



# RSIS-AVI Workshop on "Great Power Competition: The Changing International Order and Multilateralism"

Session 1:

**Great Power Competition and the Changing International Order** 

Session 2:

Regional Groupings and Small Powers: Challenges and Strategies

# **CONTENTS**

GENERAL INFORMATION	2
SYNOPSIS	3
PROGRAMME	4 - 5
BIOGRAPHIES	6 - 9
PAPER ABSTRACTS	10 - 1 <sup>-</sup>

#### **GENERAL INFORMATION**

#### WELCOME

The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, and the Asian Vision Institute (AVI) warmly welcome you to the RSIS-AVI Workshop on "Great Power Competition: The Changing International Order and Multilateralism".

#### **ZOOM DETAILS**

For the Zoom Meeting IDs and Passcodes, please refer to the programme page for the login details.

To ensure that there is sufficient time to address any last-minute connection issues (audio or video), we would appreciate that you join the webinar at least 30 minutes before the start of your session.

For the purpose of ensuring security and privacy of the webinar, please do not circulate the Zoom Meeting room IDs and passcodes that we have issued to you.

**NOTE:** Please ensure that your Zoom username is the same as the name you have provided in the registration form. You will not be allowed entry into the Zoom meeting if we are unable to verify your identity.

Please note that all sessions will be recorded for archiving purposes only.

#### **ATTIRE**

For Workshop on 13 October 2022 : Office Attire

#### **QUERIES**

Should you have any queries regarding workshop logistics, please contact Mr Shaun Tan.

Should you have any queries regarding the workshop programme, please contact Dr Su-Hyun Lee.

#### Mr Shaun Tan

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#### Dr Su-Hyun Lee

Assistant Professor Coordinator of the MSc Programme (International Political Economy) S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)

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#### **SYNOPSIS**

Great power competition has become a new mantra that symbolizes the transitions from the post-Cold war international relations shaped in the early 1990s. US-China trade disputes that began to boil during the Obama administration were developed into a trade war between the world's two largest economies under the Trump administration, significantly affecting global supply chains and many other countries relying on multilateral trading systems. In its report released in 2021, the Congressional Research Service (CRS) that provides non-partisan policy and legal analysis exclusively to the US Congress officially acknowledges "the renewal of great power competition" with China and Russia. This suggests that changes in the distribution of power caused by these two countries create new threats to American interests and U.S. allies politically, economically, and diplomatically. The Ukraine war that started last February has also been generating discussions about the new Cold War, as the development of the war in Ukraine has deepened the United States and NATO Allies' confrontation with Russia and China and enhanced bonding between the latter two countries. Amid growing tensions from great power rivalry, middle and small powers are now dealing with internal and external security challenges albeit to different extents, which are frequently intertwined with uncertainties in the global economy. Depending on issue areas, these non-major powers should navigate challenges and opportunities associated with great power competition and make strategic choices for national interests in existing multilateral institutions.

The current affairs invite us to critically revisit the ongoing debates on great power competition and its implications for geopolitics and the global political economy. Here the CMS seminar aims to facilitate discussions about the following questions. How does renewed great power competition restructure the post-Cold War international order? How does great power competition affect existing multilateral international institutions and the provision of global public goods, respectively? What kind of challenges and opportunities do middle powers and small powers see themselves from the extension of great power competition? How do these countries strategically articulate and pursue their national interests in response to the structural changes in the distribution of power? And how will the strategic interactions among countries affect existing multilateral agreements and the future of great power competition?

## **PROGRAMME**

# Zoom Login Details for 13 October 2022

Time: 12:30 - 17:00 (Singapore Time, UTC +8)

Zoom Meeting Room ID: **868 4539 9667**Zoom Meeting Room Passcode: **822004** 

Thursday, 13 October 2022		
12:40 – 13:00	Administrative Brief for All Speakers	
13:00 – 13:20	Welcome Remarks	
	Ambassador Ong Keng Yong Executive Deputy Chairman, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore	
	Dr Chhem Keith Rethy H.E. Professor, Minister Attached to the Prime Minister HUN Sen of the Kingdom of Cambodia, and Member of the Board of Directors, Asian Vision Institute (AVI), Cambodia	
	Photograph-taking Session	
13:20 – 15:00	Session 1: Great Power Competition and the Changing International Order	
	Research Topics: Competing Superpowers, Globalisation and the World Order Dr Tomoo Kikuchi, Associate Professor at Waseda University, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Japan	
	Chinese Development Finance and Lobbying in the United Nations Dr Su-Hyun Lee, Assistant Professor & Coordinator of the MSc Programme with International Political Economy, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore	
	Dr Byungwon Woo, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and International Studies, Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea	
	US-China Great Power Rivalry and the Emerging Geoeconomic World (Dis)Order  Dr Benjamin Herscovitch, Research Fellow jointly appointed to the ANU National Security College (NSC) and the School of Regulation and Global Governance (RegNet)	

