



ASIA-PACIFIC ROUNDTABLE

Crisis in an Interregnum

4-6 June 2024 | Hilton Kuala Lumpur



About the Asia-Pacific Roundtable

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 strategic-security focused conferences.

Convened by ISIS Malaysia, on behalf of the ASEAN Institutes of Strategic & International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS), 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.

The APR brings together experts from across the region to explore the latest trends and developments. It aims to provide insights into how businesses and governments could 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 members are Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy & Strategic Studies (BDIPSS); Cambodian Institute for Cooperation & Peace (CICP); Centre for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS) Indonesia; Institute of Foreign Affairs (IFA) of Lao PDR; ISIS Malaysia; Myanmar Institute of Strategic & International Studies (MISIS); Asia-Pacific Pathways to Progress Foundation Inc (APPPFI) of the Philippines; Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA); Institute of Security & International Studies (ISIS) Thailand; and Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam (DAV).

The network encourages cooperation among scholars and analysts to embark on policy-oriented studies and exchanges 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 is the country's premier think-tank, with a mandate to advance Malaysia's strategic interests. As an autonomous research organisation, we focus on foreign policy and security; economics and trade; social policy and nation-building; technology and cyber; and climate and energy.

We actively conduct Track-Two diplomacy, promoting the exchange of views and opinions at the national and international level. We have also played a role in fostering closer regional integration and international cooperation through forums, such as the Asia-Pacific Roundtable, the ASEAN Institutes of Strategic & International Studies network, Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, and Network of East Asian Think-Tanks.

Programme

Tuesday, 4 June 2024

- 17:30–18:00 **Registration for welcoming dinner**
Foyer, Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- 18:00–19:45 **Welcoming dinner & networking reception**
Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- Dinner address by:**
The Honourable Dato' Seri Utama Haji Mohamad bin Haji Hasan
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia
- 19:45 **End of proceedings for the day**

Wednesday, 5 June 2024

- 08:10–09:10 **Registration**
Foyer, Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- 09:10–09:30 **Opening & welcoming remarks**
Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- Opening remarks by:**
Dr Yose Rizal Damuri
2024 Chair of the ASEAN-ISIS Network
- Welcoming remarks by:**
Datuk Prof Dr Mohd Faiz Abdullah
Chairman of ISIS Malaysia
- 09:30–11:00 **Plenary 1**
Major-power rivalry: between mitigation and cooperation
Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- 11:00–11:30 **Refreshments**
Lake Garden Foyer, Level 6
- 11:30–13:00 **Plenary 2**
ASEAN in 2025: reflecting the past, shaping the future
Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- Main speaker:**
HE Dr Kao Kim Hourn
Secretary-General of ASEAN
- 13:00–14:30 **Lunch**
Ballroom C, Level 6
- Special address by:**
HE Michalis Rokas
Ambassador of the European Union to Malaysia
- 14:30–16:00 **Concurrent session 1**
Connecting the Global South
Sentral Ballroom B, Level 6

Concurrent session 2

Reframing the global climate discourse

Central Ballroom A, Level 6

Concurrent session 3

AIMing for errors: future battlefields and the challenge of AI

Grand Suite, Level 7

- 16:00–16:20 **Refreshments**
Lake Garden Foyer, Level 6
- 16:20–17:50 **Plenary 3**
Geopolitics in the Middle East: regional developments, global ramifications
Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- 18:00–19:30 **Dinner**
Ballroom C, Level 6
- Special address by:**
HE Ouyang Yujing
Ambassador of the People’s Republic of China to Malaysia
- 19:30 **End of proceedings for the day**

Thursday, 6 June 2024

- 08:45–09:45 **Registration**
Foyer, Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- 10:00–11:00 **Keynote address by:**
The Honourable Dato’ Seri Anwar bin Ibrahim
Prime Minister of Malaysia
Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- 11:00–11:40 **Refreshments**
Lake Garden Foyer, Level 6
- 11:40–13:10 **Plenary 4**
Megatrends shaping the global economy: implications for Asia–Pacific
Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- 13:10–14:30 **Lunch**
Ballroom C, Level 6
- Special address by:**
HE Danielle Heinecke
High Commissioner of Australia to Malaysia
- 14:30–16:00 **Plenary 5**
The rise of regional powers: a struggle for agency?
Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- 16:00–16:15 **Closing remarks**
Ballroom A & B, Level 6
- 16:15 **End of proceedings for the 37th APR**



Keynote Address

Thursday, 6 June 2024
10:00–11:00

The Honourable Dato' Seri Anwar bin Ibrahim
Prime Minister of Malaysia



Welcoming Dinner Address

Tuesday, 4 June 2024
18:00–19:45

The Honourable Dato' Seri Utama Haji Mohamad bin Haji Hasan
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Malaysia



Welcoming Remarks

Wednesday, 5 June 2024
09:10–09:30

Datuk Prof Dr Mohd Faiz Abdullah
Chair, APR Organising Committee;
Chairman
Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS)
Malaysia

Welcome to the 37th edition of the Asia-Pacific Roundtable (37APR). For the past 36 years, the Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia has convened this annual strategic-security focused Track Two roundtable on behalf of the ASEAN-Institutes of Strategic & International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) network.

