

16TH ASIA PACIFIC PROGRAMME FOR SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS

THE CHANGING ROLE
OF THE MILITARY



Event Report
5-10 August 2014

Institute of Defence and
Strategic Studies

Event Report

**16TH ASIA PACIFIC PROGRAMME
FOR SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS (APPSMO):
THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE MILITARY**

ORGANISED BY:

**INSTITUTE OF DEFENCE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES (IDSS),
S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (RSIS),
NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY (NTU),
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5-10 AUGUST 2014

**THE SINGAPORE RESORT & SPA SENTOSA
SINGAPORE**

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This report summarises the proceedings of the conference as interpreted by assigned rapporteurs and editor of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this report.

The conference adheres to a variation of the Chatham House Rule. Accordingly, beyond the points expressed in the prepared papers, no attributions have been included in this conference report.

SUMMARY OF APPSMO 2014

The 16th Asia Pacific Programme for Senior Military Officers (APPSMO) organised by the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), was held at The Singapore Resort and Spa Sentosa from 4 to 10 August 2014. Since its inception in 1999, APPSMO has provided a unique and important forum for military officers and defence analysts to network and exchange views on a broad range of subjects related to regional and international security. APPSMO 2014 has continued to facilitate defence diplomacy with the attendance of over 50 military officers and defence planners from 24 countries representing Asia, Oceania, North America and Europe.

During the week-long programme, the participants attended a series of seminars and discussions that featured experts from both the academic and policy communities. The theme

for APPSMO 2014 was The Changing Role of the Military. Some of the key topics discussed included the changing dimensions of strategy, the geopolitics of the Asia Pacific, the challenge of irregular warfare, civil-military cooperation in a coalition environment, perceptions of the military profession and cross-domain integration.

The participants visited the Information Fusion Centre at the Changi Naval Base and the Urban Redevelopment Authority, and also had a military history tour of Singapore. The participants and invited speakers attended the National Day Parade on 9 August 2014. APPSMO 2014 has played an important role as an additional conduit of defence diplomacy by facilitating interaction among senior military officers in and beyond the Asia Pacific. It has provided an opportunity for participants to foster a better understanding of each other, as well as their respective countries.

WELCOME REMARKS



Ambassador Barry Desker **Dean, RSIS and Director, IDSS**

Ambassador Barry Desker noted that APPSMO had grown significantly in the 16 years following its inception in 1999. He observed that it now hosts both military and civilian participants from over 20 countries, and has nurtured a network of defence thinkers and planners. Amb Desker highlighted that two of this year's panellists were in fact APPSMO alumni from this network. Additionally, recognising the importance of APPSMO alumni, Ambassador Desker announced that they too would be invited to participate in the Distinguished Dinner Programme, one of the highlights of each year's APPSMO, which was previously opened only to programme participants.

Amb Desker mentioned the range of threats and challenges, from globalisation to non-traditional security issues, which APPSMO has addressed over the years. He stated that this year's focus, however, was on a broader institutional issue

that affects all ranks and vocations—the changing role of the military. Discussing this issue, Amb Desker noted, would entail asking questions about how the military as an institution deals with other changes in the security environment, as well as demographics in local and international societies. These issues would undoubtedly affect military operations. This year's panellists would therefore make presentations on changes to strategy, security issues concerning the Asia Pacific, irregular warfare, civil-military relations in coalitions, perceptions of the military profession, as well as inter-operability and integration in the military. Amb Desker hoped this range of topics would present opportunities for the participants to share ideas and question preconceived assumptions, in the syndicate discussions and plenary session.

In closing, Amb Desker thanked the Singapore Ministry of Defence and the Tote Board for their continued support over the years, and wished all participants a fruitful week ahead.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS



Mr Chan Chun Sing
Minister for Social and Family Development;
Second Minister for Defence, Singapore

Mr Chan Chun Sing began his address by thanking the organisers for allowing him to return to APPSMO to share his insights. He noted that APPSMO's main aims had remained constant over the past 16 years. He highlighted three aspects of APPSMO. First, APPSMO was a chance for upcoming military leaders to take a break and reflect on their profession. Second, it was an opportunity to acquire new perspectives by meeting people from different countries in an informal environment to discuss geopolitical and professional issues concerning them. Third, APPSMO was an opportunity to build ties. Mr Chan stressed the importance of networking and emphasised that the friendships forged over the course of the week could in fact be the most valuable aspect of APPSMO. Mr Chan observed that there have been many occasions where such friendships had translated into benefits when alumni found themselves subsequently working together.

Mr Chan began his keynote address proper by describing the factors that underpin many of the challenges the world now faces. He believes globalisation, particularly in Asia, has led to a mixing of people across borders. Mr Chan also suggested that intense international and domestic economic competition have raised tensions. These challenges, he concluded, provides fertile ground for security threats to develop. Additionally, he observed that rapid development has caused a restructuring of societal links and attitudes towards regionalism. These, Mr. Chan noted, were all new challenges the military has to confront.

Mr Chan returned to the four 'R's—race, religion, resources and rights—which he used to frame the previous year's keynote address. He argued that these concepts are still relevant today, even more so in the present period of rapid economic development. Mr Chan opined that countries which are not doing well economically could face domestic pressure to protect their markets. Furthermore, income inequality could develop racial and religious undertones. He stressed that it was important to prevent economic, racial and religious fault lines from intersecting each other as they could dangerously combine, and noted that the temptation to allow this to happen was always present. In countries facing economic difficulties, there would always be calls for the government to do more. Besieged governments, Mr Chan cautioned, could find it difficult to resist political pressure to solve their domestic problems without diverting attention to external issues. He then highlighted how there had recently been many notable instances of external events impacting domestic politics. He cited the recent Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Gaza, as well as the trouble caused in Iraq and Syria by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). These events, Mr Chan pointed out, are by any normal definition far removed from the region, yet have still managed to have an impact domestically. He noted that some regional countries had seen their own citizens joining the struggle as foreign fighters while others had seen their populations taking sides, riled up by the tension in Gaza. These developments have in turn challenged domestic security and the region cannot be insulated from such events.

