



TATA TRUSTS

Values in Foreign Policy: Interests and Ideals

Report of the International Conference

EDITED BY

Krishnan Srinivasan

Sanjay Pulipaka

Saranya Sircar



March 1-2, 2019

India Habitat Centre, Lodhi Road, New Delhi

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Notes of Appreciation of the Conference from Participants

"Thank you once again for inviting me to the conference. I found the conference very stimulating, as it gave me a chance to think anew about the nature of changes our region is going through." – **Prof. Tadashi Anno**

"May I congratulate you on what was fine conference in Delhi last week. Lots of relevant issues were raised, and most speakers offered interesting ideas." - **Amb. Kishan Rana**

"I was so pleased to hear from Dhara of your positive meeting in Delhi; it all sounds to have gone extremely well. I hope that the team enjoyed the occasion, and that it provided an opportunity to celebrate publication of Values in Foreign Policy. I'm delighted now to have seen a copy of the book, and I congratulate you on its publication. It is a very fine volume, and the opening endorsements launch the reader into it with enthusiasm and expectation." - **Oliver Gadsby**, Rowman & Littlefield International

"Thank you again for inviting me to the conference, I was honoured to join and impressed with the high level of discussion and debate." - **Dhara Snowden**, Rowman & Littlefield International

"A note to thank you very much for including me among the luminaries of International Relations .It was a learning curve and opened windows and horizons. It was brilliantly brought together by you and your team's efficient efforts. I specially noted the varied and informed FP constructs and thank you for opening this opportunity for me." - **The Hon'ble Zeenat Rous**

"Am back in Singapore, and write to thank you for your wonderful hospitality. Plaudits are owed you for the excellent organization, as also the style and substance of the event, both also remarkable!" - **Amb. Iftekhar Ahmed Chowdhury**

"Thank you, again, for inviting me to the seminar last week. Some of the sessions were fascinating, and mostly all were educative." - **Ravi Velloor**

"Thank you so much for your invitation. I learned a lot from the conference and your wisdom. I am writing an article for Global Times." - **Prof. Wang Yiwei**

"For me, yours was one of the best conferences I have attended in a long time. It was on an original topic; participants were keen on a real dialogue; and the arrangements ran smoothly. Once again, my warm congratulations to you." - **Amb. Rajiv Bhatia**

"I'm glad I was of some use in what was clearly one of the better seminars in Delhi on the subject." - **Maroof Raza**

"I thought the conference went very well, with many stimulating ideas from the various speakers. It also meant I had to educate myself about the Enlightenment, and not before time. It was good to see a number of friendly faces from the previous conference and I do congratulate you for taking the initiative to bring people together in this way." - **Dame Veronica Sutherland**

"Thank you for having me over and your kind hospitality. I enjoyed it very much." - **Fredrik Erixon**

"Thanks so much: aside from the content of the conference, which was very stimulating, it was a special treat. Thanks again for inviting me." - **Amb. Peter Burleigh**

"The Conference breezed fresh air as it looked at Foreign Policy from a new paradigm of 'Values'. It was introducing Gandhian Way of Thinking in an area, which is increasingly getting focused on National Interest, where pragmatism and not idealism rules and ends and not means. The Conference was well structured into well thought out and neat sessions, which helped in viewing values as seen from different perspectives, be it religion or region. The presentations were scholarly, as the authors dealt with their themes, bringing in their knowledge and experiences. The strength of the conference lay in the interaction that followed, as the discussion was healthy and productive, though at times it veered around in polemical direction, as it is difficult to treat a subject like 'Values' in a neutral stance. A good array of speakers, a combination of theoreticians and practitioners of democracy, enhanced the quality of presentations. The keynote speaker well articulated the theme, as Ambassador Peter Burleigh provided a theoretical framework to the conference." - **Amb. Paramjit S Sahai**

Values in Foreign Policy: Interests and Ideals

March 1-2, 2019, Silver Oak Hall, India Habitat Centre, Lodhi Road, New Delhi

PROGRAMME

Day 1: March 1, 2019 (Friday)

09:00 – 09:30	Registration, Meet and Greet + Tea/Coffee
09:30 – 10:30	Inaugural Session <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sanjay Pulipaka (chair) • Dhara Snowden, publisher's representative • Special Guest: Pavan K. Varma, Author, Diplomat and former Member of Parliament • Remarks by H. K. Dua, former Chief Editor, Ambassador and Member of Parliament
10:30 – 10:45	Tea/Coffee Break
10:45 – 12:00	Session 1: The Enlightenment and Western Foreign Policy Krishnan Srinivasan (chair), Veronica Sutherland, James Mayall, Salman Haidar
12:00 – 13:15	Session 2: Values in East Asian Foreign Policy Jyoti Malhotra (chair), Wang Yiwei, Aftab Seth, Tadashi Anno
13:15 – 14:15	Lunch
14:15 – 15:00	Diplomatic Guest Lecture Fredrik Erixon (chair), Ambassador Peter Burleigh Remarks by Ms. Shireen Vakil, Head of Policy and Advocacy at the Tata Trusts
15:00 – 16:15	Session 3: Islamic Values and Foreign Policy Zeenat Rous (chair), Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Kingshuk Chatterjee, Talmiz Ahmad
16:15 – 16:30	Tea/Coffee Break
16:30 – 17:45	Session 4: Values in ASEAN's Foreign Policy Kate Sullivan de Estrada (chair), Chaw Chaw Sein, Rajiv Bhatia, Iftekhar Ahmad Chowdhury
19:30 onwards	Dinner

Values in Foreign Policy: Interests and Ideals

March 1-2, 2019, Silver Oak Hall, India Habitat Centre, Lodhi Road, New Delhi

PROGRAMME

Day 2: March 2, 2019 (Saturday)

- 09:30 – 11:00** **Session 5: Western Liberalism and Asian Values in Foreign Policy**
Veronica Sutherland (chair), Kate Sullivan de Estrada, Krishnan Srinivasan, Ravi Velloor
- 11:00 – 11:30** **Tea/Coffee Break**
- 11:30 – 13:00** **Session 6: Hits And Misses: Interests and Ideals in Foreign Policy**
Maroof Raza (chair), T. C. A. Raghavan, Shakti Sinha, Fredrik Erixon, Sanjay Pulipaka
- 13:00 – 13:30** **Session 7: Valedictory Session**
Keynote Address by Ram Madhav, National General Secretary, Bharatiya Janata Party and Director, India Foundation
- 13:30 onwards** **Thanks and Acknowledgements**
Krishnan Srinivasan
followed by Lunch

CONCEPT NOTE

We live in a globalised world; most of the intractable problems confronting humanity are no respecters of boundaries. Liberal opinion will have us believe that we need a new universalism, a reassertion of the shared principles of a common humanity that will allow us to prioritise our universal international interest over the parochial national interests that divide us. How might conditions be created for a genuine universalism, and the necessity of recognising others' rights on the basis of common humanity?

The first problem is regarding contested histories and positional goods. Many problems in international relations arise because the stories on either side of the border cannot be reconciled. The second problem is a consequence of nationalism. It may be that all nation-states are pursuing the same goals – the welfare and security of their populations – but their languages, political cultures and social customs differ enormously, creating obstacles to cooperation. So how should the problems that flow from conflicting principles, national practices and world views be resolved or at least managed?

It is necessary to understand not only those interests opposed to our own, but those with whom we wish to cooperate and whose historical experience, world view and cultural assumptions and practices are different from ours and create obstacles to harmonious relations. Values, and in more recent times, ideologies, have played an important role in international affairs. The Holy Roman Empire, and the so-called Free World of the Cold War era, are examples of supra-national entities or constructs which invoked values rather than interests as the primary impulse behind their conduct. Powerful countries such as the USA routinely cite the defence or promotion of 'universal values' of freedom and democracy in support of actions clearly based on national interest. The real drivers of action are the advancement of economic or strategic advantages, no matter how the explanatory narrative is couched. Conversely, in other cases, values are so deeply held – for example, with Iran or Saudi Arabia's adherence to Islam – that promoting or defending them becomes a national interest as well as a rhetorical device.

An understanding of the national interest of countries is normally all that is needed to make sense of how and why they act in a certain way in the international arena. Values, as in ethical or moral principles, or ideologies as in democratic or communitarian systems of belief, are no longer central to foreign policy decisions of most major countries. Frequently, what matters are the collective self-perceptions, enduring habits, precepts, personality traits and customary ways of doing business derived from history and culture, best understood as a mix of national character with traditional security and foreign policy doctrines.

National character and tradition remain important to foreign policy choices and diplomatic styles; their organic roots in the fibre of society give them abiding strength. They are seen to be helping sustain the national project over the long term even when questions are raised over immediate gains or losses. The debate between idealists and realists in international affairs is neither new nor about to end. The former stress the indispensability of values, ideas and principles that must govern relations among nations, whereas the latter are convinced that national interest alone is and should be the engine for state policy and behaviour towards the rest of the world.

Neither camp has a monopoly on wisdom; nothing is absolute, everything is relative. Hence a path paved solely by values or self-interest is often not feasible to follow, even if it exists. An individual needs both values and the capacity to define, identify and pursue interests within the framework of social norms, laws and imperatives of community interest. That is also what nation states are inclined to do in the comity of nations.

The conference will explore the effects of the Enlightenment, colonialism, modernity and post-modernity in determining contemporary value systems, which are often uncomfortable in their interface with each other, and the impulses deriving from the legacies of religion, civilization, culture and history which drive the foreign policies of the world's important countries.

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Day 1: March 1, 2019 (Friday)

Inaugural Session



From L to R: Dhara Snowden, Sanjay Pulipaka (chair), Pavan K. Varma and H. K. Dua

Pavan K. Varma



Rapporteur's Summary of Speech by *Special Guest: Pavan K. Varma, Author, Diplomat and former Member of Parliament*

Is foreign policy a mechanical or an artificial construct? Is it conjured as it were from a vacuum and a set package handed out, or is it more organically rooted in some legacy or inheritance, and the two in a sense are inextricable? What value system of foreign policy derives essentially from historical experience and subjective realities, and when the two come together, make for an organic, authentic foreign policy that is followed with conviction?

One of the first values that animated Indian foreign policy was the right to have an independent point of view on issues that affect the country in the diplomatic arena. It stemmed from the fact that India may have been a newly independent country, a young nation, but an exceptionally ancient civilisation defined by antiquity, by continuity, by assimilation, by diversity and by peaks of refinement going back five thousand years. When such a civilisation metamorphs into a young nation with all the

experience of this long journey going back to the dawn of time, then this country, which is also a civilisation, wants to assert its legitimate belief that what it thinks matters to the world. And therefore, the right of nations to be heard must be an inalienable and inherent right in the world for all nations.

A second element was the belief that international relations must be governed by a notion of unalterable equality. People like Jawaharlal Nehru, who became in many ways an architect of India's foreign policy and its value system, believed that in a democracy, all citizens must have a universal franchise. And therefore the principle of equality must be unquestioned. This got enshrined in India's approach to the comity of nations, that there must be equality, irrespective of disparity in military and economic power.

A third element has been emphasis on peace. One of the offshoots of this was a strong commitment to disarmament - a world free of nuclear weapons. Few nations will countenance or believe the fact that a country that developed the capacity to build nuclear weapons in 1974 abdicated that ability for close to two-and-a-half decades. This was done on the assumption that guaranteeing peace is important as a value.

A fourth issue that informs Indian foreign policy is the principle of freedom of movement of peoples and goods. Again, as a relatively poorer nation with a great deal of human resources, the right of people to migrate freely from one country to another in accordance with prevailing law is important for India.

A fifth point is the importance attached to the value of consensus-building. Indians are not ideological jihadis. They would rather find a way to co-opt other points of view between anti-thesis and thesis to find synthesis. India has been able to find meeting grounds between people of different origins and different points of view.

A sixth aspect of the value system is the belief that international relations must accept diversity of opinion, people and cultures. This reflects the nature of India,

which is a country with considerable diversity, but underpinned by unity. And that is why from the time of the Upanishads, about roughly four thousand years ago, Indians said: Ekam Sat Vipraha Bahudha Vadanti (the truth is one, wise people call it by different names). Accepting diversity, Indians said: Aano Bhadraha Krtavo Yantu Vishwatah (let good thoughts come to us from all directions).

