

March 20th 2024 | Université de Laval

Hedging in a *Transforming*

# World Order

Looking at the Strategic Ambiguity  
of Washington's Allies and Partners



# Hedging in a Transforming World Order:

## Looking at the Strategic Ambiguity of Washington's Allies and Partners

Many question the ability of the United States to maintain its global leadership in the face of the relative decline of its power and the emergence of the BRICS, particularly China. In recent years, an increasing number of Washington's allies have displayed strategic ambiguity (or hedging) regarding their strategic behaviour in a changing world. For instance, France has favored a Europe « neither aligned nor vassalized before any power », to borrow Emmanuel Macron's words. Other allies, such as Italy and Hungary, have developed close relations with China and Russia, which raises concerns in Washington. Finally, like the Philippines and Turkey have even threatened to sever their alliance with the United States to realign with China and Russia.

The aggression of Russia against Ukraine appears to have accelerated the transformation of the global order. Many observers characterize this system as a « multi-order world » or post-American, where allies have more latitude to express their divergences and interests. For example, Turkey abstained from joining the Western regime of sanctions against Moscow, and Hungary refused to condemn the Russian aggression, despite both being NATO members. This conflict has also revitalized the Non-Aligned Movement, which refuses to choose between the United States on one side and Russia and China on the other. This is evidenced by the United States' inability to rally a majority of countries from the Global South to its policy of support for Ukraine, as well as the resistance of some states to adopt restrictive measures towards China in the context of Sino-American competition.

In this context, this conference, co-organized by the NSA and the Graduate School of International Studies, has two main objectives. First, to identify and explain the ambiguous behaviors of some of Washington's allies and evaluate the reaction of the United States to these behaviors. Second, this conference aims to shed light on the Non-Aligned States, primarily those in the Global South, and the various geopolitical realities that drive their strategies.

Mar 20

2024

AXIS I  
GREAT POWERS

***Théâtre de poche - Université Laval***

**10:00 Opening Remarks**

10:10 Jonathan Paquin, *Co-director – Network for Strategic Analysis*

**PANEL 1**

**10:10 Transition of Power and Strategic Ambiguity of  
12:00 Washington's Allies**

Moderator: Frédéric Côté –  
*Ph.D. Candidate, International Studies, École supérieure d'études internationales*

**Alexander Lanoszka –**

*Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Waterloo*

Title: Are U.S. Allies and Partners Really Hedging?

**Pierre Colautti –**

*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Université Laval à Québec*

Title: US Allies' Response to Washington's Lack of Security Assurance Under the Obama and Trump Presidencies

**Émile Lambert-Deslandes –**

*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Studies, Queen's University*

Title: Nuclear Hedging and Latency: The Historical Cases of US Allies

**Nicolas-François Perron-Giroux –**

*Doctoral Student, Université du Québec à Montréal*

Title: The Implications of Power Transition on Canadian Defence Policy: Diplomatic Signals and Military Acquisitions

**12:00 Lunch  
13:15**

13:15  
15:15

**PANEL 2**

**Understanding the Interests of Southern States  
in Relation to the Great Powers**

Moderator: Talbot Imlay –  
*Full Professor, Department of History, Université Laval*

**Amabilly Bonacina** –  
*Doctoral Student, Political Studies, Université de Montréal*

Title: The Foreign Policy of Lula 3: Between the Challenges of a Brazil in  
Reconstruction and a Changing World

**Roromme Chantal** –  
*Associate Professor of Political Science, École des hautes études publiques (HEP), Université de Moncton*

Title: Global China and Symbolic Power: The Case of the Indo-Pacific Region

**Amélie Chalivet** –  
*Joint Doctoral Student, Université Paris 2 Panthéon-Assas et à l'Université du Québec à Montréal*

Title: India and the Challenges of Taiwan and the South China Sea: Case Studies of  
India's Evolving Strategic Ambiguity.

**Jean F. Crombois** –  
*Associate Professor of European Studies, American University of Bulgaria*

Title: Bulgarian Foreign Policy and the War in Ukraine: towards a more assertive  
pro-Western Foreign Policy?

15:15  
15:25

**Closing Remarks**

Jonathan Paquin, *Co-director – Network for Strategic Analysis*

# biographies



**Amabilly Bonacina** holds a bachelor's degree in international relations from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, and a master's degree in political science from the Université de Montréal, and is a doctoral candidate in political science at UdeM. Her research focuses on South-South cooperation and the scientific diplomacy of Brazil and South Africa as vectors for the international insertion of middle powers.



**Amélie Chalivet** is a joint doctoral student at Université Paris 2 Panthéon-Assas and Université du Québec à Montréal. For her thesis, she is studying India's strategic culture under the supervision of professors Jean-Vincent Holeindre and Justin Massie. Her academic interests focus on India's foreign policy, its ties with its South Asian neighbors and its nuclear deterrence strategy. She is affiliated with the Centre Thucydide, the Réseau d'Analyse Stratégique and the Chaire de recherche en études indo-pacifiques at Université Laval. Amélie is also editorial assistant for the Le Rubicon platform.



