

# 38APR

## ASIA-PACIFIC ROUNDTABLE

### Recalibrating Asia's Frontiers

17-19 June 2025 | Hilton Kuala Lumpur





## Asia-Pacific Roundtable

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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 Asia-Pacific. It is one of the region's premier Track 2 gatherings and 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 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.



## ASEAN-ISIS

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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 2 diplomacy and enjoys a close relationship with ASEAN governments.



A large, white, two-story building with a red-tiled roof and arched windows, surrounded by greenery and a blue sky with clouds. A white staircase leads up to the building from the left.

## ISIS Malaysia

ISIS Malaysia was established on 8 April 1983 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 2 diplomacy, promoting the exchange of views and opinions at the national and international level. We also play a role in fostering closer regional integration and international cooperation through various forums, such as the Asia-Pacific Roundtable, ASEAN Institutes of Strategic & International Studies network, Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, Network of East Asian Think-Tanks, Network of ASEAN-China Think-Tanks and ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Dialogue.

# Programme

## Tuesday, 17 June 2025

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1730–1800 | <b>Registration for welcoming dinner</b><br><i>Foyer, Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i>   |
| 1800–2000 | <b>Welcoming dinner</b><br><i>Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i><br><br><b>Dinner address</b><br><b>The Honourable Dato' Seri Utama Haji Mohamad bin Haji Hasan</b><br>Minister of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia |
| 2000      | <b>End of proceedings</b>   |

## Wednesday, 18 June 2025

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|-----------|--|
| 0800–0915 | <b>Registration</b><br><i>Foyer, Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i>   |
| 0915–0930 | <b>Opening remarks</b><br><i>Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i><br><br><b>Datuk Prof Dr Mohd Faiz Abdullah</b><br>2025 Chair of the ASEAN–ISIS Network;<br>Chairman of ISIS Malaysia  |
| 0930–1100 | <b>Plenary 1</b><br><b>War, peace &amp; the Asia-Pacific</b><br><i>Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i>   |
| 1100–1130 | <b>Refreshments</b><br><i>Lake Garden Foyer, Level 6</i>   |
| 1130–1300 | <b>Plenary 2</b><br><b>Dynamics of contemporary leadership in Southeast Asia</b><br><i>Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i>   |
| 1300–1430 | <b>Lunch</b><br><i>Ballroom C, Level 6</i><br><br><b>Special address</b><br><b>HE Rafael Daerr</b><br>Ambassador of the European Union to Malaysia   |
| 1430–1600 | <b>Concurrent session 1</b><br><b>Mapping 'boundaries': perspectives of maritime security</b><br><i>Sentral Ballroom, Level 6</i><br><br><b>Concurrent session 2</b><br><b>Evolving geopolitics of minilateralism</b><br><i>Grand Suite, Level 7</i> |

1600–1620	<b>Refreshments</b> <i>Lake Garden Foyer, Level 6</i>
1620–1750	<b>Plenary 3</b> <b>China Plus One: reshaping global supply chains</b> <i>Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i>
1800–1930	<b>Dinner</b> <i>Ballroom C, Level 6</i>  <b>Special address</b> <b>HE Ouyang Yujing</b> Ambassador of the People’s Republic of China to Malaysia
1930	<b>End of proceedings</b>

## Thursday, 19 June 2025

0800–0915	<b>Registration</b> <i>Foyer, Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i>
0930–1030	<b>Keynote address</b> <i>Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i>  <b>The Honourable Dato’ Seri Anwar bin Ibrahim</b> Prime Minister of Malaysia
1030–1100	<b>Refreshments</b> <i>Lake Garden Foyer, Level 6</i>
1100–1230	<b>Plenary 4</b> <b>The Myanmar crisis: the road ahead</b> <i>Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i>
1230–1400	<b>Lunch</b> <i>Ballroom C, Level 6</i>  <b>Special address</b> <b>Simon Fellows</b> Chargé d’Affaires Australian High Commission in Malaysia
1400–1530	<b>Plenary 5</b> <b>The United States in a changing Asia</b> <i>Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i>
1530–1600	<b>Closing remarks</b> <i>Ballroom A &amp; B, Level 6</i>
1600	<b>End of 38APR</b>