Mr Chan, however, also pointed out that countries that were doing well faced challenges too. He listed resources as a

major concern, in particular, how to continue to secure and transport them for economic growth. He emphasised that the safe movement of these resources were the lifelines of countries. Mr Chan, however, argued that their security could not be handled by countries alone as they transcend maritime boundaries. This reality offers opportunities for cooperation, but could also result in competition. He also suggested that countries doing well could face the temptation to right the perceived wrongs in history. He noted that challenges would abound regardless of whether a country was doing well or not.

Mr Chan suggested that the military could respond to these challenges in several ways. He said that a modification of the DIME (Diplomacy, Information, Military and Economics) framework of national power, that he had first been introduced to while he was in the military, could be instructive. In this framework the military is merely just one instrument of national power, and it could contribute to the others as well. He stressed that, most importantly, force should always be used as a last resort.

In “Diplomacy,” Mr Chan noted that the military community has a distinctive advantage over a country’s political leadership. He pointed to the fact that regional military officers often have careers which progress in tandem with each other. As such, senior officers often know their regional counter-parts over many years, unlike politicians who are voted in and out of office. The military should take advantage of these links to provide additional avenues of communication. Doing so could reduce misunderstandings through more accurate interpretations of actions that a country takes.

Mr Chan replaced “Information” with “Institution” in the DIME framework. He observed that markets often watch what the military does, as the actions of the institution could either provide a sense of assurance or possibly complicate a tense situation. The military, as an institution, could therefore provide the leadership necessary to calm nerves and stabilise a situation to reduce conflict. He noted the tendency to use might to get one’s way. Rather than merely be an instrument for the expression of might, the military could be an institution of peace that deepens bilateral and

multilateral ties. Events like the Shangri-La Dialogue could be useful platforms for militaries to meet even if countries are not on the best of terms. Mr Chan offered this institutional platform as one way of keeping channels open. He therefore stressed the importance of strengthening institutional ties to pre-empt a crisis.

While the “Military” dimension of national power is important, and militaries will have their differences, Mr Chan opined that many also recognise the importance of working together in order to deal with common threats and challenges. He offered the establishment of a regional Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) coordination centre as a good example of this. Other areas of cooperation, especially in the area of information sharing, were counter-terrorism, maritime security and cybersecurity. These challenges, he observed, were not local issues but international ones. Mr Chan observed that Southeast Asia is uniquely positioned to explore cross-national cooperation because of its central location in trade and information flow.

Mr Chan acknowledged that the military had, *prima facie*, little to do with “Economics.” He, however, explained that the military has the responsibility to use economic resources judiciously. If it does not, it will impose a burden on the domestic population which could diminish public support of the military. Allowing the military to develop its own self-centred economic interests would therefore be a recipe for disaster. Confidence in the military can only be built through good economic management.

In conclusion, Mr Chan reiterated that the new challenges facing the world cannot be overcome independently, and cross-national cooperation is necessary. Additionally, the previous generation has shown wisdom in eschewing force to better the lives of people. He reminded the audience that it is incumbent on the present generation to preserve the peace and work towards continued development. He suggested that the military’s ultimate measure of success is, paraphrasing Sun Tzu, to win without fighting. That would be its key challenge in the years to come.

DISTINGUISHED LUNCH TALKS

SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION



Lieutenant General William Stevenson
Chief Executive
Malaysia Institute of Defence and Security (MIDAS)

With the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) perspective constituting the primary focus of his presentation, **Lieutenant General William Stevenson** first highlighted the evolving and complex nature of the Asia Pacific geo-strategic landscape which has resulted in changing dimensions of strategic thinking about defence and security. The phenomenal socio-economic growth experienced by Asia, with some tipping China to become the world's largest economy in the future, would see the international economic balance of power shifting in the region's favour.

Fronted by ASEAN, Southeast Asia, in LG Stevenson's view, has grown in importance on the world stage, having been a crucial part of Washington's Asia Pacific rebalancing strategy. Other Western powers, such as the European Union, have also taken renewed interest in the region. In part, Southeast Asia's growing importance could be attributed to a host of strategic and economic factors such as its strategic location, significant socio-economic development, the importance of

the Malacca Strait to international economic well-being, as well as existing regional flashpoints, namely the territorial disputes and sovereignty issues in the South China Sea and intra-state conflicts in southern Thailand and southern Philippines.

Although Southeast Asia has so far enjoyed unprecedented peace and prosperity due to the maintenance of political stability, LG Stevenson cautioned that socio-economic development in the region was also accompanied by a host of challenges. The South China Sea disputes involving Great Power rivalries as well as myriad non-traditional security (NTS) threats, such as trans-national crimes and natural disasters, have the potential of transcending boundaries to create spill-overs which could affect the security of other countries. Southeast Asian governments therefore have to tackle the twin challenges of traditional and NTS challenges simultaneously.

A strong ASEAN, LG Stevenson argued, would therefore carry increasing importance in safeguarding Asia Pacific security in the foreseeable future. An ASEAN-centric regional security architecture remains a crucial platform for not just intra-ASEAN stability but also engagement

with extra-regional powers. The “ASEAN Way”, in his view, has gone a long way in forestalling the emergence of wars in the region and had provided a useful basis for conflict management. LG Stevenson cited the ongoing Sino-ASEAN talks over a Code of Conduct in the South China Sea as an example. The peaceful resolution of the Indonesia-Malaysia dispute over the Ligitan and Sipadan Islands in 2002, and the Malaysia-Singapore dispute over Pedra Branca in 2008 also aptly demonstrated ASEAN member states’ adherence to the rule of law in managing territorial disputes among states. In addition, there would be an anticipated expansion in intra-ASEAN defence and security cooperation in the coming years, for example, with the future promulgation of a Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) centre in Singapore, an initiative which has obtained general support from member states during the last ASEAN Defence Ministers’ Meeting. LG Stevenson opined that this HADR

centre would become an important platform for greater defence and security cooperation among not just ASEAN member states but also with extra-regional actors in tackling common NTS challenges.

LG Stevenson concluded his presentation by pointing out that contemporary international security challenges could be meaningfully resolved by diplomatic means, among which defence diplomacy would take on an increasingly important role in the future. Such peaceful engagements among defence establishments and the militaries would not only help in defusing inter-state tensions but also facilitate cooperation against common security issues. The evolving and increasingly complex security landscape would, in his view, demand not just cooperation within ASEAN and the wider Asia Pacific region but also the international community at large to better prepare for future challenges.

