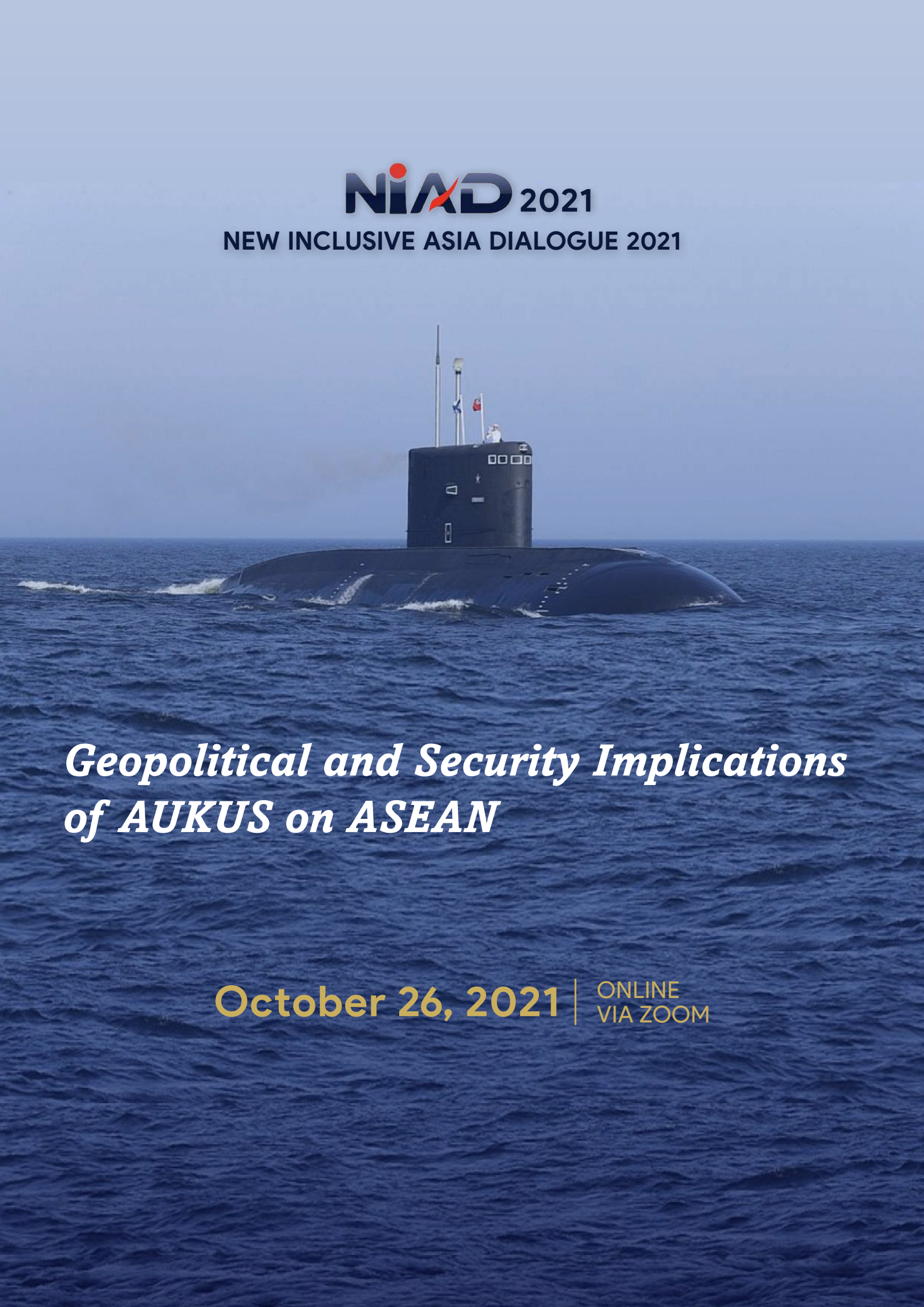


A black submarine is shown on the surface of a blue ocean under a clear sky. The submarine's conning tower is visible, featuring several antennas and a small flag. The hull number '501' is visible on the side of the conning tower.

