



Walden F. Bello

Philippine academic, human rights activist and former Philippine congressman

Walden Bello is concurrently the International Adjunct Professor of sociology at the State University of New York at Binghamton, Senior Visiting Research Fellow at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Kyoto University, and Co-Chairperson of the Bangkok-based research and advocacy institute Focus on the Global South.

He is the author or co-author of 25 books, including *Counterrevolution: The Global Rise of the Far Right* (Nova Scotia: Fernwood, 2019), *Paper Dragons: China and the Next Crash* (London: Bloomsbury/Zed, 2019), *Food Wars* (London: Verso, 2009), *Capitalism's Last Stand?* (London: Zed, 2013), *Dragons in Distress: Asia's Miracle Economies in Crisis* (London: Penguin, 1990), and *Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines* (San Francisco: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1982).

Bello got his BA from the Ateneo de Manila University in 1966 and his PhD in sociology from Princeton University in 1975.

He received the Right Livelihood Award (also known as the Alternative Nobel Prize) in Stockholm in 2003 for his work showing the negative impact of corporate-driven globalization. He was also named Outstanding Public Scholar by the International Studies Association in San Francisco in 2008. He has honorary doctorates from Panteion University in Athens (2006) and Murdoch University in Perth (2012).

A human rights activist since the Marcos era, he is currently active in opposing the anti-human rights policies of the administration of President Rodrigo Duterte.

As a human rights and peace campaigner, academic, environmentalist and journalist, and through a combination of courage as a dissident, with an extraordinary breadth of published output and personal charisma, he has made a major contribution to the international case against corporate-driven globalization.



Pongphisoot (Paul) Busbarat, Chulalongkorn University

***Assistant Dean & Professor of International Relations,
Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University;
Director, Institute of Security and International Studies
(ISIS Thailand); Former Dorothy Borg Postdoctoral Fellow
in Southeast Asian Studies***

Pongphisoot (Paul) Busbarat is the Director of the Institute of Security and International Studies (ISIS Thailand), Assistant Professor of International Relations, and Assistant Dean at the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University. He is also a non-resident scholar at Carnegie China and a member of Thailand's ASEAN Regional Forum Experts & Eminent Persons (ARF EEPs).

His research examines how norms and identity shape international relations, with a focus on Thailand's strategic positioning between the U.S. and China. His current work explores Thailand's foreign policy choices amid great power rivalries and the geopolitical dynamics of the Indo-Pacific, particularly the Mekong subregion.

Dr. Busbarat's recent publications include *The Insignificant Other: Perceptual Change, Policy Divergence, and Prospects of Thai-U.S. Relations* (2025), "Bamboo Stuck in the Chinese Wind" (*Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 2024), "Thailand's Perspective on the U.S. and China: A SWOT Analysis" (ASAN Institute, 2023), and "China and Mekong Regionalism" (*Asian Politics & Policy*, 2021). A forthcoming chapter on Thailand's grand strategy is set to be published by Georgetown University Press (2025).

Before joining Chulalongkorn University, he was a visiting research fellow at the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute (2016–18), a Dorothy Borg Scholar at Weatherhead East Asian Institute, and a lecturer at the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) (2015–16) at Columbia University. He also held research positions at the Sydney Southeast Asia Centre (2013–17) and the Australian National University (2012–14).

Dr. Busbarat holds a PhD in Political Science and International Relations from ANU, with postgraduate degrees from Columbia and Cambridge. Prior to academia, he was a policy analyst at Thailand's National Security Council.



Thomas J. Christensen, Columbia University

***James T. Shotwell Professor of International Relations,
Columbia University***

Thomas J. Christensen is Professor of Public and International Affairs and Director of the [China and the World Program](#) at Columbia University. He arrived in 2018 from Princeton University where he was William P. Boswell Professor of World Politics of Peace and War, Director of the Princeton-Harvard China and the World Program, and faculty director of the Masters of Public Policy Program and the Truman Scholars Program. From 2006-2008 he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs with responsibility for relations with China, Taiwan, and Mongolia.

