**A Shifting World**

**International Relations from beyond the West**

**Conference organised by the Centre for Politics in Africa, Asia and the Middle East (AAME), Royal Holloway, University of London**

**19 June 2017**

**9:00am – 6:30pm**

**Senate House, University of London, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU**

**Provisional Programme**

9.00-9.30 Registration

9:30-9:40 Opening Remark by the Director of AAME, Julia Gallagher

9:40-11:10 Panel One: Emerging powers, norms and challenges

Panel Chair: Jinghan Zeng, Royal Holloway

* Enze Han, SOAS, The Rise of China and Its Challenge to the Racial Hierarchical Order in International Relations
* Thorsten Wojczewski, KCL, India’s Foreign Policy Discourse and its Conception of World Order: The Quest for Power and Identity
* Claudia (Claude) Zanardi, KCL, The concept of Hegemony in Chinese International Relations: An Indigenous or Imported IR Concept?
* Mohammad R. Kalantari, Royal Holloway, Middle East in the Post-West Era: The (trans)Regional Prospects of Saudi Arabia and Iran Rapprochement
* Peter Ferdinand, Warwick, Regional Powers and Regional Leadership

11:10-11:40 Tea break

11:40-1:15 Panel Two: Imagining the International

Panel Chair: Julia Gallagher, Royal Holloway

* Uchenna P. Vasser, Winston-Salem State University, A Literary Approach to Afro-Sino Relations: Ufrieda Ho’s *Paper Sons and Daughters: Growing Up Chinese in South Africa* and Ken N. Kamoche’s *Black Ghosts.*
* William A. Callahan, LSE, Maps, sovereignty and space in the South China Sea
* Sruthi Muraleedharan, SOAS, Visualizing ‘Hindutva’ Security: Modi and his ‘Gifts’
* Martin J. Bayly, Historicising ‘Global IR’: Empire, Knowledge, and International Thought in Late-Colonial India

11:40-1:15 Panel Three: New Economic Shapes

Panel Chair: Antara Datta, Royal Holloway

* Ivica Petrikova, Royal Holloway, Food security in emerging powers – Is focus on self-sufficiency rising in line with neo-mercantilist and neo-realist predictions?
* Farooq Sulehria, SOAS, End of media imperialism via southern giants? Defogging a myth through India
* Sandra Halperin, Royal Holloway, TBC
* Zhenyan Xi, Sichuang University (China), The Assessment of China’s Economic Rise and Soft Power in Europe

1:15-2:30 Lunch

2:30- 4:00 Panel Four: South-South relations

Panel Chair: Will Jones, Royal Holloway

* Agatha Kratz (KCL) and Dragan Pavlićević (Xi’an Jiaotong – Liverpool University), Mapping Two-Way Recalibration of China and Japan’s Approaches to Overseas Infrastructure Projects: A Case Study of the Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project.
* David Harris (University of Bradford) and Simona Vittorini (SOAS), Taking ‘Development Cooperation’ and South-South Discourse Seriously: Indian claims and Ghanaian responses
* Jana Hönke and Eric Cezne (University of Groningen), Non-Western IR through the lens of large-scale economic projects. Unpacking 'Brazil in Africa’ in the north of Mozambique

4:00-4:30 Tea break and group photo

4:30-6:00 Keynote: Yongjin Zhang (Bristol), Why Is There No Critical Chinese IR?

6:00-6:30 Wine Reception

6:30- Dinner (Sagar Fitzrovia 17a Percy St, Bloomsbury, London W1T 1DU)

The Centre for Politics in Africa, Asia and the Middle East (AAME) is part of the Department of Politics and International Relations at Royal Holloway, University of London. Its members carry out research and teach in their specialist areas of Africa, China, the Middle East and South Asia. We foster a lively research culture, running a regular seminar series and an annual conference. Our PhD community is a vital part of this. Our students work on topics from media and identity in Zimbabwe to social movements in Egypt and the politics of music in India. We welcome applications from potential students who wish to work on politics in AAME. We contribute to teaching on the Politics and International Relations degrees at Royal Holloway, and we are currently in the process of establishing a new MA in The Politics of Development.

**Panel One Emerging powers, norms and challenges**

**Enze Han, The Rise of China and Its Challenge to the Racial Hierarchical Order in International Relations**

The extant literature of the rise of China and its challenge to the United States as the reigning hegemon of the current international system often focuses on the nature of such challenge based on two factors. The first is power and capabilities, which in the realist convention is how the international system is ordered. Thus, scholars have debated extensively on how the growth of China’s economic and military power has implications for the existing international order centred on the US supremacy of its capabilities, especially in the Asia Pacific region. The other factor is ideological, which focuses on regime types, i.e. the challenge posed by China is one of an authoritarian regime to the democratic leadership of the “free world.” Thus, in the words of Ikenberry and the like, the need to maintain the US hegemony is to confirm the liberal international order where the organizing principle is a commitment to democracy, freedom and human rights. However, few scholars have genuinely confronted the fact that the rise of China and its challenge to the existing hierarchical order of international relations is racial. Given the Eurocentric foundation of the prevailing international system for the past few centuries, few non-Western states have managed to fundamentally change the existing racial order in international relations. The only exception of such an attempt was the rise of Japan in early 20th century that once explicitly pioneered the idea of the rise of the Asian race in competition with the Europeans. This paper takes on such a task to interrogate how much of China’s rise and challenge to the existing hierarchical order of international relations should be understood in the lens of race. Borrowing from W.E.B. Du Bois’s conceptualization of the “Colour Line,” this paper critiques existing studies of international hierarchy that ignore the crucial dimension of race, and probes how the rise of China can create a truly fundamental challenge of the once hard-held conception of the Whiteman’s supremacy and their domination over the international system.

