



Australian  
National  
University



## 53rd AusCSCAP MEETING

# AUSTRALIA-JAPAN DIALOGUE ON STRATEGIC TRENDS IN THE INDO-PACIFIC

Tuesday 2 August 2022

## PROGRAM

Venue: AIJA National Headquarters  
Stephen House  
32 Thesiger Crt  
Deakin, ACT (& via Zoom)

**Note: this meeting will be conducted under Chatham House Rule.**

### WELCOME AND INTRODUCTIONS

9.30am – 9.55am

Registrations

10.00am AEST (9.00am Tokyo)

Mr Ric Smith and Professor Tony Milner,  
Co-Chairs, AusCSCAP

10.05am AEST (9.05am Tokyo)  
11.30am

Session One: ***Respective views on the implications of the invasion of Ukraine and the China-Russia "no limits friendship" for the development of security policies in Japan and Australia***

#### Speakers from Japan

1. Ambassador Miyagawa "Impacts of Global Structural Transformation upon Indo-Pacific"
2. Associate Professor Masuo: "The direction of China's new 'independent foreign policy'"

*With additional comments by Professor Ken Jimbo*

#### Speakers from Australia

3. Mr Richard Maude
4. Ms Natasha Kassam
5. Emeritus Professor Hugh White

*In association with the*



Australian Institute of International Affairs

11.45am AEST (10.45am Tokyo)  
- 1.00pm

**Session Two: *Southeast Asia: Strategic perspectives and Japanese and Australian approaches***

Speakers from Japan

1. Ambassador Ishii: “How to get prepared together for 2030s”
2. Associate Professor Suzuki: “How to utilise ASEAN-led institutions”

*With additional comments by Professor Tsutomu Kikuchi*

Speakers from Australia

1. Dr Huong Le Thu
2. Mr John McCarthy

1.00pm –1.45pm

Lunch

**PART TWO: IN-HOUSE DISCUSSION**

1.45pm – 3.15pm

**Reflections on the two morning sessions**

This will be followed by discussion of several themes, including:-

- domestic influences on foreign policy in both countries;
- economic dimensions of strategic relations;
- assessment of regional institutions; and policy toward China.

Trigger speakers have been identified for the different themes.

3.15pm – 3.30pm

Tea/coffee break

3.30pm – 4.30pm

In-house discussion (cont'd)

Approx. 4.30pm  
- 5.00pm

**Observations on the day's discussions**, opened by  
*HE Mr Shingo Yamagami, Ambassador of Japan to Australia*

6.00pm

**Reception/Bufferet**, with continuing discussion – hosted by  
Ambassador Yamagami, at the Ambassador's Residence – details  
to be provided

Dress code: “Smart casual”

**PARTICIPANTS****Japan-based participants**

1. Ambassador Makio Miyagawa
2. Ambassador Masafumi Ishii
3. Professor Ken Jimbo
4. Professor Tsutomu Kikuchi
5. Assoc Prof Chisako Masuo
6. Assoc Prof Sanae Suzuki

**Australia-based participants**

1. Associate Professor Shiro Armstrong, Director, Australia-Japan Research Centre, ANU
2. Professor John Blaxland, Professor of International Security & Intelligence Studies, Strategic & Defence Studies Centre, ANU
3. Professor Louise Edwards, Senior Advisor, Asialink & Emeritus Professor, School of Humanities & Languages, UNSW Sydney
4. Mr Daniel Fisher, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
5. Air Commodore Anthony Forestier, Strategy Advisor, Air Force Headquarters, Dept of Defence
6. Major Nathan Gilfillan, Army International Engagement- North, Dept of Defence
7. Mr Max Goupil, Enterprise Strategy Officer, Guided Weapons and Explosive Ordnance Enterprise, Dept of Defence
8. Ms Andrea Haese, Executive Officer, AusCSCAP, ANU
9. Mr Colin Heseltine, Senior Advisor, Asialink & former Executive Director, of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Secretariat
10. Ms Jennifer Hsu, Research Fellow, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Program, Lowy Institute
11. Dr Ron Huisken, Editor, CSCAP Regional Security Outlook, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, ANU
12. Ms Anastasia Kapetas, ASPI (via Zoom - tbc)
13. Ms Natasha Kassam, Director, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Program, Lowy Institute
14. Professor Rikki Kersten, Honorary Professor, Australia-Japan Research Centre, ANU
15. Professor James Laurenceson, Director, Australia-China Relations Institute, University of Technology
16. Dr Huong Le Thu, Principal Policy Fellow, Perth USAsia Centre (via Zoom)
17. Mr James Lyon, Japan Section, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
18. Mr Kess MacKay, International Policy Division's North Asia Section, Department of Defence
19. Mr Richard Maude, Executive Director, Policy, Asia Society Australia
20. Mr John McCarthy, Senior Adviser, Asialink, former Australian Ambassador to Tokyo
21. Professor Anthony Milner, Co-Chair- AusCSCAP
22. Ms Nazia Nur, Assistant Director, China External Section, East Asia Division, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
23. Ms Susannah Patton, Research Fellow and Project Director, Power & Diplomacy Program, Lowy Institute
24. Dr Lauren Richardson, Director, Japan Institute, ANU
25. Professor Richard Rigby, Emeritus Professor, Australian Centre on China in the World, ANU
26. Mr Sam Roggeveen, Director, International Security Program, Lowy Institute
27. Ms Susan Ryle, Acting Assistant Secretary, North East Asia Branch, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
28. Mr Michael Shoebridge, Director, Defence, Strategy and National Security Program, ASPI (tbc)
29. Mr Ric Smith, Co-Chair, AusCSCAP
30. Mr Nigel Stanier, Policy Planning Branch, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
31. Professor Brendan Taylor, Interim Head of Strategic & Defence Studies Centre, ANU

32. Dr Bryce Wakefield, National Executive Director, Australian Institute of International Affairs
33. Professor Hugh White, Emeritus Professor of Strategic Studies, ANU
34. Dr Pichamon Yeophantong (via Zoom), Senior Lecturer, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, UNSW Canberra

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SESSION ONE: ***Respective views on the implications of the invasion of Ukraine and the China-Russia “no limits friendship” for the development of security policies in Japan and Australia***

1. Ambassador Miyagawa
2. Associate Professor Masuo
3. Mr Richard Maude
4. Ms Natasha Kassam
5. Emeritus Professor Hugh White



**Ambassador MIYAGAWA** held successive positions in Foreign Ministry; Chief of Legal Office, Deputy Director of US-Japan Trade Division and of Russian Division, Director in Economic Affairs Bureau and Asia Oceanian Bureau, Deputy DG (Director-General) of Climate Change Negotiations, DG of Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, and DG of Middle East and North Africa. He served in the Japanese Embassy in the UK and Malaysia, and in the Japanese Mission in Geneva. He was recently assigned to Special Advisor on National Security, National Security Secretariat. He received D.Phil. in International Relations from Oxford University on ‘Economic Sanctions’, and BSc in Aeronautical and Spacecraft Engineering from the University of Tokyo. He lectured at the Graduate Institute for Policy Studies and at the University of Tokyo. He directed the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA). He has published numerous books and articles. He received Commandeur de L’Ordre National du Mérite au grade de Commandeur from the Republic of France.



**Chisako T. MASUO** (益尾知佐子) is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Social and Cultural Studies, Kyushu University (since 2008), an Adjunct Fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) (since 2021) and the winner of the Nakasone Yasuhiro Award of Excellence in 2021. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Tokyo in 2008. Her research topics include Chinese domestic politics, foreign and maritime policies, and international relations surrounding China. She is the author of *China’s Behavioural Principles: International Relations Determined by the Domestic Currents* (Tokyo: Chuko Publishing, 2019), as well as *China Looks Back: Mao’s Legacy in the Open-Door Era* (University of Tokyo Press, 2010), and a co-author of *A Diplomatic History of China* (University of Tokyo Press, 2017) all in Japanese. She also writes articles and book chapters in English and Chinese.





**Mr Richard MAUDE** joined Asia Society Australia in January 2020 as the inaugural Executive Director, Policy, and Senior Fellow, Asia Society Policy Institute – the first senior executive role in the Institute outside the United States. Richard Maude most recently served as Deputy Secretary, Indo-Pacific Group, in the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

His portfolio covered Australia’s bilateral relations with Australia’s partners in Asia and North America, as well as Australia’s regional political, security, economic and development assistance interests.

In 2017, Mr. Maude was head of the whole-of-government taskforce which supported the preparation of the Australian Government’s 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper. Mr. Maude was Director-General of the Office of National Assessments from May 2013 until November 2016. ONA reports directly to the Prime Minister and provides all-source assessments on international political, strategic and economic developments affecting Australia’s national interests.

Before taking up the position of Director-General ONA, Mr. Maude was the senior adviser on foreign policy and national security issues in the Office of the Prime Minister. Mr. Maude has worked extensively on international security and Indo Pacific affairs as a career foreign service officer in Australia’s Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. He has served overseas in Malaysia, where he was Deputy High Commissioner, Singapore and as the Liaison Officer for the Office of National Assessments in the Australian Embassy in Washington DC.

Mr. Maude holds a first class honours degree in politics from the University of Adelaide and a Master of Arts (International Relations) from the Australian National University.

	<p><b>Ms Natasha KASSAM</b> is Director of the Lowy Institute’s Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Program, directing the annual Lowy Institute Poll and researching China’s politics, Taiwan, and Australia-China relations. She is also a Fellow of the ANU National Security College’s Futures Council for 2020-21 and a member of the Advisory Board for the University of Melbourne’s Asian Law Centre. Natasha is a regular contributor to Australian and international media outlets including CNN, BBC, Bloomberg, CNBC and <i>The New York Times</i>. Prior to joining the Lowy Institute, Natasha was an Australian diplomat in China and Solomon Islands. She was a part of the drafting team for the Australian government’s 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper. She holds a Bachelor of Laws (Hons I) and a Bachelor of International Studies from the University of Sydney and speaks Mandarin.</p>
	<p><b>Hugh WHITE AO</b> is Emeritus Professor of Strategic Studies at the Australian National University.</p> <p>His work focuses primarily on Australian strategic and defence policy, Asia-Pacific security issues, and global strategic affairs especially as they influence Australia and the Asia-Pacific.</p> <p>He has served as an intelligence analyst with the Office of National Assessments, as a journalist with the <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>, as a senior adviser on the staffs of Defence Minister Kim Beazley and Prime Minister Bob Hawke, and as a senior official in the Department of Defence, where from 1995 to 2000 he was Deputy Secretary for Strategy and Intelligence, and as the first Director of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI).</p> <p>In the 1970s he studied philosophy at Melbourne and Oxford Universities.</p> <p>He was the principal author of Australia’s 2000 Defence White Paper.</p> <p>His major publications include <i>Power Shift: Australia’s future between Washington and Beijing</i>, [2010], <i>The China Choice: Why America should share power</i>, [2012], <i>Without America: Australia’s future in the New Asia</i> [2017], and <i>How to defend Australia</i> [2019].</p>

Session Two: ***Southeast Asia: Strategic perspectives and Japanese and Australian approaches***

1. Ambassador Masafumi Ishii
2. Associate Professor Sanae Suzuki
3. Dr Huong Le Thu
4. Mr John McCarthy

	<p><b>Masafumi ISHII</b> was the Ambassador of Japan to Indonesia till December 2020 and retired from Japanese Foreign Service in January 2021, having served there for more than 40 years.</p> <p>He graduated from Tokyo University and joined MOFA in 1980. His posts in Tokyo include Director for Policy Planning, Special Assistant to Foreign Minister, Director General for Global Issues and Legal Advisor.</p> <p>His overseas experience covers Washington DC, where he served twice, London, Belgium and NATO as the Ambassador. His last post was in Jakarta that lasted for almost 4 years.</p> <p>He has frequently participated in international seminars and symposium and is well known for his policy planning insight as well as his long-term experience in working with partners in ASEAN countries.</p> <p>He is presently teaching International Law at Gakushuin University as well as providing advice to some of Japanese private companies.</p>
	<p><b>Sanae SUZUKI</b> is Associate Professor at the University of Tokyo, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. She received a Ph.D. in international relations at the University of Tokyo. Her research interests include comparative analysis of regional organisations and conflict management, regional security in Southeast Asia, and ASEAN. Her publications include “Can ASEAN offer a useful model? Chairmanship in decision-making by consensus,” <i>The Pacific Review</i>, 2021, “Intervention and state strength: ASEAN and ECOWAS compared,” <i>International Area Studies Review</i>, 2021 and “Interfering via ASEAN?: In the case of disaster management,” <i>Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs</i>, 2021.</p>





**Dr Huong LE THU** is the Principal Fellow at Perth USAsia Centre where she provides strategic guidance to the research team. She leads projects related to strategy and statecraft in the Indo-Pacific, particularly focusing countries in Southeast Asia. Huong has over 15 years of experience working in academia and think tanks across the Indo-Pacific: in Taiwan (National Chengchi University), Singapore (ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute), and Australia (ANU and ASPI). She has held short-term visiting fellowships in the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, KMAG, Seoul.

Huong is an influential policy analyst and a recipient of numerous awards and grants. She is a recognised expert on Southeast Asia, including on regional alignment politics, perceptions of great-power competition, and ASEAN. Her voice frequently features in global media, including *The Foreign Policy*, *The Financial Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *Nikkei Asian Review*, *The Australian Financial Review*, *The Straits Times*, *Japan Times*, among others. Huong is a prolific writer and her academic publications, including *The Asian Security Journal*, *The Asia-Pacific Review*, *The Asian Policy*, Oxford University Press feature on syllabuses of leading universities, including Cambridge University.

Dr Huong LE THU is also a non-resident fellow at CSIS, Southeast Asia Program and a member of the Advisory Board of the Griffith Asia Institute (GAI), Griffith University. Dr. Le Thu holds a PhD from the National Chengchi University and an MA in international studies from Jagiellonian University in Poland. She speaks five languages and has published in four of them.



**Mr John McCARTHY** is a former Australian career diplomat. He joined the then-Department of External Affairs in 1968.

McCarthy's posts include Ambassador to Vietnam, Mexico, Thailand, the United States, Indonesia and Japan and High Commissioner to India.

His assignments in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) in Australia included Chief of Staff to the then-Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock, Chief Legal Officer and Deputy Secretary.

Born in Washington, D.C. in 1942, McCarthy has an MA and LLB from Cambridge University and was called to the London Bar at the Middle Temple in 1965. He was a

	<p>barrister in London from 1965 to 1966 and worked for the New York law firm of Shearman and Sterling from 1966-1967.</p> <p>Since leaving DFAT in 2009, McCarthy has been:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• National President of the Australian Institute of International Affairs</li><li>• Chair of the Australian Australia-India Council</li><li>• Co-Convenor of the Australian-Indonesia Dialogue</li><li>• Chair of the Advisory Board of the Griffith Asia Institute</li></ul> <p>After 2009, McCarthy has also had a number of assignments from the Minister of Foreign Affairs and has been involved in the private sector, including as adviser to Mitsubishi Materials Corporation, Tokyo, since 2011. McCarthy is an Officer of the Order of Australia (1999). He has honorary doctorates from Murdoch and Griffith Universities.</p>
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**COVID RESTRICTIONS**

For those joining the Dialogue **in person**, it is important to adhere to the ACT Government Covid-19 advice – see [COVID Smart behaviours - COVID-19 \(act.gov.au\)](https://www.act.gov.au/covid-19).

While the wearing of masks is not compulsory at the venue, guests are strongly encouraged to wear a mask when entering public indoor setting or where it is difficult to maintain physical distancing. Masks and hand sanitisers will be available on the day.

If you feel unwell, or have symptoms, please stay home. We will have the capacity for you to view proceedings via Zoom.

Catering has been organised for the event with meals provided to guests in individual containers.

**RECEPTION – JAPANESE EMBASSY – CANBERRA-BASED PARTICIPANTS**

For those who will be attending the reception hosted by the Japanese Ambassador, the event will be at the **residence of the Ambassador**. Address details will be provided to those who rsvp'd for the event. Guests will need to produce a copy of the invitation upon arrival at the residence.

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