

**STRATEGIC ISSUES IN THE INDO-PACIFIC
AND FRANCE'S STRATEGY**

Antoine BONDAZ, Ph.D.



● Asia-Pacific ● Indo-Pacific



THE INDO-PACIFIC:

produces almost
60% of global GDP



is home to three of the four largest economies outside the EU (China, India, Japan)

contributes two thirds
of global growth



is at the forefront of the digital economy and technological developments

by 2030, **90%** of 2,4 billion new middle class members will come from the region



is central to global value chains, international trade and investment flows

...AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Top investor, top development assistance provider and big trading partner for the region.





RUSSIA
2008

North Korea
Despite 1962/63 border agreement, there is no final settlement. South Korea does not recognise the agreement

South Korea
China opposes Korean activity on Socotra Rock due to EEZ infringement

Japan
Escalation of tensions over Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands since purchase of islands by Japanese government from private hands (2012)

Taiwan
Relative easing of relations around the 'One China' consensus (1992)

Philippines
Competing claims around Spratly Islands & Scarborough Shoal

Vietnam
Competing claims on Paracel Islands (after China gained control in 1974) and Spratly Islands (skirmishes 1988). Land border settled in 2009

Brunei
Claims only its EEZ

Malaysia
Competing claims on parts of Spratly Islands

KAZAKHSTAN
1999

KYRGYZSTAN
2009

TAJIKISTAN
2002

AFGHANISTAN
1963

PAKISTAN
1963

NEPAL
1961

MYANMAR
1960

LAOS
1991

Bhutan
Stalled diplomatic relations despite bilateral border agreement (1998)

India
Unsettled border issues since 1962 Sino-Indian War. Regular clashes continue along the 1996 Line of Actual Control west of Tibet and in Arunachal Pradesh. India does not recognize China-Pakistan border agreement

MONGOLIA
2005

CHINA

Mount Baekdu

NORTH KOREA

SOUTH KOREA

JAPAN

Socotra Rock

TAIWAN

Paracel Islands

Pratas Islands

South China Sea

Scarborough Shoal

Spratly Islands

PHILIPPINES

BRUNEI

MALAYSIA

CAMBODIA

Arunachal Pradesh

"McMahon line"

BHUTAN

Jammu & Kashmir

INDIA

BANGLADESH

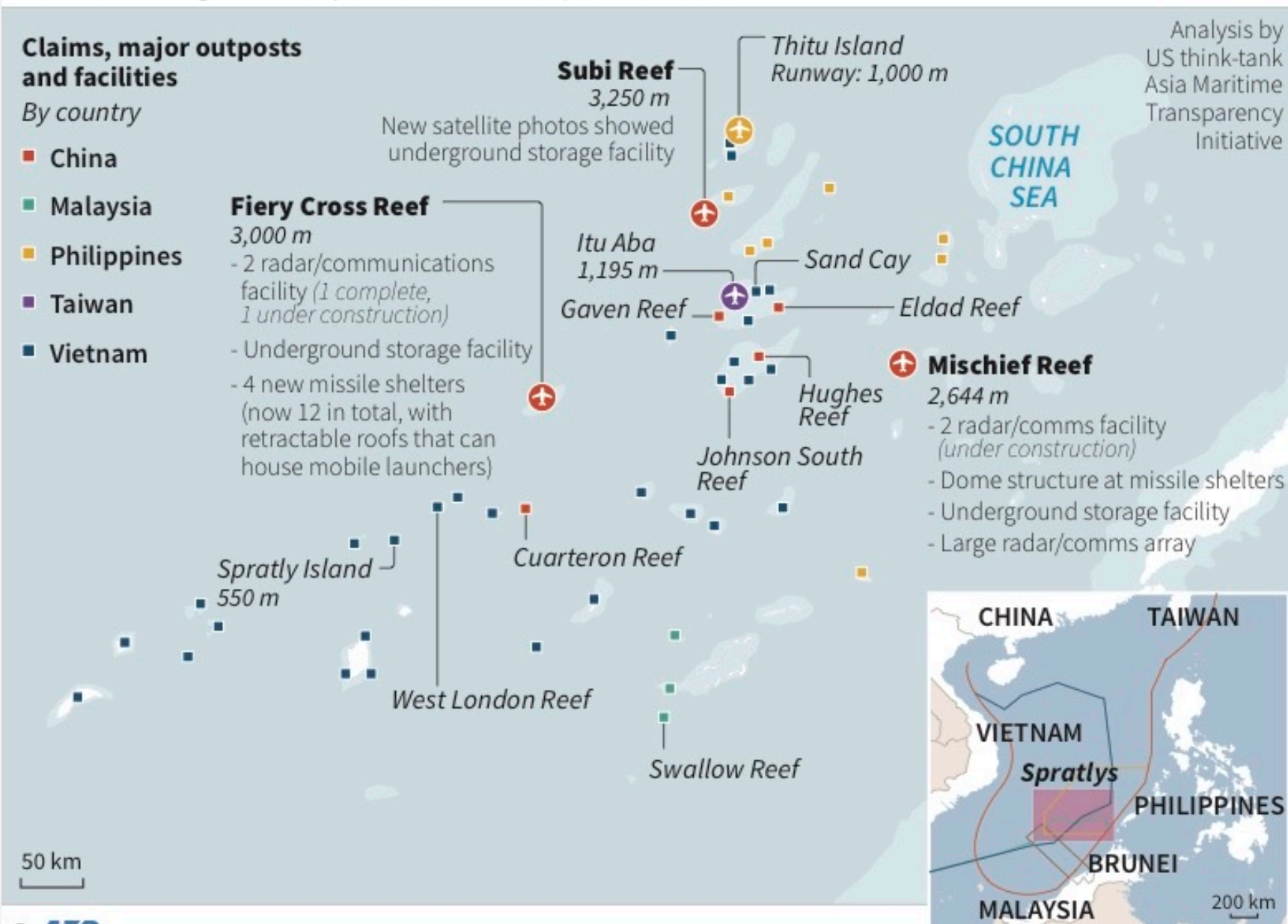
Aksai Chin

Tibet

Nothern Areas

Disputed Spratly Islands

Three of China's outposts in the contested South China Sea were close to being ready for deploying military assets, according to US analysis of new satellite photos in June



07/2009



07/2015



11/2016





Examples of the PLA Navy and Air Force confirmed around Japan (photos: MSDF/ASDF)



Shang-class submarine



Aircraft carrier "Liaoning"



