

# JGSS

## Journal of Global Strategic Studies

---

Vol. 02 No. 02 December 2022

Neorealism's Power and Restraint: A Tribute to Waltz on his  
100<sup>th</sup> Birthday

*Randall L. Schweller*

Rise of Quad as "Premier Regional Grouping":  
Harmonizing the Optics of Balancing and Normativism

*Vibhanshu Shekhar*

Olive Oil and Basketball:  
Collective Memory and America's Troubled Alliances with Philippines and Thailand

*Gregory V. Raymond*

The Ideology Critique of Mearsheimer's Theory of Offensive Neorealism:  
The Case of Russia-Ukraine War and its Ideologization in Indonesia

*Musa Maliki & Dini Putri Saraswati*

*Research Notes:*

The Stakes Couldn't be Higher:  
The Allied Response in Ukraine

*Richard Arnold*

Master's Programs in International Relations  
Faculty of Social and Political Science  
Jenderal Achmad Yani University

## NOTES FROM THE EXECUTIVE EDITOR

Yohanes Sulaiman  
*Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani*

Dear readers:

As the executive editor, I would like to thank our readers, authors, reviewers, and our editorial staff for your continuous interest and support to Journal of Global Strategic Studies. With all of your support and prayers, we are able to achieve a new milestone of continuous publications of excellent scholarly works for the past two years. I am hoping that as we are approaching the end of 2022, the new year will bring more positive changes and developments to our journal.

Now the nitty gritty. This issue's lead article is written by Randall L Schweller, one of the most distinguished scholars in international relations. We are honored and thankful that he chose our journal as a place to publish his tribute to the late Kenneth N. Waltz, a giant in international relations, in honor of Waltz's 100<sup>th</sup> birthday. In his tribute, Schweller extolled the brilliance and lucidity of Waltz's arguments, showing how Waltz's insights on international order are still relevant even to present day. Waltz was calling for a smart use of power: the need for great powers to exhibit prudence and restraint. Therefore, the United States' support for the enlargement of NATO was a bad idea, as it at least provided justifications that Russia needed to treat the United States and its European allies as the aggressors and threats.

While this does not excuse Russia, and especially Vladimir Putin's disastrous and misguided invasion on Ukraine, this provides a food for thought: could a policy of restraint have changed Russia's behavior so much that it ended up also pursuing a policy of restraint?

Our second article comes from Vibhanshu Shekhar, an Adjunct Professorial Lecturer at the American University, Washington, D.C. In his article, Professor Shekhar has discussed the rise of Quad, a grouping of Australia, India, Japan and the United States. He then goes on to explain how the grouping emerged from a coordinated delivery of humanitarian assistance and disaster reliefs to the victims of a tsunami that struck Indonesian province of Aceh in December 2004. After its abrupt demise in 2007, the Quad reemerged in 2017 as China kept pursuing belligerent policies. Since then, the Quad has emerged as an important forum that aims to not only balance China but also act as a deliverer of regional good. Finally, this article ends with a caution that the Quad may not be able to offer much if it does not get its own house in order and develop a shared strategy to achieve its goals.

Gregory V. Raymond, a lecturer from the Australian National University, wrote our third chapter on how collective memories from the United States' colonial period in the Philippines, especially during the Philippines-America war of 1900-1902, affect Philippines' military alliance with the United States. While many among Filipino's elite embraced and supported the United States, those outside the elite, such as former

Filipino President Rodrigo Duterte, readily invoked the bitter memories of the United States' brutality during its colonial period, to the detriment of the relationship between the Philippines and the United States. In contrast, memories of cooperation between Thailand and the United States are lacking. Thailand's domestic politics constrained commemorations of the US-Thai military partnership. This caused very few people, even within the military, to be aware of the importance and benefits of the partnership, leaving the alliance with weaker public support.

Our fourth article is written by Musa Maliki and Dini Putri Saraswati, lecturers in international relations from Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta. Maliki and Saraswati wrote a very strong criticism of the dominance of realism, especially Mearsheimer's *offensive realism*, on Indonesians' foreign policy thinking. They described how the *ideological* dominance of *offensive realism* in Indonesia turns Indonesian academics and foreign policy experts to unquestioningly accept the dominance of great powers.

Last but not least is a brief research note written by Richard Arnold, an Associate Professor at Muskingum University. This commentary explores the United States and its European allies' justifications for spending so much resources on Ukrainians, which is to contain a major threat to liberal international order. The Ukrainian President, Volodymyr Zelensky, fully aware of their intents, skillfully manipulated his and his country's image as defenders of the liberal values, and thus, managed to garner more support and military assistance to his beleaguered country. This is an interesting and promising exploratory essay that we are hoping that Professor Arnold could submit a full-length article for our future issue.

Finally, allow me to thank you for your time and willingness to read this note, and I hope that you will enjoy reading those excellent works.

Cimahi and Bandung, December 2022

**Yohanes Sulaiman**

Executive Editor

## CONTENT

NOTES FROM THE EXECUTIVE EDITOR.....	i
CONTENT .....	iv
NEOREALISM'S POWER AND RESTRAINT: A TRIBUTE TO WALTZ ON HIS 100 <sup>th</sup> BIRTHDAY by Randal Schweller.....	6-36
RISE OF QUAD AS A 'PREMIER REGIONAL GROUPING': HARMONIZING THE OPTICS OF BALANCING AND Normativism by Vibhanshu Shekhar .....	37-60
OLIVE OIL AND BASKETBALL: COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND AMERICA'S TROUBLED ALLIANCES WITH THE PHILLIPINES AND THAILAND by Gregory V. Raymond.....	61-84
THE IDEOLOGY CRITIQUE OF MEARSHEIMER'S THEORY OF OFFENSIVE NEOREALISM: THE CASE OF RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR AND ITS IDEOLOGIZATION IN INDONESIA by Musa Maliki & Dini Putri Saraswati.....	85-108
THE STAKES COULD NOT BE HIGHER: THE ALLIED RESPONSE IN UKRAINE by Richard Arnold.....	109-118

## GLOBAL STRATEGIC STUDIES

### *EDITORS*

**Yohanes Sulaiman** Jenderal Achmad Yani University (INA) EXECUTIVE EDITOR

**Mariane Delanova** Jenderal Achmad Yani University (INA) MANAGING EDITOR

**Tholhah** Jenderal Achmad Yani University (INA) EDITORIAL AND PROJECT  
ASSOCIATE

**Alexander Arifianto** RSIS (SGP) ASSOCIATE EDITOR

**Prasetia Pratama** Monash University (INA) MANUSCRIPT EDITOR

### *EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE*

<b>John Mueller</b> Ohio State University (USA)	<b>R. William Liddle</b> Ohio State University (USA)	<b>Agus Subagyo</b> Jenderal Achmad Yani University (INA)	<b>Dino Patti Djalal</b> Jenderal Achmad Yani University (INA)
---	--	---	--

### *EDITORIAL BOARD*

<b>John Blaxland</b> Australia National University (AUS)	<b>Robert McMahon</b> Ohio State University (USA)	<b>Ann Marie Murphy</b> Seton Hall University (USA)	<b>Mochtar Mas'ood</b> Gadjah Mada University (INA)
<b>Donald K. Emmerson</b> Stanford University (USA)	<b>Marcus Mietzner</b> Australia National University (AUS)	<b>Leonard Sebastian</b> Nanyang Technological University (SGA)	<b>Arfin Sudirman</b> Padjajaran University (INA)



<http://ejournal.fisip.unjani.ac.id/>