An important aspect of the value system of Indian foreign policy is the necessity of a peaceful neighbourhood. For the Indian way of thinking, goodwill

and peace prevailing in its immediate neighbourhood is of utmost importance.

And lastly, there are more Sanskrit shlokas relating to an ecologically cleaner environment than on almost anything else.

In conclusion, foreign policy is closely related, in terms of its value systems, to a country's historical memory. So there is a correlation between India's historical experience, subjective realities, which define its internal political choices, and its external engagement.

H. K. Dua



Rapporteur's Summary of Speech by *H. K. Dua, former Chief Editor, Ambassador and Member of Parliament*

Indian foreign policy is based on about hundred years of freedom struggle, in which many ideas flowered, some ideas died, and some went ahead. But an idea that survived, which needs to be strengthened further is the 'Idea of India', to which Nehru subscribed. People like Rabindranath Tagore combined this idea of India with the idea of a better world; he wrote extensively on internationalism and universalism. This idea of India as well as the idea of universalism have come under strain in the recent past. For instance, the European Union is now threatening to unravel due to Brexit. Similarly, there is growing contestation in India because of philosophies based on sectoral considerations gaining ground. But the idea of India will survive, and the idea of a better world will also prevail.

The idea of war should be abolished as means of settling disputes between one nation and another. How to abolish it? Well we had the example of Ashoka. After the Kalinga war, he followed the principles of Buddhism to reduce the incidence of violence. Such examples from

history may help us conceptualise a world without war.

The United Nations as an ideal requires updating. There is a need to give some thought on what needs to be done to improve the United Nations and make it more effective, which mandates democratisation of the organisation. The big powers influence the United Nations through the Security Council and other means, which needs to be re-examined. Along with the strongest, the weakest of the nations should also benefit from the United Nations. It will require downsizing the egos of the big powers, which is necessary to create a better world.

There is a need to promote the idea of nuclear disarmament. There should be genuine nuclear disarmament, and not just the presence of nuclear weapons in the hands of a few. Sadly, in addition to existing nuclear powers, the number of nuclear aspirants is also increasing. To address this challenge, some positive steps have been taken in the recent past, such as the Iranian nuclear deal under Obama and Trump-Kim talks. However, progress appears to be very fragile as the Iranian deal has collapsed in the recent past.

For the idea of universalism to succeed, there is a need to address the inequities within nation-states. This necessitates greater international cooperation. There is need for a shift from mutually assured destruction to genuine mutual cooperation.

Dialogue should be an important component in international politics. The Vietnamese and Americans talked at Paris, the Chinese and Americans talked at Warsaw, Americans and the Soviet Union were holding talks at the height of the Cold War. Be it Track-I, Track-II, Track-III, or Track-IV, without talks there cannot be peace in the Indian neighbourhood. Nehru was asked: why are you seeking peace with Pakistan when they are fighting with us, why are you shaking hands with them? He said: "shaking hands is a good idea, and may bring tensions down. To be practical, by shaking hands you are immobilising the enemy's hand also – immobilising one hand". He said immobilise the other hand by peace, and there will not be the need of two hands for fighting a war. Such sanity should prevail.

Session 1: The Enlightenment and Western Foreign Policy



From L to R: James Mayall, Veronica Sutherland, Krishnan Srinivasan (chair) and Salman Haidar

Krishnan Srinivasan (chair)

The birth of Enlightenment has many dates, but it is safe to say it derives from both the Renaissance and Reformation, and was in evidence between 1700 and 1850 in many European countries such as England, Scotland, France, Holland, Prussia and Russia. Its influence travelled across the Atlantic to the founding fathers of the American Revolution and then back to Europe, introducing rationalism, modern economics and individual rights; and affecting all aspects of western political and intellectual thought that are prevalent today. It, therefore, was the seed-bed of the values that we find in the foreign policies of western countries.

Principles of the Enlightenment: Mixed Fortunes

Veronica Sutherland



“Dare to understand”. Thus in 1784 did Immanuel Kant define the core value of the Enlightenment.

This movement started in Europe as a reaction against the dogmatic teachings of the churches and the overweening power of autocratic governments and spanned the eighteenth century. Kant and other like-minded thinkers espoused the values of reason, science, tolerance and peace. They held that reason should guide all human activity, thus guarding against superstition and irrationality. Reason should be the foundation of morality and lead to the elimination of oppression, including slavery. In order to avoid war, Kant recommended the introduction of democratic government, norms against conquest and an international mechanism to adjudicate disputes.

It was, however, many years before these principles became the norms of civilised society. In the nineteenth century there were those who sought to improve the lot of people less fortunate than themselves, not least those who fought to abolish slavery. But this was essentially a period of power politics when western countries sought to expand their power base at home and abroad, particularly in Asia and Africa. In as much as Enlightenment principles were considered, it was in relation to western men with little thought to women or conquered peoples.

It was not until after the tragedy of the two world wars in the first half of the twentieth century that world leaders

succeeded in establishing a new world order based on enlightenment values. In 1945, the United Nations was founded. The UN Charter lays down principles designed to achieve worldwide co-operation in solving international problems. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which followed soon after, emphasised that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. In parallel, the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 inaugurated systems designed to regulate the global monetary system. In all these developments, echoes of Enlightenment thinking are clear.

Since the 1940s, the fortunes of these ideals have been mixed. North America and most of mainland Europe have been fortunate to avoid war between sovereign governments, but further afield, the break-up of western empires was accompanied by bloodshed, which remains a painful memory. And peace in Europe was maintained in the course of the Cold War mainly because of the balance of nuclear deterrents held by members of both the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Warsaw Pact.

In 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall signalled the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It seemed to many that liberal values had triumphed over Communist repression, an impression reinforced when many countries in Eastern Europe sought membership of NATO and the European Union. Whether western governments were emboldened by these events is unclear but the ensuing years saw a number of western interventions overseas, particularly in the Middle East. In hindsight, many of these, even when sanctioned by the UN Security Council, seem ill-judged and, if the aim was to promote liberal values, of limited success.

Western powers now face new difficulties, whether internally from the growth of nationalism, or externally from the increasing power of countries some of whose actions comply with neither enlightenment principles nor UN guidelines. Hard choices have to be made in which domestic expediency vies with the requirement to uphold the standards of behaviour laid down by the UN. There are no easy solutions to such conundrums and the UN itself does not have the power to insist that liberal values are always followed. Whether the countries which support these values will be able to ensure that they survive as norms of civilised behaviour remains to be seen. The omens are not encouraging.

The Enlightenment and Western Foreign Policy: Empire, Modernity and Liberal Internationalism

James Mayall

The architecture of contemporary international society pre-dated the Enlightenment. The foundations were laid down in the mid seventeenth century in the negotiations that brought to an end the long period of sectarian violence that had divided western Christendom. The principles that emerged from the peace treaty that ended the Thirty Years' War in Europe – the primacy of political sovereignty and its entailments, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and territorial integrity – were subsequently exported to the rest of the world by European imperial powers. The Westphalian order was consistent with a Hobbesian rational logic – and to that extent was relatively easy to recast in a universalist form under the impact of later liberal ideas – but it was not at the time understood as a universalist set of values that should underpin the foreign policies of all states. In Europe itself, the region to which the ideas were immediately applicable, *realpolitik* was a much more important framework for foreign policy than enlightened values, which had not yet been articulated as a coherent intellectual system in opposition to the two versions of religious faith that had fought themselves to a standstill. Religion was not privatised by the new order, although religious war between states was effectively proscribed. In every other respect, rulers were free to pursue their interests by whatever means they chose, up to and including conquest, and indeed it was precisely through exercising this freedom that European powers, led by Britain and France, first subordinated the major part of the world to western political rule and then, aided by the technological advances of the agricultural, industrial and scientific revolutions, created a global system of economic and strategic interdependence that has continued to develop and persists to the present time.

Nonetheless, the Enlightenment had a major impact both on Europe, where the intellectual movement began, and the rest of the world. The nature of this impact was highly ambiguous from the start, if only because of the unavoidable tension between the idea of universal freedom and free enquiry, which on most accounts constitutes the essence of Enlightenment and the realities



of power and cultural diversity. The problem with the Enlightenment was not merely its universal claims, but that it was also potentially subversive everywhere. The consequence for western politics – and by extension therefore for western foreign policies – was brilliantly described by Ortega Y Gasset, the Minister of Culture in the Spanish Republican government in 1932, shortly before the National Socialists came to power in Germany. In *The Revolt of the Masses*, he wrote:

“In the 18th Century certain minority groups discovered that every human being by the mere fact of birth, and without requiring any special qualification whatsoever, possessed certain fundamental political rights the so-called rights of man and the citizen and further that strictly speaking, these rights, common to all, are the only ones that exist... This was at first a mere theory, the idea of a few men, then these few began to put the idea into practice, to impose it and to insist upon it. Nevertheless, during the whole of the 19th Century, the mass, while gradually becoming enthusiastic to these rights as an ideal, did not feel them as rights, the ‘people’... had learned that it was sovereign but did not believe it. Today the ideal has

been changed into a reality; not only in legislation, which is the mere framework of public life, but in the heart of every individual, whatever his ideas may be, and even if he be a reactionary in his ideas, that is to say even when he attacks and castigates institutions by which these rights are sustained". (London, Allen and Unwin, 1932 pp. 224-5)

Ortega Y Gasset had every reason to view the future with alarm. His solution was the same as other liberal thinkers such as John Stuart Mill, namely, to educate mass society so that everyone would come to share the same liberal values. But he feared that there was no time, and we know now that education is in any case no guarantee that the Enlightenment project will succeed. Highly intelligent people are perfectly capable of adopting illiberal values. Of course, the Enlightenment was about other things than political freedom and rights, but since the material achievements that are generally accredited to it, in agriculture, industry and science, all depend on intellectual freedom and rational enquiry, unconstrained by religious or cultural prohibitions, it is difficult to avoid the universalist political claims to which it also led. Given the inherent tension between the liberal universalism to which Enlightenment thought seemed to point and the fact that – even during the period of western imperial domination – humanity was not only culturally diverse but politically divided into separate states, it is perhaps fortunate that foreign policy – and even more diplomacy – remained in most parts of the world an elite pursuit. Even when compared with other parts of the public service, those charged with executing foreign policy were mostly drawn from the most privileged parts of society, where the egalitarian implications of the Enlightenment were slow to penetrate. It is probably a safe assumption that hierarchical societies find it easier to handle contradictory commitments and beliefs than egalitarian democracies.