## Keynote address

Thursday, 19 June 2025  
0930-1030

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





## Welcoming dinner address

Tuesday, 17 June 2025  
1800–2000

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

## Opening remarks

Wednesday, 18 June 2025  
0915–0930

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**Datuk Prof Dr Mohd Faiz Abdullah**  
2025 Chair of the ASEAN-ISIS Network;  
Chairman of ISIS Malaysia

# Foreword

by Datuk Prof Dr Mohd Faiz Abdullah

On behalf of the Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia and the ASEAN Institutes of Strategic & International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) network, I am pleased to welcome all of you to the 38th Asia-Pacific Roundtable (APR).

For close to 40 years, the APR has provided a platform for thought leaders, officials, practitioners, journalists and other interested individuals to address the key strategic issues impacting on the Asia-Pacific region and beyond.

The focus in the early years of the APR was simple but visionary – a gathering of mainly Southeast Asian Track 2 stakeholders from across the policy sphere with a smattering of officials and colleagues from afar. Thanks to the hard work put in by the primary movers in the ASEAN-ISIS network, the APR has developed its own niche as one of the region's leading Track 2 conferences.

It has achieved this by being adaptable to the changing regional dynamics, working to influence those dynamics via Track 1.5 engagements, and staying true to the values of constructive collaboration and inclusion.

This year, sessions are shaped around the theme 'Recalibrating Asia's Frontiers'. As the world grapples with the profound effects of being thrown into an interregnum, our deliberations aim to explore the evolving geopolitical and geoeconomic dynamics within Asia-Pacific and how that is changing existing frontiers across multiple spheres.

These include normative and ideological considerations that influence peace, security and conflict in this region, the conceptual boundaries shaping maritime security, Asia's trade relationships with the wider world and the United States' role in a changing Asia. We will also delve into the dynamics of leadership in Southeast Asia as well as the polycrisis in Myanmar – case studies that will test the resilience of the region and force the wider Asia-Pacific to consciously and creatively recalibrate its frontiers.

I express my gratitude to our speakers and instigators for their readiness to travel to Kuala Lumpur and share their time and expertise with us. Their participation is a crucial contribution to enhancing the richness of the discussions at the APR.

A key measure of success at any meeting of the minds is in the active and constructive participation of its delegates. The APR has a long history of encouraging such robust participation, where delegates don't just gain from the conversations taking place but also contribute to them. Whether in the conference hall or at the sidelines, the organisers appreciate and encourage the active participation of delegates.

It goes without saying that the APR's success has also been contingent on the support of Malaysian and regional leaders. I record my appreciation to Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim, Prime Minister of Malaysia, and Foreign Minister Dato' Seri Utama Mohamad Hasan, for their commitment to this conference.

I am also thankful to our partners for their generous support. They include the Australian High Commission, Delegation of the European Union, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Embassy of the People's Republic of China, High Commission of India, New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade, Embassy of the United States, International Committee of the Red Cross, Embassy of Japan and Embassy of the Republic of Korea.

What started at the conference room of ISIS Malaysia now attracts hundreds of delegates in a much larger setting. Yet the competition for a seat remains as intense as it was decades ago.

The nature of participation and our impact has also evolved. Over the years, we have seen an increasing interest from businesses and governments, which are all looking for insights into how they can navigate an increasingly complex strategic landscape.

I wish everyone a fruitful and enjoyable 38th Asia-Pacific Roundtable.





## Plenary 1

Wednesday, 18 June 2025

0930-1100

# War, peace & the Asia-Pacific

While the Asia-Pacific continues to be a hub of global economic growth and innovation, the risks of conflicts, including wars, remain. Adjacent to the region, wars continue to afflict parts of West Asia, North Africa and Europe. How do conflicts outside the region impact on the strategic calculus of policymakers in Asia-Pacific? Have they impacted on the normative and ideological considerations that influence peace, security and conflict in this region? Has the threshold or tolerance for conflict changed in Asia-Pacific? How do we address the trust deficits that could lead to conflicts?

