

NTS Bulletin March 2013

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NTS VIEWPOINT

Justice for war crimes: Retribution, or reconciliation?

By Lina Gong

In February, when the International Crimes Tribunal of Bangladesh sentenced two men for crimes committed during the independence war of 1971, deadly protests followed. The violence calls into question the effectiveness of 'transitional justice' – or attempts to provide redress for past large-scale human rights abuses. Could transitional justice help heal bitter societal schisms rooted in those crimes?

According to the Bangladeshi government, over a million died and tens of thousands were raped during the 1971 war, allegedly by the Pakistani army and its collaborator, Jamaat-e-Islami. In 2010, the International Crimes Tribunal of Bangladesh was established to bring the perpetrators to justice.

Last month, the tribunal sentenced two Jamaat-e-Islami leaders, Abdul Quader Mollah and Delwar Hossain Sayeed, to life imprisonment and death respectively, for crimes ranging from genocide to rape. Following the sentencing, Jamaat-e-Islami supporters questioned the credibility of the tribunal and the death penalty, while others demanded a harsher sentence for Mollah. The ensuing clashes resulted in scores of deaths and hundreds of injuries.

Inconsistencies in the judicial process had fuelled the violence. External legal experts questioned the ability of the court to conduct thorough investigations of cases 40 years old within a span of less than three years. A witness who had agreed to testify for the defence went missing before he could give his testimony. The Bangladeshi parliament had proposed to amend the country's war crimes law in February – after the trials. That retroactive amendment was criticised by Human Rights Watch as a violation of fair trial standards. Such controversies

undermined public trust in the outcome.

Politicisation of the trials was another factor. The ruling party, the Awami League, had pushed for the formation of the tribunal and the passage of the February amendment which empowers the tribunal to bring to trial any organisation that committed crimes during the war. These actions have led opposition parties to argue that the trials are being used as a political tool to ban the Jamaat-e-Islami, and raised doubts regarding the independence of the judicial process.

The February clashes show that judicial measures are not by themselves enough. For a country as divided as Bangladesh, non-judicial measures such as truth-seeking and institutional reform are also needed. Truth-seeking processes are helpful in revealing the causes and consequences of the crimes so as to draw lessons for future prevention. Institutional reform facilitates good governance and rule of law to eliminate institutional causes of abuses. However, meaningful development of such complementary measures has yet to occur.

The trials in Bangladesh and the subsequent violence have regional import. Several Asian countries that have witnessed massive human rights abuses are just emerging from conflict. Timor Leste, Aceh in Indonesia and Mindanao in the Philippines are prime examples. Transitional justice could be valuable in such instances, as it could contribute to social reconciliation and maintenance of peace. However, as the Bangladesh experience demonstrates, effective transitional justice requires a combination of measures, judicial and non-judicial, based on the unique situation of a country.

Lina Gong is Research Associate with the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies.

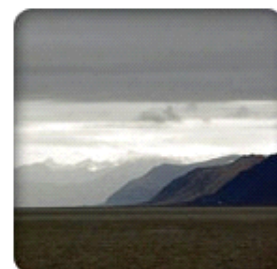
Additional Info:

- 'Discrepancy in Dhaka', *The Economist*, 8 December 2012.

- Yardley, Jim, 'Politics in Bangladesh jolted by huge protests', *The New York Times*, 12 February 2013.
- 'Bangladesh: Post-trial amendments taint war crimes process', *Human Rights Watch*, 14 February 2013.
- Motlagh, Jason, 'Rallying in Shahbagh Square, young Bangladesh finds its voice', *Time*, 19 February 2013.
- 'Amendment of International Crimes Tribunal Act of 1973', *The Trial Observer*, 7 March 2013.
- 'A nation divided', *The Economist*, 9 March 2013.

