

# The United States and Southeast Asia

Toward a Strategy for Enhanced Engagement

A Conference Report of the  
CSIS Southeast Asia Initiative

PROJECT DIRECTOR & EDITOR  
Derek J. Mitchell

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## About the CSIS Southeast Asia Initiative

The CSIS Southeast Asia Initiative is a project of the International Security Program, Asia Group. CSIS launched the initiative in January 2008 to provide a venue for greater focus, examination, and analysis of Southeast Asian affairs within the Washington, D.C., policy community. The initiative includes regular roundtables, conferences, studies, and forums to spotlight developments in the region. CSIS also seeks to partner with other interested organizations and individuals within and outside Washington to maximize the flow of information, analysis, and outreach on Southeast Asian affairs in the United States.

An important component of the initiative is the monthly *Southeast Asia Bulletin*, which provides a timely overview of key developments, events, and facts about the region and offers a forum for short essays by official and unofficial commentators on regional affairs.

The Initiative's major ongoing research project is entitled "Out of the Shadows: U.S. Alliances and Emerging Partnerships in Southeast Asia." The project, the first of its kind in years, will take a critical look at the United States' treaty alliances with Thailand and the Philippines and its emerging security partnerships with Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Vietnam. A final report will be released in early 2009 with concrete policy recommendations for the new U.S. administration.



# THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

## TOWARD A STRATEGY FOR ENHANCED ENGAGEMENT

### Summary and Themes

The Southeast Asia Initiative of the International Security Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) hosted a conference on September 24–26, 2008, entitled “The United States and Southeast Asia: Toward a Strategy for Enhanced Engagement.” The conference included presentations over the three days from a diverse group of prominent figures from seven Southeast Asian countries, as well as senior U.S. government officials, diplomats, and nongovernment specialists in Southeast Asian affairs. With approximately 150 people in attendance, it was Washington’s most significant event on Southeast Asian affairs and U.S.–Southeast Asian relations in many years.

The conference’s opening dinner featured remarks by John Negroponte, U.S. deputy secretary of state, and Surin Pitsuwan, secretary-general of ASEAN (summaries of which are included below). The following two days included five panel discussions and three keynote addresses that covered topics such as the United States’ role in Southeast Asia, trends in ASEAN affairs, shifting external power dynamics in Southeast Asia, and the status of U.S. alliances and emerging partnerships in the region. Many fresh insights were offered, and viewpoints were as wide as the presenters’ backgrounds, but a few broad themes emerged during the conference.

#### **The United States—Wanted but Distracted**

Conference speakers continually expressed their desire to see the United States more engaged in the region, but they were worried that U.S. preoccupation with other parts of the world and problems at home will preclude this. Dinh Quy Dang, director of the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam, argued that the United States needs to be a greater contributor to regional security. Chan Heng Chee, Singapore’s ambassador to the United States, said that the financial crisis has reinforced the impression of the United States as a distracted power and that Southeast Asia worries that it will receive little U.S. attention in coming years. Scot Marciel, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for Southeast Asia and ambassador for ASEAN affairs, discussed the United States’ deep engagement in Southeast Asia at the working levels of government and in business, but stated that the United States seeks even closer ties.

#### **Southeast Asia Is Looking Inward**

While conference presenters were concerned that the United States might turn inward, it was often pointed out that most Southeast Asian countries were also focused on their immediate political and economic problems, with continued political gridlock in Bangkok, growing social division and surging opposition power in Kuala Lumpur, a general election season on the horizon in Jakarta, and renewed violence in southern Philippines, all while the region’s central banks struggle with the fallout from the

global financial crisis. The result is less focus on their external policies, including relations with the United States, and on strengthening regional cohesion through institutionalization of ASEAN.

## **China**

China's involvement in Southeast Asia frequently came up during the conference, even in the context of U.S. bilateral relations in the region. Thitinan Pongsudhirak of Chulalongkorn University noted that China's rise in Southeast Asia is material and that its recent investment in foreign assistance and educational exchange can be expected to continue. Sheldon Simon of Arizona State University described a comprehensive Chinese approach to engaging Southeast Asia that is carried out through economic, political, and military diplomacy. Prince Norodom Sirivudh of Cambodia observed that there are positive and negative aspects of China's rise, but that the economies of the Asia-Pacific region are increasingly intertwined regardless of the political winds of the day. However, Hadi Soesastro, director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta, noted that the Indonesia-China relationship is increasingly important but remains empty in practice and lacking in organization.

Stuck between a rising China and a "resident power" in the United States, many conference participants expressed fear that rivalry between China and the United States could negatively impact Southeast Asia. Panitan Wattanayagorn put it well when he said that "China is too near and the United States is too far," which makes Southeast Asian countries uneasy and therefore eager to engage all available partners. Sudjadnan Parnohadiningrat, Indonesian ambassador to the United States, noted that the level of friction in the U.S.-China relationship will be important for the future of Southeast Asia.

## **Trends in ASEAN Affairs and U.S. Engagement with ASEAN**

Recent developments in ASEAN, particularly the content and ratification of the ASEAN Charter, were frequent topics of discussion. Mely Caballero-Anthony of the Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore noted that there is no longer a single ASEAN voice, but multiple ones emerging. Rodolfo Severino, a former ASEAN secretary-general, argued that there is a growing sense of regional identity and that regional institutions are gaining strength. Many presenters lamented the lack of strong human rights protections in the ASEAN charter, including Sudjadnan Parnohadiningrat, who noted Indonesia's aspiration for a greater regional emphasis on human rights. Speakers generally agreed, however, that ratification of the charter is a proper step forward for ASEAN's development.

Several Southeast Asian conference presenters lauded the United States for enhancing its engagement with ASEAN in recent years, particularly through its ADVANCE program to strengthen ASEAN's institutional capacity and by naming an ambassador for ASEAN affairs. However, many called for more U.S. engagement with the organization, including K.S. Nathan of the National University of Malaya, who noted that ASEAN receives perhaps one-tenth the attention of that given to the U.S.-Japan alliance. Kavi Chongkittavorn of the Bangkok-based newspaper *The Nation*, among others, called for the United States to sign ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation and to hold a regular U.S.-ASEAN summit.

## **Burma**

Conference presentations and discussion often turned to Burma, particularly U.S. policy and Burma's significance for U.S.-ASEAN relations. Stephen Leong of Malaysia argued that intractable problems

remain in Burma, but that it is better to have the country as a member of ASEAN than not and that ASEAN has gained some measure of leverage vis-à-vis the ruling junta. Rodolfo Severino noted that the United States is unable to put significant pressure on the junta and that China and India have no interest in toppling the regime, crippling any efforts at progress through external pressure. K. Kesavapany, director of the Institute for Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, noted the common view that U.S.-ASEAN relations are held hostage by the Burma issue and that the United States needs to find a way around this for the good of its relationship with the region.