## Instigator



### Dr Happymon Jacob

Director  
Council for Strategic & Defence Research (CSDR)  
India

Dr Jacob teaches India's foreign policy at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, and is the founder of CSDR. He is the author of *Line on Fire: Ceasefire Violations and India-Pakistan Escalation Dynamics* and *Line of Control: Travelling with the Indian and Pakistani Armies*. His next book, *India After Non-alignment*, is set for publication in late 2025. He is also a regular columnist for *The Hindustan Times*. His areas of expertise are India's foreign policy, geopolitics and global security.

## Speakers



### HE Chan Heng Chee

Ambassador-at-Large  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Singapore

HE Chan is the Chair of ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, the premier research institute on Southeast Asia in the region. She serves as Deputy Chairman of the Social Science Research Council and is a member of the Yale-National University of Singapore Governing Board and a Trustee of the University of the Arts Singapore. Chan is Global Co-Chair of Asia Society and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. She is a former Ambassador to the United States and Permanent Representative to the United Nations.



### Prof Akio Takahara

Distinguished Visiting Professor  
Tokyo Woman's Christian University  
Japan

Dr Takahara served as Dean of the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of Tokyo and Director of the Japan International Cooperation Agency-Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development. His research focuses on Chinese politics and diplomacy. His publications include *The Politics of Wage Policy in Post-Revolutionary China* and *Japan-China Relations in the Modern Era* (co-authored). He is currently involved in a research project looking into how smaller countries interact proactively with China.



### **Suzannah Jessep**

Chief Executive  
Asia New Zealand Foundation

Jessep is a board member of the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and sits on the advisory boards of the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre, Centre for Strategic Studies and New Zealand India Research Institute. She is a former civil servant, working in the New Zealand Foreign Ministry. From 2022 to 2024, she was Chair of the NZ Ministerial Strategic Advisory Group on Trade.



### **Dr Steven Everts**

Director  
European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS)  
France

Dr Everts joined EUISS in September 2023. Prior to EUISS, he was at the European External Action Service (EEAS), serving as Senior Adviser to the HR/VP on strategy and communications. He is a former Senior Adviser in the Asia-Pacific Department of EEAS, acting as the alternate EU Senior Officials' Meeting for the Asia-Europe Meeting process.





## Plenary 2

Wednesday, 18 June 2025

1130-1300

# Dynamics of contemporary leadership in Southeast Asia

A strong convergence of interests among Southeast Asia's leaders was crucial in laying the groundwork for regional cooperation, from the founding of ASEAN to the expansion of its centrality through various mechanisms. Over the past two years, almost all member states have seen new leadership, setting the stage for new intra-ASEAN dynamics. To what extent do personality-driven policies shape Southeast Asia's dynamics? Do today's leaders prioritise ASEAN as their predecessors did? How do leaders relate to each other, if at all? Is there enough cohesion for a convergence of interests?

## Instigator



### **Susannah Patton**

Programme Director  
 Lowy Institute  
 Australia

Patton directs the Southeast Asia programme and serves as project lead for the Asia Power Index, the institute's annual data-driven assessment that maps the changing distribution of power in the region. She is a former Research Fellow at the United States Studies Centre. Her commentaries and analyses have been featured in Australian and international outlets, including *The New York Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *Australian Financial Review* and *The Interpreter*. She has also worked in various Southeast Asia-focused positions in the Australian government.

## Speakers



### **Prof Chanintira na Thalang**

Faculty of Political Science  
 Thammasat University  
 Thailand

Dr Chanintira is Professor of International Relations, whose research interests include Thailand's foreign affairs, global International Relations, ethnic conflicts and security in Southeast Asia. Her work has been published in various academic journals, such as *International Affairs*, *Nations and Nationalism*, *Asian Survey*, *Electoral Studies*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs* and *Asian Ethnicity*. She recently co-edited two special issues published in *The Pacific Review* and *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, and an edited volume *Global International Relations in Southeast Asia*.



### **Prof Kuik Cheng-Chwee**

Institute of Malaysian & International Studies (IKMAS)  
 Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

Dr Kuik is Professor of International Relations at IKMAS. He is concurrently a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Institute, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University and a Non-Resident Scholar at Carnegie China. His research focuses on external policies of small and secondary states, big powers in the Indo-Pacific, Asian security and international relations. His publications have appeared in peer-reviewed journals, such as *International Affairs*, *The Pacific Review*, *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, among others. He is co-author of *Rivers of Iron: Railroads and Chinese Power in Southeast Asia* and co-editor of *Institutionalising East Asia*.



### **Prof Herman Kraft**

Department of Political Science  
University of Philippines Diliman

Kraft is the convenor of the Strategic Studies Programme of the UP Centre for Integrative and Development Studies. He has been working on issues that involve ASEAN, regional security in Southeast Asia, security sector reform and intra-state conflict in the Philippines. His publications include *Teaching IR in the Philippines*, *Great Power Dynamics and the Waning of ASEAN Centrality in Regional Security*, *Philippine Foreign Policy in a Changed Strategic Environment: The Duterte Administration and China* and *ASEAN and the Protection of Migrant Rights*.



### **HE Trinh Minh Manh**

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

HE Minh Manh is a diplomat with extensive experience across multiple departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam. Throughout his career, he has held several key positions, including Ambassador to Kuwait, Deputy Director-General of the ASEAN Department and Deputy Director-General of the Policy Planning Department. He also served as Second Secretary at the Embassy of Vietnam in Washington and as Assistant Director-General of the Americas Department.



### **HE Dr Rizal Sukma**

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

Dr Rizal is a former Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Ireland and the International Maritime Organisation. He joined CSIS in 1990 as a researcher and assumed the role of Executive Director in 2009 until 2015. In January 2025, he began serving as Chair of Indonesia's National Commission for Unesco. His research interest covers Southeast Asian security, ASEAN, Indonesia's defence and foreign policy, military reform, Islam and politics, and domestic political changes in Indonesia.





## Lunch address

Wednesday, 18 June 2025  
1300–1430



### **HE Rafael Daerr**

Ambassador of the European Union to Malaysia

HE Daerr assumed his present post in September 2024, having had extensive experience in diplomacy, European and international affairs. He served for more than two decades as a European and German career diplomat in the field of international commercial arbitration. He is a former Adviser to EU High Representative and Vice-President Josep Borrell Fontelles, advising him on the Middle East, North Africa and Iran. Prior to that, he worked in the European External Action Service in Brussels on parliamentary affairs and in the German Foreign Office on European affairs and human resources.



### Concurrent session 1

Wednesday, 18 June 2025

1430-1600

## Mapping 'boundaries': perspectives of maritime security

Maritime challenges and tensions are increasingly being shaped by different perspectives of security – political, legal and intellectual. These conceptual divergences have at times hampered any tangible progress on outstanding disputes. How do states define “maritime security” and to what extent does it shape conflict? Are international maritime laws and norms at risk as countries prioritise their national interests at the expense of the global commons? How can Track 2 actors encourage greater collaboration and cohesion on shared security issues like maritime safety, economy and ecology amid contested environments?

## Instigator



### **Dr Jean-Loup Samaan**

Senior Research Fellow  
National University of Singapore

Dr Samaan is a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council and Institut Montaigne. Prior to academia, he held several positions with the French Ministry of Defence and NATO. He specialises in military affairs and has published several articles and book chapters on American and European naval policies in the Indo-Pacific for journals, such as *The National Interest*, *Orbis*, *The Diplomat* and *War on the Rocks*. He is also the co-author of the book *The Indian Ocean as a New Political and Security Region*, which discusses the new governance of the Indian Ocean region.

## Speakers



### **Prof Charmaine Misalucha-Willoughby**

Chair of Department of International Studies  
De La Salle University  
The Philippines

Dr Misalucha-Willoughby is a Fellow at Carnegie China and Agora Strategy and serves on the editorial boards of several academic journals. She is a member of the board of trustees of the Foundation for the National Interest (Philippines) and an expert in the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Asia-Pacific's Asia Strategic Foresight Group. Her areas of specialisation are alliances, maritime security, security cooperation and critical international relations theory.



