



36 ASIA-PACIFIC ROUNDTABLE

An Age of Strategic Uncertainty

8-10 August 2023 | Hilton Kuala Lumpur



About APR



The Asia-Pacific Roundtable (APR) is the signature international conference of the Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia. At its core, the APR is a Southeast Asian conference discussing key issues impacting on the Asia-Pacific. It is one of the region's premier Track-Two gatherings and is ranked among the world's top 20 think-tank strategic-security focused conferences.

Convened by ISIS Malaysia, on behalf of the Asean Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (Asean-ISIS) network, a network of leading Southeast Asian policy institutes and think-tanks, it regularly attracts more than 300 thinkers of various backgrounds who engage in lively, frank and constructive conversations on issues shaping the security, stability, sustainability and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region.

After being held virtually for the past two years, the APR marks a return to an in-person conference, bringing together experts from across the region to explore the latest trends and developments in the region. It aims to provide insights into how businesses and governments can navigate an increasingly complex strategic landscape.

About Asean-ISIS



The Asean-ISIS network is an association of think-tanks registered with Asean. Formed in 1988, its founding members comprise the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) of Indonesia, Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia, Institute of Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS) Philippines, Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA), and Institute of Security and International Studies (ISIS) of Thailand. The network also includes the Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies (BDIPSS), Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (CICP), Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam (DAV), Institute of Foreign Affairs (IFA) of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies (MISIS).

The network encourages cooperation among scholars and analysts, and promotes policy-oriented studies and exchanges of information on issues affecting Southeast Asia's peace and security. It also serves as a platform for Track-Two diplomacy and enjoys a close relationship with Asean governments.

About ISIS Malaysia



ISIS Malaysia was established on 8 April 1983 as an autonomous research organisation, focusing on foreign policy, security studies, economics, nation-building, social policy, technology, innovation and environmental studies.

As a premier think-tank, ISIS Malaysia engages actively in Track-Two diplomacy, and promotes the exchange of views and opinions at both the national and international levels. The institute has also played a role in fostering closer regional integration and international cooperation through forums, such as the Asia-Pacific Roundtable, Asean Institutes of Strategic and International Studies, Pacific Economic Cooperation Council and the Network of East Asian Think-Tanks.

EVENT PROGRAMME

DAY 1 : TUESDAY, 8 AUGUST 2023

1845–1945	Registration <i>Foyer, Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
1945–2100	Welcoming Dinner & Networking Reception <i>Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
2100	End of Day 1

DAY 2 : WEDNESDAY, 9 AUGUST 2023

0830–0915	Registration <i>Foyer, Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
0915–0930	Opening & Welcoming Remarks <i>Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
0930–1100	Plenary 1 – China-US rivalry: a march towards conflict? <i>Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
1110–1130	Refreshments <i>Lake Garden Foyer, Level 6</i>
1130–1300	Plenary 2 – The evolution of Indo-Pacific <i>Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
1300–1430	Lunch <i>Ballroom C, Level 6</i> <i>Address by:</i> H.E. Michalis Rokas Ambassador & Head European Union Delegation to Malaysia
1430–1600	Plenary 3 – Southeast Asia: domestic developments, regional ramifications <i>Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
1600–1620	Refreshments <i>Lake Garden Foyer, Level 6</i>
1620–1750	Concurrent Session 1 – The competition for technology, power and influence <i>Sentral Ballroom B, Level 6</i> Concurrent Session 2 – Japan's shifting strategic outlook: implications for Southeast Asia <i>Sentral Ballroom A, Level 6</i>

EVENT PROGRAMME

1800–2000	Dinner <i>Ballroom C, Level 6</i>
	Address by: H.E. Ouyang Yujing Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to Malaysia
2000	End of Day 2

DAY 3 : THURSDAY, 10 AUGUST 2023

0930–1000	Registration <i>Foyer, Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
1000–1100	Keynote Address by The Honourable Dato' Seri Anwar bin Ibrahim, Prime Minister of Malaysia <i>Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
1100–1130	Refreshments <i>Lake Garden Foyer, Level 6</i>
1130–1300	Plenary 4 – Trade and investment amid geopolitical rivalry <i>Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
1300–1430	Lunch <i>Ballroom C, Level 6</i>
	Address by: Dr Steven Barraclough Visiting Senior Official Australian High Commission
1430–1600	Plenary 5 – Safeguarding the status quo in South China Sea <i>Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
1600–1615	Closing Remarks <i>Ballroom A & B, Level 6</i>
1615	End of Day 3





**KEYNOTE
ADDRESS**

Thursday,
10 August 2023
1000–1100

**The Honourable
Dato' Seri Anwar bin Ibrahim**

Prime Minister of Malaysia



WELCOMING REMARKS

Wednesday,
9 August 2023
0915-0930

Prof Dr Mohd Faiz Abdullah

Chair, APR Organising Committee;
Chairman
Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS)
Malaysia



On behalf of the Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia, it is my great pleasure to welcome all of you to the 36th Asia-Pacific Roundtable (36APR). ISIS Malaysia is pleased to convene this annual strategic-focused Track 2 roundtable on behalf of the Asean Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (Asean-ISIS) network.

