

SEAFORE Masterclass 4

Sat, 10/9 2:31PM • 3:56:42

SUMMARY KEYWORDS

maritime security, south china sea, china, vietnam, countries, maritime, asean, state, sea, region, mentioned, question, issues, southeast asia, problem, claim, area, indonesia, australia, called

SPEAKERS

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Danny Yong 00:00

And thanks Ajinder. So okay, so obviously we all know the title title for the day is actually Maritime Security, Geostrategic Challenges and the Stability of the ASEAN region. So this is a fourth of our five masterclass series, the next master class being two Saturdays from now. Okay. So I'm Danny Yong. I'm CEO of kiniacademy. We are, let me tell you a bit about kiniacademy, for those of you don't know yet. So kiniacademy is actually the trading arm, training for MalaysiaKini and we are mainly involved with journalism training. So we support journalism in learning and development. And also investigative journalism. Yeah, so we've been working on that a fair bit, and we been giving out small grants for reporting. And of course, we, we like the idea of promoting collaboration between ASEAN newsrooms. So there's a rumor out there that the ASEAN newsrooms Do not talk to each other enough. So this is one of the aims of the of the project. So moving on the the sponsors for this project so obviously, this is a really useful project for most of us and we thank the Institute of War and Peace Reporting, IWPR, for sponsoring this. IWPR works out of the UK. Yeah. And they have an office in Manila and the US that we work with all right, they are the one responsible for sponsoring and paying for all of this wonderful things that we're doing. Yeah. So on SEAFORE, you may you may have heard SEAFORE stands for Southeast Asia Forum for Reporting. So the this is really built together for put together for the purpose of the reporters. Okay, and when we're talking about collaboration, SEAFORE's aim one of main aim is really to encouraging collaboration. So we're finding two overlaps here and in our approach to collaboration, so we find all you journalists who are reporting from the same desk so they're more more relevant and more overlap in the things that you do in the stories that you write. So the when you see all of those in the chat, which I will add you in the WhatsApp chat, you can easily reach across two different borders to to collaborate with other journalists and the second area all it is of course the subject matter therefore the subject matter for masterclass is really on ASEAN related topics so that's something that affects us all. Okay, and ultimately we love for this to be something sustainable that we can repeat over and over again and for you guys you journalists you continue to collaborate and you know when nine months down the line six months down the line when you're working on a story just reach out across to you know other phone numbers in a WhatsApp message Yeah, what's that group?

Okay, next please. SEAFOR actually it has got a few components to it, the main components are of course the master class, we have five today's master class is the fourth Okay, and that five that forms the spine of the series and it also provides the content for you guys to write on second second component is actually reporting project so each publisher that works with us actually have a grant to work on a story project and those of you who haven't got the story project or haven't started working on that or haven't pitched to us your story project please do so. And the third is really for this to be a forum for there to be much conversation many conversations going on between all of us including between the journalists and the speakers. I we are looking to have these speakers be your source actually for for a story on maritime security for instance, for now and in the future as well. So this is when you get to know your sources to for future reference as well. So Next please. Okay, so we have Dr. Dr Asyura Salleh, who's going to helm the whole master class together so we do in our in our typical format is we have somebody like her to hold the context together we make sure we have someone like her to ensure that the topic about stays relevant and current and newsworthy. All right. And we knew try to have all our speakers to be from ASEAN so we hear ASEAN voices and in the discussion So theres Ristian from Indonesia. Ahmad from, from the United Nations General Assembly, political advisor. So he'll he'll, he'll he'll give us that perspective. And Dr. Thanh. Alright, so I will leave Asyura to introduce them to you later. Okay. Next please. Well, I've already mentioned to some of you that, please put your name of your organization in front of your name or behind your name so that we can identify who you are. And we encourage you to leave your video on. Yeah, we've definitely will keep your mics on mute. But there'll be times where we also ask for questions. We enjoy a free flow of questioning as well. So do keep your mics on mute until then. All right. As I mentioned, we love questions. We love for you to get this because to, to answer your questions, and to give you the required content you want for your stories, you know that we recording this session. And that's really it. We will run about three hours. So we have breaks in between. Okay, Dr. Asyura, will will lead us through that next please. Before we started, yeah, we actually got some way to go mostly to ask most of you to fill out the poll to get some feeling about this subject matter before we move before we start. So let's go. Let me announce the results. We asked, asked you guys, do you often cover issues relating to maritime security? 80% of you say sometimes 20% say never. So that's not surprising, because this particular issue is not super relevant to some of you. Yeah. And imagine those who are in the Mekong region, for instance, they may not have, they don't have a direct waterway that impacts them. And a lot of the things that's happening is in the South China Sea as well. So moving on. How familiar are you with the legal dimensions of maritime security threats? Most of you say you're not very familiar. And again, that's part of this, this really quite expected. This is a quite a complex issue. And it's something that's fun, that goes back a long, long time where there's 11, dot line, 11 dash line and 9 dash line and everything else that goes with it. Move on. How important is the domain of maritime security in the in your country? 60% of you say, China 40% say it's quite important. In your opinion, what is the biggest maritime security issue in your country? Surprisingly, 60% say this ecological issue. We hope Dr. Shara can shed some light on that. And the rest talks about it being a piracy smuggling and human trafficking issue. So surprisingly, there's nobody who said that is more or more like risk. Yeah. Surprise move. Next, to what degree does your country collaborate with other Southeast Asian countries to ensure regional maritime security? So one, each said that is kind of fair and a lot of 20% 40% say there is not really they don't, they don't collaborate a lot. Again, it's not surprising. Yeah. So let me just introduce quickly Dr. Asyura Salleh. She is a co founder for Global Awareness impact Alliance, GAIA. She herself is an adjunct professor or non

resident Valley Research Fellow for the Pacific forum, and a special special advisor on maritime security for the Yokosuka Council on Asia Pacific Affairs, YCAPS. Her policy experience lies in a work for the UN ODC global maritime crime program, stable seas and Brunei Prime Minister's office that's really really specializes in. Dr. Asyura has a research interests in maritime security in the Asia Pacific with a focus on transnational maritime crime and maritime governance. So she's gained a master's in war studies from King's College London and earn a doctorate in international relations from the s. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. So, Dr. Asyura I look forward to your presentation.

Dr. Asyura Salleh 09:59

Thanks very much, Danny and very good afternoon, everyone. Before I begin, I'd like to lead thanks. I'd like to thank the organizers of Kini Academy for this opportunity to moderate this masterclass on maritime security geostrategic challenges and the stability of the ASEAN region. Then introduced My name is Dr. Asyura, Asyura is fine. I'm delighted to be a keynote speaker and also your moderator for today. I'm going to try and pull this up, and hopefully it works. Okay. So as Danny mentioned, as we move throughout this whole masterclass for today, and I'd be really delighted to hear your thoughts and your comments. So please, fraud and question all things, maritime security with me, feel free to use the chat box, and I'll try my very best to include your, your thoughts in the conversations that we will be holding. Bear in mind that I am the other speakers do come from a policy and academic background. And so the insights that we bring to you guys are really based on this perspectives. But you as journalists, and coming from the media, you guys bring a unique set of lenses to the table as well. So I'd be very excited to learn from you as I hope you'll be learning from us as well. So what I hope to do here today is really begin by setting the lay of the land to kind of prepare ourselves as we hear from our guests, because in my speech, I will be addressing the geographic parameters of maritime Southeast Asia, will then discover how each zone is unique to itself and even highlight key threats and key actors within these zones. Hopefully this will provide as the framework that we will need, which we can use as a guiding tool to help us better conceptualize and think about maritime security, and really uncover the real you know, gripping questions that need to be asked. This would then give us a really good starting ground to delve deeper as we hear from the guest speakers could be addressing geopolitics and strategy, be talking about the role of ASEAN And last but not least, the South China Sea dispute. Okay, so this is us here in maritime Southeast Asia. I chose this map to consciously avoid distinctions between state boundaries, and to really remind us of what we inherently are. We are a maritime region. We are nestled here in the southeast portion of the Asia continent. And if you see the countries all kind of revolve around the third largest island in the world, which is Borneo Island. So if we place Borneo here as the center of gravity, we will see that each of these water bodies are defined by really different characteristics. These are defined by the shape of the water body, the countries that border this particular waterway, and even the geographical nature of it. And doing so these features really shaped the uniqueness of the threats that take place in each water body, and so therefore also shaped the response of countries surrounding these water bodies. A really good example for us to think about and using this framework is if we were to look for example at the Andaman Sea, the Andaman Sea here stretches towards the south of Myanmar and has a connection with the northern bit of the Bay of Bengal. it you know, flows against Thailand flows against Malaysia and then it kind of ends at the tip of Archie before falling into the Strait of Malacca. And because of this unique geographical position. The

main maritime security issue that we are seeing in this particular maritime zone is severe migration or irregular migration. where lots of rahang does we're seeing are fleeing persecution from political spill overs in Myanmar. And as we move closer to the center of gravity, we've got the Strait of Malacca here, which really at its closest point, it's just a half an hour journey by a pump boat. And it provides yet because despite this narrow was waterway it provides an entry for commercial vessels and global trade to enter the rest of Southeast Asia and which other parts of the world and obviously because of this feature, this immense level of high traffic naturally attracts a lot of armed robbery. And for this reason, we've got countries in this particular area banding together to form the Malacca straits patrol in an attempt to reduce these armed robbery incidents. To move further along, we've got the Gulf of Thailand, the natuna Sea, the border, South China Sea, so and Salba seas, we've got the molestie as well which has issues of illegal fishing. And we also have this little silver of water here called the Java Sea. Each and every one of these maritime zones if you think about it, and in this way, all very unique in their own way. But yet they also share similar characteristics as really and truly they are all inherently connected to one another. The way I look at where We sent here in this region is not that we are sitting here I'm sitting here my apartment on an extension of land that happens to be bordering seas. No, but rather we are on land that is taking up space on we should actually be a region completely inundated with water, we are surrounded by water, not that we're bothering them. So if we take this geographical, you know perspective of Southeast Asia, we'll see that this is actually shaped the historical and ongoing dynamics of the region. This particular location has transformed Southeast Asia into a crossroads. Back in the day, you know we'd be we'd be taught in primary school, how Southeast Asia's famed as the Spice Islands, where traders from all around the world cross the treacherous journey from the Indian Ocean and from China, really congregating in this particular region. And so there are key roots that remain as dominant as they were then this would be the Malacca Strait, we've got the Sunda Strait. And here we have the South Seas as well, forming choke points across specific spots in the region. And when we talk about choke points, we're looking at the narrowest waterways between two bordering pieces of land. And so this really only means that if a blockade were to happen, there was a security issue and these these choke points were blocked. What would happen is that global trade could be easily held hostage. So here for example, as much as around 80% of China's oil imports pass through the Straits of Malacca every single year. But the region's geography, as we have seen is making it into this melting pot with filled with people as you can see here in this forum with people from all cultures, all language and religion. Interestingly enough, even beneath our seas, our seas are as diverse as well. There are seeing some pretty important areas which I feel need better protection, which is why we have marine protected areas. Danny did allude to the fact that in the poll results that were held earlier ecological issues were actually one of the main maritime security concerns. And this is something I would strongly echo considering that especially in areas like Susi and even in the areas north of Borneo like the Spratly seas, these are rich marine biodiverse areas, home to coral reefs, and a whole host of fish species. So much so that the South China Sea supplies 12% of global fish catch. But our human activities and how we are using our seas are really damaging what's happening beneath that. We've got artificial island construction, which was seen by some as an attempt by to exercise sovereign rights in the area. And this has really impacted our coral reefs. dredges would scrape the seabed, they would gather gravel in order to build this artificial islands. And in doing so they damage the color of reefs that we need to hold the seabed down and to protect us from larger waves. These colonies are really unlikely to recover in the next 10 years or so ahead of us. So we are really facing a massive

environmental crisis. So that's maritime Southeast Asia. We've seen how the strict geographical location really shapes the history of the region and then develops these dynamics that maritime Southeast Asia continues to operate within up till today. Its legacy of being a spice Island continues where Malaysia, for example, and its white defense paper released few years ago, continues to uphold this legacy of being a connective region, Malaysia had profit its role as a bridging linchpin between the Indian Ocean and the Asia Pacific region. This does emphasize Malaysia's critical location, but it also pays homage to Southeast Asia's starting premise as a connective region to the rest of the world. And so within this contacts, there are, as I alluded to, you know, a variety of concerns. We've got hard security issues, and we also have non traditional issues as well. We talk about hard security issues we'll be talking about, I think one of the results was a one of a particular concern was warlike risks. And this would then fall under a hard security issue because it would refer to geopolitical concerns with significant national sovereignty implications. So I mentioned earlier artificial island building that would be one of them. We've also got freedom of navigation operations, and other strategies, which I think Andy would be able to develop a bit more. But on the other hand, we did see that 60% from the poll results indicated that ecological issues is a major concern. The region is beset with other environmental and what we call non traditional concerns. We've got illegal trafficking. Here you can see a crocodile and we've also got overfishing. illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing is a particular series of crimes and overfishing would fall underneath underneath this particular category, you can definitely expand into this later on. But the main takeaway points are one, it's important to remember that maritime security is always an extension of developments on land. political instability, economic recession. And even as we see unequal distribution of resources amongst communities on land, are all key drivers of the maritime security threats that we are seeing at sea. So when we do see a particular concern that takes place at sea, bear in mind that these are only symptoms of a larger problem that is taking place on land. And so to preserve maritime security would require us to really go onto land and counter the main driving root causes. The second main takeaway point is that because of the nature of the region that we all live and operate in, these problems are so inherently unique to each maritime zone as we saw the Andaman Sea, and the Strait of Malacca, and even the SU insolvencies. But yet these problems are also very closely linked and intertwined with one another. Because one particular issue will definitely have a repercussion and impact other issues around it as well. We can use the Natuna Sea, for example, as a case where it is known to be a marine region with rich biodiversity. But because of this richness in its fish, and its underwater life, it's also led to illegal unreported and unregulated fishing or your fishing. This has then led to sparking national sovereignty concerns, especially as we're seeing more and more foreign fishing vessels in this area. But yet, the overfishing and activities that these vessels are doing, are actually preventing the fish from moving to other parts of the region. And so what it is doing is it is upsetting the broader ecosystem of marine life in South China Sea. So we're very broadly reviewed the phenomena of maritime security, we've looked at the unique geographical characteristics, we've looked at some threats. The next question is who is striving maritime security? Right? Who's behind it? Who do we go to to try get answers from? So when we think of main players, or rather, when I think of main players in maritime security, I pull up this mind map. I'm like, Okay, we've got extra regional players. We've got the UK, the US, Australia, China. And we've also done have also Southeast Asian maritime states. Right, and how can we then interlink the national security interests with one another is one particular country playing more verbal than the other, and if so, why? And then we look at other initiatives as well. For example, if there is a commonly perceived threat, in a very small specified region,

like in the Straits of Malacca, we would likely see many lateral mechanisms set up just between those countries. Meanwhile, we have multilateral exercises, and these have to do with developing the capacity of countries here in the region. countries can participate in these exercises, they will learn how to visit board search and seize a particular ship. But really, and truly, if you were to look at the way these different groupings are taking place, they have symbolism that really shift the narrative surrounding major power competition in this region. And then there's trust, which needs to be built between our neighbors. Here mostly, this mostly takes place through information sharing initiatives. Some of it take place at the regional level with the IFC information fusion center in Singapore. Some of it take place at the national level between agencies in Indonesia, like I think the Indonesian maritime Information Center. And so we also then have ASEAN last but not least, we're here we still are regional dialogues taking place. And this we will hear later from one of our guests speakers who will further talk about the role of ASEAN and what kind of role it plays in developing dialogue around key issues that matter, like the code of conduct, or even here maritime transport. We also can't forget our environmental issues, and these are groups based on certain themes. Most of the approach taken when it comes to ecosystem issues are very evidence based, so is based on heavy scientific research. This is mostly driven by Seth deck. But these aren't just the only players you know, when it comes to maritime security. I think we are neglecting the non state actors. I mean, their interests matter too. We are the coastal communities that are often the first to suffer from any maritime security concern the stateless bajjal people that live in the Sulu Sea, or even the fishes that have to move further out into the seas because the fish that they once used to fish and now decimated. We also have the interest of politically driven groups that are That poses a threat of kidnapping for ransom, like the Abu Sayyaf group in the in the Sulu Sea. And we also have commercial vessels, right, and passenger ships that ply the seas of Southeast Asia. And they make up the shipping and transport industry, they play an important role in maritime security, because they can either fall victim to these threats, or they can participate in building security by sharing information on any attacks or any threats that they are seeing while they happen to be the. So it's really important to recognize I think that maritime security really has more to do with people, it's very dictates which very closely dictates the direction of regional stability, because of the very intimate connection that we have with our seas, and how the seas shape our national security. Okay, so I'm at thought that, you know, having said all that, we could just kind of think about how we can reflect this in the media. How do we think about my past media engagements, and I was thinking about how we could really change the way narrative in the media is being built around maritime security, I laid out some civil guidance points, which I think it'd be really great to get your thoughts on. The first bit is, as I mentioned earlier, maritime security is always an extension of developments on land. This applies to everything that we see at sea, from the degradation of our coral reefs, to developing security arrangements. And so when developing a story, I would encourage you to try situate whatever you're seeing out the developing phenomena within this land sea nexus relationship. Aside from merely observing or providing a description of an incident at sea, it's important to question what the driving factors on land were. And so by resolving the factors that we see with this, then result or reflect lower levels of threat at sea. And the second point, which I feel is very closely tied to the first is that we also need to recognize the actors. You know, I mentioned earlier, when we think about major actors in maritime security, we have this huge continuity of regional actors, the countries that are playing a role, information sharing, we've got the naval forces, the Coast Guard forces, we also have the coastal communities, but think of this continuum and then flip it and work from bottom up.