Against this background, I will briefly consider three related areas where the Enlightenment has influenced western foreign policies in the recent past. The first was the assumption that while the concept of empire was anachronistic, colonial liabilities could be turned into post-colonial assets with the assistance of western economics, and development economics in particular. In the early years after decolonisation, western

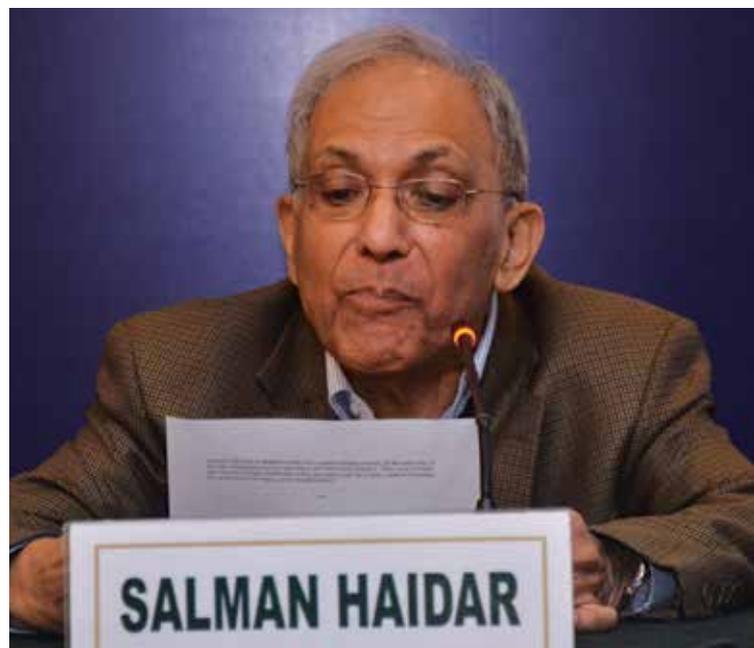
governments were much more respectful of state sovereignty in their aid policies than they subsequently became. In European countries that were aid donors, there was always a debate about the balance to be struck between aid tied to European exports and that provided to fill the gap between savings and investment on the basis of an allegedly dispassionate analysis of development needs. Politically, the justification for foreign aid was to maintain cordial relations with former dependencies, but liberal economics presented itself as a technical social science whose methods were applicable anywhere. By the 1980s, this position had been largely abandoned and political conditions were frequently attached, particularly with respect to human rights. Secondly, western governments have presented their countries to the outside world as the avatars of modernity, particularly with regard to co-operation in science, technology and higher education more generally. This is perhaps the area in which their claims to universalism have been most convincing. Evidence of scholarly cosmopolitanism developed early as when the President of the Royal Society, Joseph Banks, refused to accept a shipload of botanical specimens destined for the Paris Botanical Gardens that had been seized on the high seas by the British Navy during the Seven Years War. This willingness to co-operate – and indeed to ignore – contested political borders has continued, as in Soviet American space co-operation during the Cold War and the extensive collaboration between Chinese and Western research universities, which continues despite deep political differences over Tibet, the South China Sea and other issues. Lastly, and most controversially, there is the radical Western turn to liberal internationalism after the Cold war. The assumption that the major political issue in the world – how were human societies to be governed in an era of global interdependence – had been resolved, as Francis Fukuyama initially believed, by the triumph of liberal capitalist democracy over communism and central planning, undoubtedly led to an unjustified overconfidence. The idea that the western formula – free elections, the rule of law, and an open economy – could be exported anywhere, regardless of the cultural, political and religious context reflected not universal values but the arrogance of power. The West is now living with the predictable reaction to its futile attempt to make the world over in its own image in a post imperial age.

The Legacies of the Enlightenment

Salman Haidar

The interrelated and mutually sustained events that came to be known as the Enlightenment in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries had a transformative effect and left a permanent mark, whose impact cannot be wholly ignored even today. With the Enlightenment, the medieval world of the Dark Ages was dispelled and a new era brought into being – as the name suggests, brightness and light drove out the shadows of the earlier era, the bad old days progressively giving way to the new and better. In an era of dramatic change everything seemed open to question, the received certitudes of earlier times came under sceptical inquiry, philosophy and politics took new directions, even God himself did not escape unscathed. Scientific inquiry acquired a new dimension and there was a great liberation of the human spirit, central to which was the celebration of reason, as seen in every field of human activity as unfettered minds became free to range over what had earlier been a closed world. Radical new disciplines and doctrines were invented in response to these fresh impulses, such as deism, scepticism, atheism and materialism. There was great intellectual and cultural ferment.

Some of the great figures of the time are the established giants of their era who were pathfinders of the hitherto uncharted new course of intellectual activity, individuals like Hobbes, Locke, Bentham, Rousseau, and Voltaire prominent among them. Collectively, they brought a new awareness of human needs and demands, and helped show the way to a new order of social development that offered a better onward path to humankind. There was a spirit of optimism and a firm belief in the need for progress in human affairs, and society could no longer fail to address important social and political issues that demanded attention. One of the legacies of the Enlightenment is the belief that human history is the record of general progress with ever-escalating demands for onward movement. Particular mention should be made of western foreign policy, which was strongly influenced by Enlightenment values. These served to promote concepts of fundamental freedom, which later in course became a cause – or pretext – for colonialism and the messianic urge to bring light to benighted people everywhere.



As already mentioned, 'Enlightenment' is a term reflecting a series of developments in Europe that had major global significance. Among its important qualities was the stimulus it gave to the study of the natural sciences and the way in which it encouraged a sweeping new cosmology that re-shaped ideas about the shape and structure of the world around us.

The Enlightenment was primarily a phenomenon that came out of Europe, which had led the way in overthrowing entrenched dogmas that were believed to have lost had lost their validity. To an extent, the rationalistic impulses that were shaped at that time continue to stimulate the present day. In the universal global civilization that now increasingly holds sway there is constant interchange between different parts of the world and no room for narrow or parochial considerations about the future. India has been conscious from the start of the need to align itself with enlightened global opinion, as may be seen in the repeated call from its leaders to cultivate a scientific temper. At the same time, it has also campaigned against superstition and intellectual prejudice. These ways of belief have become strongly established within the country and can in many respects ultimately be traced back to the legacy of the Enlightenment.

Session 2: Values in East Asian Foreign Policy



From L to R: Tadashi Anno, Jyoti Malhotra (chair), Aftab Seth and Wang Yiwei

Values in East Asian Foreign Policy: A Chinese Perspective

Wang Yiwei

The so-called international liberal order is actually peace under the rule of the United States and includes three pillars: first, the United Nations system of which China is part, though the United States is retreating, and anti-multilateralism, which China is defending. The second is the “hub-and-spoke” system in the Asia-Pacific region, which is based on US-Japan, US-South Korea, US-Australia, US-Philippines, US-Taiwan alliance, and generally, the US hegemony. Under the US security system, East Asian countries export goods to the US market, and US exports to East Asia are safe.

The trans-Atlantic relationship is the core of the North, with common values of the United States and Europe as the link, and the maintenance of the western-led governance structure. Currently, it encounters unprecedented challenges from the US government’s unilateralism, which led German Chancellor Merkel to state “the destiny of Europe must be in its own hands.” The western order is an exclusive order, accommodating some while excluding other countries; it divides the world into so-called “Western-non-Western”, using as yardsticks its own liberal democracy and market economy values. Therefore, in the interconnected world, these unfair, unreasonable, and unsustainable aspects are becoming more apparent, not to mention the United States, which has begun ‘America First’ despite increasingly weak conditions.

China is not opposed to the international liberal order, but urges tolerance. The community of human destiny is the embodiment of China’s “harmony culture” and aims to achieve the greatest common denominator of the values of the international community. The order of the ancient Chinese world is both a Chinese and foreign order. Today, it is necessary to establish a global order that transcends China and foreign countries and the international community. This is the mission of the community of human destiny.



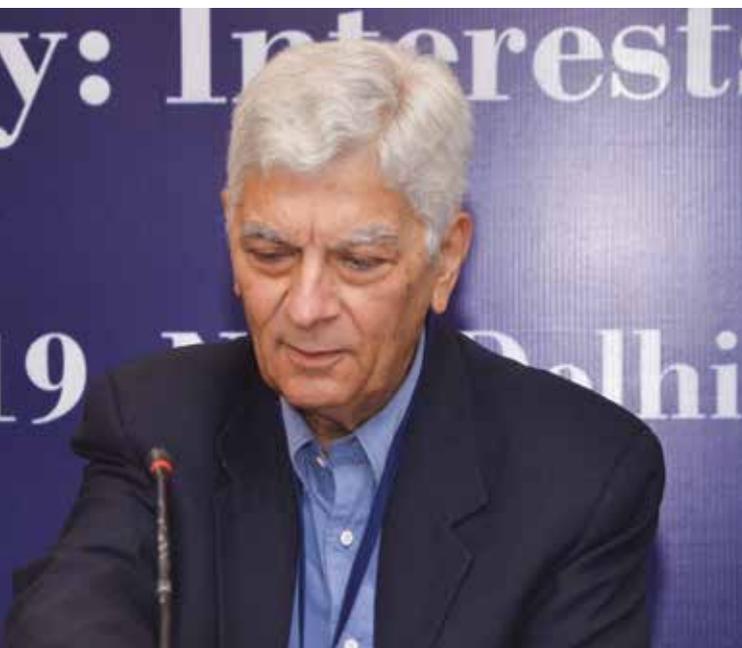
The human destiny community clearly says it is a farewell to the modern era, and the ideas coming out of the West, but the West thinks it is an old bottle of new wine. In other words, why does the West misunderstand China?

From the principles of equality and sovereignty established by Westphalia 360 years ago to the international humanitarian law established by the Geneva Conventions 70 years ago, the four purposes and seven principles defined by the Charter of the UN more than 70 years ago to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence advocated by the Bandung Conference more than 60 years ago, the norms of international relations have provided basic adherence to the concept of the community of human destiny and accumulated rich practical experience.

Building a community of human destiny marks China’s move from “traditional China” and “modern China” to “global China.” The realisation of this process depends on the evolution of countries from the traditional to modern to global.

Values in East Asian Foreign Policy

Aftab Seth



When we speak of East Asia, we normally include in our definition China, Korea and Japan, though some may wish to include Mongolia as well. Each of these countries has had, of course, differing histories but if one was to look for a common set of values, which at some point or another has influenced foreign policy, one would point to Confucian value systems, followed by Buddhist values and Western Christian influences.

Clearly, Confucian values of filial piety, benevolence, and respect for the literati, the mandarins of China and the educated samurai of Japan would be the foundation of the value systems of all East Asian countries. In Japan, Shinto, extolling worship of the Emperor, purity in matters concerning ritual and preservation and nurturing of non-human nature would be the underlying foundation for the import of Confucianism from China. Added to the Confucian layer is the Buddhist value system imported from India, which stresses non-violence, egalitarianism and living in harmony with human and non-human nature. This had an impact on all three countries, indeed also on Mongolia. In Japan, Christian influences before the Second World War were limited to mainly the southern part of the country but after the US occupation and the adoption of an American scripted constitution, western and Christian influences became more

pronounced. In Korea, the work of Christian missionaries was far more widespread leading to the development of various Christian cults. The presence of US forces in both Korea and Japan would have enhanced the influence of the Christian western presence. In China, the activity of Christian missionaries goes back several centuries; the emergence of a westernised group in China epitomised by the Sung sisters who were educated in the USA and married Sun Yat Sen and Chiang Kai Shek respectively, being one of the most obvious cases in point. The influence of Sun Yat Sen on the 1911 revolution, which ended the rule of the emperors and the influence of Chiang Kai Shek during the inter war and war years, as an ally of the USA cannot be underestimated.

The influence of Communism in all three countries was uneven, as we know, with an outright victory for them in 1949, after a long drawn out civil war in China and a limited victory in North Korea at the end of the Korean war in the mid-fifties. In Japan, the Communists were essentially on the side lines except for brief periods in the inter war years and during the first three decades after 1945 till about the early 70s.

Despite the similar underlying philosophies of Confucianism, Buddhism and Western Christian thought, the foreign policies of all three have been influenced by other historical and political factors. Japan was the first of the three to develop a modern economy, though Japan always recognised its cultural debt to China and Korea for its language, pottery, silk and tea. This debt led to a degree of ambivalence in Japanese attitudes, which alternated from respect in cultural terms, to scorn because of comparatively slow economic development, and ultimately, led to ruthless exploitation of both China and Korea. The aggressive policies followed by Japan after its 30-year modernisation led to the defeat of China in 1895 and the annexation of Korea as a colony of Japan until Japan's defeat in 1945. The Japanese invasion of the Chinese mainland in the thirties of the 20th century and the use of forced labour, both male and female from China and Japan, has deeply influenced the course of foreign policies of all three countries; offence in the case of the two 'victims' and defence in the case

of the 'perpetrator'. Despite agreements with both Korea and China at various points in post war history, these old wounds have a knack of being reopened by both the 'victims' from time to time much to the annoyance and frustration of the 'perpetrator'. Having made this assertion, it must be acknowledged that both Korea and Japan are allies of the USA with US troops on their soil. They also have a robust economic relationship. This makes for a degree of co-operation. Until 1972 and the visit of Kakuei Tanaka as PM to China, Taiwan was the "China" that Japan recognised. Since the change,

the economic linkages between Japan and China, of investment and trade, have created their own dynamics in foreign policy terms. China has been Japan's biggest trade and investment partner for many years now.

There is no short answer to the question of 'values' in the foreign policies of East Asian countries. Values have to be analysed in the context of the often troubled history that the three have shared over the centuries, especially during the latter half of the 19th and the 20th centuries.

