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The Australian Institute of International Affairs presents

The Indo-Pacific Research Forum: Mapping Regional Perspectives

Tuesday, 4 February 2020
Australian Embassy in Japan,
2-1-14 Mita, Minato-ku
Tokyo 108-8361

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Schedule

10.00-10.15	Welcoming Remarks
10.15-12.00	Panel 1: How “Indian” is the Indo Pacific?
12.00-13.00	Lunch
13:00-14:30	Panel 2: Is interest in the Indo-Pacific growing? How do New Zealand, the EU, Korea, and ASEAN view the concept?
14.30-15.00	Afternoon Tea
15.00-16.30	Panel 3: Institutionalising the Indo-Pacific
16:30-17:00	Summary and closing remarks
18:30-20:30	Dinner Gonpachi Nishiazabu, 1 Chome-13-11 Nishiazabu, Minato City, Tokyo

The Indo-Pacific Research Forum

Introduction

The Indo-Pacific Research Forum is a two-year project spanning 2019-2020, established by the AIIA in partnership with the Japan Foundation, the Australian Civil Military Centre, and the Australia-Japan Foundation. The project attempts to define and clarify contemporary understandings and policy significance of the Indo-Pacific concept and to explore its potential to form the basis for interstate cooperation. The project is held as a series of panel discussions featuring officials and scholars, aiming to explore foreign policy perspectives of key players in the region. The focus of the program lies heavily on regional players that have lent much to the development of the Indo-Pacific as a framework.

About the AIIA

The AIIA was formed in 1924 as a branch of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) and was later established as a federal Australian body in 1933. Its core mission is to assist Australians to know, understand and engage more in international affairs. It is the only nation-wide organisation of its kind in Australia. The AIIA maintains independent branches in every Australian State Capital and the Australian Capital Territory, coordinating some 250 events per year. The AIIA national office, located in Canberra, organises track-II dialogues, public events, publications, and analysis. The AIIA has access to prominent Australian political figures, leading scholars on foreign affairs, international institutions, youth networks, and the broader diplomatic community.

Background

The Indo-Pacific, a concept that has attracted growing interest in foreign policy circles, has gained traction in recent years. It is often explained in terms of a US-led strategy to counter China's growing influence in the region. The Indo-Pacific concept, however, is hardly new, nor is it the exclusive preserve of US foreign policy circles. Australia and Japan, as norm entrepreneurs and middle powers, are leaders in promoting and diffusing the concept, and its related ideas in the region. Similarly, India and Southeast Asian countries, such as Singapore and Indonesia, have recently welcomed the term Indo-Pacific as a platform for developing economic and sociocultural interactions between states and relevant regional institutions. New Zealand and Pacific Island nations have perhaps more cautiously approached the term, but increasingly see it as a useful framing device to emphasise issues important to Pacific nations. Accounting for the approaches of different regional players in the Indo-Pacific, this forum seeks to answer what the Indo-Pacific means and what countries do with it.

Overview

Welcoming Remarks

- Greg Ralph, *Minister-Counsellor, Australian Embassy in Japan*
- Dr Bryce Wakefield, *National Executive Director, Australian Institute of International Affairs*

Panel 1: How “Indian” is the Indo Pacific?

Moderator:

- Dr Bec Strating, *Acting Executive Director, La Trobe Asia*

Speakers:

- Dr K.V. Kesavan, *Visiting Fellow, Observer Research Foundation*
- Dr Purnendra Jain, *Adjunct Professor, Department of Asian Studies, The University of Adelaide*
- Dr Takuya Shimodaira, *Special Researcher, Japan Forum for Strategic Studies*

Panel 2: Is interest in the Indo-Pacific growing? How do New Zealand, the EU, Korea, and ASEAN view the concept?