Because at the end of the day, the main question is, how does whatever you're seeing at sea impact, your security, impact, my security and our security as a region? What more can other actors do when alleviating threats at sea? It's important to think about what kinds of capacities Do we need to give to these actors to give them more agency to be more accountable and be more responsive to the threats taking place. Because of this, I thought to mention that maritime security isn't really just the responsibility of policymakers. But it really is our duty as well. A simple case in point is is very dialogue that we're having here today, where you as you know, as the media, as the journalists have actually recognized this gap in needing to link both factual observations with a better understanding of the deeper dynamics that our guest speakers will be sharing later on. I think it's important to also take into account that maritime security is a social, it's a political is a security issue. policy decisions that are made at the higher levels all have repercussions that transcend all the way down to impact coastal communities, defense budgets, and also the green sea turtle. And so by looking at it this way, maritime security has more than enough space as a field as a theme, to hold more actors accountable and better protecting our seas. But maritime security is also brought enough for the same actors to fall victim. If they do not. If they are unable to be accountable for what they see at sea. I think it's also important as we talk about creating the space of accountability to look into this whole process of agenda setting. It's important to think about how a certain issues granted priority on the national agenda is the extent of the crisis that we see at sea, is it reflected accurately in the policies that are being taken, the strategies that are being adopted? is a particular issue overstated? by these policymakers or other understated is that not enough attention given to them? And so what are the obstacles behind this? How are all the the interests of the American Security actors taken into consideration as executive decisions are being made? And so at the end of the day, I think that you as journalists are as important as all the other actors participating in this very complex medley of preserving maritime security. And because of its fluidity, and it's all encompassing nature, maritime security is often seen as this high level ivory tower issue, right, maybe we don't have much relevance to it. But in actuality, maritime security has very much to do with you and with I. However, the narrative that we've been using so far in constructing this field has prevented us from closely engaging with this topic, primarily due to the heavy jargon that is often used, or the high level nature of the meetings and the arrangements that are often that we often see. And so what matters is to be able to deconstruct the jargon that we encounter, break that up, figure out the implication of each term that's being used. Look into the context of which the term is being used, and broaden the spotlight from shifted from all these high level meetings. And also think about the symbolism that these meetings have, for other interests, and for other issues taking place in maritime security. And I feel this way, we can get a very thoughtful and sharply framed observation that is impactful, not just for the policymakers, but also for the you know, average reader that interacts with your story. The main thing I think that we need to depart with is that the hook that you use that or that we use when trying to develop a piece on my writing, is to really recognize that maritime security, first and foremost, has to do with survival, the need to rely on the seas for our livelihood, for our economic gains for the protection of sovereignty. And by recognizing this beno human instinct, I think we'd be able to recognize that maritime security is so intimately tied to our future welfare, and therefore, that creates the obligation for us to better interact with this field. I'd say, don't be deterred with this ivory tower perception of maritime security, but use your empathy, use your compassion, to delve deep into the dynamics of maritime security, I think this way, we can keep the field relevant, and also hold more actors accountable for their activities at sea. So I hope this gives us some foundational pillars and a

framework on how we can interact with this field, especially as we head to as the domestic issues that our guest, because we'll be addressing, I want to thank you all for your attention. And it'd be really great to hear your perspectives on this particular framework that I've put forth. And if you've got any questions, let's do that before we reach our next session. Great. So we've got some questions in the chat, and here it says, You spoke about the way in which maritime security issues are affected by issues on land. How do social attitudes, ideas and ideologies as an example nationalism, or attitudes to gender affect maritime security? I think this is a really good question. And if you are in the crowd, you know, feel free to unmute your mic, I think it'd be really great to hear from you if you want to expand on this. Okay.

Muhammad Adib Faiz 33:22

I guess what I what I meant was you because you were talking about on matters will speak or you were talking about how it's an extension of an issue that takes place on land. So and we we tend to talk about issues in terms of events and things like that, but I'm talking about if you're thinking about the realm of ideas, then how does it How does an ideology, which is a mental conception affect what's taking place, then on in, in on a on a maritime level? Yeah.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 33:51

Yeah, thank you for that. I think it's, I think that's a brilliant question. And in fact, we're already seeing how this is being played out. In our region, I think Dr. Thanh would be able to expand more on how nationalism drives a certain angle towards a state's behavior at sea. But in terms of gender, I think a very good case in point is the angels of the sea, which is the is a term referred to a unique, special set of women Coast Guard forces that are known to be able to have deterred foreign vessels by just really using their speak their broadcast speaker and encouraging these vessels to leave the area. And this is known to be successful because the role of a woman is thought to engender maternal instincts that would want to deter man from pushing their vessels further into traditional territorial waters. And so I think by looking at gender this way, it's really interesting how it is actually shaped a particular form of deterrence whether or not this particular force is successful. would be another issue. But it has been known to apparently be able to deter all vessels have known to have left that area when this falls as an operation. So that is definitely a particular example of how attitudes to gender and how women are what role women play in maritime law enforcement can affect the state's behavior at sea. Do we have any other questions? Oh, cool. So we've got Harris Harris, if you want to speak, you can go ahead.

Dr.Hariz Mohd. 35:33

Dr. Hariz Mohd. here from Malaysiakini. I, okay. Just get it because you mentioned about, you know, media coverage is important on maritime security, but I think all these many times that when media reporting on maritime security, it always rely on the official version or the because because the media is not largely present, you know, at the time side, so what do you think of this, the thing that, you know, especially at this side of the world, and now we have a very, you know, well, the past situation between China and United States, and the thing that we need more Media Presence, you know, to, to do, you know, firsthand observation, rather than relying on on official versions of what's happening and things like that.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 36:38

I think that's a very good point. I think Andy, and I attended the Shangri La dialogue. And I do recall having a whole host of cameras and the whole media right behind me trying to capture the proceedings as they took place. So in some cases, I am aware that there is a media presence, but more often than not that they aren't. And this is definitely I think I get which needs to be addressed, I feel that more transparency needs to take place across the region. So we can better really understand the environment that we are operating in. By having said that, if we were to work with what we have now, I would encourage maybe the media to really look at the key words that are being used, and see where else they have appeared in official statements, and in what contexts, I think it's important to maybe also go a step further and talk to experts on the ground who are very intimately tied to this, not just the foreign policymakers, but what we call the think tankers or the track two. These are people who are very, very closely linked to the policy world, but they're also a bit more confident to, to actually share their analysis and their opinions as well. So thanks very much for that, that question. Okay, so without further ado, let's get our hands dirty, and let's look into the different thematic areas. We will first begin by hearing from Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto, who will be speaking on geopolitics and strategy in the South China Sea. Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto is an Indonesian presidential PhD scholar with the strategic and defence Studies Center at the Carl Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs at the Australian National University. Before joining ANU, he was an associate Research Fellow with the maritime security program at the S Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. And he was also a researcher with the Department of International Relations at the University of Indonesia. His research interests cover maritime security, Australia, Indonesia relations and Indonesia strategic policy. And he holds a Master of Science and Strategic Studies from rsis and the Bachelor of Social Science in international relations from the University of Indonesian. So I'm Andy over to you feel free to share us like

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 39:06

thank you Asyura. And thank you for the tour de force that you just did. I think it was very illuminating. And the way you lay out all the maritime security issues that we should cover and you move rightly pointed out that hard security issues are no less important than other issues. It's also interesting when we look at the survey that none of the participants say war or like risks are relevant to their countries. But I hope though, that my presentation will persuade you otherwise. Okay, so let me try to get this one. Can you see my slides now?

Dr.Asyura Salleh 40:08

Yeah, we can.

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 40:09

Yes. Okay. Thank you. For us. First of all, I would like to thank the Kini Academy for giving me the opportunity to present on this topic. In this presentation, I will explain the geostrategic dimension of maritime security in Southeast Asia. I have four guiding questions that will guide my presentation and our discussions later. First is why is strategy relevant to maritime security? How is it related to defense and military issues? What are the main defense and military issues in Southeast Asia's maritime security? And finally, why? And how should the media journalists keep pace with and report on

this defense and military issues? So, to answer the first question, that is the relevance of geo strategy to maritime security, we must first know what we are talking about. People like to use the word geostrategy, like a password or even a cool word. But what does it actually mean? So we have this professor, American professor Jakob Brachial, he defines just what he is simply the geographic direction of a country's foreign policy. It is where a state concentrates its efforts by projecting military power and diplomatic resources. How does your strategy too late to maritime security? Well, I just simply add, this military power and diplomatic resources are directed to secure a state's maritime domain. The South China Sea is a good example to illustrate why to certainty is relevant to maritime security. So in the South China, sea states are competing to use employ military and diplomatic resources to gain and maintain access and control of the sea. And any features during maritime access means right of sea and air passage through the area of the sea. For us control means sovereignty or ownership of the maritime area or insular features within that area. By understanding geo strategy, you will understand how countries utilize their military and diplomatic resources to access and control part of the oceans. They claim as this. When we look at this map, there is nothing that suggests competition is underway. The South China Sea only exists in different sets of blue. We give these different states, their peculiar meaning, political, diplomatic, legal, or otherwise, how much you want to access and control the sea. It's entirely up to you. But you can, you cannot have all the seats yourself, otherwise, you'll end up fighting other countries. That's why in the past 50 years or so, countries have agreed to regulate how much they can control the maritime domain, including through what we now call the United Nations Law of the Sea that came to being in 1982. But then you'll have this, for instance, some of you might already know what this is. China has its own interpretation of how much maritime area it can claim in the South China Sea. To put it bluntly, maritime security for China is the condition in which other countries have accepted whatever China thinks is its rightful ownership within this nine dash line. China's geo strategy is basically how China direct its military and non military resources to make other countries accept China's access and its control in the South China Sea. But China is not alone in trying to obtain control of the area. Some countries that border the South China Sea have their own political and legal interpretations of what constitutes their control some of these interpretations to overlap, which resulted in the red dash line on the map. These overlapping areas thus becomes a maritime security problem of its own. And countries develop their own geo strategies to secure what they regard as their maritime area of control. Sometimes, the geo strategies of this country Cola, which make tracks of conflicts federal rail. We now move to the second question, how is your strategy related to defense and military issues? Simply put, the easiest way you can defend what you can what you claim is to fortify. fortify it with your military units, you place combat aircraft and warships on patrol in and around your maritime domain to intimidate other countries from taking what you claim is yours. And this is a classic exercise of a concept in maritime strategy called sea control. As the name suggests, sea control is basically your ability to use the sea. Because you don't control the sea for the sake of controlling it. You want to use it for a medium of transportation, or to extract resources from it. But more importantly, sea control is also about your ability to deny other countries from using the seats. You want your access and control to the sea is exclusive to you only. So you try to exclude others by using coercion or intimidation. At the same time, you also don't want to start a war while denying others from using your part of the sea. This is where you apply what is called gray zone tactics. That is the use of non military units, postcards or fishing fleets to support what are essentially defense or military military purposes. At the same time, the South China Sea is not only the concern of the countries that bought it. As you can

see, the red and yellow lines on the map. The South China Sea is located along the world's major shipping routes. So the South China Sea becomes a stake not only for Southeast Asian countries and China, but also all other countries that use it for commercial or military purposes. So of course, when some countries try to control the South China Sea, it can curtail the freedom of the other countries that are also accessing it. One of those countries that challenges any exclusive control of South China Sea is the United States of America. America believes that some of the countries bordering the South China Sea, especially China control more area of the sea than what they are entitled to under international law. So the United States is acting like a global policeman in trying to curtail what it regards as China's, quote unquote, excessive maritime claims. The US is doing this through what it's called the freedom of navigation operations or foreign ops. For ops are basically movements or maneuvers of US Navy ships in parts of the South China Sea. Like in this picture, US warship passes through a circle that China has claimed as its own waters, as if the Express us defiance of China's exclusive control of the area. But at the same time, for notes are also controversial. Firstly, because the US itself has not ratified the UN Law of the Sea. So basically a policeman who doesn't agree to the letter of the law. Secondly, turnips are deliberately provocative. What if, in one of these operations, China decided to confront us warship head on by physical collision that will certainly result in overt escalation. Now, the third question, what are the main defense and military issues pertaining to Southeast Asia's maritime security. Thus far, I have used the South China Sea to exemplify the relevance of geo strategy to defense and military issues in Southeast Asia's maritime security contexts. But there are many other issues that can also have defense and military implications for Southeast Asian countries. We can distinguish these issues according to the main players or perpetrators, namely, non government and government perpetrators. Non Government perpetrators, for instance, are mainly responsible for illegal fishing or maritime poaching. But the two distinction can also blur. As I explained, preys on tactics, can utilize illegal fishing to support the government's ability to control a given maritime area, which is essentially a military objective. Just to illustrate my point earlier, one important issue that recently came up is the new military partnership. Not Alliance, but partnership between Australia, Britain and America co Packers. When they announced arcus last month, their leaders didn't even mention a single word of China. Auto auto, nearly everyone understand that Agus is targeted at China itself. What makes orcas highly controversial is that is the decision by America to equip Australia with eight nuclear submarines to be armed with long range land attack cruise missiles. I will show you the illustration later. Some Southeast Asian countries, boys this contact concerns at this initiative. They fear that arming Australia with nuclear submarines will only accelerate arms race in the region and further raise the risk of what is called nuclear proliferation. That is the transfer of nuclear weapons to those countries that have yet to possess them. Now, as journalists, you can take up and report on this issue in several critical ways. The trend that I can see from reporting in Southeast Asia and the reception of workers is that they criticize office itself, especially the path on arms race, and nuclear proliferation, you can emphasize what the Malaysian and Indonesian governments are saying, as shown on the screen. Um, stress, tension, aggression. So all in all, all this is basically counter productive, the security and stability of Southeast Asia. However, there are other ways to critically report the story. By scrutinizing the details of the arguments that both the proponents and critics of orcas are trying to promote. I can cite three examples. First, you can question the basis of arms race is orcas, the cause of regional arms race, or is orcas is only a symptom of an arms of an arms race that is already underway. Secondly, you can try to discover the Australian motivations in acquiring nuclear submarines and long range strike missiles. We