**Roromme Chantal** is Associate Professor of Political Science at the École des hautes études publiques (HEP), Université de Moncton. He specializes in international relations and Chinese issues. His latest book, "Comment la Chine conquiert le monde : le rôle du pouvoir symbolique", was published by Presses de l'Université de Montréal (PUM) in 2020. In 2021, Professor Chantal was appointed to the Publications Committee of the Humanities Federation's Prix d'auteurs pour l'édition savante (PAES) as a member of the political science sub-committee. He is also a member of the Réseau d'analyse stratégique (RAS), an international security research mobilization network set up under the MINDS program of Canada's Department of National Defence, and of the Pôle de recherche sur l'Afrique et le monde émergent (PRAME) of the Centre d'études et de recherche internationale de l'Université de Montréal (CÉRIUM). He is also a research associate at Université Laval's Chaire de recherche en études indo-pacifiques.



**Pierre Colautti** is a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science at Université Laval in Quebec City, co-directed by Jonathan Paquin and Alexander Lanoszka (University of Waterloo). His research interests focus on the dynamics of alliances and the foreign policy and defense strategies of states. More specifically, he is interested in the strategic behavior of the hegemon's formal allies in times of great-power rivalry and transformation of the international order. His research is funded by the FRQSC. He holds a master's degree in international studies from Laval University's École supérieure d'études internationales.



**Frédéric Côté** is a doctoral candidate in international studies at the École supérieure d'études internationales. He holds a B.A. in History, an M.A. in War Studies and an M.A. in Defence Studies from the Royal Military College of Canada. He is also a graduate of the Command and Staff Program at the Canadian Forces College in Toronto. His research focuses on military operations, with a particular interest in irregular warfare methods. He served for 26 years as an infantry officer in the Canadian Armed Forces, including missions in the former Yugoslavia (2001-02), Afghanistan (2004, 2009) and Ukraine, where he commanded the training mission in support of Ukrainian security forces (2019). He also commanded the Third Battalion of the Royal 22e Régiment and served in various command and staff positions, up to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.



**Jean F. Crombois** has been Associate Professor of European Studies at the American University in Bulgaria since 2005, and Visiting Professor at Georgetown University in spring 2024. His main areas of research include the EU's Eastern Partnership, EU diplomacy and national foreign policy, interest groups and European integration, and the history and theory of European integration. His most recent publications include: The Eastern Partnership: Geopolitics and Policy Inertia. In: *European View* 18 (2019), pp. 89-96; Bulgaria's Foreign Policy and EU Sanctions against Russia. Europeanization, Politicization and Small Country Diplomacy. In: *Southeastern Europe* 43 (2019), pp.158-185; Lilliput Effect Revisited: Small States and EU Foreign Policy. In: *European View* 19 (2020), pp. 80-87; Small country and European security. The case of Bulgaria-Russia relations since 2014. In: Geoffrey Edwards & Tomas Weiss (eds.) *Small States and Security in Europe. Between National and International Policy Making*, Routledge, 2021, pp. 1-16. "Contesting The West? Domestic Contestation in Bulgarian Foreign Policy From 2014 To 2022." *Baltic Journal Of Law & Politics*, 16, 1 (September 1, 2023): 174-189.



**Talbot Imlay** is Full Professor in the Department of Historical Sciences at Université Laval. Professor Imlay specializes in the history of international politics and contemporary European history. His most recent books have been published by Cambridge University Press and Oxford University Press. He has recently published *Clarence Streit and Twentieth-Century American Internationalism*, NY, Cambridge University Press, 2023 and *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism: European*



**Émile Lambert-Deslandes** is a doctoral candidate and Joseph-Armand Bombardier Fellow (CGS-D) in the Department of Political Studies at Queen's University, where he studies international relations and security. He has been awarded the Desjardins Fellowship, the G.G. Baron Van der Feltz Prize for the best master's thesis in international relations, and the Ontario Graduate Scholarship (OGS; twice). Émile's research focuses on NATO deterrence, nuclear weapons and nuclear latency. He also works on Canadian foreign and defence policy, and nuclear (non-)proliferation.



**Alexander Lanoszka's** research focuses on military alliances and European security. His articles have appeared in the journals *International Security*, *International Affairs*, *Security Studies* and *Journal of Strategic Studies*. He is also the author of *Atomic Assurance: The Alliance Politics of Nuclear Proliferation* (Cornell, 2018) and *Military Alliances in the Twenty-first Century* (Polity, 2022). He received his PhD from Princeton University and was a postdoctoral researcher at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Dartmouth College. Before joining the Department of Political Science at Waterloo, he was at City, University of London. He has consulted for Global Affairs Canada, the U.S. Department of Defense and other defense policy organizations.



**Jonathan Paquin** is Director of Université Laval's École supérieure d'études internationales and co-director of the Strategic Analysis Network. He holds a PhD in political science from McGill University. He has also been a Fulbright Scholar and Visiting Professor at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Washington DC, and a Fulbright Canada Research Chair in the Humanities and Social Sciences at The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina. He specializes in foreign policy analysis and international security issues. He has published numerous scientific articles, notably in *International Studies Quarterly*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *The European Journal of International Security*, *Contemporary Politics and Cooperation and Conflict*.



**Nicolas-François Perron** is a doctoral student at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). He is interested in internal decision-making processes as they relate to foreign and defense policies. His research focuses more specifically on issues of norms and beliefs in the development of these policies. His thesis explores the constraints on the emergence of strategic counter-cultures, through an analysis of the cases of Canada, Italy and Germany. He holds a master's degree in international relations and a second master's degree in international law. Before embarking on his doctoral studies, he worked in Washington D.C. on popular movements against the spread of nuclear weapons, and in the Transatlantic Relations Unit at the European Parliament in Brussels.