**Thorsten Wojczewski, India’s Foreign Policy Discourse and its Conception of World Order: The Quest for Power and Identity**

Given India’s growing power and aspirations in world politics, there has been increasing interest among practitioners and scholars of international relations (IR) in how ‘India views the world’. The rise of so-called emerging powers such as China, India or Brazil is believed to transform the international system and to pose a challenge to the Western-liberal world order (see Ikenberry 2010; Layne 2012; Stuenkel 2016). All too often, however, the ‘global power shifts’ literature derives their future political clout directly from their growing economic (and military) capabilities, thus suggesting that the possession of certain material characteristics will automatically lead to a particular foreign policy behaviour (e.g. striving for reginal or global hegemony). This rather materialistic and deterministic reading also reflects the Western-centrism of IR (see Hobson 2012; Acharya 2014), which attributes non-Western states often only an inferior agency and neglects the way in which these states conceptualize and practice world politics.

Though India’s ‘rise’ has attracted much scholarly attention (see, inter alia, Mohan 2004, Pant 2008, Malone 2012, Paul 2016), there exists no systematic and theory-led study on India’s world order model in the IR literature. Hence, it remains unclear how India will engage and shape the world order. By examining the dominant world order model in India’s foreign policy discourse, this paper moves beyond Western-centric IR and sheds light on how the foreign policy discourse of a state located outside the Western ‘core’ conceptualizes world order. Drawing on poststructuralist discourse theory and insights of postcolonialism, the article proposes a novel analytical framework for studying foreign policy discourses and addresses some of the criticism that poststructuralist approaches and Post-Western IR scholarship have encountered in the literature. It shows that foreign policy and world order have been crucial sites for the (re-)production of India’s identity by placing India into a system of differences that constitutes ‘what India is’. At the same time, India’s foreign policy discourse seeks to defuse this difference by framing world order in accordance with India’s own national experiences that allegedly demonstrate how diversity can be managed peacefully and thus how a peaceful and just world order could be achieved.

By applying an anti-essentialist, discursive ontology, the paper critically interrogates this underlying notion of exceptionalism and addresses the risk of essentialism – a tendency we find in ‘post-Western IR’ scholarship (see Tickner/Wӕver 2009) which often highlights the significance of geo-cultural difference in knowledge production. As critics point out (see Hurrell 2016), this scholarship runs the risk of re-producing nationalistic and ethnocentric accounts of world politics which are interfused with various myths and ideologies and often come uncomfortably close to the official foreign policy orientations of the respective countries. In this paper, I will therefore deconstruct such notions of uniqueness or linearity in state identity by exposing the myths and narratives underpinning such claims and explaining why state identities are in need of constant re-articulation.

**Claudia (Claude) Zanardi, The concept of Hegemony in Chinese International Relations: An Indigenous or Imported IR Concept?**

Chinese international relations (IR), is often said to be heavily reliant on Western concepts, in particular the realist conceptualisation of hegemony. Since the 1980s, however, Chinese academic discourse has witnessed increasingly vocal calls to build a theory with “Chinese characteristics”. Under President Xi Jinping and his predecessor Hu Jintao, such calls have been bolstered, as the government turned to traditional Chinese thought for discursive resources in its international policy. In these discourses, China’s role in a future world order is formulated in direct relation, and often opposition, to what is portrayed as “Western theory” and “Western hegemony”. This chapter examines the tensions of this relation through an exploration of the Chinese concept *ba* (霸), most commonly translated as “hegemony”, as it appears in contemporary Chinese academic and policy discourse. These typically portray the United States as the bad hegemon versus the good Chinese refrain from seeking hegemony. This research draws on resources from Chinese politicians and academics to explore how different the Chinese alternatives to *ba* or hegemony really are. Can thought that draws on a Chinese rather than Western traditions imagine a better world leadership, beyond the problematic concept of hegemony?

The first section outlines the broad strokes of international debates concerned with the idea of hegemony. It pays specific attention to the idea of China’s rise as a potential challenge to current world order. The second section introduces Chinese governmental rhetoric, which has tried to reassure those who fear such a challenge by promising that the People’s Republic of China (PRC) will never seek hegemony. The third section turns to recent developments in Chinese IR in order to excavate what such a claim might mean. It examines the use of *ba* showing how *ba* is not simply indicative of leadership, but also of immorality. The fourth section examines how *ba* plays out in the work of prominent IR scholar Yan Xuetong, who has argued that China will instead constitute a new kind of “humane authority”.

The central argument of this paper is that despite drawing on a Chinese tradition of thought, such vision of world order tends to replicate the problematically hierarchical imagination that China singles out in US/Western hegemony. Both “Western” and “Chinese” articulations of world order that deploy the concepts of hegemony and *ba* work to constitute dichotomized categories of “China” and “the West”, obscuring their mutual constitution and hybridity. In conclusion, those who are sceptical about US/Western hegemony should also be cautious of claims that Chinese thought provides an escape from these problems. Chinese thought – at least as articulated in contemporary discussions of world hegemony – does not provide a greener grass where theorists can escape English language conceptual confines.

**Mohammad R. Kalantari**, **Middle East in the Post-West Era: The (trans)Regional Prospects of Saudi Arabia and Iran Rapprochement**

