6th Regional Powers Network Conference

Rising Powers and Contested Orders in the Multipolar System

September 19-20, 2013
PUC-Rio, Rio de Janeiro

The conference is jointly organized by the GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, the Institute of International Relations of PUC-Rio, and the BRICS Policy Center, Rio de Janeiro.

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(Latest Update: September 12, 2013)

The conference is generously sponsored by CAPES, CNPq, FAPERJ, and Thyssen Foundation.
## Conference Schedule

### THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2013

<table>
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<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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<tr>
<td>9.00-10.00am</td>
<td>Welcome remarks</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Paulo Esteves</strong>, IRI/BPC</td>
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<td><strong>Daniel Flemes</strong>, GIGA</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Keynote Speech</strong></td>
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<td>Marcelo Neri, IPEA (tbc)</td>
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### First Day – Power Transition and the Contestation of Global Politics

The first session engages in the debate on how the rise of the BRICS has contested fundamental concepts of global order, power and development. It examines the implications of this normative turn and how traditional powers adapt to the new reality at the global level as well as at the nexus between regional and global politics. Three panels explore the new parameters and governance mechanisms emerging in these spheres.

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<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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<tr>
<td>10.00-12.00am</td>
<td><strong>Panel 1: Contested World Orders – New Players with New Approaches?</strong></td>
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<td>The rise of the BRICS resulted in a fundamentally contested order of world politics. The meaning of essential concepts such as development, power, and order itself, are being renegotiated. This panel outlines how “new” and “old” powers engage in this normative struggle. What new approaches do the BRICS states bring to the table, and how do traditional powers respond?</td>
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<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Michael Zürn, WZB</td>
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<td><em>Beyond Hegemony: The U.S. and the Rising Powers</em></td>
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<td><strong>Richard Ned Lebow</strong>, King’s College London</td>
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<td><em>African perspectives on International Order</em></td>
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<td><strong>Karen Smith</strong>, University of Capetown</td>
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<td><em>A New Architecture of International Security</em></td>
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<td><strong>Paulo Esteves</strong>, IRI/BPC</td>
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<td><em>India in the Liberal Order</em></td>
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<td><strong>Sumit Ganguly</strong>, Indiana University</td>
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<td><strong>Discussant</strong></td>
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<td>Charles Kupchan, Georgetown University</td>
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<th>Lunch</th>
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<td>13.30-15.30pm</td>
<td><strong>Panel 2: Contested Rules of the Game – Governing through Hierarchies and Networks</strong></td>
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<td>The contested world order has created new forms of governance. Recently, a range of</td>
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institutions emerged that skirt established organizations, rules and procedures. New powers pragmatically create new venues to pursue their foreign policies and to push for reform of established structures. How effective are these networks to realize foreign policy goals? And what impact do they have on the accountability and legitimacy of international affairs? Based on this assessment, the panel discusses the strategies of “established powers” to approach the new institutional heterogeneity.

Chair: Adriana Erthal Abdenur, IRI/BPC

The End of Hegemony?
Amitav Acharya, American University

Rising Powers and Alternative Modes of Global Governance
Miles Kahler, UC San Diego

International Authority, Politicization, and Contestation in World Politics
Michael Zürn, Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB)

Impacting through Markets or Legitimacy? The BRICS’ Footprint in Global Governance
João Pontes Nogueira, IRI/BPC

Bound to Change: German Foreign Policy in the Networked Order
Daniel Flemes, GIGA

Break
16.00-18.00pm

Panel 3: Contested Multilateralism – Critical Perspectives

This panel discusses the role of the BRICS countries in global governance and explores new forms and meanings of multilateralism after unipolarity. Why do the BRICS countries contest and/or adapt to global governance arrangements. Do they engage as global norms-builders and how do they contribute to the redesign of multilateral institutions? Are these dynamics varying across different sectors such as climate, energy, security and trade? And how do traditional powers respond to the challenges to the existing international governance structure?

Chair: Fabiano Mielniczuk, IRI/BPC

Contested World Orders: Whose Order, What System?
Nicholas Onuf, Florida International University

Regional Powers and Global Redistribution
Siddharth Mallavarapu, South Asian University

Postcolonialist Perspectives on Contested Global Governance
Siba Grovogui, Johns Hopkins University

Multilateral Politics BRICS’s Way
Andrea Ribeiro-Hoffmann, Freie Universität Berlin

The G20 and Contested Global Governance: BRICS, Middle Powers and Small States
Andrew Cooper, University of Waterloo

20.00pm Dinner
Second Day – Power and contestation in South America, Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia

The second day explores strategic responses to the rise of the BRICS at the regional level. What regional strategies do secondary and tertiary states pursue in response to changes in the distribution of power and new asymmetries, and why? The panels engage in three theoretical debates: the controversy over how to characterize different strategies in various world regions, the impact of diverse forms of domestic, systemic and normative factors on strategic responses, and the role of regional institutions in managing the new power realities.