### **Role of Civil Society**

The growing role and importance of civil society in Southeast Asia was another recurring theme of the conference. Kavi Chongkittavorn argued that society must lead the way in demanding action from ASEAN, particularly on the issue of human rights. He also said that the media will play a role in fostering multinationalism among the people of Southeast Asia, much like European media now report more on the issues of Europe instead of those of individual nations. Mely Caballero-Anthony argued that Southeast Asian civil society organizations must demand greater action from ASEAN and possibly create a unified movement through an ASEAN People's Charter.

## **Opening Addresses**

### **John Negroponte, Deputy Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State**

Over dinner on the eve of the conference, John Negroponte offered a broad overview of the U.S. relationship with Southeast Asia. He noted that U.S. focus on Southeast Asia has witnessed both extremes—too much attention in the 1960s and too little in the 1990s—but that the coming years promise a healthy balance in the level of attention paid to the region. He stressed that despite a low profile, the people-to-people and institutional exchanges occurring beneath the surface will sustain the basis for a healthy relationship going forward.

Citing a recent trip to Vietnam and Cambodia during which he saw tremendous progress in both nations, Negroponte stressed that increased stability in Southeast Asia has helped improve U.S. ties to the Asia Pacific as a whole. As evidence of a positive trend in U.S.-Asia relations generally, he cited the Bush administration's achievements in improving relations with China and India, as well as with traditional allies Japan and Australia. It is within this larger environment, Negroponte suggested, that the United States will continue to foster a positive relationship with the countries of Southeast Asia.

### **Surin Pitsuwan, Secretary-General, ASEAN**

In the second address of the evening, Surin Pitsuwan expressed his confidence that the ASEAN Charter would be ratified in the fall 2008. He stressed that this achievement will make ASEAN an integrated, rules-based, and unified actor in the international community. This, he said, will allow for more growth and common regional policies. Surin emphasized the success of the ASEAN Charter as a necessary precondition for the institution to be an effective partner with the United States on democratization, human rights, economic growth, and trade liberalization. A unified ASEAN will also better balance China and India, shaping their rise and minimizing regional destabilization.



Surin encouraged the United States to better engage Southeast Asia. He cited opportunities both taken and lost by the United States in this regard; in his opinion, it is only a matter of “putting the jigsaws together” in order to best match existing U.S. resources with opportunities for engagement. Citing Japan and the European Union as examples of advisable approaches to ASEAN engagement, he urged the United States not to let bilateral relations preclude or substitute for a strong relationship with ASEAN.

## Keynote Address

**Charivat Santaputra, Deputy Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand**

Charivat Santaputra opened the formal conference by addressing the importance of ASEAN and identifying potential opportunities for increased U.S. engagement. Southeast Asia is growing in significance a result of its strategic location between South and East Asia, vast populations, untapped markets, and centrality to many transnational security issues, he said. The United States has built strong regional ties through economic assistance, military presence, and promotion of democracy and human rights. From his perspective, these ties have lost importance in recent years, and the United States must act to reinvigorate them.

Charivat stressed that the United States should engage on three pillars: political/security, economic, and sociocultural. He offered that the United States can best enhance regional peace and security through increased cooperation in multilateral institutions, such as ASEAN and the East Asia Summit, while expanding military cooperation to combat transnational threats. He further suggested the United States deepen economic ties by expanding investment, signing a free trade agreement (FTA) with ASEAN, and cooperating in the Doha Round. He stressed that the United States must utilize “smart power” through capacity-building initiatives and exchanges to address challenges of good governance, democratic transitions, and educational development. The world today has many vast challenges, he concluded; however, these challenges can be diminished with enhanced cooperation and improved relations between the United States and Southeast Asia.

## Panel 1: America’s Place in the Region

**Chan Heng Chee, Ambassador of Singapore to the United States**

**Sudjadnan Parnoghadiningrat, Ambassador of Indonesia to the United States**

**Panitan Wattanayagorn, Professor, Chulalongkorn University**

To open the panel, Chan Heng Chee discussed the strategic calculus of nations in Southeast Asia and where the United States fits in this calculus. She asserted there are two main concerns for Southeast Asian nations: U.S. distraction from the region, and current U.S. financial troubles. Noting U.S. economic woes and two ongoing wars, she argued that the United States has focused less and less on Asia and, in particular, Southeast Asia. She added, however, that the United States remains a Pacific power and important partner due to its continued military presence and strong economic ties. She noted that

although the center for economic growth is gradually shifting toward Asia, the United States remains the market of final demand.

Regarding how the United States may enhance its role in the region, Chan suggested that the United States should maintain its leadership in world affairs and in the international economic system; improve domestic entrepreneurship, innovation, and education; increase its participation in regional processes beyond bilateral relationships; and regard Asia as a competent partner rather than a weak disciple. In closing, she enjoined the United States to resolve its internal financial crisis and expand its focus on the region.

Speaking next, Sudjadnan Parnoghadiningrat discussed the importance of the United States as an economic partner and stabilizing force in Southeast Asia. Due to the United States' important role, it should help create mutual trust among major regional powers to avoid open clashes over energy security and border issues. He emphasized that nuclear energy is an increasingly attractive option for many Southeast Asian nations and that the United States should take an active role in its growth in the region.

Sudjadnan noted that a growing number of issues are no longer contained within borders and require multilateral action. He stressed that the United States must help Southeast Asia to develop the necessary structures and institutions to deal with a full range of regional and transnational issues, including economic development, environmental protection, terrorism, energy security, and climate change.

Panitan Wattanayagorn focused his talk on current issues in the U.S.–Southeast Asian relationship and positive steps the United States can take to strengthen this relationship. He noted that Southeast Asian affairs are complicated by weak multilateral institutions and a variety of regional players, including China, Russia, and Japan. He contended that the United States should not be too concerned about the implications of complex regional power dynamics, including a rising China, and rejected the notion that it would lead to greater regional turmoil. A popular Southeast Asian perspective today, he said, is that “the United States is too far, and China is too near.” The United States needs to understand this regional perspective in order to pursue policies that will lead to greater influence in the region.

At the same time, Panitan noted that China's rise has challenged both U.S. hard and soft power in the region. In order to remain a significant player, he said, the United States needs to increase its own soft power in the region. He stressed that U.S. political capital will continue to diminish should it force its views on other nations. He said the United States needs to assure its partners in Southeast Asia of its commitment to the region, increase coordinated activities, and augment government-to-government interaction. Positive developments, such as the appointment of a U.S. ambassador for ASEAN, have helped. However, the United States needs to formulate a clear and comprehensive plan for engagement, as its overall strategy has yet to account for fundamental changes in the region.

## Lunch Address

**Scot Marciel, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Southeast Asia and Ambassador for ASEAN Affairs, U.S. Department of State**

Scot Marciel provided an official perspective on U.S. involvement and overall role in Southeast Asia. He described Southeast Asia as a region that has undergone enormous change, including economic development and the creation and expansion of new regional institutions. These developments have certainly increased the overall importance of the region, and as he put it, there is “no question that we should be engaged.”