His research and teaching focus on China's foreign relations, the international relations of East Asia, and international security. His most recent book is *Lost in the Cold War: The Story of Jack Downey, America's Longest-Held POW* (Columbia Univ. Press, 2022). His earlier book, *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power* (W.W. Norton) was an editors' choice at the New York Times Book Review, a "Book of the Week" on CNN's Fareed Zakaria GPS, and the Arthur Ross Book Award Silver Medalist for 2016 at the Council on Foreign Relations. Professor Christensen has also taught at Cornell University and MIT.

He received his B.A. with honors in History from Haverford College, M.A. in International Relations from the University of Pennsylvania, and Ph.D. in Political Science from Columbia University. He has served on the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, as co-editor of the International History and Politics series at Princeton University Press, and as a member of the Academic Advisory Committee for the Schwarzman Scholars Program.

He is currently the Chair of the Editorial Board of the Nancy B. Tucker and Warren I. Cohen Book Series on the United States in Asia at Columbia University Press. Professor Christensen is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a Non-Resident Senior Scholar at the Brookings Institution. He was presented with a Distinguished Public Service Award by the United States Department of State.



Sophal Ear, Arizona State University

Associate Professor, Thunderbird School of Global Management, Arizona State University; President, International Public Management Network (IPMN)

Dr. Sophal Ear is a tenured Associate Professor at the Thunderbird School of Global Management, Arizona State University, where he teaches global political economy, international organizations, and regional management in Asia.

He is President of the International Public Management Network (IPMN), Vice Chair of the Public Policy & International Affairs (PPIA) Program, and Secretary of the Board of Refugees International, while also serving on the Board of the Center for Khmer Studies.

A Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, TED Fellow, Fulbright Specialist, and Young Global Leader of the World Economic Forum, Prof. Ear previously served as Senior Associate Dean at ASU Thunderbird and inaugural Chair of the Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) Advisory Board of the Los Angeles County District Attorney (2021-22). He has consulted for the World Bank, advised Cambodia's Leopard Capital, and worked with UNDP in East Timor.

He is the author of *Viral Sovereignty and the Political Economy of Pandemics* (Routledge, 2022), *Aid Dependence in Cambodia* (Columbia, 2013), and co-author of *The Hungry Dragon* (Routledge, 2013). His TED Talk, "Escaping the Khmer Rouge," inspired his award-winning documentary "The End/Beginning: Cambodia" (2011).

A graduate of Princeton and UC Berkeley, Dr. Ear immigrated to the U.S. from France as a Cambodian refugee at age 10. His expertise and lived experience shape global discussions on governance, development, and Southeast Asia.



Amy Freedman, Pace University

Department Chairperson & professor, Political Science, Dyson College of Arts & Sciences, Pace University

Amy Freedman is Professor and chair of the political science department at Pace University in New York City. She is also an adjunct associate research fellow at Columbia University's Weatherhead East Asian Institute. Her research looks at questions of democracy and rights protection Southeast Asia. She is the author of numerous books and articles, the most recent of

which include *Resist! Democracy and Youth Activism in Myanmar, Hong Kong and Singapore*, edited book with Joseph Lee. (Pace University Press) 2024 and *Empire Competition: Southeast Asia as Site of Imperial Contestation*, an edited book project with Joseph Lee published with Pace University Press in 2021.



John Gershman, New York University

Clinical Professor of Public Service; Director, the International Specialization and International Capstone Programs, Wagner School of Public Service, New York University

John Gershman is a Clinical Professor of Public Service, Director of the International Specialization, and Director of International Capstone Programs at Wagner. He is co-director of the NYU Democracy Project and director of the NYU Democracy Scholars program. He is also a co-founder of the New York Southeast Asia Network and co-chair of the steering committee of Sulo: the Philippine Studies Initiative at NYU. He has worked at a series of nonprofit think tanks since the early 1990s, including the Institute for Food and Development Policy, Partners in Health and served as Co-Director of Foreign Policy in Focus. His research, writing, and advocacy work has focused on issues of democracy, food security, U.S. foreign policy in East and Southeast Asia, the politics of international financial institutions and multilateralism, the political economy of natural resource management in Ghana and the Philippines, and rights-based approaches to development.