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CLIMATE CHANGE, ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY AND NATURAL DISASTERS



News & Commentaries

- Tolson, Michelle, 'Land is life, and it's slipping away', *IPS*, 14 February 2013.
- 'Key to cleaner environment may be right beneath our feet', *ScienceDaily*, 17 February 2013.
- Nurbaiti, Ati, 'Lower emissions? Not just yet', *The Jakarta Post*, 18 February 2013.
- 'Allegations of aid politicization in Philippines ahead of elections', *IRIN*, 22 February 2013.
- Hitchon, Joe, 'US security establishment increasingly worried about climate change', *IPS*, 27 February 2013.
- Maslog, Crispin, 'Asia-Pacific analysis: Protecting and restoring coral reefs', *SciDev.Net*, 27 February 2013.
- Chestney, Nina, 'Public concern about environment overshadowed by crisis', *Reuters*, 28 February 2013.
- Lewis, Barbara, 'Carbon pricing needed to control airline CO2 emissions: Study', *Reuters*, 4 March 2013.
- Richards, Peter, 'Putting local climate know-how on the map', *IPS*, 5 March 2013.
- Kakuchi, Suvendrini, 'Every day is a Fukushima memorial', *IPS*, 10 March 2013.

Selected Publications

- Haefner, Andrea, 2013, 'Regional environmental security: Cooperation and challenges in the Mekong subregion', *Global Change, Peace and Security*, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 27–41.

This article focuses on the Mekong River Commission (MRC) and the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS). It argues that these regional attempts to balance economic development and environmental degradation have so far largely failed – the MRC because of the lack of participation of all riparian countries, and the GMS because it had only recently expanded its focus areas to include environmental and social issues.

- The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI), 2013, *TERI-Rockefeller International Workshop on Resilient Cities – Experiences from ACCCRN in Asia and Beyond*, New Delhi.

This report provides an overview of the work done in the cities under the Asian Cities Climate Change Resilience Network (ACCCRN). It highlights the importance of multi-sectoral approaches for building urban climate resilience that is integrated at all governance levels, and suggests the need for a clear road map for funding city-level resilience measures.

- Felli, Romain, 2013, 'An alternative socio-ecological strategy? International trade unions' engagement with climate change', *Review of International Political Economy*, iFirst.

To shed light on the potential for the emergence of an alternative socio-ecological strategy, it is important to understand the strategies used by international trade unions as they engage with the climate change issue. Based on an empirical study, the author identifies three such strategies: 'deliberative', 'collaborative growth' and 'socialist'.

Events & Announcements

- '10th Meeting of the Regional Consultative Committee on Disaster Management', 25–27 March 2013, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.
- 'Job Vacancy: Climate Change Advocacy Officer, CARE International', Deadline: 5 April 2013.
- '10th UN Forum on Forests', 8–19 April 2013, Istanbul, Turkey.

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ENERGY AND HUMAN SECURITY



News & Commentaries

- Hannah, John, 'In Obama's waning America, a glimmer of hope on energy security', *Foreign Policy*, 19 February 2013.
- Dominguez, Catherine, 'Energy security vital for the Philippines' promising economic growth', *EcoSeed*, 28 February 2013.
- Taggart, Stewart, 'Good news for an Asia-wide energy network', *Eco-business.com*, 6 March 2013.
- Kilgore, Erin, 'Renewable energy could be the answer to energy security in the EU', *Hydrogen Fuel News*, 9 March 2013.
- Chen, Yu, Zhang Yongxing and Zhao Xiaoqing, 'U.S.-China cooperation important to world energy future: Expert', *People's Daily Online*, 10 March 2013.
- Agustawan, Karen, 'Insight: Improving Indonesia's energy security', *The Jakarta Post*, 11 March 2013.
- 'Experts to debate future of nuclear power at World Energy Congress', *Bernama*, 11 March 2013.

Selected Publications

- He, H.Z. and H.W. Kua, 2013, 'Lessons for integrated household energy conservation policy from Singapore's southwest Eco-living Program', *Energy Policy*, Vol. 55, pp. 105–16.

This article documents an energy conservation programme that resulted in a 15.8 per cent reduction in household energy consumption in one district in Singapore. The research compares and assesses the effectiveness of different intervention programmes, and investigates energy consumption behaviours and their influences.