know that China is behind orcas is behind the trigger for office. But why does Australia specifically need nuclear submarines and long range missiles to counter China? That example, you can explore the risk of nuclear proliferation and ask whether by acquiring these submarines, will Australia develop nuclear weapons of its own? I'll tackle these questions in our next and final question. So now, why and how should the media report on defense and military issues concerning Southeast Asian maritime security? It's simply because defense and military issues are often related with political agenda to masquerade national geo strategies as journalists, your job and in fact, your social responsibility is to reveal government's intentions behind their statements, plan their public statements and policies. So back to our office example. As I explained before, we have three examples to seclude scrutinize further, the arguments that proponents and critics of office have said. The first example is whether OPERS is the cause, or only the symptom of original arms race. For those of you who are not familiar with an arms race is an arms an arms race is basically the competition between two or more countries that acquire weapons in response to one another's acquisitions. The acquisition of submarines for example, according to 2010, estimates, so 11 years ago, China will have at submarine boats, you refer to submarines in reporting it's not vessels or ships. No matter how large they are, they are both boats 18 Boats by 2025. In fact, this is the largest increase among all the countries on the map. So it begs the question, does orcas trigger an arms race? Or is it China's geo strategy that actually sparked Australia, Britain and America to initiate occurs in the first place? This brings us to the second way of reporting on orcas. How can we discover Australia's motivations in joining orcas and acquiring nuclear submarines. More specifically, why did Australia to submarines, but not other types of weapons when announcing orcas you could argue, for example, that Australia had agreed on submarine deal with France in 2016. But the project was only troubled by coast of France and lengthy delays. So, authors provided Australia with a convenient escape from its troubled submarine deal with France. Finally, there is the argument that Australia can manufacture nuclear weapons once it received nuclear powered submarines from America or Britain, you could argue nuclear submarines. nuclear powered submarines are what military analysts call as SSN as you can see on the screen. assassins are vastly different in shape and form from nuclear armed ballistic missile submarines or ssbn. The top type of submarine as you can see on the slide, it's simply impossible to convert SSN, for instance, the Los Angeles ca plus into the Ohio plus ssvf because they are totally two different beasts altogether made for different purposes. How about the alternative time, since Australia is not just going to acquire nuclear submarines but also Tomahawk cruise missiles long range land attack cruise missiles? Can Australia replaced the warhead? The warhead is the white at the front of the missile with nuclear payload? The answer is yes, Australia can do that. But that still doesn't explain why Australia needs nuclear submarines. Nuclear tomahawks can be carried on regular warships, even conventional submarines and fighter aircraft. Australia doesn't need nuclear submarines just to carry tomahawks. Besides nuclear tomahawks are no longer in service with the US Navy who are going to provide and supervise nuclear submarines for Australia. All nuclear weapons at sea nowadays are carried by ballistic missiles. In other words, ssbn not the kind of SSN that Australia is going to acquire. To conclude, we have covered the four questions as follows. First, geo strategy is relevant to maritime security, because it professed for provides us with insights into a state's policies to gain access and control of the maritime domain. Second, geo strategy also explains the defense and military focus in maritime security, such as why countries militarize and fortify their maritime claims. Thirdly, defense and military issues can concern government and non government actors alike, but the two can easily blur. For instance, illegal fishing in the South China Sea, which are

carried out by fishermen, but it serves Chinese government's purpose of enforcing control of the claim. Finally, your knowledge of choice strategy can add depth to your reporting of defense and military issues such as orcas. Have some coffee shops. However, when you report on military and defense issues on maritime security, firstly, I beg you not to consult the global fire power index for military statistics. Because global firepower index is not authoritative and untraceable. As to its sources. It's like the Wikipedia for military analysts get your data instead from the International Institute for Strategic Studies, or double I double s, or the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Or simply, you can google them and they have authorities data with clear sources as to where they get their statistic from. Secondly, be mindful of military jargons and lexicons that can deceive you, such as the difference between nuclear power and nuclear submarines. One can ask, for instance, whether nuclear propulsion that is nuclear power for a war machine, like a submarine constitutes peaceful usage of nuclear energy. Finally, when listening to government, defense and strategic policy, announcements and statements, make sure you're not only read between the lines, but also listen to other people listen to the silence. Sometimes, words are deliberately unspoken off to convey a special meaning. For example, Indonesia's the Indonesian government's official response to arcus only addresses the issue of Australian nuclear submarines. But the word office itself is absent in the official statement, so you need to ask, Is there a hidden meaning in the fact that the word occurs is left unsaid, unsaid in the official statement of Indonesia? Thank you.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 1:02:18

Thanks very much, Andy, I thought that was really, really helpful. And really breaking down the importance of geo strategy to the region, you highlighted several strategies that you could use to gain access and control to the seas around us, like FONOPS, freedom of navigation operations, and also based on tactics, then you really help I think, as break down the how we can logically question what we see out the, you know, look at underlying assumptions, and really hold this up for questioning. You need to assess the motivations, the driving trends behind these strategies that we see and even foreign policy considerations. So we've got a few minutes before we hit our break time. And let's see what kind of questions we have. the meantime, I'd like to encourage everyone to share your thoughts, ask any questions, put them in the chat, and then we'll be sure to address them. So Andi, you talked about jargon, lexicons and reading between the lines? How do changes in terminology and reporting affect how we can perceive maritime security, that particular set of terms that governments love using over others?

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 1:03:39

Yes. I would like to cite the example that I repeated in my presentation. When the three governments Australia, Britain and America launch orcas, they kept insisting that the submarines are nuclear power, nuclear power, nuclear power, and not nuclear up, you know, there is no way Australia will acquire nuclear. Um, so it's basically saying that, yes, submarines are a weapon, but at the same time, they are a weapon for peaceful purposes, for defensive purposes. We are not changing. It's not a game changer in the area. You know, other countries have also acquired nuclear powered submarines, so, so is Australia. So it's a way of trying to preem opposition from potential potential opposition from regional countries and to gain acceptance of Australia's legitimate intention to acquire nuclear powered submarines. Another example, is the way America promotes freedom of navigation. They use the term

freedom itself connotes that it is what everybody wants. You know, you want have access to the South China Sea, which is important for international global shipping routes. So you should support us, because it's we are defending freedom, we are maintaining freedom of access through this area and anyone that any country that wants to impose exclusive control of the area should be opposed should you should join us Americans, Americans to oppose any attempts to make control of the sea exclusive. Yeah, so there's a lot of political packaging that comes into maritime security initiatives when they as they relate to military issues.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 1:05:48

Thank you for that. I think it's important how you like how you ended your point on the way a particular strategy is packaged and framed with the right words.

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 1:05:57

Yeah, and I think it's also important for this is where the critical role of journalists are, is try to unpack the hidden meaning of what it's at, or what is said, and what is left unsaid in all these statements, because, you know, military defense issues, in maritime security, especially they are laden with a lot of political agendas, as I said, with political with vested political interests. So it is imperative for journalists to unpack them, and for the public to know, what's the real intention behind behind these statements and policies?

Dr.Asyura Salleh 1:06:31

Definitely. We've got another question from Hariz, from Malaysiakini, where, you know, orcas is a symptom of an arms race that has already started. And can you give more examples of other symptoms, which may be media should be looking out for how about ASEAN countries? So we're looking for indicators, Andi have a potential arms race or response to it?

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 1:07:03

Yeah. Yeah, as I explained in the presentation, one indicator, I mean, it's the theoretical explanation for an arms race is very strict. You know, there should be an action reaction cycle between two or more countries, there is a specific identification of who your enemy is, and what kind of weapon your enemy is acquiring. And, you know, you are responding to that. clear example of this is, of course, between America and Russia during the Cold War, when they are trying to out what to call it out match one another in their weapon systems, America is buying missiles, buying combat planes for us. And at the same time, Soviet Union also is also trying to catch up in trying to developing maybe not the number but also but more importantly, a more advanced type of combat aircraft than America. So that's happening but arms races also can also be asymmetrical. You don't have to two countries that have to compete with the same weapon systems, you can compete on the basis of countermeasures countermeasure to a weapon. So for so for instance, when America so America has a lead edge as a leading edge in the number, and sophistication of aircraft carriers, China is also trying to catch up with aircraft carriers, but not to the same extent, but at the same time, China is developing anti aircraft carrier weapons. So basically missiles, hypersonic missiles that can target. And again, that can hit American aircraft carriers when this warships are crossing into Chinese coastlines. So these things are happening. But, again, this all this reflects our respective national geo strategies of countries. You

know, this is how this is how countries trying to protect what they think is the legitimate idea of the maritime domain. For America, the legitimate idea is mental access. You know, whatever China is doing in the tough, Tennessee is illegitimate. China is opposed to it, on the other hand, is to the contrary, China wants to preserve its control. It wants to regulate who is coming and going through the portion of the sea that it claims as its as its own, so yeah, so I guess, as us as journalists, and I think the media it's very important to cover both sides. What, what the two sides are trying to claim as a platform Best International two strategies and how its natural strategies are implemented in defense and military military terms.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 1:10:09

Thank you so much, Andi. I think this has been a really good starting for us, primarily because Andi, I think you highlighted the importance of us to really need to keep a lookout on how certain strategies or policies are framed, and how it's being tied up in its political package. You have cautioned the journalists to look out for what is said, and what is left unsaid as well. Because policymakers have a tendency to carefully construct their words, their sentences, and to apply a very conscious use of particular terms. You mentioned freedom, for example, you mentioned nuclear power, for example. So it's our role to try and figure out what the hidden meaning is behind this specific usage of these terms. In terms of really looking out for a future trend of geo strategy, you indicated that in addition to looking at emerging strategic arrangements, such as orcas, we should also look at procurement patterns. How are the assets the current assets that these states have, and the future procurement plans of these states, our that determine geo strategy, geo strategy in the future, and also the types of foreign and defense policies that will be used by these competing states. But at the end of the day, I think you alluded that the base motivation for all competing parties will remain the same. Despite the shifting in trends, the type of weapons and assets that we be go out to purchase. And this is something that journalists will always need to go out and look for and constantly establish and re establish what these motivations are, how our current procurement patterns reflecting them, and what can we expect in the near future. So thank you very much for that, Andi. That's been really, really great. And you've brought us straight to the break time for our for that 10 minute breather for a toilet break or for some fresh air. So let's touch base again in 10 minutes, and we will hear the legal dimension of maritime security in this region. So thank you, everyone. Welcome everyone, welcome back I hope you all had a good break managed to stretch your legs out and grab that cup of coffee. We will continue with our master class you will hear from next we will hear from Dr. Ahmad Almaududy Amri, who will be speaking to us on the legal aspects of maritime security. I saw in the poll that actually on a scale of one to five, there was a majority that actually ranked three. So indicating that you have quite an existing moderate understanding of the legal nature of maritime security. That's great because I certainly don't so I'm very much looking forward to hearing from Dr.Ahmad. So Dr. Ahmad Almaududy Amri (Dudy) is a diplomat from Indonesia. He works at the research and policy planning agency at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. In 2010, he had successfully passed the highly competitive Junior foreign service costs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he was the youngest in his batch that's really quite impressive. Dudy, he was. Excuse me, Dudy. He was also formerly a junior advocate at the MR&P law firm in Jakarta. He's a lawyer by training having finished his bachelor of law from the University of North Sumatra In Indonesia, and he also holds two master's degrees, a Master of Laws degree from Gajah Mada University, which he finished in 2010. And a master's in international relations from the

University of Indonesia, which he finished a year later. Dudy also holds the distinction of being the youngest graduate in both master's degrees. Very cool. So in 2012, we also received an Australian Leadership Award scholarship from Ausaid. And he was an intern at the Embassy of Indonesia in Canberra, Australia for quite a while, I think a year or so. Dude, he also finished the diplomatic short course for junior diplomats at Clingendael Institute at The Hague, and in the Netherlands. So over to you duty, we're really, really excited to hear what you have to say. And in the meantime, everyone, please make active use of the chat box, it'd be really, really great to hear your thoughts over to you.

Dr. Ahmad Almaududy Amri 1:25:53

Thank you so much, Dr. Asyura, for the kind introduction. And first of all, I would like to start by thanking kini academy for this invitation that's extended to me also, to share my thoughts and views regarding maritime security challenges in Southeast Asia. Of course, this is the topic that's being part of my PhD thesis as well. It was done in 2016 in Australia, and I will share my PowerPoint. Yeah, there it is. So thank you also Dr. Asyura and also Andy for laying out the basis of the discussion. And we have heard how the maritime security in Southeast Asia is actually really important, and how does the inner complexity of the region, makes it more more more interesting for us to discuss about and I will try to see from a different angle regarding this topic, which is a legal aspect of it, and we will see that there are different elements that we will be discussing today. So the outline for today's presentation, the first one, I will talk about the complexity of the Southeast Asian, Southeast Asia region, how the maritime complexity is actually there. It can also exist in Southeast Asia, and then how actually, maritime security is defined, another, the definition how it is legally defined, when did it start, when did it started being used in international documents and so forth. And then, of course, we move forward to the maritime security challenges, the traditional versus non traditional. So this also very interesting thing that we need to know it's not merely piracy, not merely fishing, but also it could also involve states in the in resolving problems of this maritime security. And also, I will touch upon the South China Sea dispute, I understand that the next speaker will also touch upon this, and also how Vietnam will view on the South China Sea. But my presentation regarding China Sea, we will focus on the legal aspect of it. Also, we'll we'll also touch upon Indonesian position regarding South China Sea dispute. And after that, we will see how ASEAN is actually reacting towards this maritime security problems, what are the frameworks, what are the cooperations being developed in this organization? And also, lastly, way forward. So complexity of the Southeast Asia region. First of all, it's very easy to see you know, the huge water area in this region makes it very complex. And there are a lot of major ceilings for international navigations. We can see there is a Malacca Strait, also Lombok Strait, and also similar streets, which are very important for trade. And then it's also the South China, sorry, the Southeast Asia region is also very important in terms of geopolitics and your strategic and you already mentioned how important it is, in terms of geostrategic in geopolitics. It's very important, as you know, that there are different countries who wants to have influence in the region. Not only China before also mentioned that they us also wants to be there UK, Australia, because it's very important because the trade route is is transverse in Southeast Asia and it flies between Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean and you can see between us, Asia and also Australia. So it makes it very important and every state in Southeast Asia except of course has access to the sea. So, you know, but even Laos itself also has interest also to the sea in Southeast Asia because you know, when you are in connection to the sea, then you will do activities along with long with it so, so this is very important for countries in the area. And we can see that there are two

largest archipelagic state there is Indonesia and also there is Philippines in the area and major ports also here port of Singapore port Klang, and also Tanjung Periuk. And thus, we can conclude that email too see has been used as a medium for exchange of goods, also actions of news and also ideas. So, maybe for you journalists, this could be the basis why actually the the complexity of the region makes it important for us to discuss about maritime security issues. And then maritime security definitions, you know, different scholars has their different approach to define what is maritime security. But to be frank, there is no precise definition for maritime security and there is no global recognized definition. So it keeps on changing. It is based on the interest based on politics. And also based on respective background of this college subjective beggars of the government, let's say to how they want to shake the definition of this maritime security as terminology, and UNCLOS, the United Nation convention on Law of the Sea itself does not define what is maritime security all about. But it does regulate several maritime security challenges or threats. And that's it is easier for us to make a distinction between maritime security challenges in traditional terms, and also non traditional terms. If we want to see dig down in the UN process, we can see from the ICT or the informal consultative process on ocean and Law of the Sea. In this process, which started in 2000, there is a report of the Secretary General on oceans and the Law of the Sea. But the start of this process does not mention anything about maritime security, what what they mentioned is only about maritime safety. But then in 2002, this is the first time the kick starter where the terminology maritime security was being referenced in the document. And of course, maritime safety is still there with along with maritime security. And in the 2020 ICP report, it mentioned about piracy and armed robbery, which are threats to maritime security. So forum. So for you journalists who wants to make reference about when maritime security definition actually is first started in the United Nation process, we can refer to this document ICP in 2002. And then we can also look at the UN Secretary General's report on ocean and Law of the Sea in 2008. To know what are the elements of the maritime security so maybe broadly. Okay, you have mentioned we have mentioned, the UN have mentioned about maritime security. But what is maritime security all about? This report does not actually, this is not like an exhaustive list of what is maritime security. But this is one of the references that being referred to in 2008. UN Secretary General mentioned all these elements, which may constitute maritime security. So as we can see, the first is piracy and armed robbery again shapes and then second, you can see terrorist acts love involving shipping and offshore installation and other maritime interests, illicit trafficking, arms and weapons of mass destruction, illicit trafficking, narcotics, drugs and substances. Smuggling and trafficking of persons may see illegal unreported and unregulated fishing as we know this is the IU fishing and then in international unlawful damage to the marine environment. And then we can see the differences between traditional and non traditional challenges to maritime security. Traditional is quite simple when spin is the main actor and I think this is the international international relations partner, which kicks in state as an actor. So it's traditional. But more than that, tracks which increase the likelihood of confrontation between the naval forces of the state so when when you have when your act makes a confrontation, it will never process or, or between two states and law enforcement agencies, then that could be considered as a punishing threat. But what are the non traditional tracks are there are many, most of those are already mentioned by the UN Secretary General's report. So some of those are piracy and armed robbery against shipped illegal unreported, fishing, smuggling and trafficking of persons may see illicit trafficking in arms and weapons of mass destruction, etc. And for the purpose of this, of this session, I will only explain two of these non traditional tracks there is piracy and also robbery, piracy and armed robbery against ships and fishing.