NIAD 2021

NEW INCLUSIVE ASIA DIALOGUE 2021

***Geopolitical and Security Implications
of AUKUS on ASEAN***

October 26, 2021 | **ONLINE
VIA ZOOM**



NEW INCLUSIVE ASIA DIALOGUE 2021

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About NIAD 2021

Geopolitical and Security Implications of AUKUS on ASEAN

On September 15, 2021, Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States announced the formation of an enhanced trilateral security partnership called “AUKUS”. While it has drawn support from US allies, it also met with criticisms from some ASEAN member countries.

Would AUKUS contribute constructively to the peace and stability of Asia-Pacific and complement the regional architecture, or spark an arm race and destabilize the regional peace and security of Asia-Pacific, more specifically the South China Sea?

How would AUKUS impact the geopolitical landscape of Asia-Pacific amidst the tense US-China relations, and in view that the ASEAN nations have always preached maintaining Southeast Asia as a “zone of peace, freedom and neutrality” (ZOPFAN)?

Is AUKUS consistent with the spirit of the Treaty of Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (SEANWFZ or Bangkok Treaty), which is committed to keeping nuclear weapons out of the region signed by all ASEAN member states?

The aim of NIAD 2021 is to provide a platform for scholars and experts on international relations and regional security to deliberate and exchange views on the geopolitical and security implications of AUKUS on ASEAN in particular, and the Asia-Pacific region at large.

A panel of 9 prominent scholars and academics from China, UK, US and ASEAN countries have been invited to the Dialogue to share their perspectives and insights on how AUKUS will impact the strategic landscape of the region.

14:30 – 14:40

Welcome Address

Tan Sri Ong Tee Keat

Chairman, Centre for New Inclusive Asia, Malaysia

14:40 – 15:40

Dialogue Session I: Geopolitical Implications of AUKUS on ASEAN

Moderator: Dr Eugene Pek Chuen Khee

Research Director, Centre for New Inclusive Asia, Malaysia

Dean, Faculty of Business and Management, UCSI University

The Negative Impact of AUKUS on ASEAN's Regional Role

Dr Xu Bu

President, China Institute of International Studies

Former Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to ASEAN

The UK's Changing Role in the Indo-Pacific

Prof. Rana Mitter

Professor of the History and Politics of Modern China, University of Oxford

Vice-President (Public Engagement), British Academy

AUKUS' Awkward Geopolitical Dilemma for ASEAN in China's "Near Seas"

Mr Sourabh Gupta

Resident Senior Fellow, Institute for China-America Studies, Washington D.C.

AUKUS: Evolving Geo-Strategic Matrix in Asia-Pacific and Implications to ASEAN

Gen. Surasit Thanadtang (Ret.)

Director, Thai-Chinese Strategic Research Center, National Research Council of Thailand

AUKUS: The Anglosphere of Security Alliance and the Marginalization of ASEAN Centrality

Dr Ma Bo

Research Fellow, Collaborative Innovation Center of South China Sea Studies, Nanjing University

Q&A

15:40 – 16:40

Dialogue Session II: Security Implications of AUKUS on ASEAN

Moderator : Ms Jane Chan Git Yin

Senior Fellow and Coordinator of Maritime Security Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Why Does China Oppose AUKUS: AUKUS Would Endanger the Regional Security Order

Prof. Zhu Feng

Executive Dean, School of International Relations, Nanjing University

Executive Director, Collaborative Innovation Center of South China Sea Studies, Nanjing University

A Southeast Asia Perspective of AUKUS: The Security Dimensions and Beyond

Asso. Prof. Dr Kuik Cheng-Chwee

Head, Centre for Asian Studies, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), National University of Malaysia

Non-resident Fellow, Foreign Policy Institute, Johns Hopkins University

AUKUS: Security Implications for Maritime Cooperation and Good Ocean Governance in the South China Sea

Dr Rommel Banlaoi

Chairman, Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research

President, Philippine Association for Chinese Studies and Philippine Society for Intelligence and Security Studies

Indonesia's Geopolitical Position as a Strategic Lynchpin between the Indian and Pacific Ocean

