



The Tilting Chess Board

Geopolitical Rivalry in the Asia-Pacific Between China, Japan and the U.S.

RSIS Lecture Theatre
Singapore

28 March 2017

| TIME | PROGRAMME |
|---------------|--|
| 09:00 – 09:30 | REGISTRATION |
| 09:30 – 10:15 | <p>INTRODUCTORY SESSION</p> <p>Opening Remarks</p> <p>Speakers: Professor Tan See Seng Professor of International Relations; and Deputy Director and Head of Research, IDSS, RSIS</p> <p>His Excellency Jacques Werner Ambassador, Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands</p> <p>Mr Ernesto H. Braam Regional Strategic Advisor for Southeast Asia, Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands</p> <p>Keynote Address</p> <p>Professor Joseph Liow Chin Yong Professor of Comparative and International Politics; and Dean, RSIS <i>The Bigger Picture and How the Pieces are Moving on the Chess Board</i></p> |
| 10:15 – 11:15 | <p>PANEL SESSION 1 – U.S. PERSPECTIVE: ASIA ACCORDING TO TRUMP</p> <p>Moderator: Professor Tan See Seng Professor of International Relations; and Deputy Director and Head of Research, IDSS, RSIS</p> <p>Speakers: Assistant Professor Evan Resnick Coordinator of United States Programme, IDSS; Coordinator for External Teaching <i>U.S. Foreign Policy, Alliance Politics</i></p> <p>Professor Khong Yuen Foong Li Ka Shing Professor of Political Science, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy <i>U.S. Foreign Policy, U.S.-China Relations</i></p> |
| 11:15 – 11:30 | COFFEE/TEA BREAK |

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| 11:30 – 12:30 | <p>PANEL SESSION 2 – CHINA’S PERSPECTIVE: BENEVOLENT OR EXPANSIVE POWER</p> <p>Moderator: Dr Jeroen Lamers Regional Adviser Asia Pacific for Shell Singapore</p> <p>Speakers: Dr Ingrid d’Hooghe Senior Research Associate, Clingendael <i>China’s Rise in Global Governance Brings a New Dimension to China-U.S. Rivalry</i></p> <p>Associate Professor Li Mingjiang Coordinator of China Programme, IDSS, RSIS <i>China-U.S. Relations, China-ASEAN Relations</i></p> |
| 12:30 – 13:45 | LUNCH |
| 13:45 – 14:45 | <p>PANEL SESSION 3 – JAPAN’S PERSPECTIVE: COMEBACK KID REASSERTING ITS POSITION</p> <p>Moderator: Mr Michael Vatikiotis Regional Director, Asia Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue</p> <p>Speakers: Dr Maaïke Okano-Heijmans Senior Research Fellow, Clingendael <i>New Economic Regionalism in the Asia-Pacific, and the Role of Japan</i></p> <p>Dr Lam Peng Er Senior Research Fellows, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore <i>Japan’s Rivalry with China in Southeast Asia: ODA, ADB, Infrastructural Projects, Mekong Basin and the disputed South China Sea</i></p> |
| 14:45 – 15:00 | COFFEE/TEA BREAK |
| 15:00 – 16:00 | <p>PANEL SESSION 4 – EU PERSPECTIVE: AT THE TABLE OR UNDER THE TABLE?</p> <p>Moderator: Mr Hans Vriens Managing Partner of Vriens & Partners</p> <p>Speakers: His Excellency Michael Pulch Ambassador, European Union to Singapore</p> <p>Associate Professor Reuben Wong Director of Studies, College of Alice and Peter Tan (CAPT); and Associate Professor, Political Science Department, National University of Singapore <i>EU Foreign Policy, EU-ASEAN Relations, EU-China Relations</i></p> |
| 16:00 – 16:30 | <p>CLOSING SESSION</p> <p>Speakers: Professor Ralf Emmers Associate Dean; Professor of International Relations; and Head of Centre for Multilateralism Studies, RSIS</p> <p>Mr Ernesto H. Braam Regional Strategic Advisor for Southeast Asia, Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands</p> |

BIOGRAPHIES

Introductory and Closing Sessions

H.E. Jacques WERNER was appointed Ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to Singapore and Brunei in August 2013.

He studied Public International Law at Leiden University, The Netherlands and one year at the University Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland. In 1984, he started his career at the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and held various positions in the European policy field. Before becoming Netherlands Ambassador in Singapore he was Ambassador of the Netherlands to Romania from 2005-2009 and Director of the Europe Department from 2009-2013.