With the world facing the rise of new political actors who challenge the predefined powers in the International Relations, ‘post-west’ era, has become a buzzword in the field during the last two years. As so-called sectarian conflicts, proxy wars, civil wars, and global Jihadism orchestrate a resounding rejection of the status quo, Middle East becomes the centre point of the post-western International Relations studies, in recent years. Historically, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Turkey, and Iran have been among the most noteworthy states who hold the balance of power in the Middle East. With the fall of Saddam and Mubarak in Iraq and Egypt, and entanglement of Turkey with the Kurdish question, they are Saudi Arabia and Iran which construct a new equilibrium at the heart of the region. This paper examines the structure of rising hegemonic powers in the Middle East with focus on the Saudi Arabia’s and Iran’s quest for developing their (trans)regional influence. Many argue that the so-called Saudi-Iran regional rivalry is the salient feature of today’s Middle East conflict and its prospect would shape the future of the region. Since early 2015, with empowerment the new regime in Saudi Arabia and later Iran’s deal with P5+1, while the government of Riyadh struggles to cast itself as the guardian of Muslim world and the leader of Arab countries, Tehran’s leadership seeks to develop an effective network of regional clients, seizing the best out the upheavals, to consolidate its regional hegemony. Today, this rivalry has transgressed from northern Iraq to the southern outskirts of Yemen. Saudi Arabia, has long exercised its regional competitive advantage, its oil wealth- especially while Iran had been under sanction- to advance its regional status. The Saudi-US ‘special relationship’ has played a crucial part in rising power of the Monarchy. Breaking off from direct diplomatic relation with the US, Iran, on the other hand, has relied more on the regional alliances and resources to advance its causes since 1979; therefore, pursuing a much powerful strategy to cast in a post-west Middle East. Reviewing the course of the history in last two decades, and assessing the Saudi-Iran war of words during the last two years, this paper generates the matrix of possible outcomes of this rivalry in the region, considering other regional (non)state actors. The main argument of this study, therefore, aims to explore what are the backbone of Saudi and Iran hegemonic visions in the region? How stable is their strategies in long term? And what are the prospect of this rivalry for the broader world in what has been known as the post-west Middle East?

**Peter Ferdinand, Rising Powers and Regional Leadership**

Can rising powers leverage their size and economic power into becoming leaders in their respective regions so as to promote their ambitions for global prominence? Former Turkish foreign minister Ahmet Davutoglu wrote *Strategic Depth* in 2001 which outlined the strategy for the AKP party to make the country a regional power through pursuing policies of ‘zero problems’ with neighbours. All of the BRICS states (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) share similar ambitions for regional and global leadership. This paper will use the framework that Davutoglu laid down to examine their strategies and assess their success.

**Panel Two Imagining the International**

**Uchenna P. Vasser, Relations: Ufrieda Ho’s *Paper Sons and Daughters: Growing Up Chinese in South Africa* and Ken N. Kamoche’s *Black Ghosts.***

As part of the new minor program in Chinese at Winston-Salem State University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the Department of World Languages and Cultures designed a course titled **Comparative Cultures: Africa and China** to introduce students to key concepts of the Africa-China dynamics and attendant cross-cultural ramifications. Specifically, the course offers a panoramic approach to the Afro-Sino relations to touch on economic and political engagements. However, in the course description, questions raised include whether China’s presence in Africa has allowed for an understanding of the African cultural milieu, and whether Africans have taken steps to understand Chinese cultures. Therefore, the course takes the unprecedented approach of focusing on the cultural implications of the Afro-Sino contacts, “and how the contacts undergird cross-cultural understandings.” The course will appropriate literary texts, audiovisual materials, journals, and newspapers as lenses to contemplate the tableau of Afro-Sino cultural contacts.

This proposal is to participate in the Afro-Sino conversations through the analysis of two texts: Ufrieda Ho’s *Paper Sons and Daughters: Growing Up Chinese in South Africa* and *Black Ghosts* by Ken N. Kamoche, who writes from the perspective of the African student in China. These texts serve as points of departure for assessing in particular, the response of the emergent African literati to Afro-Sino international relations. The intent is to ascertain the degree, or imbalance of cultural exchanges between Africa and China. The approach is therefore intentionally Afrocentric.

Winston-Salem State University is a historically black institution (HBCU) in the United States of America, and its recognition of China’s role in global geopolitics includes, of necessity, the need to understand China’ influence within the context of Africana studies.

**William A. Callahan, LSE, Maps, sovereignty and space in the South China Sea**

The essay considers how maps do not simply reflect the world, but can create alternative worlds. While many in IR look to European history to see maps as the record of international boundaries (see Branch 2014), the essay will develop the concept of the geobody, which comes from East Asia (Winichakul 1994), to ask: how do people use maps to actively negotiate identity, space, and thus sovereign power? It will use archive sources to ask: How are Russians and Chinese currently reading ancient maps and creating new maps to think about their countries’ proper global role in the 21st century? In particular it will compare how Chinese use maps to visualize the South China Sea as sovereign space, with how Russians and Baltic peoples use maps to debate empire and nationality. The essay thus considers how these often unofficial visual expressions of sovereignty and space create and perform international politics. More generally, it will explore how non-Western ideas can inform a post-Western vision of global politics.

**Sruthi Muraleedharan, Visualizing ‘*Hindutva’* Security: Modi and his ‘Gifts’**

This paper aims at analysing the effect of visual cultures in International relations. Specifically it looks at photographs or images to demonstrate how images can reflect the underlying shifts in foreign policy narrative and consequently ideas of security. Contextualizing this discussion within the theoretical paradigms of Butler’s idea of Performativity and visual securitization, this paper will analyze Modi’s practices of gifting and discern the underlying shifts in India’s foreign policy since 2014.

This paper argues that there is a fundamental effort at performing and visualizing India as the pivot of ancient ‘*sanskriti and sabhyata’* (culture and civilization) which inevitably is being interpreted as being ‘Hindu’ in the present regime. These practices of gifting are embedded in the norms of Hindutva politics and thus mark a departure from a secular Nehruvian foreign policy. This discussion will be divided at two levels- domestic and international.



1. Modi in Nepal 2. Modi in Japan

The first image (1) is of Modi *giftin*g 2.5 tonnes of sandalwood at Pushupatinath temple in Nepal as part of his official visit in 2014. The second image (2) is Modi *gifting* the holy book of Gita to the Japanese Emperor. Juxtaposing these images, I would be discerning two aspects of Modi’s foreign policy initiatives through politics of gifting. Nepal is geo-strategically crucial in the South Asian context as a Hindu majority state, as opposed to Pakistan, Bangladesh and Srilanka. Hence how does overtures made by Modi as the leader of the Hindu right-wing political formation represent? Is it an effort to create Pan- Hindu solidarity in the South Asian region? Similarly with the gifting of Gita and then the ‘smart city’ collaboration with Japan – is there a similar agenda of traditional heritage and modernity being forged? The overall discussion will then look at the subtle inter-textual narratives of these performative practices of gifting to dissect the changing nature of India’s secular foreign policy.