Mr Gilang Kembara

Researcher, Department of International Relations, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Indonesia

Q&A

16:40 – 16:45

Closing Remarks

Mr Koh King Kee

President, Centre for New Inclusive Asia, Malaysia



The Independent Voice of Inclusive Asia

CNIA is a non-government Malaysian think tank focusing on the studies of the new dynamics of Asia brought about by the rise of China and other Asian powers, in particular, ASEAN and South Asian countries. It is a Global Partner of Belt and Road Studies Network (BRSN), an official alliance of international think tanks with research interest in Belt and Road Initiative, launched by China at the 2nd Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation in 2019. It is also a founding member of the International Academic Network for a Community with Shared Future.

The rise of China is considered by many as the most important phenomenon of the 21st century. The world needs to understand China as much as China must know the rules of the game in engaging with the world. Malaysia is uniquely the confluence of Asia's three great civilisations, namely, Chinese, Indian and Islamic. As a member of the British Commonwealth, Malaysia is also well exposed to Western political and economic philosophies and cultural values.

CNIA intends to exploit this distinct advantage by serving as a bridge to promote better understanding inter and intra-Asia, as well as between the New Asia and the World.

CNIA was co-founded by Tan Sri Ong Tee Keat and Mr Koh King Kee.

Tan Sri Ong Tee Keat, Chairman of CNIA, is the former Federal Transport Minister and former Deputy Parliament Speaker of Malaysia. He is currently the President of The Malaysia-China Silk Route Business Chamber, and has been active in promoting Malaysia-China relations. He is a well-known figure in the Chinese language literary circle for his creative writing as well as his social critique and political commentaries.

Mr Koh King Kee, President of CNIA, is currently the Director of China Belt and Road Desk, Baker Tilly MH Advisory Malaysia. He is the President of Dr. Wu Lien-Teh Education Society, Malaysia, Director of ASEAN Research Center for a Community with Shared Future and Joint Vice Chairman of the International Council of Advisors of the National Academy of Belt and Road Green Development, China. Mr Koh has long been a keen observer of the political and economic developments in China. He is a columnist of China Focus and Nanyang Daily. He regularly delivers talks and has been widely interviewed by Malaysian and Chinese media on BRI and China matters.

CNIA has signed strategic cooperation agreements with several well-known think tanks in China.



Dr Eugene Pek Chuen Khee

Research Director

Centre for New Inclusive Asia, Malaysia

Dean

*Faculty of Business and Management,
UCSI University*

Dr Eugene Pek Chuen Khee is the Research Director of the Centre for New Inclusive Asia and ASEAN Research Center for a Community with Shared Future.

He is currently an Associate Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Business and Management, UCSI University. He is also the Chief Executive Officer of UCSI Poll Research Centre and Head of Research for Economics, Trade and Regional Integration of Tan Sri Omar Science, Technology and Innovation Policy Centre, UCSI University located in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.



Ms Jane Chan Git Yin

Senior Fellow and Coordinator of Maritime Security Programme

*S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies,
Nanyang Technological University, Singapore*

Ms. Jane Chan is a Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Maritime Security Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore. Her main research interests include maritime security issues in Southeast Asia, law and order at sea, regional maritime cooperation and confidence-building measures, and regional boundary delimitation and territorial disputes. She is an affiliated faculty at the Singapore Arm Forces (SAF)-NTU Academy (SNA).

Her publications include Christian Bueger and Jane Chan (eds.), *Paving the Way for Regional Maritime Domain Awareness: Information Fusion Centre*, Nanyang Technological University, 2019; Sam Bateman, Rajni Gamage and Jane Chan (eds.), *ASEAN and the Indian Ocean: The Key Maritime Links*, RSIS Monograph, 2017; Vijay Sakhuja and Jane Chan (eds.), *China's Maritime Silk Road and Asia*, (VIJ Books India Pvt Ltd, 2016); Geoffrey Till and Jane Chan (eds.), *'Naval Development in Southeast Asia'* (Routledge, 2014).