### **Dr Do Thanh Hai**

Deputy Director-General  
East Sea Institute  
Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam (DAV)

Dr Thanh Hai is a former vacation scholar at the University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy in Canberra and Deputy Director of the Centre for Political & Security Studies of the DAV's Institute for Foreign Policy & Strategic Studies. His work has appeared in *The East Asia Policy*, *The Journal for Contemporary East Asia Studies*, *The Pacific Review*, *Maritime Affairs*, *The ASAN Forum*, *CSIS PacNet* and *Journal of International Review*.





### **Dr Asyura Salleh**

Associate Programme Officer  
 UNODC Global Maritime Crime Programme  
 Brunei Darussalam

Dr Asyura oversees regional forums to strengthen coordination between maritime law enforcement agencies. She gained policy experience with the Brunei Prime Minister's Office, Global Awareness & Impact Alliance, and Stable Seas. Her research interest lies in maritime governance and transnational maritime crime.



### **Prof Stuart Kaye**

Director  
 Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources & Security (ANCORS)  
 University of Wollongong

Dr Kaye is Professor of Law within ANCORS. He is a former Dean of Law at the University of Western Australia and held a Chair in Law at the University of Melbourne. He is admitted as a barrister of the Supreme Court of New South Wales. He is the author of *Australia's Maritime Boundaries*, *International Fisheries Management*, *Freedom of Navigation in the Indo-Pacific Region* and *Maritime Enforcement under UNCLOS*. He is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and Australian Academy of Law.





## Concurrent session 2

Wednesday, 18 June 2025

1430-1600

## Evolving geopolitics of minilateralism

Minilateralism has shifted from being a response to stagnant multilateralism to a proactive strategy driven by like-minded states. While it can be an agile tool for power projection and shaping the regional and global order, critics contend that it perpetuates a less inclusive form of collaboration. Is minilateralism an effective tool for geopolitics or does it simply perpetuate exclusion and antagonism? Could minilateralism strengthen nuanced and targeted cooperation, paving the way for effective multilateralism or will it render the latter obsolete? Can one exist without the other?

## Instigator



### Dr Joel Ng

Head of Centre for Multilateralism Studies  
S Rajaratnam School of International Studies  
Singapore

Dr Ng's research focuses on regionalism, integration, security and intervention norms, focusing on ASEAN and its dialogue partners as well as the African Union and United Nations. He began his career in international affairs working in Uganda on peace, conflict and refugee issues. He has also worked in the private sector in public and investor relations. He is presently in the Singapore committee for the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP). He is the author of *Contesting Sovereignty: Power and Practice in Africa and Southeast Asia*.

## Speakers



### Assoc Prof Giuseppe Gabusi

University of Turin  
Italy

Dr Gabusi teaches global political economy and political economy of East Asia at the Department of Cultures, Politics & Society of the University of Turin. He is also Adjunct Associate Professor at the University of Tasmania. He is among the co-founders of T.wai, the Torino World Affairs Institute, where he heads the Indo-Pacific programme and edits RISE, the only open access journal in Italy on contemporary Southeast Asia. His research interests include China's political economy, China-EU relationships, Asian Infrastructure Development Bank, evolution of the liberal order, Italian foreign policy and Myanmar.



### Dr Pongphisoot Busbarat

Director  
Institute of Security & International Studies (ISIS)  
Thailand

Dr Pongphisoot is Assistant Professor of International Relations and Assistant Dean at the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. He is also a Non-Resident Scholar at Carnegie China and was appointed as a security adviser to Thailand's National Security Council and to ASEAN Regional Forum Experts and Eminent Persons. His research examines the role of norms and identity in shaping international relations by exploring its influence on Thailand's relations with major powers in East Asia, the US and China. His current projects focus on Thailand's strategic choices between the US and China, the domestic determinants of Thailand's foreign policy and geopolitical dynamics of great-power competition in the Indo-Pacific.



### **Dr Elena Burova**

Senior Research Fellow  
 Institute of China & Contemporary Asia  
 Russian Academy of Sciences

Dr Burova is a Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Asian & African Studies of Lomonosov Moscow State University, known as one of the leading centres in Oriental Studies, and MGIMO University of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She is also an honorary representative of the Moscow Chamber for Commerce & Industry for cooperation with Southeast Asia. She specialises in socio-economic development of ASEAN countries, notably its mainland part. Her research interests include agriculture, food security, energy markets, Mekong resource management and development, and digitalisation.