U.S. LAND FORCES IN THE PACIFIC: REBALANCE, ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS



Major General Gary Hara
Deputy Commanding General
Army National Guard
U.S. Army in the Pacific

Major General Gary Hara shared his thoughts and observations about the engagement of the U.S. Army in the Pacific (USARPAC), and how its Land Forces operated in the region. The USARPAC now bore multiple responsibilities, reiterating how land forces remained essential to security and stability in the Asia Pacific region.

MG Hara then provided a brief historical overview of the USARPAC. First, U.S. experience in the Asia Pacific had had a joint and expeditionary composition since the late 1890s, playing a significant role in the region's security dynamics. Thus the U.S. was not new to the region. Presently, as the U.S. reduced its land forces deployed in the Middle East, Central Asia and Europe, its attention and presence has returned to the Indo-Asia Pacific region as part of its strategic rebalancing. Through continued partnerships, the U.S. would invest in diplomatic, economic, military and assistance resources that were commensurate with its whole-of-government approach. That would place a premium on the use of strategic land power, where the army, marines and special operators would become key multipliers. MG Hara noted that this was a decisive element of American national security that demonstrated its continued commitment to the region in ways that other means could not achieve. He also believed that the region's security and prosperity could only be achieved through relationships forged with partner nation land forces.

MG Hara then elaborated on the significance and impact of land-power in the Asia Pacific. In addition to supporting

its allies in the region, there had also been increased land force engagement with China's military—an important part of U.S.-China relations that provides an open channel of communication. They had participated with China in a quadrilateral disaster management exchange in New Zealand, and hosted a bilateral disaster management field exchange with PLA soldiers and generals in Hawaii. These efforts were aimed at increasing transparency and defusing tensions in the region. Operationally, the Pacific Land Forces led the joint team response to typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines. The successful operation testified to the importance of collective capacity-building in responding to regional crises, as well as the value of land forces in the region.

MG Hara also touched on the role of land-power in support of the US Pacific Command (PACOM) and the Joint Force. The modern joint operating environment meant a unity of effort across various domains. Achieving the best possible outcome was a joint activity and PACOM relied on the land component to lead. In this regard, the Theatre Joint Force Land Component Command was one of the mechanisms PACOM developed to effectively plan for crises, to maintain operational readiness over the expansive geographic area, and to create an agile mission command architecture that could easily transition from daily routine business to crisis response.

MG Hara stated that on-going bilateral relationships with allies and partners were absolutely critical to mutual defence, as well as the basis for multilateral security cooperation. Such bilateral relationships were also essential to the successful response to regional hazards and threats. Accordingly, the Land Force regularly facilitates or participates in multilateral dialogue, such as APPSMO or the US Army Pacific Programs for senior government officials.

DISTINGUISHED DINNER TALK

EAST ASIA IN TRANSITION



Ambassador Bilahari Kausikan
Ambassador-at-Large; and
Policy Adviser
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore

Ambassador Bilahari Kausikan spoke about the transitions that were occurring in East Asia which he believed would have global consequences. He started by affirming that the world was undergoing a profound transition of power and ideas; the era of the modern international system founded on Western concepts, institutions and influence was drawing to a close. Ironically, the international system was currently being transformed by the very countries which had adapted to a Western defined modernity successfully. Of these, Japan led the way after the Meiji Restoration in the 19th century, while China is the most important example today.

Amb Bilahari thus emphasised that the most difficult and wrenching adjustments would be between the U.S., the dominant Western power, and China. However, although historically all other transitions from one type of international system to another were either the result of conflict or resulted in conflict, Amb Bilahari opined that despite the competition and tension between the U.S. and China, conflict between them was not inevitable. Comparing this to the U.S.-Soviet relationship, he pointed out that there was no bitter, fundamentally irreconcilable ideological divide between the U.S. and a China that had now enthusiastically embraced market economics. China is now so vital a part of the world

economy, and the inter-dependence between the U.S. and China so profound, that the containment or displacement of either of them would be exercises in futility. Amb Bilahari believed neither could possibly achieve their basic national goals without working with the other.

On the other hand, he highlighted this was a reality neither found particularly comfortable, all the more so because China's rise had been psychologically disquieting to many in the West. Amb Bilahari observed it had been regarded as essentially challenging the Western historical narrative since Capitalism and the market economy had been flourishing in China despite the absence of liberal democracy. The Chinese experience thereby punctured the Western myth of the universality of liberal democracy. Amb Bilahari believed this Western perspective was one that ignored an inconvenient historical fact: that every Western country was capitalist long before it was either liberal or democratic. The perceived anomaly thereby resonated with deep Western anxieties about the West's place in the world as China, unlike Japan or India, only wanted to be China and not a team player with the West.

Amb Bilahari also observed that while diversity was an empirical fact and celebrated by liberal thought domestically, it was, at the same time, denigrated internationally. He pointed out that every polity, except a handful in the Middle East, now legitimised itself by some variant of a single 18th century Western political philosophy which held that sovereignty

derived from the will of the people formed the fundamental basis of democracy. Amb Bilahari further noted that it was evident that not all ideas of democracy were the same, and none was perfect. In spite of this diversity however, the claim of the universality of certain principles and political forms had been used to justify Western interventions to change regimes in North Africa and the Middle East. Although all of these interventions had only resulted in greater instability, an unshaken confidence to Western rhetoric about universality still remained. Anxieties had therefore been reinforced in many countries, including China.

Hence, Amb Bilahari noted that a successful peaceful transition would require that the West abandon its preoccupation with liberal democratic universality and admit that different political systems had their own legitimacy and intellectual validity. Moreover, China would also have to resist the temptations of triumphalist nationalism, especially since

Chinese nationalism was presently outwardly directed and particularly focused on Japan. Amb Bilahari also suggested, territorial disputes aside, the greater challenge is not that China is revisionist, but that China was still overall a free-rider on a system whose original creators and beneficiaries could now not afford to maintain without help.

Amb Bilahari concluded that a multi-dimensional process of social, economic, political and cultural metamorphosis had been underway and gathering force in East Asia since the Meiji Restoration. While this had neither been a smooth nor predictable road, the trajectory for a new world system had been set. How long this would take, what specific institutional forms might be adopted, what collateral damage might be incurred along the way, or what the ultimate implications would be for international relations, Amb Bilahari noted, were questions whose answers remained to be seen.