**Martin J. Bayly, Historicising ‘Global IR’: Empire, Knowledge, and International Thought in Late-Colonial India**

The call for a more ‘global’ conception of International Relations as a discipline confronts a number of difficult presumptions. Not least is the often-artificial edifice of ‘western’ versus ‘non-western’ IR. This binary overlooks a more careful consideration of the disciplinary history of IR, especially regarding the colonial origins of the discipline in the imperatives of colonial administration, and the groups and individuals that provided alternative political and epistemic projects of ‘counter-knowledge’. Instead of a process of diffusion from the ‘west’ to the ‘non-west’, the ‘non-west’ is revealed as a critical site for the constitution of social science as a project of colonial modernity, encompassing multiple forms of dialogue, contestation, and resistance. This paper historicises the ‘global IR’ agenda, drawing upon ‘assemblage’ approaches, and taking the example of the learned societies of late-colonial India and their contribution to the formation of International Studies in post-independence India. Such an approach dissolves the language of ‘west’ and ‘non-west’, denoting instead an amalgam of ‘places, bodies, voices, skills, practices, technical devices, theories, social strategies, and collective work’ that ‘implies a constructed robustness without a fully interpreted and agreed upon theoretical framework’. This challenges some of the doubtful particularisms of the existing ‘global IR’ literature, as well as the hierarchies of knowledge it carries. The paper offers instead an historical vision which considers the manner in which IR was ‘global’ at its inception, thus doing greater justice to the entangled histories upon which disciplinary origins were built, and raising questions over the marginalisation of non-western IR since.

**Panel Three New Economic Shapes**

**Ivica Petrikova, Food security in emerging powers – Is focus on self-sufficiency rising in line with neo-mercantilist and neo-realist predictions?**

Despite an increasingly commercially liberalised world, leading world powers have thus far resisted the liberalisation of food production, perceiving it as integral to national security. This has been evidenced by the intractability with which the US and the EU countries have approached the World Trade Organisation (WTO) negotiations vis-à-vis domestic agricultural subsidies and non-tariff trade barriers to food imports, which have enabled the countries to remain large agricultural exporters despite having significantly higher labour costs than countries of the global South. With the shifting global balance of power, one could expect a similarly neo-mercantilist attitude to food security to spread to emerging regional leaders.

This article examines the behaviour of six such countries – Brazil, China, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, and Nigeria – on the food security front, focusing specifically on issues of domestic production of key crops, exports and imports of such crops, domestic agricultural and export subsidies, and agricultural investment both domestically and abroad. The results show that while Brazil, China, and India have indeed become increasingly focused on increasing food self-sufficiency, either by increasing domestic cultivation of stable crops or by acquiring land abroad in order to be able to do so, this has not been the case with Mexico, Ethiopia, and Nigeria. An international relations theory focused on analysing states as unitary actors, such as neo-realism or neo-mercantilism, is unable to offer a satisfactory explanation for this conundrum. This can rather be achieved by considering domestic factors associated with developmental states (e.g. Leftwich), which have been present in the first three states and encouraged their emulation of “first-world” leading countries while absent from Ethiopia, Nigeria, and even Mexico.

**Farooq Sulehria, End of media imperialism via southern giants? Defogging a myth through India**

A repertoire of scholarly works summarily rejects the media imperialism thesis from viewpoints ranging from social-democratic and liberal to post-colonial and post-modern. One common argument in these scholarly works is the emergence of so-called southern players such as India, Brazil, Turkey, Mexico, Qatar and Egypt.

In terms of television households, India is world’s second largest market in the world. With over 800 television channels gone on-air in less than 20 years, India is glorified as a media success story in this age of globalisation. In media and journalistic narratives, this ‘tele-revolution’ in India, attributed to the possibilities offered by new Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) and globalisation of media, is also flaunted as an evidence to the end of media imperialism.

It is argued that emergence of India, and other such players from Global South, has undermined the hold of Western media conglomerate. Consequently, inequality in global media and cultural trade is now a thing of the past. However, democratisation of global media system is an unsubstantiated myth. Let the facts speak for themselves. All the top 25 media houses in the world are headquartered either in the USA and Japan or Western Europe and Australia. Globally Brazil and India occupy the 11th and 14th positions.

While rejecting end-of-imperialism thesis and its associated conceptualization of ‘Little Cultural/Media imperialism’, this essay argues: Instead of delivering the end of media imperialism, globalisation has strengthened domination of the West over the Rest through ownership of the infra-structure of media systems, on the one hand, and an increased dependency (technological, economic, professional) of the Third World media on the West, on the other. Thus globalisation of media has reinforced media imperialism.

Presenting India as a subimperialist market which is dependent and subordinate instead of defiant and competitive in its relationship with ‘global media’ headquartered in the West, I argue India, and other BRIC media systems, are best explained when seen as media-subimperialism, operative in subordinated collaboration with the global media giants, largely dependent but partly independent. The emergence of these southern players, enabled by globalisation, is perpetuating the media imperialism rather than subverting it. Therefore, this essay seeks to achieve two goals. Firstly, while contesting the mainstream consensus that the emergence of media players in global south such as Zee-India and Globo-Brazil has rounded off the era of media imperialism, it will argue that globalisation has extended the reach of media imperialism. A key factor in this expanded outreach of media imperialism is the compounding of dependency situation.

The second goal this essay has set itself is to introduce the notion of media subimperialism. Conceptualising southern players as media subimperialisms is a cogent characterization whereby subimperial media giants act as collaborators and junior partners of imperial media industries. Instead of challenging and undermining, let alone liquidating media imperialism, these media imperialisms reproduce inequality albeit at a regional level.

