THE 27th ASIA-PACIFIC ROUNDTABLE 3-5 June 2013, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

STRATEGISING CHANGE IN ASIA

Programme

DAY 1 3 June 201320:00 – 22:00

WELCOMING DINNER AND KEYNOTE ADDRESS

WELCOMING REMARKS

HRH Prince Norodom Sirivudh (confirmed)

Chairperson, ASEAN-Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) & Chairman, The Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (CICP), Cambodia

KEYNOTE ADDRESS AND OFFICIAL OPENING

The Hon. Dato' Sri Mohd Najib Tun Abdul Razak (*invited*) Prime Minister of Malaysia

DAY 2 4 June 201309:00 – 10:15

PLENARY SESSION 1

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN US ENGAGEMENT WITH ASIA

By and large, the Obama Administration has been perceived as staunchly "pro-Asia." Much of the credit in the strengthening of US ties with Asia is attributed to Secretary Hilary Clinton and her "Asia team." As Clinton and her principal advisor for East Asia and the Pacific, Kurt Campbell, will not be part of Obama 2.0, will there be a change in the focus and priorities of US's Asia policy? On the other hand, it is important to juxtapose US Asia policy against the important leadership change and transition in China, Japan and South Korea. How – if at all – will these new dynamics affect Washington's ties with the three Northeast Asian states? Can Washington stay the course in its engagement with Myanmar? Will "rebalancing" remain as the centrepiece of the Asian policy? Will there be a new approach toward North Korea? How will a post-transition Afghanistan factor in US's Asia policy?

Moderator: Tan Sri Dato' Seri Mohamed Jawhar

Hassan (confirmed)

Chairman, Institute of Strategic and International

Studies (ISIS) Malaysia

Speaker: **Dr. Kurt Campbell** (confirmed)

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of The Asia Group & former Assistant Secretary of State for East

Asian and Pacific Affairs (2009-13), USA

Amb. Christopher R. Hill (confirmed)

Dean, The Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver & former Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (2005-09), USA 10:15 – 10:45 Refreshments

10:45 – 12:00 PLENARY SESSION 2

DECIPHERING THE "CHINESE GREAT DREAM" AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR ASIA

Just weeks after his appointment as Secretary-General, Mr. Xi Jinping has galvanised the Chinese peoples and captured their imagination with calls for national rejuvenation. Speaking at the "The Road to National Revival" exhibition at the National Museum, he offered: "In my view, realizing the great renewal of the Chinese nation is the Chinese nation's greatest dream in modern history." What does the dream entail? How do China's neighbours fit into the dream? Is the dream exclusive to the Chinese or could it be shared by others? What is China's strategic environment to facilitate regional development? What is China's strategic vision of itself and the region? How does China assuage regional concerns of an increasingly prosperous and powerful nation?

Moderator: Assoc. Prof. Dr Thitinan Pongsudhirak (confirmed)

Director, Institute of Security and International Studies

& Faculty of Political Sciences, Chulalongkorn

University, Thailand

Speaker: The Hon. Mdm. Fu Ying (confirmed)

Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, The National

People's Congress (NPC), China

12:00 – 14:00 **LUNCHEON TALK 1**

RETHINKING ASEAN AND ITS RESPONSES TO A CHANGING ASIA-PACIFIC

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established at the height of the Cold War and more than four decades later, it continues to play a central role in driving regional affairs. Nevertheless, through the years, ASEAN has had its share of critics who bemoan its slow-paced decision-making and opaque institutionalization. Is ASEAN ripe for change? Can ASEAN transform the aspirational ideals found in the ASEAN Charter into actionable reality? Can the "ASEAN way" that had been the bedrock of the regional organisation meet the varied and different demands that its faces today? What is ASEAN's strategy to maintain its centrality and relevance in the evolving regional architecture?