Values in East Asian Foreign Policy: A Japanese Perspective

Tadashi Anno



The history of international relations in modern Europe is characterised by the disintegration of a pre-existing hierarchical order, and by the emergence of a system of equal sovereign states. This system later spread to the entire world both because Western powers enjoyed overwhelming influence, and because this system allowed widely divergent political entities to coexist. Over the centuries, the evolution of the system of sovereign states in the West has produced four layers of values/norms which have constituted the “mainstream” values in international society. These four layers may be called “sovereignty norms,” “non-aggression norms,” “liberal democratic norms,” and “post-modern norms.”

However, the development of international relations in East Asia has diverged from the West. First, the Chinese Empire, a universal empire comparable to Rome, lasted until the 19C. Second, as the Eurocentric international society expanded, East Asian states were not automatically welcomed as equal, sovereign members. Rather the “standard of civilisation” served as a justification for their subjection to a hierarchical order. Superimposed on top of a crumbling Sino-centric order was not a system of equal, sovereign states, but an imperialist order in which only Japan retained full

sovereignty, and other countries were subjected to imperialism.

The collapse of the Japanese empire in Asia brought about an era of sovereign equality among East Asian states. But “non-aggression norms” were slow to take root in the region. The Cold War created two sets of divided states in East Asia, and in the relationship between these states, the non-aggression principle was not readily accepted. The reach of “liberal democratic” norms in the region was limited to Japan until the 1980s. Thus, in the post-WWII era, the influence of a liberal international order remained weak in East Asia.

Since the 1980s, liberal democratic values spread to South Korea, Taiwan, and to Mongolia. More importantly, the market economy spread to China since the late 1970s, and to Russia, since the late 1980s. With the exception of DPRK, the entire East Asia became part of a “liberal international order,” economically speaking. Yet, economic globalisation strengthened the power of emerging states, including authoritarian powers such as China and Russia, bringing about a shift in power balance away from liberal Western states. At the same time, globalisation and the rise of post-modern values created in Western states growing discontent about the consequences of unfettered liberalism. Disillusionment about liberal democracy has generated a crisis of confidence among elites in advanced Western states, which has emboldened their opponents and fence-sitters to assert their own, different values.

Besides, the end of the Cold War led to the resurgence of postcolonial nationalism. Most states in East Asia achieved full sovereignty only after WWII. But Cold War divisions and ideologies limited the forms in which nationalism of these states could be expressed. With the end of the Cold War, China and Korea have come to place more emphasis in removing the stains of past history. This, in addition to a generational change in Japan, has contributed to growing tension among these states.

As a democracy, and as a trading state dependent on an open world economy, Japan has supported the US-led liberal international order. Even as the balance of power

changes, and as US commitment to maintaining a liberal international order is questioned, Japan has sought to maintain this order in co-operation with likeminded states, and in the foreseeable future, it is likely to do so. This is because the maintenance of an international order characterised by peaceful resolution of disputes, rule of law, and an open economic system is of vital interest for Japan.

The shape of international relations in East Asia in the next few decades will continue to hinge on the course of US policy. But another significant factor is whether the political energy generated by resurgent nationalism will

take a direction conducive to international co-operation. The desire to heal painful memories and to restore the nation's historical glory is understandable. Yet if such desire takes the form of forcible changes to the territorial status quo, or wilful disregard for established principles of law, then the future of the region will be bleak. East Asia will be able to manage the current period of turbulence only if states in the region respect established principles of international law, and find sources of their national pride in contributing to an international order in which the peoples of the region can coexist in freedom and prosperity.

Diplomatic Guest Lecture



From L to R: Fredrik Erixon (chair) and Peter Burleigh

Values and Foreign Policy: Some Thoughts

Peter Burleigh

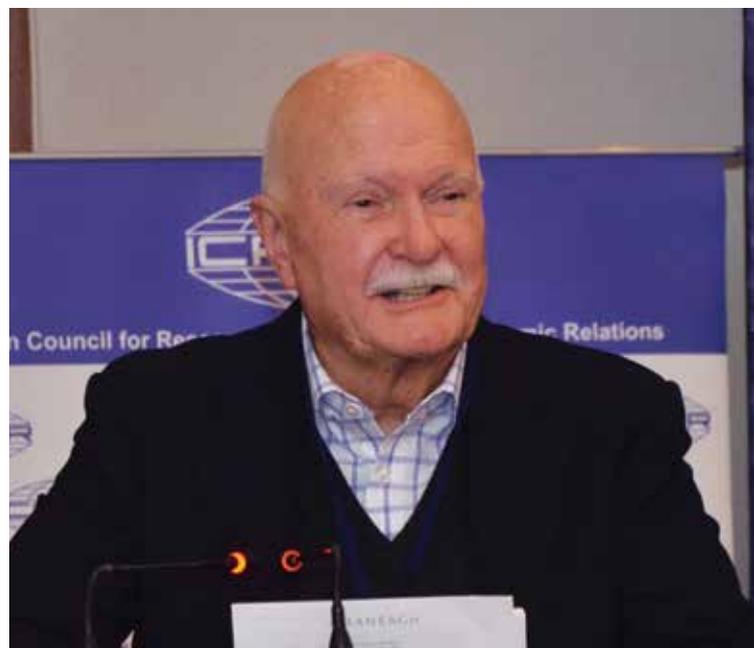
There has been long controversy and debate regarding the relationship of values, broadly defined, and foreign policy strategies. Especially since the end of World War II, the victorious parties established a plethora of multinational organisations, which were more or less based on the assumption that there was a core set of principles that would guide inter-state relations and establish standards with regard to national governments' attitudes toward, and treatment of, their own citizens.

We are all familiar with these institutions, such as the United Nations (including the special role of the Security Council to maintain peace and security). At this time of multilateral creations, the Breton Woods finance bodies were also created. The 1948 adoption of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a prime example of an attempt to declare and establish standards relating to the rights of citizens around the world, without regard to the type of national political system in which those citizens lived. However, also to be noted is that some important countries, including the USSR and Saudi Arabia, abstained in the vote, presumably reflecting their questioning of at least some of the rights (and related values) included in the Declaration.

A more recent example of a contemporary attempt to reiterate and underscore such standards and values is the International Criminal Court, though perhaps its struggles to obtain universal acceptance is a reflection of the limitations of buy-in of such standards, particularly when it confronts questions of national sovereignty.

Especially in retrospect, it seems there was never an authentic international consensus about such universal rights or on the values that underpin such rights. Similarly, the behaviour of nation-states since the creation of the United Nations has made it clear that adherence to the Charter's precepts is hit and miss, and subject to selective enforcement.

A serious analysis of any country's foreign policy has to recognise, and acknowledge, that there has been, and will be, gaps between widely espoused values and national foreign policy strategies. Some argue that values and interests can be aligned and it seems that is



sometimes the case, but more often than not, there is a gap, sometimes relatively small while sometimes it is yawning and obvious.

It is sometimes argued that national strategic interests always determine nation-state behaviour, though it occasionally appears that values trump interests. Europeans' recent experience with floods of migrants may be a case in point. In fact, it might be an interesting case study of values colliding frontally with national interests. Study of the disparate reactions of various members of the European Union might also be instructive.

If it is true that there never was, and still isn't, an international consensus on universal values, are there regional or country-specific values which motivate and underpin foreign policies in such areas? For example, there has been much discussion of so-called "Asian" or "African" values, which are distinctly tied to foreign policies. Some have argued that recognition of such values is critical to understanding contemporary events, especially as formerly colonised countries modify or abandon political ideologies and institutional structures imposed, or at least encouraged, by the colonising nations.

In most discussions, such region-specific values are described as fundamentally different from “Western” values, more oriented to community rather than individual rights, more respectful of inherited traditions and patriarchy, more focused on stability and social order, possibly more accepting of authoritarian political structures.

Another important dimension of inquiry is the role of nationalism and populism, which seems to be a gathering force in a wide range of otherwise dissimilar countries. Often, such ideologies seek to establish standards which restrict full national membership to those of certain ethnicities, mother tongues, religions and other particularistic criteria. In the process, there is often a

distinction between “us” and “them”. Such trends seek to change traditional concepts of accepted values and, in some case, foreign policies. This is especially the case when such national values are perceived to be in contradiction to trans-national, and/or universal, values.

In summary, there are many deep complexities in the seemingly simple and straight-forward question of what role values play in foreign policies. We seem to have entered, for a variety of different reasons in different countries and regions, a period of less certainty and more surprising trends that have triggered new questions about the many and various ways that foreign policies are pursued by nation-states.

Session 3: Islamic Values and Foreign Policy



From L to R: Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Zeenat Rous (chair), Talmiz Ahmad and Kingshuk Chatterjee

Islamic Values and Foreign Policy: An Indonesian Perspective

Dewi Fortuna Anwar



Debates about what constitute as “Islamic values” and how they should relate to public lives have continued to rage throughout the Muslim world to the present day. Since the very beginning, there have existed different schools of thoughts and streams within Islam, just like in other religions. Whereas in Western Europe, religious wars had ended with the victory of the secularists and the clear separation between the Church and the State, the struggles within the much more diverse Islamic communities seemed to be never ending. Fundamental debates about relations between Islam and the state, the extent to which Islam should be used as the source of laws, about whether plural democracy, human rights and women empowerment are compatible with Islamic values, whether the ideal systems of governments should be based on nation-states or a transnational Islamic caliphate, what should be the meanings of jihad in modern times, whether women or non-Muslims can be elected as top government leaders, are currently still being played out in many Muslim majority countries. It is clear that the interpretations of Islamic values have always been contested over time and space, and within the domestic political context in predominantly Muslim countries, political elites and religious leaders from different spectrums have often resorted to the

Quran, the Hadith and the various authoritative tafsir or interpretations to argue their cases. The world-wide efforts to address the threats of religious extremism and terrorism, including suicide bombings, that purport to use the teachings of Islam as their justifications in attacking people of other faiths, have also emphasised counter-terrorism and de-radicalisation narratives based on the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad that among others emphasise tolerance of differences and prohibit the killings of innocent people or suicides.

Can similar debates about “Islamic values” be found in the formulation and implementation of the foreign policy of predominantly Muslim countries? The chapter entitled “Islamic Values in Foreign Policy: Perspectives on ‘Secular’ Turkey and ‘Islamic’ Iran” by Mehmet Ozkan and Kingshuk Chatterjee offers a fascinating insight into the role of Islam in the foreign policy of these two very different Muslim regional powers. The paper convincingly argues that it would be difficult to essentialise any single set of values that can be identified as being exclusively Islamic across the Muslim world. Furthermore, when it comes to foreign policy, it is difficult to find any two Muslim countries following similar policies that are based on similar religious considerations, to the exclusion of other factors such as geopolitics, economic and politics. Turkey has, since the rise of AK Party and Recep Tayyip Erdogan in 2002, pursued a foreign policy that tries to enhance its Islamic credentials and standing vis-à-vis other Muslim countries and communities despite its explicitly secular constitution. On the other hand, while the political language of Iran has been thoroughly Islamised since the Islamic revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini toppled the Pahlavi dynasty in 1979, the authors argue that the primary drivers of Tehran’s foreign policy such as security, economic and geopolitical considerations have not really changed from the previous regime. While both Ankara and Tehran display “Islam sensitive” foreign policy, such as support for the predominantly Muslim Palestinians in their struggle for statehood against Israeli occupation, as well as solidarity towards the plight of other oppressed Muslims elsewhere, such as the persecuted Rohingya minority in predominantly Buddhist Myanmar, one cannot

make an argument that these policies are driven by “Islamic values” per se.

Indonesia, the world’s largest Muslim-majority country and predominantly Sunni, shares more similarity to Turkey than to Tehran. Unlike Turkey, Indonesia is not strictly a secular State since the first principle of its pluralist national ideology, Pancasila, is Belief in the One True God, with the State being responsible for protecting religious freedom. While Islam is the religion of the majority, throughout the military-dominated New Order government, political Islam was prohibited and the only “Islamic sensitive” foreign policy was Indonesia’s steadfast support for the Palestinians and refusal to establish diplomatic relations with Israel until Palestine statehood is achieved. Since the fall of Suharto in 1998 and Indonesia’s democratic transition that has opened the way for political Islam, however, “Islam sensitive” foreign policy has also gained more prominence,

particularly in the face of so many problems encountered by Muslims worldwide, though the political language has not been Islamised. These include the continuing injustices suffered by the Palestinians, the persecution and discrimination of Muslim minorities in many parts of the world, and the fact that all Muslims seemed to be tarred with the brush of religious extremism and terrorism in popular western perceptions. With its relatively successful and resilient democratic progress, therefore, Indonesia has tried to promote more moderate Islamic values as part of its foreign policy. With the tagline that Indonesia is a country where Islam, democracy, modernity and women empowerment can walk hand-in-hand, Jakarta has included the promotion of Wasatiyat Islam, loosely translated as Islam of the middle path, which seeks to contextualise the understanding and praxis of Islam, as well as the promotion of inter-faith dialogues as part of its public diplomacy.

The Role of Islamic Values in Foreign Policy

Kingshuk Chatterjee



How does one identify or decode the 'Islamic' element in a country's foreign policy? Does a foreign policy choice qualify automatically as Islamic if it is merely claimed to be so, since every speech is also reflective of the deliberation behind it? Do all foreign policy choices of an 'Islamic' state tend to be ipso facto Islamic, since the language of politics is heavily laced with Islamic terms of reference? Can a predominantly Muslim state that is not professedly 'Islamic' in its dispensation be motivated by Islamic values in its foreign policy choices, because the societal context within which such policy is framed is heavily influenced by Islamic values, even if the political system is not?

Among scholars of Muslim/Islamic politics, there are those who would subscribe to the position that any action that is professedly inspired by considerations of the faith must ipso facto be accepted as such, unless contrary evidence can be produced – thus all the violent and outrageous actions of Da'esh (or the Islamic State) in the name of Islam should be understood to be 'Islamic'. There are yet others who seem to think actions need

not necessarily be professedly Islamic; it is quite enough that they address considerations that are generally associated with the faith or practice of Muslims – hence any expression of solidarity of any predominantly Muslim country for the Palestinian cause has been often read as axiomatic on account of the fact that a majority of Palestinians happen to be Muslims. Still others would choose to shop between these positions, without being beholden to any one argument.

It is useful to understand that it is not possible to essentialise any single set of values (except in very general terms) that can be identified as exclusively Islamic (i.e., found in no other belief system), or even generally understood as such across the Muslim world. The faith and practice of Islam has tended to vary across time and space, much like any other religion or body of ideas, and has tended to acquire distinctive characteristics that make the Muslim world nearly as diverse as any other group of countries in the world. Thus, far from all predominantly Muslim countries following similar tropes of political behaviour in the international arena, it is difficult to find any two Muslim countries pursuing similar policies motivated by similar considerations of the faith in exclusion of other factors. Geostrategic, economic and political factors, inter alia, make any exclusively "Islamic" consideration in foreign policy formulation virtually impossible. And yet quite a number of predominantly Muslim countries tend to claim their policies and actions as being motivated by "Islamic" values. This could be either because such policies are actually guided by a particular understanding of what Islam is taken to signify in a particular situation (i.e., Islamic values are contextual and semiotic in character), or because it is expected/ useful to deploy Islamic terms of reference to legitimise any policy or action which may actually have little or no consideration of Islam behind it (i.e., Islamic values are instrumental in character).

Islam in Contemporary Foreign Policy: Reflections on Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey

Talmiz Ahmad

There is no unitary “Islamic” position on important issues of statecraft and governance. Every Muslim kingdom consisted of two autonomous components: the Sharia (religious law) and the Sultan. The Sultan, the political authority, though ostensibly heading a “Muslim” realm, enjoyed considerable autonomy in matters relating to foreign affairs and war, commercial matters and criminal justice.

Since Islam did not provide for a centralised theological authority, such as the papacy in Christianity, the effective guardians of Sharia were scholars whose authority was based on their learning and the students they attracted. Muslim history has shown that in terms of the relative power equation between the Sultan and the religious authority, it was the Sultan who almost invariably triumphed over the religious authority, which generally provided doctrinal justification for the Sultan’s decisions and actions.

Religion in the Islamic state

Thus, no Muslim state was a theocratic state whose sole purpose was the implementation of the Sharia. Reflecting this, Islamic treatises on governance predominantly consist of pragmatic and secular tenets relating to statecraft and are framed around the idea of a social contract between the ruler and his subjects. Thus, the Muslim kingdom in pre-modern times was not very different in organisation and functioning from contemporary Christian kingdoms in Europe.

Judicial officials in the Muslim state were qazis, who were state appointed and whose jurisdiction was largely confined to civil matters – marriage, death, inheritance, personal conduct and contractual obligations. In making pronouncements in matters placed before them, the qazis rarely referred to the letter of the religious law: they were usually guided by considerations of *masalaha*, public welfare or public good, and their judgements often referred to *siyasa shariyya*, the spirit of the Sharia.

The principles most frequently evoked in the Muslim state were: *adl*, justice; *shura*, consultation and *masalaha*,



public welfare. These were used to judge the ruler and could be invoked to justify insurrection against an unjust ruler. Obviously, even among religious scholars, there have been rigorous debates and profound disagreements on these matters, with views being asserted on the basis of experiences of scholars in specific political circumstances. For instance, the chaos that followed the destruction of the Abbassid Caliphate by the Mongols in the thirteenth century led the distinguished scholar, Ibn Taymiyya, to insist that tyranny is preferable to *fitna*, anarchy. This was invoked by the Saudi monarch, King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz, to criticise the agitations against President Hosni Mubarak in January 2011.

Saudi Arabia – the Wahhabi state

In modern times, Muslim states have invoked “Islam” in different ways to assert the interests of rulers domestically and externally. Saudi Arabia, the guardian of Islam’s two holy mosques at Mecca and Madinah, has affiliated the state to a specific religious movement in Islam, referred to loosely as Wahhabiyya, after its founder, Sheikh Mohammed ibn Abdul Wahhab. Its tenets are the most rigid and demanding in Islam, both in terms of doctrine and the personal conduct insisted upon from

its adherents. It has thus been used as a coercive force by the state to manage the conduct of its subjects.

Beyond the domestic, it has also been used as an instrument to serve the foreign policy interests of the Saudi state. In the 1950s, in the face of the challenge from revolutionary regimes, the kingdom used "Islam" as a mobilising ideology against Arab nationalism, socialism and secularism. Later, after the 1967 war, the balance of influence in the Arab world swung in favour of Saudi Arabia vis-à-vis Egypt.

The kingdom then asserted its leadership over the Arab and Muslim worlds by setting up the Organisation of the Islamic Conference in 1969, the conclave of all Muslim countries. Saudi Arabia also uses "Islam" to build support constituencies in Muslim countries by funding for mosques, schools, institutions and political groups.

Iran – the Islamic Republic

In 1979, the leaders of the revolution in Iran projected it as "Islamic", with no sectarian content. Clerical domination and control were enshrined in the constitution and enforced through powerful institutions, such as the powers conferred on the Supreme Leader and the institution of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps.

The leader of the revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini, also proclaimed the doctrine of *vilayet-e-faqih*, the rule of the juris consult, with himself as the personage uniquely empowered to make religious pronouncements and even to deviate from the tenets of Sharia on the basis of "expediency".

Iran has used "Islam" to support its outreach to external constituencies on an Islamic (revolutionary) and sectarian basis, e.g., Hamas and Hezbollah, respectively. It has also developed strong support bases among Shia communities in different parts of the world.

Turkey – bastion of political Islam

Turkey is a "secular" state in terms of its constitution, but religion is deeply embedded in its culture and society. In the 1970s, its military rulers, the guardians of its secular character, often invoked Islam against the allure of communist ideology. In the 1980s, as a result of economic reforms of Tugrut Ozal, large numbers of business persons in small towns, with strong religious

beliefs, were newly empowered; they began the process of bringing "Islam" into the political space, which finally brought the Islamist "Justice and Development Party" (AKP) under President Recep Tayyip Erdogan to power in 2002. Erdogan is seeking to expand Turkey's influence in West Asia through vigorous "religious diplomacy".

Islam in contemporary foreign policy

"Islam" is today being used as ideology and instrument to sub-serve a variety of state interests:

- i. It is the source of legitimacy at home and influence abroad for ruling order: Saudi Arabia uses its guardianship of the holy mosques at Mecca and Madinah to assert its leadership and influence in the Muslim world.
- ii. It is invoked when states wish to project their foreign policy positions as "Islamic" causes: Palestine/Bosnia/Chechnya/Kashmir.
- iii. It is asserted to justify foreign policy choices (though core concerns are strategic/geo-political): for instance, leaders of Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia described Iran's increasing regional influence as a "Shia Crescent", seeking to use sectarian identity to mobilise opposition to Iran; similarly, Saudi Arabia has invoked sectarian identity to describe its proxy conflicts with Iran in Syria and Yemen.
- iv. It is used as an ideology to promote the interest of ruling regimes in political confrontations: the state-sponsored "global jihad" in Afghanistan.
- v. Some states opportunistically provide backing for extremist Islamic elements to serve their own political interests: Pakistan uses jihad as an instrument of war against India; Turkey provided a "Jihadi super-highway" to enable extremists to enter Syria to fight the Bashar al Assad regime.
- vi. States use "Islam" to build lobbies and support systems plus mobilise support when required: both Saudi Arabia and Iran have built influential support bases on sectarian basis in several Muslim countries; Iran has sponsored Shia militia to sustain its influence in Lebanon and Iraq; Saudi Arabia has announced the shaping of a trans-national Islamic armed force, the Islamic NATO, that is meant to be used against Iran.

Session 4: Values in ASEAN's Foreign Policy



From L to R: Rajiv Bhatia, Kate Sullivan de Estrada (chair) and Iftekhar Ahmad Chowdhury

The ASEAN Way and Myanmar's Political Transition

Chaw Chaw Sein



There are two questions to be discussed regarding "Values in ASEAN's foreign policy. The first question is why ASEAN endures in this uncertain security environment and the second question is whether the "ASEAN Way" (consensus and non-interference) works or not? In order to address these two questions, the following points are discussed.

The non-traditional security challenges that ASEAN faces today cannot be tackled alone. Moreover, the military build-up of major powers in the region become a threat to small countries like ASEAN member states. In this situation, ASEAN norm and values are the only way for ASEAN to escape from major powers traps. The emergence of ASEAN norms can be traced back in history. The Southeast Asian region has common and uncommon factors. They share a common history and culture but also have different religions and different types of government. Norms such as collective identity and sense of community can be explored in the neo-liberal institutionalism and constructivism concepts. ASEAN operates under six core norms: sovereign equality, non-recourse to the use of force and peaceful settlement of conflict, non-interference and non-intervention, non-involvement of ASEAN to address unresolved bilateral

conflict between members, quiet diplomacy, mutual respect, and tolerance. These norms help to co-ordinate values among states and societies.

It is noteworthy that ASEAN norms work to some extent in the case of Myanmar. There are several cases of how ASEAN norms work out for Myanmar's peaceful transition to democracy. Myanmar started to draft a seven-step road map for democratic transition in 2003. Before that, the West countries pressured ASEAN to isolate Myanmar due to human rights reasons. However, instead of isolating, ASEAN policy makers used quiet diplomacy in the belief that gradual change in Myanmar is the best approach. Besides, ASEAN has approached Myanmar by way of constructive and flexible engagement. After transition, Myanmar achieved ASEAN Chairmanship, which had been refused by ASEAN in 2006.

Soon after joining, Myanmar faced the problem of some ASEAN countries attempting to change the ASEAN way. For the chair of ASEAN in 2006, Myanmar was under pressured and faced criticism from various factions. The United States and the European Union publicly announced that they might boycott any ASEAN-related event if Myanmar was the chair. In this regard, Myanmar voluntarily agreed to skip its turn as chairman of ASEAN in 2006 and ASEAN foreign ministers agreed at the time to let Myanmar assume the chairmanship when it was ready.

Another case is Cyclone Nargis that hit Myanmar's coastal areas, including the capital Yangon, in May 2008. The May 2008 incident coincided with the holding of a referendum on the Constitution, which was part of the seven-step of road map. When Nargis hit Myanmar, the French Foreign Minister started to lobby to impose R2P at the UNSC, accusing Myanmar of being slow in taking humanitarian assistance. ASEAN believed that R2P in relation to Nargis would be misapplying the principle and would Myanmar's damage efforts to move forward to transition. With this consideration, ASEAN took the initiative called "Tripartite Core Group" in collaboration with Myanmar and UN to work out a rehabilitation plan after Nargis.

The ASEAN: Enlightened Self-interest and Challenges to Unity

Rajiv Bhatia

Unlike the European Union, ASEAN is not a supra-national entity. Hence, caution is advisable in talking about ASEAN's 'foreign policy'. Yet, it is undeniable that in its over 50-year long existence, ASEAN has come a long way in forging and sustaining co-operation among its member-states in the domain of external relations, despite various divergences among them. Six-monthly summits of ASEAN leaders and their annual summits with a web of their dialogue partners ensure considerable harmony on this score.

However, since about 2012, the ASEAN region has been experiencing exceptionally intense geopolitical pressures that strain ASEAN unity and coherence on a number of critical issues. First, on the South China dispute, China's aggressiveness and unilateralism tested to the limits ASEAN's faith in the normative framework of international conduct that it espouses, characterised by the non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes. The China-ASEAN Declaration on Code of Conduct (DOC) gave little satisfaction to countries such as Vietnam and the Philippines that bore the brunt of China's coercive diplomacy, backed by military measures. As of now, negotiations between China and ASEAN for a binding Code of Conduct (COC) continue to move at a snail's pace.

Second, in recent years, the emergence of 'Indo-Pacific' as a new political construct has come to dominate the discourse on defining inter-state relationships in the region, thereby placing further strains on ASEAN unity. Several ASEAN member-states seem to be worried over the concept's implications, preferring to see in it a ploy to involve them in the on-going rivalry among great powers. However, Indonesia's acceptance of the Indo-Pacific, partially as a result of its strategic dialogue with India, has created new dynamics. ASEAN foreign ministers are at present engaged in crafting a common position on the subject. A related issue is the ASEAN's attitude towards the Quadrilateral Dialogue or the Quad among the US, India, Japan and Australia. Third, the insistence by ASEAN on its centrality in East Asian affairs raises the question of how to adhere to and implement it in practice when the essential unity among its ten member-states is in jeopardy today.



ASEAN experts help us recall, in the above context, the past debate about 'Asian values' as opposed to universalism inherent in the concept of human rights. That famous debate came to a close towards the end of the 20th century, with probably neither side winning it outright. But human rights continue to be a pertinent issue even today. What happened in Myanmar in August 2017, which resulted in the forced exodus of 700,000 Rohingya Muslims to Bangladesh, is a tragic story that represents a blot not only on Myanmar but also on ASEAN, albeit indirectly.

It is 'the ASEAN way' – of consultation, compromise and consensus – that shows the way forward for the region and indeed the world. It implies that a set of values, principles, norms and civilised methods of interaction among nation-states are far more valuable than a naked pursuit of pure self-interest by nations. It indicates that rules and laws apply to all states – big or small, strong or weak. This formula will not call for 'America first' or 'China Dream', etc., but rather for 'Let us make Asia or the world great again.' It is anchored in the doctrine of enlightened self-interest; the Indian maxim 'The World is one family'; and inclusivity and equity in the international community. For some, it is too difficult a formula to practice, but is it too difficult for all of us to understand and accept it?

Values in Foreign Policy: The ASEAN Way

Iftekhar Ahmed Chowdhury



Western literature on international relations categorised relevant analyses and policy practice into three categories of theoretical activity. First were the idealists. They were mainly Anglo-Saxons who dominated thinking as the modern era unfolded. They believed that the system of international relations that had given rise to the First Great War was capable of being transformed into a fundamentally more peaceful and just order. They were remarkable in the intensity of their dedication to a particular vision of what should happen. They were challenged by the second school, the realists. They argued that power politics was not bad in itself, and sought to establish the legitimacy of the appeal to national interests. They believed universal moral principles could not be applied to State actions. The third school was the social-scientific one, large and amorphous, who moved away from the 'soft' social analyses to 'hard' ones for methodological guidance. They were intellectually eclectic, coming from different disciplines, and their chillingly rational analyses flowed from systems and game-theory, cybernetics, mathematical logic, physics and simulation. However, the three-fold classification was not water-tight in terms of individuals, ideas, and periodisation.

This western bias in theory was moderated by thought-leaders in post-colonial Asia. In the real world, the new leaders and thinkers of this age sought to shun the conflicts of major global protagonists by espousing such concepts as 'non-alignment', which championed the notion that issues were to be just on the individual merits of each case, rather than on the basis of any 'a priori' views. These eventually found fruition in what has been called 'Asian values, which led to what is now known as the 'ASEAN way'. The latter was seen as emphasising consensual approach, communitarianism, social order and harmony, respect for elders, discipline, a paternalistic state, and the primary role of government in economic development. The influence of Confucianism and other eastern philosophies were profound. These were often pitted against the so-called 'western' values such as those linked to individualism, transparency, accountability, global competitiveness, a universal outlook and universalist practices, and an emphasis on private initiatives in economic development. Indeed, the remarkable and rapid economic progress of Asia was ascribed to these Asian-values or ASEAN way.

My essay, however, makes the case that dichotomising thoughts and policies on foreign relations between western and eastern values in this manner is unrealistic. In our globalised world, borders between compartments of thoughts and concepts are fast eroding. Protestant work ethics or Calvinistic practices in Europe can today be confused with many elements of Confucianism. Factors of production require unimpeded mixing whether they are motivated by so-called Asian or ASEAN, or European and western, values. No school or region can claim an exclusive right to any particular value. For instance, human rights have a universal appeal and relevance. While the natural tendency of a state actor may be to try and shape the world in accordance with its own fundamental precepts, there are bound to be restraints imposed by such realities as size and capabilities. Global politics, just as domestic politics, operate within the realm of what is possible and prudent.

Day 2: March 2, 2019 (Saturday)

Session 5: Western Liberalism and Asian Values in Foreign Policy



From L to R: Ravi Velloor, Veronica Sutherland (chair), Krishnan Srinivasan and Kate Sullivan de Estrada

How does Western Liberalism Impact Today on Foreign Affairs Globally and in Asia?

Kate Sullivan de Estrada



What is Western liberalism, and how Western is it? The answers to these two questions can help us to understand the impact that western liberalism exerts on foreign affairs globally and in Asia, today.

Western liberalism is by no means a coherent set of ideas or values. And yet, most would argue that the last seventy years have seen the establishment and consolidation – as well as contestation – of an international liberal order, championed in particular by the United States and centred on Western liberalism.

For some, the international liberal order has sought to entrench an approach to economics that leads to greater prosperity, a political order that favours democratic governance, and a strategic order that can suppress conflict between great powers. For others, the contemporary international liberal order is primarily the result of an imperialist project of US elites that has led to deep inequality between Western architects and those non-Western states that have not been their close supporters, as well as deep inequality within US society. In this view, the liberal internationalism that underpins

the international liberal order has functioned as what Inderjeet Parmar identifies as ‘a legitimating ideology’, a system of ideas, values and practices used to embed, justify and uphold the present international status quo.

The idea of the international liberal order as founded on Western liberalism can be challenged in three key ways today. First, the international liberal order is not solely a product of the West. It evolved through complex and comparatively understudied processes of interaction between the West and ‘the rest’, underwritten of course by a significant power differential in favour of Western liberal states. Non-Western experiences and responses to the expansion of the US-led international liberal order have shaped the foreign policies of non-Western states in important ways. Non-Western states have delivered critical responses to the ways in which security has been defined and enacted by Western powers as well as to the sites of Western power and practices of dominance in global institutions. They have also argued that many states and societies face challenges in adapting to the demands of a global economy. A focus on the practices of contestation through and by non-Western states underscores how the making and remaking of the international liberal order has been, and will increasingly be, a far more interactive process than is commonly assumed.

Second, the international liberal order of today is by no means the only game of global governance in town: regional organisations – in particular ASEAN, but also other multilateral and plurilateral arrangements – are proliferating, reflecting challenges to, and the erosion of, US and western dominance. In other words, as Amitav Acharya has shown, as global governance is fragmenting, the core values of western liberalism are being called into question. The supposedly universal ideas of nationalism, democracy, human rights, capitalism, development and national security are being challenged, rejected and replaced: not all good ideas come from the West.

Thirdly, this pluralisation of forms of global governance has not yet rendered the international liberal order irrelevant. The ambiguities of liberal internationalism are proving to be a powerful and differential resource for the expansion of new influence, particularly in Asia. Here, China is pursuing a new game of international economic leadership, Japan has visited and revisited a grand strategy centred on an 'arc of freedom and prosperity', and India is imagining and promoting a liberal space in the Indian Ocean. The power of liberal internationalism as 'a legitimating ideology' is being harnessed in new ways by these increasingly powerful states.

The question that therefore arises is how 'non-Western' will these invocations of liberal internationalism become? Will they echo the structural violence of the international liberal order of the past seventy years by creating imperialistic political and economic dependencies abroad and deep inequalities between elites and others at home? Or will the narratives of exceptionalism of great Asian states and regional groupings, founded as they are on the rejection of hegemonic practices, guide the behaviour of state elites as the powerful movers and shapers at home, in the region and beyond?

Western Liberalism and Asian Values

Krishnan Srinivasan



Western liberalism had several centuries of aberration during the imperial period, which ended within living memory, when the West had control over power, concepts and values. If Jews are marked by received memories of the holocaust and South Africa by apartheid, Asian nationalism is imprinted by colonial oppression. The overhang of imperialism affects the Asian perception of western values because so many western countries were involved in the colonial enterprise. This historical experience has become an essential component of Asian nationalism, and leads Asians to believe that the West deploys its resources to frustrate their rise.

Whereas western liberal values prioritise the individual over the state, and the EU has moved to a certain unity transcending national borders, Asians hold firmly to Art 2 of the UN charter in regard to the sanctity of state sovereignty. Western interventions to export liberal values and political systems in places like Iraq and Afghanistan, Libya and Kosovo, have undermined their validity, and humanitarian interventions became viewed as establishing unofficial and eventually failed, protectorates. The West has long believed that international co-operation can only take place under the auspices of a western hegemon and liberal democratic

models, though differentiating between unacceptable democrats and acceptable dictators.

The West believes in personal freedom and free speech over restraint, rationale over religion, and the sanctity of individual rights. Western values have since the French Revolution been secularised. Asian countries have a strong sense of religion, or rather the civilisational impulses flowing from religious or spiritual tradition. Therefore, the values of the West often seem to Asians to be deliberately opposed to, or neglectful of, faith.

Liberal values are a legitimising pillar of western foreign policy. On the basis of moral superiority, the West presents itself not only as norm-observing but norm-setting, emphasising legal and institutional procedures. Eighty percent of the standards of international trade and global markets have been initiated by the West, in labour, governance, environment, sustainable development, and international law. The core of Euro-centrism, wrote Wang Hui, was in establishing rules according to the western interest and then universalising them.

There is tension between liberal universal values and local interpretations of universality, between post-modern West and pre-modern Asia. The inherited assumptions of a backward East and a progressive West now have less purchase in the global setting than previously. To a great extent, the rise of China is responsible for that new perception.

The values handed down from the Renaissance in the West laid down objectives for fulfilling the ultimate goal, the liberty of the individual. There is nothing that can be identified as Asian values. Because of a multiplicity of religions, languages and philosophical traditions, values are national rather than continental. The important distinction is that Asia does not seek, at least for now, to articulate any universal values or to prescribe and propagate them outside national borders.

Because recent history has been about the rise of the western world, there is inherent resistance to the idea that other civilisational values may exist. There cannot be equality or reciprocity when the West insists on the

universality of its values and norms. International law and rules based procedures cannot be grounded without genuine multilateralism or the logic of hard power. We live in an increasingly non-western world, when it is an illusion to claim centrality in world affairs.

The modernisation process could end in different places, various spheres of influence and diverse ways of life. Globalisation will not make political systems more liberal

or democratic, and few can believe in a universal political convergence overcoming national interest. In future, we may have many prevailing values and differing political concepts, not compatible with each other; a world where borders are increasingly diffuse but cultural and civilisational differences are not, creating a permanently unstable compound of heterogeneous elements. It will be both for the West and Asia to negotiate that challenge.

Is There Anything like Asian Values?

Ravi Velloor



In a four-decade career in journalism, I have learnt that while cynicism is unhealthy, a dose of scepticism is a welcome trait to own and these remarks, which substantially derive from the chapter I contributed to the book, derive from that experience.

Post-colonial Asia tended to divide itself three or four ways: Countries allied to the Soviet Union, countries allied to the US, and a third group that tried to navigate this division without attaching themselves to either camp, called the Non Aligned. A fourth group rose in the 1980s and 90s, on the strength of first Japanese, then Western capital, but were resistant to the Western commitment to democracy, human rights and a free media. These are the ones that laid claim to 'Asian Values' or came to be associated with it.

Given that India, China and Indonesia – Asia's three biggest population centres – won independence or had their revolution within the four years after World War 2, an examination of the values they bring to foreign policy is best examined in their record as free nations. It also happens that for the first time, all these three nations – plus post War Japan, which is changing swiftly in so many ways – are all led by men who were born in the post-War, post-colonial era.

This has a significant impact on the values they bring to their work in office. In a sense, this liberates them from carrying the burden of direct memory endured by the founding fathers, based on which some of their values and principles are derived from. This gives them significant room for improvisation.

It is clear that while the founding fathers, shaped by their experience, laid principled directions, Asia's modern history is to a large extent about nations adapting their values to contemporary realities, often in contravention of the guiding principles of state policy.

This elasticity is borne out of circumstance and has many triggers. When you boil it down, what invariably comes up are two values in play: ambition and insecurity.

Let's take Nehru. No Asian public figure had so optimistic a vision for Asia. But his statesmanship and values confronted difficult challenges from the start. Months after Independence, it took a fast from Gandhi to convince his Cabinet to release money due to be handed over to the Pakistan Treasury. The next year, 1948, he ordered India's first external intervention, when he sent a planeload of arms to Burma to save U Nu.

His daughter Indira Gandhi took that many steps forward. In the process of splitting Pakistan, she even turned "nonaligned" India for a period into a virtual Soviet ally. Sikkim was annexed in 1975. In the 1980s, India intervened in Sri Lanka, when it tried different value systems including capitalism that sat poorly with Mrs Gandhi.

Likewise, China coined the five principles of co-existence after Mao's forces drove Chiang Kai Shek to Taiwan. These principles resonated around the world and particularly, Asia. They influenced Nehru's Panchsheel. A key element of the Five Principles was non-interference in each other's internal affairs. But even Mao's China interfered all across Asia to promote revolution. Chin Peng broadcast to Southeast Asia from Beijing until 1980, when the broadcasts stopped after Lee Kuan Yew met with Deng Xiaoping. Today's China, under Xi Jinping, is hugely assertive, in a different way. And it uses a variety

of methods, from trade to cyber, to get its way and influence things on the ground.

Inconsistency of the application of values is endemic to foreign policy. It stands to China's credit that it settled most of its land border issues – 12 of 14 countries -- with generosity. In its maritime disputes though, and this goes back to my point about ambition and insecurity, things have been markedly different.

The Paracels were grabbed in 1974 from South Vietnam. Mischief Reef in the Spratlys was taken from the Philippines in 1995 – three years after the US vacated Clark Air Base and Subic Bay. More recently, it has occupied Scarborough Shoal. Maybe some values were at play here; Chinese believe more in luck rather than destiny. And that luck has to be grabbed when it passes by or you lose the opportunity.

China's self-image is of a model global citizen, one that abides by international law. Yet, while it has been very skilful in using the WTO dispute settlement mechanism, it blithely ignored the 2016 Permanent Court of Arbitration ruling.

Likewise, Japan is the only nation that was attacked with nuclear weapons. While it has a Pacifist Constitution, it is currently involved in a steady rearrangement of its values. It has already moved to having a more 'normal' military, the Self Defence Agency is now a Defence Ministry and it has now allowed its troops to fight abroad.

The lesson here is that, time and again, we see that values and principles are generally deployed only as long as they serve the national interest. In other words, they often tend to be more tactical.

Finally, the Asian values debate. It is true that a quarter century ago, people like Mahathir Mohamad and Lee Kuan Yew stressed that Asians, particularly those in Confucian influenced societies, emphasised community over individual. In some instances, it was a nice way of providing diplomatic cover to friendly nations and for their own soft authoritarianism. This would include the Indonesian annexation of East Timor 1975-99, and China's Tiananmen Square incident of 1989. ASEAN, influenced by the rhetoric of Asian values, allowed Indochina states including what was then the military dictatorship of Myanmar to become its members.

But even Lee was hesitant to push the concept beyond a point. While he saw cultural differences, he did not "see an Asian model as such".

So, is there anything like Asian values? It would be a stretch to identify any beyond the obvious ones: stress on hard work, emphasis on better education for the young, filial piety and love for family. Less is heard about Asian values since the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, which forever destroyed the idea that these were miracle economies. Currently, Asian values are really no more than tact applied while advising peers on matters that affect their image in the region.

Session 6: Hits and Misses - Interests and Ideals in Foreign Policy



From L to R: T.C.A. Raghavan, Shakti Sinha, Maroof Raza (chair), Fredrik Erixon and Sanjay Pulipaka

Interests and Ideals: Location, Identity, and Geopolitical Influences

T.C.A. Raghavan

Values drive largely from perspectives and perspectives are formed by location, identity and most of all geopolitical influences. I will illustrate this point by way of two comments.

Eric Hobsbawm had famously termed the 20th century as being a “short century” and in his perspective, it ran from 1914 to 1989, bookended by the beginning of the Great War in Europe and the end of the Cold War in Europe with the fall of the Berlin Wall. From a European and Atlantic perspective, this description had obviously much appeal. From an Indian or even an Asian perspective, would it generate as much traction? Perhaps not and from this angle, the 20th century may be compressed and made even shorter – say from 1919 to 1979.

Why these particular years? The year 1919 possibly was the terminal year in Asia of the high imperialism of the 19th century. The slaughter in Europe suggested to many intellectuals situated in different colonies that the high ideals of the enlightenment – and so central imperial thinking and ideology – were just that: ideas and ideals to be used for colonial propaganda and no more.

In 1919, there were anti-colonial movements of an intensity not witnessed since the mid-19th century – in India (Khilafat, Jallianwala Bagh, Rowlatt Satyagraha), in China (May 4th) and in Korea and Egypt. In brief, in 1919 the relationship between the Metropolis and the Colony over a large swathe of Asia changed very significantly and irreversibly.

But why 1979? In brief, a cluster of events transformed world politics and geopolitics but also changed national identities. The revolution in Iran, the militant takeover of the grand mosque in Saudi Arabia, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the execution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Pakistan and finally the beginning of the four modernisations in China transformed Asia and the world. The year also saw the election of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, protagonists of free market liberalism on an international scale that came to comprise globalisation.

All these together coalesce into forces that are well-recognized today in the 21st century – extremism and terrorism, anti-Americanism, the rise of China, globalisation and its numerous discontents. These forces have had a profound impact on Indian approaches to foreign policy since 1979.



It is the rise of China and the implications for South Asia that raises particular issues with respect to interests and ideals of India’s foreign policy. Our Constitution has fundamentally wedded us to the idea of diversity and federalism. Our constitutional provisions regarding state or provincial rights, federal division of powers, rights of the minorities and constitutional safeguards perhaps also profoundly affected our foreign policy thinking with respect to our neighbourhood. These provisions thus became a template when we encountered minority or federal issues in our neighbourhood. The fact that, between India and its South Asian neighbours, there was a large ethnic, religious and linguistic overlap made these issues even more complex.

The examples of Nepal and Sri Lanka stand out. Our Constitutional provisions seemed an attractive prescriptive template for us from the 1980s onwards. Whether this worked or not is a separate matter. The point is that progressively over the 21st century, the Chinese model has provided an alternative template of modernity and political articulation. Our own constitutional ideals to that extent no longer serve as a model or template to advance our interests in our immediate neighbourhood. It may well be that Indian democracy and constitution will remain an ideal to be pursued by our neighbours. However, the option for us to point to these as a guide or a template is now retreating.

Indian Conservatism and Foreign Policy: A Few Preliminary Observations

Shakti Sinha



The discourse around values in foreign policy has largely been dominated by the alleged dichotomy between Asian values and western values, which get portrayed as universal values. While this is an important dichotomy to reflect on, the question arises as to whether this approach to international politics is informed by Indian ethos and experiences. When we talk of Indian experiences, Indian ethos, there is no single experience or single variant of ethos. I will be broadly approaching this discussion from the point of view of Indian conservatism.

I had noted elsewhere that in ancient India, the prescribed ruler's job was to uphold 'dharma' by delivering justice and providing the kingdom with security. The limited state was to facilitate economic activities but not to control it. The Mauryas had controllers of currencies, weights and measures to ensure justice. However, kings were to stay away from interfering in social issues or in belief systems; else they would lose credibility and, potentially, legitimacy. Ensuring justice also implies ensuring social welfare and addressing social evils. Therefore, the function of the state is to ensure that there is balance between community rights and individual rights.

Before moving on to examine the linkages between

conservatism and decision-making processes, there is an important question to ask: did conservatism influence Indian foreign policy decision making? It is true that the leaders in power who guided India's foreign policy during the early years of independence did not identify themselves as "conservatives." On the contrary, labels such as "liberal" or "left-of-centre" are often deployed to describe the leaders in power of independent India until recently. However, the fact that they were located in the large cultural context and often engaged with leaders of various ideological persuasions should be noted. So the question that we need to ask is – is it not possible that Indian leaders in position of power may have also been affected by Indian conservatism?

As noted, Indian conservatism is not about celebrating the community rights over individual rights; similarly, it is also not just about individual rights alone. It is all about striking a balance between the two: individual and community. If it is about striking a balance between individual and community, then what are its implications for foreign policy?

In the post-Cold War era, the tension of maintaining a balance between individual and community animated India's foreign policy processes. It is not surprising that India refrains from advocating a 'democracy at all costs' approach as a defining feature of its foreign policy. This hesitation stems from the concerns about community disintegration at the altar of individual rights. However, simultaneously, institutions such as the Election Commission of India have been working with other countries to strengthen or facilitate the emergence of democratic processes. Of course, there are clear instances wherein India advocated or sometimes even intervened when both community and individual are undermined. Nonetheless, there have been challenging situations as well such as the developments in Syria and Libya.

India has been advocating the reform of global governance frameworks. However, India is not even remotely keen on dismantling the existing structures. Even after India's GDP doubles in the coming years, India's basic approach will remain the same, viz., reform through negotiations recognising existing realities but not

dismantling the system. This desire to reform rather than replace the existing global governance framework is not a tactical approach but instead may be consequence of various cultural factors.

In terms of external economic engagement, India does not adopt a market fundamentalist approach, nor does it advocate rigid socialist policies or go round town propagating its “mixed-economy” approaches. It should be noted that India has significant external economic engagement. Between 2005 and January 2019, India extended lines of credit amounting to US\$26.79 billion to 63 countries. Further, INR850 crore was spent on various development projects in other countries between 2008 and 2013. An examination of these interventions demonstrates that they are guided by immediate economic benefits to local communities as well as individuals.

An important component of recent trends in Indian conservatism is the re-examination of collective memories and the revival of shared historical experiences. This is evident in recent external engagements, wherein there is now a greater emphasis on celebrating the similar and yet different cultures of India and other countries.

If one were to reflect on hits and misses in terms of values in foreign policy, it is our inability to come up with an Indian approach with some sort of guiding principles in the post-Cold War era. As we move forward, this need for balance between individual and the community should inform our understanding of values and foreign policy. These observations are preliminary because there is still a lot of work that needs to be done in terms of fleshing out the impact of conservatism on our society and polity, and consequently on foreign policy.