So moving on to the traditional maritime security assertive actions in defense of sovereignty claims over disputed offshore islands or in defense of disputed maritime boundaries, because of the area is quite unique a lot of choke points and to draw maritime boundary they call it maritime delimitation is quite hard. For Indonesia alone, we have around 10 maritime boundaries with neighboring states. So it takes a while for us to finish this type of agreement because it's a matter of sovereignty and of course, this is once you agree it will apply forever. So and once you have that line, then only you know where you can exercise your law enforcement and where you can actually explain and or explore the living resources that lies within does it it's not very easy. I will also discuss about the South China Sea dispute later on where you know, actually the the main problems of sovereignty claims dispute offshore islands maritime boundaries lies and then incidents at sea between the naval power power or states and they think that they believe that under uncross they can conduct let's say surveys or military activities in the ease and sometimes different definitions from different countries understanding what the articles of unclose is some understands that he said is allowed for military to do their activity for the trainings, while other things that it should be done in the high seas not the easy ones. So, this misunderstanding or miscommunication can also exert can also start as a starting point for you know conflict. And then as mentioned before, number of unsettled territorial claims and maritime boundaries, particularly by particularly territorial sea contiguous zone is at continental shelf. So we will understand how a state claims over a territory so it's called the territory territorial entitlement. Well, once you can own that island or let's say a rock or another features of maritime features, you will have the maritime rights on top of that, which is called also the maritime zone. So, so it is a very complex when you have territorial sea adjacent to other countries and then or you might have either other countries then how you can explore those or maybe the continental shelf you know the the seabed how you want to delaminate with your counterpart, then it takes time and also sometimes people understand it differently. So, so it may take 10 to 20 years just to finish like one segment of the boundary. So unless these boundaries are settled by agreement, difficulties and violations are bound to happen. And you know, managing the American resources and security would be a problem. So I will start with the first non traditional American Security, which is piracy. And cost provision in Article 101 is very clear. An act will be considered as piracy, if it checklists, these five elements. First, there are two ships involved. And then there is an illegal act of violence, detention, deprivation. And it has to be done for private ends because if it's done for political ends, it will be redeemed for terrorism. But if this is for private instead it's for for piracy. And then Shouldn't be conducted on the high seas. And then there are different discussion where the high seas also include is it or not. So it's it's a discussion for another time but those are one of those discussion, legal discussion that's being discussed by experts and also it has to be done by a private ship. And article 100 of one clause mentioned that all states to meet to cooperate to the fullest possible extent in the repression of piracy so this is already being a principle of unplug that in terms of repression of piracy, all countries has to cooperate and people sometimes misunderstand between piracy and armed robbery This is a very common misunderstanding but but it's actually quite easy. piracy is conducted in high seas but some people also thinks that he is it is a high sea but that's that's that's a different discussion but I'm robbery is very clear it is conducted in territorial sea and some also says that it is and because High Seas is outside employment exclusive zone. International American bureau Miami's agreement IMO categorizes illegal acts conducted internal waters archipelagic waters and territorial seas so it's it's there it'll say in word as armed robbery. So, how does this problem is actually a concern in the area because as we as we mentioned before that Sealand in

Southeast Asia is one of the busiest in the world and huge number of ships transfers in this region important route for world trade. So pirates and on progress are very interested on this an existing overlapping maritime claims maritime border devastations are needed because over overlapping time frames create problems on which law enforcement should do where and when you know because it is a problem because if you know that the line and you know the boundary then you know that you have to you can implement your law but when you play on something but other state also claims on the same it's not only that you maybe enforce the law but your neighbor can say that you are against the law because it's in our territory this these problems also also discussed in this area and several institutions publishes report on on piracy we can see the IMO IMB and also recap have reports regarding this manner. So, the first one if you want to see you can see this also you can put this references in your in your reports so from IMB you can see that they have reports annually but also sometimes they have reports I think in every three months so you can see that the type of reports they do so this is how they put it on the map where are the places is it attempted attack or it is boarded fire upon hijack or suspicious vessels that would all these different points in different areas and we can see that Southeast Asia is one of those areas where you know we have a lot of points and then we can also see more to the region so total attacks in Indian subcontinent and total attacks in East and Southeast Asia 66 in this period so you can see where it is that and if you read the report it's more detail is it only boarded or actually armed robbery actually completed and so on so forth. So so the reports are quite clear. And then you can also check from this document recap. They have the annual report as well. And yeah, you can see from 2007 to 2020 and you can see whether it's piracies was conducted or am properties conducted. So you can see the percentage because piracy has to be conducted in high seas and armed robberies actually territorial sea and inward so most of the activities are actually armed robbery. But in terms of legal definition is the same the acts the illegal act is the same but only where it is conducted only it makes the distinction between the two. And now we move forward to IU fishing I will touch on this matter quickly. So IU fishing is actually a practice in which fishing vessel ignore fisheries regulation in the territorial sea, or in the EZ or in the high seas or in areas where within regional fisheries management organization or FMO. So if a regional Decision already regulates matters related to fisheries so we have to follow and then if fishing also refers to illegal acts including fishing without permits, catching prohibited species using the illegal fishing gear and then catching more than the permitted water and also not not reporting or under reporting the number of fish con so this is the general definition of what IU fishing so so you can get the general idea about it. And then why this is a problem because it creates it threatens food security in the world. And so if you want to go into details, what is illegal, what is unreported and what is unregulated we can see these definitions from IP or a document so you can see that illegal is without the permission of the state and it's it's against the law of that state and reported that you know, the fishing activity is not being reported or mis reported and also against the law of state unregulated is that you are not a party during variation. And then you do fishing activity which is against the conservation and management measures. So if you want to go on this into detail, you can reference the IPOA IUU view so that's the document where we get all these details. And then so what what is are you fishing in Southeast Asia so as you know why this is a concern because major fishing producing countries are of course they are in Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Myanmar, Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, and then fishery sector mexic nificant contribution to the livelihood and also food security and for many people in Southeast Asia people make money from from this so it's a concern of course in terms of economic and also security concerns. And when you're fishing in this

region also links to other forms of crimes such as piracy, human trafficking and smuggling. So, there is a terminology which is called as crimes in fisheries sector, but also there is a terminology or legal terminology which says related crimes to fisheries activity. So, so, there is a crime in the fish fishery sector, but also there are crimes which are related to the future fisheries activity. So, so, those terminologies are being developed by different countries including Norway, which is exploring the possibility of having the technology called the fisheries crime. And then, so, again, this is a problem in Southeast Asia because there are a lot of unresolved boundaries and limitations between these countries are required, so that we can resolve this problem easier. And of course, n plus 1980 to have different articles regulating this matter, we can see that of course, establishes principles that apply to easier than high seas, stressing the importance of fair efficient and use and conservation of living resources. Also conservative actions you can see from article 62 or 64. And also uncross also emphasizing the obligation of state to cooperate in consecration and also management of living resources. And if you want to reference documents on fishing, you can check also un fish stock agreement, international plan of action to prevent the third element IE fishing that I mentioned before the IP or a IUU. Now we go to the heart issue the South China Sea dispute and of course, the next speaker also will touch upon this but I will patch.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 1:48:56

you have 10 minutes left Yeah, okay

Dr. Ahmad Almaududy Amri 1:48:59

So, so, basically, I will I will I will touch upon the legal aspect of this. So, as we know that this is mainly between also we have to know that there is a group of said called as crime and state and other states which are called non prime. So, basically the Prime Minister they are claiming over two main islands that is Spratly and paracel Islands. And then it also not involved the claiming state those claiming territory entitlements which means that the small small islands which lays in this area, they claim the the ownership of the islands but but also they are people from outside the region countries from outside the region based on their national interest they want to they want to be involved there. And then as we know that South Tennessee is believed to be rich in natural resources. So, many other states like mentioned before, they they conduct for Knox. Just to make sure that by law, all states enjoy freedom of navigation, including the South China Sea, and Indonesia also have the same view that we don't have any claim to the features. But but we have maritime rights arising from the archipelagic island of Indonesia, but those are only bordering with Malaysia and Vietnam. So, so that's clear for for Indonesian position. So, we to to understand the conflict of South China Sea, I think we can see it from the anatomy of the conflict, there are three main different points if you want to see the different point of view. The first one is the territorial entitlements, which means countries claiming over territory, so those countries who are claiming our territory they are called claimants and they try to have their claim over the islands in Spratly and also in paracels. The second one is maritime rights for delimitation. So, after you know the owners of these islands, then only you can draw the maritime rights are limitations because you know, whether this maritime feature is a rock maritime feature is an island or this maritime feature is re then only you know, whether they are entitled to half nautical mile or they are entitled to 100 nautical mile and so on and so forth. So, this is the legal consequences of after you know, the the features of this maritime feature in the area and after that the third one is regional stability. Of course,

we can see that there is our course now, there is for now, there is a nine dash line. So, I think most of the Asean countries understand the distinction between these three, so okay you have the territorial government settlements and also after that if you know you are the owner then you know how to draw the maritime zone then only there is the other problem is the regional stability where other countries also have interest in this, but Chinese approach is tried to mix the three so, you know the other other not only Southeast Asian countries, but also other countries sometimes get confused, whether this is actually the maritime boundary problem or actually the maritime entitlement problems and also then then they try to put together or this is regional stability us coming inside doing a foreigner which is actually based on us explanation This is based on unclose. So, so, when when you mix the three of the problem that you get confused, but actually in legal terms is very very easy to see there is there is someone claiming over the territory and after you know who is the owner you can draw the line and after that, of course, regional stability is based based on people having interest just applying and crossing the area. So, I won't go through again because of the time limit, but at least just to show the value that territory and attendance is actually international law discussions because you know, how you can settle the ownership of the islands it could be done by bilateral so two countries agree Okay, that's yours that's mine it was that I think between this is rare, but it was done between Sri Lanka and India before I think to settle an island you know, who belongs to whom and but usually this is sent to the third party. So the court and then they will they will explain they have their their jurisdiction operate and they will tell who which Island belongs to whom. And then so, this is if you want to see in south south south Tennessee there are different claims and you know, this is not our to show that these are claimed by the end by these different countries. So that's how they they claim over the ownership. So now maritime writing delimitation This is merely based on unclose. So once you know the owners and plus gives provision on how to draw the lines, but now the problem is different countries claiming different areas which belongs to them and they do the so called unilateral claims of states. So each country have their own unilateral claims, but this is still okay as long as they are based on unclose. But now we are faced with a problem there is there is a country which have a claim called the nine dash line based on historical rights. Now how can you claim on something that you are not you don't have a legal basis to it international legal basis and like China, they are also part of the one clause then they know how to draw based on on cross provision. So this also international law discussion and and could be explored further and this is how it looks after you know the the owners Now you know how to draw this on uncrossed This is how it looks, it's very messy. And then regional stability, of course in the area, we have declaration of conduct code of conduct, this is this is this is what we develop to make sure that there is, you know, a good relation between one another treaty of Amity and cooperation and then also this is an international relations negotiations. So, I think I will touch upon this maybe later on question and answer this also very important and Baroque very interesting. And then, I will touch a little bit on this one arbitral tribunal. 2016. So, automatic tribunal is actually Philippines bringing China to the PCA to the arbitral tribunal to ask several questions regarding the claim in South South China Sea. So, the award of the street journal is very clear now, and then it makes it makes his life easier for many ASEAN states one, that nine dash line is not in line with amplus. So it's illegal. And then none of the feature in South China Sea is entitled entitled 200 nautical mile, which means that none of the features in the South China Sea is considered as Island only rocks or reefs, and so on so forth, they have only 212 nautical miles maximum. So So overlapping is not, you know, as complex as we thought. And of course, arbitration is not meant to resolve the territorial entitlement. They just tried to explain the

question being asked by Philippines to them. So this is what they're what they have. But unfortunately, China, on the other hand, they think the arbitration is what is null and void. So So the thing that it's it's not applicable, but in accordance with unclashed, it is applicable and this is a source of international law. So if you see before the award, you can see that the complexity of the maritime zones, but now after the award is very clear, it's only 200 is only 12 nautical miles, no 200 nautical miles. So you know, it's very easy also, for those claiming the different features in the area with one be very mixed up, as we talked before. I think I will touch this maybe later on. Let's move on to the ASEAN Yeah, very shortly. So as we know that ASEAN is this is an organization in the region, founded in 1967. And the main aim is to have to promote regional peace and stability, justice and rule of law adherence to the principle of the United Nations. And of course, in terms of maritime security, there are different laws that are already there in place, there are soft laws, and also have laws. As you can see ASEAN political security Community Blueprint, one of those suppliers, but also we also have heart laws, such as us and Convention against trafficking in person. So these are the references that we can look at, on different levels, stop low and also happy. And then what are the frameworks in our sand regarding maritime security, the first one is the MS ASEAN maritime forum, founded in 2010, this is used as a forum for dialogue from thing and also developing common understanding, confidence building measures to and also preventive diplomacy. And the main aim is to address maritime concerns such as human trafficking smuggling of migrants, are you fishing, illegal logging, maritime environment, piracy and armed robbery. And other framework is the A RF, this is more external, outward. So this is a 1993. And also there are I think, 17 partnering countries, so in total is 27. So the objective is simple to foster constructive dialogue, political and security issues, conferencing, confidence building, and also preventive diplomacy. And there are different statements being raised during these meetings. And also, there is also like, in the National intersessional, meeting on maritime security, and so on, so forth. So to conclude, I think the first thing that we can mention is that there are a lot of efforts that are being made, and also in place to address the threats of maritime security. And so we just need to use this efforts and develop forward, maybe we can have more concrete steps in terms of more harm loss, or it could be binding and applicable. And then, as we can see that ASEAN is maritime security cooperation, mainly is on operational terms. So it's more information sharing, confidence building and also capacity building. So what we need to do is to move forward and strengthen the legal frameworks, those countries that haven't ratified some of the conventions needed To do so, and also they need to have the implementing legislation at the national level so that it could be applicable. And then the prospect of promoting American security in Southeast Asia is based on common confronting interest, of course, defending stability and also national unity. And moving forward also, ASEAN needs to retain its central role, because it needs to be the heart of the, you know, as a problem solving in the in the area. And we need to also ensure that maritime security do not get jeopardized with sensitive issues such as South China Sea, as mentioned before. And we need to also focus again on confidence capability, capability, building information sharing, and also exchange of practices. I think those are my, those are the things that I can share today. I think maybe we'll develop more, especially on South Genesee issues in discussion. I know, the time after me also will will also share his views on that. I think we will have a very fruitful discussion today. I give back the floor to you. Moderator rockcrusher. Thank you.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 2:01:08

Thank you, Judy, thanks so much for that really comprehensive presentation. I particularly like how you began with defining maritime security, and then really discovering that there really is no definition of maritime security, which I think adds a lot to our confusion and trying to really come to terms in managing and you know, addressing this field, I think what really helped was you didn't just look at the definition or the lack of weather, you looked into the different context of how maritime security has evolved in terms of its usage. You know, this is in the ICP and the UN SG statement, I think it's also important that you create that a sharp distinction in the legal definition of piracy and armed robbery. How armed robbery does not take place in high seas. But piracy does. I think that's something that is definitely food for thought as we move forward. Also, particularly how I heard about it, some measuring centers like we are finding it, there's a lot of confusion in the methodology used between recap or ifco, I am being really trying to count the incidence of what is considered as far as what is considered this arm for free. So your thoughts on that would be would be really cool. But he also looked into how illegal fishing should be defined and legally illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing. The three different categories actually do refer to different types of activities. So it's really important to highlight this. But I think the main most important or interesting bit of your presentation was when you highlighted the three different the Trump the tripartite elements rather, in the South China Sea resolution, territorial rights, maritime rights and regional stability. And really, if everybody just abided by unclogged, this would be an easy fix. Because it unclosed does really set out pure legal terms. But then yet again, you threw a spanner in the works, but saying that's what unclosed tried to do with the arbitral tribunal in 2016. And we could have had a much more clearly delimited South China Sea but I guess that wasn't adopted. So maybe, perhaps either after this or in the question and answer session, we could look into what were the obstacles behind the arbitral tribunal. But yeah, then you ended with us yen as perhaps the the solution to all this right. You know, if we really uphold ASEAN and its central role, particularly its ongoing processes, like the Ascend wrightson forum and the ASEAN Regional Forum, perhaps we can really enhance our capacity building our information sharing, and even confidence building. Last but not least, I think my main takeaway is that we need to strengthen our legal framework or interpretation, and also our implementation of international law that really dominates and runs the way we should operate at sea. So thank you very much for that Dr. doody that was really, really helpful. Um, we are tight on time, but I would strongly recommend our participants to please keep the questions coming in in the chat box, because we do have time at the end to bring all our three speakers in and then we can have a question and answer session. And I think this would be a lot more interesting because then we can have an engaging conversation across all three. But without further ado, Let's now move on to our last session, which will be Vietnam's position in the South China Sea. So very, very glad to be able to welcome Dr. dotun Hi, who currently serves as Minister counselor and Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy of Vietnam in India, and is also a non resident fellow at the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam. He was previously a senior fellow and Assistant Director General at the ISI Institute at the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam. He obtained his doctorate from the Australian National University and his master's degree from Erasmus Mundus Global Studies program. He has published in the Pacific review the Journal of contemporary East Asia studies East Asia policy, the SN forum, CSIS packnet, the Journal of International review da V and many other news outlets. He is the author of the book as well titled Vietnam and the South China Sea politics, security and legality which was published by Routledge in 2017. And his latest books were both co edited with Professor Leszek Brzezinski and this would be the South China Sea from regional maritime dispute to geostrategic competition. This was published in

2019, by Routledge, and also maritime issues and regional order in Indo Pacific, published by Palgrave Macmillan, in 2021. That's the series of congratulations on the release of the co-authored book. So without further ado, please, Dr. Dr. Doe, please, the floor is yours.

