

25TH ASIA-PACIFIC ROUNDTABLE
30 May – 1 June 2011, Shangri-la Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Programme

29 May 2011

19:30-21:30

WELCOMING RECEPTION

(For Role Players and Invited Participants Only)

DAY 1

30 May 2011

09:00 – 09:30

WELCOMING REMARKS

Mr. DANG Dinh Quy

Chair, ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) & Acting President, The Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam

OPENING REMARKS AND KEYNOTE ADDRESS

The Hon. Dato' Sri Mohd NAJIB Tun Abdul Razak

Prime Minister of Malaysia *(invited)*

09:30 – 10:00

Refreshments

10:00 – 11:15

PLENARY SESSION 1

THE ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY AGENDA: THE NEXT 25 YEARS

Looking back at the past 25 years, the Asia Pacific has, on the whole, been remarkably peaceful and stable. Predictions of the imminent clash of the big powers have not materialised. While there are extant issues such as territorial disputes, conflicts over resources and nation building, the countries of the region have cooperated like never before. But what will the next 25 years look like? This session will explore how regional countries can cooperate to maintain peace and stability in the Asia Pacific. What are the key security challenges that should command the most attention and resources? What are the new sources of insecurity looming across the horizon? What should be the roles of institutions such as the ASEAN Regional Forum, the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) and the ADMM Plus?

Moderator

Tan Sri Dr.Mohd MUNIR Abdul Majid

Chairman, Malaysia Airlines & Visiting Senior Fellow and Head, Southeast Asia International Affairs Programme at the Centre for International Affairs, Diplomacy and Strategy (IDEAS), London School of Economics and Political Science

Speaker

Mr. Robert D. KAPLAN

National Correspondent, *The Atlantic* & Senior Fellow, The Center for a New American Security (CNAS), USA

11:15 – 11:30

Break

11:30 – 13:00

PLENARY SESSION 2**CHINA: LESS CHARM, MORE OFFENSIVE?**

In the past year, many observers of China's foreign policy have argued that Beijing has become increasingly assertive on the international stage. This session will closely examine the proposition that China has become more willing to use its growing economic and military strengths to support its regional and international diplomacy. In what ways have broader geopolitical developments led to the apparent shift in China's foreign policy? What are the possible domestic sources of its recent posture? What explains China's reported declaration that the South China Sea constitutes a "core interest"? Are we witnessing the end of Beijing's highly successful diplomatic initiative, labelled by some, as a "charm offensive"? While China would continue to "rise", will it remain "peaceful" in its conduct of external relations?

Chair

Prof. Dr. Anthony MILNER

Basham Professor of Asian History, The Australian National University; Pok Rafeah Chair, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia; and Professorial Fellow, The University of Melbourne

Speakers

Prof. Dr. Susan SHIRK

Ho Miu Lam Endowed Chair in China and Pacific Relations & Director of the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC), University of California, San Diego & former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, USA

Prof. Dr. Aileen BAVIERA

Visiting Senior Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University & Centre for Asian Studies, The University of the Philippines

Prof. Dr. CHU Shulong

School of Public Policy and Management, Tsinghua University, China

Prof. Dr. O. Arne WESTAD

Co-Director, LSE IDEAS, London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom

13:00 – 14:45

LUNCHEON TALK 1**EAST ASIA REGIONALISM: THE VIEW FROM JAKARTA**

As the largest country in Southeast Asia, Indonesia has played a major role in influencing the shape and composition of ASEAN-led regional institutions in East Asia. This session will provide an Indonesian assessment of the present state and future direction of regionalism in East Asia. How does Jakarta perceive the roles of the numerous regional processes? Will ASEAN continue to be a major pillar in Indonesia's foreign policy? How does regionalism in East Asia serve Indonesia's strategic interests? How do the various parts of the regional architecture influence the interaction between the major powers? How does Indonesia reconcile its bilateral and multilateral initiatives?

Moderator

The Hon. Dato' Sri ANIFAH AmanMinister of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia (*invited*)

Speaker

The Hon. Dr. Raden Mohammad MARTY Muliana Natalegawa

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia

14:45 – 16:15

PLENARY SESSION 3**ARE CHINA AND THE US ON A COLLISION COURSE?**

Relations between China and the United States in the last two decades have generally been characterised by a mix of cooperation and competition. In the past year, however, tensions between Beijing and Washington have decidedly intensified. The latter sees the former as mounting a challenge to its primacy in Asia. Beijing, on the other hand, believes that Washington is strengthening its alliances and partnerships in Asia in an attempt to encircle China. This session will assess how Sino-American relations will likely develop in the near future. What can be done to prevent a further intensification of Sino-American rivalry? What are the prospects that the two countries would start treating each other as equals?