At its heart, the APR is a Southeast Asian conference on the Asia-Pacific. From our humble origins at a literal “roundtable” on ISIS Malaysia’s premises many years ago, the APR has grown and developed into a globally recognised conference that can be relied on as a platform for thought leaders, intellectuals, scholars, officials, practitioners, journalists and other interested individuals, to vigorously discuss contemporary and forward-looking issues that impact on this region and beyond.

The theme of the 37APR, *Crisis in an Interregnum*, reflects our assessment of the state of current geostrategic affairs. While crises have always been a constant in the relationships among nation-states and regions, the post-Second World War global order brought a degree of stability, with various mechanisms in place to prevent and mitigate outbreaks of chaos. Over the last two decades, however, these multilateral mechanisms have come under heavy pressure and are unable to function effectively. Established rules and norms are being disputed and not just by major powers.

The international order is thus in an interregnum, an interval between instability and stability. What the 37APR hopes to address, via the plenary and concurrent sessions, is a sense of how the norms and mechanisms that have shaped the existing international order are affected. How will established and emerging middle and major powers operate in this environment? How will they seek common ground and cooperation, if at all? What are the emerging structures and rules which are being shaped?

To all the role-players, instigators and speakers, my thanks for their readiness to travel to Kuala Lumpur and share their time and expertise with us. Their presence and participation are a crucial contribution to enhancing the richness of the discussions in the 37APR.

I also extend heartfelt thanks and appreciation to our partners: the Australian High Commission, the Delegation of the European Union, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China, the Embassy of the United States, the High Commission of India, the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade, the Embassy of the Republic of Korea, and the Embassy of Japan. Their generous contributions and assistance are instrumental in the successful convening of the APR.

One of the key achievements of the APR, aside from its ability to draw in assorted role-players and delegates, is its role as a central networking node for observers and practitioners. This is 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.

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 the region’s leaders. I would like to record my sincere appreciation to the Honourable Dato’ Seri Anwar bin Ibrahim, Prime Minister of Malaysia, and the Honourable Foreign Minister, Dato’ Seri Utama Haji Mohamad Bin Haji Hasan, for the support and encouragement entrusted to ISIS Malaysia and their 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.

I wish all role-players and delegates a productive and enjoyable 37th Asia-Pacific Roundtable.

Datuk Prof Dr Mohd Faiz Abdullah

Opening Remarks

Wednesday, 5 June 2024
09:10–09:30

Dr Yose Rizal Damuri

Executive Director
Centre for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS);
2024 Chair of the ASEAN-ISIS Network
Indonesia

It is with great enthusiasm that I welcome you to this year's 37th Asia-Pacific Roundtable. I wish to thank and congratulate Datuk Prof Dr Mohd Faiz Abdullah, Chairman of ISIS Malaysia, for a very successful event of this year's APR that would be discussing the recent situation in the region and globally.

This year's theme, *Crisis in an Interregnum*, highlights the critical conjecture of our situation, when the world confronts a period of instability between established structures and the possibility of the emergence of a new order. The wars in Ukraine and Middle East have exposed the fragility of global security, and the incapability of global governance to maintain peace and stability.

Meanwhile, the tensions between the US and China have created an environment of distrust and uncertainty that threatens our region. Asia-Pacific must now deal with various emerging challenges, such as promoting economic development, dealing with inequality, the impact of climate change, artificial intelligence governance and more.

Yet, amid these challenges, the Asia-Pacific region stands as an inspiration in a turbulent world. The region boasts the world's fastest-growing economies, fuelled by innovation and a burgeoning middle class. Projections suggest that the region will account for two-thirds of the global middle class and GDP by 2030, while poised to become the world's largest financial technology market and potentially shape the course of global development.

This region can become a leader in forging a new world order that transcends this transition. The region can champion multilateralism, work towards peaceful resolutions of conflict and promote sustainable development goals that benefit all. We can navigate this period of crisis by laying the foundation for a new world order – one built on cooperation, mutual respect, and a shared vision for a more peaceful and sustainable future. However, as a region, Asia-Pacific needs a platform and an institution to promote such values.

This is where ASEAN comes in. As a regional institution, ASEAN holds immense potential to shape the course of history during this interregnum. Despite its modest size, the

group is the only organisation with the potential capacity to shape outcomes in the region and beyond. ASEAN's commitment to regional cooperation, enshrined in principles like neutrality and consensus-building, offers a model for peaceful conflict resolution on the world stage.

Several underutilised ASEAN-led platforms can be used to amplify this message. EAS, which brings together leaders from East Asian and Pacific countries, can be a starting point. Economically, RCEP should promote comprehensive concept of economic security and resilience, which perceives inclusive economic integration and interdependence as sources of greater prosperity rather than a weakness.

However, to fully realise this potential, ASEAN must address critical issues. Internal cohesion within ASEAN is paramount. ASEAN must continue to strengthen economic integration, foster deeper political ties and present a unified front on critical issues. In the face of escalating geopolitical and economic challenges, it is imperative that ASEAN adopt an even more proactive stance. This isn't only about maintaining its role and centrality, it is a call to safeguard the region's stability, peace, prosperity and resilience.

I believe the APR is a good platform to discuss and to promote these principles. Over the next few days, we will delve into the complexities of the geopolitical landscape, brainstorm solutions to regional challenges, and explore ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific's contributions to a more prosperous and secure future for all.