Marciel argued that current U.S. engagement in Southeast Asia is gradually moving from a bilateral to a multilateral focus with the appointment of an ambassador for ASEAN. In addition, he said, the United States has moved beyond traditional forms of diplomacy with assistance for environmental concerns, climate change, health initiatives, and disaster relief. This engagement highlights two central U.S. goals for the region: maintaining strong, peaceful development; and building greater cooperation “to address bilateral, regional, and global issues.” He further noted that the United States would embrace future opportunities for cooperation with ASEAN to address human rights abuses in Burma, safeguard the Malacca Straits, foster deeper economic ties, and maintain regional stability. In closing, Marciel stressed that the United States strongly supports passage of the ASEAN Charter, including its establishment of a human rights body, and ASEAN’s ambitious goals to build an ASEAN Community in the future. He said the United States remains committed to engaging Southeast Asia economically, politically, and militarily for the foreseeable future.

## Panel 2: Trends in ASEAN Affairs

**Rodolfo Severino, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Southeast Asian Studies**

**K.S. Nathan, Professor and Director of American Studies, National University of Malaya**

**Kavi Chongittavorn, Executive Editor, *The Nation***

**Mely Caballero-Anthony, Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies**

Rodolfo Severino, a former ASEAN secretary-general, began the session by focusing on current trends in implementation of the “ASEAN Way.” He characterized the ASEAN Way as informal, pragmatic, nonideological, and ad-hoc, due largely to the diversity of viewpoints among member nations. In recent years of institutional expansion and regional prosperity, he said, ASEAN has searched for new ways to address challenges while maintaining the core principles of noninterference and consensus-based decisionmaking. ASEAN members continue to respect each member nation’s sovereignty over its domestic affairs in the face of much instability. In order to maintain ASEAN unity, he noted, agreements have tended to be both vague and weak. Severino also noted that the rise of new norms has resulted in changes to the ASEAN Way.

Increasing talk of democracy, rule of law, and good governance reflect the continuing shift in Southeast Asia from authoritarianism to democracy. Furthermore, he believes that the drafting and current ratification process of the ASEAN Charter exemplifies growing integration within Southeast Asia.

Integration has helped to strengthen ASEAN's decisionmaking capability, and many believe that a unified ASEAN can be a powerful voice, as seen in 1996 when the organization took a stand against China's actions in the South China Sea. In his opinion, the ASEAN Way is strengthening with the growing empowerment of the institution and the creation of a regional identity.

K.S. Nathan next sought to examine ASEAN's current situation and role in regional and global affairs. Southeast Asian governments have followed an on-going, zigzag path toward democratization but with detours of upheaval. Reflecting these domestic determinants, ASEAN has become more intranational than supranational, based on cooperation rather than command. He emphasized that although the ASEAN Charter has begun to be formally regulated and integrated, there has been no noticeable "ASEAN-ization"; instead countries remain preoccupied with internal issues.

ASEAN has also sought a larger role within regional and global affairs, Nathan argued. Growing intranational and international production networks, the rapid increase in economic relations with China, and the rise of India drive the need for greater unity and engagement with others. As ASEAN expands its role, it will continue to rely on the United States to ensure security and regional stability as suspicion divides the great powers of Asia. ASEAN still has a long way to go in developing into a unified regional entity, but he believes it has made important strides in engaging inside and outside of the region.

Kavi Chongittavorn highlighted four problems facing ASEAN: ratification and implementation of the ASEAN Charter; development of an ASEAN human rights body; dispute settlement; and the role of the media. He believes the expansion of ASEAN has resulted in different dynamics and perspectives within the organization, and a less-defined "ASEAN Way." The slow ratification of the ASEAN Charter and the movement toward human rights promotion—even protection—reflect growing differences in regional perspectives. Dispute resolution continues to occur bilaterally, although ASEAN has taken important steps to promote regional forums as effective venues for future conflict resolution.

Drawing on his experience, Kavi emphasized the role that the media will play in creating a unified ASEAN community. Currently, media outlets promote national instead of regional perspectives. Movement toward a broader regional focus is needed to further ASEAN integration. Similarly, he believes the media can empower civil society to demand their governments provide the necessary "teeth" for human rights protection. Without the promotion of this popular sentiment, he fears that governments will avoid the issue of human rights protection.

Finally, Mely Caballero-Anthony discussed the implications of the ASEAN Charter, which begins a new phase of regionalism for Southeast Asia. The ratification of the ASEAN Charter, although watered down, will promote institutional accountability and legality, as well as establish ASEAN as a serious regional player. Her current and future concerns for ASEAN include the growth of new regional actors, a diversification of the "ASEAN Way," and continued domestic changes.

Caballero-Anthony believes the expansion of ASEAN has broken down one voice into many, especially with the inclusion of Burma. Furthermore, civil society organizations have become increasingly involved. She argued that these shifts underline the rapidly changing economic, political, and security

landscape of the region. Diversity will be a challenge, she said, but ASEAN's role is likely to expand with the ratification of the ASEAN Charter and the growing involvement of civil society organizations.

## Panel 3: Shifting External Power Dynamics

**Thitinan Pongsudhirak, Professor, Chulalongkorn University, and Director, Institute of Security and International Studies**

**Sheldon Simon, Professor, Arizona State University**

**Stephen Leong, Assistant Director-General, Institute for Strategic and International Studies**

**Prince Norodom Sirivudh, Supreme Privy Counselor, Kingdom of Cambodia, and Chairman, Cambodia Institute for Cooperation and Peace**

Thitinan Pongsudhirak began the discussion of the roles that major external powers play in Southeast Asia. Notably, he stressed that China's soft power engagement will be lasting and that Japan is an undervalued source of business investment. Additionally, he highlighted Australia's growing influence in the region, as well as Russia's quiet investment in petroleum.

Thitinan indicated that political instability in Thailand and Malaysia, as well as the fallout from the current financial crisis, might have a negative impact on their relations with the United States going forward. He also referred to Burma as ASEAN's Alcatraz, noting that a political opening in the country is unlikely. He called on the United States to engage with Southeast Asia as a region, while maintaining bilateral relationships as a fall-back option. He also predicted that U.S. influence in the region would continue to diminish relative to other external powers.

Sheldon Simon addressed the economic, military, and political facets of the China-ASEAN relationship. He highlighted China's energy interest in the region, which is both a source of oil and natural gas—as well as a vital shipping route and potential supply chokepoint—for energy imports from the Middle East. He believes China's naval buildup fits into its larger military strategy of thinking beyond Taiwan and quietly preventing any U.S. attempt at encirclement or containment.

Simon contended that China's benign and participatory soft power strategy has provided it new-found leverage. In particular, China's no-strings-attached approach to aid is often more attractive than U.S. assistance, which hinges on liberalization and human rights initiatives. He also noted that ASEAN's goal is to socialize China's rise and shape the future of the relationship.

Stephen Leong analyzed the great power relationships in Southeast Asia from a Malaysian perspective. He expressed concern about China's military modernization and urged engagement as a means of managing China. He highlighted the limits of China's soft power, noting that the United States has tools of influence, such as commercial and education opportunities, that China cannot provide. He also held Australia as a model for how mid-sized powers like Canada and South Korea can engage the region.