Moderator:

- Rabea Brauer, *Resident Representative in Japan, Konrad Adenauer Foundation*

Speakers:

- Dr Sang Hyun Lee, *Senior Research Fellow, Sejong Institute*
- Dr Lynn Kuok, *Shangri-La Dialogue Senior Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies*
- Dr Liselotte Odgaard, *Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute*
- Dominic Walton-France, *Deputy Head of Mission, New Zealand Embassy, Tokyo*

Panel 3: Institutionalising the Indo-Pacific

Moderator:

- Dr Bryce Wakefield, *National Executive Director, Australian Institute of International Affairs*

Speakers:

- Dr Kristie Barrow, *Director, International and Domestic Engagement, Australian Civil-Military Centre*
- Dr Bec Strating, *Acting Executive Director, La Trobe Asia*
- Professor Takashi Terada, *Graduate School of Political Science, Doshisha University*
- Professor Yoichiro Sato, *Dean of International Cooperation and Research, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University*

Panel Descriptions

Panel 1: How “Indian” is the Indo Pacific?

How does India perceive its role within the Indo-Pacific, particularly given the reestablishment of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue between Australia, India, Japan, and the United States, India’s reinvigorated “Act East” policy, and the American push for a bolstered Indian presence in the region? Is the Indian Ocean becoming a seat of naval contestation between the two most populous countries in the region? What are the ramifications for a more focused Indian presence, in this region, and particularly given India’s legacies of non-alignment and strategic autonomy, is this a role the country actively seeks to play? How do other actors in the Indo-Pacific, notably Australia and Japan, view India’s presence? This panel seeks to address such questions, and to gain further insight into the future of Indian involvement in a dynamic Indo-Pacific region.

Panel 2: Is interest in the Indo-Pacific growing? How do New Zealand, the EU, Korea, and ASEAN view the concept?

This panel explores how international actors, either within the region or holding vested interests in it, perceive the concept of the Indo-Pacific. Some states, namely Australia and Japan, have made it clear that they see the Indo-Pacific as a key organising concept of the region, however the position of other players is not always so clear. How do New Zealand, the EU, Korea, and ASEAN view the concept of the Indo-Pacific, and do their interpretations of the concept necessarily align with Australia’s and Japan’s? What are the implications of different visions of the Indo-Pacific, and do they carry with them new challenges? Can ASEAN or others offer any special insights into regional integration and institutionalisation? This panel seeks to facilitate a discussion on how traditionally “peripheral” players in the Indo-Pacific are engaging with the region, and their future outlooks.

Panel 3: Institutionalising the Indo-Pacific

This panel explores the validity of the Indo-Pacific as potential basis for interstate cooperation, whether within emerging regional frameworks such as the quad or among a broader group of emergent arrangements in the region. If the Indo-Pacific is to mean something, surely that meaning will be indicated by a different set of regional institutions and understandings that are different to what has come before. Are there emerging economic instruments and arrangements that lend themselves to a different understanding of trade than those which have existed before? Similarly, are patterns of military cooperation emerging to produce new and tangible institutions that define the region? Are there concrete policies that can clearly be labelled as Indo-Pacific initiatives? Is interaction prompting states in the region to reconsider their ideas surrounding the rule of law in the maritime environment? What does it mean to say that a country is in the Indo-Pacific?

Participants' Biographies (A-Z)

Dr Kristie Barrow

Director, International and Domestic Engagement, Australian Civil-Military Centre



Kristie Barrow is the director of international and domestic engagement at the Australian Civil-Military Centre. She was an Australian diplomat for 12 years with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, with postings at Australia's embassies in Ukraine, Malta, Afghanistan, and Spain. During this time, she worked on a range of topics as diverse as the Kidnapping Taskforce, to China and Japan Free Trade Agreements. She served as Political Advisor to the NATO Ambassador to Kabul in 2014-15, living and working on a military base as part of the International Security Assistance Force, and later, Operation Resolute Support. In this role, she provided political and strategic advice to the civilian head of the NATO mission in support of the international security mission. Before joining the foreign service, she worked with arms control and disarmament NGOs and think tanks, including the International Campaign to

Ban Landmines. She earned her PhD in International Relations from the University of Queensland. She has a Master of Public Policy from the University of Oxford, and a bachelor's degree with First Class Honours in Languages and Linguistics from Griffith University.