Joseph Chinyong Liow, Nanyang Technological University
Dean of College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences,
Nanyang Technological University

Prof Joseph Liow (Joseph Chinyong Liow) is Dean of College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, where he is also Tan Kah Kee Chair in Comparative and International Politics and concurrently Senior Research Advisor for the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). He was previously Dean of RSIS from October 2014 to December 2018. He also previously held the inaugural Lee Kuan Yew Chair in Southeast Asia Studies at the Brookings Institution, Washington DC.

Joseph's research interests encompass Muslim politics and social movements in Southeast Asia and the geopolitics and geoeconomics of the Asia-Pacific region. Joseph is the author, co-author, or editor of 18 books, the most recent being *Navigating Uncertainty: Our Region in an Age of Flux* (World Scientific 2024), *Islam and Political Power in Indonesia and Malaysia* (Cambridge University Press Element Series 2022) and *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia*, fifth edition (Routledge 2022). A regular columnist for the *Straits Times*, his commentaries on international affairs have also appeared in *New York Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *National Interest*, *Nikkei Asian Review*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *South China Morning Post*. He has testified to the United States Congress and been invited to deliver a special closed door briefing to the ASEAN Defence Minister's Meeting. In addition to scholarship and policy analysis, Joseph has also consulted for a wide range of multinationals including Shell, BHP Billiton, Chevron, Japan Bank for International Cooperation, Temasek, Total, and Statoil, as well as major global consultancies. He sits on the board of several peer-reviewed academic and policy journals, and is Singapore representative on the Experts and Eminent Persons Group of the ASEAN Regional Forum and the Trilateral Commission. He is also on the boards of the Social Science Research Council (Singapore), ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, and the National Arts Council. He will assume the position of Chairman, Middle East Institute on 1 September 2024.

He has degrees from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Nanyang Technological University, and the London School of Economics and Political Science.



Derek Mitchell, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Former U.S. Ambassador to Myanmar (Burma) (2012-2016); Senior Advisor (non-resident) to the Asia Program and Executive Office of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Office of the President

Derek J. Mitchell is a non-resident senior adviser to the Office of the President and the Asia Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

From 2001 to 2009, Ambassador Mitchell served as senior fellow with the International Security Program and director for Asia projects and founded CSIS's renowned Southeast Asia Program.

One of the nation's foremost experts on global democracy and Asian and Pacific political and security affairs, Ambassador Mitchell boasts a more than three-decade career in the U.S. government and the private and nonprofit sectors. He most recently served as president of the National Democratic Institute, overseeing programs to support democratic development worldwide. From 2012 to 2016, Ambassador Mitchell was the first U.S. ambassador to Burma (Myanmar) in 22 years during a historic period in the country's nascent democratic transition. During the previous year, he served as special representative and policy coordinator for Burma, with the rank of ambassador. From 2009 to 2011, Ambassador Mitchell oversaw the U.S. Defense Department's Asia policy as the principal deputy assistant secretary of defense for Asian and Pacific security affairs and as the acting assistant secretary, for which he was awarded the Office of the Secretary of Defense Award for Distinguished Public Service. He previously served as special assistant to the deputy assistant secretary of defense for Asian and Pacific affairs from 1997 to 2001.



Ann Marie Murphy, Seton Hall University

Professor, School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Seton Hall University; Adjunct Research Scholar, Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University

Ann Marie Murphy is a Professor in the School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Seton Hall University where she directs the Center for Foreign Policy Studies. Her research focuses on Southeast Asian international politics and political change, with a focus on Indonesia. Her edited volume (2025) *Southeast Asia Views the United States: Perceptions, Policies and Prospects*, examines the region's bilateral relationships with the United States from the Southeast Asian perspective. She is coauthor (with Amy Freedman) of *Non-Traditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia: the Transnational Dimension*, (2018) and co-editor (with Bridget Welsh) of *Legacies of Engagement in Southeast Asia* (2008). Dr. Murphy's articles have appeared in journals such as *Asian Security*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Orbis*, *Asia Policy*, *World Politics Review* and *PS: Political Science & Politics*. Dr. Murphy's research has been supported by grants from the Smith Richardson Foundation, the National Asia Research Program, the Social Science Research Council, the Fulbright Scholars Program and she was recently a Mansfield-Luce Asia Scholar. She serves on the editorial board of *Asia Policy*, the board of directors of the Center for Khmer Studies and is a cofounder of the New York Southeast Asia Network (NYSEAN), a Luce Foundation funded Initiative to promote Southeast Asian studies in the United States. She earned her Ph.D. from Columbia University.



