

RSIS-CAPS Workshop

“ASEAN Resilience and European Strategic Autonomy: Converging Operational Concepts?”

Thursday, 28 October 2021 | 14.30 – 18.00 pm (Singapore time, UTC+8)

ABSTRACT

The concept of strategic autonomy, defined as “capacity to act autonomously when and where necessary and with partners wherever possible”, is taking a growing importance in the European Union’s strategic thought. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has long emphasised the notions of resilience and centrality and is insisting that it does not want to be caught in the midst of great power competition amidst an increasingly polarised world. This workshop explores the relevance and convergence of these policies in the current strategic outlook and how they can be implemented practically in different realms such as maritime security, cyberspace and economic sovereignty.

This workshop is co-organised by the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) and the Center for Analysis, Planning and Strategy (CAPS), Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France.

PROGRAMME

28 October 2021 (Singapore time, UTC+8)	
14:30 – 15:00	<p>OPENING REMARKS</p> <p>Ambassador Marc Abensour <i>Ambassador of France to Singapore</i></p> <p>Ambassador Ong Keng Yong <i>Executive Deputy Chairman, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p> <p>Ambassador Christophe Penot <i>Ambassador of France for the Indo-Pacific</i></p> <p>Ambassador Iwona Piórko <i>Ambassador of the European Union to Singapore</i></p>
15:00 – 15:55	<p>PANEL 1: WHERE DO CRITICAL INTERESTS LIE IN THE MARITIME DOMAIN?</p> <p><u>Moderator</u></p> <p>Professor Ralf Emmers <i>Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, and President's Chair in International Relations, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p> <p><u>Speakers</u></p> <p>1.1 Professor Geoffrey Till <i>Adviser, Maritime Security Programme, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p> <p>1.2 Admiral (Ret'd) Christophe Prazuck <i>Director, Institute of the Ocean, Sorbonne University Alliance, France</i></p> <p><u>Discussant</u></p> <p>Dr Shafiah Muhibat <i>Head, Department of International Relations, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia</i></p> <p>Questions and Answers</p>
15:55 – 16:00	BREAK

<p>16:00 – 16:55</p>	<p>PANEL 2 – WHAT DOES STRATEGIC AUTONOMY MEAN IN THE CYBERSPACE?</p> <p><u>Moderator</u></p> <p>Dr Shashi Jayakumar <i>Senior Fellow, Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security, and Executive Coordinator of Future Issues and Technology, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p> <p><u>Speakers</u></p> <p>2.1 Mr Benjamin Ang <i>Senior Fellow and Deputy Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p> <p>2.2 Dr Alix Desforges <i>Postdoctoral Fellow and Specialist in French Cyber Defense, Geopolitics of the Datasphere (GEODE), University of Paris 8, France</i></p> <p><u>Discussant</u></p> <p>Mr Sithuraj Ponraj <i>Visiting Senior Fellow, Centre of Excellence for National Security, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p> <p>Questions and Answers</p>
<p>16:55 – 17:00</p>	<p>BREAK</p>

<p>17:00 – 17:55</p>	<p>PANEL 3 – HOW TO REDEFINE ECONOMIC SOVEREIGNTY WITHOUT BARRING MARKET ACCESS?</p> <p><u>Moderator</u></p> <p>Associate Professor Alan Chong <i>Head, Centre for Multilateralism Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p> <p><u>Speakers</u></p> <p>3.1 Dr Dipinder Singh Randhawa <i>Adjunct Senior Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p> <p>3.2 Dr Jonathan Hackenbroich <i>Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations</i></p> <p><u>Discussant</u></p> <p>Dr Elvire Fabry <i>Senior Research Fellow, Jacques Delors Institute, France</i></p> <p>Questions and Answers</p>
<p>17:55 – 18:00</p>	<p>CLOSING REMARKS</p> <p>Mr Gurvan Le Bras <i>Deputy Director, Center for Analysis, Planning and Strategy, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France</i></p> <p>Professor Ralf Emmers <i>Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, and President’s Chair in International Relations, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p>
<p>18:00</p>	<p>END OF WORKSHOP</p>

BIOGRAPHIES

(*in alphabetical sequence according to last/family names)

Marc Abensour has been the Ambassador of France to Singapore since November 2016. After entering the French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs in 1994, he served in the Asia and Oceania as well as Strategic Affairs Directorates, and more recently at the General Secretariat for Defense and National Security. He held various postings at the French Embassies in Beijing and Washington and Permanent Representation to NATO.