Together, let us navigate this period of crisis by laying the foundation for a new world order – one built on cooperation, mutual respect, and a shared vision for a more peaceful and sustainable future. This forum presents an opportunity for us to engage in open and honest dialogue. I eagerly await your valuable insights, perspectives and contributions.

Dr Yose Rizal Damuri



Plenary 1

Wednesday, 5 June 2024

09:30–11:00

Major-power rivalry: between mitigation and cooperation

Tensions between US and China have created an environment of distrust and uncertainty. As major-power rivalry heightens, the growing risk of miscalculation and unintended clashes have sparked a need for greater crisis communication. Are existing mechanisms like APEC, EAS or G20 conducive for promoting dialogue and cooperation? If not, what new platforms are needed? Is there a role for small and medium powers to foster mitigation and cooperation?

Instigator



Hervé Lemahieu

Director of Research
 Lowy Institute
 Australia

Lemahieu manages the institute's globally recognised team, focusing on China, Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands. Given his expertise in economic, security and development issues, he developed the Asia Power Index, an annual data-driven assessment that maps the changing distribution of power in the region. He oversees other innovative multi-year research projects, including the Global Diplomacy Index, Southeast Asia and Pacific Aid Maps and Lowy Institute Poll. He also provides commentary in international media, advises at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy and conducts strategic dialogues. He has worked at IISS and Oxford Analytica, contributing to geopolitical-risk analyses in Asia.

Speakers



Yun Sun

Senior Fellow
 Stimson Centre
 United States

Sun is the Director of the China Programme and Co-Director of the East Asia Programme at the Stimson Centre. Her expertise is in Chinese foreign policy, US-China relations, and China's relations with neighbouring countries and authoritarian regimes. She was a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution, where she focused on Chinese national security decision-making processes and China-Africa relations. She was a China analyst for the International Crisis Group (ICG) based in Beijing, specialising on China's foreign policy towards conflict countries and the developing world. Prior to ICG, she worked on US-Asia relations in Washington for five years.



Victor Zhikai Gao

Vice-President
 Centre for China & Globalisation

Gao is Chairman of China Energy Security Institute; Chair Professor of Soochow University; and adviser and director to many companies and institutions in China and abroad. He has extensive experience in government, diplomacy, securities regulation, legal, investment banking, PE, corporate management and media. He was also Deng Xiaoping's English interpreter in the 1980s. He served as the China Policy Adviser at the Hong Kong Securities & Futures Commission in 1999 and 2000. His prior investment banking experience include senior positions with Morgan Stanley, CICC, Daiwa Securities, and as General Counsel and SVP of CNOOC Limited.



HE Sujiro Seam

Ambassador of the European Union to ASEAN

HE Seam is a career diplomat, starting at the legal directorate of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1998, before serving eight years in Brussels at the European Commission and the Permanent Representation of France to the EU. Upon his return to Paris in 2009, he was promoted to Assistant Director for Food Security and Deputy Director for Development and Global Public Goods at the ministry. He has served as Consul-General of France in Houston, US; Ambassador to Fiji; and Ambassador of the EU for the Pacific, based in Suva. He is also an Honorary Colonel in the French Army Citizen Reserve.



HE Ong Keng Yong

Executive Deputy Chairman
S Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Singapore

