

МІНІСТЕРСТВО ОСВІТИ І НАУКИ УКРАЇНИ
НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ БІОРЕСУРСІВ
І ПРИРОДОКОРИСТУВАННЯ УКРАЇНИ



Матеріали Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції

**ПРОДОВОЛЬЧА ТА ЕКОЛОГІЧНА БЕЗПЕКА
В УМОВАХ ВІЙНИ ТА ПОВОЄННОЇ ВІДБУДОВИ:
ВИКЛИКИ ДЛЯ УКРАЇНИ ТА СВІТУ**

*присвяченої 125-річчю Національного університету
біоресурсів і природокористування України*

**Секція 4. Якість освіти та гуманітарна наука в умовах війни
та глобальних викликів**

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У збірнику подано результати обговорення актуальних проблем, перспектив і шляхів забезпечення продовольчої та екологічної безпеки в умовах війни, плану відновлення України, сталого розвитку світу в контексті глобальних і регіональних викликів, трансформації суспільства та формування нової парадигми розвитку.

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REACTION TO RUSSIA'S ATTACK ON UKRAINE IN THE INDO-PASSIFIC REGION. VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND POSITION OF CIVILIANS

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February 24 the world woke up in a different reality. While the war is going on the European continent, Europe thinks, that it does not concern it. The opinion is erroneous, since the conflict has a global branching. And aggression ranks at the top of the list of events with an eroding effect on the rule-based world order and international law. Consequent disruption of food supply chains and the rising inflation threatens further destabilization, disproportionately affecting the countries of the Global South.

Hence, to fully understand the war's impacts and how it is perceived, we must turn our attention beyond the physical borders of Europe. The Indo-Pacific region presents a particularly interesting puzzle. The views and reactions of the Indo-Pacific governments - ranging from democratic to semi-democratic to authoritarian regimes - vary significantly. The region encompasses countries that are largely supportive of Ukraine, those that provide Russia with diplomatic or other means to fight the war, and many others which fall somewhere in between on this spectrum.

This paper provides a close look at how Russia's aggression was reflected in the statements, policies, and actions of ten countries of the Indo-Pacific, namely China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, North Korea, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam. Special attention is also given to how the war was seen by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Moreover, the reactions of the civil society, academia, and media in the studies countries are also addressed. Last but not least, observations are offered on how the war has affected the strategic landscape and security situation in the Indo-Pacific region, and how the European Union, as well as individual member states, should respond to that.

Short review:

Responses of Indo-Pacific governments to Russia's unjustified, unprovoked, and unlawful invasion of Ukraine on February 24th, 2022, range from unequivocal condemnation and the imposition of sanctions against Russia (Japan, Singapore, Taiwan) to a cautious middle position of countries leaning either towards Russia or Ukraine (ASEAN, China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea, Vietnam) and diplomatic support for Moscow (Myanmar, North Korea).

The Chinese government is performing a perilous balancing act. While the principle of national sovereignty is of utmost importance for Beijing, China has regularly emphasized Moscow's "legitimate security concerns" and called the US the "culprit of current tensions". While the Chinese public views Russian President Vladimir Putin somewhat favorably and leans slightly towards Russia overall, the majority of people take a neutral stance on the matter.

Since the launch of Russia's war, Japan has had a clear and consistent position, strongly criticizing Russia, upholding sanctions against Moscow, and supporting Ukraine. The fragility of the international order makes Japanese politicians reconsider the necessity to strengthen national defense efforts.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has shone a spotlight on Taiwan's precarious status-quo vis-à-vis an increasingly assertive China. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) government emphasizes Ukraine as "a fellow country 'on the front lines in guarding against authoritarian expansionism'" and uses international attention to advance Taiwan's difficult international relations.

India maintains its proactive neutrality: not condemning Russia but calling for an end of the hostilities and a return to diplomacy and dialogue. India criticizes Europe's Eurocentrism and the West for turning a blind eye on many problems in (not only) Asia.

South Korea's initial reaction to Russia's invasion of Ukraine was lukewarm, similar to Seoul's reaction to the annexation of Crimea in 2014. South Koreans, however, feel solidarity with Ukrainians and would support additional sanctions. The government's approach changed only after the US applied economic pressure on Korean exports.

North Korea continues with its pragmatic foreign policy known since the times of the Cold War to receive certain benefits and advantages. North Korean media repeat the official Russian position often adding quotes from Western conspiracy media and websites.

Even though respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity are key principles of ASEAN, the Southeast Asia organization refuses to criticize Russia for severely violating these principles. This response, though, is consistent with ASEAN's diplomacy.

Singapore is the only Southeast Asian nation that unequivocally condemns Putin's war and imposed sanctions on Russia. Singapore's hard stance reflects the importance of international law and a rules-based order for the vulnerable city-state.

Cambodia and the Philippines criticized Moscow. Myanmar's United Nations' representative voted in favor of the Russia-critical UN resolutions. The ruling junta, though, supports Russia diplomatically.

Historically close Russia-Vietnam relations, notably in defense matters, make it difficult for Hanoi to criticize Moscow. In line with its hedging strategy, it is aware that it needs Western support, too, which provides a counterweight for becoming too close to Russia.

The Indonesian government still maintains its longstanding Bebas-Aktif foreign policy doctrine. Russia still enjoyed a strong support from the Indonesian public even months after the war started, something Russia publicly lauded not long before the G20 summit in November 2022.

The Malaysian government opted to exercise its longstanding neutral and non-aligned foreign policy in the ongoing Russian war in Ukraine, which will see little to no change under Malaysia's new Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim. Although President Putin is still mostly viewed positively by the Malaysian public, it is largely apathetic toward the developments of Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

The stability of the multilateral security and economic order in the IndoPacific is at risk. It is undermined by the Sino-US rivalry but also by bilateral and unilateral security initiatives and competing regional trade agreements.

While the strategic competition between China and the US in the IndoPacific region reduces the strategic leeway of other players, the hedging strategies of many Indo-Pacific countries offer the EU and other regional and non-regional actors structural incentives to play a stronger role in the region.

The EU faces the dilemma that its values-based foreign policy, aiming to promote democracy and human rights, can reduce Brussels's *realpolitik* influence in East Asia and the Indo-Pacific where most of the regimes are semi-democratic or authoritarian.

Despite its considerable economic power, the influence of the EU on the strategic and security landscape in the Indo-Pacific will remain severely limited. Unless the EU will be able to project more hard power, it will remain a niche player in the region.

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