Over the past three and a half decades, the APR has developed its own niche as one of the world's top think-tank Track 2 conferences. Together with our partners, we have successfully provided a platform for thought leaders, intellectuals, scholars, officials, practitioners, journalists and other interested individuals and institutions to address, with vigour and rigour, the key strategic issues impacting on the Asia-Pacific region and beyond.

The theme of this year's roundtable, *An Age of Strategic Uncertainty*, was selected after much deliberation. While we do not seek to be alarmist or dramatic, it is an honest reflection on the regional geopolitical and geo-economic environment that we find ourselves in. Continued bifurcation of regional mechanisms and architectures because of zero-sum major power rivalry will exact a heavy toll on Southeast Asia and Asia-Pacific.

Yet we cannot merely accept it as fait accompli. While we must face the facts as they are, it behoves us to shape them towards more conducive situations. In that spirit, the seven sessions at the 36APR address both the broader themes impacting our current and future strategic calculus, as well as more granular issues.

The 36APR takes on added significance this year as it is the first roundtable to be convened physically since the 33APR in 2019. The 34th and 35th APRs were convened virtually, in 2021 and 2022, after being postponed for the first time in three-and-a-half decades, in 2020. While discussions were not short on substance, a virtual conference is no replacement for an in-person gathering.

The ability for delegates from this region and beyond to network with each other is one of the highlights of the APR process and why we continue to feature in the calendar of regional conferences. Both ISIS Malaysia and the Asean-ISIS network remain committed to encouraging dialogue and understanding among delegates at this conference and beyond.

I extend my gratitude to our role-players, instigators and speakers, for their readiness to share their time and expertise with us and for their contributions to enhance the richness of the discussions in the roundtable.

I also extend heartfelt thanks and appreciation to our partners: Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade; the Delegation of the European Union to Malaysia; Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung; Embassy of the People's Republic of China; New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade; Embassy of Japan in Malaysia; and Embassy of the United States.

Their generous contributions and assistance have once again made it possible for us to successfully convene the APR.

The continued success of the APR over these many years is also greatly attributed to the support given by successive Malaysian prime ministers and the government, as well as regional leaders. I would like to record my profound appreciation to Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim, Prime Minister of Malaysia, for the support and encouragement he has entrusted on ISIS Malaysia and his confidence in the roundtable.

Finally, I wish to convey my appreciation to all delegates for their continued support and active participation. Probing, thoughtful questions and interventions are important components of a successful meeting of minds, and such inputs are a hallmark of the APR.

Let us all have a fruitful and enjoyable 36th Asia-Pacific Roundtable.

Prof Dr Mohd Faiz Abdullah



OPENING REMARKS

Wednesday,
9 August 2023
0915–0930

Pengiran Datin Paduka Shazainah binti Pengiran Dato Paduka Shariffuddin

Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies (BDIPSS);
2023 Chair of Asean-ISIS
Brunei Darussalam



Bismillahirrahmanirrahim,

Distinguished officials,
Excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Assalamu'alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh,

I wish to thank Prof Dr Mohd Faiz Abdullah, Chairman of ISIS Malaysia, for inviting me to participate in the 36th Asia-Pacific Roundtable. My congratulations as well to Prof Faiz on your appointment as ISIS Malaysia's Chairman earlier this year.

After years of virtual interface due to the Covid-19 pandemic, it is my honour to be here today in person, and to address this gathering of eminent guests and participants.

For close to four decades now, the Asia-Pacific Roundtable (APR) has been one of the leading Track 2 conferences in the region. Every year, the APR brings together prolific thinkers of various backgrounds, who engage in constructive discussions on issues affecting the region's security, stability and prosperity. Having attended previous roundtables, I am always inspired by the APR's intentional, timely and coherent selection of themes and topics.

Over the years, the APR has focused on issues, such as Covid-19, climate change, major-power rivalry and the idea of "Indo-Pacific", all of which continue to add to the uncertainty facing us all today. In this unpredictable and rapidly evolving world, it is a given that we live with vulnerability and anxiety. For this reason, I am in full support of the theme of the roundtable this year: "Strategic Uncertainty".

In recent years, few could have predicted the myriad of developments and crises the world has seen, from the outbreak of Covid-19 and the ongoing war in Ukraine, to the great revolution of Artificial Intelligence (AI). With every new development and crisis, we often find ourselves a step behind and forced to re-strategise to "cope" with changing times. Even with early planning and solid strategies, challenges can sometimes occur along the way and derail our steps.

Yet, uncertainty does not necessarily mean we are destined to fall behind. In fact, uncertainty can be a source of improvement, motivation and innovation, empowering us to be prepared, flexible and adaptable, amid so many unknowns on the horizon. For many of us living in the Asia-Pacific region today, strategic uncertainty has become an ever-present reality.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Over the past few decades, our region has become an economic powerhouse and the engine of global consumption growth. Home to nearly two-thirds of the global population, our region has some of the world's greatest biodiversity, most diverse ecosystems and largest companies, as well as the world's fastest-growing internet market. By 2030, our region is projected to dominate various areas of development, accounting for two-thirds of the world's middle class and over two-thirds of global GDP. Our region is also expected to outpace the US and become the world's largest financial technology market. By some estimates, our region will likely determine the shape and direction of global development as a whole. Therefore, the onus is upon us to

leverage existing and emerging opportunities to our advantage and maintain a competitive edge.