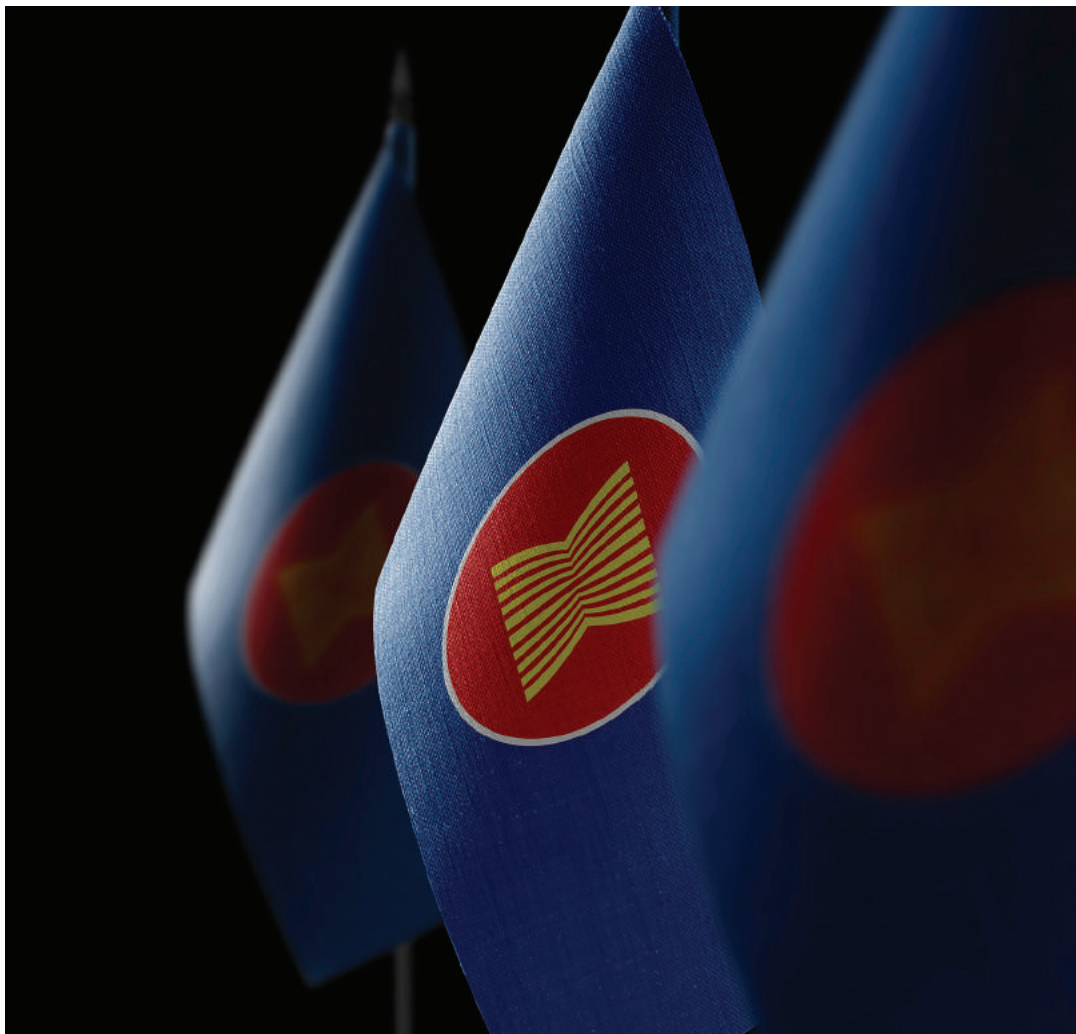
HE Ong is concurrently Director of the Institute of Defence & Strategic Studies and Head of International Centre for Political Violence & Terrorism Research at RSIS. He remains as Ambassador-at-Large at the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is also Singapore's non-resident High Commissioner to Pakistan and non-resident Ambassador to Iran. He was the Chairman of the Singapore International Foundation from 2015 to 2023. His previous postings include High Commissioner to Malaysia and India, ASEAN Secretary-General and Ambassador to Nepal.



Raja Dato' Nushirwan Zainal Abidin

Director-General
National Security Council
Malaysia

Raja Dato' Nushirwan began his career as an administrative and diplomatic officer in 1994, attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has extensive experience in public service, specialising in international relations. Throughout his years of service in the ministry, he has been responsible for tasks involving the economy, human rights and security. In 2014, he served as Ambassador to Iran before returning to assume the responsibilities as Deputy Secretary-General for Bilateral Affairs. He was appointed as Ambassador to China in 2019. He was awarded with an honorary professorship by Tianjin University in recognition to his efforts in strengthening Malaysia-China bilateral relations despite the challenges posed by Covid-19.



Plenary 2

Wednesday, 5 June 2024

11:30–13:00

ASEAN in 2025: reflecting the past, shaping the future

2025 is a pivotal year for ASEAN, as it marks the culmination of the KL Declaration and its multiple visions. It also unveils the Post-2025 Vision that will guide ASEAN over the next two decades. This session aims to encapsulate both a reflection and a way forward. How can ASEAN address effectively internal and external challenges, such as its response to the Myanmar crisis and the centrality of its regional mechanisms amid major-power rivalry? What should be Malaysia's key priorities for the Post-2025 Vision when it assumes the chairmanship next year?

Instigator



Dr Thitinan Pongsudhirak

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

Dr Thitinan is Professor of International Relations at Chulalongkorn University. He has held visiting positions at Johns Hopkins University, Stanford University, University of Victoria in New Zealand and Yangon University. He serves on several editorial boards of academic journals, including *Journal of Democracy*. He has also produced more than 1,000 opinion articles in mass media, such as Project Syndicate, *The Bangkok Post*, *The Straits Times*, *Nikkei Asian Review*, *South China Morning Post*, *International New York Times* and *Financial Times*. His current work focuses on the comparative politics and geopolitics/geoeconomics of ASEAN and the Indo-Pacific in view of the US-China rivalry and competition.

Main Speaker



HE Dr Kao Kim Hourn

Secretary-General of ASEAN

HE Dr Kao is the 15th Secretary-General of ASEAN. Prior to assuming this position in January 2023, he served as a two-term Minister Delegate attached to the Cambodian Prime Minister and Secretary of State of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. Dr Kao's career has focused on strengthening Cambodia's international relations, particularly in ASEAN, driving policy advocacy and promoting research, education, and development. He has authored dozens of books and articles on Cambodia and ASEAN.

Discussants



Prof Dewi Fortuna Anwar

Research Professor
Research Centre for Politics
National Research & Innovation Agency (BRIN)
Indonesia

Prof Dewi is an academic at the Indonesian Academy of Sciences; Board Chairman of the Habibie Centre; and Co-Founder of the Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia. She is a former Distinguished Visiting Professor at the S Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore, and School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University. She has also served as Deputy Secretary to the Indonesian Vice-President. She has written widely on Indonesia's foreign policy, and ASEAN regional political and security issues.