Dr Xu Bu

President

China Institute of International Studies

Former Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to ASEAN

The Negative Impact of AUKUS on ASEAN's Regional Role

Dr Xu Bu is the President of the China Institute of International Studies. He studied at Nanjing University, China Foreign Affairs University, Wuhan University and the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, and graduated with a PhD in Law.

Served in Pakistan, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, ASEAN and Chile, Dr Xu has rich experience in diplomatic work. He had previously served as Deputy Director-General of the Policy Planning Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006-2009), Minister Counselor of the Chinese Embassy in Canada (2009-2011), Deputy Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the Korean Peninsula Affairs (2011-2015), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to ASEAN (2015-2018), and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Chile (2018-2020).

Dr Xu has rich research experience in international studies. He has published articles in high quality academic journals, including Foreign Affairs Review, The Journal of International Studies and China International Studies, and published several articles in the People's Daily, Guangming Daily and Study Times. He is also the author of Say No to Wars: Comments on American Identity and International Politics and American National Identity and Its Impact.



Prof. Rana Mitter

**Professor of the History and
Politics of Modern China,**
University of Oxford

Vice-President (Public Engagement)
British Academy

The UK's Changing Role in the Indo-Pacific

Rana Mitter is Professor of the History and Politics of Modern China at the University of Oxford, and Vice-President (Public Engagement) of the British Academy.

His work focuses on the emergence of Nationalism in Modern China, both in the early twentieth century and in the present era. He is the author of several books, including *Modern China: A Very Short Introduction* (2008, new ed. 2016), and the award-winning *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World* (2004). His book *China's War with Japan, 1937-45: The Struggle for Survival* (US title: *Forgotten Ally*) was named as a 2013 Book of the Year in the *Financial Times* and the *Economist*, was named a 2014 CHOICE Outstanding Academic Title, and won the 2014 RUSI/Duke of Westminster's Medal for Military Literature. His most recent book *China's Good War: How World War II Is Shaping a New Nationalism* (2020) was awarded the title Most Accessible and Captivating Work for the Non-Specialist Reader Accolade at the ninth edition (2021) of the ICAS (International Convention on Asia Studies) Book Prize.

Prof. Rana regularly presents and contributes to programmes on television and radio, commenting on contemporary Chinese politics and society. His television documentary "The Longest War: China's World War II" was broadcast on the History Channel Asia in summer 2015. His reviews and essays have appeared in newspapers including the *Financial Times*, *International New York Times*, *Guardian*, *Telegraph*, *Caijing*, and *Outlook* (India).



Mr Sourabh Gupta

Resident Senior Fellow

*Institute for China-America Studies,
Washington D.C.*

AUKUS' Awkward Geopolitical Dilemma for ASEAN in China's "Near Seas"

Mr Sourabh Gupta is Resident Senior Fellow at the Institute for China-America Studies (ICAS) in Washington, D.C. He is a senior Asia-Pacific international relations policy specialist with two decades of Washington, D.C.-based experience in a think tank and political risk research and advisory capacity. His key area of expertise pertains to the intersection of international law, both international maritime law (Law of the Sea) and international trade and investment law, with the international relations of the Asia-Pacific region. His areas of specialization include: analysis of major power relationships (China-U.S., China-Japan, China-India, U.S.-Japan, U.S.-India, Japan-India; Russia-Japan relations) and key flashpoint issues in the Asia-Pacific region; analysis of outstanding territorial disputes and maritime law-related developments in Asia; and analysis of developments in the World Trade Organization and Asia-Pacific investment, trade and economic regionalism-related policy and politics. He is a member of the United States Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (USCSCAP).

Prior to joining ICAS, he was a Senior Research Associate at Samuels International Associates, Inc., an international consulting firm specializing in government relations and global trade and investment matters, where he advised government and private sector clients. He holds master's degrees in security studies and international relations from the Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University and the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, respectively. His bachelor's degree was awarded by the University of Mumbai.



Gen. Surasit Thanadtang (Ret.)