That said, we are also faced with various challenges. Major-power rivalry is intensifying in the region. Such rivalry, if not properly managed, can have wide-ranging strategic and security implications for the region, including over cross-straits relations, the South China Sea and the Korean Peninsula. With global power shifting to the region, we have also seen a proliferation of minilateral configurations that promise cooperation, but may also impact great power dynamics. All this political risk is set against the backdrop of existential threats to the region, such as climate change, biodiversity loss and future pandemics.

At a time when we are confronted with intersecting crises, our ability to address them holistically depends upon our ability to mobilise resources at the scale needed. Which begs the question: "Do we have these resources at the scale needed, and are we coordinated in our response to these crises?"

Ladies and gentlemen,

Asean's global importance has risen significantly over the years, thanks to our increasing economic prosperity, our strategic location at major sea-lanes of communication, and our key role as the primary convenor of regional fora and meetings.

Recent projections for Asean indicate that we will continue to make positive growth and are on track to achieve important milestones over the coming decade. By 2030, Asean is poised to become the world's fourth largest economy after the United States, China and the European Union. Seventy per cent of our population will have become "middle class", with only 1% living in extreme poverty. Our GDP is predicted to rise to US\$10 trillion, leading to our designation by many experts now as "the next economic superpower".

Yet, our continued success and potential can be offset by security issues, particularly those emerging from geopolitics, climate change and cyber space. With high stakes at play, we know that we cannot afford to be passive in the face of threats against our peace, security, stability and prosperity. A question that we continue to ask ourselves is: "How do we proactively leverage opportunities and address challenges, while ensuring sustainability and resilience?"

Ladies and gentlemen,

In closing, I believe this roundtable today is our opportunity to engage each other in earnest on not just our common issues and challenges, but also our collective desire and will to live in a region of lasting peace, security and stability.

I look forward to hearing and learning from the ideas, perspectives and experiences of every one of you here today. I wish us all a productive discussion ahead.

Thank you

**Pengiran Datin Paduka Shazainah binti
Pengiran Dato Paduka Shariffuddin**



PLENARY 1

Wednesday,
9 August 2023
0930-1100

China-US rivalry: a march towards conflict?

- Is war an inevitable outcome of the unbridled competition between China and the United States?
- What are the common interests that bind both major powers and can they remain immune from further bifurcation?
- How can states in the Asia-Pacific navigate this evolving dynamic while benefitting strategically from the competition?

Instigator



**Pengiran Datin Paduka Shazainah
binti Pengiran Dato Paduka
Shariffuddin**

Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy and
Strategic Studies (BDIPSS);
2023 Chair of Asean-ISIS
Brunei Darussalam

Speakers



Prof Chen Dongxiao

President & Senior Research Fellow
Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS)
China

Chen specialises in the studies of the United Nations, China's foreign policy and China-US relations. He has led numerous research projects commissioned by the China National Foundation of Social Sciences Studies and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is the chief editor of *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, a flagship English journal on China's diplomacy. He is also the adjunct professor of SIIS. He is adviser to the Independent Team of Advisory for ECOSOC Dialogue on longer-term positioning of UN Development System, a member of Asean Regional Forum's Expert and Eminent Person and senior adviser on economic diplomacy to China's Foreign Ministry.



Dr Ralph A Cossa

President Emeritus & WSD-Handa Chair
in Peace Studies
Pacific Forum
United States

Cossa is president emeritus and worldwide support for development-Handa Haruhisa Chair in Peace Studies at the Honolulu-based Pacific Forum. He is senior editor of the Forum's electronic journal, *Comparative Connections*, and co-author of its regional overview. He is a member and former international co-chair of the Asean Regional Forum Experts and Eminent Persons Group, and a founding member and former co-chair of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific. He is a former military officer, who served as a special assistant to two US Pacific Command commanders.



Amb Rizal Sukma

Senior Fellow
Centre for Strategic and
International Studies (CSIS)
Indonesia

Rizal was Indonesia's ambassador to the United Kingdom, Ireland and International Maritime Organisation (IMO) from 2016 to 2020. He joined CSIS in 1990 as a researcher and assumed the role of executive director in 2009 until 2015. He has worked extensively on issues, such as Southeast Asian security, Asean, Indonesia's defence and foreign policy, military reform, Islam and politics, and domestic political changes in Indonesia. He was the first Indonesian to receive the Nakasone Award in July 2005 and named as one of the 100 Global Thinkers in 2009 by *Foreign Policy* magazine.



Richard Maude

Executive Director of Policy, Asia Society Australia;
Senior Fellow, Asia Society Policy Institute
Australia

Maude has more than 30 years' experience in foreign policy and national security and has served in Singapore, the United States and Malaysia. He is the former deputy secretary, Indo-Pacific Group, in the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and a senior official to the East Asia Summit. In 2017, Maude headed a task force, which supported the Australian government's foreign policy white paper. He was also the director-general of the Office of National Assessments and senior adviser on foreign policy and national security issues to prime minister Julia Gillard.



Dr Christian E Rieck

Associate Professor of War Studies
University of Potsdam
Germany

Rieck also teaches international relations at Humboldt-Universität in Berlin and Universidad Rey Juan Carlos in Madrid. His research focuses mostly on German and European defence policy, comparative regional integration and regional powers. He has worked at the foreign policy institute at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Berlin, European foresight programme at the tech think-tank Stiftung Neue Verantwortung and Latin American Institute of the German Institute for Global and Area Studies GIGA. He was a former DAAD Carlo Schmid fellow at the United Nations in Mexico City.