Do Thanh Hai 2:06:00

Thank you doctors, as Sue Sally, for the very kind, generous introductions. And also thank the kidney Academy to inviting me, too. I have discussions with the class that I'm very pleased to, although I'm currently not an academic, or maybe a scholar in track two, but I'm really enjoying, you know, the pleasure and the chance to talk about a topic I have done so much research on. Now. So before the beginning, I would like to have a current request that is a the session is mostly the information sharing for the education purposes. So it's mostly reflect my own views. It's not my, my government. So if you want to quote me, so please, seek my consent on that anything. Because, you know, I may sit, say something stupid. And I would like to start with, I would like to thank the three previous speakers who that lay, setting the scene and lay the background for my topic to work on with the specific case of Vietnam, and how Vietnam to deal with the security, maritime security in the South China Sea. And I would like also to turn on a desert, I have a slide and I want to check whether you see it or not. Is that working on?

Dr. Asyura Salleh 2:07:48

Yes, we can see it. Nice.

Dr Thanh Hai Do 2:07:49

Okay, good. That's what I have my phone slide. And I always send to the organizers of the class and I'll be happy to share across the class and if you have any questions, just let me know. And I want to put something in perspective because why the South China Seas and Vietnam have been spotlighted in the national media. I have to emphasize that before to deny the South China Sea in Vietnam is not a topical issue to be frank so basically the post that coverage of the South China Sea disputes are occasionally there sometimes the 10 cents a fan up and and is go down. But it's not have to know the lasting effects at the moment. But the personall will be fortune and night. Mostly we don't see much incident in the South China Sea but seem to their nigh more and more incidents that the first thing but the people care interested more about China. So for the most 2000s basic questions about China's whether China's peaceful rise peacefully are violently and basically the key argument is that China's is rising or maybe develop in a peaceful manner. And I think that two three and nine are also the two very important development The first one is Vietnam and Malaysia jointly submit the report on the boundary of the extended continental sells on the UN Commission's on the Limits of the Continental Shelf that prop provoked China's to publish the mad dash nine map and the second is also very important that Vietnam after a long time after the word become a spotlighted again because we are now is a published that Vietnam sick or to About six kilos submarines that mouth amounting to about 2 billion US dollar with Russia. So the question to the public said why that's small and impoverished country, striking for development spend so much money on that type of submarines that are very important to land 10 we also have another actor jump into space. We have the US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in Hanoi and saying that you know that US have the national interest in the South China Sea of what you know, if you see when the USA or whether it national media and definitely jam churches at that time at the

front, ministers of China's at in the middle of the conference room with the as well as Aboriginal forum stare at geo Ajaccio, the Singaporean minister, Foreign Minister, and say that, you know, China's big country at the country as small and it just was they are to respond when other country raised the South China Sea issue was in front of us also other big powers and China don't like that, like it. And a subsequent decade, we'll see that the increasing the constant increasing tension in the South China Sea and people care about, you know, what, they are centered in the bunch of small fish? How could they can counter the big fish, and whether they can foster consensus or not, and was very a lot of story about that. And they come up to you know, because people talk about as also mentioned, the duties of Park You know, people question now the law whether the changing order the trend of people talking about, you know, the rules by order feet of navigation, on the rules that happen. Of course, I'm talking about, you know, the plight of the fishermen in the rivalry in the, you know, the the disputes, so that they are prescribing some basic, you know, things and of course, I'm coming up with the word power rivalry, and now with the nuclear powered submarines that the focus agreement that Andy already mentioned. So I think that basically, I just put thing in the context, you would understand miracles for Vietnam as well, just in case that people care about, you know, how Vietnam respond to China rise, how Vietnam stood up, you know, against, you know, what is the coercive measures are certainly we see the pictures a story of David versus warrior and which is how Vietnam war with the US and country whether they actually knighted or divided what's wrong with the Vietnam play over there? And of course, you know, that a lot of coverage about whether Vietnam warmed up to relations with other powers to balance China's powers and how the policy option for Vietnam with the China rise between the rock and hard place and politics are small power strategy in some way. The struggle for power of course, definitely one of the book is important about the South China Sea is Robert Kaplan about the boiling crouton was he said that, you know, the fate of the South China Sea helped upon Vietnam because look, in history, we have one The country has stood up against China's many, many time and of course, we have a lot of coverage about you know, the dispute with fishermen and fishing community. And that basically, we have a lot of narratives and stories about the South China Sea, usually the media interested in sex shout or maybe scenes or whatever's, but now you know, with the tension rising up in the South China Sea, it considers that what is that the the full lies of the new order that will draw a lot of attention from media also the scholars as well. So basically, I why Vietnam, so sad, China's had been very a topic, very topical issue for research and also international media. And basically, but you of course, No, I will not cover all the thing I mentioned in my slides and feel free to ask questions and and you want that I will go through very quickly. And now how the South China Sea perceive international Vietnam national security, what are claims in the dispute, what Vietnam misperceive what are the key challenges and how can I respond to the challenges I will focus on what is the distinctive features about Vietnam as compared to other claimants in other country. So I think that important to make a case about Vietnam in that how the case of Vietnam has been, I have thrown a lot of attention from international media, because you know is so key players in that that things are as one small player but the important role or a signify also trend of the alignment or realignment, in The original politics so that the reason why we have the story two covers and of course, I bet that you know, you also will do a lot of single byte and then how to think about to frame your story into different title frames that already exist. Now basically, has yet now viewed the AC across in Vietnam, of the Vietnamese people CO is the EC across the Philippines from the west Philippine Sea and, and of course, China called the South Sea because international refer as a South China Sea and so it potentially name but also disputes or controversies

among the claimants also the the party involves Korea Vietnam, which definitely it will look into the history, the Vietnam village, but the paracels partly as a part of the national patrimony because, you know, they have the evidence to prove you know, the the dynastic empires have to connect to these two islands to you know, form at least a 17 story. They also have to send the people that were carried regularly. And also the French Indochina. Of course, when Vietnamese colonized by France, they also raise a claim and also took the claim and also occupied this. And of course, they argue that the Chinese only came very, very late in 90s, ro NY. So they don't have even have the distinction between the parcel and spratlys. And of course, they also argue that the China unlawful use of force in 1974 and 890 80 is illegal. So that did not bring the Chinese the legitimate title over the the things. Of course, they also argument about, you know, the informant, the Philippines and Malaysia is quite late. I mean, mostly in the 1970s and 1980s. So basically what the Vietnam is perceived over, you know, the the sea and also the territories over there. But I think that is more important for Vietnam with virtually see the sea and islands at the security of enter link. Because if you look into the RG politics of Vietnam, you'll see that it's really you know, the country or the S shape, elongated a tapped away, quite vulnerable to the seaborne attacks, and most of the invasion in the modern history to Vietnam, mostly for from the sea. But the reason why the islands is considered as a critical outpost for the national security. And of course, a man timezone is a part of the security for the country. And if you look into even the, the terrain, so the terrain of Vietnam is, you look into the middle of the Vietnam, so it's only 50 kilometres. I think it's very short and very vulnerable to the sea, and also a separated out by navigable waters. So in the past, Vietnam were invaded mostly through the sea. And so the rivers, that the reason why, you know, Vietnam, they see that from the strategic point of view, they call that is lack of citizenship. That is mean that if you face an attack from the foreign invaders, you don't have much space to do don't have much real spirit to get through and also to, to fight also that the reason why that the French also they have some logical idea and you know that when they occupy Vietnam, also the occupied Cambodia and Laos because you know, that will increase the strategic depth for Vietnam. So because of modern Vietnam Is that so? So? Basically, that keep the reasons that Vietnam consider the corridor, the sea corridor along the coastline is very important for security. So of course, it's the pooling of resources, what I encourage you to look into that purpose, but mostly the hydrocarbon and fish important for the national development. So I think that other cipco already mentioned that definitely important for Vietnam economies. Increasingly, Vietnam become a trading nations, you know that our modern day now Vietnam trade is about 200% of GDP is only behind Singapore, but Singapore is really small, so it doesn't count. So Vietnam is one of the big the most open economy in the region in the world. So that I mean, the seaborne trade is important for Vietnam, but for the regions as well. I have a footnote here is that Steena we have a lot of air links and a lot of brought lunch, but 90% of the trip in the world is at women see one so that reason why that you know the see. An ocean as important, the most important medium for the transportations especially energy from the Middle East to East Asia. So I shall come up to you know how, you know, the busy cylinder because you see the picture so far from MD and also other people so I don't mention it again. And first was personall to know that a lot of that definition perception, of course, the the media lie to the idea, you know, how Vietnam be surrounded me how, you know, the living space, and also the legal route from that if we're concerned, you know, by the expanding Chinese influence, was it whether or not Vietnam is landlocked, a sea lock country, and of course, it's very attractive to the media as and how to portray, you know, our Chinese, especially in the seas, and also the influencing the regions and the way that to come for our purposes have some logical

because, you know, the, the China's and Cambodia, the hemorrhage collusion before to create a lot of problems for Vietnam, for sure, you know, from Vietnam to invade to what they are to interfere into Cambodia, and that definitely a lot of you know, the the debate on that of course, we have now acute that is a legitimate worse, because you know, they have eliminated you know, the genocide regime of marriage. But of course, you know, other countries may have different interpretations and all that. But, you know, that I had to bring, you know, the memory back and now go back to the south, the claims in the disputes, but, you know, Dr. Duty also mentioned that, you know, we have different types of claims, of course, first one was definitely with the soft vintage part, the Spratly and the paracels. And, you know, if you look into the paracel, someone will see are the weaving the fabric of occupation is very complex and mixed. And basically, of course, that already mentioned So, we have the sovereignty disputes as paracel, the Spratly coastal Scarborough Shoal, we have the dispute of the manta rays and superstitions Of course, with different mentum and diamonds are overlapping zone and of course, you know, the the dispute over the legal status of the China us ship claim that many times that the China interpreted as a historic Rice was also have the different interpretations of uncross especially the legal features of the paracel and Spratly are the validity of the active politic based lie that the China apply around the paracel silence a person also talking about the freedom of navigation and overflight overflight, that Dr. de Lucia mentions that some other countries some country consider the other country military exercise is easy other coastal states are illegal but others don't have to think differently so the more thing that the the legal landscape seem to be very complex on in this and of course you know that encourage you to look into the own clause and of course what a consider that the Constitution of the ocean and the sea I won't go there because you know that much controversies about the China's China claim the night sky claims which account for about 60 to 80% of the the the the South China Sea that many people believe that is those against own trust because I have the share map maybe with the doctor duty but of course you see the China how China makes up you know, the sovereignty dispute of the maritime claims. And so if you think that the China argument you know, if every features have the 200 nautical miles etc, and continental shelf and we'll see a very complex pictures or legal landscape over that, but of course after saying to the tuber ruling so we see that it's very easy now, if you see the second pictures, you see that much of the claims to the features. Now, just go back to bow topic of my of the Petro sees or maybe even the low Tyler patient cannot have that petrol see. So in the disputed areas have been reduced to the minimum, of course, if China comply to the trivial ruling are also comply to the own process. So we have I think the South China Sea is still not a big issue at the moment. But of course, you know, China's still have very, very weird interpretations of interest and also the historic rise that leads to the most of the conflicts and the problems we have today. The problem for Vietnam that you know, is in heaven The legitimate claims whether they have the power to defend that oppose the same thing apply maybe to other countries you know if you have the claim, but will you have in sufficient power to stand up and to counter the the assertive actions and claims by other claimants So, that leads to very complex situation there so Vietnam powerful policies have also put the South China Sea of course normally no country want to have a bad relation with China's with the big power and so but you not to state anything we I mean the small and medium sized country Vietnam Malaysia Indonesia us and of course you know Singh, Singapore Cambodia they don't want to mess up with the I mean big powers that what they want to peace, stability and productive relationship working relationship with neighbors and big power. But of course, they also want to stand to defend their sovereignty and legitimate interest because sometimes sometimes amend these two goals

are going together, but most of the time they did not go together. So, because you don't have enough sufficient power to defend our sovereignty plus you have may have some type of you know, an equal type relationship or maybe you have to compromise some other interests. But for Vietnam, am I one of the ways that Vietnam stand out quite stand out Tao among the peers among the Southeast Asian country because you know, they are quite skillfully to manage to to seek you to do foreign policy goals for a sufficient time plus you know, the Vietnamese approach is still maintain your sovereignty of the process and speedily even though the process is already fully occupied by the Chinese person comfort the respectful own plus and postpone on demand time claims to be alive with own prospects and spirits was the advocate for no threat or use of force of this human under the OEM chapter and in plus at the right the right mechanisms a different type of view and also to comply with other instrument like contract tools and to see what's usually that the common nice artists are more or less the same with a South other Southeast Asian claimant except you know, the claim over the the paracel and Spratly or Vietnam like other country also sent a couple of nonverbals check that nation to circulate their positions and I think I would like to draw your attention to that note verbal battle in your destinations that you know, were involved as a country even involve the external powers like us, Australia and Japan. If so, European countries that also speak out stand up and speak out against Chinese unlawful claiming the same as of course also Vietnam rely on us and also medium to work with China's Of course working the most important at the moment is to put up the Code of Conduct per se a lot of controversies and know personally based on the process, because many ESCO powers don't want you know, China's and us and country to sit in a closed room and also set the rules for the region and the one you know, set up to any come down from that type of catering have to respect and also comply with international law and also with no prejudice to the rise and application of third countries. I go down because, you know, we see that Vietnam raised the issue with many countries because they think that the peace stability in the South China Sea is an international issue is not only for coastal state, and that the reason why that they call for applications of interest and the effort or the country to maintain peace and stability in the region. Future links of course, basically, I prefer if you have how much time today, I still have need to check.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 2:29:19

Just on time, you've got 10 minutes remaining, so feel free.