Benjamin Ang is Senior Fellow and Deputy Head of the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) at RSIS. He leads the Cyber and Homeland Defence Programme of CENS, which explores policy issues around the cyber domain, international cyber norms, cyber threats and conflict, strategic communications and disinformation, law enforcement technology and cybercrime, smart city cyber issues, and national security issues in disruptive technology.

Prior to this, he had a multi-faceted career that included time as a litigation lawyer arguing commercial cases, IT Director and General Manager of a major Singapore law firm, corporate lawyer specialising in technology law and intellectual property issues, in house legal counsel in an international software company, Director-Asia in a regional technology consulting firm, in-house legal counsel in a transmedia company, and senior law lecturer at a local Polytechnic, specialising in data privacy, digital forensics, and computer misuse and cybersecurity.

Benjamin graduated from Law School at the National University of Singapore and has an MBA and MS-MIS (Masters of Science in Management Information Systems) from Boston University. He is qualified as an Advocate and Solicitor of the Supreme Court of Singapore, and was a Certified Novell Network Administrator back in the day. He also serves on the Executive Committee of the Internet Society Singapore Chapter.

Alan Chong is Associate Professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. He has published widely on the notion of soft power and the role of ideas in constructing the international relations of Singapore and Asia. His publications have appeared in *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *The Pacific Review*; *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*; *Asian Survey*; *East Asia: an International Quarterly*; *Politics, Religion and Ideology*; *the Review of International Studies*; *the Cambridge Review of International Affairs* and *Armed Forces and Society*. He is also the author of *Foreign Policy in Global Information Space: Actualizing Soft Power* (Palgrave, 2007) and editor of *International Security in the Asia Pacific: Transcending ASEAN towards Transitional Polycentrism* (Palgrave, 2018). He is currently working on several projects exploring the notion of "Asian international theory". His interest in soft power has also led to inquiry into the sociological and philosophical foundations of international communication. In the latter area, he is currently working on a manuscript titled "The International Politics of Communication: Representing Community in a Globalizing World". In tandem, he has pursued a fledgling interest in researching cyber security issues. He has frequently been interviewed in the Asian media and consulted in think tank networks in the region.

Alix Desforges is a PostDoctoral researcher at GEODE since September 2018. She holds a PhD in Geography with a specialization in Geopolitics from the French Institute of Geopolitics (Paris 8 University). Her thesis focuses on the geopolitical issues of defense and national security of cyberspace through the example of France.

Previously, she was a researcher for the Castex Chair of Cyberstrategy for 5 years from February 2013 to May 2018.

Ralf Emmers is Dean of S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) and President's Chair in International Relations, Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore.

He completed his MSc and PhD in the International Relations Department of the London School of Economics (LSE). His research interests cover security studies, the international institutions in the Asia Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. Prof Emmers is the author and editor of 11 books and monographs. His authored books include *Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia* (Routledge, 2010), *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and *Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia Pacific* co-written with Sarah Teo (Melbourne University Press, 2018). He is also the co-editor of the forthcoming *Oxford Handbook on Peaceful Change in International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

Prof Emmers has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *The Pacific Review*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, *Asian Survey*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Global Change, Peace & Security*, *Asian Security*, *TRaNS*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Asia Policy*, *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, *Asian Politics and Policy*, *Political Science* and *Contemporary Politics*, as well as numerous book chapters in edited volumes.

Elvire Fabry is Senior Research Fellow at the Jacques Delors Institute, in charge of trade policy, EU in globalisation and Brexit.

Her areas of expertise include EU bilateral trade negotiations, investment, global governance, WTO reform, Brexit, EU-US relations, EU-China relations, and perceptions of globalisation.

She previously conducted research on the EU's external action policies (trade, security and defense, neighbourhood, migration...).

She is member of:

- Board of CEPIL, leading French center for research and expertise on the world economy
- Policy Advisory Committee of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) in Paris
- Jean Monnet Network on Transatlantic Trade Politics
- Scientific Council of Elcano Royal Institute
- Editorial board of the journal *Futuribles*
- Policy Advisory Committee of the European Movement – France.
- Co-founder and member of the advisory committee of Proeuropa.

After being at the European Commission's Forward Studies Unit (1995), she joined the prospective studies and foresight centre, *Futuribles International*. In 2003-2004 she was research fellow at the Fondation Robert Schuman. From 2005 until spring 2009 she was director of the European programme at the Fondation pour l'Innovation Politique. She joined the Jacques Delors Institute in 2009.