PLENARY 2

Wednesday,
 9 August 2023
 1130-1300

The evolution of Indo-Pacific

- What has driven the various Indo-Pacific strategies?
- Does the concept of Indo-Pacific remain contentious to regional stakeholders?
- How far do these strategies mitigate or escalate major power tensions?



Instigator



Amb Pou Sothirak

Executive Director
Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace
Cambodia

Sothirak also serves as adviser to the government, having held the post of secretary of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, ambassador to Japan, MP and minister of industry, mines and energy. He was a visiting senior research fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) in Singapore and has written extensively on issues confronting the development of Cambodia and the region.

Speakers



Dr Sarah Teo

Assistant Professor, Regional Security
Architecture Programme
S Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Singapore

Teo's research interests include multilateral security and defence cooperation in Asean and Asia-Pacific, middle powers in the Asia-Pacific and international relations. Her latest book is *Middle Powers in Asia Pacific Multilateralism: A Differential Framework*. She is the co-author of *Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia Pacific* and the co-editor of *Minilateralism in the Indo-Pacific: The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Mechanism, and Asean*. Her articles have appeared in *International Theory*, *The Pacific Review*, *Asia Policy* and various commentary platforms.



Dr May-Britt U Stumbaum

Team Leader, Centre for Intelligence and
Security Studies (CISS)
Bundeswehr University Munich
Germany

Stumbaum is a frequent speaker on Asia-Pacific security issues and advises the European Union and the German government. Working at the intersection of academia and politics, she has worked as a lecturer/visiting fellow at European, American, Asian and Chinese think-tanks, universities and government agencies, including the European External Action Service and the German Ministry of Defence. She is the former director of the EU's Asia-Pacific Research and Advice Network and NFG Research Group; senior research fellow/executive director at Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI); and Fritz Thyssen fellow, WCPIA, Harvard University.



Prof Choe Wongi

Head of Centre for Asean-Indian Studies
Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security
Republic of Korea

Choe leads the Korea National Diplomatic Academy's research on Southeast Asia, South Asia and the broader Indo-Pacific. His current research focuses on the role of Korea in the geopolitical dynamics and regional architecture in the Indo-Pacific. Among his most recent writings are *South Korea's New Southern Policy: The Limits of Indo-Pacific Geopolitics*; *The ROK's Indo-Pacific Strategy under President Yoon: Key Elements and Strategic Implications*; *The Quest for Strategic Balance and South Korea's Indo-Pacific Conundrum*.



Capt (Dr) Gurpreet Singh Khurana

Former Executive Director & Senior Fellow
National Maritime Foundation (NMF)
India

After 35 years as a missile warfare specialist and commanding two warships, Gurpreet retired from the Indian Navy in January 2023 as professor, Naval War College Goa. He formulated seminal doctrinal documents for the navy: *Indian Maritime Doctrine*, *Handbook on Law of Maritime Operations* and *Indian Maritime Security Strategy*. He is the author of three books and numerous academic papers on geopolitics, maritime strategy and naval operations. As executive director of NMF, he represented India in IORA, EAS and CSCAP, and contributed to drafting the National Maritime Policy. He is member of an international committee of experts at US Naval War College Newport for drafting the new manual on law of naval warfare.



Simon Draper

Executive Director
Asia New Zealand Foundation
New Zealand

Draper has extensive international background in negotiation and relationship management. He joined the Asia New Zealand Foundation in September 2015, coming from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade where he had worked in various roles since 1991. These included director of the United Nations, Human Rights and Commonwealth Division, which saw him driving New Zealand's successful campaign for a UN Security Council seat. Since joining the Asia New Zealand Foundation, he has enhanced its international focus and created new opportunities for New Zealanders to experience Asia first-hand. He is a commentator on Asia and has a long-running fortnightly column published in newspapers across New Zealand and on Stuff.co.nz, one of the country's biggest news media sites.





LUNCH ADDRESS

Wednesday,
9 August 2023
1300-1430

H.E. Michalis Rokas

Ambassador of the European Union to Malaysia

Rokas has 26 years' experience in the field of foreign affairs, having joined the European Commission External Relations Directorate General in 1994. His previous postings included chargé d'affaires a.i. and head of EU Delegation to New Zealand, first secretary of the European Commission's Office in Hong Kong and Macau and head of the China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan and Mongolia division at the European External Action Service.



PLENARY 3

Wednesday,
9 August 2023
1430–1600

Southeast Asia: domestic developments, regional ramifications

- This session will focus on developments in Thailand, Myanmar and the Philippines, and how they impact on the broader region.
- How has the recent electoral process and subsequent developments shaped internal debates in Thailand on major power influence in the region? What would be some of its immediate foreign policy priorities?
- What are the prospects of an inclusive political dialogue in Myanmar? How can internal and external stakeholders bridge the gap between political and humanitarian efforts?
- How has the Marcos Jr administration positioned the Philippines' foreign policy, particularly its approaches to China and the United States?