Dr David Capie

Director of Centre for Strategic Studies
Victoria University of Wellington
New Zealand

Dr Capie's research interests focus on conflict and security issues, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region, and New Zealand's foreign and defence policy. He has held visiting positions at the Weatherhead Centre for International Affairs at Harvard University and at LUIS Guido Carli in Rome. He is currently regional Co-Chair of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) and was a member of the ASEAN Regional Forum Experts & Eminent Persons Group from 2012 to 2019.



Lunch Address

Wednesday, 5 June 2024

13:00–14:30

HE Michalis Rokas

Ambassador of the European Union to Malaysia

HE Rokas has 26 years of experience in the field of foreign affairs, having joined the European Commission External Relations Directorate General in 1994. His previous postings include Chargé D’Affaires and Head of the 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.



Concurrent Session 1

Wednesday, 5 June 2024

14:30–16:00

Connecting the Global South

Growing discourse on the Global South and outcomes of the 2023 G20 Summit demonstrate the growing interest in creating inclusive cooperation mechanisms that capitalise on regions like Africa, the Middle East and the Pacific Islands, which Southeast Asia has neglected. Heightened diplomatic activity and enhanced multilateralism in those regions and organisations like BRICS and SCO show the importance of connecting the Global South. How can ASEAN better take the lead with its engagement with the Global South? Can it leverage on Dialogue Partners with functional relationships in the Global South to broker deeper ties in the region?

Instigator



Prof Antoinette R Raquiza

Vice-President
Asia-Pacific Pathways to Progress Foundation, Inc (APPPFI)
The Philippines

Prof Raquiza is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies and Philippine Development Studies at the Asian Centre, University of the Philippines. She is also the convenor of the political economy programme of the UP Centre for Integrative & Development Studies and Chair of the Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies in Asia, a regional network of leading area studies and research institutions. Her current research is on the US-China competition and its implications for the Philippines and regional security while past works focused on comparative political economy, politics and governance. She is the author of *State Formation and Economic Development in Southeast Asia: the political economy of the Philippines and Thailand*.

Speakers



Dr Lina A Alexandra

Head of the Department of International Relations
Centre for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS)
Indonesia

Dr Lina heads CSIS, one of Indonesia's oldest think-tanks and provides leadership for a wide range of policy debates in the country and across ASEAN. She is also the coordinator for the CSIS Myanmar Initiative Programme. Her research interests include Indonesian foreign policy, conflict resolution, human rights and non-traditional security issues in Southeast Asia.



Prof Harsh V Pant

Vice-President
Studies & Foreign Policy
Observer Research Foundation
India

Prof Pant is Professor of International Relations with King's India Institute at King's College London. He is also Director (Honorary) of Delhi School of Transnational Affairs at Delhi University. His current research focuses on Asian security issues. His most recent books include *India and Global Governance: A Rising Power and Its Discontents*; *Politics and Geopolitics: Decoding India's Neighbourhood Challenge*; *America and the Indo-Pacific: Trump and Beyond*; *New Directions in India's Foreign Policy: Theory and Praxis*; *India's Nuclear Policy*, among others. He is a regular contributor to various Indian and international media outlets, including *Japan Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Hindustan Times* and *The Telegraph*.



Yanitha Meena Louis

Analyst
Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS)
Malaysia

Meena's research focuses on Indian foreign policy, the geopolitics of South Asia, and Malaysia and ASEAN's relations with the region. She also looks at the various Indo-Pacific strategies in the region, focusing on the approaches of ASEAN, the European Union, Australia and the Republic of Korea. She is also interested in understanding how inter/intra-regionalism, mini-lateralism and multilateralism function in the Global South and the larger Indo-Pacific. Her writings have appeared in *The Diplomat*, *The Interpreter*, *Asia Times* and *Financial Express*.



Concurrent Session 2

Wednesday, 5 June 2024

14:30–16:00

Reframing the global climate discourse

While awareness and diplomatic efforts on climate action have intensified, the gap between promises and impact continues to widen. Agendas largely shaped by Western narratives have created disproportionate expectations on developing countries despite the principle of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities.’ In what ways do nations exhibit climate hypocrisy through their actions compared with their stated commitments? How are developed and developing countries experiencing climate risks differently? How can we bridge the North-South divide to work towards a more equitable solution? What role should non-state actors, such as activists and lobbies, play in climate negotiations for a more inclusive climate governance?

Instigator



Dr Annabelle Workman

Research Fellow
Melbourne Climate Futures & Melbourne School of Population and Global Health
University of Melbourne
Australia

Dr Workman is a social scientist developing healthier climate and energy policies. As a Deputy Director of the Climate Collaborative Action for Transformative Change in Health and Healthcare Lab, she is leading a project to co-design climate policies, collaborating with government policymakers to develop resources that support the inclusion of health into cross-sectoral policies. She is also supporting the Indo-Pacific Climate Hub, an initiative to accelerate transformative climate-resilient development and ignite change for a sustainable future in the Indo-Pacific.

Speakers



Gen (retd) ANM Muniruzzaman

President
Bangladesh Institute of Peace & Security Studies

Gen Muniruzzaman's career in the army spanned 38 years at all levels of command, staff and faculty. An experienced UN peacekeeper, he headed the post-election UN Mission in Cambodia that oversaw the transition from conflict to peace. He is also the Chairman of the Global Military Advisory Council on Climate Change, an international expert body that works on the security dimensions of climate change. He has worked and published extensively on climate security and gave the first international call on the link between climate change impacts and security at COP15 in Copenhagen. He was named as one of the top 25 strategic voices on climate change by the Weather Channel.



