

UBC-IKMAS-EAIR-BAA-KAS Workshop

12-13 JULY 2023

Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

A COLLABORATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, IKMAS, EAIR CAUCUS, BAIT AL AMANAH AND KAS MALAYSIA



MIDDLE POWER AGENCY IN AN INDO-PACIFIC ERA

The growing US-China rivalry is increasingly putting the security and stability of Asia at risk. As core regional and global institutions are under stress, there are new pressures on secondary and small countries to align with either the US or China. But there still may be latitude for Middle Power manoeuvre. This workshop brings together scholars and experts to explore and debate options and specific actions that can be taken by some key countries that have a major stake in minimizing the risks of polarization, techno-nationalism, and spirit of confrontation that are often embedded in the intensifying rivalries in the “Indo-Pacific” era.

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ABOUT THE CO-ORGANIZERS

University of British Columbia (UBC)

The University of British Columbia is a global centre for teaching, learning and research, consistently ranked among the top 20 public universities in the world. UBC embraces innovation and transforms ideas into action. Since 1915, UBC has been opening doors of opportunity for people with the curiosity, drive and vision to shape a better world.

Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS)

Established on 1 April 1995, the Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS) is a Universiti Kebangsaan (National University of) Malaysia (UKM) research centre devoted to multidisciplinary research, post-graduate teaching and other academic activities with a focus on connectivity, inclusive development, identity, nation-building, human security, governance, and international relations.

East Asian International Relations (EAIR) Caucus

The East Asian International Relations (EAIR) Caucus is a network of Malaysia-based researchers who share an interest in studying scholarly and policy issues related to contemporary inter-state interactions in Southeast and Northeast Asia. Functioning as a meeting-of-minds platform, the Caucus serves as a host for conducting professional exchanges, a hub for connecting researchers and policy practitioners, and a home for cultivating the next generation of IR and area specialists in Malaysia. Caucus members include academics and experts from universities and think-tanks in Malaysia and around the world. Since its creation in August 2014, the Caucus has undertaken an array of activities to foster its triple goals of exchange, engagement, and empowerment.

Bait Al Amanah

Founded in 2015, Bait Al Amanah is an independent research institute that conducts policy-oriented studies and provides in-depth insights regarding governance, democracy, economics, security, and other issues of national and international importance. Bait Al Amanah prides itself through producing sound research findings to help improve policy and decision-making processes, as well as organizing inclusive dialogues with leaders, thinkers, academics, and stakeholders to address key policy issues with new perspectives and practical solutions.

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) Malaysia

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is a German non-profit, non-governmental and independent Think Tank with offices in more than 120 countries worldwide. Freedom, solidarity, and the rule of law are the basic principles underlying their work. KAS Malaysia works together with excellent partners in the fields of economic development, sustainability, inclusion of women and youth as well as security. It strives to connect experts and decision makers across the globe and to build bridges. KAS Malaysia's activities are funded exclusively by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, and with that the work forms an important part of the bilateral cooperation between Germany and Malaysia.

ABOUT THE WORKSHOP

The regional order in an area alternatively defined as Asia-Pacific or Indo-Pacific is entering an era of acute disequilibrium. The geo-political rivalry between the United States and China is in a dangerous downward spiral accelerated recently by the Taiwan dispute and the spill over from the Russia-Ukraine war. In addition to new pressures on other countries large and small to position themselves in this polarizing conflict, there are new challenges of inflation, supply chain disruptions, high-tech decoupling, thickening borders, and increasing nationalism.

Existing regional multilateral institutions like APEC and those hosted by ASEAN promoting open regionalism, cooperation across ideological and political divides have been joined by a fast proliferating set of mini-lateral arrangements such as the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (the Quad) and AUKUS intended to strengthen coalitions of the like-minded that strengthen the US-based alliance system.

The regional institutional noodle bowl is thickening but the noodles are made of very different ingredients—rice, wheat and potato that don't necessarily complement one another. While there are temporary ad hoc coalitions designed to address a particular problem, the issue we now confront is what kind of institutions can mitigate the geo-political competition between the United States and China.

