


# TEN YEARS ON

Assessing the U.S.  
Strategic Pivot  
(Rebalancing) to Asia



Friday,  
February 26 2021  
9:30-2:30pm





## The Obama administration announced its strategic pivot to Asia in 2011

Over the last decade, the pivot has evolved, from strategic rebalancing under Obama, to the Trump administration's "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" strategy. But has the centre of gravity of U.S. diplomacy and defence shifted to the Indo-Pacific as initially planned? By removing the U.S. from the Trans-Pacific Partnership and accelerating the American retreat from world affairs at a time when China was consolidating its position in the Indo-Pacific, did the Trump administration compromise the American strategy on Asia? How did America's allies react to the U.S. pivot and what impact did it have on rival powers, such as China and Russia, and on the balance of power in the Middle East? Finally, what lessons should Canada learn from this strategy and what are the strategic and defensive implications for Ottawa?

This workshop is being organized by the Network for Strategic Analysis, created by the Mobilizing Insights in Defence and Security (MINDS) program of Canada's Department of National Defence. The workshop will bring together academic and military experts to take stock of this strategic issue in the context of increased rivalry between major powers.

Friday  
February 26, 2021

9:30 am

**Opening remarks by Jonathan Paquin**  
(Université Laval)

**9:35-  
11:15  
am**

**The Strategic Pivot and the Response  
of Washington's Allies**

*Moderator: Stéphanie Martel (Queen's University)*

Rachel Esplin Odell (Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft)

*The US pivot then and now*

Jonathan Berkshire Miller (Japan Institute of International Affairs)

*An East Asian Perspective on the Pivot: Japan and Korea*

Natalie Sambhi (Australian National University)

*Australia and ASEAN states' response to the pivot*

Cleo Paskal (Chatham House)

*European perceptions of strategic changes in the Indo-Pacific*

11:15 am -  
12:00 pm

**Commodore A.I. Topshee, OMM, MSM, CD**  
Keynote Speaker

12:00 -  
1:00 pm

**Lunch**

**1:00-  
2:15  
pm**

**Reactions of Rival Powers to  
American Rebalancing**

*Moderator: Yann Breault (Royal Military College of St-Jean)*

Bonnie S. Glaser (Center for Strategic and International Studies,  
Washington DC)

*China's response to the US rebalance*

Zachary Paikin (Institute for Peace and Diplomacy, Toronto)

*Russia's "pivot to the east" and the Greater Eurasian Partnership*

Pierre Pahlavi (Canadian Forces College)

*The consequences of the pivot for Iranian foreign policy and the balance of  
power in the Middle East*

2:15 -  
2:30 pm

**Closing Remarks**

# Biographies

**Jonathan Paquin** is Professor of Political Science at Université Laval. He has written numerous articles on foreign policy and international relations in *Cooperation and Conflict*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Mediterranean Politics*, *the Canadian Journal of Political Science* and *International Journal*, among others. He is also the co-editor of *America's Allies and the Decline of US Hegemony*, Routledge, 2020; the coauthor of *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Toolbox*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018; the co-editor of *Game Changer: The Impact of 9/11 on North American Security*, UBC Press, 2014; and the author of *A Stability-Seeking Power: US Foreign Policy and Secessionist Conflicts*, McGill-Queen's, 2010. He received a Ph.D. in Political Science from McGill University and was a Fulbright visiting scholar and Resident Fellow at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS, Johns Hopkins) in Washington DC.

**Stephanie Martel** is Assistant Professor of Political Studies – specializing in International Relations – at Queen's University, where she is also a Fellow at the Centre for International and Defence Policy. Before joining Queen's, she was a FRQSC postdoctoral fellow at the Institute of Asian Research (UBC) and the Centre for International Peace and Security Studies (McGill). She is an executive member of the Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies and an active member of Women in International Security (WIIS) Canada. Her research focuses on multilateral diplomacy, security regionalism, and the role of discourse in the social construction of world politics, with a focus on Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific. Her work has been published in peer-reviewed journals such as *International Studies Quarterly*, *The Pacific Review*, *Monde Chinois* and *L'Espace Politique*, among others. She is currently finalizing a book manuscript titled *Enacting Security in the Asia-Pacific: Discourse in the Making of an ASEAN Community*.