Further, Leong argued that a small, focused ASEAN+3 is the optimal vehicle for engaging Burma and addressing other regional issues. He pointed to multilateral institutions, such as ASEAN and APEC, as a way in which the smaller countries of Southeast Asia can influence the larger powers and make sure that the "Asian Century" does not revolve around China and/or India.

Finally, Prince Norodom Sirivudh contrasted Cambodia's relationships with China and with the United States. He expressed concern that China's rise poses a military threat to Southeast Asia but conceded that the economic relationship with China has been fruitful.

Prince Sirivudh juxtaposed this with Cambodia's relationship with the United States. He stated that U.S. military supremacy is reassuring and guarantees regional stability. He also noted advantages that the United States has over China, such as nonstate means of engagement and the beneficial impact of think tanks on the policymaking process, stressing that these advantages can offset China's soft power.

## **Panel 4: U.S. Strategic Partnerships in Southeast Asia: Thailand, the Philippines, and Singapore**

**Chulacheeb Chinwanno, Vice Rector for International Affairs, Thammasat University**

**Herman Kraft, Director, Strategic Studies Program, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies**

**K. Kesavapany, Director, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies**

**Marvin Ott, Professor, National War College**

Chulacheeb Chinwanno began the session by discussing the history and contemporary issues in the U.S.-Thai alliance. Throughout their 175-year relationship, the United States and Thailand have had both close military and nonmilitary cooperation, he said. The alliance has constantly adjusted to the challenges of the times, he noted, from communism to counterterrorism.

Since the end of the Cold War, new issues within the alliance have arisen, including Thai domestic uncertainties and the rise of China. Thailand's political system has undergone enormous change, highlighted by a military coup in 2006 and the recent removal of two prime ministers. Chinwanno argued that Thailand has followed an engagement strategy toward China in order to reap the economic benefits, while at the same time socializing China into Southeast Asia. Moreover, he remarked that Thailand has begun hedging with the formation of a "triple security assurance" strategy, with formal (United States), emerging bilateral (China), and multilateral (ASEAN) prongs. The U.S.-Thai alliance, he claimed, remains strong with a focus on stability and economic development.

Herman Kraft focused on the development of the U.S.-Philippines relationship and its reinvigoration since 9/11. Filipino security policy has shifted from largely realist during the Cold War to increasingly liberal institutionalist since the formation of ASEAN. Since 9/11, the U.S.-Philippines relationship has seen increased military-to-military cooperation and exchange, including current U.S. involvement in the advising and training of Philippines Special Forces and Marines and real-time intelligence assistance for Filipino forces in Mindanao. Cooperation has also extended beyond traditional security arrangements to include humanitarian and disaster relief exercises and civilian interaction.

Kraft maintained that the Philippines is presently reevaluating its foreign and security policies to incorporate hedging against China. Domestic bickering, however, has resulted in a lack of a grand strategy concerning China. He believes that despite a changing China policy, the U.S.-Philippines alliance has been strengthened due to increased cooperation and interaction.

K. Kesavapany spoke about the U.S.-Singapore alliance and its future. Unlike Thailand or the Philippines, he said, the relationship between Singapore and the United States is founded on economic, not military, ties. Therefore, the establishment of a free trade agreement with the United States in 2002 was a major step toward strengthening this relationship and securing Singaporean access to natural resources.

Kesavapany noted that Singapore continues to advocate greater U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, believing more stakeholders create greater stability. Singapore emphasizes the role of ASEAN in the region and remains critical of U.S. actions regarding Burma, as well as its continued general focus on democratization and human rights. Although the U.S.-Singapore alliance has expanded into security affairs, it remains focused primarily on trade.

Marvin Ott summarized the U.S. perspective on these three partnerships, particularly focusing on the history of relations with Thailand and the Philippines, and analyzing their current relevance. During the Cold War, these nations shared the perception that communism was a threat, leading to their active participation in the Vietnam War. However, after the war ended, the United States withdrew from the region and maintained only limited cooperation with the Philippines. By the end of the Cold War, the United States saw these alliances as artifacts of the past.

Ott emphasized that recent developments, including the rise of China, the Global War on Terror, and issues concerning Mischief Reef, have revitalized these partnerships. He said Thailand and the Philippines remained the anchors of U.S. presence in Southeast Asia. To address counterterrorism and humanitarian response, the United States has focused on strengthening and expanding cooperation with the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Royal Thai Army. Concerning China, the United States views itself as a stabilizing force, regardless of China's ambitions. If China pursues expansionist aims, he argued that these alliances would become more valuable, with Thailand acting as an interlocutor and the Philippines as a strategic center for the protection of the South China Sea. The United States views these partnerships as relevant to current challenges and should strengthen them as such.

## **Panel 5: U.S. Emerging Partnerships in Southeast Asia: Indonesia, Malaysia, and Vietnam**

**Hadi Soesastro, Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies**

**Dzirhan Mahadzir, Journalist, Jane's Information Group**

**Dinh Quy Dang, Director General, Institute for International Relations**

Hadi Soesastro opened the final session by addressing the U.S.-Indonesia relationship, a relationship he believes is good but has much room for improvement. Unfortunately, the disorderly and ineffectual nature of Indonesian politics often stands in the way of improved ties. However, he argued, Indonesia currently places more value on its relationship with the United States than on ties with China, and it hopes that bilateral exchanges will grow.

Soesastro considered a key question to be, how should the United States approach Indonesia in order to best cultivate ties? He believes the United States should create a mature and multifaceted relationship

with particular focus on education and justice. Additionally, the United States should support Indonesia's reformist political goals and push for a greater Indonesian role in ASEAN and other regional organizations. Finally, to prepare for the future, the United States should cultivate pro-American sympathies among Indonesians.

Dzirhan Mahadzir spoke about the state of U.S.-Malaysia relations. He noted that Malaysian politics are corrupt, messy, and whimsical, but they are most often pragmatic. "Malaysia has no permanent allies, only permanent interests." This inconsistency has been seen in Malaysia's changing responses to the War on Terror and Iran. He said it will be difficult to know which direction the U.S.-Malaysia relationship will go because it so greatly depends on the personalities and situations of the day.

Mahadzir noted, however, that there are two general factions in Malaysian foreign policy: a Foreign Ministry that is often anti-American and a military that is usually pro-American. Furthermore, it has been popular to charge that current Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi has been a "stooge of the United States." This has resulted in strong support among anti-U.S. elements for opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim, especially among Muslims and China supporters. He believes the United States should be aware of the developing political situation and realize that a coalition government in Malaysia led by Anwar Ibrahim may not be so pro-U.S., despite Anwar's strong personal connections in Washington. Nonetheless, he said, military relations will likely continue to be strong.

Dinh Quy Dang discussed trends in U.S.-Vietnam relations. In recent years, there have been major developments in diplomatic, economic, and military relations, as well as important educational, cultural, health, and humanitarian exchanges. The difficult past between the United States and Vietnam has led many on both sides to desire stronger ties, and Vietnam has worked toward domestic political reform and integration into the regional community as a peaceful and responsible player. These successes along with burgeoning trade and investment are the foundations for a prosperous future.

