

Multidimensional approaches to the (New) Regional Order in the Indo-Pacific: Views from Asia and the European Union



5 May 2022

from 2 pm to 6 pm (Bangkok time, UTC+07:00)



**Webinar on Zoom:
Registration required**



Multidimensional approaches to the (New) Regional Order in the Indo-Pacific: views from Asia and the European Union

5th of May, from 2 pm to 6 pm (Bangkok Time)

A webinar (Zoom) co-organized by:
the Research Institute on Contemporary Southeast Asia
(IRASEC CNRS-MEAE)
and
the Embassy of France in Thailand



Convenors



IRASEC

IRASEC – French Research Center on Contemporary Southeast Asia based in Bangkok aims to develop research seen from social and human sciences in partnership with academic institutions in the region. The Institute’s various research projects cover political, geopolitical, social, economic and environmental processes, as well as regional integration dynamics among the region’s 11 countries and in ASEAN as a political organization in its broader Asia-Pacific context.

Director: Dr Jérôme Samuel (jerome.samuel@irasec.com)

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The Embassy of France in Thailand is one of the oldest diplomatic mission in the country. It was established as a consulate in its current location on the Chao Phraya River of Charoen Krung Road in Bangkok’s Bang Rak District in 1857, following the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce which established diplomatic relations between the two countries the previous year. The mission was elevated to a legation in 1892 and an embassy in 1949, and supports the ambassador in promoting political, economic, scientific, educational and cultural ties between the two countries.

<p>Time (BKK) 2pm – 2.10</p>	<p>Welcome speech</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ambassador of France in Thailand HE Mr Thierry Mathou • Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the European Union to the Kingdom of Thailand HE Mr David Daly
<p>2.10 – 2.30</p>	<p>Overview speeches: Reports on the main outcomes on the Ministerial Forum for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific (Paris, 22 February 2022)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • French Ambassador for Indo-Pacific HE Mr Christophe Penot • Ambassador Special Envoy for the European Union for Indo-Pacific HE Mr Gabriele Visentin
<p>2.30 – 3.40</p> <p>+ 20 mn Q&A</p>	<p>First roundtable: Maritime Security</p> <p>Moderator: Marianne Péron-Doise, IRSEM (Paris)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “French armed forces and maritime security in Asia-Pacific”, Rear Adm. Rey, ALPACI-Joint Commander French Armed Forces in the Asia-Pacific (Papeete – recorded) • “Indonesia’s Maritime Security in a Multipolar World”, Gilang Kembara, CSIS (Jakarta) • “Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific: A perspective from India”, Vijay Sakhuja, Kalinga International Foundation (Delhi) • “Policy implications of Ukraine Hybrid war on Grey Zone deterrence tailored for FOIP visions”, Tomonori Yoshizaki, NDIS (Tokyo) • “The South China Sea: A bastion for submarines”, François-Xavier Bonnet, IRASEC (Manila)
<p>4pm -4.15</p>	<p>Break</p>
<p>4.15 – 5.25</p> <p>+ 20 mn Q&A</p>	<p>Second Roundtable: environmental issues</p> <p>Moderator: Kittinut Supsoontornkul, Creagy (Bangkok)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • François Gemenne, Sciences Po-IRIS (Paris) • Frederick Kliem, RSIS (Singapore) • “Marine Environmental Challenges in Southeast Asia”, Jay Batongbacal, UP (Manila) • “How to have a transboundary water governance mechanism based on rules of law in the Mekong sub-region”, Le Trung Kien, DAV (Hanoi)
<p>5.45 – 6pm</p>	<p>Closing session: Delphine Allès, Inalco (Paris)</p>

Concept note

While the Covid-19 pandemics were going up and down, France and Europe have held their course to implement and develop their respective strategy in the Indo-Pacific which are closely interlinked. Both France and Europe have key interests in the region: territories, population, expatriates, trade partners. They are also military (in the case of France) and economic powers. France and EU are regular participants of the Shangri La Dialogue and of the ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum). Although the French and European Indo-Pacific strategies fundamentally intend to be inclusive and non-confrontational, they have to deal with emergence of a new “Great game” in the Indo-Pacific where several actors are interacting China and the USA but also (so-called) middle rank powers like ASEAN (members), India and Japan.