Hong Hai Nguyen, American University

***Senior Lecturer, VinUniversity; Fulbright Scholar,
American University***

Hai Hong Nguyen is currently a Visiting Scholar in Residence for Fulbright at American University. He was previously a senior lecturer of politics, social change, and international relations in the College of Arts and Sciences at VinUniversity in Vietnam. He is a political scientist and an experienced lecturer/researcher in politics and international relations. Prior to joining VinUniversity, Nguyen held different positions in Vietnam and Australia as senior lecturer, international development manager/specialist, honorary research fellow, and adjunct/visiting senior lecturer at Hanoi University, Thai Nguyen University, James Cook University, the University of Queensland, and Queensland University of Technology. He has published widely on Vietnamese politics and foreign relations, international relations in Southeast Asia, Asia, and the Indo-Pacific.



Lien-Hang T. Nguyen, Columbia University

Dorothy Borg Chair in the History of the United States and East Asia; Director, Weatherhead East Asian Institute; Co-founder of Vietnamese Studies, Columbia University

Professor Nguyen specializes in the study of the United States in the world, with spatial focus on Southeast Asia and temporal interest in the Cold War. She is currently working on two projects. The first is a comprehensive history of the 1968 Tet Offensive and the second explores the role of gender, people's diplomacy, and transnational networks of anti-war activism during the Vietnam War.

She is the author of *Hanoi's War: An International History of the War for Peace in Vietnam*, which won the Society for Military History (SMH) Edward M. Coffman Prize, the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR) Stuart L. Bernath Prize, the UKY Department of History Alice S. Hallam Prize, was a finalist for the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians First Book Prize, and earned her an invitation to participate in the 2012 Library of Congress National Book Festival.

Professor Nguyen is the General Editor of the forthcoming *Cambridge History of the Vietnam War* (3 vols.) and she and Professor Paul T. Chamberlin are the Co-Editors of the "Cambridge Studies in U.S. Foreign Relations" Series.



Elina Noor, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Senior Fellow, Asia Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Elina Noor is a senior fellow in the Asia Program at Carnegie where she focuses on developments in Southeast Asia, particularly the impact and implications of technology in reshaping power dynamics, governance, and nation-building in the region.

Previously, Elina was director of political-security affairs and deputy director of the Washington, D.C. office at the Asia Society Policy Institute. Prior to that, Elina was an associate professor at the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu. She spent most of her career at the Institute of Strategic and International Studies Malaysia, where she last held the position of director, foreign policy and security studies. Elina was also formerly with the Brookings Institution's Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World.

Between 2017 and 2019, Elina was part of the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace. From 2021 to 2023, she served on the International Committee of the Red Cross Global Advisory Board on digital threats during conflict. She currently serves on the United Nations Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters.

Elina read law at Oxford University. She obtained an LL.M (Public International Law) from the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, graduating with distinction at the top of her class. A recipient of the Perdana (Malaysian Prime Minister's) Fellowship, she also holds an MA in security studies from Georgetown University, where she was a Women in International Security Scholar.



Prashanth Parameswaran, The Wilson Center

***Senior Fellow, Asia Program, the Wilson Center;
CEO & Founder, ASEAN Wonk Global; Senior
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Dr. Prashanth Parameswaran is a fellow with the Wilson Center's Asia Program, where he produces analysis on Southeast Asian political and security issues, Asian defense affairs, and U.S. foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific. He is also the CEO and Founder of ASEAN Wonk Global, a research hub that produces the weekly ASEAN Wonk BulletBrief

newsletter; Senior Columnist at The Diplomat, one of Asia's leading current affairs publications; and an Advisor at BowerGroupAsia, a strategic advisory firm focused on the Indo-Pacific region. His new book, "[Elusive Balances: Shaping U.S.-Southeast Asia Strategy](#)," published in 2022, develops and applies an original "balance of commitment" approach to examining U.S. commitment in Southeast Asia over the past half century, along with policy recommendations for future administrations.