### **Fine Lavoni Koloamatangi**

University of Auckland  
 New Zealand

Koloamatangi is of Tongan descent (Kolofo'ou, Kolomotu'a). She is a former research assistant in the Pasifika Directorate at Massey University and Tuākana mentor. Outside the tertiary space, she provides technical support for community group Fōfō'anga 'o Aotearoa and is a member of the Asia New Zealand Foundation Leadership Network, which is at the forefront of developing and maintaining strong links between Asia and New Zealand. She is currently pursuing a PhD in art history, examining the relationship between Asia and the Pacific from the political, trade, economics, social and cultural aspects.





### Plenary 3

Wednesday, 18 June 2025

1620-1750

## China Plus One: reshaping global supply chains

The diversification of supply chains out of China to mitigate risks associated with the evolving geopolitical landscape has gained widespread attention in recent years. This is particularly evident in the electronics industry, including semiconductors. Is China Plus One driven solely by the US-China rivalry or are there other factors? How are China Plus One strategies playing out in Southeast Asia and is the region still a major beneficiary of major-power competition? Are current trends an indication of a possible deglobalisation or re-globalisation?



## Instigator



### **Assoc Prof Simon Tay**

Chairman  
Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA)

Tay is a public intellectual and adviser to major corporations and policymakers. He is Associate Professor at the National University of Singapore Faculty of Law; Ambassador for Singapore; and board member to the Maritime & Port Authority of Singapore. He is a former Nominated MP and Chairman of the National Environment Agency.

## Speakers



### **Prof Danny Quah**

Dean  
Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy  
National University of Singapore (NUS)

Dr Quah is Li Ka Shing Professor in Economics at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS. He works on world order, economic growth and development, and inequality and income mobility. In his research on world order, he analyses the supply and demand of international systems, contrasting the goals of the great powers and needs of the global community. His work on income mobility challenges conventional narratives on inequality, highlighting the broad diversity of economic experiences across nations. He is the author of *The Global Economy's Shifting Centre of Gravity*.



### **YB Liew Chin Tong**

Deputy Minister  
Ministry of Investment, Trade & Industry  
Malaysia

YB Liew is the Iskandar Puteri MP and Perling Assemblyman. He is a former Senator and served as Deputy Defence Minister from 2018–2022. He works with Minister Senator Tengku Datuk Seri Utama Zafrul Tengku Abdul Aziz with the New Industrial Master Plan (NIMP 2030) as a guiding document, focusing on the semiconductor and steel industries, among others. He recently published *Second Takeoff: Strategies for Malaysia's Economic Resurgence*, which outlined his vision for Malaysia as a middle-class society.



### **Prof Jane Golley**

Head of the Arndt-Corden Department of Economics  
 Crawford School of Public Policy  
 Australian National University

Dr Golley's research has covered a wide range of topics centred around the Chinese economy, often intersecting with other disciplines, including the economic geography of China's industrial development, economic impacts of demographic change, and the relationship between income inequality and the impact of its bilateral political relations on its trade patterns. She is a former President of the Chinese Economic Society of Australia and Chinese Studies Association of Australia and has been an executive member of the Australia-China Business Council since 2017.



### **Prof Di Dongsheng**

Dean  
 Renmin University of China

Dr Di heads the School of Area & Global Studies, an institute he founded in 2023, which has become one of the more influential think-tanks in Beijing. His books, articles and speeches uploaded on video-sharing platforms on global political and economic issues influence tens of millions of Chinese. He has been with Renmin University since 2004.



### **Prof Volker Perthes**

Senior Distinguished Fellow  
 German Institute for International & Security Affairs (SWP)

Dr Perthes is a former United Nations Under-Secretary-General. He served as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Sudan and Head of the UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan; and UN Assistant Secretary-General and Senior Adviser to the UN Special Envoy for Syria. He is also a former Executive Chairman and Director of SWP (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik). He is a scholar, speaker, policy adviser and author of numerous books and articles on the Middle East, Europe and international affairs.