With their own Indo-Pacific strategies, France and the EU wish to show that an alternative vision to an increasingly confrontational environment can be built: by promoting multilateralism, upholding the rule of law and international norms, supporting an open and fair environment for trade, supporting connectivity and green transition, strengthening the response to global challenges. The French and European visions show several areas of convergence with the “ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-pacific”, particularly the promotion of multilateralism, inclusivity and a rules-based international order, and both strongly support ASEAN centrality. Far from implying a strategic refocusing on Europe, the war in Ukraine is a reminder of the importance of reaching out to the countries of South-east Asia and of an inclusive Indo-Pacific strategy.

This webinar precisely intends:

Firstly, to get an official overview and feedback after the Ministerial Forum for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific, organized in Paris on 22 February, which gathered 40 countries.

Secondly, to bring together researchers from ASEAN, India and Japan to share insights on two related issues, namely maritime security and climate change, based on their recent work and the latest regional developments.

Regarding maritime security (panel 1), the idea is to get a perspective from various Indo-Pacific countries, knowing that Southeast Asia is a strategic “bridge” between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, crossed by major Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC). At the same time, the panel will question various horizontal issues related to traditional security (territorial disputes, naval intrusions, naval arms race), non-traditional security (piracy and armed robberies against ships, illegal migration, smuggling), and—in-between—grey-zone strategies as well.

The second panel will mainly focus on the environmental issues (both causes and consequences), as it is one of the pillars of the French and EU strategies. Illegal fishing, biodiversity conservation, climate change adaptation to challenges like sea level rise and plastic pollution will be some of the key questions addressed by the speakers, before sharing possible—multilateral—solutions to explore.

By mixing view of diplomats (in the wake of the Indo-Pacific Forum), scholars (based on their current research) and other actors from the field, the goal is to offer a comprehensive picture of the maritime and environmental challenges, before more meetings, events and publications, to humbly nourish the discussions for a free, open, and inclusive Indo-Pacific sphere.

Contributors



Delphine Allès is a full professor in political science and the director of the International Relations department at INALCO (University of Languages and Civilizations). Her research focuses on Southeast Asia—especially Indonesia—the role of religion in global space and non-western approaches to the international cooperation.



Jay L. Batongbatal is a lawyer from the Philippines with a Master in Marine Management and Doctorate in the Science of Law. Since 1997 he has done research on a very diverse array of maritime issues, from community-based fisheries management to international maritime and territorial disputes in the South China Sea. He was the legal advisor to the Philippine delegation that made submissions for the continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles before the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf, and designation of a particularly sensitive sea area before the International Maritime Organization. He has served as Director of the University of the Philippines Institute for Maritime Affairs & Law of the Sea, and is currently a professor in the U.P. College of Law.



François-Xavier Bonnet is a geographer and a research associate of Irasec. His research is focused on the geopolitics of the Philippines: muslim guerillas, peace process in Mindanao, maritime disputes in the South China Sea among others. He recently contributed to “Charting submarine routes in Southeast Asia” in *Herodote* (volume 176, issue 1, 2020). He is a member of a research project on Chinese aid and investments in Southeast Asia (University of Paris).



HE Mr David Daly is the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the European Union to the Kingdom of Thailand. He has worked for the European Union for more than 30 years and after serving in the Irish Diplomatic service. Before the posting in Thailand, Ambassador David Daly was the Head of Southeast Asian Division at the European External Action Service (EEAS), European Union from 2016 to 2021. He served as the Ambassador and Head of Delegation of the European Union to Sri Lanka and the Maldives (2013-2016) and before that to Australia and New Zealand (2009-2013). Ambassador David Daly has a Master's Degree in Economic Science (European Studies) from Trinity College, Dublin University, an Honours Bachelor degree in Public Administration from Dublin College University and has Graduate Membership of the Institute of Personnel Management, London.



François Gemenne is a professor at the Institut d'études politiques de Paris (Sciences Po-IRIS) and director of the Hugo Observatory on environmental migration at the University of Liège in Belgium. He specialises in environmental and climate migration issues and in climate change adaptation policies.



Gilang Kembara is a Researcher at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta, Indonesia. His research mainly focuses on the field of maritime safety and security, transboundary security issues, and maritime regional cooperation. Gilang has collaborated with a variety of think tanks both domestic and international. He worked with the National Institute of South China Sea Studies (NISCSS) in China to help establish the China Southeast Asia Research Centre on South China Sea (CSARC), where he was enrolled as a Research Associate. Together with CSARC, he helped convene a group of experts to cooperate on fisheries and environmental issues in the South China Sea. Gilang Kembara received a BSc. in Management and a Master of Arts (MA) degree (International Relations in Contemporary Asia-Pacific) from the University of Birmingham.