- Zhang, ZhongXiang, 2013, *China's quest for energy security: Why are the stakes so high?*, Review of Environment, Energy and Economics, Milan: Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei.

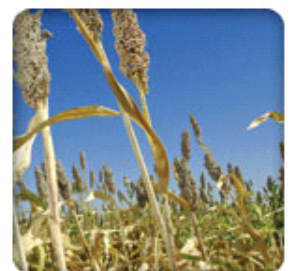
Misconceptions related to China's quest for energy have led to the growing politicisation of China's energy security at the domestic and international level. The paper clarifies negative international perceptions about Chinese policy banks and loans, and China's misperception that its investments in oil fields overseas will improve its domestic energy security.

Events & Announcements

- 'International Conference on Nuclear Security: Enhancing Global Efforts', 1–5 July 2013, Vienna, Austria.
- '22nd World Energy Congress', 13–17 October 2013, Daegu, South Korea.

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FOOD SECURITY



News & Commentaries

- Zhang, Hongzhou, 'Behind China's "grain miracle": More than meets the eye?', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 028, 13 February 2013.
- Russell, Clyde, 'Asia rice prices look unsustainably high as supply rises: Clyde Russell', *Reuters*, 28 February 2013.
- De Schutter, Olivier, 'The FAO must do more to promote food as a basic human right', *Guardian*, 4 March 2013.
- Williams, Andrew, 'Changing how food aid is allocated "may save more lives"', *SciDev.Net*, 4 March 2013.
- Roopnarine, Les, 'Are women the secret weapon in the battle for food security?', *Guardian*, 5 March 2013.
- Russell, Michelle, 'Nestle comments spark debate over global food prices', *Just-food.com*, 5 March 2013.
- Bhalla, Nita, 'Audit critical of India's scheme to feed hungry children', *AlertNet*, 7 March 2013.
- 'On International Women's Day, FAO, IFAD, WFP and IDLO highlight link between women, violence and food security', *FAO Media Centre*, 8 March 2013.
- Silverstein, Amy, 'Rice prices skyrocket in North Korea', *Globalpost*, 10 March 2013.

Selected Publications

- Da Costa, Marcelino dJ, Modesto Lopes, Anita Ximenes et al., 2012, 'Household food insecurity in Timor-Leste', *Food Security*, Vol. 5, pp. 83–94.

Timor-Leste is one of the most food insecure states in the world, with the third-highest stunting rate globally and significant seasonal

vulnerabilities. This article addresses the lack of information on the extent of food insecurity in households and provides an overview of government policy on the issue. Advancements in agricultural production will serve to make Timor-Leste more food secure, but poverty and the increasing threat of environmental shocks will continue to expose the country's vulnerabilities.

- Alkire, Sabina, Ruth Meinzen-Dick, Amber Peterman et al., 2012, 'The Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index', IFPRI Discussion Paper No. 01240, Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI).

The Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index quantifies the inequalities faced by women in agriculture. This paper outlines the Index's development and methodology, and outlines pilot data from Bangladesh, Uganda and Guatemala. Initial findings suggest a significant empowerment gap between men and women, with key factors being a lack of women in community leadership positions, and lack of control over the use of income and resources.

Events & Announcements

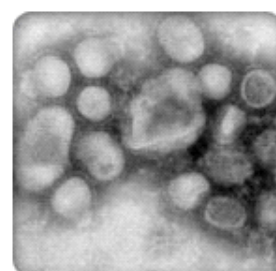
- 'Food Security Futures 1: Research Priorities for the 21st Century', 11–12 April 2013, Dublin, Ireland.
- 'Oxford Global Food Security Conference 2013 – Food Uncertainties: The Past, Present and Future of Food Security', 27 April 2013, Oxford, UK.