SESSION I: THE CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF STRATEGY



Lieutenant General (Ret.) Rhys Jones **Retired Chief of the Defence Force (2011-2014)** **New Zealand Defence Force**

Lieutenant General (Retired) Rhys Jones pointed out the difference between strategic and operational thinking, with the former requiring a long-term perspective as opposed to the short-term approach of the latter. As such, militaries that are used to making quick decisions would have to adjust their thinking to take account of the changing global environment, where more diverse stakeholders have a greater role in shaping events and issues. He observed that few countries in the world today possess a long-term national strategy, and this had to be addressed.

He added that inter-cultural and inter-religious issues are increasingly becoming more important in international conflicts; resolving them would require skill-sets that are not solely of the military alone. He noted that change, while inevitable, had to be managed in a way that the process would not destabilize the international order. In order to achieve this, there was a need to have clear communication channels as well as for military professionals to be well versed in their jobs.

According to LG Jones, militaries in the 21st century had to adapt to new roles and new partners in their formulation of strategy. While militaries may be very good in planning, external organizations that they work with may not be as

efficient and there was a need to ensure that the military remain sufficiently flexible in responding to ground realities. He emphasised the need to focus more on the pre-operations and post-operations work to ensure that military operations are integrated with broader realities. In the event of war, militaries should also ensure that they had a clear grasp of what the end-state should be like; these objectives should then limit the extent of how war should be conducted.

Two extreme scenarios, namely the overly-zealous “strategic corporal” and the “tactical Prime Minister”, had to be avoided. In this case, junior soldiers should not attempt to second guess policy-makers, while policy-makers should also not attempt to micro-manage tactical issues. There was a need to provide commanders with a sense of what the bigger mission is while at the same time granting them enough flexibility and autonomy to carry out their mission. In other words, military strategy should not be conceived in isolation but instead anchored to a national strategy to ensure maximum effectiveness.

In conclusion, LG Jones reiterated that the uncertain international environment meant the need for military professionals to engage in dialogue and trust-building at multiple levels so as to reduce the risk of miscalculation. Militaries need to understand the why and not just what is being done if they are to fulfil the mandate of their respective countries.

SESSION II: THE GEOPOLITICS OF THE ASIA PACIFIC



Professor T. V. Paul
Ngee Ann Kongsi Professor of International Relations
RSIS;
James McGill Professor of International Relations
Department of Political Science
McGill University

Professor T. V. Paul highlighted the unique context surrounding China's rise which distinguishes it from the European experience. Due to China's economic strength and its absence of any intense ideologies, it was unlikely to engage in European-style great power expansion. However, it remained difficult for outsiders to gauge China's intentions.

As such, countries were most likely to deploy a strategy of "hedging" to manage the rise of China. Hedging, according to Prof Paul, came in three forms: diplomatic engagement, soft-balancing and hard-balancing. He added that a strategy of hedging allowed countries to adopt a "wait-and-see" approach, thus presenting them with a wider range of options and allows them to maintain their freedom of action. However, if China were to act in a destabilizing manner, such a strategy could possibly unravel as countries may be forced to take sides.

On soft balancing, Prof Paul explained, it was important to use the power of institutions to balance against a more powerful nation so as to ensure that aggressive actions are not being conferred legitimacy. He noted that while China's

recent military behaviour was a concern, it did not yet pose a serious challenge to the region and that China still represented a major source of public goods in the economic realm. On hard-balancing, Prof Paul cited the U.S. pivot to Asia as a case in point, and added that China had reacted to this move in a more militaristic manner than anticipated. This could pose problems especially if the various countries in the region started to take sides.

The right mix of strategies then, was to have China recognise that whatever it does will have an impact on its neighbours and how they would respond. The ball, according to Prof Paul, was now in China's court to demonstrate that its intentions were peaceful. Unlike the U.S., China did not possess many points of leverage and its brand of coercive diplomacy in the region remained unattractive and weak. He raised the question concerning the type of international and regional order which China wanted to see and how China would go about achieving its goals. Whether China could acquire security and power while promoting an international order that was markedly different from the present one led by the U.S. was still open to question.

In conclusion, Prof Paul termed China as a "lucky" rising power, and that this was due to the largely peaceful international order. He suggested that China should attempt to gain legitimacy and authority among the states in East Asia and noted the importance of China's contributions to the international order.



Major General (Ret.) Zhu Chenghu
Professor
Academic Department of Strategic Studies
National Defence University
People's Republic of China

Major General (Ret.) Zhu Chenghu observed that in the past 30 years, the Asia Pacific region had witnessed relative peace and prosperity. However, the start of the 21st century had seen substantial mistrust among major countries in the region, thus necessitating collective action among countries involved, as well as ASEAN. According to MG Zhu, five factors would affect the future of the Asia Pacific.

Firstly, the development of China is likely to continue to be strong and the Chinese economy, contrary to what some predict, is unlikely to decline over the next 20 to 30 years. This is because: (i) the future of China would be largely investment-driven; (ii) large scale urbanization would lead to more economic opportunities; (iii) the restructuring of China's economy to weed out inefficient industries; (iv) a wide spectrum of construction/manufacturing industries; and (v) innovative and creative capabilities of the Chinese people. Unfortunately, many outsiders were not aware of the complexities of Chinese society and had attempted to cast China in a negative light. He added "if one takes China as a friend, China would be a very loyal friend." The opposite also holds true. "If one takes China as an enemy, then China would have to be an enemy."

Secondly, the U.S. rebalancing strategy to Asia had also provoked many problems, including exacerbating tensions

between China and its neighbours. He emphasised that China was not a revisionist, but a reformist state. China had benefitted much from the present global order and would not want to change it. Expressing the view that the present competition between the U.S. and China was unlike the Cold War rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, he nonetheless warned that present U.S. policies of containing China could lead to the possibility of conflict in the region, which would also result in countries having to take sides. This, according to MG Zhu, would be extremely unfortunate.

Thirdly, the role of ASEAN would also be an extremely important factor in preserving regional peace. He emphasised the importance of ASEAN unity in coordinating its security policies. More importantly, ASEAN had to be accepted by the major powers, including the U.S., China, Japan and India.