All of these developments call for a reassessment of what kind of regional order is developing and what countries other than the United States and China prefer and can contribute.

There have been many efforts in the past decade to define Middle Powers based on functional, positional, behavioural, and attitudinal dimensions. They need not be duplicated. But they do need to be redefined in light of a new strategic context of great power rivalry and economic interdependence.

Rather than re-visit these debates, this workshop brings together a group of academics who are familiar with policy developments in their own countries and who are particularly interested in institutional architecture and the future of multilateral institutions designed to advance inclusive cooperation intended to mitigate great power conflict, especially in the areas of security and economy.

The countries are Australia, Canada, Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore, and South Korea. Each is an interesting exemplar of a country that has been committed to or, at least explored, an explicitly Middle Power role. They vary in the level of economic and military dependence on the US, and how far they feel comfortably supporting the US as an automatic reflex as compared to on an issue-by-issue basis. However, all seek to maintain deep economic interactions with China while promoting international norms connected to a rule-based multilateralism.

The workshop intends to bring more clarity in understanding state behavior and the hard choices that governments face in positioning in this new environment. It also aims to be prescriptive.

PROGRAM

Day 1: 12 July 2023 (Wednesday)

0900	Registration <i>Parry Room (Level 6), Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur</i>
0930	Welcoming Remarks: Ms. Miriam Fischer (<i>Director, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Malaysia</i>) Prof. Dr. Sufian Jusoh (<i>Director, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies [IKMAS], Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia [UKM]</i>) <i>Parry Room (Level 6), Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur</i>
1000	Panel One: Workshop Overview Think In: Purpose and Parameters Prof. Paul Evans (<i>University of British Columbia</i>) Prof. Kuik Cheng-Chwee (<i>EAIR Caucus/IKMAS, UKM</i>) <i>Parry Room (Level 6), Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur</i>
1030	Coffee break <i>Sentral 2 Counter (Foyer Area), Level 6, Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur</i>
1045	Panel Two: Setting the Scene Prof. Moon Chung-In (<i>Yonsei University</i>) Prof. Evelyn Goh (<i>Australian National University</i>) Dr. Felix Heiduk (<i>German Institute for International and Security Affairs</i>) <u>Commentator:</u> Prof. Dato' Dr. Zakaria Haji Ahmad (<i>HELP University/Malaysian Armed Forces Defence College</i>) <i>Parry Room (Level 6), Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur</i>
1245	Lunch break <i>Gastro Sentral (Lobby Level), Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur</i>
1415	Panel Three: Political Security Assoc. Prof. Ryo Sahashi (<i>University of Tokyo</i>) Dr. Shafiah F. Muhibat (<i>Deputy Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta</i>) Prof. David Capie (<i>Victoria University of Wellington</i>) <u>Commentator:</u> Prof. Dato' Dr. Hamzah Bin Ahmad (<i>National Defence University of Malaysia</i>) <i>Parry Room (Level 6), Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur</i>
1615	Coffee break: Informal discussions and networking <i>Sentral 2 Counter (Foyer Area), Level 6, Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur</i>
1700	Day 1 ends

PROGRAM

Day 2: 13 July 2023 (Thursday)

0930 Panel Four: Economic Security

Prof. Helen Nesadurai (*Monash University Malaysia*)
Assoc. Prof. Shiro Armstrong (*Australian National University*)
Dr. Jeffrey Reeves (*Onyx Strategic Insights*)

Commentator: Dato' Dr. Ilango Karuppanan (*International Institute of Public Policy & Management, University of Malaya*)

Parry Room (Level 6), Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur

1130 Coffee break

Central 2 Counter (Foyer area), Level 6, Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur

1145 Panel Five: Wrap Up: Recommendations for collective middle-power action

Wrapping up and recommending actionable multi-track steps for: (a) constraining unilateral actions and shaping the major powers' policy choices; (b) creating options for Middle Power diplomacy; and (c) cultivating space for continuous cooperation for all in the Indo-Pacific era.