Dr Frederick Kliem

Director of Regional Programme Energy Security and Climate Change Asia-Pacific
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)
Hong Kong SAR

Dr Kliem works on sustainability, ESG issues, political risks in Asia and Europe as well as on mitigation of and adaptation to climate change. He is also an Adjunct Fellow at the S Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in Singapore. As Managing Director of Episteme Consultants, he helps international stakeholders from businesses and civil society to get on the ESG ladder, identify political risks and implement ESG projects.



Prakriti Koirala

Climate Activist
Loss & Damage Youth Coalition
Nepal

Prakriti holds a master's degree in environmental science, specialising in climate change. She is a member of the Loss and Damage Youth Coalition. She has been following international climate change negotiations since 2021.



Concurrent Session 3

Wednesday, 5 June 2024

14:30–16:00

AIMing for errors: future battlefields and the challenge of AI

The incorporation of AI in the military is inevitable, be it to sift through images or as part of autonomous weapon systems. Nations with advanced AI capabilities will dictate the rules for responsible AI in the military. Meanwhile, pledges, such as those between the US and China banning the use of AI in autonomous weapons and nuclear warheads, need to be normalised and upheld by middle powers. Is the region prepared for military transformation and adoption of AI? How will AI impact on state responsibility in conflict and peacetime? Can ASEAN build safer practices with military modernisations of AI?

Instigator



Farlina Said

Fellow
Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS)
Malaysia

Farlina is a fellow in the Cyber and Technology Policy programme. She graduated from S Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University with an MSc (Strategic Studies). She was involved in crafting various dialogues and forums on cybersecurity, radicalisation and Malaysia-Korea relations. Her work and comments have appeared in the local and international media, such as New Straits Times and South China Morning Post. She was a part of SEARCCT's Experts on Violent Extremism and Community Engagement (EVOKE) Council (2018-2019).

Speakers



Lt Gen (Dr) RS Panwar

Distinguished Fellow
United Service Institution of India

Lt Gen (Dr) Panwar served the Indian Army Corps of Signals for four decades, during which he commanded two logistics formations – an electronic warfare brigade and a communications regiment. He is presently a Distinguished Fellow at the United Service Institution of India, the oldest defence think-tank in India, and is engaged in evolving strategic thought in the areas of information operations, network-centric warfare and disruptive military technologies. Since 2021, he has been an active participant in Track-Two diplomatic efforts to achieve consensus on principles and good practices for responsible AI development in the military domain, involving experts from the US, China, EU, Russia and India.



Dr Michael Raska

Assistant Professor
Institute for Defence & Strategic Studies
S Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Singapore

Dr Raska's research and teaching focus on defence and military innovation, including digital warfare, next-generation hybrid conflicts, and the effects of emerging technologies on force planning and future warfighting concepts. He is the author of *Military Innovation and Small States: Creating Reverse Asymmetry* and co-editor of *the AI Wave in Defence Innovation*. He is a member of the Expert Advisory Group in the Global Commission on Responsible Artificial Intelligence in the Military Domain.



Dr Su Wai Mon

Senior Lecturer
Universiti Malaya
Malaysia

Dr Su is a Research Fellow at UM's Malaysian Centre of Regulatory Studies. She joined UM's Faculty of Law in 2021 where she went on to secure grants for projects entitled 'Formulating a legal and regulatory framework for protection of submarine cables in Malaysia' and 'Maritime cybersecurity: formulating a legal and risk management framework in Malaysia'. She is also an Associate Member of UM's Institute of Ocean and Earth Sciences (IOES); an Adjunct Professor at Woxen University; and a member of the Special Interest Group on the Ocean Thermal Energy Driven Development for Sustainability at the Academy of Sciences Malaysia. Her research interests lie in AI and maritime security, cybersecurity in the maritime domain and submarine cables governance.



Plenary 3

Wednesday, 5 June 2024

16:20–17:50

Geopolitics in the Middle East: regional developments, global ramifications

Strategic and conflict reconfigurations in the Middle East continue to draw in global powers, and impact on global commodities and trade. At the same time, reinvigorated Gulf Arab states are pursuing ambitious socio-economic policies, potentially reshaping traditional alliances to hedge against major-power rivalry. How will geopolitical developments in the Middle East impact on the Asia-Pacific? What are the trajectories which observers should look out for? How have recent developments impacted perceptions of the rules-based order and global norms?

Instigator



Shahrman Lockman

Director of Special Projects
 Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS)
 Malaysia

Shahrman's research interests include Malaysian foreign and defence policies, Southeast Asian maritime security affairs, and Malaysia-China relations, including in the context of the South China Sea. He also manages the institute's China engagement initiative, which promotes Track-Two dialogue between Malaysia and China. He was a consultant to the Defence Ministry on Malaysia's inaugural Defence White Paper, specifically on budgeting and implementation issues. He is a member of the Malaysian chapter of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP).