H-6 bomber



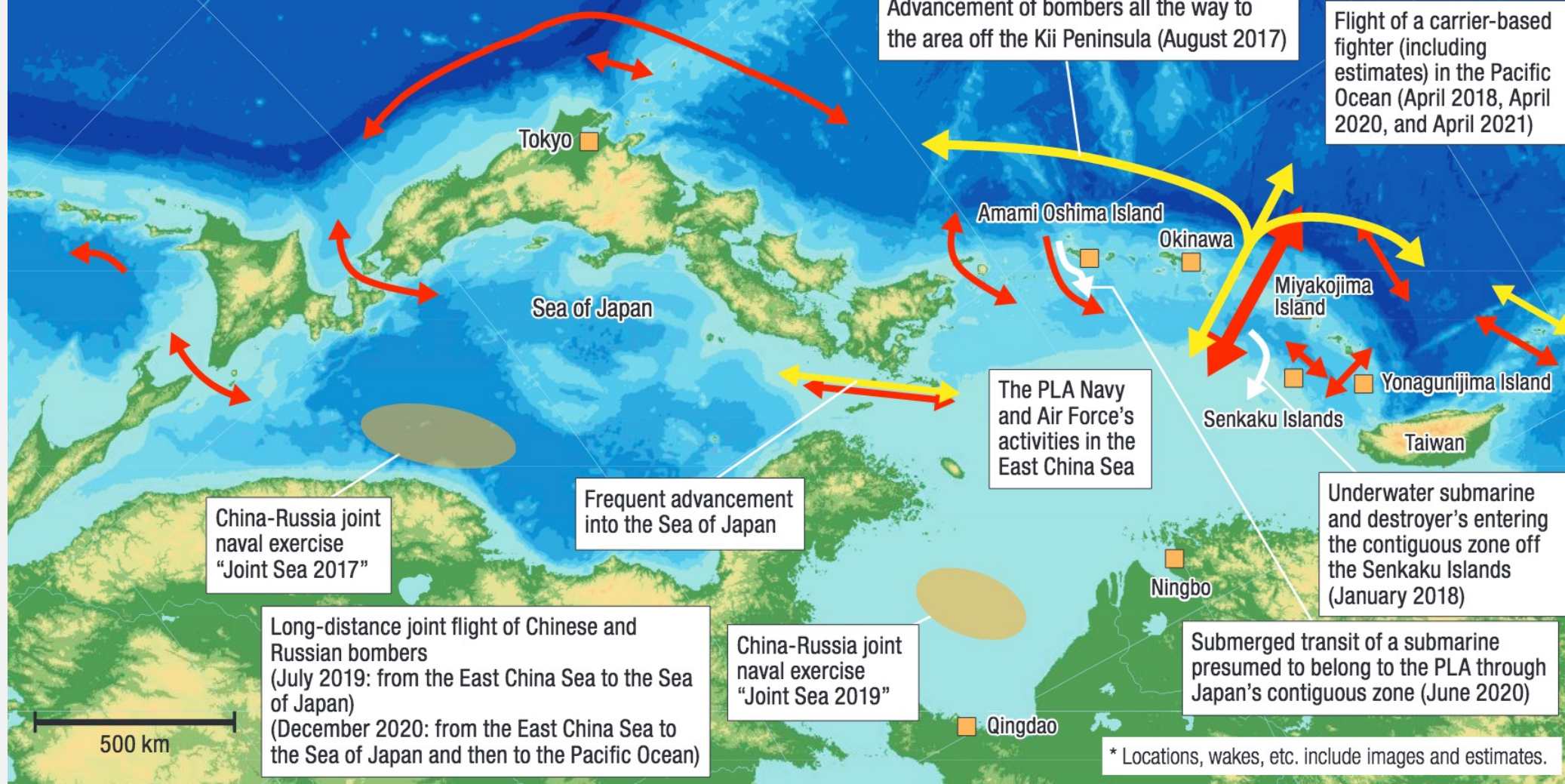
Su-30 fighter

Legend
Sea power →
Air power →

Frequent advancement into the Pacific Ocean passing between Okinawa and Miyakojima Island

Flight of a carrier-based fighter (including estimates) in the Pacific Ocean (April 2018, April 2020, and April 2021)

Advancement of bombers all the way to the area off the Kii Peninsula (August 2017)



Tokyo

Sea of Japan

Amami Oshima Island

Okinawa

Miyakojima Island

Yonagunijima Island

Senkaku Islands

Taiwan

Ningbo

Qingdao

China-Russia joint naval exercise "Joint Sea 2017"

Frequent advancement into the Sea of Japan

Long-distance joint flight of Chinese and Russian bombers
(July 2019: from the East China Sea to the Sea of Japan)
(December 2020: from the East China Sea to the Sea of Japan and then to the Pacific Ocean)

China-Russia joint naval exercise "Joint Sea 2019"