[All participants]

Parry Room (Level 6), Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur

1245 Lunch break

Latest Recipe (Level 5), Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur

1415 Policy Roundtable

Based on the recommendations concluded at the Dialogue, this closed-door roundtable discussion further examines the desirability, feasibility, and possibilities of ASEAN, ASEAN-minus, ASEAN-plus, and non-ASEAN multi-track cooperation across critical domains to mitigate risks while maximizing shared interests, aspirations, and agency.

Speakers:

Tan Sri Dato' Seri Dr. Syed Hamid Syed Jaafar Albar (*Former Foreign Minister of Malaysia*)
Dr. Rizal Sukma (*Senior Fellow, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta*)

Moderator: Tan Sri Mohamed Jawhar Hassan (*Asia-Europe Institute, University of Malaya*)

Parry Room (Level 6), Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur

1615 Coffee break: Informal discussions and networking

Central 2 Counter (Foyer area), Level 6, Le Méridien Kuala Lumpur

1700 Workshop ends

CO-HOSTS

Paul Evans

University of British Columbia



Paul Evans (PhD with distinction Dalhousie University 1982) has been a Professor at the University of British Columbia since 1999, teaching Asian and trans-Pacific international relations. His work was based at the Institute of Asian Research and the Liu Institute for Global Issues which are both located in the School of Public Policy and Global Affairs (SPPGA). In 2022, he was the 7th Pok Rafeah Chair at the Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). On January 1, 2021, Dr. Evans was appointed the HSBC Chair in Asian Research. Between 2005 and 2008, he was seconded from UBC to serve as the Co-CEO and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. An advocate of cooperative and human security, he has been studying and promoting policy-related activity on track-two security processes and the construction of multilateral institutions since 1988. He was a co-founder of the Council for Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific (CSCAP), the Canadian Consortium on Human Security, and the Canada-Korea Forum. He has directed exchange and partnership projects with fifteen research institutes in Asia and the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs funded by governments and foundations in Canada, Japan, the United States, China, Taiwan, South Korea, Thailand and Indonesia. Between 1990 and 2002 he organized two dozen meetings involving participants from North Korea. He is currently a Canadian representative on the ASEAN Regional Forum's Experts and Eminent Persons Group. A member of the Global Council of the Asia Society in New York, he also sits on the editorial boards of *The Pacific Review*, the *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, the *China Quarterly for International Strategic Studies*, and *Mexico y la Cuenca del Pacifico*.

Kuik Cheng-Chwee

Institute of Malaysian and
International Studies (IKMAS);
EAIR Caucus



Kuik Cheng-Chwee is Professor of International Relations and Head of Asian Studies at the Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). Previously, he was a Postdoctoral Research Associate at the Princeton-Harvard "China and the World" Program and a Visiting Research Fellow at Oxford University. Professor Kuik's research focuses on small-state foreign and defence policies, Asian security, and international relations. He served as Head of the Writing Team (2019-2020) for the Government of Malaysia's inaugural *Defence White Paper*. Cheng-Chwee's publications have appeared in such peer-reviewed journals as *International Affairs*, *Pacific Review*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, and *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Cheng-Chwee's essay, "The Essence of Hedging", won the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies' Michael Leifer Memorial Prize. He is co-author (with David Lampton and Selina Ho) of *Rivers of Iron: Railroads and Chinese Power in Southeast Asia* (2020) and co-editor (with Alice Ba and Suelo Sudo) of *Institutionalizing East Asia* (2016). His current projects include: hedging in international relations, elite legitimation and foreign policy choices, and the host-country agency in connectivity cooperation. Cheng-Chwee serves on the editorial boards/committees of *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Asian Perspective*, *Asian Politics and Policy*, *International Journal of Asian Studies*, and *East Asian Policy*. He holds an M.Litt. from the University of St. Andrews and a PhD from Johns Hopkins University. He can be contacted at cckuik@gmail.com.