Rabea Brauer

Resident Representative in Japan, Konrad Adenauer Foundation



Rabea Brauer is the resident representative of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) in Japan, and the Director of the KAS Economic Governance in Asia regional program. She began her career at the State Government of Thuringia, Germany where she served as Spokeswomen of the Ministry of Interior until 2002. On behalf of her state government and KAS she implemented an administrative reform project funded by the EU in Cambodia, and in 2005 she joined the European Commission as Head of Section for Good Governance & Democracy at the EU Delegation to Cambodia, where she was also responsible for the funding to the Khmer Rouge Tribunal at the ECCC. After four years with the commission she moved to KAS to represent the foundation in Cambodia and Vietnam. In 2016 Brauer led the Department of Asia & Pacific at KAS in Berlin, Germany. She was responsible for 23 offices in Asia and Pacific and has published articles on China, the US-Asia relations, the South China Sea conflict and Mekong River politics. She holds master's degrees in political science, American studies, and EU law.

Participants' Biographies (A-Z)

Aiko Doden

Senior Director, NHK World TV



Aiko Doden is special affairs commentator on international affairs and senior director at NHK World TV, where she presents “Newslines in Depth,” a feature segment on NHK World News. She has expertise in reporting on a range of issues, including hard security, human security and developmental affairs with a focus on sustainable growth, global health, gender and education. She also focuses on Southeast Asia, Japan-US relations and Japan’s foreign policy. She is a popular face on TV, having anchored “NHK News at 9 PM,” “NHK World Network,” and “NHK Asian Voices.” She was previously a correspondent based in Thailand, where she covered ASEAN’s activities extensively. Her interviewees include the Nobel Laureates Malala Yousafzai, Professor Muhammad Yunus, Bill Gates, former UN High Commissioner for Refugees Antonio Guterres, UN Fund for

Population Activities Executive Director Natalia Kanem, former Myanmar Prime Minister Thein Sein, Thai Interim Prime Minister Prayuth Chan-o-cha, and, most recently, Japanese Magsaysay Award recipient Dr Yoshiaki Ishizawa. She holds an MA in international affairs from Columbia University, and a BA in foreign studies from Sophia University.

Dr Purnendra Jain

Professor, Department of Asian Studies, University of Adelaide



Purnendra Jain is an adjunct professor in the Department of Asian Studies at the University of Adelaide, and currently serves as vice president of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, South Australian branch. His research focuses on contemporary Japanese politics and foreign policy. He has also researched and written extensively on Japan-India, Japan-South Asia and Australia-Asia relations; regionalism and regional institutions; energy and foreign aid issues and comparative studies of the politics and foreign policy of Japan, China and India. His research has been published in *Asian Survey*, *Pacific Review*, *International Relations of the Asia Pacific*, *Japan Forum*, *Japanese Studies*, *Leviathan*, *Global Asia*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, and *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, and he co-edited *Japan’s Strategic Challenges in a Changing Regional Environment* in 2013. He has previously served as president of the Japanese Studies Association of Australia and the Asian Studies Association of Australia. In 2015, he co-convened the 9th International Convention of Asian Scholars in Adelaide. He received his PhD from Griffith University, and his MPhil from the University of Delhi.

Participants' Biographies (A-Z)

Dr K.V. Kesavan

Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation



K.V. Kesavan is a distinguished fellow at the Observer Research Foundation, and was on the faculty of East Asian Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi for over thirty years. He is the author of several books and has published numerous research papers for Indian and foreign academic journals on Japan's foreign policy and domestic politics. He has been a visiting fellow at Columbia University, the University of California, Berkeley, the Australian National University and Tokyo University. From 2003-2006, he was a visiting professor at Ritsumeikan University, Kobe Gakuin University and the Ocean Policy Research Foundation in Tokyo. In 2001, the Japanese Government conferred on him the Japanese Foreign Minister's Commendation

Award for his contribution to closer understanding between India and Japan. In 2011, His Majesty the Emperor of Japan conferred on him the Order of the Rising Sun in recognition of his outstanding contributions to the advancement of Japanese studies and the promotion of the understanding of Japan in India. He obtained his PhD from the Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi.

Dr Lynn Kuok

Shangri-La Dialogue Senior Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies



Lynn Kuok is a Shangri-La Dialogue senior fellow for Asia-Pacific security with the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). She is also senior research fellow at the University of Cambridge. She is a former Brookings expert and has held fellowships at Yale Law School's China Center, Harvard Law School, the Harvard Kennedy School, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the Centre for International Law at the National University of Singapore. She served as editor-in-chief of the Cambridge Review of International Affairs and the Singapore Law Review. She sits on the World Economic Forum's Global Future Council on Geopolitics; she was a council member on its Global Future Council on International Security.