Elvire Fabry holds a PhD in political science from the IEP (Sciences-Po) Paris, and Master's degrees in philosophy and international relations from the Panthéon Sorbonne – Paris I University. She has been an auditor ("Defense policy" 64th session) at the Institute of Higher National Defence Studies (IHEDN) in 2011-2012.

She is Colonel of the Citizens' Reserve of the French Air Force.

Jonathan Hackenbroich is a policy fellow for economic statecraft and the head of ECFR's Task Force for Protecting Europe from Economic Coercion. His work for ECFR's European Power programme focuses on economic coercion and geo-economics, especially sanctions policy. He is also an expert on German foreign policy.

Hackenbroich has been published in the weekly *Die Zeit*, the daily *FAZ* and *Tagesspiegel*, French daily *Le Monde*, *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, *Deutschlandfunk*, and in ECFR's annual political trends papers. He regularly appears as a commentator in the media, and has been a podcast contributor at ECFR's flagship podcast "World in 30 Minutes".

Hackenbroich holds a Master of Science in Foreign Service from Georgetown University in Washington D.C. where he specialised in US grand strategy, geopolitics and geo-economics. He also holds a BA in International Relations from TU Dresden.

Previously, Hackenbroich was research assistant to ECFR's director where he acted as speech writer, podcast researcher, and strategic adviser to Mark Leonard. Before joining ECFR, Hackenbroich was a trainee at *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, where he worked at the foreign desk and wrote about geopolitics and strategic issues.

He has also been a lecturer on strategic political forecasting at TU Dresden. Hackenbroich had previous work experience at the Carnegie Endowment in Washington, DC, the German Foreign Office's Iran Task Force, the German Bundestag, UNHCR Jordan and with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Lebanon.

Shashi Jayakumar assumed the appointment as Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) on 1 April 2015, and the appointment of Executive Coordinator, Future Issues and Technology on 1 Aug 2017.

Dr Jayakumar was educated at Oxford University where he studied History (BA 1997, D.Phil, 2001). He has published in various peer-reviewed journals and edited volumes on topics relating to medieval history (the focus of his doctorate). He was a member of the Singapore Administrative Service from 2002-2017. During this time, he was posted to various Ministries, including the Ministries of Defence, Manpower, Information and the Arts, and Community Development, Youth and Sports. He was from August 2011-July 2014 a Senior Visiting Research Fellow at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. His research interests include extremism, social resilience, cyber, and homeland defence. He is currently completing a major book project relating to local (Singapore) politics (forthcoming, National University of Singapore Press, 2021).

Gurvan Le Bras has been the Deputy Director of the Center for Analysis, Planning and Strategy of the French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs since September 2019. After entering the Ministry in 2005, he worked in the Departments in charge of International Law and the United Nations and served in the French Embassies in Cairo and Tunis.

Shafiah Muhibat is the Head of Department of International Relations, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Indonesia. She joined CSIS in December 2000, and since then has taken part in extensive research projects on politics and regional security in Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific. In 2017, she joined the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) Singapore as a Senior Fellow at the Maritime Security Programme for one year.

She has special interest in issues of regional security in East Asia, ASEAN, maritime security, Indonesia's foreign policy, and development cooperation. Previously, she was the Chief Editor of *The Indonesian Quarterly*, a quarterly academic journal published by CSIS, from 2013 to 2016, and a Doctoral Fellow at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy in Hamburg, Germany. She obtained a MSc from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in 2003 and a PhD from the University of Hamburg in 2013.

Ong Keng Yong is Executive Deputy Chairman of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at the Nanyang Technological University in Singapore since November 2014. Concurrently, he is Ambassador-at-Large in the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Singapore's non-resident High Commissioner to Pakistan and non-resident Ambassador to Iran. He was High Commissioner of Singapore to Malaysia from July 2011 to October 2014. Mr Ong was Secretary-General of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), based in Jakarta, Indonesia from January 2003 to January 2008.

Iwona Piórko has been the European Union Ambassador to Singapore since September 2021. Prior to her assignment in Singapore, she held several positions in Brussels. Most recently, as Member of Cabinet of European Commission Executive Vice-President for 'Europe fit for the Digital Age' Margrethe Vestager, she oversaw a portfolio that included industrial policy, SME strategy, internal market, trade, e-government as well as coordination with the EU Council of Ministers. Previously, she was Head of International Affairs at the European Commission's Directorate-General for Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs. From 2014 to 2017, she was Member of Cabinet of the EU's Foreign Policy Chief Federica Mogherini. From 2010 to 2014, she was Member of Cabinet of Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy Štefan Füle.