CO-HOSTS

Sufian Jusoh

Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS)



Prof Dr. Sufian Jusoh is the Director and Professor of International Trade and Investment at the Institute of Malaysia and International Studies (IKMAS), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). Sufian is the Advisor to ArtNet on FDI at the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP). Sufian is also an External Fellow of the World Trade Institute, University of Bern, Switzerland and a Distinguished Fellow at the Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia. Sufian is now an International Investment Law Expert at the World Bank Group. Sufian is the Co-Founder of the ASEAN Economic Integration Forum and a Member of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council Malaysian

Chapter. Sufian also plays a key role in the reform of the investment laws in Myanmar, Timor Leste, Laos and the Federated States of Micronesia. Sufian has been a consultant to many countries and international organisations such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, ASEAN, the World Trade Organisation, the World Intellectual Property Organisation, the United Nations' Conference on Trade and Development and the United Nations' Economic Commission for Asia and the Pacific. Sufian is a Barrister-at-Law (England and Wales) of Lincoln's Inn, London. Sufian holds an LL.B from Cardiff Law School, an LL.M (Merit), University College London and a Doctor in Law (summa Cum Laude) from University of Bern, Switzerland.

Abdul Razak Ahmad

Bait Al Amanah



Dr. Abdul Razak Ahmad is the Founding Director of Bait Al Amanah, a political security and development think tank based in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. He is concurrently the Chairman of Education Malaysia Global Services (EMGS), the official arm of the Malaysian government responsible for promoting and facilitating international education in Malaysia. Dr Razak also serves as a member of the Malaysian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Consultative Council on Foreign Policy, as well as the Special Representative of the Malaysian Foreign Minister on Peace Building and Countering Islamophobia, where he works to support Malaysia's efforts in addressing discrimination towards the Islamic faith and promoting peace. He is also a member of the board of directors at

Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS). His research interests include counterterrorism, ASEAN, law and national security, and public policy issues. He can be reached at delpiso2000@gmail.com.

CO-HOSTS

Miriam Fischer

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
Malaysia



Since August 2020, Miriam Fischer is the Director of KAS Malaysia based in Kuala Lumpur. Mrs. Fischer has been working for KAS in Germany and abroad for more than ten years. She started in 2009 as Project Manager in the Multinational Development Dialogue of KAS in Brussels and subsequently, from 2012-2015, implemented an EU co-financed project strengthening and empowering indigenous peoples in the conflict-affected region ARMM in Mindanao for KAS Philippines. From 2016 until 2020, Mrs. Fischer was Policy Advisor for East Africa & the Rule of Law Programme in the Regional Department for Sub-Saharan Africa at KAS Headquarters in Berlin. She holds B.A. and M.A. degrees in European Studies from the universities of Bremen & Göttingen (Germany) and Uppsala (Sweden) and spent additional semesters abroad at the universities of Avignon (France) and Indianapolis (USA).

FEATURED SPEAKERS

**Tan Sri Dato' Seri Dr.
Syed Hamid bin Tan Sri
Syed Jaafar Albar**

Former Foreign Minister of
Malaysia



Tan Sri Dr. Syed Hamid began his career in the Judicial and Legal Service as a magistrate in 1970 and was appointed President of the Sessions Court in 1971. He then pursued a career in the financial and banking sector locally and internationally from 1972 to 1986. In the years 1986 to 1990, he became a partner in the law firm of Albar, Zulkifly and Yap. He was a Member of Parliament from 1990 to 2013, during which time he held various ministerial positions including Minister in the Prime Minister's Department and Minister of Justice, Minister of Defence, Minister of Home Affairs and most notably, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Tan Sri Dr. Syed Hamid's last held position was Chairman of the Land Public