Instigator



Jusuf Wanandi

Senior Fellow & Co-founder
Centre for Strategic and
International Studies (CSIS)
Indonesia

Jusuf is the vice-chairman of the board of trustees CSIS Foundation. He served as vice-chair of the Indonesian National Committee for the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, co-chair of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council and co-chair of the Council of Security Cooperation in Asia-Pacific. He is also publisher of *The Jakarta Post*. A lawyer by training, Jusuf was assistant professor of law at the University of Indonesia and has served in various national and international organisations. He has edited a number of books on political and security developments in the Asia-Pacific region. His memoir, *Shades of Grey*, was published in 2013.

Speakers



Dr Pongphisoot Busbarat

Director, Institute of Security and International
Studies (ISIS) Thailand;
Assistant Dean, Faculty of Political Science,
Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

Pongphisoot is also an assistant professor and assistant dean of the faculty of political science, Chulalongkorn University. His research interests focus on great power competition in Southeast Asia, Thailand's foreign policy, and norms and identity in international relations. He is working on several projects, including the normative constructs influencing Thailand's strategic choices between the US and China, and geopolitics of great power competition in the Indo-Pacific, especially the Mekong subregion. He served as an analyst at Thailand's Office of the National Security Council before embarking on his academic career.



Moe Thuzar

Fellow & Coordinator, Myanmar Studies
Programme
ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute
Singapore

Moe joined ISEAS in 2008, serving as a lead researcher in the Asean Studies Centre up to August 2019. Prior to ISEAS, Moe spent 10 years at the Asean Secretariat, where she headed the human development unit. A former diplomat, she is researching Burma's foreign policy implementation for her PhD at the National University of Singapore. Moe has contributed to several compendia on Asean/Southeast Asia and on Myanmar. She co-authored *Myanmar: Life After Nargis* and co-edited *Urbanisation in Southeast Asia: Issues and Impacts* and *Asean and India: The Way Forward*.



Julio S Amador III

Executive Director
Philippine-American Educational Foundation
Philippines

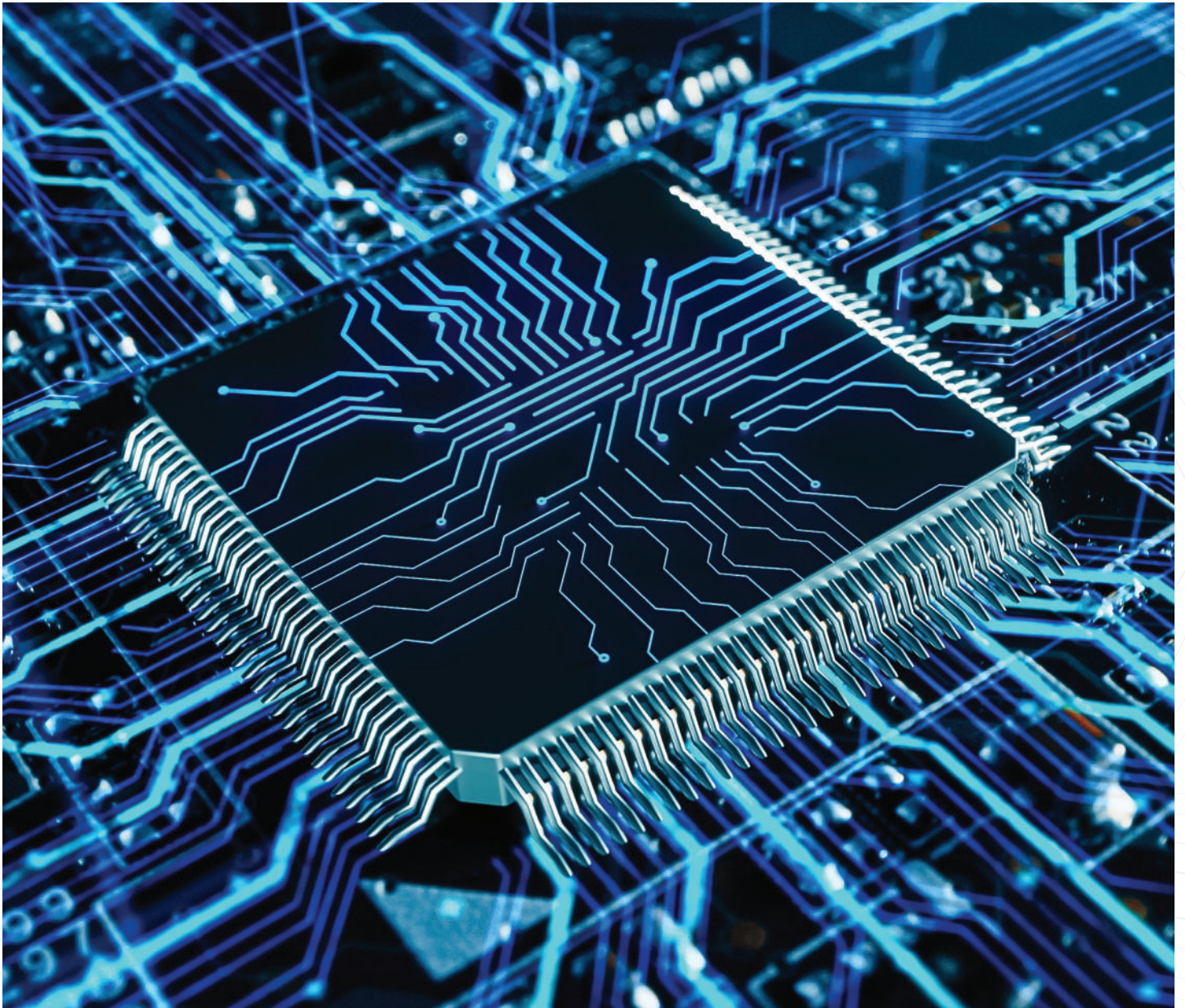
Amador is CEO of Amador Research Services, interim president of the Foundation for the National Interest, and founder and trustee of the non-profit FACTS Asia. He regularly participates in Tracks 1.5 and 2 events and writes on national security and foreign affairs for various publications. He was a civil servant for more than a decade and worked on foreign affairs and national security issues. He co-edited *A Handbook on Philippine Public Diplomacy* and co-authored the monograph 'Reviewing Philippine-US Bilateral Defence Relations: The Legal, Military, and Diplomacy Perspectives'. Amador is involved in designing executive education programmes on foreign affairs and national security for defence, military, and private training and educational institutions.