Speakers



Dr Ebtessam Al-Ketbi

President
 Emirates Policy Centre
 United Arab Emirates

Dr Al-Ketbi is a Professor of Political Science at the UAE University. She is also a consultative commission member of the Gulf Cooperation Council, adviser to the Global Commission for Post-Pandemic Policy, and advisory board member of T20 International. She sits on the board of the Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington, Observer Research Foundation in India, and Middle East Institute in Washington. She is the author of four books: *The UAE's Role in Empowering Religious Diplomacy*; *The UAE Power Building Model: Mohamed bin Zayed's Vision*; *The UAE Power-Building Model and Foreign Policy Shifts*; and *Iran and the Biden Administration: A Potential Return to Negotiations*.



Dr James M Dorsey

Adjunct Senior Fellow
 S Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
 Singapore

An award-winning, two-time Pulitzer Prize and European Press Prize finalist, Dr Dorsey is a veteran columnist and foreign correspondent who covered politics, including multiple transitions from autocracy to democracy, elections, military coups, revolutions, popular uprisings, and ethnic and religious conflict. His blog – The Turbulent World – is widely read and listened to by government officials, policymakers, business executives, journalists, editors, opinionmakers and analysts. His book, *The Battle for the Soul of Islam*, describing the competition for religious soft power in the Muslim world between Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, is set for publication next month.



Dr Dino Patti Djalal

Founder
Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia

Dr Dino was appointed as Special Staff of the President for International Affairs in 2004. In that capacity, he assumed many roles, including presidential spokesperson, foreign policy adviser to the Indonesian President and speech writer. He is also the former Indonesian Ambassador to the United States and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs. In 2012, he won the prestigious 'Marketeer of the Year', the same award won by President Joko Widodo. Dino is the founder of the Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia, the largest foreign policy association in the country.



Dr Khalil Shirgholami

Vice-President
Institute for Political & International Studies (IPIS)
Iran

Dr Shirgholami works at IPIS, the most prominent think-tank in Iran in international politics and foreign policy. He is also adviser to Iran's Special Envoy for Afghanistan. He is a former adviser to the Deputy Foreign Minister, Consul-General of Iran in Guangzhou, and Head of Economic Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is the author of three books and numerous articles.



Dinner Address

Wednesday, 5 June 2024

18:00–19:30

HE Ouyang Yujing

Ambassador of the People’s Republic of China to Malaysia

HE 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. HE Ouyang has held various positions in the Department of Treaty and Law, including as Counsellor.



Plenary 4

Thursday, 6 June 2024

11:40–13:10

Megatrends shaping the global economy: implications for Asia-Pacific

Escalating US-China economic rivalry will have far-reaching implications across the Asia-Pacific region, presenting both opportunities and geoeconomic fragmentation. This session aims to explore the megatrends shaping economic, investment and trade prospects in both China and the US, with a focus on the implications for Asia-Pacific. How are economic bifurcation, friend-shoring and de-risking strategies affecting global supply chain resilience? Are they sustainable in the long term? How is the region preparing for future challenges through strategies, such as geoeconomic hedging and currency diversification (i.e., de-dollarisation)?

Instigator



Eduardo Pedrosa

Secretary-General
Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC)
Singapore

Pedrosa leads PECC's flagship annual report, the State of the Region. He has edited several books and has also written extensively on economics and trade issues. He is a member of the advisory board of the World Economic Forum's Global Risk Report. Before moving to Singapore, he was the coordinator of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's (KAS) Southeast Asia cooperation programme based in Manila and co-editor of its journal on regional economics and politics. He has also worked for the Economist Intelligence Unit and the Philippine government.

Speakers



Hosuk Lee-Makiyama

Director
European Centre for International Political Economy
Belgium

Lee-Makiyama's academic work spans across trade diplomacy, global economic governance and economic security. His advice is often sought after by European Union institutions and member states, G7/20 governments, and all the principal organisations on economic cooperation, including APEC, ASEAN, OECD, WTO and various UN agencies. He is a regular commentator on the BBC, *Financial Times*, *Nikkei*, Al Jazeera, Chinese state media, CNBC and CNN. Before academia, he was posted to the UN and WTO as a diplomat for Sweden and served as a commercial attaché.



Trinh Nguyen

Senior Economist
Natixis
Hong Kong SAR

Nguyen covers emerging Asia at Natixis CIB. She produces forward-looking insights that serve fixed income, equity and FX markets, and analyses comparative economic developments at the local, regional and global level, taking into account the impact of geopolitical events on economic growth and assets. She is also a non-resident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, whose global network provides a unique opportunity to think deeply about complex trends and share them among policymakers, investors and corporate leaders. She is a former consultant at the World Bank, conducting research on foreign direct investment and indicators for country-specific labour market trends and patterns.



Dr Yose Rizal Damuri

Executive Director
Centre for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS);
2024 Chair of the ASEAN-ISIS Network
Indonesia

Dr Yose's research activities focus on international trade, regional integration and the globalisation of value chain. He also maintains a keen interest in examining the political economy aspects of international economic governance and the multilateral trading system. He is the author of numerous academic articles on these subjects and is currently directing his attention towards the implications of major-power rivalries on the global and regional economic landscape. He is active in many networks of research institutes in East Asia, such as in Asia-Pacific Research Network on Trade, ERIA Research Institutes Network and Think 20, the think-tank network of G20 countries. Currently, he serves as the Co-Chair of the Indonesia National Committee of Pacific Economic Cooperation.