Transport Commission of Malaysia (SPAD), from 2010 to 2017. Tan Sri Dr. Syed Hamid holds a Barrister-at-Law degree from the Middle Temple, U.K. and was called to the Malaysian Bar in 1974. He also holds a Master Degree in Human Sciences (Political Science) from International Islamic University Malaysia and a PhD in International Relations from Asia e University, Kuala Lumpur. Tan Sri Dr. Syed Hamid is the Chancellor of AeU University and currently is an Adjunct Professor of three (3) universities, namely, University Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM), University Malaya (UM), University Melaka (UNIMEL) and Kuala Lumpur Metropolitan University College (KLMUC) as well as Chairman of the OIC Study Group (OICSG). Syed Hamid has contributed books, essays and articles to national, regional, international media and academic journals. He appeared in many political and current affairs programmes on BBC, CNN, ALJAZEERA as well as with local TV channels. He is also actively involved with regional and global humanitarian activities. He was the founder and President of HUMANITI Malaysia, an NGO involved in humanitarian activities. Served as a Special Envoy to Myanmar, of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). In recognition of his services to the nation, Tan Sri Dr. Syed Hamid was conferred the Order of the Defender of the Realm (PMN) by the King of Malaysia which carries the title "Tan Sri", in 2009. He was conferred the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun by The Emperor of Japan in 2019 for his valuable contribution to the development of Malaysia/Japan High Speed Railway and the good relation between Malaysia and Japan. He is an Advocate and Solicitor and Managing Partner in Noor Amran & Co since July 2020.

FEATURED SPEAKERS

Dr. Rizal Sukma

Centre for Strategic and
International Studies, Jakarta



Dr. Rizal Sukma is a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta. Previously, he was Indonesia's Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Ireland and the International Maritime Organization (IMO), London, from 2016 to 2020. He joined CSIS in 1990 as a researcher and assumed the role of Executive Director in 2009 until 2015. Dr. Sukma also served as former Chairman of International Relations, Muhammadiyah Central Executive Board (2005-2015). Since receiving a PhD in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in 1997, he has worked extensively on such issues as Southeast Asian security, ASEAN, Indonesia's defense and foreign policy, military reform, Islam and politics, and domestic political changes in Indonesia. Dr Sukma has served as a member of the National Committee on Strategic Defence Review at the Ministry of Defence, and as a member of the National Drafting Committee for the National Defence Bill (2000–2002) and the Armed Forces Bill (2002–2003). He was the first Indonesian to receive the Nakasone Award, in July 2005, and named one 100 Global Thinkers in 2009 by Foreign Policy magazine. He has published three books: *Security Operations in Aceh: Goals, Consequences, and Lessons* (Washington, DC: East-West Centre, 2004); *Islam in Indonesia's Foreign Policy* (London: Routledge, 2003), and *Indonesia and China: The Politics of A Troubled Relationship* (London: Routledge, 1999).

PRESENTERS

Moon Chung-In

Professor Emeritus at Yonsei University; Vice President of Asia-Pacific Leadership Network for Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (APLN)

South
Korea



Moon Chung-In is a professor emeritus at Yonsei University and editor-in-chief of *Global Asia*, a quarterly journal in English. He is also Vice Chairman of APLN (Asia-Pacific Leadership Network for Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation), and Krause distinguished fellow at School of Global Policy and Strategy at the University of California, San Diego. He was a special advisor to the ROK president for foreign affairs and national security (May 2017 to February 2021) and chairman of the Sejong Institute (2021-2023), a leading private think tank, in South Korea. He was dean of the Graduate School of International Studies, Yonsei University and served as Ambassador for International Security Affairs of the Korean

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and Chairman of the Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative, a cabinet-level post. Prof. Moon was a special delegate to the first (2000), second (2007), third Korean summit (2018) held in Pyongyang. He has published over 60 books and 300 articles in edited volumes and scholarly journals.

Evelyn Goh

Shedden Professor of Strategic Policy Studies at the Australian National University)

Singapore



Evelyn Goh is the Shedden Professor of Strategic Policy Studies at the Australian National University, where she also directs the Southeast Asia Institute. Professor Goh has published widely on U.S.-China and China-Japan relations (contemporary and historical), international order and East Asian orders, Southeast Asian strategies towards great powers, and non-traditional security. Her books include *Constructing the US Rapprochement with China, 1961-1974: From Red Menace to Tacit Ally* (Cambridge University Press, 2004); *The Struggle for Order: Hegemony, Resistance and Transition in Post-Cold War East Asia* (Oxford University Press, 2013); *Rising China's Influence in Developing Asia* (OUP, 2016); and (co-authored with Barry Buzan) *Re-thinking*

Sino-Japanese Alienation: History Problems and Historical Opportunities (OUP, 2020). Evelyn is an elected Fellow of both the British Academy and the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia, and convenes the international Graduate Research & Development Network on Asian Security (www.gradnas.com). She has served on the World Economic Forum's Global Futures Council on International Security. Since joining the ANU in 2013, she has led strategic initiatives to translate scholarly research into policy engagement and strategic literacy for Australian Defence. She held previous faculty positions at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore, and at the Universities of Oxford and London, as well as visiting positions at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and East-West Center, both in Washington DC.