Fourthly, there was a need to ensure that tensions in the Korean Peninsula do not result in conflict. In this respect, the role of the U.S., China and Japan would be extremely important.

Finally, MG Zhu expressed that the future development of Japan would be critical. Japan was at a crossroads and depending on the changes made, the outcome could be positive or negative.

MG Zhu concluded by reminding the audience not to say words that may antagonise the Chinese people. He added that the responsibility to maintain peace belonged to all and that he hoped to see a more constructive relationship between China and the major powers, especially Japan.

SESSION III: THE CHALLENGE OF IRREGULAR WARFARE



Professor Gérard Chaliand
Visiting Senior Fellow
RSIS

Professor Gérard Chaliand pointed out that the war in Afghanistan was the last ever campaign in which Western governments would deploy so large a number of ground troops in a theatre. Future wars, he said, would be characterised by drones, proxy wars and greater involvement of small fighting units revolving around Special Forces.

Prof Chaliand noted that the West had enjoyed relatively greater success in warfare in the earlier centuries compared to the non-Western world, particularly Africa and Asia, because of a number of key factors.

First, he said Westerners then had conceived of and applied new ideas and innovations towards waging warfare. One such innovation had been the tapping of nationalism as a vehicle to fight prolonged campaigns with widened political objectives. In contrast, the natives of the non-Western world—subjects of Western colonialism—took a longer time to foster and mature their indigenous forms of nationalism that would later facilitate the wars of decolonisation after the Second World War.

The second key factor Prof Chaliand highlighted was that Western troops during the colonial wars stayed longer in

theatre, allowing themselves sufficient time to become familiar with the local cultures, thereby facilitating their campaigns against the insurgents. In contrast, using the Vietnam War as an example, American troops who were deployed there only had a short tour of duty in the theatre of operations. The rotation of such troops for short-term duty in Vietnam did not allow them to develop a good understanding of the local culture which was necessary for tackling the communist insurgency in South Vietnam more effectively.

The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a new world and new ideas, especially with the end of the “white man superiority complex”, and the resurgence of nationalism among non-Western civilisations. Prof Chaliand argued that in such a political context, public opinion has taken on a whole new level of importance in policymaking, especially in the Western democratic societies. There is now greater sensitivity within the general public towards the deployment of troops in far-flung regions to fight brutal and bloody irregular wars.

With such realities, Prof Chaliand reiterated, the West would no longer deploy troops in large numbers to engage in irregular warfare as it did in the Afghan campaign. Future wars in this regard would involve greater use of drones and Special Forces instead.



**Associate Professor Ahmed Salah Hashim
Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies
RSIS**

Associate Professor Ahmed Salah Hashim began his presentation by pointing out that of the 3,426 years of recorded human civilisation, only 274 have been years of peace. War, he argued, was not an aberration in the course of human history. With this context in mind, Assoc Prof Hashim examined the challenges which characterised three levels of warfare, namely, great wars fought by Great Powers, conventional wars which could be fought by all states, and finally, irregular wars involving both state and non-state actors.

Great wars fought by Great Powers, Assoc Prof Hashim said, were characterised by four challenges set in the Asia Pacific context. The first was the “Thucydides Trap” which could potentially witness the emergence of war brought about by Great Power shifts in the region. The second challenge, entangling alliances, was characterised by the on-going American rebalancing efforts in the Asia Pacific. The third challenge was those entangling territorial disputes and sovereignty issues in the region that provide sources of destabilisation which could escalate into wars. Finally, Professor Hashim warned about the fourth challenge—the inability of the region to resolve crises as a result of those disputes and Great Power rivalries—and the dangers of what he called “runaway nationalism” that constitutes a facet of the geopolitical dynamics.

The challenges related to conventional wars, which could be fought by all states regardless of size, were mainly military in nature, involving the intricacies of synergising and integrating diverse branches of armed services in the conduct of

combined arms and joint warfare. Compounding these challenges was the possibility that these operations could happen as part of a multi-national coalition, as well as unique set of challenges presented by civil-military relationships. Assoc Prof Hashim, however, argued that these challenges were still simpler to overcome than those presented by irregular wars which are more complex.

Assoc Prof Hashim pointed out irregular wars have been far more prevalent, with no fewer than 28 of 33 contemporary wars classified as irregular. Since 1980, 75 per cent of insurgent groups have been supported by external powers, with states becoming more of a proxy actor avoiding direct, symmetric force-on-force encounters with one another. The second challenge has been the definitional problem afflicting irregular warfare. Many different terms have been interchangeably used with irregular warfare, for example, guerrilla warfare, partisan warfare and small wars, just to name a few. Without a clear definition of irregular warfare, preparing to fight such wars would challenge militaries in budgetary preparations and doctrinal planning. Irregular warfare, he concluded, has therefore become a “wicked problem” for militaries today and in the future.

Following this definitional problem, Assoc Prof Hashim observed that irregular warfare presents a whole laundry list of military challenges, both internal and external. He cited the problems related to the formulation and implementation of an irregular warfare doctrine, the challenges in adapting to both top-down and bottom-up military reforms, harmony and coordination among various government agencies, as well as what he called “population security”. Prof Hashim emphasised that the latter term differs from “winning the hearts and minds” of the enemy population which is typically

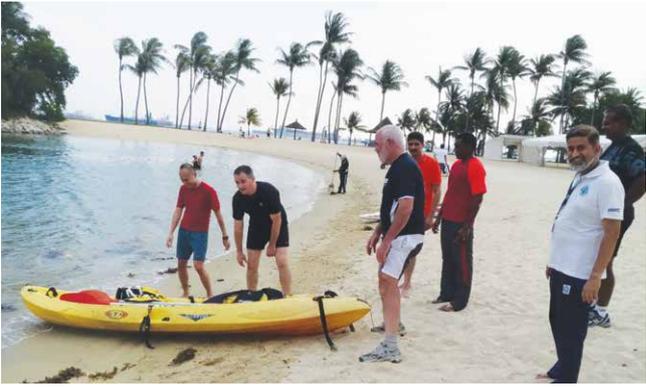
associated with irregular warfare. Instead, it involves government reaching out to and securing consensus within one's own population base in an attempt to gain the legitimacy to utilise military force to defeat the insurgents. He offered the cases of Chechnya and the Sri Lankan civil war as examples where this mattered significantly.