## Dinner address

Wednesday, 18 June 2025  
1800–1930

### HE Ouyang Yujing

Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Malaysia

HE Ouyang arrived in Kuala Lumpur in December 2020 as the 16th Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Malaysia. He previously served as Director-General of the Office of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the CPC Central Committee; Deputy Director-General Affairs and subsequently Director-General of the Department of Boundary and Ocean Affairs; Counsellor and subsequently, Division Director in the Department of Treaty and Law in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China.





#### Plenary 4

Thursday, 19 June 2025

1100-1230

## The Myanmar crisis: the road ahead

Four years after the coup, Myanmar remains deeply divided. The country faces widespread displacement and a collapsed economy, while various actors exert control over different regions. The earthquake in late March further strained an already fragile situation, compounding the humanitarian crisis. Despite ongoing conversations on a new federal system, the prospects of a Balkanised or fragmented Myanmar remains a possibility. How are ongoing developments impacting on political equations? Where is the most urgent humanitarian assistance required and how can stakeholders address this? How can ASEAN and other international actors respond to the complex dynamics at play in 2025 and beyond?



## Instigator



### **Dr Lina Alexandra**

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

Dr Lina is the coordinator for the CSIS Myanmar Initiative Programme. Her research interests include Indonesian foreign policy, conflict resolution, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, human rights and atrocities' prevention in Southeast Asia.

## Speakers



### **Min Zin**

Executive Director  
Institute for Strategy & Policy  
Myanmar

Zin is a founding member of the Institute for Strategy & Policy, an independent, non-governmental think-tank dedicated to promoting democratic leadership and strengthening civic participation in Myanmar. His research interests include civil-military relations, democratisation and ethnic conflicts, focusing on Myanmar and other Southeast Asian countries. He participated in Burma's democracy movement in 1988 and went into hiding the next year to evade arrest. His underground life as an activist and writer lasted nine years until he escaped to the Thai-Myanmar border in 1997.



### **Arnaud de Baecque**

Head of Delegation in Myanmar  
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

De Baecque was appointed as the ICRC Resident Representative in Myanmar in November 2024. He has held various positions within ICRC, most recently as Head of Caracas Regional Delegation. He has also served as Deputy Regional Director for Asia and the Pacific and Deputy Director for Resources Mobilisation, Logistics, Administration and Sustainable Development. As a lawyer, he worked for 10 years in the energy sector in France.



### **Lilianne Fan**

Head of Secretariat  
Malaysian Advisory Group on Myanmar

Fan heads the secretariat to the All-Party Parliamentary Group Malaysia on Refugee Policy. She is a co-founder and Steering Committee Member of the Southeast Asia Women Peace Mediators, established by Indonesian Foreign Minister HE Retno Warsidi. She also serves as a commissioner on the international Lancet Commission for Health and Human Rights.



### **Dr Fuadi Pitsuwan**

President  
Surin Pitsuwan Foundation  
Thailand

Dr Fuadi runs the Surin Pitsuwan Foundation, a philanthropic organisation working on issues related to education, conflict resolution and human security in ASEAN. Its vision is to inspire ASEAN citizens to rise above their differences, address regional challenges and bring prosperity to the region as a single community. He is also a lecturer at Thammasat University's Faculty of Political Science where he teaches international relations. He is a former Visiting Fellow at Chiang Mai University's School of Public Policy and a Fellow at Harvard Asia Centre.



## Lunch address

Thursday, 19 June 2025  
1230–1400

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### Simon Fellows

Chargé d’Affaires  
Australian High Commission in Malaysia

Fellows is a career officer with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. He has been serving as Deputy High Commissioner at the Australian High Commission in Kuala Lumpur since August 2023. He is a former Assistant Secretary, Southeast Asia Mainland Branch; Assistant Secretary, Myanmar Taskforce; Director of East Asia Summit and Regional Architecture Section; and Adviser of Southeast Asia at the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. He has also served as Deputy Head of Mission in Kabul and Phnom Penh, with an earlier posting to Port Moresby.





