



EU IN THE INDO-PACIFIC JEAN MONNET NETWORK

NEWSLETTER ISSUE 12

IN THIS ISSUE

- New interns
- Symposium report
- Outputs recap
- Future publications

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FINAL UPDATE

We have returned from a highly successful final event in Brussels, the EUIP symposium which was hosted at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in late September. This marks the culmination of three years of hard work involving 28 partner universities and more than 40 individuals.

I could not be happier with how the project has progressed and I am excited to share with the world the fruits of our labour in the form of a special issue in the journal *Global Policy* and an edited volume book with Routledge. Both of these outputs will be published in 2026, so keep an eye out for them.

One of the big takeaways from the research is that we have only scratched the surface of the challenges but also opportunities of the EU in the Indo-Pacific. Although the EUIP Network is coming to an end, I believe it will leave a legacy in the research that emerges on this topic in the coming years.

Nāku noa, nā

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'N. Smith'.

Nicholas Ross Smith

EUIP INTERNS

The EUIP Network has welcomed two new interns over the past two months, taking the total for the project up to 8.



EUIP Intern

Eva is a scholarship recipient at the National Centre for research on Europe and is currently studying towards a Masters of European Union Studies.

Eva completed her Bachelor of arts majoring in Political Science and International relations, with minors in Media and Communications, and French. In 2024 at the University of Canterbury.

Eva's research focuses on the capabilities-expectations gap in the context of the EU as a global actor, particular in the context of global development policy.



Eva Gundesen



EUIP Intern: Eugenie Sumkoska

Eugenie is a final-year Economics and Management student at the University of Oxford and for the next month, an intern here at the NCRE. At Oxford, Eugenie has developed expertise in international development, strategic management, and cross-cultural engagement through both academic study and consulting work. She has experience in equity research, venture capital, and strategic consulting, having worked with organisations ranging from tech start-ups to cultural foundations. Eugenie has particular interest in how institutions communicate across cultural boundaries and is looking forward to contributing to the EUIP project's exploration of how the EU is perceived across the Indo-Pacific region.





The EU in the Indo-Pacific: gauging the EU's strategic impact across the region



EUIP SYMPOSIUM REPORT

On Monday, September 29th, the EUIP Symposium was held at the headquarters of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels. This was the marquee event of the EUIP Jean Monnet Network as it brought all our partners together to showcase the results of the research and analysis that has been undertaken over the last three years.

In addition to EUIP Network partners, the symposium was also attended by EU officials from the EEAS and the Commission, dignitaries from the eight focal locations, and fellows based at CEPS.

The event began with an overview of the EUIP results across the eight focal locations: Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. Then individual sessions of each of the eight focal locations, involving local and European experts, was undertaken.

The event was capped off with a symposium dinner. All in all, it was a tremendous success and testament to the hard work that has gone into the EUIP Network over the past three years.

EUIP Symposium, Monday 29th September 2025

Agenda

Venue: CEPS, Pl. du Congrès 1, 1000 Bruxelles, Belgium

Time: 0830-1730

Time	Session	Main speaker	Participants
9:00	Introduction session	Nick Smith	Martin Holland
10:00	Morning tea		
10:30	China	Zhang Li	Suetyi Lai, Shen Wei, Chun Ding, Jörn Gottwald
11:10	Japan	Paul Bacon	Karolina Pomorska, Nick Smith, Neils van Willigen
11:50	South Korea	Sae Won Chung	Neils van Willigen, Stephen Calleya, Nick Smith
12:30	Lunch		
13:20	India	Sheetal Sharma	Tobias Theiler, Ankita Datta, Archil Chochia
14:00	Taiwan	Marc Cheng	Hungdah Su, Robert Kissack, Cho-Hsin Su, Florence Chen
14:40	Thailand	Natthanan Kunnamas	Heidi Maurer, Martin Holland, Barrie Wharton
15:20	Afternoon tea		
15:40	Australia	Bruce Wilson	Anne McNaughton, Richard Whitman, Katarzyna Williams, Héctor Sánchez-Mateos
16:20	New Zealand	Nick Smith	Matthew Castle, Martin Holland, Juan Manfredi, Serena Kelly



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OUTPUTS FROM PROJECT MEMBERS

2023 Publications

Journal Articles

Castle, Matthew A. 2023. "Renegotiating in good faith: How international treaty revisions can deepen cooperation." *The Review of International Organizations* (online first). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-023-09497-1>

Castle, Matthew A. 2023. "The politics of non-membership: How exclusion from international institutions shapes international relations." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (online first). <https://doi.org/10.1177/07388942231195302>

Chung, Sae Won, and Ben Tonra. 2023. "EU-Korea security cooperation: a new normative partnership?" *Asia Europe Journal* 21:4, 507-525. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10308-023-00683-9>

Hungdah Su. 2023. "The EU's image in Asia: an analysis of the Taiwanese media reports on the EU between 2018 and 2021". *Asia Europe Journal* 21(3): 81–39. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10308-023-00676>

Zhang, Li. 2023. "Issue framing, news value and national interest: communicating EU crises in China." *Contemporary European Politics* 21(5): 649–667. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41295-023-00357-1>

Book Chapters

Reiterer, Michael. 2023. "The Primacy of EU Law Over National Law: Rule of Law Contested—Reflections on the Case of the Polish Constitutional Court." In: Deguchi, M., Yakushiji, K. (eds) *Europe and Asia as a Legal Area for Fundamental Rights*. Springer, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-7542-4_6

Su, C.-H. 2023. "EU's Geo-economic Strategy in the Indo-Pacific." In Aggarwal, Vinod, K. (ed.) *Great Power Competition and Middle Power Strategies*. Springer Nature Switzerland AG. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-031-38024-2_4

Commentaries

Holster, Bonnie and Nicholas Ross Smith. 2023. "NZ: MAORI FOREIGN POLICY TO MANAGE INCREASINGLY CHALLENGING RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA". 9DASHLINE. <https://www.9dashline.com/article/nz-maori-foreign-policy-to-manage-increasingly-challenging-relationship-with-china>

Smith, Nicholas Ross. 2023. "How to be friends with China". Newsroom.
<https://www.newsroom.co.nz/key-to-maintain-positive-relationship-with-china>

2024 Publications

Journal Articles

Doidge, Mathew and Serena Kelly. 2024. "Between tides: examining China discourses in Pacific Island news media." The Pacific Review. doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2024.2412010

Kelly, Serena, Brittany Baugh, and Paul Bacon. 2024. "Examining EU Action and Actorness through External Perceptions: A Comparative Study of Asian Media Coverage." Journal of Contemporary European Studies. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2024.2441151>

Kissack, Robert, Eva Michaels, and Óscar Fernández. 2024. "Parliamentary acceptability of EU military deployments in member states: beyond rubber-stamping?" Journal of European integration. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2024.2416685>

Maurer, Heidrun and Marianna Lovato. 2024. "Group emotions and their role in EU foreign policy: a social relational model on how emotions travel between EU member states". Journal of European Integration. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2024.2363378>

Maurer, Heidrun, Raube, Kolja and Richard Whitman. 2024. "'Zeitenwende' as coming of age? EU foreign & security policy through war & peace". European Security, 33(3), 345–363. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2024.2376604>

Reiterer, Michael and Lee Il Houn. 2024. "The Economic Security Tightrope: EU Economic Security Strategy, Friend-Shoring, and European Relations with Indo-Pacific States". The Journal of East Asian Affairs. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45475691>

Smith, Nicholas Ross and Lauren Bland. 2024. "The AUKUS debate in New Zealand misses the big picture". Australian Journal of International Affairs.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2024.2391336>

Smith, Nicholas Ross, and Tracey Fallon. 2024. "From Positive to Negative Historical Statecraft: The Shifting Use of History in China's Diplomacy." The Hague Journal of Diplomacy. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191x-bja10182>

Smith, Nicholas Ross and Tracey Fallon. 2024. "The importance of bona fide friendships to international politics: China's quest for friendships that matter", Cambridge Review of International Affairs. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2022.2044757>

van Willigen, Niels, and Nicolas Blarel. 2024. "Why, how and to whom is the European Union signalling in the Indo-Pacific? Understanding the European Union's strategy in the Indo-Pacific in the epicentre of multipolar competition." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13691481241230857>

Weil, Steffi (Stefanie), Joern-Carsten Gottwald, and Markus Taube. 2024. "The European Union, Taiwan, and the Silicon Shield Argument: A Conceptual Assessment through the Lens of Grand Theories." *European Politics and Society*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/23745118.2024.2417028>

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Kelly, Serena. 2024. "Market access and fostering closer relations?: Understanding the European Union-New Zealand agreement" in J. Pérez and L. de Castro (eds.) *Acuerdos comerciales de nueva generación de la Unión Europea II* (Madrid: Aranzadi).

McNeill, Henrietta and Nicholas Ross Smith. 2024. "European statecraft in the Pacific Islands," in J. Wallis, H. McNeill, M. Rose, A. Tidwell (eds), *Power and Influence in the Pacific Islands* (London: Routledge).

Smith, Nicholas Ross and Martin Holland. 2024. "The EU and New Zealand amidst the changing geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific" in Y. Joshi, I Nishida and D. Chaturvedi (eds), *The European Union as a Security Actor in the Indo-Pacific* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan).

Commentaries

Blarel, Nicholas and Niels van Willigen. 2024. "Strategic Communication in the Indo-Pacific: Signalling EU Naval Commitment to the Region", *The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies*.