Prof Nicholas Farrelly

Head of School, Social Sciences
University of Tasmania
Australia

For more than 20 years, Farrelly has researched political, social and economic issues across Southeast Asia. In 2006, he founded New Mandala, a website which remains a prominent public forum in Southeast Asian studies. He previously held a range of academic positions in the ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, including as deputy director of the Coral Bell School of Asia-Pacific Affairs and as founding director of the ANU Myanmar Research Centre. He also served as associate dean in the ANU College of Asia and the Pacific. In 2020 he was appointed to the board of the Australia-Asean Council.



CONCURRENT SESSION 1

Wednesday,
9 August 2023
1620–1750

The competition for technology, power and influence

- How are key players shaping the norms and rules of cyberspace, and its industries?
- What are the options for Southeast Asian countries amid an intensification of competition in the semiconductor and other critical tech industries?
- How can small and medium states maintain both autonomy and security amid an increasingly divided segment? How can they work with industry players in this regard?

Instigator



Elina Noor

Senior Fellow, Asia Programme
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
 United States

Elina focuses on developments in Southeast Asia, particularly the impact and implications of technology reshaping power dynamics, governance, and nation-building in the region. She was the former director of political-security affairs and deputy director of the Washington office at the Asia Society Policy Institute. She spent most of her career at the Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia, where she last held the position of director, foreign policy and security studies. Elina was also formerly with the Brookings Institution's project on US relations with the Islamic world.

Speakers



Dr Jasmine Begum

Director of Legal, Corporate & Government Affairs
 for Asean and New Markets
 Microsoft
 Malaysia

Jasmine has extensive experience in legal, policy, regulatory engagement and communications. She is the first Malaysian appointed to the Internet Governance Forum multistakeholder advisory group and was honoured with the inaugural WIM's Tan Sri Napsiah Omar women leaders' award. She is currently an adjunct professor at Unitar International University and has received an honorary doctorate for her leadership in and contributions to public policy and governance.



Mark Bryan Manantan

Director, Cybersecurity and Critical Technologies
 Pacific Forum
 United States

Manantan leads the Cyber Asean initiative, and the US Cyber, Technology and Security partnerships with Japan, Australia, Taiwan and South Korea. He is also a non-resident fellow at the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, National Chengchi University, Taiwan, and a former research consultant at the Asia Society Policy Institute, Washington. He has held visiting fellowships at the Japan Foundation, Centre for Rule-Making Strategies at Tama University in Tokyo, Japan, and the East-West Centre, Washington.



Prof Sun Jisheng

Vice-president
 China Foreign Affairs University
 China

Sun is the secretary-general of China National Association for International Studies, and deputy editor-in-chief of *Foreign Affairs Review*. She has published and translated books, and written articles and papers on international relations, China's foreign policy and international political linguistics in journals, such as *World Economics and Politics*, *Foreign Affairs Review*, *International Studies* and *Journal of International Studies*. She is the author of *Language, Meaning and World Politics – the Language of the Bush Administration and the Iraq War*.



Caitríona Heini

Executive Director
 Azure Forum for Contemporary Security Strategy
 Republic of Ireland

Heini's work focuses on conflict-prevention strategies related to international cybersecurity policy, strategic technologies, regional security architectures and the Asia-Pacific/Southeast Asia/EU. She recently served on the Irish government's Commission on the Defence Forces and continues her work as an expert within flagship EU cyber diplomacy and Indo-Pacific security cooperation initiatives.



CONCURRENT SESSION 2

Wednesday,
9 August 2023
1620–1750

Japan's shifting strategic outlook: implications for Southeast Asia

- What are the key issues shaping Japan's strategic security environment? What are the key policy changes to keep an eye on?
- What are the opportunities and challenges for Japan's relationship with Asean and its member states in an increasingly contested future?
- As we mark 50 years of Asean-Japan relations, what are Southeast Asia's priorities and expectations of its engagements with Japan?