Assoc Prof Hashim also highlighted four fronts in irregular warfare, namely, military, diplomatic, media, as well as "lawfare". The last pair of "fronts", he argued, would become increasingly important for both conventional and irregular wars in future. The era of widespread internet use and access to modern information and communication technologies, such as camera-equipped smart phones and social media, have empowered the average common citizen to an unprecedented scale. The media has consequently

become what he called a "commodity for weaponisation". Finally, insurgents have also resorted to distorting and confusing international laws, especially the laws of armed conflict to delegitimise the adversaries, typically states, they were fighting against.

Looking forward, Assoc Prof Hashim argued that the world would witness the revival of urban irregular warfare in megacities of the future. Irregular warfare would remain nasty, brutish and long. The future urban battle space, he pointed out, would make Grozny, Ramadi and Fallujah for instance look like "child's play". State actors, including Great Powers, would come to increasingly integrate irregular warfare into their repertoire of unrestricted warfare in the future. Irregular warfare would become more regular and a prevalent facet of future conflicts.





SESSION IV: CIVIL-MILITARY COOPERATION IN A COALITION ENVIRONMENT



Mr Jeremy England
Head
Regional Delegation of the International Committee
of the Red Cross (ICRC)

Mr Jeremy England began his presentation by highlighting his growing concern of the global community's inability to tackle conflicts at present and in the distant future. He noted that the complex crises arising out of globalisation that had to be addressed by an international order that was perceived to be weak in negotiating outcomes, had made the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) pessimistic about future trends. Mr England highlighted that this sentiment had resulted in the cautious forecasting of the ICRC.

One of the main questions posed during his presentation was whether developing comprehensive strategies based on Iraq and Afghanistan may in fact be wrong. Mr England suggested that these cases relied on success in achieving "big ticket items." He suggested that may not be the best model to adopt in future conflicts.

Similarly, Mr England pointed out that for civil-military relations in general, both military and non-military actors had in essence different definitions as to what the relationship meant, resulting in contradictory objectives and perceptions. Only by reconciling these differing perceptions Mr England said, could both parties effectively work collectively.

Mr England also noted the danger of misplaced perceptions people had of the humanitarian community, resulting at times in attacks on those providing assistance. Assaults on those

who many believed to be "colluding" with coalition forces were some of the examples used. Using the ICRC as a case in point, Mr England emphasised that organisations such as his had no political agenda. Though it was entirely natural for them to work with the military, institutions such as his were impartial, and that impartiality could not be lost. As such, despite calls for more cooperation, there still needed to be clear separation between the civil and military domains. Mr England, however, noted the military was not entirely at fault. The aid community could do more to preserve its neutrality by being more consistent with its own agendas.

Throughout his presentation, the underlying theme that Mr England stressed repeatedly was that a comprehensive and effective strategy was not necessarily a fully integrated strategy. He argued that the automatic desire for coalition strategies to combine all elements toward a single mission could unintentionally cause the humanitarian agendas to be undermined. For Mr England, there was always a need for independent space for associations like the ICRC to do their work and not be absorbed by larger unions. The reason for him was quite clear; vital humanitarian assistance would inevitably have to be carried out even long after coalition forces had left the scene. Mr England emphasised doing so required the trust of the locals, and in order to develop such trust, a humanitarian organisation needed a certain degree of confidentiality and independence.



Dr Greg Mills
Director
Brenthurst Foundation

Dr Greg Mills began his presentation by discussing the nature of the insecurity environment today, using Africa as a vantage point. He stated that of the 40 most “conflict vulnerable” countries listed in his studies, 7 of the 10 lowest ranked positions were held by African states. While obvious factors such as the absence of basic services including security, infrastructure, and education did play a role, other elements such as increased African population along with increased urbanisation greatly contributed to the mounting cycles of conflict.

He further noted that while the trends for inter-state violence had decreased over the decades, the prospect of intra-state violence had unfortunately been on the rise. Dr Mills posited that it was “state fragility” that largely fed such endemic plights in which future military leaders may unfortunately find themselves operating in. Using illustrations such as the chauvinistic and zero-sum cultures of certain societies, the poor accountability of government institutions, and what he dubbed a “rent seeking” or elite-preference based economy, he reinforced that underlying forces such as these were at the root of underdevelopment that many of these nations chronically faced.

Likewise, though acknowledging that policy-makers did understand the notion of poor policy and bad leadership causing collapse, Dr Mills was also quick to point out that none of this was pre-ordained, as some may believe, depicting Southeast Asia as an example with its similar colonial legacies.

Dr Mills argued that getting recovery operations right was more than just trying to instil good governance, laws, or more appropriate mechanisms for aid delivery by outside donors. Achieving success first required an appreciation that campaigns such as these were long, messy, and certainly non-linear. Moreover, it required an understanding that it was not just about obtaining stability but also legitimacy in the eyes of the inhabitants. The paths to success, Dr Mills suggested, went beyond “getting the formula right” by incorporating local solutions— however muddled or distasteful they may appear.

Dr Mills offered Afghanistan as a case study, alluding to what a failing recovery effort looked like. Though arguably an extreme example, he observed that state-building efforts there did illustrate a scenario where a flood of well-intentioned money perversely produced outrageous projects that had no real value for the overall improvement of people’s lives.

In conclusion, Dr Mills urged the audience to focus less on expenditures and more on outcomes. In civil-military engagements, security forces were merely the key that opened the door, and that at best, they only provided the initial momentum to do some good. In the end, there had to be local ownership of the problems for any gains to last. Reform, Dr Mills said, was like an iceberg and Westerners particularly had to recognise that policies were merely the visible top. Though undoubtedly important, it was what was underneath the surface— the rules, customs, and habits of doing things that needed to be shaped for lasting progress.

SESSION V: PERCEPTIONS OF THE MILITARY PROFESSION



Associate Professor Panitan Wattanayagorn
Department of International Relations
Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University

Associate Professor Panitan Wattanayagorn began his presentation on the changing role and perception of the Thai military by first highlighting the crossroad that faces Thailand's military. First, the interim constitution adopted last month gave the military the power to influence post-coup political developments. Second, the dominance of military figures in the newly inaugurated National Assembly hints at the Army's determination to maintain control even after the transition of power back to democratic government. Third, the confluence of domestic political cleavages, regional territorial disputes and the U.S.-China geopolitical rivalry suggests a need for the Military's continued involvement in politics. Against this backdrop, Assoc Prof Wattanayagorn argued that the role and perception of the Thai military has not changed that much in the last few decades.