**Sandra Halperin,TBC**

**Zhenyan Xi, The Assessment of China’s Economic Rise and Soft Power in Europe**

This paper assesses China’s economic rise and its soft power status quo in Europe. It aims to analyze the world phenomenon of China’s rise and its influence on Europe from the aspects of economy and soft power. It also predicts the possible future relationship between China and Europe at the background of China’s rise in the present world. Through historical method and data analysis, it explores how much China has influenced Europe due to its economic rise, and the European perceptions of China’s rise from the perspectives of economy and soft power. By summarizing the challenges that China has encountered in order to develop a strategic partnership with Europe and project its soft power, this paper looks into a more extensive, comprehensive, well-balanced and pragmatic future potential China-Europe relationship based on the rise of China’s economy and the limits of its soft power in Europe.

**Panel Four South-South relations**

**Agatha Kratz, Mapping Two-Way Recalibration of China and Japan’s Approaches to Overseas Infrastructure Projects: A Case Study of the Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project.**

China is often described as, and criticized for being, a revisionist power, attempting through hard and soft power means to alter the global balance of power and change the international “rules of the game” in its favour. This challenge is first and foremost understood in terms of hard power: China’s growing military might is expected to destabilize regional if not global stability. However, in recent years the question of China’s capacity and intentions to alter international norms is also posed increasingly frequently.

In the field of development assistance and infrastructure financing for example, China has been strongly criticized for leveling down norms, standars and investment best practices around the world. By putting out on the market an alternative model, or at least alternative practices, for development and infrastructure finance, China is influencing the international development and infrastructure investment landscape.

However, it is unclear what consequences China’s interaction with the existing international order will have in the longer term. One possibility is that China’s emergence as a major player in the field will result in a long-term leveling *down* of international standards, especially as Chinese financial means and intents grows in the coming period. Another possibility, however, is that China’s exposure to “socialized” development and infrastructure financers will cause a leveling *up* of China’s behavior and policies.

While conclusively identifying which of these two processes is underway would necessitate a comprehensive and long-term approach to all aspects of China’s development and infrastructure policy—a task impossible to achieve within the space of a paper—a recent series of events do provide an opportunity for a sector-based approach to the topic, and allow us to propose a preliminary and partial answer to this question.

Looking to see whether a leveling *up* or *down* is taking place, we choose to analyse a specific and telling case study: that of Sino-Japanese competition for a major infrastructure project in Southeast Asia, the Indonesian Jakarta-Bandung high-speed rail. Relying on available scholarly and policy-level analysis, media reports, and over thirty interviews with policy-makers, diplomats, scholars and railway industry insiders in Indonesia, China, Japan, and Southeast Asia, we process-trace changes in China’s and Japanese overseas infrastructure development approaches and policies that resulted from their competition for this project.

We find that, rather than simply leveling down the terms of HSR and infrastructure provision in the region, this competition has pushed *both* countries to reconsider and recalibrate their infrastructure investment policies. Undeniably, China’s rise directly affected Japan’s practices, which have had to be altered to address China’s entry on the regional rail market. The result is a more responsive, risk-taking and politicized Japanese policy in the field of infrastructure financing and provision. But we find that China is also forced to adapt its model and to compromise in order to secure large deals against Japan. As a result, China’s approach has responded to and adopted a number of Japanese traits. Finally, we find that this increased competition has allowed host countries to demand more of both Japan and China, and made them more rather than less resilient to what is often considered a powerful if not harmful Chinese infrastructure diplomacy.

**David Harris and Simona Vittorini,** **Taking ‘Development Cooperation’ and South-South Discourse Seriously: Indian claims and Ghanaian responses**

Indian interaction with the global South, and in particular Africa, is at a crossroads. For a long time wedded to Nehruvian values of South-South cooperation, there are now considerable claims that economics underpins these interactions. At the same time, the Indian term, ‘development cooperation’, is an endeavour to maintain the delineation between India’s relationships with the South and the corresponding relationships of others such as China and the West. This paper looks at Indian rhetoric and activity in Ghana and crucially, in addition, asks what form Ghanaian responses take. The flux in India-Ghana relations at various levels is then used to assess where the Indian presence in Africa may be heading, and whether it can be said that current ideas of South-South cooperation have a specific and effective Indian form. The paper concludes that while the rhetoric and ideas behind South-South cooperation have been toned down and then modified again under Prime Minister Modi, there are indeed still ideas: Indian ‘development cooperation’ is at least partly ideologically and normatively informed, competes with national interests and has an effect; whilst being extremely broad in content. Finally, the paper argues that India’s ‘development cooperation’ contributes significantly to new global conceptualisations of aid – not a term used by Indians - and indeed a ‘post-aid’ world. Indian rhetoric in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa rejects the old binary of interests and ideas and Ghanaians and other Africans are not pressing India to make the distinction. Are India and Africa then at the forefront of seismic global shifts in the aid world which would represent a greater achievement than any made during the Cold War by the much more radical, dependency theory-related, South-South ideas?

**Jana Hönke and Eric Cezne, Non-Western IR through the lens of large-scale economic projects. Unpacking 'Brazil in Africa’ in the north of Mozambique**

Particularly in the 2000s, Brazil’s international engagement has seen an upward surge. Much of this newly won centrality has been projected in Africa under the guise of a South-South cooperation narrative that has combined solidarity and business motives, and has been enacted through public diplomacy and aid, but also state corporations and private companies. This paper moves beyond state-centric accounts of the relationship by putting large-scale economic projects center stage. More specifically, this is done in this paper by investigating Brazilian engagement in the north of Mozambique, a pivotal ground for Brazil’s rapprochement with Africa. Through the exploration of the engagement of Brazilian multinational corporations Vale and Odebrecht in the Moatize coalmine and Nacala Corridor project in northern Mozambique, this paper sheds light on the complexities of ‘South-South cooperation’ and unpacks the internationalization of Brazilian capitalism, a key pillar of Brazil’s foreign strategy in the mid-2000s towards the Global South. We analyze diverse Brazilian programmatic discourses and practices around these projects, how they are presented, and how they are indeed governed in practice. This will serve to unpack the deeper complexities behind the ‘Brazil Rising’ and 'South-South cooperation' narrative and, more broadly, of non-western international relations.