Quy clearly stated that Vietnam's grand strategy through 2020 is to "build socialism" and industrialize. Americans, he said, should not get caught up with the title "socialism," however, since Vietnam's goals of peace, prosperity, democracy, and equality are much like those of the United States. In order to accomplish these goals, Vietnam needs domestic and regional political stability, and it needs the United States to continue growing trade and investment while increasing educational and technological exchanges. Vietnam hopes that the United States will contribute to building stronger regional forums, such as ASEAN and APEC, but Quy noted that the United States should not view its relations with Vietnam through the lens of Chinese containment or ideological differences. Positive engagement with Vietnam and other nations of the region is the best way to develop a strong U.S.-Vietnam relationship.

## General Address

**James Clad, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for South and Southeast Asia, U.S. Department of Defense**

James Clad concluded the conference with a lunch address about the U.S. approach to Southeast Asian security today and into the future. He stressed that the United States has by no means decreased its



commitment to the region but has in fact deepened and strengthened its ties. The basis for the U.S. approach has been continuity, using time-tested methods and resources to tackle new and evolving security challenges. In a globalized world, there are many shared spaces, be they maritime space, outer space, or cyber space, and he stressed that the United States has been committed to maintaining the prosperity of Southeast Asia through the continuing security of these “common spaces.”

Clad further emphasized that the U.S. position in the Asia-Pacific region is not built on aging alliances or Cold War paradigms. Instead, the United States has consistently worked to strengthen and improve relationships with all members of the Southeast Asian community, whether it is traditional allies, such as Thailand and the Philippines, or new partners, such as Vietnam and Laos. This has also meant strengthening ties with India and increasing engagement with China. The U.S. position is complex, and its web of relationships is growing. He believes that no power in Asia, including the United States, should use pressure tactics to preserve security. Instead, Clad stressed, the United States is committed to building an open community of Asian nations in which nations large and small can work together to solve problems in order to maintain regional security and ensure mutual prosperity.



## APPENDIX A

### CONFERENCE AGENDA

# The United States and Southeast Asia: Toward a Strategy for Enhanced Engagement

## September 24, 2008

7:00 p.m.      **Dinner**

**Host**

John J. Hamre, *President and CEO, CSIS*

**Opening Addresses**

John D. Negroponte, *Deputy Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State*

Surin Pitsuwan, *Secretary-General, ASEAN*

## September 25, 2008

9:00 a.m.      **Welcome & Opening Remarks**

Stephen Flanagan, *Senior Vice President and Director, International Security Program, CSIS*

9:05 a.m.      **Introduction**

Derek Mitchell, *Senior Fellow and Director for Asia, International Security Program, CSIS*

9:15 a.m.      **Keynote Address**

Charivat Santaputra, *Deputy Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand*

10:00 a.m.      **America's Place in the Region**

What debates are occurring in nations' strategic orientation and security strategy? What are the trends in nations' relations with and perspectives toward the United States? Is U.S. influence in Southeast Asia on the wane? If so, what are the implications? Does U.S. influence remain desirable, and if so, to what ends?

**Moderator**

Derek Mitchell, *Senior Fellow and Director for Asia, International Security Program, CSIS*

**Panelists**

Panitan Wattanayagorn, *Professor, Chulalongkorn University*

Chan Heng Chee, *Ambassador to the United States, Embassy of Singapore*

Sudjadnan Parnoghadiningrat, *Ambassador to the United States, Embassy of Indonesia*

12:00 p.m. **Break & Lunch**

12:30 p.m. **Keynote Address**

Scot Marciel, *Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Southeast Asia and Ambassador for ASEAN Affairs, U.S. Department of State*

1:45 p.m. **Trends in ASEAN Affairs**

What are the implications of the ASEAN Charter? Does the “ASEAN Way” still hold sway, or has there been a shift in the conduct of intraregional affairs? How much patience will ASEAN expend in regard to Burma? What role does ASEAN seek to play in broader regional and global affairs?

**Moderator**

Derek Mitchell, *Senior Fellow and Director for Asia, International Security Program, CSIS*

**Panelists**

Rodolfo Severino, *Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Southeast Asian Studies*

K.S. Nathan, *Professor, National University of Malaya*

Kavi Chongittavorn, *Executive Editor, The Nation*

Mely Caballero-Anthony, *Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*

3:15 p.m. **Shifting External Power Dynamics**

How are the major regional players assessing their strategic interests and policies in the light of a rising China, emerging India, engaged Australia, and more assertive Japan? What are nations’ perspectives toward the emergence of each country? Which nation is most welcome/least welcome, and why? How much and what kind of influence do they have today in Southeast Asia?

**Moderator**

Sheldon Simon, *Professor, Arizona State University*

**Panelists**

Thitinan Pongsudhirak, *Professor, Chulalongkorn University, and Director, Institute of Security and International Studies*

Stephen Leong, *Assistant Director-General, Institute for Strategic and International Studies*

Prince Norodom Sirivudh, *Supreme Privy Counselor, Kingdom of Cambodia, and Chairman, Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace*

## September 26, 2008

9:00 a.m.

### **U.S. Strategic Partnerships in Southeast Asia: Thailand, the Philippines, and Singapore**

What does it mean to be an ally of the United States in Southeast Asia today? Upon what are these alliances based today? How have these alliance relationships evolved from the Cold War to the present? What dynamics, if any, exist that facilitate or constrain the development of U.S. alliance relationships in coming years, and is there anything the United States can do to shape developments?

#### **Moderator**

Catharin Dalpino, *Professor, Georgetown University*

#### **Panelists**

Chulacheeb Chinwanno, *Vice Rector for International Affairs, Thammasat University*

Herman Kraft, *Director, Strategic Studies Program, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies*

K. Kesavapany, *Director, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies*

Marvin Ott, *Professor, National War College*

10:45 a.m.

### **U.S. Emerging Partnerships in Southeast Asia: Indonesia, Malaysia, and Vietnam**

What is the status of and prospects for these relationships? Upon what are their relationships with the United States based today? What value do these nations place on their relations with the United States? Toward what tactical goals and strategic ends are they aimed? How have these relationships evolved from the Cold War to the present? What dynamics, if any, exist that facilitate or constrain the development of U.S. relationships with these nations in coming years, and is there anything the United States can do to shape developments?

#### **Moderator**

Derek Mitchell, *Senior Fellow and Director for Asia, International Security Program, CSIS*

#### **Panelists**

Hadi Soesastro, *Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Jakarta)*

Dzirhan Mahadzir, *Journalist*

Dinh Quy Dang, *Director General, Institute for International Relations*

12:30 p.m.