Dr Thanh Hai Do 2:29:23

Okay, so of course now I've been a little bit academic at the moment, you know, to provide some analytical frameworks because you know, sometime I quit I forget myself at academic before but we need to distinguish between stress and quits. Now, if you go one country go other country or threat is mean that you know, that would be the possibility of who happened to them soon. So do you need to be make on the preparation for that? Maybe just a weeks now for so that What you have to deal with is mostly the risk management. So, trap is combinations of the capability and intense if you have one country that have capability and also that also have the intention to invest you. So that is a problem. So, that makes, you know, this country in need of two other and to cope with and country, Chapter Two only to action from the little village point of view, either do balance second set on our human awakened with that. So, basically come back some theory of national relation for you. But the rich a combination of possibility, probability and consequences, it means that, it happens, it may happen, it may not happen, right. So, you see that the risk of war, so, it's mean that the world can happen and the world may not

happen, of course, all the consequences could be the be the low or maybe bit high, it depends. So, basically, I would argue that, you know, in the post Cold War, even China become more have a very expensive claim and also become very assertive. But Vietnam or other Southeast Asian countries don't have to consider China's have threats. But you know, he has considered them as a source of bricks, because you also have multiple sources of rich about the if you talk about non toodledo security and also mentioned by Dr. doody and also mentioned Bye bye my doctor Asyura Salleh at the beginning because so the natural disaster so so the set the problem to the navigation the Pharisees is that the am criminals on any type of violence that would have the sea level rise the natural and also it also have the human factors as well. So it to talk about which so there's no chance that you can remove the home which does track you can have a lead and limited by different ways, but which is still over there. But of course, they have but although ffs no such but it has a range of which especially in terms of traditional securities, the the risk of and construction the South China Sea very low in the previous decade, but it has been rising, rising rapidly into 2010 and the decades subsequent decades because you know, we see the more frequencies of the flesh and also stand up at sea, we see a woman with different things, but let the recently we see with the crowd of the submarines in the South China Sea does us submarines man into something that is not the unidentified object at the moment. So of course, you know, it's mean that you know, the possibility of worse upon am conflict is increasing over the last decade. Because that brings us you know, to to the subsequently how Vietnam cope with you know, the risky, the riskier South China Sea or the riskier route in the South China Sea that may have seen right across if you look into the history, you see that maybe you do have to be aware that the armed conflict is not being eliminated that at least now Oh, and so, your patient that the China as you know is the use of resort to arms you know, to use the upper hand in the South China Sea to to jump to move into you know, the some grapes occupy some grief from under the control at the state because you will see that because it leads to you know, this the lecture which is how we perceive the China's approach to the South China Sea. That's weird that and they had all the informations about the region operations. But of course, you know, also other scholars also talk about the China's South China Sea is comparable to Russia, to crane, and also other part of his Oh, with it near abroad is with the hybrid warfare. This mean that the fight as a broad complex, adaptive and highly integrated combination of conventional and unconventional means, overt and covert activities by military paramilitary, regular civilian actors that are targeted to achieve geopolitical and strategic objectives. So I mean that is that that different time frame also for other China I operate in the South China Sea, and of course, encouraged on some media, look into how China activities and claim in the South China Sea it is a combined nations have different elements, but we see the coercive actor See, we see economic statecraft also applied. We see the diplomatic and political leveraging and was also VIVUS kind of bilateral relation that at the expense of the gas and propane and of course we'll also see the propaganda and so perception better will show the leap of warfare I go very quickly so that you can you know, from the media point of view you can under a very brief overview of what the people talk and analyze about the Chinese activities and I shouldn't say over there is though that people try to map out what happened in the South China Sea for the period and NY and into the 16 and you'll see that the increased number of frequencies about the crashes and stand up and also how a different type of incident happened mostly involved with the Chinese elements either the fishing either the postcards either the Navy ship that happened across the South China Sea first we see different types of the literature's about the China tactic about the cabbage does or maybe the salami slicing the cabinet tactic it just some some terms that will give you know

some ideas about how the formation of shapes have been you know deploy in the sea of seeds the worship involved to see the cosmic cutters cutters China Oh the biggest Coast Guard Cutter in the world about 12,000 ton it up at monster and of course if you see other country Coast Guard come to that cookie cutter they see a very smooth and they don't have the scam so we asked why the people invest so much money to do that cheap and previously China ran over it you know the worship into the Coast Guard to make you know the worship into the civilian ship that make you know that stripping also that type of different type of monster at sea. We also see the Department of maritime militia other type of economic activity lash out and survey vessels and cars over the last year supersede the Chinese West survey vessels everywhere in the South China Sea in Vietnamese economic zone in the Malaysia in Indonesia and Philippines and also beyond the regions as well and so the question said whether that type of activities illegal or lawful or unlawful was how can you counter and also how to block it of course because you know, we hide a survey vessel of some you also see maritime militia because as Qatar What do you know you know behind you know, the different types of formation that will give other countries were different choices now of course if you see if you're interested in the strategic standpoint which we'll see how many vessel China have how many combatants come comparisons that you know channel now become the biggest Navy in the world and so no big and all the Asian state come by so how can you work with that and if you see the Coast Guard even you know the Coast Guard China's have also dominant out the sea so it's just the number that could save you something you know how if you put yourselves in the in a column for yourselves in you know the government of Vietnam and the Philippines and Brunei and Singapore and Indonesia So what can we do? I'm quite still surprised that Malaysia still you know, consider they are not Muslim and to the South China Sea disputes as one way or another but we see increasingly the Chinese as survey vessels and fishing president yet the natuna Islands and that a lot a lot of tension between the two countries become very quick of course you know, the China build up the very last skills artificial islands in the middle of the sea. And if you think that is useless, so single tn because you know, that kind of facilities keep the China's more frequent sea and they can deploy the vessels permanently near Malaysia we have Vietnam, in the area of Vietnam here the Philippine purse, you see 24 seven, the Chinese have vessels near the lupone a show that is just you know, dozens of nautical mile from the Malaysian post. So what is it what does it mean you know, that the prime permanent president over there, this mean that how can you trace away the blame so that a big issue or too many countries, and of course, you know, if interesting to see how Vietnam and the country respond to that. Of course you see interested to you from a strategic point of view with see the range of the Messiah that would be deployed. It does islands. To see you know how things that have been changed as Satish landscapes have been different you know from when China built up that type of basis in the middle of the sea. So, of course you know it will follow the answer and you have a lot of debate about us and whether our sense in success or failure filler whether as an tonight or percent become a disarray under the Chinese pressure to see how the China maneuvering between the bank different type of bilateral should get the leverage of the press for joint development the CLC, DLC and also different types of engagement with major powers we see a positive economic instrument to see how the China by quote you know the Bonanza from the Philippines the stock the tourists the flow of tourists to other country and produce the incentive from the the Belt and Road initiative Lupita some the country that are quite disappointed to know with the with the Chinese promise of the investment in the country under that scheme because not only the Philippines for other country big Chinese project in Indonesia and Malaysia as well. So back to trusting

that is not the only fun but you see that you know the proper candid information the public safety become a front that we may or may not know what you know the China's have the idea of civil says Smith the public opinion psychological factor legal woes as well. And if you follow the South China Sea pentesting you know how different types of source information that will provide you first temple you know, so I won't talk about you know, the perception you can study itself but the course is good for the media to understand, but you are also part of the battle you're also part of the information and legal warfare and also psychological warfare. Because you talk about what is that the sociedade chap you know the How to infer the Chinese nationalism nepotism 100 years of humiliations his own tire very very interesting you know narratives that have been shaped throughout the way I talk about the way cycle I can reactions and so China claim and the daily warfare how give up historical anecdotes have been tell our you know the legal and counter arguments and of course you see with a lot of books have population that could you know provide videos a lot of people and of course have become very famous because my topic and publish your book about that become the best because you can see that the whole range of publication so that so no worries you have a lot of literature's and scholarship to do to study if you want to do but of course you know China's become very smart and they publish they have they perhaps you know hide the scholar to publish a book in 1980s when the when nobody who knows about the South China Sea they talk about the historical evidence and make those are the costs of people see that the China have a bank are all the things that you know, the scholar can go on to go Oh, that event were interesting was you know, you've Cz sees the SE SPI on the left on the on the right. Above right side, is that also the initiative deployed by Beijing talk about you know, different activities. And I'm political scientists, and one time that I become very familiar with your own type of ship tracking the marine traffic and also what type of vessel fighters just because you want to find what is the issue what they ship over there, how to do it, and you know how to tie up you know, the propaganda warfare and stat about one day that the Chinese scholar came down with the idea that, you know, the Salton knows hundreds of Vietnamese fishing intruded into waters of high naan. I was so surprised to said that really Vietnam fishermen had we had the bravery that you know, they don't fit in or the Chinese, you know, let me permit the defense that important. They also it's also the rumors that the Vietnam fishermen you know, post very clear to the submarine base in Sandhya said that what so how, what is the defensive measures you have, in case of you though, even the fish he can and penetrate that deeper? Because you see, there are so many misinformation and so many things that happened that will create you know, the whole network of information. The cloud formation about the South China Sea definitely is veryrich. And because if you have the triple ruling channels and sub channels will also publish about 534 pages about how critical study tubo was no, we tried a critical point by point By the civil ruling interesting, that comes up different things and, and that the legal warfare I mentioned, of course, you know, the network of the China pro China's newspaper and also the network of the Chinese media across the world, increasingly and interesting for me at our discoveries that you know, China put the mad dash live map in all the scientific journals. So whenever, I mean the geo in the physic, in the geometry in the naturals in the mn hearthside and you see the China map with the Marrakesh Trine, and of course, you know, I've got I think ten thousands of them everywhere, on how to shape you know, the, the map in order to preserve the mental map, you know, of China, because it comes to the movie come to the Red Sea operation it come to what is a small tip, you know, so do you think that is a spirit to this cinemas as well. And of course, you know, that, that is the idea. So, how Vietnam cope with that there is also we will layer, the most interesting that the media thing whether Vietnam is a compared to

China or whether Vietnam stood up to China, whether Vietnam or made a choice no to allies with us and other powers to cope with and designing for China or whether Vietnam and China so to commis country they work together also certain reasonable why that Vietnamese So, we have a very interesting story to media and I hope that we can have a chance to look into the taste, but the Vietnam behave in such a nation. So complex was a what I call the Monte Monte from hatching. So it is in that different contradicting you know, elements within the policy. You have one on the one hand Vietnam page, basically with other claims, including China to negotiate, you know, the settlement of the dispute to negotiate the CLC to defeat the DRC. also involved in the Doha balancing with regarding to invest heavily to modernize his sufferings and also on tie up defensive measures. It also one of the country took the lead in building up the law enforcement on the first step the sturdiest law enforcement have to need to know within Southeast Asia and also in engage with other countries, especially major power, try to, you know, create a network of partnership. It happened by 30, agreement, a partnership with all the major power, so many people think that Vietnam also one way or another, try to realize what are the major power to work on that. Because there are many spy consultancies and many argument from the scholarly point of view. Because but I think that Vietnamese pursuit are very important foreign policy in the way that you know, we'll try to avoid any setup with one country again another's and it tried to separate things and and worked out in a very, very mature manner in a way to separate the dispute for the for the long term interest, but also same time. We have quite a responsibility to any crisis has happened. Post Vietnam can do many things, but it was also fighting that the Vietnam policy into that is quite sophisticated and complex, costly work our question gradually clarifies the claims alleged with the old course. And it's a long standing settlement and we will say that you know, we've now had the leader in settling the dispute with the neighbors that have the first country had the man tampered with the China's in the Gulf of Tonkin, and are currently negotiating with China's at the error below the cap of Tonkin simultaneously also talk with Indonesia, Philippines and Malaysia is on on delimiting different conflict for the overlapping areas. It also engaged in a lot of dispute management and confidence building measures over regular tops with hot lies, and of course, to discuss a deal cclc on so the code, the code for the uncounted unplanned encounter essays of course also coffee and my English typically, yep, I will wrap up in one minute. Yes, of course you see that it's a whole cooperative measures that already have been put into place. The worship concerns the joy sad things survey with Philippines choice survey with Philippines and China which internal fights within it. So I partnered with China's double Tonkin passport code, I try activities because you build up quite quickly, the Manta capabilities including, and of course, I would have also made sure the network of the partnership with all the majors across the globe and was engaged a lot of proper crisis management. And a possible when the crisis happened, I have seen that Vietnamese request, persistent but very patient stand very firm on the ground. But at the same time is not overreact to the Chinese activity, it keep open the communications and, you know, open up and speak very vocally. And of course, it tried to manage national sentiment. So that was in Austin now. So briefly, out four point about Vietnam. That means the ACA or the South China Sea were important national National Security Forum for Vietnam and the post Cold War of Vietnam sea impose and the state of core part of the global order as a political interest. And also roots of it's not a treaty note, traditional security conflicts are long term comprehensive and increasingly complex. And a better response to that is centered upon multi pronged risk management that will help you know the country different, so interesting, the same time to maintain the working relationship with

our neighbors. So thank you very much, and hope that I could hear some questions and things about Vietnam as a case study about this man time security in the South China Sea also be on. Thanks a lot.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 2:51:31

Thank you so much, Dr. Tan, I think that was really helpful. I've not really encountered a presentation that really gave me a holistic perspective of all the driving elements shaping, not only Vietnam stance, but also the South China Sea dispute income, just to really review on to provide a summary of the abductor tans presentation, you really began with looking at this strategic lens that Vietnam use to view its position, Visa v. South China Sea, or what Vietnam calls the ISI. And then you made this really interesting statement before you went to your next section, where you really, you know, pose two different elements against one another, where you post power versus legitimate claim. So to what extent does Vietnam really have the power to want to enforce its, you know, it's claim in the South China Sea. And at the end of the day, what really matters is at first to follow the rules face order and to uphold the claim by legitimate claims, as stated in ON clause. All this really, you know, as you had the comparison of the different military capabilities, and clearly China took up, nearly half of that slide, or this power really dictate the conversation more, you then really looked into shaping Vietnam's foreign policy stance and its strategy, which also includes this battle over the non verbal, which took place in 2020. And Vietnam, reaching out to India to also craft the joint statement that upholds ON clause really interesting that Vietnam has done this to not only participate in this release of diplomatic notes, you know, asserting the spirit of unclose, but to also then reach out to another extra regional power like India, and then say, hey, India, you know, join me and also upholding ON clause. And then you provided the journalists with a very interesting analytical framework that we could move forward with, what, what elements fall under threat, and what elements fall under risks. So then how can we define and create a clear distinction between what we should see as a threat? Or why should we should define as a risk, I think this is very important as journalists try to really provide a estimate of the type of threats or the risks that a particular country would face in the future. But I find your expansion strategies that China has employed particularly interesting, especially on the different the perception battles and the ideology that goes on behind it, the extent to which China is just pushing up thought, and really shaping the literature that we're seeing out there. China hadn't accepted or consented to the arbitral tribunal, very day in 2016. But it did have the time to craft a 500 page journal paper and justifying why. So that was really quite, quite interesting. He also mentioned the economic statecraft. I think one of our participants asked about VRI that something we could allude to the different types of coercive strategy, salami, slicing cabbage tactic, and even the development of facilities on islands which allows China to power project project its power closer to the shores of the claimant states and therefore be able to maintain a permanent presence being very close to the other shores of Malaysia, Brunei, Philippines and even Vietnam. Last but not least, what he then did was really reiterate that Vietnam, South China Sea Paul Let's see, which included claimant management cooperation, hard balance, strength, hard balancing strategies, and also multi dimensional balancing. But what I think Vietnam has done very well is its crisis management, the way it has attempted, it has very, I think, relatively successfully stood firm against China's assertive behavior at sea, but with a lot of patients as well and somehow get them all those images scot free. So that's something that the rest of the region really has to learn from. So thank you very much again, Dr. Dan, I thought that was very, very enlightening. Indeed. We will now move on to the forum and question answers side of things, where I hope to hear from the participants what they

thought about the three or four thoughts that we had this afternoon, did it really help the inventive framing your understanding of maritime security, and also, there was a lot of emphasis on the geopolitical side of things. And as Andy mentioned earlier, he hope that he has convinced you that really, in addition to non traditional and ecological threats near the geopolitical and geostrategic side of things are as important as well, it'd be really interesting to hear how you felt about that. I will open the floor to any questions. And in the meantime, please feel free to leave your questions and your thoughts in the chat box. And we can definitely get the conversation going. Okay, so we have a question here submitted via Google Form. Oh, that's nice. So the world is facing a sea pollution problem. And Indonesia is one of the largest plastic waste attributes in the world after China. If not taken seriously, marine pollution will impact not only on marine ecosystem and human health, but also tourism sector and the economy. So what have countries in ASEAN done to tackle the problem? And has this issue received enough attention from ASEAN countries? Um, perhaps we can move on to maybe we can hear from Dr. doody, on this on what our sense role has been. Dr. Tan? And, Andy, if you'd like to, perhaps share your two cents you can as well. In the meantime, Dr. Tan, if you're able to start your screen sharing, would that be possible that way? We can kind of see everyone who's in the room. Thank you so much. I thought the duty of the team.

Dr. Ahmad Almaududy Amri 2:57:31

Yes. Thank you Dr. Ashura and not the question is very timely, indeed. Because I think ballistic plastic pollution or marine pollution is very concerning. And as the as the question mentioned, that it's, it's having it making new problems in the ecosystem of the oceans. But in ASEAN, I think we can see it from two perspective, if you want to see what I have done. I think the first one we can see that are seen, I think, in 2019. Launch the so called ASEAN Regional action plan for combating marine debris in ASEAN member states. So there is a regional plan of action, which was made by the ASEAN states, I think during that time, it was the Thailand who was the chair and then initiated this program. And then, and there's a plan of action, you can see that there are different steps that are being taken the principles that wants to be upheld in the region guarding this. And secondly, more outward is we can see the East Asia Summit leader statement on combating married plastic debris. I think there were several statements made on this one, I think, in 2017, and then also on 2018. And then also there is also a plan to have a kind of plan of action in East Asia Summit level. But the only problem that East Asia Summit is not as comprehensive as asean. Asean has different pillars. They have the political and then they have the economic and so on, so forth. But so so to deal with this issue within asean, I think it's more easier and once we have this action plan, usually the countries tries to uphold the statements and also the aspirations by the different ICM member states. But it is actually a summit is a different one, because this is not as compact. The organization It's me, mostly is a meeting between either submit or also sometimes ministers level but they do not have a working level kind of organization, but it's a submit have different types of countries, of course, outside ASEAN like Russia, also Korea, Japan, China, where we want them to also be involved in such measures, you know, like the the mention about China also a huge contributor to this position. Also other countries who can be like a funding country like Japan, also Korea or maybe India, in this case. So so what we need to do is to combine the two, we don't want to have one plan of action in ASEAN and then the other one is in East Asia Summit, but does not correlate to each other. Maybe the the one in ICM can be done first, because we already have the plan of action. And also we have the working group to do so to check the reports what companies

have done during these years, but also during the bigger is summit can learn from from what we have in regional, and also try to find ways how to also apply with other countries such as China, Japan, and India. I think those are my two cents.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 3:01:07

Thank you. Instead of the duty, I think it's it's refreshing to see that ASEAN has already dedicated a working group to tackling marine debris. You know, this is also reflected, as you said, an EAS we bought plans of actions, were holding states accountable, looking at annual reports. But how much of this is actually taking place on the ground? To what extent are countries really dedicating assets and planning their national strategies around marine pollution and plastic pollution? Really upholding this as a as a key goal of ASEAN? I think I alluded earlier to Agenda setting. And you know, how policymakers really try content with this complexity of competition, and agendas and priorities? And is marine pollution really up there? In terms of us yet? And even in the in terms of the priorities of our regional neighbors? This is a good question, because it also leads us to think what more can we do to transform these working groups into more actionable outcome? Currently, from my perspective, I'm not seeing that, but it'd be really great to hear if you guys feel that you are seeing it as well.

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 3:02:19

Well, if I might add, I think in a similar fashion, marine plastic pollution dovetails with concerns about climate change, especially in Indonesia, you know, all this island countries, archipelagic countries, that that are quite vulnerable to sea level to the rise of sea levels. And I do agree with you are sure that there is some sort of competition brewing or if not, it's already underway, between states capacity to pay attention to heat to this non traditional concerns to more traditional ones. And it's, and, you know, as proper heito has explained, the greater the risk of Interstate frictions in the South China Sea will sadly and unfortunately, distract national attention of this country is to focus on the less traditional security concerns.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 3:03:34

Yeah, thanks, Andy. That was a sobering reality that you brought to us. give any comments?

Dr Thanh Hai Do 3:03:49

So I'm playing Let's be distinct on that. Did before so when we have hierarchy of problems, that intervention, so I think that the government pay attention to the traditional sibility?

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 3:04:07

Speak louder. Hi, dog. Yeah, yeah. Yeah, sorry. Yes.

Dr Thanh Hai Do 3:04:15

I have a more pessimistic on that. First, if we have a hybrid to the South China Sea and elsewhere, so if we that we are the national security issue, especially in the heartbeat sensor, of course, we see a lot of investment with the supplements and other things, it's not investment in upcoming with the other things. And the second thing that we have we have the we have the simple 15 asset and Yes, of course I mentioned that how much action that is put on the cloud. So I I'm quite doubtful, proceed to speak at

the end of the suffering state. So I think it's very hard for us as in which every country has the national program of plastic. But do we really have some substitution for plastic? Oh, and I think the use of plastic overconsumption increased during the pandemic. So we go back to the food delivery, everything and I see, you know, the fight of LBJ in my house, you know, everything is a plastic bag, the plastic things, and now for sure, it will be more problematic in the future when we have all kinds of massive disposal mass everything, you know, disposal. So I think that we need to tackle the issue always of people to tackle the hearts. Yeah, yeah.

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 3:06:00

I don't I don't understand how. So these are important issues. But I don't understand how governments can actually because it's a matter of lifestyle as well. So how the government of each country can mobilize its population, you know, to stop using plastic, I think this problem is more of a bottom up and top down solution lies in, you know, bottom up, not top down. solution, you know, I mean, ASEAN governments ASEAN countries can meet and talk but the, only the people, you know, have the final say, whether they're, they're going to stop using plastics or not, because, yeah, it's just very hard how a top down solution this marine pollution can be tackled,

Dr. Ahmad Almaududy Amri 3:06:51

yes, to react a little bit Ashura to nd and also to Dr. Doe, regarding this ASEAN measures, I think it is correct that the action plan is mainly putting the standard setting first, more to the, you know, the implementation or applicability. So if we see the the content of the action plan is more to policy support and planning. So that's, that's one pillar. And then research, innovation and capacity building. There's another pillar, private sector engagement, and also public awareness and education reach outreach. So if we see from these different pillars, we can already see what is the what is the aim of having this action plan is more to, you know, Community Learning, you know, the giving the information regarding this awareness building, and so on and so forth. And maybe hopefully, the next step as Andy and also Dr. Bill mentioned that this could be implemented. bottom up, but hopefully, Dr. Doe won't be that pessimistic again. In the coming years, we have to be optimistic because we should start from from the action plan, then only we will have something more concrete.

Dr. Asyura Salleh 3:08:08

I think I think ASEAN is provides the standards is up to the country's political willingness. Okay, I'm sure everyone saw the kind of reminder from Adam in the chat that we do need to look at the other questions, everyone. So I'm going to open the floor to Carmela from Ghana, if you'd like if you want to elaborate a bit more your questions. Carmela is asking on arms race.

Carmela 3:08:33

Hi, good afternoon, I'm Pamela of the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism. Thank you for in for organizing this. masterclass. I told Danny, obviously in the Philippines, there's a lot of opinions about maritime security, and there's also a lot of noise. But it's good to hear what other countries think also about the situation. So my question, which Dr. Dan has addressed, in part is what do the other speakers think about that to CBD strap, the inevitability of armed conflict, the supposedly landed

inevitability of conflict between the US and China. But more importantly, my question is how do we avoid that trap? Thank you. Andy,

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 3:09:23

this is your whole life. Yeah. Okay. So if I get this right, to sit down a strap is means I have a copy of a history of the Peloponnesian War, in which Graham Allison quoted that made that I think the trap means you know, our pricing great power will make the existing great power insecure. So war is inevitable between them. I think when we reflect on the situation between China and United States Oftentimes we hear people say there is misunderstanding, there is miscommunication. I think we have to make it very clear. Now in order to solve a problem, we have to admit there is a problem. I think there is no Miss understanding as such, there is a full frontal confrontation and coalition between the two. America will not let China respect by one, America will not let China control the South China Sea in the way that China wishes to know, will China tolerate America to keep supporting Taiwan supporting countries in the South China Sea that are in disagreements with China or for claims in the South China Sea? So, there is a full on frontal collision. The question is to what extent this coalition does not degenerate into a full scale war. And I think this is where the operational matters come into the picture. I think there should be a lot more not just confidence building measures, because that have been done for decades. And I think the region regional countries and especially ASEAN should take a step step up and try to ask the hard questions, you know, how can we engage in less confidence not less as in terms of less activities, certainly cpms are important, but they should broaden their scope in to say crisis management mechanisms, Dispute Settlement mechanisms, how you know, I explained about the rising acquisitions of submarines increasing acquisition of submarines. So there will be a lot of submarines in the water. And as heito has mentioned, there is an increased risk of submarine collisions. So what can ASEAN countries do in order to minimize this, for instance, there should be transparency or water space management, countries have declared their submarine, primary area of operations, for instance, you know, so a lot of crisis management mechanisms are available out there hotlines between naval and posca. chiefs within countries, you know, both for unplanned encounters at sea, how to law enforcement ships, or Navy ships can avoid collisions during when when they were performing their patrol duties. So these are the options that the countries should look at. And I think there is a great chance to alleviate concerns of miscommunications at the operational level, rather than at the strategic and political level. For the strategic and political levels. I'm sorry to say, there is no misunderstanding, this is a full on, head on collision of class clash of interests between America and China. That's it. I don't I don't think war is inevitable. I think America and China still has interests, I still has shared interests, economics is is the one of the middle part, but as history suggests, you know, two countries who are which are interdependent in economy. They started war, Germany, and UK were in the interdependent economically in in the early 20th century, but still they went to war, America was Japan's largest export market in the 1930s they went to war. So economic interdependence in in and of itself is not guarantee that two countries cannot stop a war.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 3:14:04

Thanks. And you know, how they say keep your friends close, but your enemies closer? So you know, you mentioned employing rules of engagement to as a potential crisis management mechanism. You could you you mentioned queues, for example, but I want to actually look at the legal aspects of this

legally, you know, Doctor duty, do you think, what kind of legal mechanisms can we resort to is there really a positive outcome in the current processes that Aspen is participating in, in it's really trying to help the region avoid this growing conflict between the US and China?

Dr. Ahmad Almaududy Amri 3:14:44

I think it is clear that they should be looked into by through international relations angle because I think from the three anatomy of conflict that I mentioned, this is more To the regional stability, and if we want to talk about the territorial entitlements, or the maritime rights or maritime zone, it's quite clear the law is there, the law of mentioning how a state can be the owners of islands, reef or rocks are any other maritime features in the area is quite clear. And once you have the owners, then it's going to be very easy for you to determine how long How far is the maritime zones that they have. But but the US and China rivalry, I think it's quite clear that US is against aggressive actions of China in the area. So so that's why they do the finance. And then China, on the other hand, thinks that this us present us finance, or their presence creates instability. And that's, you know, this is the hunger money. There's the two powers and also you know, that the best way to deal with this is international law. If the US is doing for not based on on course, then they can do so, but they don't do also like at the same time, let's say seismic survey, or any kind of surveillance, which also is against the national law. And then on the other hand, China if they think that they want to claim that area, then they need to know or how far they can limit their you know, activity they're creating military bases I mean, so and so forth. It's not part of the of the recall of the problem, the problem here and we can see also from public narratives, here us tries to support axions clean against China saying that you know, we can slay sail fly operate wherever international law law, so, in this case, it looks that the US is actually giving a sight to ASEAN. But on the other the other way China thinks that the US and Australia is not neutral anymore, why do they come in an area where they are far away from and this inner conflict between countries should be done between them not with external power? So ask them who is actually in the middle thing that okay, we welcome anyone who, who supports and plus, but we are against any power projection based on rivalry. So so this is clear. Ascent states are very fond of unplugging, we support uncross fully, but once US or any other countries comes into picture, and tries to, let's say, help us in terms of arguments, but this is because they want to have a power projection based on rivalries here. So we have to say no to that. That's why Andy also mentioned about how our purpose was, you know, actually, by Malaysia and Indonesia, we were not, you know, liking this idea that much, even though we didn't mention outpost literally in the statement. So this is this is how we deal with the problem. We want to be friends with everyone. And also just making sure that the regional stability. Thank you.

Dr. Asyura Salleh 3:18:22

Thank you, Dr. doody, I think this is what you're saying. It really reflects what we've been highlighting so far, really maintaining this fine balance and crisis management. I think Carmela has something to add on Taiwan, please go ahead.

Carmela 3:18:36

I just wanted to, I think there's been there's long been an agreement that, obviously, legal frameworks need to be in place. And that's the ideal way of resolving the conflicts. So there are also a lot of impatience, obviously, in the sense that this, these things frameworks, they take too long. And

sometimes the institutions, even the ASEAN institutions, they're not felt or they're not actionable. In the context of Taiwan, for example, we've seen what's happened to Hong Kong. And I remember a security expert saying, Let's watch what China does to Hong Kong. And we've seen what it did in Hong Kong. So given the current discourse on Taiwan now we've seen Xi Jinping issue a statement on Taiwan again, what are the prospects given? The current situation?

Dr. Asyura Salleh 3:19:30

Thank you, Carmela. I'm going to push this to Dr. Tan because we've not heard from it in the last round shape to come in.

Dr Thanh Hai Do 3:19:38

Yep. So these were important questions that we need to ask ourselves. Yes, whether the possibility of the conflict between the two major power that only happened you know, in the World War One and World War Two. But I think the logic is that if you want peace, so you have to prepare for wars So I'm not the hardcore realist and anti a bit so I don't believe economic dependence and also the mechanisms. So that the reason why I think that the logic behind the outcome that provide Australian with the nuclear power submarines in a way that it could create the doctrines. And I think that it anyways will be the issue the problem with the region that if you if you really want to live in peace, but you have no AMS you will lose something. And when the Philippines not the way they are harpeth does Cabo show and I think that if you leave it open and also if we invite the questions, I mean, dovish attempt is nice, but it's cannot prevent its new form that not make other people cheating thing use the same. So think that the logic of financial regulations that go from, you know, the reactive behavior, and I think that China's also smart, they know, you know, the they know that know, the there will be the response so that they try to work on with the results of operations, because they have the military strength, but they don't use that they use a civilian power, so that to expand the influence in the South China Sea, but it do it to the extent that other country really worried. I mean, also that even during the pandemic China expansions on every direction that cause a country, and that triggered, you know, the whole change of alignments and realignments. And I think that, that that, unfortunately, that something has been activated, and that one will be We will live in the uncertainty uncertain area for a very long time. And of course, in that uncertain areas, everyone will be defensive. And you know, everyone will, will be will, will do the self help, you know, they have to set up options so that they will prevent themselves from any type of contingency that will happen to them.

Dr. Asyura Salleh 3:22:26

Yeah. What do you think of that one situation as far as the permanent that?

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 3:22:34

They go? Oh, yes. Okay. Um, so yeah, I'm adding to what title has said, I think we have to look in the historical context, or what's happening in the balance rate. The current tensions, prostrate tensions are not the first time. No, are they going to be the last. And in the past, we have witnessed similar posturing, similar tit for tat reactions. Remember, in 1996, there was a Taiwan missiles straight crisis. And actually, there was a lot more posturing involved there, America sent to Nokia, not to do icraft Carrier Strike groups to deter China from invading Taiwan. And I think a lot of more, a lot of this

posturing is directly related to what's happening within Taiwan. If we remember in 96, there was also a prayer pro independent precedent tends to be and if I'm not mistaken his name. And I think the current government, who's ruling in Taiwan also tinkers with the idea of pro independence. So I think China is demonstrating political signal sending strategic signal to America, you know, rain down this government toned down its voices for independent forces. And unfortunately, we are going to see similar kinds of military posturing activities to occur in the future. And hence, this is this is what I'm why I stress about the operational, conflicting measures that countries should adhere to. And I think ASEAN can play a leading role in this and but at the same time, ASEAN can only do so much look at the legally binding code of conduct, you know, on the South China Sea, how long has it been dragging on and ASEAN indo Pacific as an outlook on the indo Pacific, to what extent has it address some of these operational concerns? And to my knowledge, you know, comparing assets of the indo Pacific with the recently recently is European Union indo Pacific strategy. They are quite, you know, a very different documents, and it is European Union, not ASEAN that stresses explicitly the need for a legally binding code of conduct. I don't understand why there is no specific mentioned specific sentences, statements that prescribe that restrict provocative military posturing, you know, that that countries should not, should not should not, should not take. No. And and there is there is a lot of opportunity in this area. But the question is whether ASEAN has the capacity to venture into this lay?

Dr. Asyura Salleh 3:25:32

Thanks, Sandy, to Dr. Judy, for quick response to and this command on ASEAN, and then we will have to try wrap up very quickly with one last question. Go ahead.

Dr. Ahmad Almaududy Amri 3:25:43

I think I just want to point out about the CFC negotiations, I think that's taking quite a long time, but because it's very sensitive, I think the problem is quite clear is how to define the geographical scope of the Salton Sea itself. So problem from there is, I think, it's going to be very hard to determine, which belongs to where and how we want to define the area. And also secondly, and we want to know that whether based USD is a legally binding document, or it's going to be only morally morally morally binding document, that's also another view that that people think that it's not going to be easy, because if it's legally binding, then is China going to be bound by this agreement. Also, other ASEAN countries wants to I'm willing to be, you know, following this agreement for the future, so so those are the things and regarding ASEAN, to see the stability in the region, I think I said is quite clear about the non interference interference principle. So basically, even though they're playing the role of you know, stabilizing the region, trying to keep everything toned down and pulled down, but also the principles that they have, not to be interfering with other domestic affairs also, is also one of the principles is upheld by the states in ASEAN. So you know, it's it's a it's a mix, puzzle, but I think there is a way to deal with it. You know, that's why we have negotiations, that that's why we have diplomacy. That's why we have ASEAN partners, and so on, so forth. So hopefully, by having this dialogue continues discussions, just like what we have to be in this will, will increase the consensus building, and also the trust deficit that maybe many countries have, we can also decrease it from time to time. Those are my two cents.

Dr. Asyura Salleh 3:27:44

I think, I think just to release some i don't i don't know what we've been observing so far in this discussion is that, yes, you know, the negotiation, FCC is taking a long time. And to what extent really does it have real value in resolving our competing claims. Nevertheless, ASEAN does play a role in maintaining this momentum in keeping negotiations ongoing. But while that is happening, we've got the reality of you know, the the developing incidents and strategic arrangements that are taking place in South China Sea. And this is really here where Dr. Tancomes in with his real politic statement that you know, you need to defend you defend, and Andy is saying that in the meantime, let's try hold the fort bound by engaging in rules of engagement behavior, let's look at cues. Let's look at crisis management resolutions. So I think what's happening now is we the best case scenarios as much as we can. We are trying very hard to try to temper the tone. And I'm hopefully you know, this, this resolution and in resolving us China, what happens can Okay, Doctor, go ahead.