# PROGRAMME (CONTINUED)

Thursday, 13 October 2022		
13:20 – 15:00	Q&A  Moderated by Dr Alan Chong, Senior Fellow, Centre for Multilateralism Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore	
15:00 – 15:20	Coffee Break	
15:20 – 17:00	Session 2: Regional Groupings and Small Powers: Challenges and Strategies	
	Research Topics: Advancing Economic Statecraft via Multilateral Agreements: The Roles of ASEAN Member States in Shaping Regional Economic Frameworks Dr Kaewkamol Pitakdumrongkit, Assistant Professor & Head, Centre for Multilateralism Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore	
	Small States and Multilateralism Dr Chheang Vannarith, President, Asian Vision Institute (AVI), Cambodia	
	Climate Partnerships: Survival Strategies for Pacific Island Countries Dr Anne-Marie Schleich, Adjunct Senior Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore	
	Q&A Moderated by Mrs Him Sothearoth, Coordinator, Mekong Centre for Strategic Studies, Asian Vision Institute (AVI), Cambodia	
17:00	End of Workshop	

#### **BIOGRAPHIES**

#### **Welcome Remarks**



**Ong Keng Yong** is Executive Deputy Chairman of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at the Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. He is concurrently Director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) at RSIS.

Mr Ong continues to hold the position of Ambassador-at-Large at the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is also Singapore's Non-Resident High Commissioner to Pakistan and Non-Resident Ambassador to Iran. Mr Ong has been the Chairman of the Singapore International Foundation (SIF) since 2015.

Mr Ong was High Commissioner of Singapore to Malaysia from 2011 to 2014. He served as High Commissioner of Singapore to India and concurrently Singapore's Ambassador to Nepal from 1996 to 1998.

Mr Ong served as 11th Secretary-General of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), based in Jakarta, Indonesia, from January 2003 to January 2008.

Mr Ong started his diplomatic career in 1979 and was posted to the Singapore Embassies in Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, and the United States of America between 1984 and 1994. From September 1998 to December 2002, he was Press Secretary to the then Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Goh Chok Tong, while holding senior appointments in the Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts, and the People's Association in Singapore. From 2008 to 2011, he served as Director of the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) in the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore.

Mr Ong graduated from the then University of Singapore with a LLB (Hons). He studied at Georgetown University in Washington D.C., USA, and graduated with a MA in Arab Studies.



Chhem Keith Rethy is a medical doctor, science diplomat, educator and historian with extended experience in Digital Science & Technology, Global Health Diplomacy, Nuclear Technology Policy, and Executive Education. He holds a MD, a PhD in Education and a PhD in History. He has published more than 100 scientific articles, edited 17 textbooks and has been invited as a keynote speaker in more than 70 countries. He was a Professor of Radiology in Canada (McGill), Singapore (NUS), Austria (Vienna Medical University) and Japan (Hir shima, Nagasaki, Fukushima Medical University) for 30 years. He was the Chair of the Radiology and Nuclear Medicine Department of University of Western Ontario. He was the Director of the Division of Human Health at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) from 2008 to 2014.

From 2014 to 2019, he was the Executive Director of the Cambodian Development Resource Institute (CDRI), a leading think tank in Kingdom of Cambodia, in the Top 100 of the University of Pennsylvania Global Think Tank ranking. He is the cofounder of the China Studies Center at CDRI. Currently, he is an Honourary Distinguished Fellow at the Asian Vision Institute and a member of the Advisory Board of the International Center for Higher Education Innovation (UNESCO) at the Southern University of Science and Technology in Shenzhen. He is a distinguished visiting professor at the Royal University of Phnom Penh, Atomic Bomb Disease Institute, Nagasaki, Hiroshima and Fukushima Medical University. He is an international advisor to the China Institute of International Studies in Beijing.

He serves also as an academic advisor to the Kirirom Institute of Technology (KIT). In May 2019, Professor Chhem Kieth Rethy was appointed Minister Delegate, attached to the Prime Minister. He is seconded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. In August 2020, he was appointed as Secretary of State at the newly created Ministry of Industry, Science, Technology and Innovation, in addition to his position at the Prime Minister Office. In these capacities, he oversees the National Institute of Science, Technology and Innovation (NISTI) and the National Institute of Diplomacy and International Relations (NIDIR). He also serves as member of the Board of Trustees of the Cambodia Academy of Digital Technology and he serves on the Leadership Council of the UNSDSN.