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HEALTH SECURITY

News & Commentaries

- 'California's tobacco control program generates huge health care savings, study shows', *ScienceDaily*, 13 February 2013.
- Masilamany, Joseph, 'Air-pocalypse in the making', *Free Malaysia Today*, 15 February 2013.
- 'Fitch: Plain packaging biggest regulatory risk for tobacco cos', *Reuters*, 20 February 2013.
- Visconti, Katherine, 'Smoking kills? Not in graphics', *Rappler*, 20 February 2013.
- 'Eliminating malaria has longlasting benefits for many countries', *ScienceDaily*, 21 February 2013.
- Biron, Carey L., 'US cuts to global health budget "mass-scale malpractice"', *IPS*, 26 February 2013.
- Nebehay, Stephanie, 'Higher cancer risk after Fukushima nuclear disaster: WHO', *Reuters*, 28 February 2013.
- 'WHO, Islamic leaders summit to stop polio worker attacks', *Reuters*, 1 March 2013.
- Young, Sandra, 'Researchers: Toddler cured of HIV', *CNN*, 4 March 2013.
- Oktofani, Elisabeth, 'In Indonesia, continuing debate over "female circumcision"', *Khabar Southeast Asia*, 5 March 2013.
- 'Fight tobacco marketing, boost vaccinations to curb cancer, says report', *Reuters*, 6 March 2013.
- Lefevre, Amy Sawitta, 'Thailand struggles to curb high teen pregnancy rate', *Reuters*, 7 March 2013.



Selected Publications

- Youde, Jeremy, 2013, 'The Rockefeller and Gates Foundations in global health governance', *Global Society*, iFirst.

This article suggests, from a comparison of two major foundations, that philanthropic foundations can be important actors in global governance. They fund global health interventions, help shape the global health agenda and change the nature of political debate. The article also suggests that the emergence of private actors in global governance denotes a shift in notions of how political authority should be exercised, with interactions with non-state actors no longer considered a zero-sum game.

- Gresham, Louise S., Mark S. Smolinski, Rapeepong Suphanchaimat et al., 2013, 'Creating a global dialogue on infectious disease surveillance: Connecting Organizations for Regional Disease Surveillance (CORDS)', *Emerging Health Threats Journal*, Vol. 6.

This article focuses on Connecting Organizations for Regional Disease Surveillance (CORDS), which brings together alliances of neighbouring countries working on cross-border infectious disease threats; and connects them to major international institutions and agencies involved in disease surveillance. It highlights the value of CORDS as a combined vertical plus horizontal international collaboration to prevent, detect and respond to the widening spectrum of infectious diseases.

Events & Announcements

- 'World Health Day', 7 April 2013.
- 'World Health Summit, Regional Meeting – Asia: Health for Sustainable Development in Asia', 8–10 April, 2013, Singapore.

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INTERNAL AND CROSS-BORDER CONFLICT



News & Commentaries

- 'Security Council must unite to protect civilians in conflict zones – UN officials', *UN News Centre*, 12 February 2013.
- Yardley, Jim, 'Vast throng in Bangladesh protests killing of activist', *The New York Times*, 16 February 2013.
- 'Sri Lanka hardline group calls for halal boycott', *BBC*, 17 February 2013.
- Liow, Joseph Chinyong and Joseph Franco, 'Trading swords for ploughshares: How Sajahatra Bangsamoro could bring peace to Mindanao', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 033, 18 February 2013.
- Coates, Eliane, 'Rohingya boat people: A challenge for Southeast Asia', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 035, 21 February 2013.
- Wong, Edward, 'Ethnic war in Myanmar has China on edge', *The New York Times*, 22 February 2013.
- 'Vietnam to participate in UN peacekeeping missions', *AP*, 26 February 2013.
- 'Thailand, Malaysia annual consultation Thursday', *Bangkok Post*, 27 February 2013.
- Campbell, Charlie, 'Malaysia: At least 26 dead as police raid Sabah siege', *Time*, 4 March 2013.
- Cumming-Bruce, Nick, 'Myanmar reforms could falter, UN investigator says', *The New York Times*, 7 March 2013.

Selected Publications

- Nethery, Amy, Brynna Rafferty-Brown and Savitri Taylor, 2013, 'Exporting detention: Australia-funded immigration detention in Indonesia', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 26, No.1, pp. 88–109.