Ralf EMMERS is Professor of International Relations and Associate Dean at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore. He concurrently heads the Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS) at RSIS. Dr Emmers completed his MSc and PhD in the International Relations Department of the London School of Economics (LSE). His research interests cover security studies, the international institutions in the Asia Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. Dr Emmers is the author and editor of 11 books and monographs. His latest books include *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia* (Routledge, 2010) and *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). He has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *The Pacific Review*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, *Asian Survey*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Asian Security*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia* and *Contemporary Politics*, as well as numerous book chapters in edited volumes.

Ernesto H. BRAAM is a diplomat and scholar who has lived and worked in Europe, the Middle East, East and Southeast Asia. After studying international law and attaining his Master's degree with a thesis on the Geneva conventions and the Palestinian territories, he began his career with the Dutch Foreign Service just before the first Gulf War. After 11 years of diplomatic postings in the Far East (Singapore, Japan, Thailand), plus some intermittent postings at HQ in The Hague, Mr Braam returned to the Middle East in 2009 as Chargé d'Affairs of the Dutch embassy in Baghdad. In 2010, he was posted to The Hague to take up a position as Strategic Policy Advisor at the North Africa and Middle East Department. Since July 2015, he has started with a new assignment at the Dutch embassy in Singapore as a Regional Strategic Advisor for Southeast Asia. In addition to, and sometimes interwoven with his diplomatic work, he has conducted academic research on Islamic movements, particularly Salafism (in Southeast Asia and Middle East) and Shi'ism. He has published on both topics in peer-reviewed publications and is currently pursuing a related PhD.

Joseph LIOW is Dean and Professor of Comparative and International Politics at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He held the inaugural Lee Kuan Yew Chair in Southeast Asia Studies at the Brookings Institution, Washington DC, where he was also a Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Program.

Joseph's research interests encompass Muslim politics and social movements in Southeast Asia and the international politics of the Asia-Pacific region.

Joseph is the author, co-author, or editor of 14 books. His recent single-authored books are *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 2016) and *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia*, fourth edition (Routledge, 2014). He has a forthcoming book, *Ambivalent Engagement: The United States and Regional Security in*

Southeast Asia after the Cold War, scheduled for publication by Brookings Institution Press in 2017. His commentaries on international affairs have been published in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *National Interest*, and the *Wall Street Journal*. In addition to scholarship and analysis, Joseph has also consulted for a wide range of MNCs including Shell, BHP Billiton, Chevron, and Statoil. He sits on the board of several peer-reviewed academic and policy journals and the expert panel of the Social Science Research Council (Singapore), as well as the ASEAN Institute of Peace and Reconciliation. He is currently working on a co-authored book manuscript on Political Islam in South and Southeast Asia.

Joseph Liow holds a PhD in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science, an MSc in Strategic Studies from the Nanyang Technological University, and a BA (Hons) in Political Science from the University of Madison-Wisconsin.

Panel Sessions

TAN See Seng is Professor of International Relations and Deputy Director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at RSIS. He is an elected member of the NTU Senate. A student of Asian security, he is the author/editor of 15 books and monographs, and has published over 70 scholarly articles and book chapters. His latest (single authored) books include *Multilateral Asian Security Architecture: Non-ASEAN Stakeholders* (Routledge, 2015) and *The Making of the Asia Pacific: Knowledge Brokers and the Politics of Representation* (Amsterdam UP, 2013). He is a regular consultant for international organisations and national governments including that of Singapore, and has held visiting appointments and fellowships at various universities and research institutes. He was Head of the RSIS Centre for Multilateralism Studies until April 2015. Before entering academia, he worked at a faith-based, non-profit organisation. He has BA Honours (First) and MA degrees from the University of Manitoba and his PhD is from Arizona State University.

Evan RESNICK is Assistant Professor, Coordinator of the United States Programme, Coordinator of External Teaching, and Deputy Coordinator of the International Relations Programme at RSIS. His chief academic interests lie at the intersection of international relations theory, international security studies, and U.S. foreign policy. Resnick's doctoral dissertation, "Ties That Bind or Ties That Blind? Assessing Engagement as an Instrument of U.S. Foreign Policy", was completed at Columbia University in 2005, and was nominated for the Bancroft Dissertation Award bestowed annually by Columbia's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. His published work has appeared in a number of academic journals, including *International Security*, *Security Studies*, and *Journal of Strategic Studies*. He is presently working on a book manuscript that examines the phenomenon of "alliances of convenience" in international relations and explores the United States' track record in bargaining with such allies of since 1945. Dr. Resnick also earned M.Phil. and M.A. degrees from Columbia University and a B.A.(Sp. Hons) from York University in Toronto, Canada. He has previously taught at Yeshiva University in New York City. At RSIS, Dr. Resnick teaches the following M.Sc. classes: "IR6007: The Study of International Relations" and "IR 6028: Current Topics and Controversies in U.S. Foreign Policy."