Hits and Misses: An Analysis of the EU

Fredrik Erixon



My presentation will riff on three themes. They are all about the European Union (EU).

The first theme is the political personality of the EU and how it is influencing the shape of EU foreign policy. The EU has never been a global superpower, but it has pursued an ambitious international policy, not least in areas such as foreign economic policy and the promotion of multilateralism. Its attitude has been anchored in liberal values such as democracy, the rule of law, civil liberties and the market economy. However, it has not been shy of promoting economic interests in relations with other parts of the world. What has made the EU a bit more unique in foreign policy is its post-modern institutional structure – its project of gradually building government institutions at the EU level and reducing the significance of national governments and the hallmarks of the modernist state, like the sanctity of borders.

Two points follow from this observation. The first is that it is necessary to add institutions – alongside ideals and interests – as a source of action if European policy is to be fully understood. The EU commands authority only in areas where it carries institutional strength – where there is either a defined concept and command of power in Brussels, or where there is an obvious commonality

between member states about the preferred course of action for the EU. The second point is that many of the successes in Europe's foreign policy – its 'hits' – are manifested by the expansion of the institutions, especially the gradual expansion of the EU to include new members and anchor them under the EU's institutional dominion. When the EU acts, it is often not trying to shape a clearly defined outcome; it is rather expanding the norms and routines of its own institutions.

The second theme is that Europe now finds itself in an awkward position in international affairs, and this is partly because the authority and legitimacy of these institutions are shaking, partly because there has been a growing gap between developments in the world and the capacity of these institutions to respond to them. As a consequence, the EU is increasingly absent in foreign affairs. In my view, there is a gradual erosion underway of Europe's ambition to be an influential voice in global affairs.

Let me take a few examples. With the United States' gradual withdrawal from its global leadership, Europe has increasing difficulties formulating its own policy, both globally and vis-à-vis America. Apart from containing erratic trade actions by the Trump administration, the EU does not have a policy for its relation with the US. And what about multilateralism? Over decades, Europe has been investing a lot in the relevance of multilateral institutions, but as key planks of the multilateral order are losing their prestige – e.g. the World Trade Organization (WTO) – the EU has difficulties delivering a response. Consider also bilateral or regional developments. The EU's strategy for stability among Europe's Eastern neighbours – the Eastern Partnership – has lost its initial political impetus. The grand ideas for a neighbourhood policy in the Euro-Mediterranean region have floundered and relations with countries in Northern Africa hardly amount to much more than empty declarations and desires to keep migrants away from Europe. Beyond sanctions and the Minsk Agreements, there is no strategy for the Union's relations with Russia. The EU has strategic partnerships with China and India, but remains undecided what they want these relations to represent, let alone achieve.

The third theme is that Europe is likely to get ever more occupied by internal developments and, as a consequence, its influence in international affairs will continue to decrease. Brexit has already taken a toll. For some countries, like Greece and Italy, the relation with the EU will continue to be utterly defined by fiscal and financial policy. Many countries in Eastern Europe are re-discovering issues over culture and identity, and are either on a collision course with Brussels over norms or are having doubts about the process of economic and

social modernisation that have followed on their EU membership. Europe's centre-left is moving closer to economic dirigisme and rejecting the market principles enshrined in the EU's single market. Europe's centre-right are doubting the desirability of open borders in Europe and are in the process of recovering authority for their police, border security and other institutions of the state. They are both challenged by nationalists-populists that gradually have been growing their share of the European vote.

When Values Contest Values

Sanjay Pulipaka



Quite often in international politics, values and national interests are often discussed in contested terms. However, it needs to be recognised that one set of values can be in contest with another set of values. And sometimes upholding a value can become a national interest.

In South Asia, the contest between two values – self-determination and respect for diversity – constitutes an important fault line. The contest between the two values raises a host of important questions. For instance, what is self-determination? It is the right of people to have their own nation-state. When can a group of people secede under the right of self-determination? The presence of cultural distinctiveness can be one of the reasons for a group of people to claim that they constitute a separate nation. However, cultural distinctiveness changes every 100 kilometres in the sub-continental context and there are significant cultural overlaps. The cultural overlaps also imply that there are minorities living amidst minorities. In such diversity, can a group of people say that they have a right to self-determination? The right to self-determination can be also operationalised in the context of cultural oppression and economic exploitation resulting in the emergence of new nation-states. But creation of separate nation-states need not be the only solution and

there can be many autonomous mechanisms. This raises an important question as to when a group of people can reject autonomous mechanisms and demand a separate nation-state. And if a minority living within a minority is concerned that autonomous mechanisms will result in cultural domination, then should self-determination be operationalised? Further, in multicultural societies, there are many narratives of exploitation and oppression, which complicate the discussion on historical mass violence. The modalities for operationalising right to self-determination can also throw up numerous challenges. Quite often, a referendum is cited as a method for right to self-determination. However, a referendum may result in majoritarian tendencies that often disrespect diversity. In the sub-continent, we are seeing a contest between two values – right to self-determination and respect for diversity. This contestation between two values constitutes an important fault line in the sub-continental politics and should be factored in when discussing the hits and misses of foreign policy.

One of the hits of Indian foreign policy that has gone unnoticed is its developmental assistance programme. As an emerging power, India is implementing a significant development assistance programmes. A few billion dollars are being spent on development assistance. What are the parameters that should guide the development assistance programme? The obvious answer to such a question is national interest and values. There is also a demand that India's development assistance should also be defined by diversity and equity. The countries that receive Indian development assistance are often marked by hierarchies and social divides. So the development assistance should not accentuate hierarchies and discrimination, and it should respect the value of diversity. A good procedural innovation was made in the form of Small Development Programmes. Instead of or in addition to implementing big projects, India is also implementing different projects that will cover various ethnic groups in a given country. Such an approach will ensure respect for diversity in India's development assistance, and it is deployed in Nepal, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and other places. The design and implementation mechanism of the SDP mandates

significant local participation. This is done as central governments are controlled by certain ethnic groups; local authorities are controlled by different sets of ethnic groups. To ensure respect for diversity, the SDPs are implemented through local government and based on local initiatives. However, the SDPs have come under the criticism that central governments do not get adequate representation. On the other hand, local people opine that significant involvement of the central government will strengthen ethnic domination as certain ethnic groups tend to control central administrative apparatus. So resolving this conflict between respect for diversity on the one hand and respect for inclusivity, involving all stakeholders in another country, constitutes a significant challenge for India's development assistance.

As an emerging power, India has often been critiqued for not promoting democracy sufficiently. In many neighbouring countries, there are multiple stakeholders in a country and one of the stakeholders wants India to intervene on its behalf under the garb of principles like promoting a federal structure. As many Indian diplomats note, if India intervenes, it becomes an interventionist power and if India does not intervene, then it becomes a power that is abdicating democratic principles in foreign policy. India often needs to navigate these complex value frameworks in responding to calls for the promotion of democracy.

Western countries critique India for not promoting democracy according to their approaches. Quite often, the western powers have a big-bang approach to promote values with which India is not comfortable. On the other hand, India is more interested in institutional frameworks and developing capacities. So, if India is critiqued for failing to promote democracy in the

neighbourhood, it is also because India's approaches to democracy promotion is defined by a different set of value frameworks such as need to ensure stability and preserve human life.

Quite often, India's response to the humanitarian situation in Myanmar is cited for its failure to respond appropriately to ethnic persecution. In countries experiencing political transition, there tend to be multiple power centres. Myanmar is not a full democracy, it is a semi-democracy and sometimes it is defined as a semi-authoritarian country. Democratic forces are calling for the withdrawal of the military from various segments of decision-making, whereas the military is trying to retain power in Myanmar. The understanding of the recent sectarian violence should be located in the above power contestations. The Rohingya humanitarian crisis has pushed the debate on democratisation into the background and the military has now emerged as a popular institution. It is important to condemn the occurrence of mass violence, but the process of condemnation has to navigate important questions. Should the focus be on individuals like Suu Kyi or should the focus be on institutions? Should the global community sanction Myanmar again and what would be the implications of sanctions on Myanmar's democratisation process? Is the current discourse on sectarian conflict and threat of sanctions inadvertently strengthening non-democratic forces? India's response to the recent developments in Myanmar was aimed at ensuring convergence between various values, both short-term and long-term. So what we are seeing quite often in India's foreign policy is not merely a contest between national interests and values but between two different sets of values as well.

Session 7: Valedictory Session



From L to R: Shakti Sinha (chair) and Ram Madhav

Rapporteur's Summary of Keynote

Address by

Ram Madhav, National General Secretary, Bharatiya Janata Party and Director, India Foundation

Is public life, that includes foreign relations and domestic policies, driven by values or interests? The debate is very old as far as India is concerned. The antecedents of the debate can be traced not just to Chanakya's Arthashastra but to the Shanti Parva in Mahabharata. There the elder Bhishma, while teaching Yudhishtira statecraft, noted that the king should not be influenced or guided by any theories or philosophies. Bhishma says the king should be guided only by truth and justice – Satya and Nyaya.

In western discourse, it is widely stated that interests should guide foreign policy. In fact, in Machiavelli's Prince, morals and politics do not go together. Since politics is guided by interests, in diplomacy there are no permanent friends or permanent enemies; there are only permanent interests. This has become an accepted dictum in International Relations.

There is a major difference between the discourse that happened elsewhere, especially in Machiavelli or Sun Tzu, and the Indian discourse. Deception is a valid policy in Machiavelli's treatise as well as in Sun Tzu's Art of War. In Art of War, Sun Tzu says that the art of war is an art in deception. War and deception are two sides of the same coin. Whereas in Mahabharata the starting point is Dharmakshetre Kurukshetre (it is the battlefield on which I am standing, but this battle must be a battle of righteousness). In India, it is believed that Dharma, which is described by two words— Satya (truth) and Nyaya (justice)—are the benchmarks of all action. Yudhishtira in Mahabharata notes that in public life, the guiding principles are not just theories but the principles of truth and justice. Unlike retaliation, rendering justice requires wisdom and courage. Retaliation requires just brute force. But to do justice requires a lot of wisdom, a lot of courage.



There is a need to evaluate policies/ideas through the lens of justice. On the other hand, there was a tendency in India to obsess with a few frameworks. So, theories in other countries were either adopted as native doctrines, or rigid doctrines were developed within our country. For example, take the concept of Panchashila; there is nothing wrong about it per se. However, when a framework such as non-alignment becomes a belief, you are obsessed with a framework instead of being guided by ideas of justice.

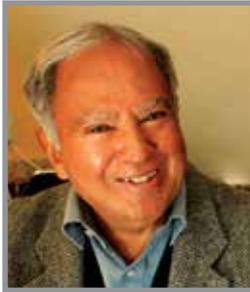
There was a prime minister in India's neighbourhood who once declared that his people would eat grass for thousand years to fight with India. If somebody believes that to fight with India the people have to eat grass for a thousand years, there is a fundamental problem with such thinking. But the question is, how should India deal with such an attitude? One option would be the use of brute force. The other option would be to render justice. Rendering justice would require a lot of wisdom as well as the courage of conviction.

Rendering justice mandates that we draw upon fundamental principles that India's ancient Indian seers and sages have enunciated. For instance, one of the

principles that Arthashastra enunciates is that a kingdom is safe as long as its immediate neighbours are safe. If the immediate neighbours are not safe, then the hinterland is not safe. Similarly, Buddhist monks and Buddhist scholars thought that Buddhism should be taken to India's neighbourhood, the probable intention being to have an outer ring of peace or peace-loving outer

ring. Unfortunately, many important treatises of ancient India are still not available to a wide section of the audience. There are many such vital principles from our treatises that need to be culled from our history, from our knowledge, from our wisdom, and we can certainly apply them to present-day conditions.

ABOUT THE EDITORS



Krishnan Srinivasan has a degree from Oxford University and was a diplomat, serving as Indian ambassador in Libya, Zambia, Nigeria, Netherlands and Bangladesh before appointments as Secretary, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth deputy secretary-general. After retirement from diplomacy, he was a Visiting Fellow at Cambridge, Leiden and Uppsala, apart from academic positions in India. He has written several books on international relations and is a regular columnist and book reviewer for national newspapers.



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