This article examines the cooperation between Australia and Indonesia on issues of refugees and asylum-seekers. It argues that the immigration detention arrangement has failed to effectively protect the human rights of refugees and asylum-seekers.

- *Forced Migration Review: Preventing Displacement*, 2012, No. 41.

This issue covers a range of issues related to the prevention of displacement, including the legal and conceptual framework, and gender and youth issues. It also includes case studies and suggestions for future protection.

Events & Announcements

- 'International Conference on Development-induced Displacement and Resettlement', 22–23 March 2013, Oxford, UK.
- 'Aceh Development International Conference 2013', 26–28 March 2013, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
- 'Roundtable on Enhancing Global and Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution', 15 April 2013, Singapore.

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TRANSNATIONAL CRIME



News & Commentaries

- 'Japanese human trafficking victims up', *Daily Yomiuri*, 8 February 2013.
- Hance, Jeremy, 'Pity the pangolin: Little-known mammal most common victim of the wildlife trade', *Mongabay.com*, 11 February 2013.
- 'Italy wants cross border action to tackle the mafia', *euronews*, 15 February 2013.
- 'Crystalline methamphetamine now Indonesia's "primary illicit drugs threat"', *UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)*, 20 February 2013.
- Elhance, P. Arun, 'Kenya: African states should control Chinese arms', *The Star*, 21 February 2013.
- McPhedran, Ian, '\$2bn Triton drone plan to track asylum boats off Australia', *news.com.au*, 22 February 2013.
- Sedhai, Roshan and Ankit Adhikari, 'Nepal emerging as "regional hub for human trafficking"', *The Kathmandu Post*, 24 February 2013.
- Bonella, Kathryn, 'The darker side of Bali: Drugs, mules and tourism', *CNN*, 25 February 2013.
- Ordinario, Cai, 'PH loses \$20-B to smuggling each year', *Rappler*, 26 February 2013.
- 'Yingluck to "consider" ivory trade ban', *Bangkok Post*, 27 February 2013.

Selected Publications

- Bromley, Mark, Lawrence Dermody and Hugh Griffith et al., 2013, 'Transfers of small arms and light weapons to fragile states:

This paper focuses on international transfers of conventional arms in the period 2002–2012 to the national security forces of eight fragile states: Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Iraq, Liberia, Papua New Guinea, Sierra Leone, Somalia and South Sudan. It identifies lessons learned from these cases for application in ongoing and future efforts to support security forces in fragile states such as Libya and Mali.

- National Narcotics Board of Indonesia (BNN) and UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2013, *Indonesia: Situation assessment on amphetamine-type stimulants*, UNODC Global Synthetics Monitoring: Analyses, Reporting and Trends (SMART) Programme, February.

This report identifies the manufacture, trafficking and use of crystalline methamphetamine as a significant illicit drug threat facing Indonesia. It observes that while cannabis remains the most widely used illicit drug, crystalline methamphetamine use has expanded in the past several years, particularly among labourers, students and commercial sex workers. Of the estimated 3.7 to 4.7 million drug users in 2011, one in three (about 1.2 million) used crystalline methamphetamine and one in five (some 950,000) used ecstasy.

- Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA), 2013, 'First class connections: Log smuggling, illegal logging and corruption in Mozambique', 7 February.

This report provides evidence of how China's insatiable demand for timber is directly driving an increase in illegal logging and timber smuggling in Mozambique. In 2012, Chinese companies imported between 189,615 and 215,654 cubic metres of timber illegally exported from Mozambique (about 48 per cent of China's imports from the country). This has robbed Mozambique of revenues to the tune of USD30 million.

Events & Announcements

- 'Violence, Insurgencies, Deceptions: Conceptualizing Urban Life in South Asia', 6–7 May 2013, Singapore.
- 'Society for Terrorism Research 7th Annual Conference', 27–28 June 2013, London, UK.