Chair

Assoc. Prof. Simon TAY

Chairman, Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA) & Associate Professor, Faculty of Law, National University of Singapore

Speakers

Prof. Dr. SUN Zhe

Director, Center for U.S.-China Relations, Tsinghua University, China

Prof. Dr. Harry HARDING

Founding Dean, Frank Batten Sr. School of Leadership and Public Policy, University of Virginia, USA

Prof. Dr. Yoshihide SOEYA

Faculty of Law, Keio University, Japan

16:15 – 16:45

Refreshments

16:45 – 18:00

CONCURRENT SESSION 1**WATER: QUENCHING THE THIRST FOR SECURITY**

The populations of the Asia Pacific are expected to continue to grow for the foreseeable future. This creates enormous pressures on governments to ensure the continued supply of water. But measures taken by one country may not always benefit another when it comes to managing scarce resources. In other words, water is increasingly politicised, and indeed some would argue that it should be securitised. This session will assess the ways in which regional countries are trying to secure the supply of water and how these affect interstate relations, including heightening political tensions between upstream and downstream states. What are the main sources of water stress in the Asia Pacific? How can cooperation between regional countries be improved? Will the rivers and lakes turn red from the blood spilled as the pressure to secure the source and supply of water intensifies?

Chair

HRH Prince Samdech Norodom SIRIVUDH

Chairman, Board of Directors, The Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (CICP), Cambodia

Speakers

Dr. NGUYEN Nam Duong

Assistant Director General, Institute for Foreign Policy and Strategic Studies, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam

Prof. Dr. Brahma CHELLANEY

Centre for Policy Research, India

Prof. NI Guangheng

Director, Center for International Transboundary Water and Eco-Security, Tsinghua University, China

CONCURRENT SESSION 2**ASIA'S NAVAL ARMS RACE: MYTH OR REALITY?**

The nations of the Asia Pacific are presently channelling ever-greater resources towards strengthening their navies. Advanced submarines, for instance, have been built and purchased on an unprecedented scale. The electronic warfare (EW) capabilities of regional maritime forces are improving swiftly. As a result, many regional countries now have the ability to apply force at sea with growing potency. This session will discuss the driving forces and rationale for this new phenomenon. Is the US inadvertently fuelling the purported arms race with its increasingly active military engagement in the region? What can be done to moderate the negative consequences of the competitive arms build-up? Are recent naval purchases tantamount to an arms race? Are these acquisitions better understood in terms of “modernisation” and the replacement of obsolete equipment? Is the purported military build-up a manifestation of the simmering strategic conflict that also involves the US?

Chair

Admiral Tan Sri MOHD ANWAR bin Hj Mohd Nor

Chairman, Armed Forces Fund Board (LTAT) and former Chief of Armed Forces, Malaysia

Speakers

Vice-Admiral (Rtd.) Hideaki KANEDA

Director, The Okazaki Institute & Adjunct Fellow, Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA)

Prof. Dr. Desmond BALL

School of International, Political and Strategic Studies, Australian National University

Senior Captain ZHANG Junshe

Vice-President, Naval Research Institute, China

19:30 – 22:00

25TH APR ANNIVERSARY DINNER & TALK

Moderator

Tan Sri Mohamed JAWHAR Hassan

Chairman, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia

Distinguished Speaker

HE Dr. SURIN Pitsuwan

Secretary General, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

DAY 2

31 May 2011

09:00 – 10:30

PLENARY SESSION 4

DAWN OF THE ASIAN CENTURY: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

The term “Asian Century” is often used – and according to some, much abused – in the popular press. This session will continue the discussions that began at the 24th Asia-Pacific Roundtable. It will examine the merits of the concept of an Asian Century. What do we actually mean when we use the term? In other words, what are the attitudes and key assumptions that lie behind calling the twenty-first century an Asian one? Does the concept help or hinder our understanding of geopolitical developments around the world?