Dr. Le Trung Kien is the Assistant Director-General, Director of Center for Development and Security Studies, Institute for Foreign Policy and Strategic Studies, Diplomatic Academy of Viet Nam (DAV). Dr. Kien is also the coordinator of the Mekong Center of the DAV. His research covers multilateral cooperation in the Mekong subregion, water security, US-China relations and the international economy. He has served 15 years at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was a Director of International Economic Cooperation Frameworks and Fora Division, Department of Economic Affairs. He held a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations from the DAV in 2006, a Master of Public Policy from Australian National University in 2010, and PhD in International Relations from DAV in 2021.



Frederick Kliem is a Research Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU) in Singapore. Frederick's research interests include regional integration and multilateralism in Asia and Europe. At the Centre for Multilateralism Studies, he studies ASEAN, Southeast Asia and geopolitics in the Indo-Pacific, as well as the European Union and comparative regionalism. In addition, Frederick is freelance Consultant and Key Expert on ASEAN-EU matters to EU consortia in Brussels. Before joining RSIS, Frederick was Senior Programme Manager at the political foundation Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Singapore.



HE Mr Thierry Mathou is Ambassador of France in Thailand. He was also ambassador in Myanmar, then in the Philippines. As a diplomat he also served in the USA, and in China where he spent more than 15 years and held several positions, including Consul general in Shanghai. As the Director General for Asia and Oceania at the French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs (2017- 2020), he has initiated the French Indo-Pacific strategy and launched the France's application to become a development partner of ASEAN. Holder of a PhD in Political Science and Asian Studies, Thierry Mathou is also an academic whose research focuses on China-India relations and Himalayan studies. He has written several books on Bhutan.



HE Mr Christophe Penot was appointed Ambassador for the Indo-Pacific at the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs in November 2020. Previously, he served as the French Ambassador in Australia (2017-2020) and in Malaysia (2014-2017). Mr. Penot also held the positions of Director, Properties and Investment, MFA (2010-2014) and Deputy Head of mission, French Embassy, Tokyo (2005-2010). His earlier postings included Ottawa, London, Tokyo and Hanoi. Mr. Penot joined the MFA in January 1983.



Graduated from the Institute of Political Studies of Aix-en-Provence and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, **Marianne Péron-Doise** is Research Fellow at the Institute for Strategic Research at Military School (IRSEM) from 2015. She is also affiliated with the French Institute for International and Strategic Relations (IRIS). Her research interests include Indo-Pacific geopolitical issues with a specific expertise on security and defense policies in Northeast Asia (Japan-Korean Peninsula), global maritime security topics as emerging naval forces and key maritime theatres, such as the Horn of Africa, Indian Ocean, South and East China Sea, South Pacific.



Rear Admiral **Jean-Mathieu REY** assumed his current position as Commander, French Armed Forces in French Polynesia (COMSUP POLYNESIE) in Tahiti and Commanding General, Joint Forces, Pacific (ALPACI) on 1 august 2020. He operated at sea and from the sea for 25 years, mainly in the Indo-Pacific where it all started on a frigate based in Tahiti. Then, he assumed different positions ranging from commando platoon leader, patrol boat commander in the Pacific Ocean, frigate commander in the Indian Ocean to chief of staff of the carrier strike group Charles de Gaulle and commander of the air defence destroyer Forbin during the Libyan campaign (2011). Detached to the Foreign Affairs Ministry, he was also adviser for security and defence cooperation in Asia and South America. He graduated in the Higher Command and Staff Course in the United Kingdom and French equivalent courses (CHEM and IHEDN).



Dr Vijay Sakhujia is former Director, National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi. He is currently associated with a number of think tanks in India and overseas. Dr Vijay Sakhujia has published over 40 books, edited volumes and monograph on international relations, Indo-Pacific and Indian Ocean affairs, maritime security, the Arctic, Blue Economy, Industry 4.0 technologies and is currently pursuing issues concerning “energy transitions” in the maritime domain.



Kittinut Supsoontornkul, SJD, is working as a Senior Consultant in Clean Energy and Climate Change at the Creagy, a purpose-driven business consultancy based in Thailand focusing on climate solutions for national and regional levels. As a qualified lawyer specializing in international environmental law, her core focus is on legal practice and research concerning the cross-cutting issues of environmental governance, economic development, international trade, politics, and human rights protection in ASEAN. She advises and works with governmental agencies and international organizations on major environmental projects in Thailand involving various stakeholders both in the public and private sectors, e.g., National Communication for the UNFCCC, Climate Fund Initiatives, and Environmental Fund Monitoring & Evaluation.



HE Mr Gabriele Visentin was appointed EU Special Envoy for the Indo-Pacific in September 2021. Previously, he served as Head of the Parliamentary Affairs Division in the European External Action Service for several years. Earlier in his career, Mr. Visentin was an official of the European Commission and served in the Directorate General for External Relations. Mr. Visentin was also Head of Cabinet to the last President of the ECSC (European Community for Steel and Coal) and Advisor on European affairs to the Italian Minister of Industry, Energy and International Trade. Mr. Visentin holds a degree in law and is specialized in International and Community law.



Prof. Tomonori Yoshizaki is Vice President of Academic Affairs, the National Institute for Defence Studies (NIDS) of Japan MOD, where he is in charge of directing research projects and military education on strategic issues. He was previously Director of Policy Simulation and Director of Security Studies Department at NIDS. He is currently an advisor to International Peace Cooperation Activities Training Unit, Ground Self-Defence Forces; visiting lecturer at Self-Defence Forces Staff Colleges, Tokyo University for Foreign Studies, and International Christian University (ICU). His recent publications are “Dilemma of NATO’s Unity,” *The Journal of International Security* (Tokyo, Spring 2022); “Japan’s Free and Open Indo-Pacific Vision: Strategic Implications for Europe” *Le Dossier Diplomatie* (Paris, Autumn 2019).

First roundtable: Maritime Security

Moderator: Marianne Péron-Doise, IRSEM (Paris)

French armed forces and maritime security in Asia-Pacific

Rear Adm. Rey

ALPACI-Joint Commander French Armed Forces in the Asia-Pacific (Papeete – recorded)

After having presented the role, missions and assets of the joint commander of the French armed forces in Asia-Pacific, in the context of the French Strategy in Indo-Pacific, this presentation intends to highlight the French support to “the development of a regional maritime security architecture that promotes multilateralism”. For that, besides numerous deployments from Europe, the European Union, whose Paris chairs the Council this semester, will also be a critical force multiplier.

First roundtable: Maritime Security

Moderator: Marianne Péron-Doise, IRSEM (Paris)

Indonesia's Maritime Security in a Multipolar World

Gilang KEMBARA

Centre for Strategic and International Studies-CSIS (Jakarta)

2022 brought about major changes in the security dynamics of the world. The Russo-Ukrainian War divided the world into a predominantly three camps, western-leaning, neutral, and authoritarian-leaning. Although the war is confined in Europe, the reverberation of Russia's activity resonates all throughout the globe and throughout all manners of security, including maritime security. As the western world doubled down on sanctions against Moscow, such as revoking permit for port calls, and blocking passage in strategic international waterways (e.g., Bosphorus), non-aligned countries are left in a dilemma on whether to exercise such restriction, or to relent and conduct things as usual with Russia. As one of the principal leading actors of the non-aligned world, Indonesia is caught within this dilemma to support internationally-acceptable norms, or to distance ourselves/itself from the issue at hand. Whatever the case may be, Indonesia urgently needs choose its position before the next crisis appears.

First roundtable: Maritime Security

Moderator: Marianne Péron-Doise, IRSEM (Paris)

Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific: A perspective from India

Vijay Sakhuja

Kalinga International Foundation (Delhi)

The scope and the levels of the intensity of maritime security challenges (“traditional”, “nontraditional” and “transnational”) vary in the Indo-Pacific region; hence there is no uniformity in maritime security across the region. However, regional security complexes in their maritime vistas provide the understanding of how each region/sub-region responds to threats and perils that they are confronted with. Adjoining the Indian Ocean regional security complex are the two semi-enclosed maritime security complexes of the northern Arabian Sea to the west and the Bay of Bengal in the east. The northern Arabian Sea regional complex perhaps has the highest incidence of threats and challenges including nuclear that complicates the maritime security predicament of the region. However, the Bay of Bengal region presents challenges that have high concentration of non-traditional security threats. These impact on human, environmental and ecological security with direct impacts on food security.

First roundtable: Maritime Security

Moderator: Marianne Péron-Doise, IRSEM (Paris)

Impacts of Ukraine Crises on Indo-Pacific Maritime Security

Tomonori YOSHIZAKI,
National Institute for Defense Studies-NDIS (Tokyo)

Indo-Pacific Maritime security is being hampered by Russian invasion of Ukraine in the following three ways. First, enhancing “ocean connectivity” across the region has become far less attainable. Since 2020 COVID-19 has damaged the regional supply-chains and widened the perception gaps between the “haves” and the “have-nots.” In order to mitigate this damage, regional countries tried to enhance national and regional “resilience” through international coordination; yet Ukraine crises add more and more uncertainty in this regard. Second, Japan’s vision of “open regionalism” is also being seriously challenged. The UN General Assembly Resolution on Ukraine, for example, became a political litmus test on how to deal with humanitarian demands. In terms of ocean security, “capacity building support” may be required to revise a new approach. Japan has emphasized a “quality infrastructure” approach in terms of port facilities and marine development, and adopted the approach of “third country cooperation”. It is becoming more difficult than ever to achieve this. Third, NATO’s “Ukraine dilemma” may cast a shadow in the Indo-Pacific region. NATO is repeatedly referring to the Article 5 of the Treaty to ensure its extended deterrence to the member states. It is also rapidly upgrading its military assistance to Ukraine, a regional alliance partner, but refrains from making an official commitment. This approach may affect the debate on alliance management issues in the Indo-Pacific region.

First roundtable: Maritime Security

Moderator: Marianne Péron-Doise, IRSEM (Paris)

The South China Sea: A bastion for submarines

François-Xavier BONNET,
Research Institute on Contemporary Southeast Asia-IRASEC (Manila)

Military oceanographic research, in particular bathymetry, is becoming an issue of considerable geopolitical importance in Southeast Asia. In a context of power rivalries between China and the United States and territorial disputes between four ASEAN states and China in the South China Sea, some Southeast Asian countries are building their submarine fleets and acquiring materiel for anti-submarine warfare. The example of the Spratly Islands shows just how sensitive the issue of bathymetry is. In the past, the Spratly Islands—also referred to as “Dangerous Ground”—were an area to avoid, but over the last fifty years have become a strategic territory: a nuclear submarine equipped with ballistic missiles situated in the area could well threaten a large percentage of the world’s population.

Second Roundtable: environmental issues

Moderator: Kittinut Supsoontornkul, Creagy (Bangkok)

Title

François GEMENNE,
Sciences Po-IRIS (Paris)

Abstract coming soon.

Second Roundtable: environmental issues

Moderator: Kittinut Supsoontornkul, Creagy (Bangkok)

EU and member states role in the increasingly competitive bi-polarity of the Indo-Pacific

Frederick KLIEM,

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies-RSIS (Singapore)

Despite the EU's Strategy on Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific from 2021 and the most recent great initiative of the French Presidency, including the first-ever Ministerial Forum for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific, the EU and European member countries remain severely limited in their capacity to meaningfully affect the security order in the Indo-Pacific. This was true before war returned to Europe and it has become even clearer since. That notwithstanding, if the EU focusses on its strength, esp. in the non-military space, the EU and member states can make a positive difference in the increasingly competitive bi-polarity of the Indo-Pacific. This presentation will suggest several ways to do so.

Second Roundtable: environmental issues

Moderator: Kittinut Supsoontornkul, Creagy (Bangkok)

Marine Environmental Challenges in Southeast Asia

Jay BATONGBACAL,
University of the Philippines-UP (Manila)

As the rest of the world recalibrates and restarts in the aftermath of major geopolitical events, marine environmental issues continue to move relentlessly and inexorably on their dangerous paths. From climate change to plastics, from overfishing to pollution, marine environmental problems present challenges to the Southeast Asian region and exacerbated by territorial and maritime disputes, porous borders, jurisdictional overlaps, and stalled cooperation. This presentation will attempt to summarize and highlight the most urgent problems that could be addressed by renewed cooperation between regional States, and propose steps to move them forward together with post-pandemic recovery efforts and policies, and take advantage of opportunities present in the “new normal” economies.

Second Roundtable: environmental issues

Moderator: Kittinut Supsoontornkul, Creagy (Bangkok)

How to have a transboundary water governance mechanism based on rules of law in the Mekong sub-region

LE Trung Kien,

Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam-DAV (Hanoi)

The challenges of water security have become more daunting in the Mekong sub-region. In particular, the Mekong River basin faced increasingly severe floods, droughts, and saline intrusion. The Mekong sub-region has witnessed unusual fluctuations in the Mekong River water level in recent years. Given this context, the sub-region witnesses the blossom of multilateral cooperation mechanisms but still lacks a water governance mechanism to manage Mekong water resource's sustainable and equitable use effectively. As a result, a holistic approach combining political, economic, social and environmental factors is needed for a transboundary water governance mechanism based on rules of law in the Mekong sub-region.

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