Participants' Biographies (A-Z)

Dr Sang Hyun Lee Senior Research Fellow, Sejong Institute



Sang Hyun Lee is a senior research fellow at the Sejong Institute in Korea, and also serves as president of the Korea Nuclear Policy Society. He was a research fellow at the Korean Institute for International Studies, the Korea Institute for Defense Analysis, and a policy advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Unification, and Ministry of National Defense. He has served as Director-General for Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is a member of the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament, and the Korea-US Nuclear Policy Leadership Initiative. He has been a visiting scholar at the Institute for Development and Security in Stockholm and Stimson Center in Washington DC. His main research interests include international politics and security, Korea-U.S. relations, inter-Korean relations, nuclear security and nonproliferation, and East Asian security issues. His recent publications include: "Trump Administration's Nuclear Policy: Implications for Global Nuclear Energy and North Korean Nuclear Issue" (2019), "Trump Administration's National Security Policy and Its Implications for Global Order and Korean Peninsula" (2018). In 2017, he co-authored *Trump Administration and ROK-US Relations and North Korea under Kim Jong-un: Evaluating Past Five Years*. He received his BA and MA from Seoul National University and PhD from the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Dr Liselotte Odgaard Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute



Liselotte Odgaard is visiting senior fellow at Hudson Institute, seconded by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Her work focuses on Chinese and Asia-Pacific economic and security policies, and US-China-Europe relations. She has been a visiting scholar at institutions such as Harvard University, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and the Norwegian Nobel Institute. She is the author of numerous monographs, books, peer-reviewed articles, and research papers on Chinese and Asia-Pacific security and is a frequent media commentator. Her most recent publications focus on Europe in between US-Chinese strategic competition, and include: "Europe's Place in Sino-U.S. Competition," a chapter in *Strategic Asia 2020: Sino-U.S. Competition for Global Influence*, and "European Engagement in the Indo-Pacific: The Interplay between Institutional and State-Level Naval Diplomacy," in *Asia Policy* (October 2019). She regularly participates in policy dialogues such as the Arctic Circle Assembly in Iceland and the Xiangshan Forum in Beijing. She received her PhD in political science from Aarhus University in Denmark.

Participants' Biographies (A-Z)

Professor Yoichiro Sato

Dean, International Cooperation and Research, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University



Yoichiro Sato is a professor at the College of Asia Pacific Studies and the Dean of International Cooperation and Research at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University. He has taught at multiple tertiary and governmental institutions, including the US Department of Defense's Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Auckland University and the University of Hawaii. His major works include *The Rise of China and International Security*, co-edited with Kevin Cooney, published in 2008, *The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance*, co-edited with Takashi Inoguchi and G. John Ikenberry, published in 2011, *U.S. Engagement in the Asia Pacific*, co-edited with See Seng Tang, published in 2015 and *Re-rising Japan: Its Strategic Power in International Relations*, co-edited with Hidekazu Sakai, published in 2017. He is a frequent commentator for various international media, including *Time*,

Newsweek, *USA Today*, *National Public Radio*, *Voice of America*, *Agence France- Presse*, *Al Jazeera*, *Radio Australia*, *Bloomberg*, *MSNBC*, *Nikkei Asian Review*, *Japan Times*, and *TVNZ*. He holds a BA in Law from Keio University, an MA in International Studies from the University of South Carolina, and a PhD in Political Science from the University of Hawaii.

Dr Takuya Shimodaira

Special Researcher, Japan Forum for Strategic Studies



Takuya Shimodaira is a special researcher at the Japan Forum for Strategic Studies, and an adjunct lecturer at both Edogawa University and Kokushikan University. His areas of expertise cover maritime security, the Japan-US alliance, non-traditional security and joint military operations, and he has published extensively in English and Japanese on these issues. Most recently, he has authored articles on "Enhancing Maritime Connectivity in the Indo-Pacific Region – Peacetime Military Engagement from the Sea," as part of the 2018 *Sasakawa Peace Foundation Policy Recommendations by the Quadripartite Commission on the Indian Ocean Regional Security* and "The Characteristics and Challenges of Chinese Strategic Support Force" in *Japan Forum for Strategic Studies* (2019). He

has previously held a fellowship at the National Institute for Defense Studies, and a position as visiting military professor in the Joint Military Operations Department at the US Naval War College. He received his PhD in Politics from Kokushikan University.