The PLA Navy and Air Force's activities in the East China Sea

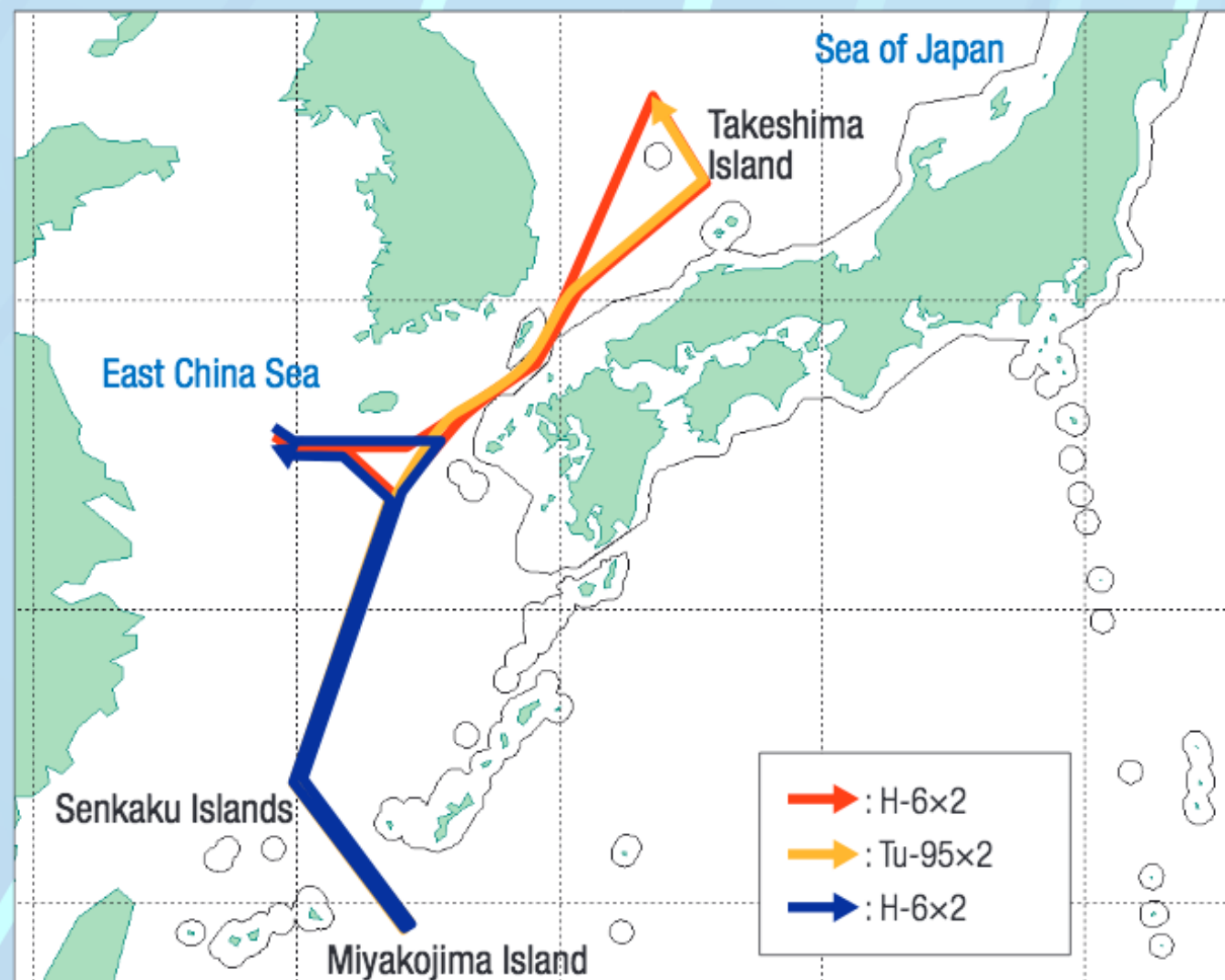
Underwater submarine and destroyer's entering the contiguous zone off the Senkaku Islands (January 2018)

Submerged transit of a submarine presumed to belong to the PLA through Japan's contiguous zone (June 2020)

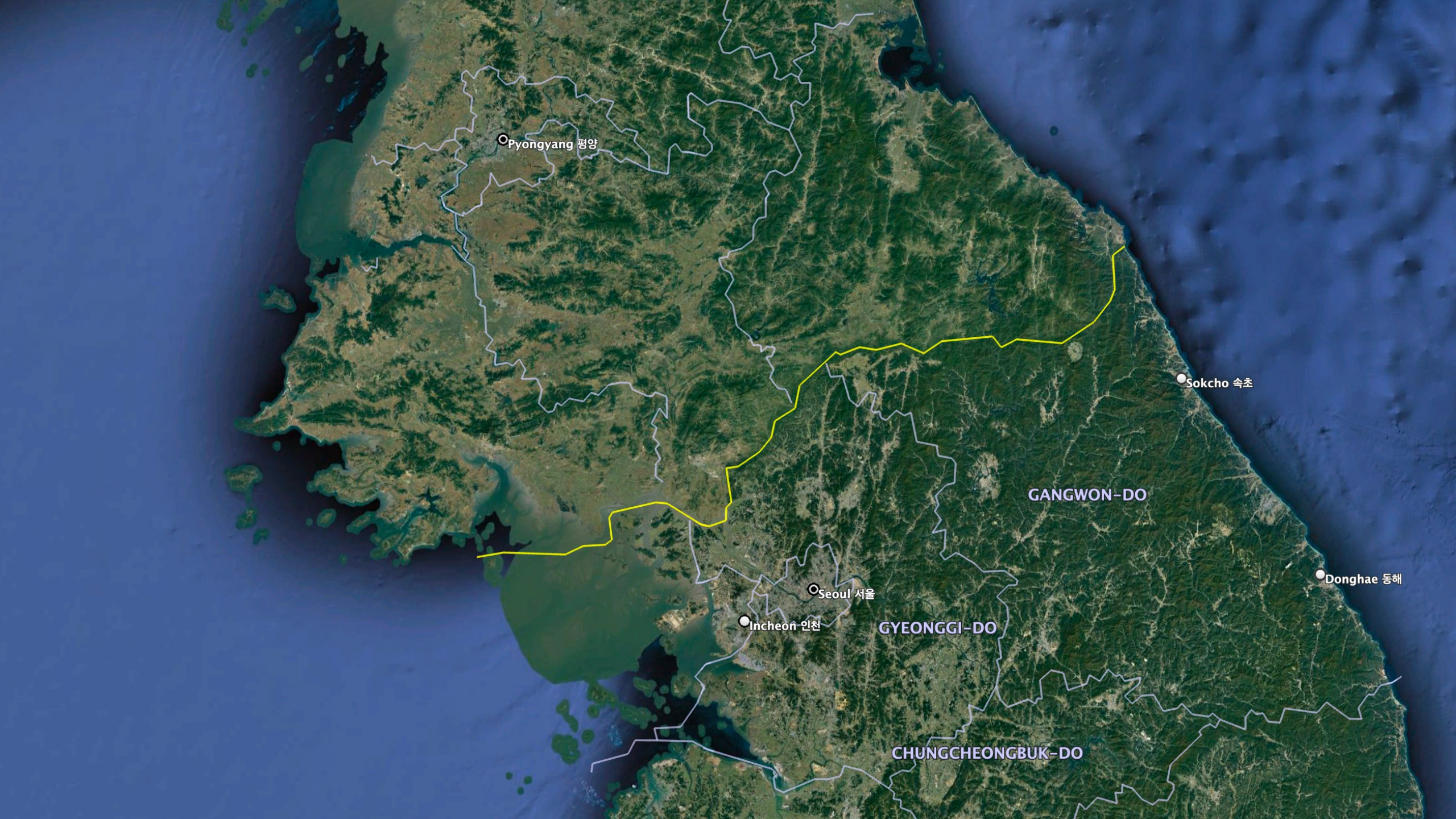
* Locations, wakes, etc. include images and estimates.