Instigator



Prof Aries A Arugay

Chairperson, Department of Political Science
 University of the Philippines-Diliman
 Philippines

Arugay's research interests are civil-military relations, comparative democratisation, security sector governance, and foreign policy. He is also editor-in-chief of *Asian Politics & Policy*. He manages the Philippine studies project of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies-Yusof-Ishak Institute (Singapore) as a visiting fellow. Arugay is a trustee of the Foundation for the National Interest, Inc, a new independent think-tank based in Manila. He was a visiting scholar in the Carter Centre, Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Chulalongkorn University, University of Sydney, Jeju Peace Institute, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor and National Institute of Defence Studies (Japan).

Speakers



Prof Thitinan Pongsudhirak

Senior Fellow
 Institute of Security and International
 Studies (ISIS)
 Thailand

Thitinan is also professor of international relations at Chulalongkorn University's faculty of political science. He has held visiting positions at Johns Hopkins University, Stanford University, University of Victoria in New Zealand, and Yangon University, and currently serves on several editorial boards of academic journals, including *Journal of Democracy*. He is the author of many articles, books, chapters and opinion articles. He has appeared regularly in international media, including CNN, BBC, Bloomberg, Aljazeera and NHK. His current work focuses on the comparative politics and geopolitics/geo-economics of Asean and the Indo-Pacific in view of the US-China rivalry and competition.



Dr Shafiah F Muhibat

Deputy Executive Director for Research
 Centre for Strategic and International
 Studies (CSIS)
 Indonesia

Shafiah joined CSIS in December 2000 and her research interests include issues of regional security in the Indo-Pacific, Asean, maritime security, Indonesia's foreign policy, and development cooperation. In 2017, she joined the S Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) Singapore as a senior fellow at the maritime security programme. She was the chief editor of *The Indonesian Quarterly*, an academic journal published by CSIS, doctoral fellow at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy in Hamburg and recipient of various scholarships and research grants. She served in the panel of jury for the 2022 and 2021 Adam Malik Award.



Brad Glosserman

Deputy Director & Visiting Professor
 Tama University
 Japan

Glosserman is also a senior adviser (non-resident) at Pacific Forum, Honolulu, where he served for 13 years as executive director. He is author of *Peak Japan: The End of Grand Ambitions* and co-author of *The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash*. He has just completed a manuscript on "the new national security economy", examining the geopolitical intersection of national security and high technology. He is a member of the editorial board of the *Japan Times* where he writes a weekly column on geopolitics and technology. He is an adjunct lecturer at the Management Centre of Innsbruck.



Prof Ken Jimbo

Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University
 Japan

Jimbo is also managing director of International House of Japan. He served as special adviser to the former defence minister and senior adviser at the National Security. His main research fields are in international security, Japan-US security relations, Japanese foreign and defence policy, multilateral security in Asia-Pacific and regionalism in East Asia. He was a former policy adviser for various Japanese governmental commissions and research groups, including National Security Secretariat, Defence Ministry and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His policy writings have appeared in NBR, RAND Corporation, Stimson Centre, Pacific Forum CSIS, *Japan Times*, *Nikkei*, *Yomiuri*, *Asahi* and *Sankei Shimbun*.





DINNER ADDRESS

Wednesday,
9 August 2023
1800–2000

H.E. Ouyang Yujing

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the
People's Republic of China to Malaysia

Ouyang arrived in Malaysia in December 2020. He previously served as director of the Office of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the CPC Central Committee, deputy director-general and subsequently director-general of the Department of Boundary and Ocean Affairs. Ouyang has held various positions in the Department of Treaty and Law, including as counsellor.



PLENARY 4

Thursday,
10 August 2023
1130-1300

Trade and investment amid geopolitical rivalry

- Should countries seek to limit exposure to certain markets for geopolitical reasons?
- How can regional free-trade agreements like RCEP and the CPTPP be protected from the divisions of major power rivalry?
- What could the future of trade and investment in the Asia-Pacific look like?



Instigator



Dr Yose Rizal Damuri

Executive Director
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Indonesia

Yose's research activities focus on international trade, regional integration and the globalisation of value chain. He is active in many networks of research institutes in East Asia, such as in Asia-Pacific Research and Training Network on Trade, ERIA Research Institutes Network and Think 20, the think-tank network of G20 countries. He is now serving as co-chair of the Indonesia National Committee of Pacific Economic Cooperation and member of the governing board of Economic Research Institute for Asean and East Asia.

Speakers



Dr Yeo Lay Hwee

Council Secretary & Senior Research Fellow
Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA)
Singapore

Yeo is director of the EU Centre, vice-chair of AseanCham-EU, senior fellow at the Singapore Institute of International Affairs and adjunct senior fellow at the S Rajaratnam School of International Studies. She also teaches at the National University of Singapore and Singapore Management University. She is an expert in EU-Asean/Asia-Europe relations and has an interest in regionalism, multilateralism and global governance. She sits on several academic advisory boards, including Centre for European Studies at the Australian National University, Leiden Asia Centre in Leiden University and Asian Vision Institute in Cambodia. She co-edited *Asean-EU Partnership: the Untold Story*.



Dr Wang Huiyao

Founder & President
Centre for China and Globalisation (CCG)
China

Wang is also the vice-chairman of the China Association for International Economic Cooperation and dean of the Institute of Development Studies of Southwestern University of Finance and Economics, Chengdu. As a thought leader on global relations, international business, global governance, global investment and trade, he has published more than 100 books in Chinese and English.