Moderator

Senior Broadcast Journalist from CCTV

Speaker

The Hon. Tun Dr. MAHATHIR Mohamad

Honorary President, Perdana Leadership Foundation & former Prime Minister of Malaysia

10:30 – 11:00

Refreshments

11:00 – 12:15

PLENARY SESSION 5
RETHINKING THE ZONE OF PEACE, FREEDOM AND
NEUTRALITY (ZOPFAN) IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

The ZOPFAN declaration of 1971 was the result of concerns that the superpower rivalry of the Cold War could undermine Southeast Asia's stability. Forty years after ZOPFAN was first articulated, it continues to figure in ASEAN's official statements. This session will discuss whether ASEAN's commitment to ZOPFAN is more than just a rhetorical one. What is the role of ZOPFAN in creating an ASEAN Security Community? How is it relevant to today's regional strategic landscape?

Chair
 TBC

Speakers

Amb. Prof. Dr. Hasjim Djalal

Director, Centre for South East Asian Studies, Indonesia

Tan Sri AHMAD FUZI bin Hj. Abdul Razak

Secretary General, World Islamic Economic Forum Foundation (WIEF) & Deputy Chairman, CSCAP Malaysia

Prof. Dr. Robert AYSON

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

12:15 – 14:00

LUNCHEON TALK 2
THE PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS: CHALLENGES AND
OPPORTUNITIES

Moderator

Dr. RIZAL Sukma

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

Speaker

Mr. Alain **AESCHLIMANN**

Head of Operations for East Asia, South-East Asia and the Pacific, The International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC)

- 14:00 – 15:15 **PLENARY SESSION 6**
Presentation by the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA) (*invited*)
- 15:15 – 15:30 Break
- 15:30 – 16:45 **PLENARY SESSION 7**
THE ADMM PLUS: YET ANOTHER LAYER IN THE REGION'S DENSE SECURITY ARCHITECTURE?
The First ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) Plus was convened amid considerable fanfare in Hanoi in October 2010. Some analysts have posited that the establishment of the ADMM Plus has long been overdue. Yet it remains unclear whether the ADMM Plus can achieve progress on issues where other mechanisms have been found wanting. This session will assess whether the ADMM Plus has a unique role to play in enhancing regional security. What explains the establishment of the ADMM Plus? What are the respective roles of the ADMM Plus and the ASEAN Regional Forum? Is there a need to clearly delineate them? Is the ADMM Plus attempting to skirt around the pressing concerns of traditional security by steadfastly identifying non-traditional security issues as the primary concern of the enlarged entity?
- Chair
Amb. Koji WATANABE
Senior Fellow, Japan Centre for International Exchange (JCIE)
(*confirmed*)
- Speakers
Dr. C. Raja Mohan
Strategic Affairs Editor, *The Indian Express*, India
- Mr. Thomas HOMBERG**
Senior Vice President, EADS
- Prof. Dr. Don EMMERSON**
Director, Southeast Asia Forum, Stanford University, USA
- Assoc. Prof. Raymund Jose G. QUILOP**
Assistant Secretary for Strategic Assessment, Department of National Defence, The Philippines
- 16:45 – 17:15 Refreshments

17:15 – 18:30

CONCURRENT SESSION 3
UNRAVELLING THE THAI POLITICAL PUZZLE

A year after the May 2010 dispersal of the protests by the “Red Shirts” in Bangkok, there are lingering doubts about whether the principal causes of instability in Thai politics have been sufficiently addressed. This session will explore why such doubts remain and examine the steps that have been taken by the Thai government to narrow the political chasm between the contending groups. Who have been the key personalities in Thai politics over the past year? What has been done to narrow the economic gap between Thailand’s northeast and the rest of the country? What is the likelihood of mass protests returning to the streets of Thailand’s major cities? Is there light at the end of the tunnel? What would a solution to the Thai political quagmire look like?

Chair

Mr. John BRANDON

Director, International Relations Program, The Asia Foundation, USA

Speakers

M. R. SUKHUMBHAND Paribatra

The Governor of Bangkok, Thailand

Mr. KAVI Chongkittavorn

Senior Fellow, Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Thailand

Emeritus Professor Dr. SUCHIT Bunbongkarn

Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University & Senior Fellow, Institute of Security and International Studies, Thailand

CONCURRENT SESSION 4
WIKILEAKS: IMPLICATIONS FOR DIPLOMACY AND INTELLIGENCE EXCHANGE

The release of classified US diplomatic cables by WikiLeaks has been described as the “9/11 of diplomacy”. This session will assess the implications of the disclosures, particularly on relations and intelligence exchange between states. How have governments managed the diplomatic fallout from the leaked documents? How can governments strike a balance between sharing their assessments with other countries and the need to maintain secrecy? Has WikiLeaks significantly undermined the collection of intelligence, particularly by the United States? Is this a one-off, or should we expect such disclosures to happen frequently in the future? What will be the long-term impact of WikiLeaks on diplomacy?