Year	Number of days (days)	Total number of identified vessels (vessels)
2012	79	407
2013	232	819
2014	243	729
2015	240	709
2016	211	752
2017	171	696
2018	158	607
2019	282	1,097
2020	333	1,161

China-Russia joint flight (December 22, 2020)







Pyongyang 평양

Sokcho 속초

GANGWON-DO

Donghae 동해

Seoul 서울

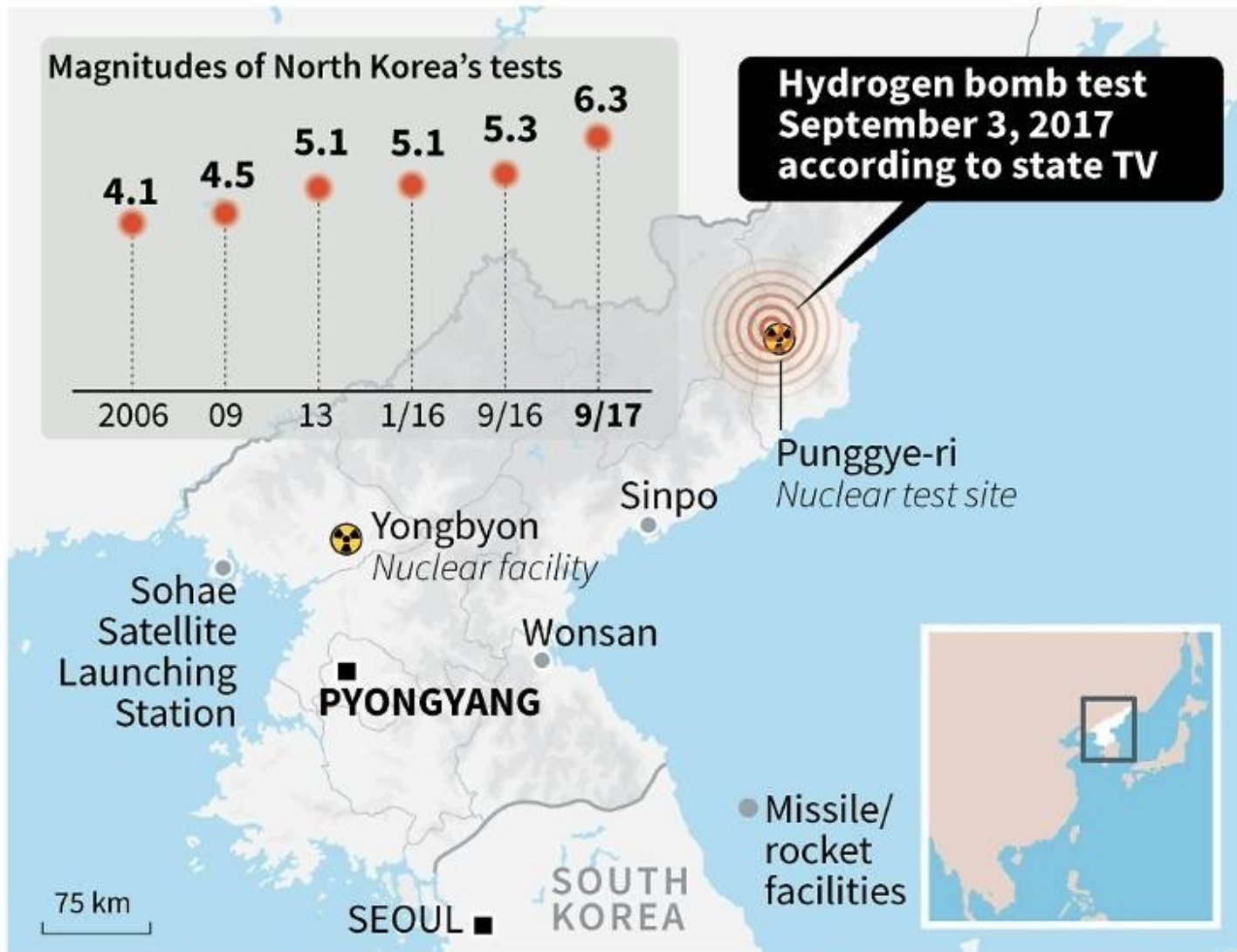
Incheon 인천

GYEONGGI-DO

CHUNGCHEONGBUK-DO

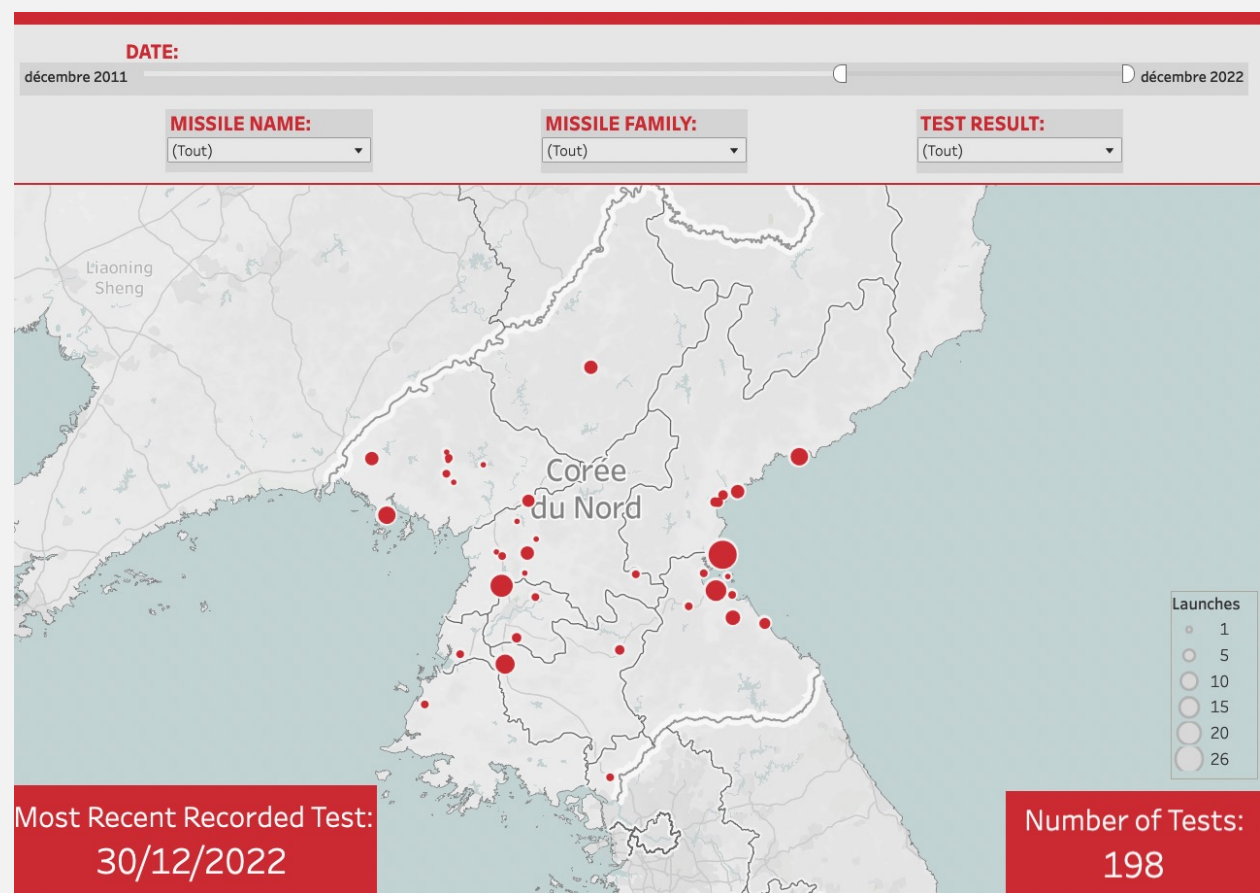
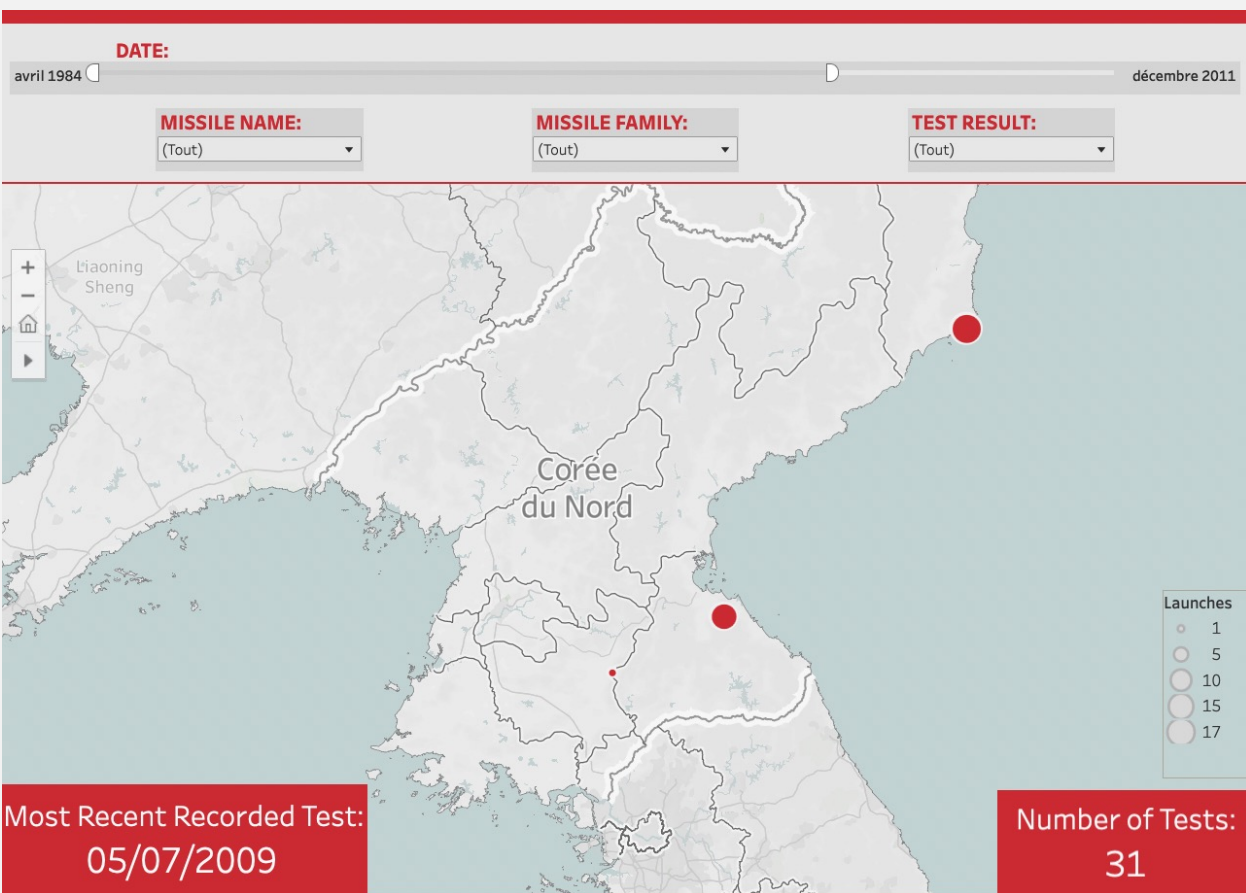
North Korea's nuclear tests

Pyongyang detonated its sixth nuclear device Sunday



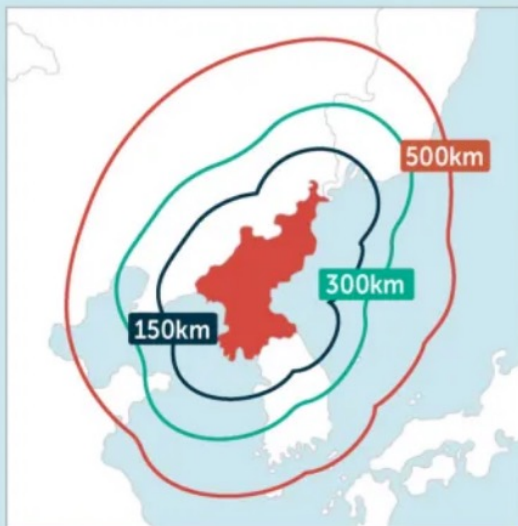
Source: USGS/Yonhap/SKorea authorities/NK state TV