A political scientist by training, Dr. Parameswaran is a recognized expert on Asian affairs and U.S. foreign policy in the region, with a focus on Southeast Asia and politics and security issues. He has conducted grant-based field research across the region, consulted for companies and governments, and taught courses affiliated with the U.S. Department of Defense and the U.S. Department of State. His policy insights, research and commentary have been published widely in the United States and across the region in leading publications and journals including CNN, The Washington Post, The South China Morning Post, The Straits Times, Asia Policy and Contemporary Southeast Asia.

Dr. Parameswaran has held roles across think tanks, government, media and business in the United States and in the region, including most recently the Foreign Service Institute and The Diplomat, where he served as senior editor. In those capacities, he advanced research and analysis on key Asian political and security trends using rigorous research methodologies and extensive in-country networks, with an emphasis on Southeast Asia.

Dr. Parameswaran holds a Ph.D. and a Master of Arts from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University focused on international security, international business and U.S. foreign policy, and received a bachelor's degree from the University of Virginia where he studied foreign affairs and peace and conflict studies and graduated Phi Beta Kappa.



Gregory B. Poling, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Director & Senior Fellow, Southeast Asia Program and Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Gregory B. Poling directs the Southeast Asia Program and Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, where he is also a senior fellow. He is a leading expert on the South China Sea disputes and conducts research on U.S. alliances and partnerships, democratization and governance in Southeast Asia, and maritime security across the Indo-Pacific. He is the author of the recently published *On Dangerous Ground: America's Century in the South China Sea*, along with various works on U.S. relations with Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, and Southeast Asia at large. His writings have been featured in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Naval War College Review*, among others. Mr. Poling received an MA in international affairs from American University and a BA in history and philosophy from St. Mary's College of Maryland.



Yohanes Sulaiman, Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani
Associate Professor, Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani

Yohanes Sulaiman is an associate professor in international relations at Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani (UNJANI), Indonesia and a non-resident fellow at the National Bureau of Asian Research, Seattle, WA. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science with specialties in International Security and Foreign Policy from the Ohio State University. His research interests include strategic culture, diplomatic history, and international security in East and Southeast Asia.

His recent publications include "A Traumatic Relationship: The United States and Indonesia-Russian Relationship" in *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, "Indonesia-India Relations: Challenges and Opportunities," In Prateek Kapil & Siddhant Hira, *The Indian Ocean and its Littorals*, "Jokowi's Complex Legacy and the Future of Democracy in Indonesia," in *Global Asia*, "The Little Red Dot that Roared: Singapore Between the Giants," In Ian Roberge and Thomas Klassen, and Nara Parks, *Asymmetric Neighbors and International Relations: Living in the Shadow of Elephants*, "Japan Indonesia Relations: Counter Balancing Power Play and Role of Japan," In Srabani Roy Choudhury, *Japan and Its Partners in the Indo-Pacific: Engagements and Alignment*, "Indonesia Between United States and China in Post-Covid-19 Bipolar World Order," in *Asia Policy*, and "What Threat? Leadership, Strategic Culture, and Indonesian Foreign Policy in South China Sea" in *Asian Politics&Policy*. His interests include Indonesian strategic culture and diplomatic history; East and Southeast Asian security and politics; and civil-military relations.



Ayumi Teraoka, Columbia University

Postdoctoral Research Scholar, Weatherhead East Asian Institute; Postdoctoral Research Fellow, China and the World Program

Ayumi Teraoka is a postdoctoral research scholar with the Weatherhead East Asian Institute at Columbia University and a postdoctoral research fellow with the Columbia-Harvard China and the World Program (CWP). In the fall of 2025, she will be an assistant professor of politics at Brandeis University. Dr. Teraoka studies alliance politics and security issues in the Indo-Pacific, and her book project examines the history and interactive effects of the United States' alliance management efforts and China's attempts to weaken U.S. alliances in Asia. Her research has been supported by the Smith Richardson Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, and the America in the World Consortium. Her writing has appeared in the *Journal of Georgetown Asian Affairs*, *Pacific Affairs*, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *Foreign Policy*, and *The Japan Times*, among others. She holds a Ph.D. and an M.A. in Security Studies from Princeton University, an M.A. in Asian Studies from Georgetown University, and a B.A. in Law from Keio University. She also previously held positions at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C.