**Rachel Esplin Odell** is a Research Fellow in the East Asia Program at the Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft and an expert in U.S. strategy toward Asia, Chinese foreign policy, and maritime security. She holds a PhD in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Odell previously worked as a Research Analyst in the Asia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and served in the China Affairs bureau of the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. Odell's writings have appeared in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Foreign Affairs*, *War on the Rocks*, and *The National Interest*, among other publications. She received fellowships from the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, the National Science Foundation, the Smith Richardson Foundation, Waseda University's Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, and MIT's Center for International Studies. Her research was awarded the Alexander George Award from the International Studies Association. She holds an AB summa cum laude in East Asian Studies from Harvard University and has advanced proficiency in Mandarin Chinese and Spanish.





# Biographies

**Jonathan Berkshire Miller** is an international affairs professional with expertise on security, defense and intelligence issues within the private and public sector. He is a senior fellow with the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA), deputy Director and Senior Fellow of the Macdonald-Laurier Institute and a Distinguished Fellow with the Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada. He currently holds senior fellowships on East Asia with the East-West Institute and the Asian Forum Japan. Miller is founder and Director of the Council on International Policy in Ottawa. He also holds appointments as Canada's ASEAN Regional Forum Expert and Eminent Person (EEP) and as a Responsible Leader for the BMW Foundation. Dr. Miller also held a fellowship on Japan with the Pacific Forum CSIS from 2013-16, and a number of other visiting fellowships on Asian security matters, including the Japan National Institute of Defense Studies. Miller previously spent nearly a decade working on economic and security issues related to Asia with the Canadian federal government and worked both with the foreign ministry and the security community. Dr. Berkshire-Miller is a regular contributor to several journals, magazines, newspapers and information channels on Asia-Pacific security in Asia and north America issues including The Economist Intelligence Unit, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy and Nikkei Asian Review and Jane's Intelligence, CNN, Bloomberg, Le Monde, Nikkei, Asahi Shimbun, and, CBC.

**Natalie Sambhi** is a Scholar at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, focussing on Indonesian military history. Since 2016, she has been a Research Fellow at the Perth USAsia Centre where she has published on Indonesian foreign and defence policy as well as Southeast Asian security. She has previously worked at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) from 2012 to 2016 as an Analyst and Managing Editor of ASPI's blog, The Strategist, at the Department of Defence and at the University of Canberra. She holds a Bachelor of Arts (Asian Studies) (Hons) from the University of Western Australia and a Master of Arts (International Relations) and Master of Diplomacy, both from The Australian National University. She is also a Non-Resident Fellow with the Brookings Institution where she publishes on Indonesian foreign and defence policy issues as well as Southeast Asian security.

**Cleo Paskal.** Associate Fellow, Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs), London, UK; Visiting Fellow, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales de l'Université de Montréal (CÉRIUM); Non-Resident Senior Fellow for the Indo-Pacific, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Washington, D.C.; International Board of Advisors, Kalinga Institute of Indo-Pacific Studies, India; and International Board of Advisors, Global Counter Terrorism Council, India. She is widely published in the academic and popular press and has lectured/briefed at a wide range of organisations, including: the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, UK; Royal College of Defence Studies, UK; US Department of State; US Army War College; US Air Force; US National Guard; Center for Homeland Defense & Security (Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey); Inter-American Defense Board; National Defence College, India; National Defence College, Oman; German Foreign Office; Centre for National Security Studies (Canadian Forces College); Global Affairs Canada; the European Union; NATO; OSCE; and the Scottish Government. She is currently research lead on a Chatham House project on perceptions of strategic shifts in the Indo-Pacific from the points of view of India, the US, Japan, Oceania, the UK, and France.