**BIOS**

**Keynote speaker: Yongjin Zhang**

Yongjin Zhang is Professor of International Politics at the University of Bristol. His most recent publications include *Contesting International Society in East Asia* (Cambridge University Press 2014, co-edited with Barry Buzan), *International Orders in the Early Modern World: Before the Rise of the West* (Routledge 2014, 2016--paper back edition; co-edited with Shogo Suzuki and Joel Quirk) and *Constructing a Chinese School of International Relations: Ongoing Debates and Sociological Realities* (Routledge 2016, co-edited with Teng-chi Chang). He has been awarded a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship for 2015-2017 to work on a book project International Relations in Ancient China: Ideas, Institutions and Law.

**AAME Academic & Conference team**

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Jinghan Zeng is Deputy Director of the Centre for Politics in Africa, Asia and the Middle East (AAME) and Lecturer in the Department of Politics and International Relations at Royal Holloway, University of London. His research lies in the field of Chinese politics with more specific interests in domestic politics of China's rise. He is interested in how China perceives its role and the impact of regime insecurity on this perception. He is the author of *The Chinese Communist Party's Capacity to Rule: Ideology, Legitimacy and Party Cohesion* (2015). His academic papers have appeared in *Journal of Contemporary China, International Affairs, JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, Contemporary Politics, Australian Journal of International Affairs* among others. He frequently appears in the media, both international and national, including the BBC, Al Jazeera, Russia Today (RT), China Global Television Network (CGTN) and the Danish Broadcasting Corp. He has written op-ed articles for The Diplomat, BBC (Chinese), International Affairs Blog, Policy Forum and Australian Outlook.

**Julia Gallagher,** the director of the AAME, contact for travel support, julia.gallagher@rhul.ac.uk

Julia Gallagher is a senior lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Royal Holloway and director of AAME. Julia works on African politics, exploring themes of recognition in IR, identity and ideas of statehood, and imagery in the international politics of Africa. She is author of three books; Britain and Africa under Blair: in pursuit of the good state (Manchester University Press, 2011, 2013), Zimbabwe’s International Relations: fantasy and reality in the making of the state (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming April 2017) and Why Mugabe Won: the 2013 Zimbabwean elections and their aftermath (co-authored with Stephen Chan, Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2017). She has edited two collections, a book, Images of Africa: creation, negotiation and subversion (Manchester University Press, 2015, 2017) and a special issue on Teaching Africa and International Studies in Politics, November 2016. Julia is currently working on a new project about architecture and politics in Africa. For information on the project see: www.africanstatearchitecture.co.uk.

**Sandra Halperin**, sandra.halperin@rhul.ac.uk

Sandra Halperin is professor of International Relations and Director of the Centre for Islamic and West Asian Studies in the Department of Politics and International Relations at Royal Holloway, University of London. She is the author of three cross-regional and trans-historical comparative studies: In the Mirror of the Third World: Capitalist Development in Modern Europe (Cornell University Press, 1997), War and Social Change in Modern Europe: the great transformation revisited (Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Re-Envisioning Global Development: a ‘horizontal’ perspective (Routledge). She is also co-author (with Oliver Heath) of Political Research: methods and practical skills (2nd edition, Oxford University Press, 2016), co-editor (with Ronen Palan) of Legacies of Empire (Cambridge University Press, 2015, co-editor (with Gordon Laxer) of Global Civil Society and Its Limits (Palgrave/ Macmillan, 2003), and author of articles on globalisation, development theory, historical sociology, nationalism, ethnic conflict, Islam, and democracy in the Middle East. She is currently at work on a study entitled The Middle East in Global Development.

**Antara Datta**, antara.datta@rhul.ac.uk

Antara Datta is a lecturer in International Relations at Royal Holloway and deputy director of AAME. Antara's first book, Refugees and Borders in South Asia: The Great Exodus of 1971, was published by Routledge in 2012 and engages with the aftermath of the process of decolonisation and uses the war of 1971 to examine the creation of 'affective' and 'effective' borders in South Asia, the subjectivity of minorities, as well as changing ideas about citizenship within South Asia that move beyond the familiar paradigms of region and religion. Her current research looks at the link between border crossers and the creation of ideas about nationality and citizenship in South Asia. In particular she is interested in the expulsion of the Indian diaspora from Burma and Uganda as well as the presence of European refugees in India after WWII. A separate strand of her research examines the manner in which the Indian state has attempted to open up multiple possibilities of belonging for Non Resident Indians.

**Will Jones**, will.jones@rhul.ac.uk

Will Jones is a lecturer in International Relations at Royal Holloway. Most of Will's work relates to the contemporary politics of Central Africa, particularly Rwanda, how diasporas mobilise against authoritarian regimes, and authoritarianism and state-building more broadly. He has just finished a three-year project entitled The Nation Outside The State: Transnational Exile In The African State System, generously funded by the Leverhulme Trust. This project culminated in a book, co-authored with Alexander Betts, entitled Mobilising The Diaspora: How Refugees Challenge Authoritarianism, published by Cambridge University Press. During that period, he was Junior Research Fellow in the Social Sciences at Balliol College. He is also the co-founder of an organisation, Refugees' Say, dedicated to reforming refugee resettlement to empower both refugees and the communities that host them.