© AFP

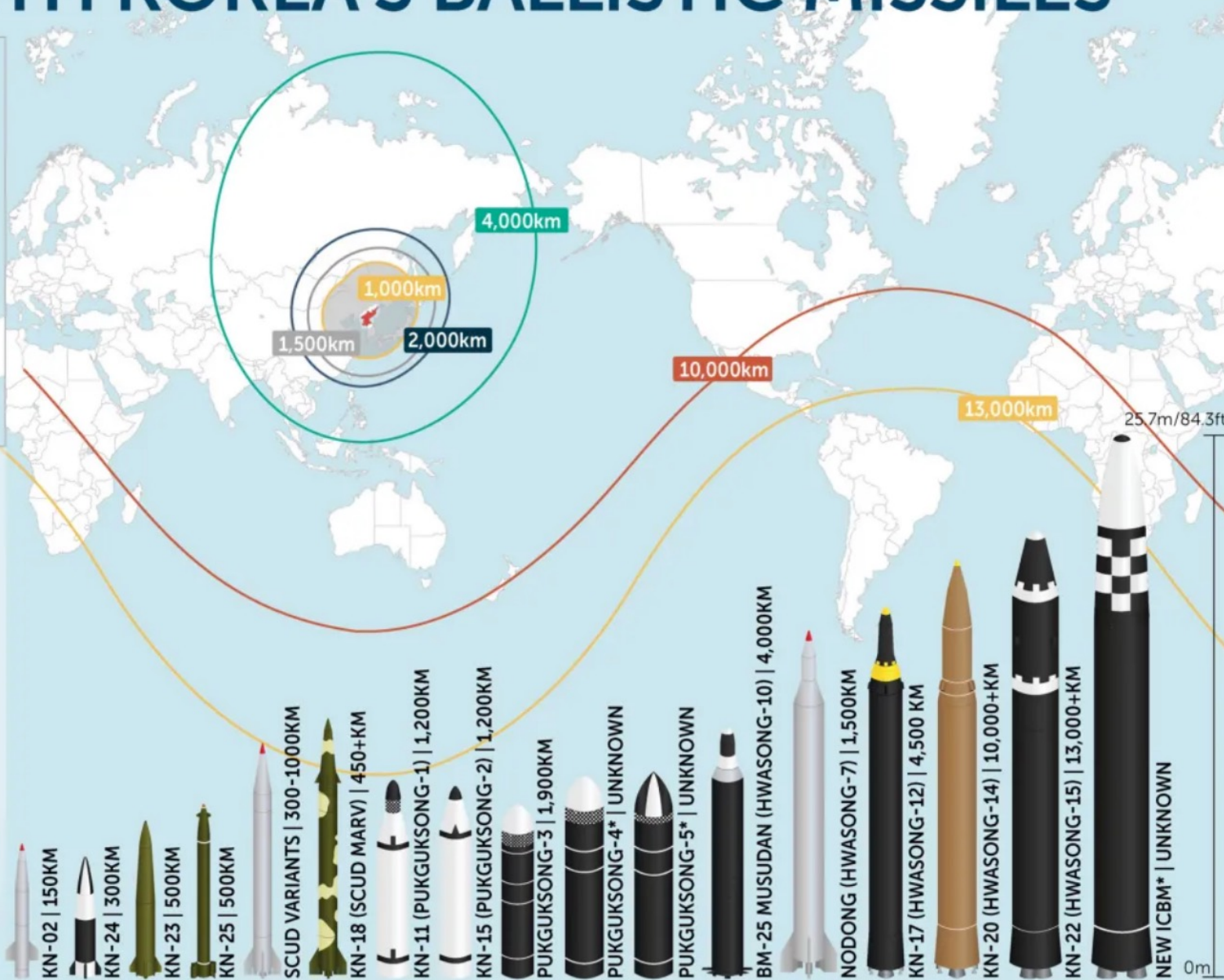


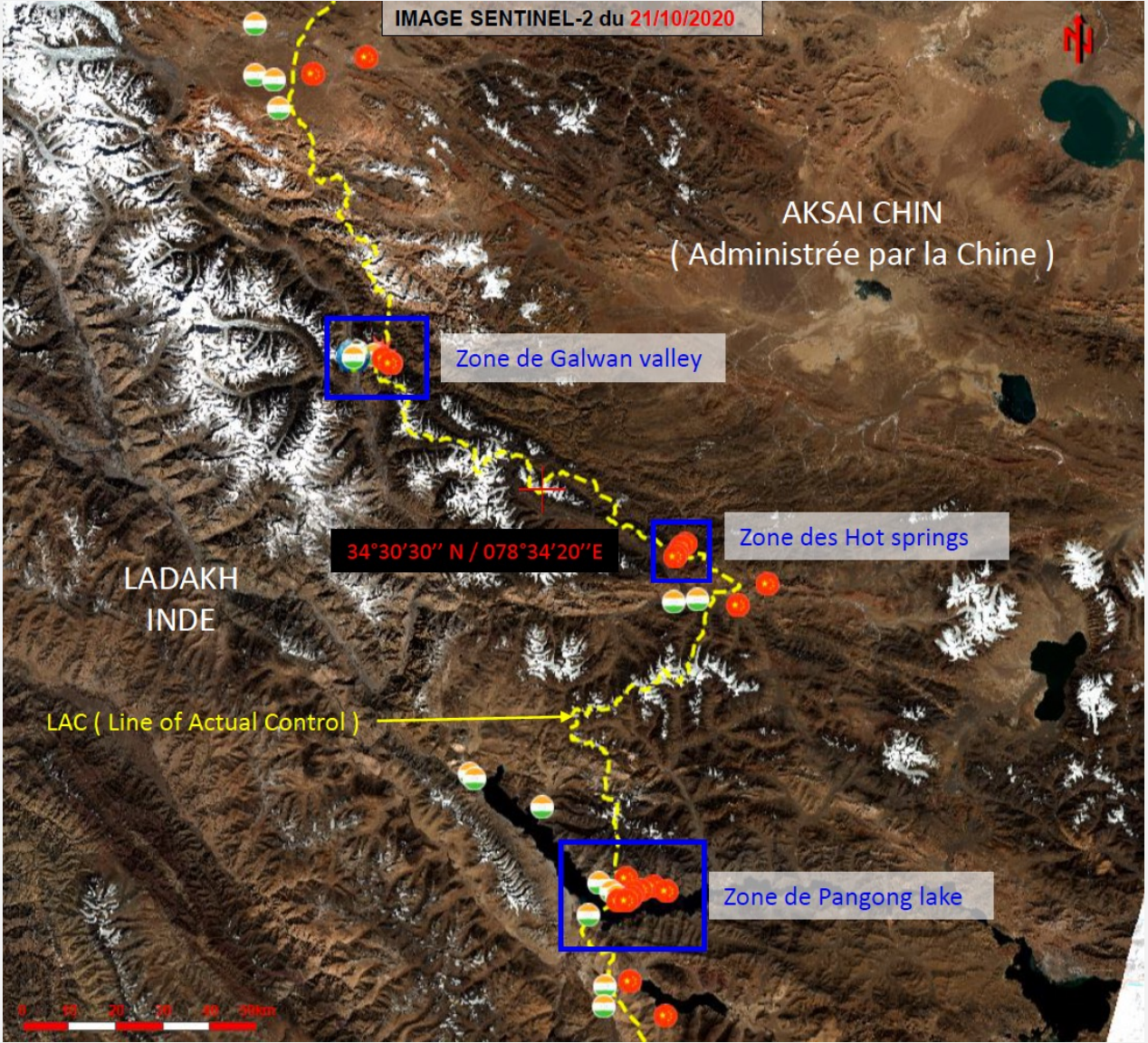


NORTH KOREA'S BALLISTIC MISSILES



North Korea's ballistic missile program is a rapidly developing threat to global security. Since Kim Jong-un assumed power in 2011, North Korea's missile testing has included new and longer-range missiles, increased use of solid propellant, and the orbiting of satellites. Notable advances have included flight tests of two inter-continental ballistic missiles, the Hwasong-14 and Hwasong-15, which can likely reach the continental United States. Pyongyang displayed an even larger ICBM in 2020 but has not yet tested it.