#### **Session 1 Panellists**



Tomoo Kikuchi is Associate Professor at the Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University and Adjunct Senior Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University. Previously, he worked at the National University of Singapore, Nanyang Technological University, and Korea University and held visiting positions at the MIT Sloan School of Management and the Keio University Global Research Institute. He grew up in Germany and Japan and studied at universities in Japan, Germany and the UK. He is interested in how the global financial market influences economic development of countries and has published papers on the topic in journals such as the *Journal of Economic Theory*. He has edited many books and journal special issues on trade, finance, and investment in Asia and is Associate Editor of the *Journal of Asian Economics* and *Malaysian Journal of Economics*. He frequently writes for newspapers such as the *Straits Times* and *Nikkei Asia*. He obtained his PhD in economics from Bielefeld University in Germany.



Su-Hyun Lee is Assistant Professor and the Coordinator of the MSc International Political Economy Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. She received her Ph.D. in political science from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Su-Hyun primarily studies the issues of international and comparative political economy (IPE/CPE) with a focus on trade, labor, distributive, and redistributive politics. Her research focuses on explaining the impact of domestic political institutions and interest groups on foreign economic policy and exploring the political and socioeconomic outcomes generated by countries' integration into the global economy. She is currently working on a book project that explores the political dynamics of US trade policy. Her other research projects examine the consequences of global economic integration, including the electoral effects of localized trade shocks, the skill-bias of tariff protection, and the political and economic consequences of Chinese aid and investment in developing countries. Her research publications have appeared in political science and international relations journals, including Political Science Research and Methods, Political Studies, The Social Science Journal, Revista Derechos en Acción, Asian Journal of Comparative Politics, and World Development.



Byungwon Woo is Associate Professor of International Relations at the Department of Political Science and International Studies at Yonsei University, Seoul, South Korea. Professor Woo's research interests include international organizations and international political economy. His research publications have appeared at various international relations and political science journals including American Journal of Political Science, Asian Women, Economics and Politics, International Area Studies Review, International Interactions, Journal of Human Rights, Korean Journal of International Studies, Korea Observer, International Studies Quarterly, Political Science Research and Methods, Political Studies, Review of International Organizations, and World Economy. He can be reached at bwwoo@yonsei.ac.kr.



Benjamin Herscovitch is a Research Fellow jointly appointed to the ANU National Security College (NSC) and the School of Regulation and Global Governance (RegNet). His primary areas of expertise are Australia-China relations, China's economic statecraft, and Australian foreign and defence policy. He is a member of the ANU Working Group on Geoeconomics and RegNet's Centre for International Governance and Justice. Prior to joining ANU, Benjamin was an analyst and policy officer in the Australian Department of Defence, specialising in China's external policy and Australia's defence diplomacy. He was previously a researcher for Beijing-based thank-tanks and consultancies. Benjamin holds a Bachelor of International Studies from the University of New South Wales and a PhD in political theory from the University of Sydney.



Alan Chong is Senior Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. He has published widely on the notion of soft power and the role of ideas in constructing the international relations of Singapore and Asia. His publications have appeared in Contemporary Southeast Asia, The Pacific Review; International Relations of the Asia-Pacific; Asian Survey; East Asia: an International Quarterly; Politics, Religion and Ideology; the Review of International Studies; the Cambridge Review of International Affairs and Armed Forces and Society. He is also the author of Foreign Policy in Global Information Space: Actualizing Soft Power (Palgrave, 2007) and editor of International Security in the Asia Pacific: Transcending ASEAN towards Transitional Polycentrism (Palgrave, 2018). He is currently working on several projects exploring the notion of "Asian international theory". His interest in soft power has also led to inquiry into the sociological and philosophical foundations of international communication. In the latter area, he is currently working on a manuscript titled 'The International Politics of Communication: Representing Community in a Globalizing World". In tandem, he has pursued a fledgling interest in researching cyber security issues. He has frequently been interviewed in the Asian media and consulted in think tank networks in the region.

#### Session 2 Panellists



**Kaewkamol "Karen" Pitakdumrongkit** is Head and Assistant Professor at the Centre for Multilateralism Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) of Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. She is also a Non-Resident Fellow at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), U.S.A.