# Biographies

**Yann Breault** is Assistant Professor at Royal Military College of St-Jean. He has previously worked at University of Québec in Montréal. He is co-founder, with Jacques Lévesque, and current co-director of the Observatoire de l'Eurasie (ODE). His research focuses on foreign policy (Russia, ex-USSR States), nationalism, geopolitics. He is co-author with Jacques Lévesque and Pierre Jolicoeur of *La Russie et son ex-Empire, reconfiguration géopolitique de l'ancien espace soviétique* (Science Po, 2003). He has contributed to the recent collective work *The Return of the Cold War : Ukraine, the West and Russia* (Routledge, 2016). He has published in many academic journals, including *Le Monde diplomatique*, *Relations*, *Diplomatie*, *Interventions économiques*.

**Bonnie S. Glaser** is a senior adviser for Asia and the director of the China Power Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), where she works on issues related to Chinese foreign and security policy. She is concomitantly a nonresident fellow with the Lowy Institute in Sydney, Australia, and a senior associate with the Pacific Forum. From 2008 to 2015, Ms. Glaser was a senior adviser with the Freeman Chair in China Studies, and from 2003 to mid-2008, she was a senior associate in the CSIS International Security Program. Prior to joining CSIS, she served as a consultant for various U.S. government offices, including the Departments of Defense and State. Ms. Glaser has written extensively on Chinese foreign and security policy. She is currently a board member of the U.S. Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

**Zachary Paikin** is a nonresident research fellow at the Institute for Peace and Diplomacy in Toronto and Senior Visiting Fellow at the Global Policy Institute in London, UK. He is also an expert with the Canada-Russia Research Initiative based at the University of Victoria and a collaborator with the Network for Strategic Analysis. Paikin holds additional affiliations with the Minsk Dialogue Council on International Relations and with the Cooperative Security Initiative, a project launched by GLOBSEC and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation's Vienna office with the support of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. His policy analyses have been published by think tanks including the European Council on Foreign Relations, the Royal United Services Institute, the Russian International Affairs Council, the Valdai Discussion Club, the Foundation for Strategic Research and LSE IDEAS. From 2017 to 2020, he was senior editor of *Global Brief* magazine. Paikin was named a GLOBSEC Young Leader in 2019 and holds a PhD in International Relations from the University of Kent.

**Pierre Pahlavi** is full professor at the Royal Military College of Canada in the Department of Defence Studies, co-located with the Canadian Forces College, Canada's Staff and War College. His research focuses on Iran and its asymmetric strategies, public diplomacy and the use of force in the international system. He has published in various journals in strategic and security studies and has recently published a book in French on the Iranian revolution, *Le Marécage des Ayatollahs*, prized by the Académie française. He has a Ph.D. in political science from McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

## Keynote Speaker

**Commodore Angus Topshee** is a Naval Warfare Officer in the Royal Canadian Navy. His diverse academic background includes military and civilian institutions on three continents. He has deployed in ships around the world and has accumulated countless sea stories involving pirates, sharks, terrorists, volcanoes, whales, fires, and all the other things which make life at sea a true adventure.

The highlight of his time at sea was his far too brief command of HMCS *Algonquin* in 2009-2010. His shore postings include two tours in the Navy's Strategy directorate as penance for all of his sea time, three years in command of Canadian Forces Base Halifax, and two years as the Deputy Director, Strategy, Policy, and Plans at NORAD and USNORTH-COM Headquarters in Colorado Springs. He also deployed to Afghanistan for all of 2011 as the director of Afghan National Police Training within the NATO Training Mission Afghanistan (NTM-A).

Over the course of his career, he has somehow been involved in Arctic issues at every one of his shore postings (except Afghanistan). In July 2018, he was honoured and delighted to assume command of Canadian Fleet Pacific based out of Esquimalt, BC. Commodore Topshee's career is enabled by a fantastically supportive wife and four tremendous daughters.