发射角度调节完毕



微信号: xcontrolsys



西藏军区某边防连战士 齐朕
这次无人机能给我们飞来一些物资 月饼

投稿邮箱: news@js7tv.cn

军事快播
2020年 09月 30日



装载完成
无人机蜂群成组向高难点位挺进



2012 - 🇦🇺

2015 - 🇮🇳

2016 - 🇯🇵

2017 - 🇺🇸

2018 - 🇫🇷

2019 - ASEAN

2020 - 🇩🇪 🇮🇹

2021 - EU

UNIQUE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUES FOR AN EU MEMBER STATE

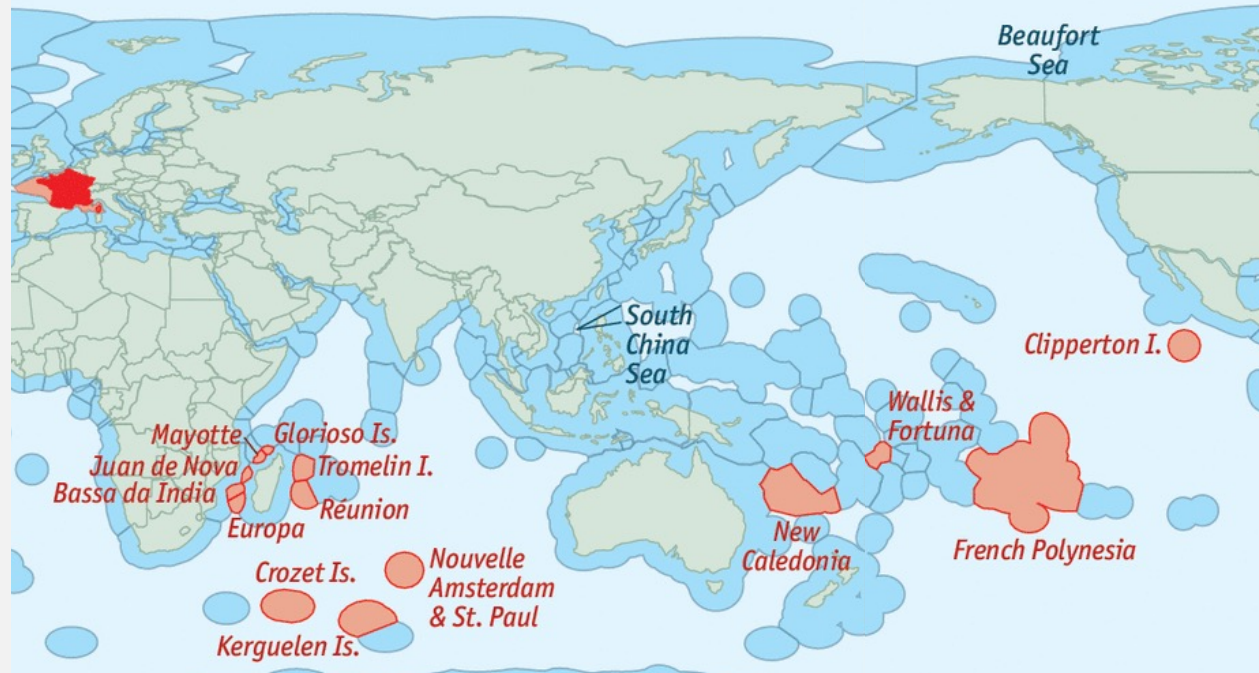
7 OF THE 13 OVERSEAS
DEPARTMENTS, REGIONS AND
COMMUNITIES

MORE THAN 1.6 MILLION FRENCH
PEOPLE LIVE IN THESE ULTRA-
MARINE TERRITORIES

92% OF THE FRENCH EEZ - THE
SECOND LARGEST IN THE WORLD

7,000 MILITARY PERSONNEL
(FAZSOI, FANC, FAPF + FFEAU,
FFDJ)

POWER PROJECTION TO FRENCH
POLYNESIA IN LESS THAN 40
HOURS IN JUNE 2021





A UNIQUE NETWORK FOR A EUROPEAN COUNTRY

25 EMBASSIES, 14 CONSULATES
AND 2 REPRESENTATIVE OFFICES

96 ESTABLISHMENTS MANAGED
BY THE AGENCY FOR TEACHING
FRENCH ABROAD (AEFE)

24 BUSINESS FRANCE OFFICES
AND 10 ATOUT FRANCE OFFICES

PRESENCE IN REGIONAL FORUMS:
IORA SINCE 2020, ADMM+ SINCE
2022, CHAIRED THE 7TH INDIAN
OCEAN NAVAL SYMPOSIUM IN 2021

LIAISON OFFICERS AT THE US
INDOPACOM, IFC/SGP, UN
COMMAND IN SOUTH KOREA, ETC.



BUREAU
FRANÇAIS
DE TAIPEI 法國
在台協會





L'Agence française de développement est un établissement public au cœur du dispositif français de l'aide publique au développement.

Atout France contribue au développement de l'industrie touristique et de l'ensemble de ses acteurs.

Business France est chargé du développement international des entreprises françaises, des investissements internationaux en France et de promouvoir l'attractivité économique de la France.

FIRST ELEMENTS OF A STRATEGY IN 2018

INDIA (MARCH 2018), AUSTRALIA /NEW CALEDONIA (MAY 2018), AMBASSADORS' CONFERENCE (AUGUST 2019), AND LA RÉUNION (OCTOBER 2019).

THE SECURITY, AND EVEN MILITARY, DIMENSION, WAS OMNIPRESENT

A SIGNIFICANT (AND LEGITIMATE) BIAS IN THE PERCEPTION OF THIS STRATEGY

A TERM NOW OMNIPRESENT IN OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AND SPEECHES



AMBASSADOR FOR THE INDO-
PACIFIC SINCE SEPTEMBER 2020
+ IO AND PACIFIC

STRATEGY IN JULY 2021,
UPDATED IN FEBRUARY 2022

A 78-PAGE STRATEGY
UNPARALLELED IN EUROPE

FOUR "PILLARS" :

- SECURITY AND DEFENSE;
- ECONOMY, CONNECTIVITY,
AND INNOVATION;
- MULTILATERALISM AND RULE
OF LAW;
- CLIMATE CHANGE,
BIODIVERSITY AND
SUSTAINABLE OCEAN
MANAGEMENT



BALANCING MORE THAN CONFRONTING CHINA

THE STRATEGIC UPDATE OF THE
MINISTRY OF THE ARMED
FORCES PUBLISHED IN JANUARY
2021 MENTIONS CHINA MORE
OFTEN THAN RUSSIA

REGULAR DEPLOYMENTS THAT
THE FRENCH NAVY ORGANIZES,
PARTICULARLY IN THE SCS

MARIANNE MISSION : A
NUCLEAR ATTACK SUBMARINE
FOR A STRATEGIC MISSION

DUPUY-DE-LÔME TRANSITED THE
TAIWAN STRAIT IN THE FALL OF
2021



TWO (~~THREE~~) KEY STRATEGIC PARTNERS

BREACH OF TRUST WITH AUSTRALIA IN SEPTEMBER 2021

MINILATERAL FORMAT: WITH INDIA/EAU, AND INDIA/AUSTRALIA

FRANCE AS A DEVELOPMENT PARTNER OF THE ASEAN SINCE 2020

FRANCE AS A POWER OF INITIATIVES RATHER THAN A BALANCING POWER = DIFFERENTIATE WHILE COOPERATING



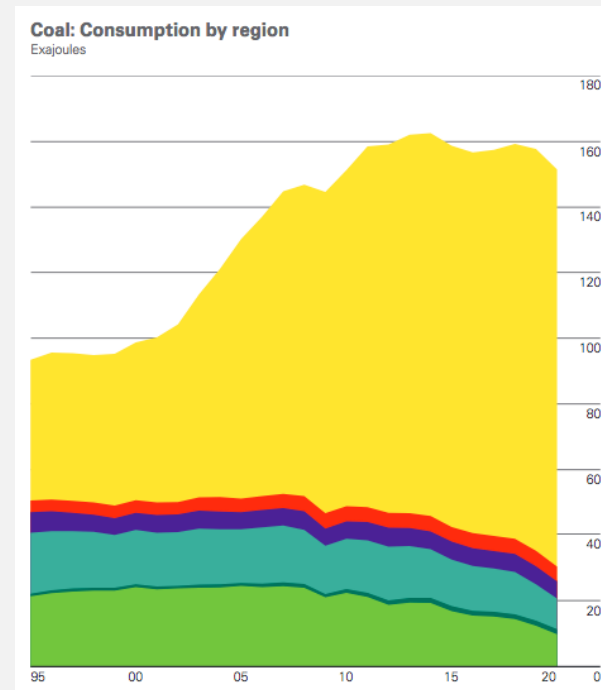
INCLUSIVE & SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT DEPENDENT ON THE INDOPACIFIC

THE AFD MANDATE FOR ACTION
IN THE PACIFIC, EXPANDED IN
2018

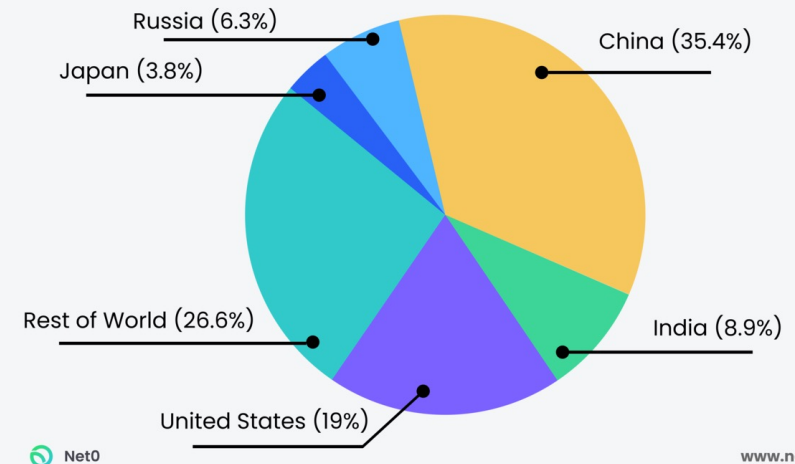
50% OF GREENHOUSE GAS
EMISSIONS AND EMISSIONS
HAVE RISEN SHARPLY UNLIKE IN
EUROPE

7 OF THE TOP 10 CONSUMERS OF
COAL

15 OF THE TOP 20 RIVERS
RESPONSIBLE FOR RIVER PLASTIC
EMISSIONS INTO THE OCEANS



Percentage of Carbon Dioxide Emissions by Country



14 OF THE 20 COUNTRIES MOST
EXPOSED TO THE DIRECT
CONSEQUENCES OF CLIMATE
CHANGE - ND GAIN 2021

6 OF THE 10 MOST DISASTER-
PRONE COUNTRIES - WORLD
RISK INDEX 2021

37% OF 257 NATURAL OR MIXED
SITES VS. 24% OF CULTURAL
SITES

CORAL TRIANGLE: 76% OF ALL
KNOWN CORAL SPECIES AND
37% OF ALL CORAL REEF FISH



ND-GAIN

Notre Dame Global Adaptation Initiative

173	Palau
175	Singapore
176	Chad
177	Dem. People's Rep. of Korea
177	Sudan
179	Angola
180	Tonga
181	Zambia
182	Solomon Islands
183	Myanmar
184	India
185	Nauru
186	Marshall Islands
187	Seychelles
188	Micronesia
189	Kiribati
190	Tuvalu
191	Niger
192	Maldives

A NEXUS APPROACH = CROSS-CUTTING AND INTEGRATED APPROACH

- NEXUS CLIMATE-SOCIAL
- NEXUS HEALTH-CLIMATE
- NEXUS OCEANS

AN SDG+ INDO-PACIFIC PLATFORM = CONSENSUAL AND INCLUSIVE APPROACH

- PROVIDE TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL EXPERTISE
- TO LEAD HYBRID SEMINARS ON A REGULAR BASIS



Des solutions fondées sur la nature pour la résilience climatique



ENVIRONMENTAL CRIME IN THE INDO-PACIFIC

A THREAT TO ECOSYSTEMS,
LOCAL POPULATIONS AND
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

- UNREGULATED FISHING,
UNREPORTED FISHING
- ILLEGAL WILDLIFE TRADE
- ILLEGAL LOGGING
- ILLEGAL MINERAL
EXPLOITATION AND TRADE
- ILLEGAL DUMPING/TRADE OF
WASTES AND POLLUTION

KEY ROLE FOR THE UNODC
BASED IN VIENNA