Sithuraj Ponraj is Visiting Senior Fellow at the RSIS Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) where he researches and writes on digital and cyber issues. He was previously Director of the International Cyber Policy Office in Singapore's Cyber Security Agency, where he played a key role in the development of Singapore's international cybersecurity strategy and in its international and regional engagement and capacity building initiatives.

Christophe Prazuck has more than 40 years of service in the French Navy. He changed course but kept the sea foot to take the head of the very young Institute of the Ocean of the Alliance Sorbonne University in 2021. Objective: to bring together the players in ocean sciences from the Alliance to develop transdisciplinary projects in research, training and relations with society. "*The oceanic challenges linked to climate, biodiversity, sustainable resources and geopolitics require different perspectives,*" he explains.

In 1979, Christophe Prazuck was 19 years old and finished his second and final year of preparatory classes at the Lycée Saint-Louis, in Paris. Like all students, he wonders about his professional future and dreams of discovering the world. "*It was a bit by chance that I chose to join the Naval School*". Two years earlier, he discovered the adventurous life of a Navy crew in *The Drum Crab*. The film left a lasting mark on him. "*My main motivation was above all to be useful and the distorted idea that I had of the profession of engineer did not satisfy this wish.*" » He passed the competitive examination for the Naval Academy and entered it as a cadet. He wants to navigate, as far as possible.

During his initial engineering training, he traveled the world for a year during which he discovered life as a crew and put into practice what he had learned on land. At the end of three years of school, he was assigned to patrol boats that sail between Mayotte and Reunion. He is 22 years old, is a second officer.

In the Navy, continuous training holds an important place. Officers are regularly sent "to school", military or civilian, to perfect their theoretical knowledge. In 1989, he was sent to California, to the University of Monterey, one of the campuses of the American Navy, for a thesis in physical oceanography. "*A superb experience!*" he recalls, *and not only for the proximity of the idyllic beaches of the Pacific Ocean. I did not know the university environment and had never been trained in a research setting. Finding yourself faced with a question, with data the meaning of which you do not know and having to find the tools, methods and concepts to carry out your work was extremely motivating. I thus better understood the physical phenomena at play in the ocean.*". Supervised by a teacher-researcher from Sorbonne University, he studied for two years the drift of ice from the Arctic to the Atlantic Ocean.

His career took him on all oceans, in submarines, special forces and in command of ships. He then became HRD of the Navy before leading it, with the rank of admiral, until 2020. "*During my career, I have experienced a lot of exciting things, extremely varied, which had nothing to do with what I imagined. We make choices for reasons of youth and we lead our lives for reasons of adulthood.*"

However, Christophe Prazuck does not intend to stop there. As his military career came to an end, he learned that Sorbonne University was creating an Institute of the Ocean. He who knows the actors of the maritime world well embraces " a role of facilitator to bring this world closer to that of research and higher education ". A month later, at age 60, he became director of the new institute. " *The problems we face today can neither be approached nor solved if we only look at them from one angle. Excellence in each discipline is necessary but not sufficient, it also requires interdisciplinarity.* "

The ex-soldier is already in the bath. " *I am no longer a soldier and I am not a researcher, I am a citizen and a sailor. I have lived with the ocean and now work to prepare our society and future generations to face its challenges. One day sailor, always sailor!* "

Dipinder S Randhawa is an Adjunct Senior Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University. His research interests are in the areas of Development Economics, Finance and Banking, Policy formulation and analysis, technologies of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, and the economic consequences of the pandemic. Earlier Dipinder held research positions at the Institute of South Asian Studies and the Risk Management Institute. He has taught at Syracuse University and the National University of Singapore and held visiting appointments at Universities in China and Thailand. Dipinder received PhD from the Whitman School at Syracuse University.

Geoffrey Till is Emeritus Professor of Maritime Studies at King's College London and Chairman of the Corbett Centre for Maritime Policy Studies. Once Dean of Academic Studies at the UK Joint Services Command and Staff College, he is author of nearly 300 books, chapters and articles. Since 2009 he has been a Visiting Professor, Senior Research Fellow and Advisor at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore. He now holds the Dudley W. Knox Chair for Naval History and Strategy at the US Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. His *Understanding Victory: Naval Operations from Trafalgar to the Falklands* was published by ABC-Clio in 2014 and he has recently completed a fourth edition of his *Seapower: A Guide for the 21st Century* (2018) and an edited version of Bo Hu's *Chinese Maritime Power in the 21st Century* (2019). His *How to Grow a Navy: The Development of Maritime Power* is currently being published by Routledge.