PRESENTERS

Felix Heiduk

Head of the Asia Research Division at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

Germany



Felix Heiduk is the head of the Asia Research Division at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for Foreign and Security Affairs) in Berlin. His main research focus is on international politics and security affairs in Southeast Asia; specifically on geopolitics, interstate and intrastate conflict, civil-military relations and regional integration. Dr. Heiduk received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Free University Berlin. Prior to joining Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, he was a visiting scholar at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University and taught International Studies at the University of Birmingham.

Ryo Sahashi

Associate Professor, Future Vision Research Institute at the University of Tokyo

Japan



Ryo Sahashi is an Associate Professor of International Relations, Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, the University of Tokyo. Dr. Sahashi specializes on international politics in East Asia. His recent book is *US-China Rivalry: A Shift of American Strategy and Divided Worlds* (Tokyo: Chuko, 2021), *In a Search for Coexistence: the United States and Two Chinas during the Cold War* (Tokyo: Keiso, 2015), and he edits *East Asian Order in the Post-Cold War Era* (Tokyo: Keiso, 2020). In English, his recent articles appears on *China International Strategy Review*, *Contemporary Politics*, and *Journal of Contemporary China*. He sits on government panels including Council on the Actual State of Land Use, Advisory Panel on Science & Technology Diplomacy, and Expert Panel on 50th Year of Japan-ASEAN Friendship and Cooperation. He also works as Faculty Fellow, Research Institute of Economy, Trade, and Industry; Visiting Fellow, 21st Century Policy Institute, Keidanren; Research Fellow of Japan Center for International Exchange. He has served as a visiting scholar at Georgetown University, Seoul National University, Stanford University and Wilson Center. He received his B.A. from International Christian University and his Ph.D. from the Graduate Schools for Law and Politics at the University of Tokyo.

PRESENTERS

Shafiah F. Muhibat

Deputy Executive Director for Research, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta

Indonesia



Shafiah F. Muhibat joined CSIS in December 2000. She is currently the Deputy Executive Director for Research (since January 2022) — previously she was the Head of Department of International Relations (2018-2021) and Deputy Head of Department of Politics and International Relations (2016-2017). Her research interests include issues of regional security in the Indo-Pacific, ASEAN, maritime security, Indonesia’s foreign policy, and development cooperation. In 2017, she joined the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) Singapore as a Senior Fellow at the Maritime Security Programme for one year. She was the Chief Editor of *The Indonesian Quarterly*, a quarterly academic journal published by CSIS, from 2013 to 2016; Doctoral Fellow at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy in Hamburg, Germany, from 2009 to 2012; and has received various scholarships and research grants, among others from the German Academic Exchange Service, the Managing Global Governance Network, USAID, JICA, and Korea Foundation. She served in the panel of jury for the 2022 and 2021 Adam Malik Award. She earned a master’s degree from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in 2003 and Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Hamburg in 2013.

David Capie

Director of the Centre for Strategic Studies; Professor of International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington

New Zealand



David Capie is Director of the Centre for Strategic Studies and Professor of International Relations. His research interests focus on conflict and security issues, particularly in the Asia–Pacific region, and New Zealand’s foreign and defence policy. He has authored or co-authored three books and numerous articles and book chapters. His research has been supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, the East-West Center and the Royal Society of New Zealand’s Marsden Fund. David has held visiting positions at the Weatherhead Center 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 and Eminent Persons Group from 2012 to 2019.