Assoc Prof Wattanayagorn pointed out that the current regional geopolitical challenges require a more professional presence by the Thai military to ensure Thailand's security. He presented three options. First, he offered a future with U.S./China led hegemony. Given America's re-balancing strategy and China's territorial interests in the Southeast Asian region, Assoc Prof Wattanayagorn observed how the geopolitical rivalry would influence Thailand's strategic review as to which direction to lean its defence policy towards. Next, he explored the possibility of a regional balance of power. Assoc Prof Wattanayagorn argued this was best achieved by enhancing security arrangements with the major powers in the region, namely the U.S., China, Japan and Russia.

He pointed out that this option could require a constant evaluation and re-calibration of the role and capability of the military establishments in the region. Finally, he suggested power-sharing through multilateralism. In this scenario, there would be a need to push for more cooperation via regional security forums, such as the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus (ADMM+) and ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), to counter-balance the presence of big powers in the region. This option, Assoc Prof Wattanayagorn posited, would appeal to the ASEAN spirit but would not be preferred by the militaries in the region because it would notably exclude the big powers.

Turning his attention to the present domestic situation, Assoc Prof Wattanayagorn outlined what he considered to be the most pressing issues facing the Thai military. He opined that in the post-coup aftermath, the Thai military would need to enforce domestic security and create a new democratic and electoral apparatus in a manner that would restore domestic political stability and international confidence. Therein, he pointed out, lies the key difference between the Western and Thailand's Military-Political nexus.

Assoc Prof Wattanayagorn explained that Thai citizens are essentially pragmatic, having supported the last 19 ousting of governments in order to change what was not working. This pragmatism extended to the military which Thai citizens have traditionally looked upon to drive developmental projects. He therefore suggested there is an implicit trust and confidence in the military to be able to administer the country more effectively than elected politicians. Consequently, the Thai military has received enduring domestic support for it to remain proactively involved in domestic politics.

Underpinned by the monarchy's endorsement, Assoc Prof Wattanayagorn noted that the Thai military has demonstrated this confidence, as evidenced by the dominance of military figures in the newly inaugurated National Legislative Assembly. This, he argued, is in line with the Thai people's expectation of the military to step up and take control of the situation when internal conflict arises. He noted that this explicit trusting of such a Civil-Military nexus and a close examination of the National Reform Council's recommendations, are both indicative of a military already entrenched in domestic politics, as well as its confidence to guide the transition back to democratic rule.

Assoc Prof Wattanayagorn concluded that while the regional geopolitical challenges require a more professional presence by the Thai military, and the domestic challenges oblige the military to also be more involved in domestic politics, the implied mandate given to the Thai military to continue to exert influence in Thailand's external and internal environment is consistent with the traditional, possibly even uniquely Thai, Civil-Military-Political nexus that the country is familiar with.



Professor Pascal Vennesson
Professor of Political Science
RSIS

Professor Pascal Vennesson began his presentation by comparing it with earlier ones by representatives Mr Jeremy England and Dr Greg Mills on civil-military cooperation in a coalition environment. Those presentations, noted Prof Pascal, examined civil-military relations at the macro level. His research, however, was conducted at a micro-level of people-to-people relationship between NGOs and military organisations. The larger research question Prof Vennesson sought to answer was why some relationships between NGOs and military organisations were cooperative while others were deeply antagonistic. For his presentation, however, Prof Vennesson narrowed his focus to just the military perspective and accompanying “dos” and “don’ts”.

Prof Vennesson began by describing his research design which utilised empirical evidence from two distinctly different theatres between 2007 and 2011—the NATO-led mission in Afghanistan (International Security Assistance Force, ISAF)

and the UNIFIL II mission in Lebanon. His research compared the NGO-Military relations of France and Italy as they both were involved in similar missions. Based on extensive fieldwork conducted in 2007 to 2008, and complemented by follow-up interviews in 2009 to 2011, an entire range of NGO-military relations with different outcomes were examined.

Distilling the lessons relevant for the military, Prof Vennesson highlighted three “dos” and “don’ts” when working with NGOs. His first “don’t” is to be judgemental of NGOs and perpetuate stereotypes of them. He noted that military organisations tend to be deeply suspicious of NGOs’ agenda and doubtful of their competency, often perpetuating a common perception that NGOs would either intentionally or inadvertently compromise military operations. Initially shaped by past experiences, this perception would go on to shape future experiences. Prof Vennesson’s second “don’t” is to have poor situational awareness. He argued that a lack of understanding of the local culture and assessment of the local needs could violate humanitarian space, compromise the NGO’s neutrality and independence, and jeopardize the security of the NGO personnel. His final “don’t” is to be lacking in self-awareness

and have an inflated sense of ability. His research suggested there were instances where the military perceived themselves as the real humanitarian aid workers given that they were in theatre first with humanitarian and reconstruction objectives. This perception, opined Prof Vennesson, not only hampers the military's main operational goals but would also be regarded with hostility by the NGOs.

On the flip side, Prof Vennesson's first "do" for the military is to suspend judgement of NGOs and build a relationship with them at the earliest available opportunity. His research showed that when NGO-military relationships were established early, in a neutral and a less stressful environment, both sides were able to develop better understanding of each other's prerogatives and limitations, resulting in a positively reinforcing cooperation. His second "do" is to respect and preserve NGOs' space to conduct its humanitarian work. This, he acknowledged, could be challenging as operational spaces often had to be shared. However, Prof Vennesson

stressed it is crucial to the safety and effectiveness of the NGOs that the military is cognisant of how and where NGO-military interactions take place, and how it may be perceived by the local population. The final "do" is to seek a clear separation of duties while still accepting some level of overlap in the lines of operations and responsibility. This, he argued, is essential to avoid duplication of efforts and wastage of resources, while at the same time recognising that the NGOs can cover the military's blind spots and support it, and vice-versa. This was evidenced by occasions when the military had to seek and receive expertise offered by some NGOs, resulting in successful outcomes.