## Plenary 5

Thursday, 19 June 2025

1400-1530

## The United States in a changing Asia

Asia is navigating an era of heightened competition, economic realignment and the rise of minilateral partnerships. The US has maintained a strong presence in the region through a network of alliances over the past 75 years but faces a more complex and competitive strategic environment today. What are the emerging priorities and implications of American policies in Asia? How would Washington pursue its economic engagements in the region? How are regional stakeholders, including partners and multilateral groupings, responding to the changing dynamics?



## Instigator



### **Prof Thitinan Pongsudhirak**

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

Dr Thitinan is Professor of International Relations at Chulalongkorn University and has held visiting positions at Johns Hopkins University, Stanford University, University of Victoria in New Zealand, among others. He also serves on editorial boards of academic journals, including *Journal of Democracy*. His current work focuses on the geopolitics and geoeconomics of ASEAN and the Indo-Pacific amid the US-China conflict. Currently, he is Senior Adviser for geopolitics with Friedrich Ebert Foundation and Independent Expert of ADMM+ Cybersecurity and Information Centre of Excellence.

## Speakers



### **Prof Sun Jisheng**

Vice-President  
 China Foreign Affairs University

Dr Sun is a Professor of International Studies and Secretary-General of the China National Association for International Studies, and Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Foreign Affairs Review*. She has written and translated articles on international relations, China's foreign policy, and international political linguistics in journals, such as *World Economics and Politics*, *International Studies* and *Journal of International Studies*. She is the author of *Language, Meaning and International Politics – On Iraq War*, *International Political Linguistics: Theory and Practice*, and *Traditional Culture and the Improvement of China's Diplomatic Discourse*.



### **Elina Noor**

Senior Fellow  
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
 United States

Elina is part of the Asia Programme at Carnegie where she focuses on developments in Southeast Asia, particularly the impact and implications of technology in reshaping power dynamics, governance and nation-building in the region. She is a former Director of Political-Security Affairs and Deputy Director at the Asia Society Policy Institute; and Associate Professor at the Daniel K Inouye Asia-Pacific Centre for Security Studies. She currently serves on the United Nations Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters.



### **Prof Park Jae Jeok**

Associate Dean of Graduate School of International Studies  
Yonsei University  
South Korea

Dr Park is a former Visiting Professor at the Institute of Foreign Affairs & National Security and Research Fellow at the Korea Institute for National Unification. He has also taught at the Graduate School of International and Area Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul. His research interests include alliance politics, US security policy in Indo-Pacific, the US-Korea alliance and the US-Australia alliance.



### **Ashok Malik**

Partner and Chair of India Practice  
The Asia Group (TAG)  
India

Ashok leads the firm's in-market business strategy and services. Prior to joining TAG, he served as Policy Adviser/Additional Secretary in India's Ministry of External Affairs. Between 2017 and 2019, he worked as Principal Speech Writer and Spokesperson for the President of India.



### **Lisa Curtis**

Director of Indo-Pacific Security  
Centre for a New American Security  
United States

With more than 20 years of service in the US government, Curtis' work centres on American policy towards the Indo-Pacific and South Asia, with a particular focus on US-India strategic relations, Quad, counterterrorism strategy in South and Central Asia, and China's role in the region. She is a former Deputy Assistant to the President and National Security Council Senior Director for South and Central Asia. She also served as Senior Fellow on South Asia at the Heritage Foundation and previously worked on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, State Department, CIA and at the US Embassies in Islamabad and New Delhi.



## Closing reflections

Thursday, 19 June 2025  
1530–1545

### **Jusuf Wanandi**

Vice-Chair of the Board of Trustees  
Centre for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS) Foundation  
Indonesia

Jusuf is Senior Fellow and co-founder of the CSIS. He is Vice-Chair of the Indonesian National Committee for the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council and Co-Chair of the Council of Security Cooperation in Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) Indonesia. He is the publisher of *The Jakarta Post* daily; Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Prasetya Mulya University, Jakarta; and Chairman of the Foundation of Panca Bhakti University. He is a lawyer by training and has served in various national and international organisations.

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