam at both undergraduate and graduate levels. He is also currently a visiting lecturer at the University for Social Sciences and Humanities in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.

G-Zero World and Trade: A Return to Bilateralism and Self-interest

Author: Bryan Mercurio

The era of multilateral cooperation in the World Trade Organization (WTO) has effectively ended, but so has the more recent trend towards larger and more comprehensive bilateral and regional trade agreements (BRTAs). A G-Zero World affects trade relations in that the leadership once expected (and desired) of the US, EU and a select few others has collapsed and the void has not been filled by leading developing countries such as China, Brazil and India. This is unfortunate, as the multilateral system facilitated and added security and predictability to the widespread and complex networks of trading relationships– stimulating growth and increasing wealth (and health) across the globe. At the same time, while perhaps not the economically most efficient tool to stimulate trade and growth, BRTAs allowed countries to add depth and breadth to their liberalization commitments with one or more like-minded partner country in ways not possible in the multilateral system. The G-zero world threatens both, and with a confluence of political factors around the globe, trade negotiations in the near to mid-term will not seek to increase liberalisation but more so to claw back and add protections to domestic industry and economy via smaller and more niche agreements. The world economy, and the people, will suffer as a consequence. The

question then becomes what middle powers caught in the middle can do to secure their own economic prospects as well as to re-shape the future direction of trade relations.

Bryan Mercurio is Professor, Associate Dean (Research) and Vice Chancellor's Outstanding Fellow of the Faculty of Law at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). Specializing in international economic law, Professor Mercurio is a leading expert in the intersection between trade law and intellectual property rights. His work also frequently deals with free trade agreements, dispute settlement and increasingly international investment law. Professor Mercurio is co-author of one of the most widely used case books on WTO law (Hart Publishing, 2012, 2nd ed) and co-editor of the leading collection on bilateral and regional trade agreements (Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed, 2016). Prior to relocating to Hong Kong in 2007, Professor Mercurio taught in the faculty of law at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) and as visitor at universities in Australia and North America. He has held visiting positions at a number of institutions in Asia, Europe and North America and is currently a Senior Fellow at the Melbourne Law School.

Prior to academia, Professor Mercurio worked as a trade policy officer for the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade where he was involved in several WTO and NAFTA-related negotiations on a range of trade issues. Legally trained in the United States, Ireland and Australia, he subsequently practiced international trade, intellectual property and commercial law in the United States and Australia and participated as an advisor to the Australian government during the negotiation of the Australia-United States Free Trade Agreement. He remains a frequent consultant and advisor to governments, industry associations and law firms on a wide range of trade and investment matters.

An active participant in a number of associations, he was a member of the founding committee and served on the inaugural Executive Board of the Society of International Economic Law (SIEL), a founding member of the SIEL Intellectual Property Law Network, a founding member of the Asian International Economic Law Network and is a Member for Hong Kong in the Asian WTO Research Network. In 2010 he authored the case for the ELSA WTO Moot Court Competition and from 2013-2015 served as a member of the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development/World Economic Forum E15 Expert Working Group on Trade and Innovation.

The role of Germany in an Era of Uncertainty

Author: Wilhelm Vosse

During the Cold War, Germany was frequently described as a reluctant power, weakened by its division, geographical, cultural and historical closeness to Eastern Europe, historical memory, its strong sense of anti-militarism, its commercial interest, by NATO alliance and the U.S. nuclear umbrella. Since the end of the Cold War, Germany has slowly come to terms with increased expectations from the international community, its dominant economic and political position within the EU but also as the world's fourth-largest economy, the changing regional and global

security environment, and most recently, the increasing power vacuum left by the United States. Germany has since been described as Europe's pivotal power, a sleep-walking giant that has awoken, and since the beginning of the Trump administration with its “America first” policy and a certain disregard for upholding Western values, Chancellor Merkel has been named the most powerful or influential leader in the world. In 2017, Germany is neither a "classical" middle power nor a “normal” great power, but a country that is still teaching for its place in the world. This paper argues that the role of Germany in the world today is a defender of the liberal world order, and politics of emphasizing de-escalation, diplomatic dialogue, and political engagement in multilateral fora. It can only be successful when it cooperates with other large and middle powers.

Wilhelm Vosse is Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the International Christian University (ICU) in Tokyo, Japan, where he also serves as Director of the Social Science Research Institute (SSRI). He held visiting research positions at the University of Oxford and Harvard University. His research interests include Japanese foreign and security policy, and the domestic discourse on defense issues. Current research projects deal with Japan’s new security partnerships, maritime piracy, and cyberspace and international relations. Recent publications include *Learning Multilateral Military and Political Cooperation in the Counter-Piracy Missions* (The Pacific Review, 2017), *Heightened Threat Perception and the Future of Japan’s Anti-Militarism*, in: Vosse, Drifte, and Blechinger-Talcott (eds.) *Governing Insecurity in Japan. The Domestic Discourse and Policy Response* (Routledge, 2014), *Comparing Japanese, Australian and*

European Responses to ‘out-of-area’ Security Challenges, in: Tow and Kersten (eds.) *Bilateral Perspectives on Regional Security. Australia, Japan, and the Asia-Pacific Region*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). He is also the co-editor of three books, of which the most recent is: *Governing Insecurity in Japan. The Domestic Discourse and Policy Response* (Routledge, 2014).