Dr Thanh Hai Do 3:28:50

My, My point is that you should not afraid of that US and China will fight each other and they will fight each other because they all have nuclear weapons. The only thing I will read come out of proxy wars, because so what happened in the past between the two superpower and opposite will be definitely in the peripheries areas of the the the major powers and that thing that we have to think about that and because I think that it better to have also the collective voices in the Senate and type of Pam's that will defeat a single South China Sea makers, you know, have to be worried because it will stay silent. If we behaved nice, it doesn't mean that you are saved from from the question. So I think what happened over the last decade, I see that diplomacy, I think appeasement doesn't work. So I mean, that that, you know, that's time that if you don't stand up to defend what is why should you run? And what do you make your job, I mean, your voice apps again, and kind of unlawful claims and actions that one day that will happen to you. So we own that loan debate. a hard lesson in the South China Sea racing that occurred some assets should learn it because you know it their, their affairs, or some countries, you know, take right, take a free ride from that. And we also understand, so we be better to have to know more mechanism to cope with that issue rather than to leave it to SM. And I think that as that is not fit to that type of issue at hand.

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 3:30:26

I agree with heito. And especially on the point, your point about proxy wars, and what we are seeing in Ukraine, Eastern Europe, in the Middle East, you know, there, there will be more such was happening. And I think it's the challenge is greater for ASEAN to manage. Look at what's happening in Myanmar right now. It's unrelated to the South China Sea. But it is a very contentious issue at the moment, you know, how ASEAN can make sure the regime in power adhere to the five point consensus and Singapore or Prime Minister, Foreign Minister Fifi and balakrishna already said that, you know, yanma regime ignored consensus. So what else can I do?

Dr.Asyura Salleh 3:31:15

Yeah, thanks. Thanks, Andy. Okay, clearly, there are limitations in the way ASEAN is functioning. So we can only hope for the best. Well, what I'll do now is, I'm going to scroll up the chat box a bit, and we've got two questions. They're both related to China's developing infrastructure, and also the Belt and Road initiative. So perhaps I can just kind of go around, this will be our last question to kind of go around and

get like a two minute on reflection on the child, the Belt and Road initiative that China is running across Southeast Asia, what are its impacts on maritime security. And also, in relation to this, the building of infrastructure across sea lines of communication, this is closely linked to the finance projects and the loan relationship that China has with its with its neighbors, but also the claimant states. So what are your views on that VRI and China infrastructure building and the loans with claimant states to support development in the region? We'll start with Dr. Duty, and then we'll hear from Andy and Dr. Tan also, perhaps after you give your two minute reflection, we could share any closing statements or you know, main takeaway points to the journalists in the room, that would be extremely helpful as well. over to Dr. Duty.

Dr. Ahmad Almaududy Amri 3:32:42

Yes, thank you. So I will deal with the second question first. So I think even though China is building up, many infrastructures in the region, including in some of the ceilings, and so on, and so forth, it doesn't change the law. Because if you want to know how a maritime feature could be a part of a state, there is a law on top of that, so like like we gain with the possibilities you race, let's say from from our successor safe, and then when we we will have the area that we are having today. So this one is different, it's it's inhabited. But still, there is law, how to regulate the ownership of those. So it doesn't mean that if you are trying to build anything on top, and then it becomes yours. Also there is I would also like to inform about a new legal regime that's trying to be developed by China, which is called the hybrid Island maybe Dr. Doe already heard about this. So basically in amplus it's clear that if there is a place where you can live, there is human habitation that it can sustain human habitation then that area could be studied as a, as a as an island. The consequences of an area becoming an island is that you can have 200 nautical miles of economic exclusive zone because that's what the unclos said, but UNCLOS never mentioned about a natural natural teacher and then you build on top of that natural feature becoming an island that can sustain human habitation. So they try to fill in that gap by saying that this is the natural hybrid. And this is a form from natural which is what unclos wanted. And then now we have an island which can maintain sustain human habitation so it becomes an island so they call this as as a hybrid Island, but this kind of thinking is not Yet accepted because it's unclear whether the unclos actually regulate about this. And also there is no agreement between the international community also by the United Nations regarding the technology of hybrid Ireland, the consequences and so forth. So it still is still a problem. So after we have the arbitral tribunals in 2016, it's all clear that none of the features in the South China Sea is entitled to 200 nautical miles, which means that it is considered as what it was, whether it is reef, whether it is shown whether it is rocks, and it only allows them to have 200 nautical miles, I think for VR, I will pass it to the other speakers. But for for a small part of it, I think China tries to engage with as many countries as they could to have an agreement with the China regard that's related to b ri, because I think from from historic point of point of view, that they think this is like also their trade route previously, and they want to make sure that this could still sustain, and they want to make a big impact here. And also a BMI also relates to the to their claims to the nine dash line. So it's also very hard for Southeast Asian countries to accept, again, you can only claim on ownership over islands or any American feature is based on the legal basis, you can do that based on historic rights, because historic rights does not have basis or maybe one question that we can question to China, when the discussion of amplus 1982. Indonesia before them during that time, we were made of different so many islands, and we have waters in between our islands. And we think that water actually

divides our islands. But the thinking of the Indonesian government during that time is no, this this, the water which lies within the Indonesian islands is actually the glue to the other islands. So that's why we we can, if you remember the so called jus under declaration, and this is actually a unilateral claim that we have before we made a domestic law on this. And then we bring this to the uncross negotiations. And after that with with you know, tech and gave package deal, and so on and so forth. The oncourse have a provision on the so called archipelagic state. So if the Chinese government since the beginning, I thought that this is the design that they wanted, why don't they bring this idea of the nine dotted lines nine dash line to the unpassed the discussion and make it legal. So the fact that after 1982, entered into force in 1996, we don't have that issue raised. And you know that China is not only a signatory, but also they ratified the ON clause. So this makes another question whether this design is new, or they try to have this historical background to make their new arguments to have the entire area and so and so forth. So And where was China during the 1982? discussion? So So again, this this kind of questions you can always raise. So BMI could be very important, but most importantly, is to have the legal basis to all the things that you want to have, including the certainty. Thank you.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 3:38:41

Thank you very well, later argument, Dr. Duty. Do you have any closing statements before I move to Andy,

Dr. Ahmad Almaududy Amri 3:38:48

I think the last thing that I want to mention is that we need to keep on believing on ASEAN. I think we need to have a central role. As I mentioned before, in ASEAN, maybe ASEAN is not yet as advanced as EU or any other regional groupings. But but at least this is one of the means to maintain regional peace and stability. And in terms of South China Sea, I think I still have a big hope on the CSC because this is the only main forum that ASEAN countries is sitting with China, talking about what we can do on the ground, maybe kills contracts, and all these provisions can be part of CRC, but again, a geographical scope and also whether the document should be binding or morally binding. It is again, another question. So I think we need to keep our hopes high. And I think even though you know this is this case will be done maybe years after yours. We don't know whether it's going to be done or not. Or maybe after like Andy said, there will be more workers than only there will be a solution to this but I think Because we have high hopes in, you know, Dr. Doe with his publications, and so on so forth, I think we will have a solution in the future to to get rid of the problem. I think those are my positive. Thank you.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 3:40:12

Thank you, Dr. Doody, thanks for ending on a positive note, ASEAN really is the only mechanism or infrastructure uniting all 10 member states and also the claimant states. So really, you know, Realistically speaking, that is our only hope for eventually reaching a resolution to these overlapping disputes. So thank you for that. And the over to you if you want to reflect a bit on the PRI. And also

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 3:40:35

Sertainly, certainly I'm proud Belt and Road initiative. I think that the extent that maritime security matters is China's initiative on the part of the Maritime Silk Road, that is to help regional countries, other

countries will improve the port and shipping industries, infrastructure. But I see China in handing out in promoting BRI, China is not engaging in charity. So it is an economic initiative with political ends. And it's not just China, you know, any international economic initiative, you know, especially for journalists, you have to be mindful of the laden political vested political interests in such initiative. And I think, you know, from a geostrategic lens, the way China has been handing out bear eye, is it is attempting, it is consistent with its effort to assert greater control of its maritime domain in the South China Sea and beyond. And as China's economy is increasingly reliant on the shipping routes, international shipping routes that I explained, so China's attempt to secure to maintain secure security of this roads will also increase. And China has no trust whatsoever in the United States, securing this matter this shipping routes, because the more China is reliant on US Navy or other countries navies for the security of the slots, the more vulnerable China is to maritime blockade or other forms of geopolitical harassment. That that I think that I should also mention a blockade. So the question is, to what extent do countries the recipient of pri initiative welcome, China's adding, on the one hand, they should see not cede to a certain China to keep such initiative, strictly economic business as business, you know, don't conflate it with political. So on the one hand, they can accept all this assistance they can receive all this economic larges. On the other hand, they should be very clear from the very beginning, that they will not they will retain their political independence as and when they are receiving this economic assistance. And this is the kind of what they call it a situation that some countries some region, recipient countries of pri have failed. Hence, we heard the expression that deathtrap diplomacy because countries that receive this initiative, they have no capacity to repay that debt. And as a result, they have to compromise their political independence, you know, to China, and I think, are the more countries who are engaged in this initiatives, becoming more vulnerable to China become more dependent on China? So at the center, we will see potential militarization or semi militarization of the ports and infrastructure that China are building in order to sustain China's own maritime power power projection, not just in the South China Sea, but beyond like the Indian Ocean, for instance. Yeah,

Dr.Asyura Salleh 3:44:23

Sandy, join the Ender and anything.

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto 3:44:27

Oh, yeah. Um, I think I end up with my geostrategic analysis of this of the issues, I think, I agree with today, that ASEAN is very important. And, you know, to be honest, there is no other regional vehicle that can accommodate all these divergent interests and even co colliding interest, right. But at the same time, we have to be mindful of the assymetric balance of power. That is going on, and how ASEAN can also accommodate, you know, not not oppose initiatives that they are trying to return the balance of power into a new form of equilibrium. You know, so, yes, power politics is disdain, while politics is despise. But at the same time, history suggests that, you know, history is full of power politics, you know, you cannot, instead of living in defiance of it, you have to live with it. Yeah.

Dr.Asyura Salleh 3:45:38

Thank you. And it's good not to end on. And I think also your explanation of how VR is very closely linked to China's power projection really echoes our earlier discussion on whatever happens on land, it's definitely extended on sea and things that we see and see is really a symptom of greater, greater

problems that are taking place between countries. The case in mine, Jeff shares that in Brunei, for example, China has just signed a deal to run the Mora fish landing complex, which is a fisheries port in Brunei. This is, as you mentioned, and an economic initiative. But at the same time, you know, it's easier said than done to, to remind countries to retain their political independence, especially when initiatives such as this really grants this particular private company from China with fishing rights to over 2000 Hectore's in Brunei's maritime zone. So we need what expand and how should claimant states balance its need for more strategic autonomy, together with the the greater desire to offset any, you know, economic recession that it may may face in the end. And the need to really improve its its economy, especially for smaller claimant states, like like Brunei. Another Cayman state we have is Dr. Pan who please attend if you'd like to respond to the PRI question and then you can end with some of your final concluding thoughts.

Dr Thanh Hai Do 3:47:11

You say, I think that the BI will have multiple implication for the region. On the one side, that is could be an additional source of funding for infrastructure development for any country in the region, including Indonesia, and also other countries and that will be tested. But also in the same time that if we can if they are not managed properly, it will become a source of liabilities. Especially because I don't worry much about the legal aspects that are due to surveys. I think that yeah, I mean, most of the people would agree on that. I think that there's two other applications that would be more complicated. The first one is build up the capacity for China. Of course, for the first thing is the defend the Seelye of computation for itself. For what we China 10 secured the Scilab communication they are not dependent on others, like the US so that it may have the incentive to you know to to I certainly requested city elsewhere, because we have now that no, no ties exist. And the second one is a dependency that other countries, especially the small countries, small economies like Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar or so Brunei other country will be dependent on that. So that could lead to the some type of clients that that for political purposes that will be mentioned. So I think that we have to look on that because it's difficult to I would say that, though I support the idea, but if they're difficult to separate between economic and political assess for each of any investment projects, so we live with that. So I think that it's better for every foreign country to to build up their capacity and capability on that to go on. And finally, the I mean, what I would like to submit the final message. I think that media plays an important role in I mean, the amount of security, I agree with the show you read that. I mean, so for every one of what just that that we don't know. So by linking you know different aspects of maritime security from traditional To non traditional one from a fish stock to environment to sea level to last request to piracy, and then to the possibility, the concerns about the conflict in the region, the Arbitration Act the thing that will make the public understand the nature of the issue, and also if we have the public awareness on that issue, so we can work on that, otherwise, it will look live it for the government. So I mean, there may be a way that you see a policeman and also the somehow that will see that part diplomacy also inviting more with the assertiveness and aggressiveness. And by that I mean, by building up the public awareness on that, we also all create different pressure for our country to comply with international law. By the way, you know, if the old POS system will be collapsed, that will be a disaster for persons not only for for Southern Sudan country for other coastal states, also for China, us as well. So that will be fundamentally bad for all. So I think that then that one is more people should be involved and also plus

but the reason why I emphasize also I separate the patient, to be part of the class because I think that the public awareness, you can put them in the fight.

Dr. Asyura Salleh 3:51:31

Thank you very much, Dr. Tan. I think, as we reach the end of our masterclass some key points that we need to remember as we embark on these stories that we hope to do, that the journalists hope to do on maritime security is that the environment that maritime security takes place and is extremely complex, but is also characterized by this underlying a symmetric balance of power, as Andy pointed out, but at the same time, because of this, we have infrastructure such as ASEAN, that is trying its very best to rise above this to maintain regional unity and keep the momentum going in trying to seek a resolution to threats that we see out there, including issues such as marine debris while also tackling overlapping claims. But we do recognize that there are actors out there beyond ASEAN, beyond the Navy beyond the Coast Guard beyond the maritime militia actors, such as coastal communities, such as NGOs, that really need the agency and more capacity to do more for the sea and our maritime backyard. While all this is happening, we have to continuously address ecological threats, we are at the out of the data maritime region. And so what needs to be done here is to really raise public awareness. In the meantime, as we move forward, and band forward together, we should continue looking inward to build our own capacity. So we can try and continue as much as possible to maintain that level of independence as we could work and cooperate with our extra regional powers and other neighbors at the same time, let's strengthen regional collaboration and continue to uphold international law. I'd like to very much apologize for going beyond the stated time here 24 minutes past 6pm. But I would very much like to thank our brilliant, brilliant guest because in the conversation that we had with Dr. Duty Andy and also Dr. Tan, and also big thank you to Danny and also Adib from Kini Academy for allowing me to moderate this wonderful session, and for actually enjoying my Saturday afternoon. So thank you very much, everyone. I'll now give the floor back to to Danny shall I.

Danny Yong 3:53:45

Yeah, thank you so much. Thank you so much. I think we have so many people who attended this session and hardly anybody left actually. And I'm sure that two or three minutes left. Five minutes ago we had totally had to go we didn't want to interrupt the discussion at all because that's really the big part of this. What masterclass is what it's all about and the learnings from this is incredible. And so thank you again to all the speakers thank you for your time so much so much so much and they are kind and totally straightforward. A contribution to the discussion so for the rest of the participants you've been great. We just few more words, we have one more masterclass to come. And this another big interesting juicy one, which is on corruption two Saturdays from now. Okay, we have a poll as usual. We like to have you guys fill up for us if you can. This is important to to fulfill the requirements of the funders. We want to continue this off masterclasses in the future. And and today's masterclass is one of those good ones that will convince people to put more money in this kind of conversations to progress conversations like like this. So, one small shout out to all the journalists. It was just yesterday I was in, in a in a in a talk that's got Maria Reza and Steven Bannon MalaysiaKini where she received news that she won the she won the Nobel Prize. So she all she dedicated the Nobel Prize went to all journalists out there. So well congratulations, everybody. So, thank you, speakers. If you want to leave you can you can right now. My meantime, the rest of you, please. Adib will be managing has got a poll in the

chat. Please fill it up. And thank you again. Thank you so much. See you two Saturdays from now. Bye bye. Thank you. All. Thank you.

Muhammad Adib Faiz 3:55:48

Thank you. Thank you. Thank y'all. So we have put in the, we have put the poll in the chat. So you can just fit it in, otherwise we will send it so if everyone is alright, the model do is end the session here. Just give it one more minute. I think we have seven participants. So we'll bring it to an end here. So thank you very much, everybody, and we'll see you two weeks from now. Thank you.