9.00-11.00am

Panel 4: Asymmetry and Legitimacy – The Case of South America

This panel sheds light on the debate on drivers of different strategic responses to Brazil's rise in South America. It reflects the controversy between Neoclassical Realist, English school and Institutionalist Theory over the impact of 1) state characteristics and systemic constraints and incentives, 2) ideas and shared values, and 3) regional governance structures. Can regional resistance be best explained by combining domestic factors such as regime type, public opinion or the influence of interest groups with the self-help mechanisms that occur in anarchic systems? Or are middle powers' leaders driven by thicker patterns of identity and culture within their societies? Or do common governance institutions dominantly shape the foreign policies of secondary states?

Chair: Daniel Flemes, GIGA

Why Secondary States Choose to Support, Follow, or Challenge?
Steven Lobell, University of Utah

Neither Balance nor Bandwagon: South America meets Brazil’s Rising Power
Federico Merke, Universidad de San Andrés, Benos Aires

Collapsing Consensual Hegemony? Stasis in Brazilian Foreign Policy Thinking
Sean Burges, Australian National University

Regional Governance Mirroring Global Order: Insights from South America
Monica Herz, IRI/BPC

Discussant
Andrew Hurrell, University of Oxford

Break
11.30am-13.30pm

Panel 5: Contested Regional Orders – The Case of Asia

This panel discusses Asian power politics from the perspective of Neoclassical Realism, Constructivism, and Critical Theory. It seeks to explore the value of new IRT thinking for the Asian region. What types and drivers of contestation can we identify, and what sources of
power – material and non-material – do they refer to? How can we describe the most dominant forms of counter-hegemonic strategies in South, Southeast and East Asia, and how can we explain variation across these sub-regions? Is what we observe a classical example of balancing and bandwagoning, or do we need new concepts and frameworks to describe and compare regional dynamics in periods of regional power transition?

Chair: **Sumit Ganguly**, Indiana University

**Institutional Balancing in Asia**

**Kai He**, Utah State University

**Japan’s Resentful Responses to China’s Rise**

**Chris Hughes**, University of Warwick

**When and Why Weaker States Hedge: Southeast Asian States’ Responses to a Rising China**

**Cheng-Chwee Kuik**, National University of Malaysia

**Regional Contestation at High Seas: India and China in the Indian Ocean**

**Adriana Erthal Abdenur**, IRI/BPC

**The Politics of Contestation in South Asia: How Pakistan Responds to its Rising Neighbor**

**Hannes Ebert**, GIGA

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**Panel 6: Limiting Strategic Choices – The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa**

This panel engages in the agency-structure debate on contested leadership in sub-Saharan Africa. Are systemic constraints of the global and regional economy shaping secondary and small states’ behavior? And how do they interact with domestic agents in shaping foreign policy adaptations to new regional asymmetries?

Chair: **João Pontes Nogueira**, IRI/BPC

**Emerging Middle Powers in Africa? From dependency to agency? From fragile to developmental states?**

**Timothy Shaw**, University of Massachusetts Boston

**South Africa in the World: Contesting Great Powers in the Fashioning of a New World Order**

**Adam Habib**, University of Witwatersrand

**A Tale of Three Hegemons: Pax Nigeriana, Pax South Africana, and Pax Gallica**

**Adekeye Adebajo**, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

**Region-building and global integration: towards a paradigmatic shift in Sub-Saharan Africa?**

**Daniel Bach**, Sciences Po Bordeaux

**The Political Economy of Contestation: South Africa’s Hegemony and Its Discontents**

**Chris Alden**, London School of Economics

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**16.45-18.00pm**
Wrap-up Session

This session summarizes some of the main findings and discusses publication venues.

*Findings: Rising Powers and Contested Orders in the Multipolar System*
Hannes Ebert, GIGA, Paulo Esteves, IRI/BPC and Renata Summa, IRI/BPC

*Discussing Possible Publication Venues*
Daniel Flemes, GIGA and Monica Herz, IRI/BPC