Director

*Thai-Chinese Strategic Research Center,
National Research Council of Thailand (NRCT)*

AUKUS: Evolving Geo-Strategic Matrix in Asia-Pacific and Implications to ASEAN

GEN. Surasit is Director of the Thai-Chinese Strategic Research Center (TCSC), National Research Council of Thailand (NRCT) since March 2017, and Chairman of the Thai-Chinese Research Cooperation Center of Belt and Road Initiative (CTC). Prior to this, he has served as Director of the Strategic Studies Center, Superintendent of National Defence College, Deputy Commanding General, National Defence Studies Institute (NDSI), and lastly Supervisor to NDSI. He has also served as Military Assistant to the Force Commander of United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and has been serving as the UN SSR Expert Roster, SSR Unit, DPKO, United Nations.

GEN. Surasit gained degree qualification in various fields of Military Science and Civilian Educations; among them are General Command and Staff Course from both Thailand and Germany, Thailand National Defence College, Master of Arts in Defence Studies from the Command and General Staff College Thailand, Master of Arts in Strategy and Policy from University of New South Wales, the National Defence Course and the International Symposium Course from the College of Defence Studies, CPLA, NDU, China, the Senior Executive Seminar Course 9-10 at Marshall Center, Germany, the LOGTEC Program for Senior Executive from University of North Carolina, USA, and Thai-Chinese Leadership Program from PKU & HQU. Now he holds a Ph.D. candidate on DPA at Rungsit University.

GEN. Surasit is at present a member of the Expert Committee of the National Policy Research and Innovation Council of Thailand (NRICT). He has been a key figure in producing a number of National Defence Documents and National Research and Innovation Strategy; among them are the Thailand Military Strategy, 2002, the Defence White Paper, 2008, National Defence Policy 2007-2011, the Defence Update, 2008. He headed the working group in preparing the RTARF Capability Development Guidance, 2007. Last but not least, he jointly drafted the National Strategy on Research and Innovation 2018. He has served as the distinguished lecturer at the three services staff colleges, Army, Navy, Air War College, and for a number of undergraduate and postgraduate courses in various universities in Thailand specializing in Security and Defence studies.



Dr Ma Bo

Research Fellow

*Collaborative Innovation Center of
South China Sea Studies,
Nanjing University*

AUKUS: The Anglosphere of Security Alliance and the Marginalization of ASEAN Centrality

Dr Ma Bo is a Research Fellow at the Collaborative Innovation Center of South China Sea Studies at Nanjing University, and a British Chevening Scholar 2019-2020. He graduated from the Graduate Center at the City University of New York (CUNY) with a PhD in Political Science in 2014. In addition, he holds a LLM from Queen Mary University of London, a MA in International Relations from New York University (NYU), and a MSC in Comparative Politics from the London School of Economics (LSE).

Dr Ma's recent books include *Chinese Foreign Policy in Xi Jinping's Era: A Grand Design and Hot Issues* published by Singapore's World Scientific Publisher in 2018, and *Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunity and Challenge for China's Neighboring Foreign Policy* which will be published by Social Sciences Academic Press in Beijing in 2022. Dr. Ma's research interests are Chinese IR theories/foreign policy, Sino-U.S. relations, and public international law with a focus on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.



Prof. Zhu Feng

Executive Dean

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Nanjing University*

Executive Director

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Why Does China Oppose AUKUS: AUKUS Would Endanger the Regional Security Order

Prof. Zhu Feng is currently Executive Dean of the School of International Relations, Nanjing University. He is also Executive Director of the Collaborative Innovation Center of South China Sea Studies.

Prof. Zhu writes extensively on regional security in East Asia, the nuclear issue in North Korea, China-US military and diplomatic relations. As a leading Chinese security expert, Prof. Zhu's recent books include *International Relations Theory and East Asian Security* (2007), *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and Future of International Politics* (co-edited with Professor Robert S. Ross, Cornell University Press 2008), *China-Japan Security Cooperation and Defense Communication: the Past, Present, and Future* (Co-edited with Prof. Akiyama Asahiro, Tokyo: Aiji Press, 2011), and *America, China and the Struggle for the World Order* (co-edited with Prof. G. John Ikenbery and Prof. Wang jisi, MacMillan, 2015).