Moderator: Tan Sri Rastam Mohd. Isa (confirmed)

Special Envoy of the Government of Malaysia on the Implementation of Exchange of Letters between Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam & former Secretary-

General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia

Speaker: Pehin Orang Kaya Pekerma Dewa Dato Seri Setia

Lim Jock Seng (confirmed)

Second Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade,

Brunei Darussalam

14:00 – 15:15 PLENARY SESSION 3 BUILDING STRATEGIC TRUST IN ASIA

Trust is a critical but rare commodity in international affairs. It is the basic building block of partnerships and its absence may serve to either circumscribe or derail any well-meaning initiatives. Suspicion breeds where trust is lacking. Asia-Pacific is a paradox where there are cases of major trading partners striving to deepen bilateral trade while eyeing each other suspiciously over military modernisation and build-ups. The Sino-US and Sino-Japanese relationships are a case in point. Can the paradox be overcome? How do we dampen distrust and break the vicious cycle of security dilemma? How do we engender trust in Asia? How does the deficit of trust affect the triangular relations amongst China, Japan and the US in Asia?

Chair: Amb. Rodolfo Severino (confirmed)

Head, ASEAN Studies Centre, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) & former ASEAN Secretary-

General

Speakers: **Prof. Dr. Shen Dingli** (confirmed)

Executive Dean, Institute of International Affairs & Director, Center for American Studies, Fudan

University, China

Prof. Dr. Yoshihide Soeya (*confirmed*) Faculty of Law, Keio University, Japan

Dr. Andrew Scobell (confirmed)

Senior Political Scientist, The RAND Corporation, USA

15:15 – 15:30 Break

15:30 – 16:45 **PLENARY SESSION 4**

POLITICAL CHANGE AND TRANSITION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

In an unprecedented alignment of political stars, the three Northeast Asia's powerhouses - China, Japan and South Korea underwent significant political change at the end of 2012. The 18th National Congress all but confirmed Mr. Xi Jinping and Mr. Li Keqiang as China's top leaders. Japan and South Korea held their parliamentary and presidential elections respectively in December. Japanese votes gave a resounding victory to the Liberal Democratic Party which saw Mr. Shinzo Abe assuming the Premiership for the second time in less than six years. His Korean counterpart is Ms. Park Geun-hye won a closely contested election to become South Korea's first female president. What impact will these leadership changes mean for the region? Will Mr. Xi's assumption of the Chairmanship of the Central Military Commission give him more clout over the PLA? Will Mr. Xi be more conciliatory toward Japan, especially over the East China Sea dispute? How will Mr. Abe's purportedly "nationalist" credentials colour Japan's relations with its neighbours? Will Japan take the bold step of joining the TPP negotiations? How will Ms. Park manage Seoul's relations with Pyongyang? Will the new players adopt a hard-line or cooperative approach in the triangular relations? What are the prospects for the China-Japan-Korea (CJK) trilateral trade cooperation?

Chair: Amb. Ong Keng Yong (confirmed)

Singapore High Commissioner to Malaysia & former

ASEAN Secretary-General

Speakers: Mr. Victor Zhikai Gao (confirmed)

Director, China National Association of International

Studies

Prof. Dr. Choo Jae-Woo (confirmed)

Department of International Relations, Kyung Hee

University, Republic of Korea

Prof. Kazuhiko Togo (confirmed)

Director, Institute of World Affairs, Kyoto Sangyo University, & former Ambassador of Japan to the

Netherlands

16:45 – 17:15 Refreshments

17:15 – 18:30 PLENARY SESSION 5 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

This session reviews the political developments in Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand. Without any clear favourites in the 2014 presidential elections, Indonesian politics will be more competitive than usual. But will a robust presidential campaign be also more divisive? Although winning 81 out of 87 seats, Singapore's People's Action Party (PAP) received the lowest level of electoral support (60.1%) since independence. Disgruntled Singaporeans lament on, among other issues, the high property prices and the influx of foreign workers. Can the PAP work its magic and arrest its electoral slide, or is this the beginning of the end of PAP's electoral hegemony? What are the prospects of a functioning two-party system in Singapore? Further up north, Thailand continues to grapple with the "red-yellow" divide. How long could the tenuous détente between the two forces continue? What are the likely "end-game" scenarios?