### **Closing Lunch and General Address**

James Clad, *Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for South and Southeast Asia, U.S. Department of Defense*



## APPENDIX B

### SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES

**Mely Caballero-Anthony** is an associate professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore, and head of the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies. She is also secretary general of the newly established Consortium on Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia). Her research interests include regionalism and regional security in the Asia-Pacific region, multilateral security cooperation, politics and international relations in ASEAN, conflict prevention and management, as well as human security. At RSIS, she teaches courses on nontraditional security and government and politics in Southeast Asia. She also lectures regularly on topics related to regionalism and security in the Asia-Pacific region at the SAFTI Military Institute (Command and Staff College), Singapore Police Academy, and Civil Defence College. Dr. Anthony's recent publications include *Understanding Non-Traditional Security in Asia* (Ashgate, 2006), *Studying Non-Traditional Security in Asia* (Marshall Cavendish, 2006), *Regional Security in Southeast Asia* (ISEAS, 2005), and *UN Peace Operations and Asian Security* (Routledge, 2005). Her articles have appeared in peer-reviewed journals such as the *Journal of International Affairs*, *Asian Survey*, *Asian Security*, *Asian Perspective*, *International Peacekeeping*, *Pacific Review*, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, and *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Dr. Anthony is also on the editorial board of the *Pacific Review* and newly established journal *Global Responsibility to Protect (GR2P)*.

**Chulacheeb Chinwanno** is currently the vice rector for international affairs at Thammasat University. Before becoming vice rector, he served as chairman of the International Relations Department of the Faculty of Political Science from 2000 to 2007, as executive director of the Institute of East Asian Studies, and as executive director of the Human Resource Institute. In 2005, he was appointed the senior expert of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives in Thailand. He has held several visiting fellowships including at the International University of Japan in Niigata, the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, the University of Wisconsin at Madison, and the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. His research concentrates on Thai foreign affairs, China and other major powers in Southeast Asia, and Asia-Pacific security issues. His recent publications include "Thai-Indian Diplomatic Relations: From Different Perceptions to Mutual Benefit," in *Thailand and Indian Relations*, ed. Corrine Phuangkasem (Thammasat University Press, 2008) and "Thai-Chinese Relations: Security and Strategic Partnership," Working Paper no. 155 (Rajaratnam School of International Studies, March 2008). Dr. Chinwanno received a B.A. in international relations from Swarthmore College and an M.A. in East Asian studies and Ph.D. in political science from Stanford University. He was awarded His Majesty the King's scholarship for undergraduate studies in the United States and the Rockefeller Foundation fellowship for the Ph.D. program.

**Catharin E. Dalpino** is a visiting associate professor of Southeast Asian studies at Georgetown University and director of the university's Thai Studies Program. Concurrently, Professor Dalpino is coeditor of the *Georgetown Southeast Asia Survey*, an annual review of developments in Southeast Asia and their implications for U.S. policy. She is also presently coordinator of the U.S.-Vietnam Dialogue on Agent Orange/Dioxin and chair of the Stanley Foundation's project on New Power Dynamics in Southeast Asia: Issues for U.S. Policy. Professor Dalpino has served as deputy assistant secretary of state (1993–1997), as fellow at the Brookings Institution (1997–2003), and for 10 years as a career officer of the Asia Foundation. She was the Foundation's representative for Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia in the late 1980s. Prior to joining the Foundation, Professor Dalpino was a policy analyst at the World Bank. She is the author of three books on U.S.-Asian relations, numerous op-eds and articles, and has testified before both the U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives on Asian issues and U.S.-Asian relations. She holds degrees from the University of California at Berkeley and Barnard College.

**Dinh Quy Dang** is vice president of the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam and director of the Institute for Foreign Policy and Strategic Studies. He served as the minister counselor and head of political section at the embassy of Vietnam in the United States from 2003 to 2007. Additionally, he served as the deputy director for the Department of Policy Planning in Vietnam from 2002 to 2003. From 1999 to 2002, Mr. Dang held a variety of positions at the Department of Economic Affairs, including deputy director, assistant director, and head of division. He also worked for the Department of Middle East and Africa as a Middle East desk officer from 1991 to 1995. He holds a B.A. in international relations from the Institute of International Relations of Hanoi, a diploma in development policies from the International Development Center of Japan in Tokyo, and an M.A. in international development studies from Carleton University in Ottawa.

**Stephen Flanagan** is senior vice president and director of the International Security Program at CSIS, where he holds the Henry A. Kissinger Chair in National Security Policy. Before joining CSIS, he served as director of the Institute for National Strategic Studies and vice president for research at the National Defense University (NDU) from January 2001 through May 2007. He held several senior positions in government between 1989 and 1999, including special assistant to the president and senior director for Central and Eastern Europe, National Security Council Staff; associate director and member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff; and national intelligence officer for Europe. Earlier in his career, he was a professional staff member of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Flanagan has also held several academic and research positions, including senior fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies; faculty member at the National War College, NDU; executive director, Center for Science and International Affairs and faculty member at Harvard University's Kennedy School; and international affairs fellow, Council on Foreign Relations. He is coauthor of *Challenges of the Global Century* (NDU, 2001), and coeditor of *The PLA and China in Transition* (NDU, 2003) and *Strategic Challenges* (Potomac, 2008). He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies and serves on the editorial boards of the journals *Joint Force Quarterly*, *International Security*, and *Politique Americaine*. He earned his B.A. in political science from Columbia University and his Ph.D. in international relations from the Fletcher School at Tufts University.

**K. Kesavapany** is director of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore. Previously, he was Singapore's high commissioner to Malaysia from 1997 to 2002. He also served as Singapore's permanent representative to the United Nations in Geneva and concurrently was accredited as ambassador to Italy (1991–1997) and Turkey. He was elected as the first chairman of the general council of the WTO when it was established in January 1995. He was the chief negotiator for Singapore for the Korea-Singapore FTA, which concluded in July 2005. Mr. Kesavapany is a member of the Singapore Mediation Centre's International Panel of Mediators and a nonresident ambassador to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Mr. Kesavapany graduated from the University of Malaya with a B.A. with honors and obtained an M.A. in area studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

**Stephen Leong** has been assistant director-general at Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) in Malaysia since 1995. Involved in ISIS activities since 1984, Dr. Leong joined the organization as senior fellow and director of the Centre for Japan Studies in 1992. In 2008, he became director of the Bureau for Foreign Policy and Security Studies. He is also codirector of ISIS Malaysia's Centre for International Dialogue, director-general of the Malaysian National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation (MANCPEC), secretary-general of the Network for East Asian Think-tanks (NEAT) in Malaysia. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Malaysia-Japan Economic Association, the Malaysian Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), the Malaysian Association for Japanese Studies, and the Malaysian Association for American Studies. His publications include "Malaysia-China Relations: Looking Beyond Fears and Inadequacies," in *Harmony and Development*, ed. Lai Hongyi and Lim Tin Seng (World Scientific, 2007); *Asia Pacific Security* (ISIS, 2006); "The EAEC: 'Formalised' Regionalism Being Denied" in *National Perspectives on the New Regionalism in the South*, ed. B. Hettne et al. (Macmillan, 2000); and "Hong Kong's Transition: A Malaysian View" in *Hong Kong in China*, ed. Andrew M. Marton (Singapore University Press, 1999). He earned a B.A. from the University of Illinois, an M.A. from the University of California at Berkeley, and a Ph.D. from the University of California at Los Angeles.