Kelly, Serena. 2024. "EU in the Indo-Pacific Cooperation: Opportunities and Constraints", *Kwentuhan*. <https://www.indopac.nz/post/eu-in-the-indo-pacific-cooperation-opportunities-and-constraints>

Reiterer, Michael. 2024. "In between International Orders – An Era of Instability: The Need for a Reform Agenda and a New Narrative". *The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies*. <https://wiiw.ac.at/in-between-international-orders--an-era-of-instability-the-need-for-a-reform-agenda-and-a-new-narrative-p-6836.html>

Reiterer, Michael. 2024. "NATO and the Republic of Korea: The AP4 in the Indo-Pacific", *38 North*. <https://www.38north.org/2024/04/nato-and-the-republic-of-korea-the-ap4-in-the-indo-pacific/>

Smith, Nicholas Ross and Paul Bacon. 2024. "The Indo-Pacific is an idea more than a region". *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/the-indo-pacific-is-an-idea-more-than-a-region-and-its-pushing-politics-in-a-pessimistic-and-paranoid-direction-243130>

Smith, Nicholas Ross. 2024. "China is not going to cause World War III". South China Morning Post. <https://www.scmp.com/opinion/world-opinion/article/3268807/china-not-going-cause-world-war-iii>

Smith, Nicholas Ross. 2024. "How NZ can truly be independent in foreign policy", Newsroom. <https://newsroom.co.nz/2024/04/22/how-nz-can-truly-be-independent-in-foreign-affairs>

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Smith, Nicholas Ross and Tracey Fallon. 2024. "China Should Be Wary of the Trap of History", The Diplomat. <https://thediplomat.com/2024/02/china-should-be-wary-of-the-trap-of-history/>

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Jingkai, Shao and Paul Bacon. 2025. "Narrowing the 'expectations deficit'? Evolving Japanese expectations of the EU as an Indo-Pacific security actor (2020–2022)", Journal of Contemporary European Studies. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2025.2472630>

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Sugiono, Muhadi, and Nurina Aulia Haris. 2025. "The Normative Power of Europe? Indonesian Perspective of the EU." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*.
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Reiterer, Michael & Kim So Jeong. 2025. "South Korea", in George Christou, Wilhelm Vosse, Joe Burton, & Joachim Koops (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook on Cyber Diplomacy*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 593-612.

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Smith, Nicholas Ross. 2025. "How Trump may inadvertently calm the waters of the Indo-Pacific", *South China Morning Post*. <https://www.scmp.com/opinion/asia-opinion/article/3303737/how-trump-may-inadvertently-calm-waters-indo-pacific>

Reiterer, Michael. 2025. "EU Cyber Diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific: Pick Up Speed and Strengthen Set-Up", *Policy Science in Commemoration of Professor Noriko Yasue*. Vol. 32/5. <https://csds.vub.be/publication/eu-cyber-diplomacy-in-the-indo-pacific-pick-up-speed-and-strengthen-set-up>

Smith, Nicholas Ross. 2025. "New Zealand need not fear China's growing ties with Pacific nations". *South China Morning Post*. <https://www.scmp.com/opinion/world-opinion/article/3299560/new-zealand-need-not-fear-chinas-growing-ties-pacific-nations>

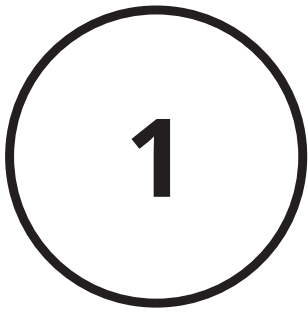
Smith, Nicholas Ross. 2025. "The EU needs to re-think its Indo-Pacific Strategy", *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. <https://gjia.georgetown.edu/2025/07/10/re-thinking-the-eus-indo-pacific-strategy-a-bottom-up-approach>

Smith, Nicholas Ross and Henrietta McNeill-Stowers "Europe's faltering statecraft in the Pacific", *East Asia Forum*. <https://eastasiaforum.org/author/henrietta-mcneill/>

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FUTURE PUBLICATIONS



We have signed an agreement with Global Policy journal to publish a special issue in 2026 based on our EUIP findings titled, *The EU in the Indo-Pacific*.

Global Policy is a leading Q1 journal in the field of International Relations and seeks to publish articles that produce “deep policy learning, relevant for the academy and for governments and key non-governmental players, including those working in economics, global politics, international law and relations”.

Our special issue has 9 articles, one for each of the focal locations and an overarching comparative article.



We have signed a contract with Routledge to publish an edited volume as part of their ‘Rethinking Asia and International Relations: Rethinking Asia and International Relations’ book series. Our book will be titled *Regional Perspectives on the EU’s Indo-Pacific Strategy: Beyond Brussels*

Routledge is a highly reputable academic publisher, especially in the humanities and social sciences. The ‘Rethinking Asia’ book series aims to “offer a comprehensive parallel assessment of the full spectrum of Asian states, organisations, and regions and their impact on the dynamics of global politics”.

The edited volume has 10 chapters, one for each of the focal locations and two broader ones.



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