KHONG Yuen Foong is Li Ka Shing Professor of Political Science at the School. He was formerly Professor of International Relations, and a Professorial Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford University. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1987 and was Assistant/Associate Professor at Harvard University's Government Department from 1987-1994. His Ph.D. dissertation was awarded Harvard's Sumner Prize for the best dissertation on war and peace in 1988. His book, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton, 1992; sixth printing 2006) was co-winner of the American Political Science Association's Political Psychology Book Award (1994). He also received the Erik Erikson Award for distinguished early career contribution to political psychology in 1996.

He has held grants from the Social Science Research Council (New York)-MacArthur Foundation Program on Security in a Changing World, the United States Institute of Peace, and the (U.K.) Leverhulme Trust. A former Vice-President of the International Studies Association (U.S.A), 1999-2000, he has also served on the Social Science Research Council-MacArthur Foundation Committee on International Peace and Security. His research interests include United States foreign policy, the international relations of the Asia Pacific, and cognitive approaches to international relations. Recent publications include "The American Tributary System," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* (2013) and "The United States Response to China's Rise," *International Security*, (2013/2014). He is currently working on two long term projects, *International Politics: The Rules of the Game* and *The American Tributary System*.

Jeroen P. LAMERS is the Regional Adviser Government Relations Asia Pacific for Shell Eastern Petroleum, based in Singapore. He gained years of experience in the region during his postings at embassies of the Netherlands in Beijing, Tokyo and Seoul.

Dr. Lamers completed his MSc and PhD at the Research Center for Japanese and Korean Languages and Cultures of Leiden University. He is the author of '*Japonius Tyrannus: The Japanese Warlord Oda Nobunaga Reconsidered*', a book which in 2012 was translated into Russian and republished.

Ingrid d'HOOGHE is an independent China specialist, strategy advisor, lecturer and researcher and Senior Research Associate at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', The Hague, The Netherlands. She recently published the monograph *China's Public Diplomacy* (Brill, 2015).

Previously Dr. d'Hooghe was a full time research fellow at the Clingendael Institute (2001-2011), and academic staff member at the Sinological Institute of Leiden University (1997-2001). She has worked as Policy Officer at the Netherlands Embassies in Beijing and Washington DC, as guest lecturer at Leiden University (2008-2010), University of Groningen (2014) and Fudan University in Shanghai (2014). She studied Chinese Languages and Cultures at Leiden University and Fudan University (Shanghai), and has a PhD in social sciences from the University of Antwerp.

D'Hooghe advises governments, academic institutions, and companies, on developing and maintaining relations with China, speaks and publishes on political and economic developments in China and conducts research. She offers 30 years of China experience and a broad background of working for Dutch government institutions, think tanks, Dutch and Chinese universities and the Council of the European Union. Her expertise lies in the area of government and academic relations with China but with her large network of China experts, which together cover all aspects of working with China, she is well positioned to help you with all questions concerning your China projects.

LI Mingjiang is an Associate Professor at S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He is also the Coordinator of the China Programme at RSIS. He received his PhD in Political Science from Boston University. His main research interests include China-ASEAN relations, Sino-U.S. relations, Asia Pacific security, and domestic sources of Chinese foreign policy. He is the author (including editor and co-editor) of 12 books. His recent books are *New Dynamics in US-China Relations: Contending for the Asia Pacific* (lead editor, Routledge, 2014) and *Mao's China and the Sino-Soviet Split* (Routledge, 2012). He has published papers in various peer-reviewed journals including the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Global Governance*, *Cold War History*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, the *Chinese Journal of Political Science*, *China: An International Journal*, *China Security*, *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, *Security Challenges*, and the *International Spectator*. Dr Li frequently participates in various track-two events on East Asian regional security.

Michael VATIKIOTIS left his role as the Editor of the Far Eastern Economic Review to join HD in 2004. A writer and journalist for more than twenty-five years, he is fluent in both Thai and Indonesian. During his career, he has been based as a journalist in Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and Hong Kong. Michael set up HD's first regional office in Asia in Singapore in 2006. He has a degree in History and Geography from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London and a doctorate from Oxford University. He is the author of two books on Southeast Asian politics and two novels set in Indonesia.

Maaïke OKANO-HEIJMANS is a senior research fellow at the Clingendael Institute in The Hague, The Netherlands. Her main research interests are in economic diplomacy and in international relations in East Asia, with a special focus on Japan and China. A key question underlying much of her work is how developments in these fields matter to Europe, the EU and, in particular, to the Netherlands. In addition, since joining Clingendael in 2006 she has worked on consular affairs and diplomacy, or 'duty of care'.

Maaïke is Clingendael's scientific coordinator in the Asia-Pacific Research and Advisory Network (#APRAN), a three-year project for the European Commission and European External Action Service.