G-Zero World realities and Canada as a Middle Power

Author: Stephen R Nagy

Canada’s top trading partners in 2016 were the US (US\$296.5 billion 76.2% of total Canadian exports), China at \$15.8 billion (4.1%), the United Kingdom at \$12.9 billion (3.3%) and Japan at \$8.1 billion (2.1%). This asymmetric economic relationship complicates Canada’s ability to carve out an independent foreign policy which does not defer to a large degree to its Southern neighbor. Notwithstanding, the inward turn of US under the Trump Administration and its disinterest in international institutions has created challenges for Canada, a traditional champion of international institutions. How will middle powers like Canada navigate themselves in an increasingly unpredictable international system as geopolitical rivalry and populism place great strain on the post WW 2 international liberal order? This paper argues that middle powers such as Canada will

need to strengthen their commitment to and expand their cooperation with other middle powers to buttress international institutions in order to blunt the increasingly destabilizing effects of SinoUS geopolitical rivalry and domestic political uncertainty in the US.

Stephen R. Nagy is a Senior Associate Professor in the Department of Politics and International Studies at the International Christian University, Tokyo. Previously he was an Assistant Professor at the Department of Japanese Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong from December 2009 to January 2014. He obtained his PhD from Waseda University, Japan in International Relations in December 2008.

His recent funded research projects are “Sino-Japanese Relations in the Wake of the 2012 Territorial Disputes: Investigating changes in Japanese Business’ trade and investment strategy in China”. Currently he is conducting a research project on the entitled “Perceptions and drivers of Chinese view on Japanese and US Foreign Policy in the Region”.

He has published widely in peer-reviewed international journals such as *China Perspectives*, *East Asia*, the *Journal of Asian Politics and History* and the *International Studies Review* on topics related to trade, nationalism and China-Japan relations. He has also published in think tank and commercial outlets such as the *China Economic Quarterly* and the *World Commerce Review* on trade and political risk and provides consulting services related to political risk in North and Southeast Asia.

In addition to writing in media and policy forms outlets in Japanese and English such as, *Nikkei Shinbun*, *Kyodo News*, *Associated Press*, *New York Times*, *Hong Kong 01*, *Thanhniem (Vietnam)* *Diamond OnLine*, *South China Morning Post*, the *Japan Times*, *East Asian Forum* and *Policy-net* on issues facing the region. Dr. Stephen R. Nagy also regularly appears on *ABC (Australia)*, *BBC*, *cNBC (US/ Asia)*, *Channel News Asia*, *Here and Now*, *NPR (US)*, *Al Jazeera* for television and radio interviews related to political/ economic and security in East Asian politics and international relations.

How a Traditional Middle Power Adapts To a G-Zero World: The Case of Australia

Author: Thomas Wilkens

Australia has long typified what it has meant to be a traditional middle power. As one of the founders of the distinct middle power role, along with Canada it has sought to advocate for and maintain its position for secondary powers in the international system. Yet as the system structure is undergoing significant transformation due to the rise of new emerging power centres the assumptions upon which its worldview has been predicated are being undermined. This paper uses a three-pronged IR framework to capture Australia's efforts to survive and recast its middle power role in an Asian Century.

Dr Thomas Wilkins specialises in Security Studies and Strategic Studies, with a particular emphasis on the Asia-Pacific region. He wrote his Ph.D thesis on the topic of Coalition Warfare at

the University of Birmingham and as an Exchange Visitor at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

Before joining the University of Sydney he was a Lecturer in Military History/Security at the Department of Politics and Contemporary History, University of Salford, and held Post Doctoral Fellowships at the University of San Francisco, the East West Center (Honolulu) and the International Institute for Asian Studies (Amsterdam). In addition to contemporary International Relations and Security Thomas Wilkins retains an active interest the field of international history, where he regularly contributes to Military History journals.

Tom will spend the 2012-2013 academic year at National Taiwan University under the auspices of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs Taiwan Fellowship and at Tokyo University via a Japan Foundation Japanese Studies Fellowship

The US-Japan-India Relationship: Mini-lateralism in Indo-Pacific

Author: J. Berkshire Miller

This past July, the US, Japan and India conducted the annual MALABAR naval exercises in the Bay of Bengal. The MALABAR exercises, along with Japan's inclusion as a permanent member in 2015, have been the watermark of a rapidly improving trilateral relationship between Delhi, Tokyo and Washington. But MALABAR exercises, despite their importance, are not sufficient to drive forward the trilateral relationship. The US and Japan continue to drive forward this relationship and press India, which has been traditionally hesitant to formalize strategic relations perceived by some in the region as a 'quasi-alliance', for stronger integration. While Delhi continues to be cautious on rapidly deepening trilateral – and potentially quadrilateral with Australia – relations with Washington and Tokyo, this trend is dynamic especially as geopolitical tensions ebb and flow with China. In sum, policymakers in India, the US and Japan should be cognizant of the limitations and pace of trilateral cooperation but should continue apace on niche areas of cooperation related to their shared security challenges in the Indo-Pacific

J. Berkshire Miller is a senior visiting fellow with the Japan Institute of International Affairs in Tokyo. He is also a senior fellow with the Tokyo-based Asian Forum Japan and the director of the Ottawa-based Council on International Policy. Miller has previously held a number of roles focused on regional security issues in East Asia, including fellowships at the Council on Foreign Relations, the EastWest Institute, the Pacific Forum CSIS and the National Institute of Defense Studies (Ministry of Defense of Japan). This paper is based on a research project led by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs.