

Contents

1	Introduction: Remaking the Small Powers' Destines	1
1.1	The Melian Fate Reconsidered	1
1.2	The Problem: Destined Statecraft—Optimal Fate-Remaking	2
1.3	Shifting Poles: Conceptualizing an Emerging Global Order	4
1.3.1	The 'One Belt One Road' Initiative: Background, Goals and Strategies	4
1.3.2	Existing Approaches of the OBOR Initiative	7
1.3.3	Global Financial Leninism: My Positional Approach of OBOR	11
1.4	The OBOR's Challenge to the Small Powers: Hypothesis and Questions	14
1.5	The Key Argument: Destined Agency— <i>Go with the Flows</i>	14
1.6	The <i>Habitus</i> Shift in International Relations	16
1.7	Visualizing the Small Power Politics in Plate Tectonics Imagery	18
1.8	Book Plan	19
	References	20
2	The Small Powers in World Politics: Outline of a Theory of African-Asian Critical Realism	25
2.1	Introduction	25
2.2	Small Power Politics: Theoretical Issues	26
2.2.1	Major Paradigms of Small Power Politics	26
2.2.2	Towards an African-Asian Critical Realism	28
2.2.3	Definition of Small Power Politics	30
2.3	African and Asian Small Power Politics in Global Context: Empirical Issues	31
2.3.1	Different Trajectories Towards the Great Power-Hood: USA and China	31

2.3.2	African and Asian Small Power Politics: Liberia and the Philippines	38
2.4	Conclusion: Small Power Politics as Practice of Statecraft	45
	References.	46
3	USA–China Containment and Counter-Containment in Southeast Asia: The ‘Battle’ for Myanmar (Burma)	51
3.1	Introduction	51
3.2	Strategic Issue I: Worldview, Rationale and Objective of the US Containment.	53
3.2.1	The Making of Anglo-American Geopolitical Realism I: Mackinder’s Pivot of the Heartland	53
3.2.2	The Making of Anglo-American Geopolitical Realism II: Spykman’s Quest for US-Centric Global Balance of Power	56
3.3	Strategic Issue II: US Containment Policy and China’s Response After Second World War	59
3.3.1	US Containment Strategy and the ‘Washington Consensus’	59
3.3.2	China’s Counter-Containment Strategy and the ‘Beijing Consensus’	60
3.4	Small Power Politics in the USA–China Relations: The Case of Myanmar	62
3.4.1	USA–China Containment and Counter-Containment Through the Lens of Sun Tzu.	62
3.4.2	Myanmar—Where China Jail-Broke US Containment.	67
3.4.3	The New US Containment Since Obama	70
3.5	Conclusion and Policy Implications	73
	References.	75
4	Strategic Cultures as ‘the Powers’: Kautilya’s Hindu Statecraft and the ‘String of Pearls’ in the Indian Ocean	77
4.1	Introduction	77
4.2	Key Theoretical Issue: What Is Strategic Culture?	80
4.2.1	Three Generations of Theory	80
4.2.2	Strategic Culture as Context: A Review	81
4.2.3	Strategic Culture as Habitus: A Critique	83
4.3	Strategic Cultures as ‘the Powers’	85
4.3.1	State-Centrism as Epistemology-Cum-Ontology	85
4.3.2	The ‘Deep State’ Methodological Challenge.	87
4.3.3	Strategic Cultures as ‘the Powers’: An Outline	89
4.4	Generating Indian Strategic Culture: Kautilya’s Hindu Statecraft and the ‘String of Pearls’	91
4.4.1	Kautilya’s ‘Double Policy’	91