**Dzirhan Mahadzir** is a freelance defense journalist and analyst based in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, with the majority of his current work being with Jane's Information Group. He has guest lectured at the Malaysian Armed Forces Defense College and regularly gives presentations on the Malaysian Armed Forces and Malaysian defense developments to visiting delegations from military institutions such as the U.S. National Defense University, U.S. Air War College, and the Australian Staff College. He has written for several publications including *Jane's Defense Weekly*, *Navy International*, *International Defense Review*, and the *Asia-Pacific Defense Reporter*. He holds an M.A. in defense and security analysis from the University of Lancaster and an LL.B from the University of Wolverhampton.

**Scot Marciel** currently serves as deputy assistant secretary in the East Asia and Pacific Bureau of the U.S. Department of State and as ambassador for ASEAN affairs. Mr. Marciel, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, joined the State Department in 1985. His most recent assignments were as director of the Office of Maritime Southeast Asia, director of the Office of Mainland Southeast Asia, and director of the Office of Southeastern Europe. Mr. Marciel has also served in Vietnam, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Brazil, and Turkey, as well as in the Economic Bureau's Office of Monetary Affairs. He is a graduate of the University of California at Davis and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

**Derek Mitchell** is senior fellow and director for Asia in the CSIS International Security Program (ISP), having joined the Center in January 2001. He concurrently serves as director of CSIS's new Southeast Asia Initiative, which was inaugurated in January 2008. Mitchell is responsible for managing all Asia-related studies conducted in ISP, which currently include projects involving the security of the Taiwan Strait, the future of the U.S.-Japan and U.S.-South Korea alliance, China's foreign and security policy and U.S.-China relations, and the integration of India into the strategic mix of East Asia. Mitchell was special assistant for Asian and Pacific affairs in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (1997–2001), when he served alternately as senior country director for China, Taiwan, Mongolia, and Hong Kong (2000–2001), director for regional security affairs (1998–2000), senior country director for the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, and Singapore (1998–1999), and country director for Japan (1997–1998). Prior to joining the Defense Department, he served as senior program officer for Asia and the former Soviet Union at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs in Washington, D.C., where he developed the Institute's long-term approach to Asia and worked on democratic development programs in Armenia, Burma, Cambodia, Georgia, Pakistan, and Thailand. In 1989, he worked as an editor and reporter at the *China Post* on Taiwan. From 1986 to 1988, he served as assistant to the senior foreign policy adviser to Senator Edward M. Kennedy. He is a coauthor of *China's Rise* (PIIE/CSIS, 2008) and *China: The Balance Sheet* (PublicAffairs, 2006) and coeditor of *China and the Developing World* (M.E. Sharpe, 2007). Mitchell received an M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and a B.A. from the University of Virginia. He studied Chinese language at Nanjing University in China and speaks Mandarin Chinese proficiently.

**K.S. Nathan** is professor and head of the Centre for American Studies in the Institute of Occidental Studies (IKON), National University of Malaysia in Bangi, Selangor. He is also deputy director of the Institute. He is founding president and current president of the Malaysian Association for American Studies (MAAS), which was formed in 1983. Professor Nathan has held visiting fellowships at Harvard University, the University of California at Berkeley, the Australian National University, and the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, where he also served as a senior fellow and editor of *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. His teaching, research, and publications focus on Southeast Asian international relations, ASEAN regionalism and security, and ASEAN's external relations with the major powers, especially the United States. He holds an LL.B and LL.M from the University of London and a Ph.D. in international relations from Claremont Graduate University in California.

**Marvin Ott** is professor of national security policy at the National War College of the National Defense University. He has served as associate professor at Mount Holyoke College; senior researcher at the Office of Technology Assessment (U.S. Congress); senior analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency; senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; consultant with the National Academy of Sciences; Southeast Asia chairperson at the Foreign Service Institute; and deputy staff director for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. He also served as a civilian in Vietnam (Banmethout, Darlac Province) during the Vietnam War. Dr. Ott is the author of numerous articles and book chapters and over 100 op-eds, principally on East Asian and intelligence topics. He appears as a regular commentator on CNN's *Business Asia*. He received a B.A. from the University of Redlands and



an M.A. and Ph.D. in international affairs, with a specialization in Southeast Asia, from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

**Sudjudnan Parnohadiningrat** is ambassador to the United States at the embassy of Indonesia. He has had a distinguished career in the Indonesian Foreign Service dating back to 1981. Prior to his current assignment, he served as secretary-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs from 2002 to 2005. In that position, he managed the administrative operation of the department with 1,600 national staff, approximately 1,700 diplomats both at headquarters and overseas posts, and 3,000 local staff responsible for operating 119 overseas posts abroad. During his tenure as secretary-general, he was also assigned as the senior official meeting (SOM) co-leader for the 2005 Asia-Africa Summit, which took place in Jakarta, Indonesia. Concurrently, he was secretary of the National Committee for the Summit, attended by 47 heads of state/government and 50 ministers from the Asian-African countries. He was the Indonesian SOM leader for ASEAN in 2004–2005. In 2004, he was elected chairman of the Third Preparatory Committee Meeting for the 2005 Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and in 2005 he chaired the Main Committee I of the 2005 NPT Review Conference. Ambassador Sudjudnan graduated with a degree in international relations from Gajah Mada University in Indonesia and the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University in the United States.

**Thitinan Pongsudhirak** is director of the Institute of Security and International Studies (ISIS) and associate professor of international political economy at the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University. He has authored a host of articles and book chapters on Thailand's politics, political economy, foreign policy, and the role of the media in democratization, as well as ASEAN and East Asian security and economic cooperation. He is frequently quoted and his op-eds have appeared in international and local media outlets, including a column in *The Bangkok Post*. Dr. Thitinan has worked for *The Nation* newspaper, the BBC World Service, the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), and Independent Economic Analysis (IDEA). His recent publications include "The Crisis of Thai Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* (October-December 2008); "The Tragedy of the 1997 Constitution" in *Thailand's Continuing Crises*, ed. John Funston (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008); "Thaksin: Competitive Authoritarian and Flawed Dissident" in *Dissident Democrats*, ed. John Kane (Palgrave, 2008); and "The Malay-Muslim Insurgency in Southern Thailand" in *Handbook on Terrorism and Insurgency in Southeast Asia*, ed. Andrew T.H. Tan (Elgar, 2007). He received a B.A. from the University of California at Santa Barbara, an M.A. from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics, where his work on the political economy of the Thai economic crisis in 1997 was awarded the United Kingdom's Best Dissertation Prize.

**Charivat Santaputra** is deputy permanent secretary in the Office of the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand. Previously, he served as ambassador of Thailand to Egypt from 2003 to 2006 and ambassador of Thailand to Kenya from 2001 to 2003. Prior to these postings, he served in a variety of positions within the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs and abroad including deputy director-general of the Department of International Organizations; minister and minister counselor in the Permanent Mission of Thailand to the United Nations; and director of the Middle East Division of the Department of South Asian, Middle East, and African Affairs. In 2007,

Santaputra was awarded the Chakrabarti Mala Medal. He has been honored as a Knight Grand Cross (first class) of the Most Exalted Order of the White Elephant and Knight Grand Cross (first class) of the Most Noble Order of the Crown of Thailand. Santaputra earned a B.A. in economics and law from University College of Wales. He received an M.A. in international studies and D.Phil. in international politics from the University of Southampton, United Kingdom.