She also lectures in Leiden University's Master in International Relations and Diplomacy (MIRD) since 2012.

Maaïke obtained her PhD in Political Science from the University of Antwerp, Belgium (2012), and holds two Master's degrees from the University of Amsterdam (2001) and from Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan (2003).

LAM Peng Er is a Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore. He obtained his PhD from Columbia University. His latest single-authored book is *Japan's Peace-building Diplomacy: Seeking a more active political role* (New York and London: Routledge). A forthcoming edited book is *China-Japan Relations in the 21st Century: Antagonism despite Interdependency* (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, London and Shanghai). Lam has published in internationally refereed journals such as *Pacific Affairs*, *Japan Forum* and *Asian Survey*. He is also an *Executive Editor of the International Relations of the Asia-Pacific: A Journal of the Japan Association of International Relations* (Oxford University Press) and the *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding* (Seoul National University Press).

Besides being an academic, Lam is also a singer-songwriter (<http://oceanswithoutfishes.com/>). His first album of ten original compositions titled *Oceans without Fishes* was released in November 2016. They are available on Apple iTunes, Spotify and SoundCloud.

Hans W. VRIENS is managing partner of Vriens & Partners Pte Ltd. Hans has lived and worked in Asia since 1990, during which time he has been counsel to clients on many of the region's most sensitive issues. A regular political commentator, he is often asked to provide background briefings to visiting executives to help them better understand political, economic, cultural and business developments in the region. He is able to provide unique and frank analysis thanks to the many research and consultancy projects Vriens & Partners (V&P) has undertaken for MNCs and governments around Asia. Prior to establishing V&P, Hans was Vice Chairman, Asia at APCO Worldwide overseeing the expansion of the firm in Southeast Asia. Before this he established and served as Managing Director of the Indonesia practice for six years, and prior to this was a political economist at the Political and Economic Risk Consultancy in Hong Kong. He earlier practiced law at Clifford Chance and was the Asia correspondent for a leading Dutch financial and economic daily. In 1995, he was elected president of the Foreign Correspondents' Club Hong Kong, then the largest in the world. Hans served on the Board of the Europe-ASEAN Business Alliance and was

Chairman of the Foundation Dutch Education at the United World College of Southeast Asia (UWCSEA). He served on the board of the European Chamber of Commerce in Singapore, and was founding chairman of the Dutch Chamber of Commerce in Singapore. Hans graduated from law school in civil and constitutional law at Groningen University in the Netherlands. During his studies, he was a research assistant in parliamentary history and constitutional law. In 1982 he took a year off from his studies when he was elected president of the Student Union (VAP). Hans studied economics and history at the Bologna Center of Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of the Johns Hopkins University. He also did stints at the Universities of Grenoble in France, and Krakow in Poland. His family lived in the Dutch East Indies for several generations until the handover of Papua to the United Nations in 1962. Hans is married to Katy le Blanc and has two sons.

Michael PULCH was the former Deputy Chief of Mission of the EU Delegation to China from 2006-2011, and the Head of Russia Division in the European External Action Service (EEAS) in Brussels from 2011 to August 2013. He joined the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1986, serving on the United Nations Directorate, before he was posted to the embassies in Seoul and Washington DC. He joined the European Commission in Brussels in 1995, and headed the economic section of the EU Delegation in Tokyo from 1999 to 2003.

Dr Pulch speaks English, German, French and Dutch.

Dr Pulch holds degrees in law and political sciences from the universities of Bonn, Paris and Cambridge.

Reuben WONG is Director of Studies at the College of Alice & Peter Tan (CAPT) at the National University of Singapore. He earned an M.Phil in European Politics at Oxford, and a PhD in International Relations at the LSE. Reuben is the author of *The Europeanization of French Foreign Policy* (2006); *National and European Foreign Policies* (co-edited with Christopher Hill, 2011); and refereed articles in the *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Politique Européenne*, *Asia Europe Journal*, the *Journal of Contemporary China Studies*, and *EU External Affairs Review*. He has held visiting positions at Cambridge, the LSE European Institute, the Stimson Center (Washington DC), the East Asian Institute (Singapore), and Humboldt University (Berlin). He currently researches the construction of Chinese and Singaporean foreign policy identities, regionalism, and EU relations with ASEAN and China. A former diplomat (Paris, 1995-98) and a Fulbright scholar (2009), he serves on the Council of the Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA) think tank, the EU Centre in Singapore, and is Senior Research Associate at the College of Europe in Bruges. He was the first Jean Monnet Professor in Singapore (2013-16). He does consulting and media interviews/op-eds on EU foreign policy, international relations, and Singapore politics. He raises four children to help arrest Singapore's declining total fertility rate.

*Organised by the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) and
the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands*