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I would like to expand the discussion a little bit; the previous three speakers have concentrated on North Korea, and rightly so, because this is, perhaps, the most acute problem at this juncture. But at the same time, I consider that problem as a symptom of the uncertainties of the region. I think, as in other regions that we have spoken about in the last two days, uncertainty is the new normal in East-Asia as well.

I shall try to explain some of the background. I think, basically and mainly, it happens because on the one hand the rise of China, and especially with President Xi Jinping's strong leadership, and on the other the election of President Trump, with his capriciousness, have created many uncertainties for us, because we cannot follow his thinking and where he would like to go. This is the most critical issue to me.

If there are uncertainties, we know after a time how to react, but with President Trump, we don't know. And on top he is changing almost every day his policies. How are we going to deal with such a leader of a big power? Therefore, we all are facing some real basic problems at the beginning. How should we react, what we are going to do with the gaps he left behind because of the uncertainties of these policies? I do think that we should be positive and active.

We cannot leave her and walk away because of their policies.

That is why I think that meeting like this are critical important, at least to create a better understanding of the issues and the policies of President Trump. Secondly for taking actions and cooperating to fill possible gaps that have and will be created by this President.

In the end the United States is an important country that just cannot be left behind, although I still have my doubts whether anything he has promised will be delivered. For instance, he does have a group of assistants around him, following him and trying to convince him, that existing institutions, especially in East Asia are still very important and should be supported by the U.S. But the results are very confusing especially because of his very emotional tweets to Kim Jong Un. And instead new policies, it only made it more confusing and created more tensions. If this is the model he is going to follow and to announce policies, it will go nowhere. And instead, he and his policies will be rejected.

We have tried to convince him during his trip to Vietnam for APEC and the Philippines for the East Asian Summit. And we thought we made some incremental improvement, but when he went back to the U.S., he changed back to his basic policies. The worst is definitely the shift of the capital of Israel to Jerusalem. He thought the U.S. can still impose its will on every other state. He was turned down by 218 against and only 9 pro the U.S. position. It was a very damaging result for the credibility of the U.S. And more will come if Trump again and again would like to show off against the world. What we also should do is cooperating among ourselves in case the U.S. is really going to withdraw its leadership from the world or from the East Asia region. If we compare the U.S. and China, we could see a paradox. While the U.S. is becoming more inward-looking, China is becoming more outward-looking and open to the world.

On the one hand, we have supposedly a liberal leader the U.S. and an authoritarian one (China). But it was Xi Jinping, the supposedly authoritarian ruler who opened up to the problem we are facing. It was Xi who would like to take leadership in trade, in climate change and in reforming the world that he said China should be prepared to do.



This means that we also have to try out how China is going to do it, and cooperate with her if she really wants to do it with other partners: big countries, neighbouring countries and the developing world in general. Cooperation in the future is a very important part of the reforms, to be made in global governance, especially regional ones. We, ASEAN members have tried to cooperate with China on the South China Sea developments. We have so far achieved a framework of the Code of Conduct on the South China Sea, and are going to work again next year (2018) on formulating the articles. The efforts encourage ASEAN to open up to China and cooperating with her on other important things like the cooperation on the Maritime Silk Road of the 21st Century and the Maritime Fulcrum idea of Indonesian's President Joko Widodo.

We are working for building rules on the Code of Conduct for the South China Sea that could be open to others to join in the future. We are also working on the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) in East Asia with China as partner to establish a free trade arrangement Plus for East Asia consisting of ASEAN 10, China, Japan, Korea (ROK), India, Australia and New Zealand.

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Thank you very much. We thought we had Professor Hosoya until 4.30, but apparently we have him until right now. Thank you very much for your contribution and have a safe journey back to Tokyo.