Prof Takashi Terada

Department of Political Science
Doshisha University
Japan

Terada was assistant professor at the National University of Singapore and professor at Waseda University, Tokyo. He also served as a visiting fellow at University of Warwick, a Japan scholar at Woodrow Wilson Centre, Washington and an adviser for the US-Japan Institute. His areas of specialty include international political economy in the Indo-Pacific, theoretical and empirical studies of Asia-Pacific integration, and Japanese politics and foreign policy. His latest works include 'Politics on TPP/CPTPP: turning Japan into one of the world's major FTA powers' in *Critical Review of Abe Administration* and 'The evolution of Japan-Asean relations: core moves for Japan's initiatives in Asian regionalism beyond Southeast Asia' in *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Politics*.



Wolfgang Niedermark

Member of the Executive Board
Federation of German Industries (BDI)
Germany

Niedermark has wide experience in Asia-Pacific, having served as regional manager of the German Asia-Pacific Business Association in India to secretary-general of the Korean-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Seoul. From 2006, he worked for the chemical company BASF and was appointed head of the Berlin office in 2009. In his capacity as corporate communications vice-president, he was responsible for the company's government relations in Berlin and Brussels. In 2020, he was appointed an executive board member of BDI, Berlin.





LUNCH ADDRESS

Thursday,
10 August 2023
1300-1430

Dr Steven Barraclough

Visiting Senior Official
Australian High Commission

Barraclough is a career diplomat with a strong background in Southeast and South Asia. He has served two postings in Jakarta, his most recent as economic minister counsellor during Australia's negotiation of the Indonesia-Australia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement. He has also been posted to Brussels and Noumea. Barraclough was awarded the Devahuti prize by the Indian government in 1991. He has also worked in education in Pakistan and Australia.



PLENARY 5

Thursday,
10 August 2023
1430–1600

Safeguarding the status quo in South China Sea

- What is the status quo in the South China Sea and should it be preserved?
- How can stakeholders find common ground to ensure that the risk of accidental conflicts is minimised?
- Is the Code of Conduct a viable mechanism? What would it take for China's longstanding proposal of joint development to find currency with Southeast Asian claimants?

Instigator



Thomas Daniel

Senior Fellow
 Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS)
 Malaysia

Thomas' interests lie in the security/strategic challenges and impacts of major power dynamics on Asean and its member states, the South China Sea dispute, and Malaysia's national security and foreign policies. He also looks at the policy implications of refugees, asylum seekers and other displaced people in Malaysia, and the government's refugee policy of "not having a policy".

Speakers



Dr Wu Shicun

Chairman of the Board
 China-Southeast Asia Research Centre
 on the South China Sea
 China

Wu is also chairman of Huayang Centre for Maritime Cooperation and Ocean Governance; and founding president and chairman of the academic committee of China's National Institute for South China Sea Studies. He serves as chairman of the advisory board of Institute for China-America Studies, adjunct professor of Nanjing University and chair professor of Xiamen University. His research interests cover the South China Sea, maritime delimitation, maritime economy, international relations and regional security. He has published widely in academic journals on South China Sea, regional security issues, international relations and the development of Hainan Free Trade Port.



Prof Renato Cruz De Castro

Distinguished Professor
 De La Salle University
 Philippines

De Castro is the holder of the Dr Aurelio Calderon chair in Philippines-American relations. He was a visiting fellow at the National Institute for Defence Studies, Japan, and visiting researcher at the Japan Institute of International Affairs. He also served as a consultant to the National Security Council during the Aquino administration. He consults on courses on international relations, strategic and security studies at the National Defence College, Special Intelligence Training School, General Staff and Command College of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and the Foreign Service Institute. As a member of the Albert Del Rosario Institute of Strategic and International Studies board of trustees, he writes monthly opinion columns for the *Philippine Star* and *Business World*.



Prof Natalie Klein

Faculty of Law and Justice
 University of New South Wales Sydney
 Australia

Klein is an Australian Research Council future fellow. She is currently president of the Australian branch of the International Law Association and a trustee for the UK-based charity, Human Rights at Sea. Her research focuses on law of the sea and international dispute settlement. She was previously dean of Macquarie Law School and acting head of the Department for Policing, Intelligence and Counterterrorism at Macquarie University. She worked at Debevoise & Plimpton LLP for the government of Eritrea and in the office of legal affairs at the United Nations. She is a fellow of the Australian Academy of Law.



Dr Vu Hai Dang

Researcher
 Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam
 Vietnam

Vu is also an alumnus of the ocean law and policy programme, Centre for International Law – National University of Singapore. His expertise includes international law, law of the sea, international environmental law with a geographical focus on Southeast Asia and the South China Sea. He has broad experience in legal service, diplomacy, civil service and academia.



Prof Julian Ku

Maurice A Deane Distinguished Professor
 of Constitutional Law & Interim Dean
 Hofstra University
 United States

Ku's primary research interest is the relationship of international law to domestic laws and foreign policy. He has also conducted research on a wide range of topics, including international dispute resolution, international criminal law and the impact of international law on US-China relations. He has been a visiting professor at the College of William & Mary Marshall – Wythe School of Law in Williamsburg, Virginia; a Fulbright distinguished lecturer in law at East China University of Political Science and Law in Shanghai, China; and a fellow at National Taiwan University, Taipei. He is a member of the New York Bar and a graduate of Yale College and Yale Law School.

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