Her research interests include international economic negotiation, Indo-Pacific economic governance and integration, regional-global economic governance dynamics, ASEAN Economic Community, and ASEAN's external relations (ASEAN-Plus frameworks). She has published in various outlets such as *The Singapore Economic Review, The International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, The Pacific Review, Australian Outlook, Review of International Political Economy, The Diplomat,* and East Asia Forum. Her media interviews include Bangkok Post, Bloomberg, Business Times, Channel News Asia, CNBC Asia-Pacific, New Straits Times, The Strait Times, South China Morning Post, and Xinhua.

Besides publications and media engagement, Dr. Karen organized several capacity-building programmes such as the Annual RSIS-World Trade Organization (WTO) Parliamentarian Workshops in Singapore, and In-Country Workshops on Technical Trade Issues which are tailored to the specific needs of the trade officials in Asian countries. She was also part of the team involved in composing the elements of the ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint 2025. In addition, Dr. Karen teaches modules at the RSIS MSc International Political Economy programme, and occasionally provides briefings to international diplomats and military students at Singapore's Goh Keng Swee Command and Staff College.



Chheang Vannarith is a public policy analyst and government relations strategist. He has over a decade of experience as a geopolitical and geoeconomic analyst, with a focus on Southeast Asia. He is currently the President of the Asian Vision Institute (AVI). He was honored a Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum in 2013. He previously served as Visiting Fellow at ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute (2017-2018), China Institute of International Studies (2016), Institute of Developing Economies in Japan (2012). and East-West Center in the United States (2010); Southeast Asia Consultant at The Nippon Foundation in Japan (2016-2018); Adjunct Lecturer at Nanyang Technological University's School of Social Sciences (2017 - Present); Lecturer of Asia Pacific Studies at the University of Leeds (2013-2016), Executive Director of Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (2009-2013); Technical Advisor to the Cambodian National Assembly (2011); and Assistant to Cambodia's Defense Minister (2011-2012). He received his BA in International Relations from the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam in 2002, MA in International Relations from the International University of Japan in 2006, and PhD in Asia Pacific Studies from the Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University in 2009.



Anne-Marie Schleich was a German diplomat from 1979 until 2016. Most recently, she was the German Ambassador to New Zealand and seven Pacific Island States from 2012 to 2016. She was the German Consul-General in Melbourne, Australia from 2008 to 2012 and has also served in Singapore, Bangkok, Islamabad and London. From 1998 to 2001 she was the Deputy Head of the Asia Pacific, Africa and Latin America Department, Foreign Affairs Directorate, Office of the German Chancellor, Berlin. In 2001, she was appointed Head of the Department for International Environmental Policies at the German Foreign Office. Dr Schleich has a doctorate degree in Political Science from the University of Mannheim.

Dr Schleich has recently written a number of articles on geopolitical developments in the Asia-Pacific region which were published in Australia, Germany, Singapore and Switzerland. She has also been a speaker at various international conferences in South East Asia and at the National University of Singapore. Her research focus is on geostrategic developments in Oceania, China-India border conflicts as well as the China-Pakistan relationship.



Him Sothearoth has been serving as the Programme Coordinator and Research Fellow for the Mekong Centre for Strategic Studies of the Asian Vision Institute (AVI). Additionally, she is also a lecturer at the Institute for International Studies and Public Policy (IISPP). Throughout her career, she has participated in many training programs: Global Peace Building Program Primary Course (2016), the 21st International Junior Diplomats Training Program (2015), the United Nations Women Empowerment and the First World Congress and Global Program (2012), and Exchange Program of Innovative and Entrepreneurship (2011). She received her BA from International Studies Royal University of Phnom Penh, Institute of Foreign Languages, Cambodia in 2012, and MA in International Relations from Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies (GSAPS) of Waseda University, Japan in 2018.

#### **PAPER ABSTRACTS**

#### SESSION 1: GREAT POWER COMPETITION AND THE CHANGING INTERNATIONAL ORDER

#### Competing Superpowers, Globalisation and the World Order

Dr Tomoo Kikuchi, Associate Professor at Waseda University, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Japan

We analyze a two-stage sequential game in which two superpowers compete over members by choosing a location to provide a club good. The club good yields higher utility to members when 1) they are closer to the good, 2) the club is larger, 3) they are more dependent on the provider. This presents a trade-off for the superpowers as their utility is increasing in the club size but decreasing in the distance to the club good. We study the consequences of the changing influences of superpowers on the world order, i.e., the size and location of the clubs that superpowers form. We simulate the game to show how the United States and China have shaped the world order from 2006 to 2019.

#### Chinese Development Finance and Lobbying in the United Nations

Dr Su-Hyun Lee, Assistant Professor & Coordinator of the MSc Programme with International Political Economy, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Dr Byungwon Woo, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and International Studies, Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea

Does China use its foreign aid strategically in the United Nations (UN)? Scholars of international politics of foreign aid have demonstrated that the United States and some Western donors use foreign aid for their foreign policy interests. In this paper, we investigate whether and how China utilizes its foreign aid politically at various institutions of the UN, including the UN Security Council (UNSC), the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC), and the UN General Assembly (UNGA). Theoretically, we propose three alternative scenarios in which China utilizes foreign aid to: (1) keep currently friendly countries to its side; (2) change the status quo in international politics; and (3) address its concerns and interests over human rights issues. Relying on the existing datasets on Chinese development finance, our empirical analyses show that countries that maintain similar voting patterns at the UNGA receive more aid from China, whereas countries serving at the UNSC as non-permanent members receive less aid from China. We also find that China tends to concentrate more aid to countries elected to serve at the UNHRC, especially those that maintain similar voting patterns at the UNGA.

#### US-China Great Power Rivalry and the Emerging Geoeconomic World (Dis)Order

Dr Benjamin Herscovitch, Research Fellow jointly appointed to the ANU National Security College (NSC) and the School of Regulation and Global Governance (RegNet)

Since the Trump presidency, competitive and adversarial dynamics have taken hold across most dimensions of the US-China relationship. Among other impacts, this intensifying period of great power rivalry has seen the resurgence of economic statecraft and the global retreat of orthodox and economically rationalist policymaking. Both Washington and Beijing have embraced a range of trade, innovation, and investment policies aimed at insulating themselves from exposure to and dependence upon the other side and, especially in the case of US policy, stifling China's rise. As well as severely straining the international system of rulesbased trade, these competitive and adversarial US-China dynamics have increased the influence of security considerations over economic policy decisions—not just in Beijing and Washington but in many third-country capitals. Using the analytical frame of traditional security dilemmas, this presentation will unpack some of the key escalatory cycles of economic statecraft between the United States and China since circa 2016. It will also explore how these developments have both strained the rules-based international trading system at the macro level and created new and fraught policy dilemmas for third states. Using Australia as a case study, this presentation will conclude by considering how traditionally economically liberal states are navigating this emerging geoeconomic age.

#### SESSION 2: REGIONAL GROUPINGS AND SMALL POWERS: CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES

# Advancing Economic Statecraft via Multilateral Agreements: The Roles of ASEAN Member States in Shaping Regional Economic Frameworks

Dr Kaewkamol Pitakdumrongkit, Assistant Professor & Head, Centre for Multilateralism Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Economic statecraft (ES) has been playing an increased role in affecting the international relations. Despite a proliferation of ES literatures in recent years, extant research tended to focus on great powers' ES, leaving small states' ES under-examined. Also, previous studies usually looked into how countries unilaterally employ ES. Hence, insufficient attention has been paid to how regional states work together to collectively alter multilateral frameworks to advance their ES or undercut other powers' ES. Against this backdrop, this paper explores how small states conduct their ES and counter major powers' ES in the multilateral settings. It seeks to shed light on the question: "How do small states tweak the details of multilateral governance frameworks to advance their ES and lessen major powers' ES?" My presentation will shed light on these issues via the case study of Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).

#### Small States and Multilateralism

Dr Chheang Vannarith, President, Asian Vision Institute (AVI), Cambodia

Multilateralism is one of the key foreign policy objectives of small states. The presentation focuses on the challenges that small states are facing in terms of advancing an open, inclusive, and rules-based multilateralism amidst heightening geopolitical rivalries between major powers and the relative decline of global governance and multilateralism. It is argued that although small states have limited material resources and face constant foreign intervention, it does not mean that they are not entirely without agency. Within the context of rising fluidity and multiplicity of the international system, small states possess strategic space to maneuver as they continuously adjust their foreign policy posture to adapt to and navigate the fast-changing geopolitical landscapes and trends and promote multilateralism.

#### Climate Partnerships: Survival Strategies for Pacific Island Countries

Dr Anne-Marie Schleich, Adjunct Senior Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Last year's Leader meeting of the Pacific Island Forum (PIF) repeated the clarion call that climate change remains the greatest immediate challenge facing the Pacific region. Over the last decade, the PIF has raised its profile in the area of climate change and climate security. Its member countries have coordinated their positions within the PIF but also engaged with other SIDS and AOSIS countries and started active lobbying within the UN system. They also sought to gain likeminded partners such as the EU or individual EU member countries like Germany in their climate fight. This 'New Pacific Diplomacy' has strengthened the climate voices of the island states in UN negotiations.