4.4.2	The Mandala-like Bi-Centric International System	93
4.4.3	The Formation of the ‘String of Pearls’ in the Indian Ocean Region	95
4.5	Conclusion	103
	References.	104
5	Chaperoning Thai Populist Democracy: Habitus, Structure and Technique of King Bhumibol Adulyadej’s Statecraft (1946–2016)	109
5.1	Introduction	110
5.2	Restoring Royal Sovereignty: King Bhumibol’s Pathway to Be the Thai Sovereign	112
5.2.1	Phase I: Rebuilding Royal Authority (1946–1970)	112
5.2.2	Phase II: Uplifting the Royal Power over Military Power (1970–1990)	113
5.2.3	Phase III: The Sovereign Who Constitutionalized the Chaperoned Democracy (1997–2016)	115
5.3	Chaperoning the Thai ‘Thick-Dark’ Democracy: An Exposition.	117
5.3.1	Western Democracy—A Political-Economic System Preserving Capitalism	118
5.3.2	Resilience of the ‘Sakdina’ Habitus	121
5.3.3	Thai ‘Thick-Dark’ Democracy: A Post-imperial Chinese Theorization	123
5.4	Thai Rice Political Economy: Historical Formation and the Populist Policy Challenge.	128
5.4.1	Early Formation of the Ethnic Monopoly in the Thai Rice Industry.	128
5.4.2	Post-Second World War Ethnic Division of Labour and Thai National Security	129
5.4.3	Rise of Populist Democracy and Rice Policy Change Since the 1990s.	131
5.5	Bloodless Coup: Technique of Chaperoning Thai Populist Democracy	138
5.5.1	Background of the 2014 Coup	138
5.5.2	Two Phases of Thai Coups	139
5.5.3	‘Law/Force Indistinction’ as the Gist of German Coup Technique	140
5.5.4	Technique of Bloodless Coup: Rotation of Judicial Coup and Military Coup.	142
5.6	Conclusion	143
	References.	144

6	Practicing <i>People's Diplomacy</i> Over Disputed Waters: Peaceable Intervention Across the South China Sea	149
6.1	Introduction	149
6.2	Mimesis in Pre-Second World War German Strategic Culture	150
6.2.1	First Model/Rival: Halford Mackinder's English School of Geopolitics	150
6.2.2	Second Model/Rival: Karl Haushofer's German School of Geopolitik	153
6.2.3	Third Model/Rival: Carl Schmitt's Theory of the 'Great Space' (Großraum)	157
6.2.4	Three Models/Rivals Compared	160
6.3	Mimesis for Peace: Outline of a Theory of ' <i>People's Diplomacy</i> '	161
6.3.1	Two Ethics of Mimetic Peace	161
6.3.2	'People's Diplomacy': Outline of a Theory of Peaceable Practice	162
6.4	'People's Diplomacy' Across the Disputed South China Sea	164
6.4.1	Background of the Philippines–China Maritime Dispute	164
6.4.2	The Philippines as an Archipelagic Power	167
6.4.3	People's Diplomacy to De-escalate the China–Philippines Tensions	173
6.5	Conclusion	176
	References	177
7	How Would China Approach the European Rimland? The Pivots of Poland and the UK	181
7.1	Introduction: Poland and the UK as Pivots in European Rimland	181
7.2	The Changing Geopolitical Structures of Europe Since 2006	182
7.2.1	The 2006 Ukraine Gas Crisis and the EU–Russia Relational Downturn	182
7.2.2	A Miscalculated Eurasian Small Power: Ukraine and the 2014 Crimean Crisis	185
7.3	How Would China Approach Poland?	187
7.3.1	The 'Logics of the Powers' as Strategic Habitus	187
7.3.2	Stages and Structures in Poland–China Relations Since the 1990s	189
7.3.3	Polish Strategic Habitus: The Greater Poland's Eastern Policy	192
7.3.4	Policy Recommendations to Future China–Poland Relations	193
7.4	How Would China Approach the UK?	195
7.4.1	British Conservative Party's Strategic Habitus: The Logics of New Right Populism	195

7.4.2	Destined Brexit? A Structural Analysis of the 2016 and 2017 Votes.	200
7.4.3	The Geopolitical, Economic and Governance Structures of a Pre-Brexit Britain.	202
7.4.4	Charting the ‘One Belt One Road’ in Future UK–China Cooperation.	207
7.5	Conclusion	211
	References.	213
8	Conclusion: The Small Will Do What They Can!	217
8.1	The Bourdieusian Turn in International Relations.	217
8.2	Habitus-Inspired Critical Realism: Concluding Exposition	218
8.3	The ‘American First’ Statecraft of the Trump Presidency.	219
8.3.1	Twilight of the Liberal World Order: Structural Trajectory and Populist Consequence	219
8.3.2	The Trump Doctrine: An Initial Comparative Assessment	221
8.3.3	‘America First’ Global Security Strategy: Past, Present and Future.	223
8.4	Towards ‘Radical Post-Colonial Conservatism’	229
	References.	230
	Index	233

<http://www.springer.com/978-981-10-6561-3>

Destined Statecraft

Eurasian Small Power Politics and Strategic Cultures in
Geopolitical Shifts

Wong, P.N.

2018, XXIII, 236 p. 35 illus., 25 illus. in color., Hardcover

ISBN: 978-981-10-6561-3