Participants' Biographies (A-Z)

Dr Bec Strating

Acting Executive Director, La Trobe University



Bec Strating is the acting executive director at La Trobe Asia, and a senior lecturer in politics and international relations at La Trobe University. Her research focuses on Australian foreign policy and maritime disputes in the Indo-Pacific, and she is currently writing a monograph comparing the interests and approaches of regional non-claimant states to the South China Sea disputes. In 2019, she received an Asian Studies Visiting Fellowship to research at the East West Center in Washington DC. She was a visiting affiliate fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, and a non-visiting fellow at the Perth US Asia Centre. She recently co-edited a special issue of the *Australian Journal of Politics and History* on “East Asia's

Contested Security Order,” and published a second monograph, *The Post-Colonial Security Dilemma*, with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. She is a frequent commentator for the Lowy Institute, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, *The Conversation*, *East Asia Forum*, *New Mandala*, *Asia Global Online* and *Australian Outlook*. She received her PhD in politics from Monash University.

Professor Takashi Terada

Graduate School of Political Science, Doshisha University



Takashi Terada is a professor of international relations and the head of political science at Doshisha University. Before taking up his current position, he was an assistant professor at the National University of Singapore and an associate and full professor at Waseda University. He has also served as a visiting fellow at the University of Warwick, a Japan scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington DC, and an operating adviser for the US-Japan Institute. His areas of research include international political economy in Asia and the Pacific, theoretical and empirical studies of Asian regionalism and regional integration and Japanese politics and foreign policy. His latest article “Japan

and TPP/TPP-11: opening black box of domestic political alignment for proactive economic diplomacy in face of “Trump Shock”” was published in *The Pacific Review* in 2019. His book, entitled “East Asia and Asia-Pacific; Institutional and Normative Competitions in Regional Integration” was published in Japanese by University of Tokyo Press in 2013. He received his PhD from the Australian National University in 1999 and was the recipient of the 2005 J.G. Crawford Award.

Participants' Biographies (A-Z)

Dr Bryce Wakefield

National Executive Director, Australian Institute of International Affairs



Bryce Wakefield is the national executive Director of the Australian Institute of International Affairs. He has lived, worked and researched in the US, Japan, Europe and New Zealand. He trained as a political scientist with particular expertise in international relations and the international affairs of East Asia. From 2008 to 2012, Bryce was the associate responsible for Northeast Asian programs at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. His academic publications to date focus on constitutional issues and defence policy, political marketing and national identity in Japan. From 2012 to 2018, he was a tenured lecturer of area studies and international relations at Leiden University in the Netherlands. He lived in Japan from 1998 to 2004 and earned his master's degree from Osaka University's School of International Public Policy. He earned his PhD

in political studies from the University of Auckland.

Dominic Walton-France

Deputy Head of Mission, New Zealand Embassy, Tokyo



Dominic Walton-France is the deputy head of mission at the New Zealand Embassy in Tokyo. He has been working in the New Zealand public service for 20 years in internationally focused roles based in New Zealand, Asia and the Pacific. From 2016-2018, he worked in Wellington, managing teams in the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade's (MFAT) Pacific and Development Group, most recently implementing a NZ\$250m programme of energy and infrastructure projects across the Pacific region. Dominic lived in the Philippines from 2013-2016, representing New Zealand on the Board of the Asian Development Bank. His career has also had a strong focus on the Pacific region, including working as New Zealand's Deputy High Commissioner to Tonga from 2008-2011, where he managed New Zealand's

development assistance programme to Tonga during a time of major democratic reforms. Prior to this, he served in both MFAT's Headquarters in Wellington and in the New Zealand Treasury, where he led a small team working on New Zealand's interactions with international financial institutions including the IMF, World Bank and Asian Development Bank. He is a graduate of Otago and Victoria Universities, majoring in politics, international relations and economics.

CONTACT US

Australian Institute of International Affairs National Office
Stephen House, 32 Thesiger Court Deakin ACT 2600

T: +61 (2) 6282 2133

E: info@internationalaffairs.org.au

W: www.internationalaffairs.org.au

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