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WATER SECURITY

News & Commentaries

- Ivanova, Nadya, 'Toxic water: Across much of China, huge harvests irrigated with industrial and agricultural runoff', *Circle of Blue*, 18 January 2013.
- Md. Izwan, 'Cheap water cause of crisis in Selangor, says minister', *The Malaysian Insider*, 31 January 2013.
- Yeager-Kozacek, Codi, 'Water is both friend & foe: Down on wheat, Argentina and Brazil look forward to record corn harvests', *Circle of Blue*, 1 February 2013.
- Fish, Eric, 'The forgotten legacy of the Banqiao Dam collapse', *International Rivers*, 8 February 2013.
- Walton, Brett, 'Report: Groundwater pumping a major cause of declining water storage in the Middle East', *Circle of Blue*, 13 February 2013.
- Carter, Liz, 'Chinese activist web users take aim at water pollution, and censors strike back', *Tea Leaf Nation*, 16 February 2013.
- 'Key to cleaner environment may be right beneath our feet', *ScienceDaily*, 17 February 2013.
- Van Wyk, Barry, 'The groundwater of 90% of Chinese cities is polluted', *Danwei*, 18 February 2013.
- Maddocks, Andrew, 'Australia's water markets succeeding, yet severe challenges loom', *Circle of Blue*, 20 February 2013.



Selected Publications

- Pavelic, Paul, Kriengsak Srisuk and Phayom Saraphirom, 2012, 'Balancing-out floods and droughts: Opportunities to utilize floodwater harvesting and groundwater storage for agricultural development in Thailand', *Journal of Hydrology*, Vols 470–71, pp. 55–64.

This article suggests that surplus flows during the flood season in Thailand could be harvested and recharged within shallow alluvial aquifers upstream of flood-prone areas, and proposes that farmers in upstream riparian zones be co-opted as flood harvesters. This could enable agricultural lands to be put to more productive use. Such an approach could potentially be applied throughout Asia.

- International Rivers, 2013, *The downstream impacts of Ethiopia's Gibe III Dam: East Africa's "Aral Sea" in the making?*, January.

If Ethiopia completes the Gibe III Dam and continues to press ahead with large-scale irrigation developments, indigenous livelihoods and biodiversity could be significantly affected. This could destabilise the Ethiopia-Kenya borderlands around Lake Turkana. This paper summarises technical and scientific evidence from research on and around the lake. It then reviews the potential political consequences and suggests a variety of strategies that might be pursued to oppose or moderate them.

- Chariar, V.M. and S. Ramesh Sakthivel, 2013, *Waterless urinals: A resource book*, Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) Delhi and The Vigyan Vijay Foundation.

Human urine could be used for agricultural and industrial purposes as it contains significant amounts of essential plant nutrients such as nitrogen, phosphate and potassium. This resource book seeks to provide individuals, builders, engineers, architects and policymakers with information on the benefits of harvesting urine for reuse through waterless urinals.

Events & Announcements

- 'River Basin Management 2013', 22–24 May 2013, New Forest, UK.
- 'Water in Mining 2013', 26–28 November 2013, Brisbane, Australia.

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About the Centre:

The Centre for NTS Studies, based in the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), was inaugurated by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Secretary-General Dr Surin Pitsuwan in May 2008. The Centre maintains research in the fields of Climate Change, Food Security, Energy Security, Health Security, as well as Internal and Cross Border Conflict. It produces policy-relevant analyses aimed at furthering awareness and building capacity to address NTS issues and challenges in the Asia Pacific region and beyond. The Centre also provides a platform for scholars and policymakers within and outside Asia to discuss and analyse NTS issues in the region.

The Centre is the Coordinator of the ASEAN-Canada Research Partnership (2012–2015) supported by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada. It also serves as the Secretariat of the initiative.

In 2009, the Centre was chosen by the MacArthur Foundation as a lead institution for its three-year Asia Security Initiative (2009–2012), to develop policy research capacity and recommend policies on the critical security challenges facing the Asia-Pacific. It is also a founding member and the Secretariat for the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia).

More information on the Centre can be found at www.rsis.edu.sg/nts.