**Ivica Petrikova**, ivica.petrikova@rhul.ac.uk

Ivica Petrikova is a lecturer in International Relations. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University College London. Her PhD thesis investigated how development aid in its various forms influences food security amongst recipient countries and households. The main findings of this research appear in her first book, Global Food Security and Development Aid, published in 2016 by Routledge. In addition to aid effectiveness and food security, Ivica’s research encompasses development issues such as religion, inequality, social capital, and movements for agrarian change, with a geographical focus on South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. She has recently started working on two new research projects. The first one examines the link between securitised donor discourse and aid disbursement patterns, both generally and specifically in Ethiopia. The second one compares and contrasts food security governance in China, India, Ethiopia, and Nigeria.

**Mohammad Reza Kalantari**, mohammadreza.kalantari@rhul.ac.uk

Mohammad Reza Kalantari is a Post-Doctoral Fellow and Deputy Director of Centre for Islamic and West Asian Studies in Department of Politics and International Relations at Royal Holloway University of London. He completed his Ph.D. at Royal Holloway in early 2016. His research interest lies in the International Relations of the Middle East with particular focus on interaction of regional doctrines, elite ideologies, and political Islam. Recently, he has been working on the role of religious elites responding to the rise of Islamic Extremism in the Middle East. As an affiliate of Center for Strategic & Diplomatic Studies, University of South Florida, and Chester Centre for Islamic Studies, he has collaborated actively with policy makers and researchers in various inter-disciplinary projects addressing the contemporary affairs of the Middle East and the Muslim World.

**CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS (in panel and presentation order)**

**Panel 1 Emerging powers, norms and challenges**

**Enze Han** is Senior Lecturer at the Department of Politics and International Studies, SOAS, University of London. His research interests include ethnic politics in China, China's relations with Southeast Asia, especially with Myanmar (Burma) and Thailand, and the politics of state formation in the borderland area between China, Myanmar and Thailand. His recent publications include *Contestation and Adapation: The Politics of National Identity in China* (OUP, 2013), and with various articles appearing in *The Journal of Contemporary China, The China Quarterly, Nationalities Papers, Security Studies, Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, among others. Previously, Dr. Han was a postdoctoral fellow in the China and the World Program, Princeton University. He received a Ph.D in Political Science from the George Washington University. 2015-2016 he was a member at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, USA. His research has also been supported by the Leverhulme Research Fellowship.

**Thorsten Wojczewski** is a teaching fellow and post-doctoral researcher at the India Institute, King’s College London. Before joining King’s, he was a research fellow at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg. In addition, he has been a visiting fellow at the University of Oxford and the Institute for Defence Studies & Analyses (IDSA) in New Delhi. He studied political science and public law at the University of Hamburg and the University of Reading, and completed his PhD in International Relations at the University of Kiel, Germany. His research focuses on India’s foreign policy, world order, global power shifts, Post-Western IR and critical security studies. His research was published in *India Review*, *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* and *Politikon*. He is currently working on a book on Indian conceptions of world order (contracted by Routledge).

**Claudia (Claude) Zanardi** holds a degree with first honours in Economics and another in International Relations from the University of Bologna (Italy). She also has a MPhil in IR from Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne (France) and Paris II-Assas (France) as well as a Diploma in Economics and Politics of the EU at the Haut Collège d’études Miguel Servet (France) and another in IR at the University of Bologna University. She studies diplomacy and served shortly at the Italian Embassy in Lisbon. In 2011, she joined the War Studies Department of the King’s College of London (KCL) where she researches how European elites perceive China’s military modernisation. Previously, she worked at the European Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) and the Assembly of the West European Union (WEU). She also produced research for the Budget Division of the Governance & Territorial Directorate of the OECD and for the International Secretariat of Amnesty International (Paris Office). She was part of the European China Resource Advise Network (ECRAN), and a Taiwan Fellow researcher of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China (ROC), affiliated with the College of International Affairs of the National Chengchi University (NCCU) in Taipei. Among her publications: ‘China’s Approach towards its Southern Maritime Boundaries through the Lenses of History & the Changing Place of Taiwan,’ British Association for Chinese Studies Journal (to be published 2017); ‘China’s soft power with Chinese characteristics: the cases of Confucius Institutes and Chinese naval diplomacy’, in Chatin, Mathilde, Gallarotti, Giulio M. et al. (ed.), The BRICS and Soft Power, Routledge, 2017 ; ‘Sino-Algerian Military Relations’ in Pairault, Thierry (ed.), Chine-Algérie: Perspectives maghrébines et africaines, Paris, Riveneuve Editions, 2014.

**Mohammad Reza Kalantari** is a Post-Doctoral Fellow and Deputy Director of Centre for Islamic and West Asian Studies in Department of Politics and International Relations at Royal Holloway University of London. He completed his Ph.D. at Royal Holloway in early 2016. His research interest lies in the International Relations of the Middle East with particular focus on interaction of regional doctrines, elite ideologies, and political Islam. Recently, he has been working on the role of religious elites responding to the rise of Islamic Extremism in the Middle East. As an affiliate of Center for Strategic & Diplomatic Studies, University of South Florida, and Chester Centre for Islamic Studies, he has collaborated actively with policy makers and researchers in various inter-disciplinary projects addressing the contemporary affairs of the Middle East and the Muslim World.

**Peter Ferdinand** is Reader at University of Warwick

**Panel 2 Imagining the International**

**Uchenna P. Vasser** is Associate Professor of Spanish in the Department of World Languages and Cultures at Winston-Salem State University. Her areas of research and scholarship include Afro-Colombian and Afro-Cuban literatures focusing on such themes as transculturation, cultural hybridity, women and the environment, and identity construction. Among her recent publications are “Visions from the Margins: Miguel Barnet’s *Biografía de un cimarrón* and Ivor Miller’s *Voice of the Leopard*” (2015), “*Africanidad* and the Representation of the Female Character in Three Novels by Manuel Zapata Olivella” (2014), and “The Double Bind: Women and the Environment in *Chambacú, Black Slum* and *A Saint is Born in Chimá* by Manuel Zapata Olivella” (2013). Dr. Vasser earned the Doctorate degree in Romance Languages with a concentration in Portuguese from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the Master of Arts degree in Romance Languages and Literatures from the Ohio State University, and the Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology and Spanish from Schiller International University. She is the recipient of the University of North Carolina’s Board of Governor’s Faculty Doctoral Study Assignment Program Award, 1998 to 1999, the 2016 UNC-Duke Consortium in Latin American and Caribbean Studies’ College Educators Research Fellowship award, the 2016 China Studies Institute (CSI) Zhi-Xing China Academic Impact Fellowship Program award, and numerous other distinguished awards. Dr. Vasser is the current Chair of the Department of World Languages and Cultures.