Chair: Assoc. Prof. Herman J. Kraft (confirmed)

Department of Political Science, University of the

Philippines, Diliman

Speakers: The Hon. M. R. Sukhumbhand Paripatra (invited)

Governor of Bangkok, Thailand

The Hon. Mr. Nicholas Fang (confirmed)
Nominated Member of Parliament & Director,
Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA)

Dr. Sandra Hamid (confirmed)

Country Representative, The Asia Foundation,

Indonesia

20:00 – 22:30 **DINNER TALK**

GARUDA RISING: INDONESIA'S PLACE IN ASEAN AND BEYOND

Indonesia is on the ascendancy. It is ASEAN's largest economy and is home to about 40% of Southeast Asia's population. Today Indonesia is a vibrant democracy and is also the world's largest Muslim democratic polity. Jakarta is an ardent champion of democracy, human rights and rule of the law. These achievements have not gone unnoticed. It was invited to join the prestigious group of the world's largest economies (G20) in 2009. Its astute diplomatic leadership when chairing ASEAN in 2011 has also gained Jakarta wide respect and accolades. In October this year, Indonesia will host the APEC Summit in the island resort of Bali. What does a richer and more confident Indonesia mean for ASEAN? What is Indonesia's vision for itself and the region? Does "non-alignment" still inform Indonesia's foreign policy? How does Indonesia view its role in the evolving regional architecture?

Moderator: Tan Sri Dato' Seri Syed Hamid bin

Syed Jaafar Albar (confirmed)

Chairman, Land Public Transport Commission & former

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia

Speaker: The Hon. Dr. Raden Mohammad Marty

Muliana Natalegawa (confirmed) Minister of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia

DAY 3 5 June 201309:00 – 10:15

PLENARY SESSION 6 THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN ASIA: RECENT TRENDS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR REGIONAL STABILITY

The global economic slowdown in recent years has had an uneven impact on the armed forces of the Asia Pacific. While some countries continue to build their capabilities at a swift pace, others are being compelled to adopt deep spending cuts. This session is aimed at examining the recent pace and nature of force development in Asia, with a view to understanding their implications for regional security and stability. To what extent has the correlation of forces in Asia changed in recent years? How can regional countries continue to build their forces without precipitating an arms race? What kinds of capabilities should be discouraged? Will America's economic difficulties affect its military presence in Asia? How can regional militaries pool their resources in order to address common security challenges?

Moderator: Admiral (Rtd) Tan Sri Mohd Anwar

bin Hj Mohd Nor (confirmed)

Chairman, Armed Forces Fund Board (LTAT) &

former Chief of Armed Forces, Malaysia

Speaker: Admiral Samuel J. Locklear III (confirmed)

Commander, US Pacific Command

Senior ASEAN Military Official

10:15 – 10:45 Refreshments

10:45 – 12:00 **PLENARY SESSION 7**

RUSSIA RECONNECTING WITH EAST ASIA

Notwithstanding the fact that Russia is a key player in regional affairs, its relations with East Asia is low-key and does not get the attention it deserves. Russia is an active participant in the region's key multilateral processes such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and the East Asia Summit (EAS). Apart from political engagement, Russia lags behind other major powers in connecting with East Asia in a substantive manner. All the major powers – China, the European Union, India, Japan and the US – are among ASEAN's top ten trading partners. Russia is noticeably missing from this listing. This suggests that there is ample room for progress and cooperation. What does President Vladimir Putin's "pivot to Asia" mean? What are Russia's priorities in East Asia? What are the strategies and initiatives – in place or proposed – to augment Moscow's ties and engagement with the region?

Moderator: Emeritus Prof. Dr. Carolina Hernandez (confirmed)

Founding President and Chair, Board of Directors, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS),

The Philippines

Speaker: The Hon. Mr. Igor V. Morgulov (confirmed)

Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs,

The Russian Federation

12:00 – 14:00 **LUNCHEON TALK 2**

RE-ENERGIZING THE ASEAN-JAPAN PARTNERSHIP

Japan has been a long-standing partner for Southeast Asia, especially in the provision of official development assistance (ODA), foreign direct investment (FDI) and trade. While constitutional and political constrains prevent Japan from playing a direct security role, this has not deterred Japan from contributing to regional stability. However, as Japan and ASEAN mark the 40th anniversary of their bilateral dialogue relations, the partnership may have lost some of its lustre and momentum. Without a doubt, Japan continues to be an indispensable strategic partner for ASEAN. How could Japan provide the "extra zest" and impetus to bring its partnership with ASEAN to the next level? Is there any avenue for ASEAN and Japan to contemplate cooperating beyond Asia?

Moderator: **Dato' Dr. Mahani Zainal Abidin** (confirmed)

Chief Executive, Institute of Strategic and International

Studies (ISIS) Malaysia

Speaker: **Dr. Akihiko Tanaka** (confirmed)

President, Japan International Cooperation Agency

(JICA)

14:00 – 15:15 PLENARY SESSION 8 WILL PEACE HOLD IN MINDANAO?

After more than a decade of negotiations, the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) signed the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro on 15 October 2012. The Framework, among others, establishes the Bangsamoro as a new political entity and provides for a legal and political modus vivendi between Manila and the Bangsamoro. The welcomed peace in Mindanao is susceptible to relapse if the Framework does not bring immediate and tangible "peace dividends" and material change on the ground. What are the important milestones? What are the "triggers" that may derail the spirit of goodwill and cooperation between Manila and the Bangsamoro? What is the role of external parties – government and non-government – in the Mindanao peace-building process?

Chair: TBC

Speakers: **Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar**

Tengku Mohamed (confirmed)

Malaysian Facilitator, Mindanao Peace Process

Al Haj Murad Ebrahim (confirmed)

Chairman, Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)

Secretary Teresita Quintos Deles (*invited*) Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process,

The Philippines

15:15 – 15:30 Break

15:30 – 16:45 **PLENARY SESSION 9**

DEFUSING THE POWDER KEG IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

The South China Sea (SCS) has been a subject of great interest and contestation for the past two years. Claimed either in parts or wholly by five parties – Brunei, China, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam – the SCS straddles important waterways linking the Pacific and Indian oceans. The temperature raises a notch every time one of the claimants undertakes an act to buttress its claims. Thus, begins a vicious cycle of action-reaction that makes the SCS disputes one of most contentious flashpoints in the region. It is in the interest for all parties to avoid escalation and militarization of the conflict. This is easier said than done. This session seeks to explore options and proposals for confidence-building and management of the dispute.

Chair: **Prof. Dr. Robert Ayson** (confirmed)

Director, Centre for Strategic Studies, Victoria

University of Wellington, New Zealand

Speakers: **Dr. Rizal Sukma** (confirmed)

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

Dr. lan Storey (confirmed)

Senior Fellow, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

(ISEAS), Singapore

Prof. Dr. Sujit Dutta (confirmed)

The Gandhi Chair, Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia, India

16:45 – 17:15 Refreshments

17:15 – 18:30 PLENARY SESSION 10 RESPONDING TO CHANGE IN ASIA

The ongoing shifts in the distribution of power in Asia represent the single-biggest transformation that the region has witnessed in the last 500 years. This has led to growing anxieties over whether the region's stability can be sustained, a worry evident in the growing military capabilities in Northeast Asia, in particular. At the same time, the region is also facing a whole host of generational and profound challenges. In many Asian countries, social safety nets remain weak despite ageing populations. Economic inequality has widened even as many have been lifted out of poverty. Environmental degradation continues apace as countries place a premium on economic growth. This session is aimed at weaving together these multiple threads to provide a multivariate assessment of Asia's future. Is the region's security architecture properly calibrated to respond to projected changes in the region's distribution of power? How can countries cooperate to confront to the many common challenges that they face?

Chair: Prof. Dr. Dewi Fortuna Anwar (confirmed)

Deputy Secretary for Political Affairs, Office of the Vice-

President, Indonesia

Speakers: **Dr. May-Britt U. Stumbaum** (*confirmed*)

Head, NFG Research Group, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

Prof. Hugh White (confirmed)

Strategic and Defence Studies Centre (SDSC),

The Australian National University

Mr. Hitoshi Tanaka (confirmed)

Chairman, The JRI Institute for International Strategy & former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan

18:30 CLOSING REMARKS