Dr Yang Yao

Liberal Arts Chair Professor
Peking University
China

Dr Yao currently serves as the Director of China Centre for Economics Research (CCER); Executive Dean of Institute of South-South Cooperation and Development; and Editor of CCER's journal *China Economic Quarterly*. He was the Dean of the National School of Development. Dr Yao also serves as Chairman of China Economic Annual Meetings and Foundation of Modern Economics. He is a member of China Economists 50 Forum. His research interests include economic transition and development in China. He has published more than 100 papers in international and domestic journals, including *China Social Sciences*, *American Economic Review* and *American Political Science Review*.



HE Chung Keeyong

Special Representative for Indo-Pacific
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
South Korea

HE Chung was appointed to the post in February. Prior to the appointment, he served as Ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1993 and has served as Director-General of Climate Change, Energy, Environment and Scientific Affairs; Director of Governance at the Global Green Growth Initiative; Minister-Counsellor in Washington.



Lunch Address

Thursday, 6 June 2024

13:10–14:30

HE Danielle Heinecke

High Commissioner of Australia to Malaysia

HE Heinecke is a senior career officer with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and served as First Assistant Secretary, Pacific Melanesia division. She has previously served overseas in Timor-Leste, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. She was named the High Commissioner-designate last year.



Plenary 5

Thursday, 6 June 2024

14:30–16:00

The rise of regional powers: a struggle for agency?

The emergence of a new regional order, distinctly accelerated by major-power competition, has increased the role of regional powers. These powers have played a unique role in shaping geopolitical dynamics, such as by responding to potent changes in their strategic environment. However, they are limited by capacity and influence, and struggle to enforce agency. How can these small and middle powers exert their interests and agency in international geopolitics today? What can we learn from the trajectory of emerging regional powers? Are existing multilateral mechanisms still a viable way to exercise agency?

Instigator



Dr Hoo Chiew-Ping

Co-Founder & Senior Fellow
East Asian International Relations Caucus
Malaysia

Dr Hoo is the Co-Founder of the EAIR Caucus, a Malaysia-based multi-stakeholder networking platform. She is concurrently a member of the Asia-Pacific Nuclear Advisory Panel hosted by the British American Security Information Council and Editorial Board Member of the Amsterdam University Press IR and Politics Series. She was a Senior Lecturer at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and Adjunct Lecturer in Defence Studies at the Malaysian Armed Forces' Defence College. While her main research focus is on security of the Korean peninsula, she also works on the security-economic nexus of power competition in East Asia, and the intersection of nuclear weapons and other domains, including maritime, emerging technologies and conventional defence.

Speakers



Prof C Raja Mohan

Visiting Professor
Institute of South Asian Studies
National University of Singapore

Prof Raja Mohan is the founding director of Carnegie India and the Asia Society Policy Institute in Delhi. He was Professor of South Asian Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University and S Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore. He has published widely on India's foreign and security policies, Asian geopolitics, maritime strategy, and the global governance of new technologies. He is working on a book about India and the Asian balance of power. He is associated with several think-tanks in India, including the Council for Strategic & Defence Research, Observer Research Foundation, Centre for Policy Research, and Institute of Defence Studies & Analyses.



Dr Akiko Fukushima

Senior Fellow
The Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research
Japan

Dr Fukushima was a Professor at School of Global Studies and Collaboration, Aoyama Gakuin University, and Director of Policy Studies at the National Institute for Research Advancement. She is also a member of the International Advisory Board of the *Hague Journal of Diplomacy* and non-resident Fellow of the Lowy Institute. She has served on Japanese government committees. She is the author of *Japanese Foreign Policy: The Emerging Logic of Multilateralism* and *Multilateralism Recalibrated*.



Helen Mitchell

Sir Roland Wilson Scholar (Economic Security & Statecraft)
Crawford School of Public Policy
Australian National University

Mitchell does targeted research to help solve national policy challenges. Her research explores economic security and statecraft in a new global order – one in which Australia faces sharper trade-offs between sovereignty, security and prosperity. She is also an economic security non-resident Fellow at the US Studies Centre where she has published a report that defines what ‘economic security’ is and how to achieve it. She is an economist and former diplomat, having served in New York, South Africa and Mexico. Most recently, she was one of a cadre of senior experts providing strategic advice to the Prime Minister and the Australian government.



Dr Frank Umbach

Head of Research
University of Bonn
Germany

Dr Umbach heads the research arm of the European Cluster for Climate, Energy and Resource Security at the Centre for Advanced Security, Strategic & Integration Studies, University of Bonn. He also holds the post of Senior Lecturer at the same university and Adjunct Senior Fellow at the S Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). He serves as a consultant on international energy and climate security, raw material supply security, geopolitical risks (management), cybersecurity and critical (energy) infrastructure protection, and security policies in Europe/Eurasia and Asia-Pacific. He is the author of more than 600 publications, including the study ‘Strengthening Energy Security and Building Resilience in the Asia-Pacific’.



Dr Vu Le Thai Hoang

Director-General
Institute for Foreign Policy & Strategic Studies
Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam (DAV)

Dr Vu is a former Minister-Counsellor and Chief Political Officer at the Vietnam Embassy to the United States. After the Washington stint in 2018, he was appointed as Deputy Director-General at the National Secretariat for ASEAN 2020 and Department of American Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was also an Eisenhower Fellow.

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