Chair

Mr. DANG Dinh Quy

Chair, ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) & Acting President, The Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam

Speakers

Mr. Jeremy WAGSTAFF

Senior Journalist, Singapore

Mr. MUSHAHID Ali

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

Mr. Rowan CALLICK

Asia-Pacific Editor, *The Australian*

19:30 – 21:30

DINNER TALK

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES: WHERE IS THE ALLIANCE HEADED?

The US-Japan security alliance is the cornerstone of US-Japanese relations, and remains an important facet of regional security. While Washington and Tokyo agree on the importance of their alliance, managing it has not been all smooth sailing. This session will discuss the recent trajectory of Japan-US relations and examine its interaction with other strategic developments in the region. What are the key factors that have shaped the Japan-US relationship in the past five years? How has Japan's security concerns influenced US strategy in Asia? Does Japan see the US security umbrella as sustainable in the long run? What have been the domestic factors that have shaped Japan's approach towards its alliance with the United States?

Moderator

Dato' Dr. MAHANI Zainal Abidin

Chief Executive, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia

Speaker

Prof. Hiroshi NAKANISHI

Graduate School of Law, Kyoto University, Japan

DAY 3
1 June 2011

09:00 – 10:00

PLENARY SESSION 8
SECURING THE MARITIME COMMONS: THE ROLE OF
REGIONAL NAVIES

As Asia-Pacific countries expand their trading links across the globe, securing the region's maritime commons has become critical to their wealth and security. The threat of piracy, though much subsided in recent years, remains a source of worry. The development of anti-access technologies carries the potential to deepen suspicions between the major maritime powers. This session will explore how regional navies can cooperate to secure the maritime commons and forestall the risk of turning mutual suspicions into armed conflict. How can current cooperation to secure the maritime commons be improved? What can be done to build trust between the major maritime powers?

Moderator

Mr. Jusuf Wanandi

Vice-Chair, Board of Trustees, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Indonesia

Speaker

Admiral Robert F. WILLARD

Commander, US Pacific Command, USA

10:00 – 10:15

Refreshments

10:15 – 11:45

PLENARY SESSION 9
WHERE IS NORTH KOREA HEADED?

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is ostensibly prepared for a leadership transition. Yet, there remain huge gaps in the outside world's knowledge of key personalities in the country's political and military leadership. At the same time, bilateral relations between the DPRK and the Republic of Korea (ROK), Japan, and the United States respectively have often been punctuated by tension. This session will examine the recent developments in the DPRK and assess their implications for the Asia Pacific. In what ways have preparations for a political transition in the DPRK influenced its foreign policy? How has the DPRK responded to broader geopolitical developments? What has been the role of the Korean People's Army (KPA) in shaping the DPRK's approach towards the other former participants of the Six Party Talks?

Chair

Asst. Prof. Herman KRAFT

Executive Director, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), The Philippines

Speakers

Mr. MA Tong Hui

Senior Researcher, The Institute for Disarmament and Peace (IDP), Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Prof. Dr. ZHU Feng

Deputy Director, Center for International and Strategic Studies, Peking University, China

Prof. Dr. Andrei LANKOV

Social Science Department, Kookmin University, Republic of Korea

Prof. Dr. CHOI Kang

Director-General for American Studies, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, Republic of Korea

Mr. Atsuhito ISOZAKI

Senior Assistant Professor, Department of Law, Keio University, Japan (*invited*)

11:45 – 12:00

Break

12:00 – 12:45

PLENARY SESSION 10: ASIA PACIFIC SECURITY: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

In this session, speakers will be invited to provide their impressions of the Roundtable's proceedings. Have the discussions altered their broad assessments of the region's strategic trends? What are their recommendations for regional governments? What are the primary security issues and concerns?

Chair

Prof. Dato' Dr. ZAKARIA Hj. Ahmad

Senior Vice-President (Research), HELP University & President, Malaysian International Affairs Forum (MIAF)

Speakers

Emeritus Prof. Dr. Carol HERNANDEZ

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

Prof. Dr. Brian JOB

Professor of Political Science & Director, Security and Defence Program at the Centre of International Relations, University of British Columbia, Canada

Mr. Hitoshi TANAKA

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

12:45 – 13:00

CLOSING REMARKS**Dato' Dr. MAHANI Zainal Abidin**

Chief Executive, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia

13:00

Lunch

Note: All role players are confirmed unless stated otherwise.