**William A. Callahan** is Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His research examines the interplay of culture and policy in China and Asia, and considers the overlap of domestic and international politics, especially in Chinese foreign policy. His most recent book is China Dreams: 20 Views of the Future (Oxford University Press, 2013), and his documentary films include ‘Mearsheimer vs. Nye on the Rise of China’ (2015) is on The Diplomat website, and ‘toilet adventures’ (2015) was shortlisted for a major award by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. He is currently working on a book project ‘Visualizing Global Politics’.

**Sruthi Muraleedharan** is a PhD candidate with the department of Politics and International Studies at SOAS, University of London. She submitted her thesis titled ‘Symbolic Encounters: Identity, Performativity and Democratic Subjectivity in contemporary India’. The thesis examines the role of symbolic politics in democratic mobilization in the context of identity politics in India. It intervenes methodologically by using inter-disciplinary methods like visual ethnography through photographs from the field work to highlight unarticulated and layered subjectivity. Currently, works as a Senior Teaching Fellow (STF) at SOAS and as a Visiting Lecturer at RHUL.

**Martin J. Bayly**: I am a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow in the International Relations Department at the London School of Economics and Political Science, where I also teach International Relations. From 2014-16 I was an LSE Fellow in the IR department. Prior to this I was a Teaching Fellow at King’s College London from 2013-14. I hold a PhD in International Relations from the Department of War Studies, King's College London, an MPhil in International Relations from Oxford University, and a BA with First Class Honours in Politics from the University of Newcastle Upon-Tyne. Since October 2016 I have been working on a new research project, funded by the British Academy, concerning the origins of modern South Asian international thought in late colonial India. My first book, 'Taming the Imperial Imagination: Colonial Knowledge, International Relations, and the Anglo-Afghan Encounter, 1808-1878', was published in 2016 with Cambridge University Press. I have also published papers in the *Review of International Studies*, and the *European Journal of International Relations*.

**Panel 3 New Economic Shapes**

**Ivica Petrikova** is a lecturer in International Relations. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University College London. Her PhD thesis investigated how development aid in its various forms influences food security amongst recipient countries and households. The main findings of this research appear in her first book, Global Food Security and Development Aid, published in 2016 by Routledge. In addition to aid effectiveness and food security, Ivica’s research encompasses development issues such as religion, inequality, social capital, and movements for agrarian change, with a geographical focus on South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. She has recently started working on two new research projects. The first one examines the link between securitised donor discourse and aid disbursement patterns, both generally and specifically in Ethiopia. The second one compares and contrasts food security governance in China, India, Ethiopia, and Nigeria.

**Farooq Sulehria** (PhD, SOAS) is a Senior Teaching Fellow in the Department of Development Studies at SOAS, University of London.

**Sandra Halperin** is professor of International Relations and Director of the Centre for Islamic and West Asian Studies in the Department of Politics and International Relations at Royal Holloway, University of London. She is the author of three cross-regional and trans-historical comparative studies: In the Mirror of the Third World: Capitalist Development in Modern Europe (Cornell University Press, 1997), War and Social Change in Modern Europe: the great transformation revisited (Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Re-Envisioning Global Development: a ‘horizontal’ perspective (Routledge). She is also co-author (with Oliver Heath) of Political Research: methods and practical skills (2nd edition, Oxford University Press, 2016), co-editor (with Ronen Palan) of Legacies of Empire (Cambridge University Press, 2015, co-editor (with Gordon Laxer) of Global Civil Society and Its Limits (Palgrave/ Macmillan, 2003), and author of articles on globalisation, development theory, historical sociology, nationalism, ethnic conflict, Islam, and democracy in the Middle East. She is currently at work on a study entitled The Middle East in Global Development.

**Zhenyan Xi:** My name is Zhenyan Xi, Associate professor in Sichuan University. My research Interest is primarily on: International Relations, Political Economy; China and EU Studies, and Cultural Studies. I used to do my exchange PhD in the University of Turku, Finland and the University of Copenhagen, Denmark more than one year, and now teaching in Sichuan University. My email address is: zhenyanxi@hotmail.com

**Panel 4 South-South relations**

**Agatha Kratz** is a PhD candidate at the Lau China Institute, King’s College London, and an Associate Policy Fellow at the Asia and China Programme of the European Council for Foreign Relations. Agatha.kratz@kcl.ac.uk

**Dr. Dragan Pavlićević** is Lecturer in China Studies at the Department of China Studies, Xi’an Jiaotong – Liverpool University. Dragan.Pavlicevic@xjtlu.edu.cn

**Dr David Harris** specialises in West African politics, in particular in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ghana. His most recent book, ‘*Sierra Leone: A Political History*’ (Hurst), came out in 2013. He is interested in elections, post-conflict justice, state-rebuilding and India-Africa relations - on which he has published several texts with Simona Vittorini - and is Lecturer in African Studies at University of Bradford.

**Dr Simona Vittorini** specialises in Indian politics and India-Africa relations. She is Senior Teaching Fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. With David Harris she has written on India’s expanding presence in Africa. Dr Vittorini is also interested in processes of construction of collective identities and performative and symbolic politics. Her book*, Rituals, Symbols and Politics of Indian Nationalism*was published in 2009 (Trauben) and she is the author of other articles and book chapters on post-independence nation-building in India.