Prof. Zhu sits on a number of editorial boards of scholarly journals, consults independently for the Chinese government and the private sector, and comments frequently on television and radio as well as in the print media, on Chinese foreign affairs and security policy. Prof. Zhu began his undergraduate studies at the Department of International Politics at Peking University in 1981, and received his Ph.D. from Peking University in 1991.



Asso. Prof. Dr Kuik Cheng-Chwee

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*Centre for Asian Studies, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS),
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Non-resident Fellow

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A Southeast Asia Perspective of AUKUS: The Security Dimensions and Beyond

Dr Kuik Cheng-Chwee is Associate Professor and Head of the Centre for Asian Studies, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), National University of Malaysia (UKM). He is concurrently a Non-resident Fellow at the Foreign Policy Institute, Johns Hopkins University. Previously, he was a Postdoctoral Research Associate at the Princeton-Harvard “China and the World” Program.

Dr Kuik’s research concentrates on smaller state external policy, China’s foreign policy, Asian security, and international relations. He served as Head of the Writing Team for Malaysia’s inaugural Defence White Paper (2020). He has held consultant positions at Oxford, Council on Foreign Relations, and Asian Development Bank. His publications have appeared in peer-reviewed journals and edited books. Dr Kuik’s essay, “The Essence of Hedging”, won the Michael Leifer Memorial Prize by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS). He is co-author (with David Lampton and Selina Ho) of *Rivers of Iron: Railroads and Chinese Power in Southeast Asia* (University of California Press, 2020). His current projects include: hedging in international relations, elite legitimization and foreign policy choices, and the geopolitics of infrastructure connectivity cooperation. Dr Kuik serves on the editorial boards of *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, and *International Journal of Asian Studies*.



Dr Rommel Banlaoi

Chairman

Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research

President

Philippine Association for Chinese Studies and Philippine Society for Intelligence and Security Studies

AUKUS: Security Implications for Maritime Cooperation and Good Ocean Governance in the South China Sea

Dr Rommel C. Banlaoi is the Chairman of the Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research (PIPVTR) and President of the Philippine Society for Intelligence and Security Studies (PSISS). He is currently a Professorial Lecturer at the International Studies Department of Miriam College and an Adjunct Professor at the National Institute for South China Sea Studies (NISCSS). He is the President of the Philippine Association for Chinese Studies (PACS) and a member of the Management Board of the World Association for Chinese Studies (WACS). He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the China-Southeast Asia Research Center on the South China Sea (CSARC) while serving as a member of the International Panel of Experts of the Maritime Awareness Project (MAP) of the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR) and the Sasakawa Peace Foundation (SPF) based in Washington DC. He was a fellow of the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS) based in Hawaii.

He finished his BA and MA in Political Science at the University of the Philippines in Diliman where he also worked on his PhD in Political Science (ABD Status). He earned his PhD in International Relations at Jinan University in Guangzhou, China. He used to be a Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the National Defense College of the Philippines (NDCP), Assistant Professor in International Studies at De La Salle University (DLSU), Instructor in Political Science at the University of the Philippines Los Banos (UPLB), and University Research Associate at the University of the Philippines Diliman (UPD).



Mr Gilang Kembara

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Indonesia's Geopolitical Position as a Strategic Lynchpin between the Indian and Pacific Ocean

Mr Gilang Kembara is a Researcher at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta, Indonesia. His research focuses mainly on the field of maritime safety and security, transboundary security issues, and maritime regional cooperation.

Mr Gilang has collaborated with a number of think tanks both domestic and international. He worked with the National Institute of South China Sea Studies (NISCSS) in China to help establish the China Southeast Asia Research Centre on South China Sea (CSARC), where he was enrolled as a Research Associate. Together with CSARC, he helped convene a group of experts to cooperate on fisheries and environmental issues in the South China Sea.

Mr Gilang graduated from the University of Birmingham, earning a BSc. in Management. He continued his studies at the University of Birmingham, taking International Relations in Contemporary Asia-Pacific, and received his Master of Arts (MA) degree.



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