PRESENTERS

Helen Nesadurai

*Professor of International Political Economy at Monash University
Malaysia*

Malaysia



Helen E. S. Nesadurai is Professor of International Political Economy in the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Monash University Malaysia. Her research spans the study of both regional and transnational governance architectures and mechanisms, focusing on the broad theme of “who governs and how”. She has a special interest in the encounter between the global governance architecture – which comprises the actors (“who”) plus the instruments, mechanisms, and norms (“how”) – and the targets of these global governance frameworks as they unfold in the Global South, drawing on cases involving Southeast Asian states and regional institutions. Originally trained in biochemistry, she holds an MSc in Economics for Development from the University of Oxford and a PhD in Politics and International Studies from the University of Warwick. She spent fifteen years in policy research with Malaysia’s Institute of Strategic and International Studies before moving to academia, first to what is now the Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore and then to Monash University Malaysia. She has served as Chief Editor (with Jeffrey Wilson) of the journal *Contemporary Politics*, consulted for the ASEAN Secretariat and the Asian Development Bank, and served two terms on the Advisory Committee of the Belgium-based UNU-Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS), a research and training institute of the United Nations University. She is also a senior scholar of the Graduate Research and Development Network on Asian Security (GRADNAS) at the ANU.

Shiro Armstrong

*Director, Australia-Japan Research Centre; Director, East Asian Bureau
of Economic Research; and Associate Professor, Crawford School at
Australian National University*

Australia



Shiro Armstrong is an Associate Professor of Economics at the Crawford School of Public Policy in the College of Asia and the Pacific at The Australian National University. He is Director of the Australia-Japan Research Centre, Editor of the East Asia Forum, and Director of the East Asian Bureau of Economic Research. He is also a Guest Professor at Keio University, Research Associate at the Center on Japanese Economy and Business at the Columbia Business School, Visiting Lecturer at the University of Tokyo, Visiting Fellow at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan and Research Associate at the New Zealand APEC Study Centre. He is the Australian representative on the Research Institute Network of the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, ERIA.

PRESENTERS

Jeffrey Reeves

Practice Lead for Asia, Onyx Strategic Insight

Canada



Jeffrey Reeves is the Practice Lead for Asia with Onyx Strategic Insight, a division of Expeditors International. Prior to his current role, Jeff was Vice President for Research and Strategy at the Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada, Director of Asian Studies at the US Army War College, and Professor of Asian Security at the Daniel K Inouye Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu, Hawaii. Jeff received his PhD from the London School of Economics and Political Science and is the author of four books and numerous articles on political economics and security in Asia.

COMMENTATORS

Prof. Dato' Dr. Zakaria Haji Ahmad

Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research), HELP University Malaysia; Distinguished Fellow, Malaysian Armed Forces Defence College (MAFDC)

Malaysia



Zakaria Ahmad (“Zack”) is Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research) at the HELP University, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Concurrently, Prof. Zakaria is also the Distinguished Fellow of the Malaysian Armed Forces Defence College (MPAT), Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations (IDFR), Institute of Public Security of Malaysia (IPSOM), and Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS). Prof. Zack also serves as a Board member of the Malaysia – America Foundation (MAF). He received his Bachelor of Social Sciences (Hons) from the University of Singapore in 1970, his MA from McMaster University in 1971 and his PhD in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1977. Prof. Zakaria has taught at the University of Malaya, Science University of Malaysia, National University of Singapore, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) and University of Ohio (where he held the Tun Abdul Razak Chair, 2000-2003). At UKM, he was Dean of Social Sciences and had also headed Political Science and Strategic Studies.

Prof. Dato' Dr. Hamzah Bin Ahmad

National Defence University of Malaysia (NDUM)

Malaysia



Graduated with a Doctorate from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Medford, Boston, BA Hamzah is a very keen student of international politics, International law and security. Currently, he is with the Department of Strategic Studies at the National Defence University. He has an extensive experience in teaching, research and consultancy. As an academician, he has served Universiti Sains Malaysia, Sultan Idris University of Education (UPSI), Tg Malim and the University of Malaya. In research, he spent ten years at ISIS, Malaysia. He was a Fellow at ISEAS in Singapore and Special Senior Fellow at the United Nations Institute of Training and Research (UNITAR) at Hiroshima, Japan. He was also Visiting Scholar at the Lauterpacht Research Centre for International Law, Cambridge University. BA Hamzah was the first Head of Strategic and International Studies at the Malaysian Armed Forces Defence College. He also founded the Maritime Institute of Malaysia (MIMA) and became its first Director General in 1993. He has been a consultant with Petronas and Accenture.