**Rodolfo C. Severino** is head of the ASEAN Studies Centre at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) in Singapore and a frequent speaker at international conferences in Asia and Europe. Previously, Ambassador Severino served as secretary-general of ASEAN from 1998 to 2002. He is the author of *Southeast Asia in Search of an ASEAN Community* (ISEAS, 2006) and *ASEAN Today and Tomorrow* (ASEAN, 2002). Severino is currently working on a book on the ASEAN Regional Forum and one on the Philippine national territory. He writes articles for journals and for the press. Before assuming the position of ASEAN secretary-general, Severino was undersecretary of foreign affairs of the Philippines. In the Philippine Foreign Service, he was ambassador to Malaysia from 1989 to 1992; chargé d'affaires at the Philippine embassy in Beijing from 1975 to 1978; consul general in Houston, Texas; and an officer at the Philippine embassy in Washington, D.C. Between overseas postings, he worked as special assistant to the undersecretary of foreign affairs and assistant secretary for Asian and Pacific affairs at the Department of Foreign Affairs. He twice served as ASEAN senior official for the Philippines. Severino earned a B.A. from the Ateneo de Manila and an M.A. in international relations from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.

**Sheldon Simon** is professor of political science and faculty associate of the Center for Asian Research at Arizona State University, where he has been a faculty member since 1975. A specialist in Asian security with an emphasis on Southeast Asia, he is the author or editor of 10 books and 140 scholarly articles and book chapters. His most recent books include *Religion and Conflict in South and Southeast Asia* (Routledge, 2007) and *China, the United States, and Southeast Asia* (Routledge, 2008). Dr. Simon is senior adviser to the National Bureau of Asian Research in Seattle and Washington, D.C., and consults regularly with the U.S. State and Defense Departments, as well as the National Intelligence Council. Dr. Simon received his B.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota. He earned an M.A. in International Relations from Princeton University.

**Prince Norodom Sirivudh** is privy counselor to His Majesty the King of Cambodia and was a member of Parliament until earlier in 2008. In 2003, he was elected a member of Parliament for Kandal Province of the third legislature and nominated as deputy prime minister and co-minister of interior. Prince Norodom was reappointed for the second time as secretary-general of the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) Party in 2001. In 1999, he was nominated as supreme privy counselor to His Majesty the King. In 1994, Prince Norodom was appointed chairman of the Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (CICP), a nongovernment research and policy organization, where he continued the work he began as minister of foreign affairs on behalf of ASEAN. Following the UN-administered elections, he was appointed co-deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, as well as secretary-general of the FUNCINPEC Party. He was in charge of laying the groundwork for FUNCINPEC's participation in the electoral process, mandated under the Paris Peace Agreement, in advance of the United Nations' 18-month mission in Cambodia. Before

joining FUNCINPEC in 1981, Prince Norodom began his political career in the Paris-based royalist movement, Gouvernement Royal d'Union Nationale du Cambodge/United National Front of Kampuchea (GRUNC/FUNK). Prince Norodom completed his secondary school studies in mathematics at Lycée Preah Sisowath High School in 1970. He earned his masters in economics at Paris IX of Dauphine University in 1976.

**Hadi Soesastro** is executive director of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Indonesia, an independent, nonprofit organization that focuses on policy-oriented studies on domestic and international issues. He is currently a member of the National Team for International Trade Negotiations and is chairman of the Expert Team to assist the minister of finance of the Republic of Indonesia on international economic issues. He is also a member of the ASEAN+3 Expert Group and the ASEAN-Korea Eminent Persons Group. Earlier, he was a member of the Joint Expert Group on the Feasibility of an East Asian Free Trade Area, the Expert Group on the Comprehensive Economic Partnership for East Asia, and the Indonesia–South Korea Eminent Persons Group on Strategic Partnership. Dr. Soesastro is also adjunct professor at the Australian National University in Canberra and has lectured at a number of universities in Indonesia and in the United States, including the University of Indonesia, Prasetiya Mulya Graduate School of Management, and Columbia University. He is a member of the Editorial Board of *The Indonesian Quarterly*, the *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, the *Asian Economic Policy Review*, and the *Asian Development Review* of the Asian Development Bank. In addition, he is involved in international advisory boards and committees, such as the Asia Society in New York, and is chairman of the International Steering Committee of the Pacific Trade and Development (PAFTAD). In addition to being a board member of the Indonesian Economists Association and the Indonesian Institute of Energy Economics, he is an independent commissioner of PT Semen Gresik Tbk. Dr. Soesastro earned a Ph.D. from the Rand Graduate School in Santa Monica, California, and a degree from the Faculty of Aero and Astronautical Engineering at RW-TH Aachen, Germany.

**Panitan Wattanayagorn** is an associate professor in the Department of International Relations at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand. Currently, he is also serving as honorary adviser to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, member of the Senate Subcommittee on Audit and Oversight of Anti-terrorism and Transnational Crime Operations, expert to the House of Representatives Committee on Education, and member of the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Oversight of Budget Management in Southern Region. In addition, Dr. Panitan is academic adviser to the Defense Research and Development Office at the Ministry of Defense and to the ASEAN Studies Center at the National Defense Studies Institute in the Royal Thai Armed Forces. In 2006, Dr. Panitan was appointed to the Prime Minister's Eminent Persons Advisory Board, where he served until January 2008. In spring 2006, he was C.V. Starr Distinguished Visiting Professor in the Southeast Asia Studies Program at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. In 2004, he was appointed by the Office of the Public Sector Development Commission to help draft reform legislation for the Ministry of Defense. From 2001 to 2003, he was program adviser at the National Science and Technology Development Agency, where he developed key performance indicators on security for the National Economic and Social Development Advisory Council. Between 1997 and 2001,

he was attached to the prime minister's office as head of the Special Working Group on Defense and also served as adviser to the Strategic Institute at the National Security Council. From 1994 to 1996, he was director of the Defense Studies Program at the Institute of Security and International Studies (ISIS) in Bangkok. His recent publications include *Security Operations in Southern Thailand* (Thailand Research Fund, forthcoming) and *The Military and the Security Sector Reform in Thailand* (National Assembly of the Kingdom of Thailand, 2006). Dr. Panitan holds a bachelor's degree in political science and master's degrees in public administration and international relations. He received a Ph.D. in political science specializing in comparative defense policy from Northern Illinois University.



## APPENDIX C

### CONFERENCE ATTENDEES

Satohiro Akimoto  
Mitsubishi International Corporation

Pinsuda Alexander  
Johns Hopkins University

Serge Aluker  
Georgetown University

Kosuke Amiya  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan

Jan Andersson  
Embassy of Sweden

John Andre  
U.S. Department of State

Brian Andrews  
U.S. Department of State

Scott Attack  
U.S. Department of Homeland Security

Elizabeth Avila  
Office of Representative Barbara Lee

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