COMMENTATORS

Dato' Dr. Ilango Karuppanan

*Adjunct Professor, International Institute of Public Policy & Management,
University of Malaya (UM)*

Malaysia



Dato' Dr. Ilango Karuppanan is a retired Malaysian diplomat with a career spanning over 33 years. Throughout his tenure, he held various positions in multiple overseas postings, culminating in his role as High Commissioner to Singapore. His diplomatic service includes ambassadorial appointments in Lebanon and Cyprus, as well as postings in the United States of America, Germany, and the Republic of Guinea, among others. Notably, he served as the Lead Negotiator for Malaysia in the successful conclusion of the Malaysia-EU Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA). Prior to his retirement, Dr Ilango was appointed as the Director for Public Sector Reform in the Malaysian Modernisation and Management Planning Unit (MAMPU), under the Prime Minister's Department. He holds a PhD from the University of Malaya and has authored numerous academic papers on ASEAN, in addition to policy papers focusing on Malaysia's foreign policy. Dr. Ilango is fluent in English, French, and Bahasa Malaysia.

MODERATOR

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Adjunct Professor, Asia-Europe Institute, UM

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Tan Sri Mohamed Jawhar Hassan is an Adjunct Professor at the Asia-Europe Institute (AEI), University of Malaya. He began his career in the Government. He was Executive Secretary, Border Security Committee, Malaysia/Thailand; Principal Assistant Secretary, National Security Council; Director, Analysis, Research Division, Prime Minister's Department; Under-Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs; and Director General, Department of National Unity. He also served as Counselor in Malaysia's missions in Jakarta and Bangkok. He retired early from government service and joined ISIS Malaysia as Deputy Director-General in May 1990. He eventually assumed the position of Chairman and Chief Executive and retired as Chairman of ISIS Malaysia on 8 January 2015. Tan Sri Jawhar was also Chairman, The New Straits Times Press. He is Board Member, Institute of Advanced Islamic Studies (IAIS); Distinguished Fellow, Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations (IDFR); Distinguished Fellow, Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS); and Fellow, Institute of Public Security of Malaysia (IPSOM), Ministry of Home Affairs. He was also Senior Advisor, Asia-Europe Institute, University of Malaya. Tan Sri Jawhar was Malaysia's Expert and Eminent Person (EEP) for the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). He is a Member of the Asia Pacific Leadership Network for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament. Tan Sri Jawhar was Chair, ASEAN ISIS; Co-Chair, Network of East Asia Think-tanks (NEAT) 2005-2006; Chairman, Malaysian National Committee, Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) 2006-2010; and Co-Chair, Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) 2007-2009.

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Hirzawati Atikah Mohd Tahir is a research fellow at the East Asian International Relations (EAIR) Caucus. She received her Master of Social Science in East Asian Studies from the University Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). Hirzawati has recently published a co-authored chapter (with Hoo Chiew-Ping) titled “North Korea’s Economic Statecraft: Reactive Inducements and Market Power for State Autonomy”, in *Comprehensive Peacebuilding on the Korean Peninsula: Internal Dynamics in North Korea and South Korean Approaches*, co-edited by Kadir Jun Ayhan and Brendan Howe (Palgrave Macmillan, 2023). She is currently co-writing a book chapter on North Korea and Lao PDR’s bilateral relations as well as a journal article on non-governmental stakeholders and creative entry points for renewing peace process on the Korean Peninsula. Her research interests include Korean Peninsula’s affairs, with particular attention to the DPRK’s economy, DPRK relations with ASEAN, peace on the Korean Peninsula and ROK’s soft diplomacy.

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