In conclusion, Prof Vennesson reiterated the military bias of his presentation and noted that NGOs too would have its own list of "dos" and "don'ts". He also emphasised the need for such analyses to be conducted on the micro-level because organisational differences are inadequate in explaining the entire range of NGO-military relations.

SESSION VI: CROSS-DOMAIN INTEROPERABILITY AND INTEGRATION



Rear Admiral Giam Hock Koon
Commander
Maritime Security Task Force
Republic of Singapore Navy

Rear Admiral Giam Hock Koon's presentation was based on his experiences in the Combined Task Force, Maritime Task Force and the Singapore Crisis Centre. He believed that integration across government agencies was the way forward given today's inter-connected world where challenges to Singapore's security would be diverse.

RADM Giam first provided the background to Singapore's involvement in international and regional operations in Africa, the Middle East, the Malacca Straits, as well as the India-Singapore coordinated patrol. He pointed out that SAF had been deployed in the Gulf of Aden since 2009, an important area that facilitates 50 per cent of the Northeast Asian oil trade. In addition, the SAF had also assisted in other crises like the Aceh tsunami, typhoon Haiyan, and the missing Malaysian Airlines flight MH370.

RADM Giam noted that maritime security threats were trans-national in nature. Strategy therefore had to be comprehensively conceived by both the military and industry players. Furthermore, as was the case in the Gulf of Aden, they spanned a vast geographical area, requiring global collaborative efforts. He highlighted that Singapore was only 1 of 30 countries involved in the Gulf, demonstrating strength in diversity. RADM Giam observed that international collaboration successfully brought down piracy to pre-crises levels. He also highlighted that

cooperation with regional authorities (for example, the Omanese and Yemenese governments) was as important as that with larger extra-regional partners. He also noted that the legal bases for counter-piracy operations required an adherence to international law and its procedures. RADM Giam stressed the importance of including due process, arrest and prosecution as a key component in the overall fight against piracy.

RADM Giam then spoke on Regional Maritime Security (MARSEC) initiatives, the on-going efforts in the Malacca Straits and the Indonesia-Singapore Coordinated Patrol. He cited the Changi Command and Control Centre as a critical enabler for such collaboration that provided a practical platform to coordinate joint operations from, as well as a symbol of the shared purpose of ensuring safe seas for all. Achieving this, RADM Giam pointed out, required interoperability and inter-agency cooperation within each country.

RADM Giam also highlighted other initiatives such as the Information Fusion Centre that facilitated maritime security information-sharing, practitioner courses, workshops and advisories. He mentioned that the Regional HADR Coordination Centre was progressing and workshops would be conducted soon. The National Maritime Security System was Singapore's national level approach to strengthening Singapore's maritime security framework via a whole-of-government framework. RADM Giam highlighted it would have a unified command and communications system, which could also include regional and international collaborative partners.



Mr Richard Bitzinger
Senior Fellow
Coordinator of the Military Transformations
Programme, IDSS
RSIS

Mr Richard Bitzinger focused his brief presentation on the current but still nascent topic of Air-Sea battle (ASB); a concept developed by the U.S. ASB which had been presented as the essential military response to modern security challenges. Yet there was still much ambiguity in strategic purpose and plan of operation. ASB, he argued, would be of critical interest to the Asia Pacific region as it was the key military operational complement to America's "pivot back" to Asia.

Mr Bitzinger noted the paucity of information about ASB. He highlighted that there had only been one official Department of Defense publication in the last 15 years. He noted two key characteristics of ASB, namely, jointness and networking. The concept was intended to overcome the "anti-access/area-denial" (A2/AD) challenge. He also acknowledged there were aspects of ASB that resembled the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), and their roles resembled each other. Mr Bitzinger suggested ASB was essentially a pre-emptive, stand-off and precision-strike strategy, carried out in three phases—disrupting the enemy's Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (C4ISR) assets, destroying the enemy's A2/AD's platforms, and defeating the enemy's deployed weapons platforms.

Mr Bitzinger argued that ASB was significant in Asia, especially in the context of China. He believes ASB in Asia is overwhelmingly about responding to China and its recent military technological developments, particularly in the areas of A2/AD "hardware" and "software" capabilities. In particular, he highlighted that there had been major C4ISR improvements and expansion that allowed China to conduct integrated network electronic warfare, as well as deploy high-technology, long-range precision-strike weapons.

Mr Bitzinger noted how some observers felt that ASB was not just about China. They also questioned China's A2/AD capabilities. He, however, argued it was hard to think of another country with a credible A2/AD challenge.

With regard to ASB and the future of conflict, Mr Bitzinger noted that ASB was still too vague to be a useful warfighting concept despite the amount of attention it has been paid. The concept, he pointed out, also raised questions like whether or not America really wanted to engage in pre-emptive strikes on the Chinese mainland. He observed that a weakness of the concept was ambiguity in its ability to respond to lesser forms of Chinese aggression. Mr Bitzinger therefore concluded that much work still needed to be done on clarifying the concept and its operational utility. He acknowledged that its current ambiguity was undesirable as it encouraged worst-case scenarios, exacerbated existing uncertainties, and could be injurious to Sino-U.S. relations.

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Day 1

4 August 2014 (Monday) - Arrival

11:00 Arrival and Registration of Participants

16:00–18:00 Ice-Breaker Event

19:00 Welcome Dinner

Day 2

5 August 2014 (Tuesday)

07:30–08:45 Breakfast

09:30–09:35 Welcome Remarks

Ambassador Barry Desker

*Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies;
Director, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies*

09:35–10:20 Keynote Address

Mr Chan Chun Sing

*Minister for Social and Family Development and
Second Minister for Defence, Singapore*

10:20–10:45 Group Photo-taking

11:00–12:00 Session I

The Changing Dimensions of Strategy

Speaker:

Lieutenant General (Ret.) Rhys Jones

*Former Chief of Defence Force
New Zealand Defence Force*

Chairperson:

Professor Khong Yuen Foong

*Professor of International Relations; and
Senior Research Adviser
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*

12:15–14:00 Lunch

14:00–15:30 Session II

The Geopolitics of Asia Pacific

Speaker:

Professor T. V. Paul

*Ngee Ann Kongsi Professor of International Relations, RSIS; and
James McGill Professor of International Relations
Department of Political Science
McGill University*

Major General (Ret) Zhu Chenghu

*Professor
Academic Department of Strategic Studies
National Defence University, China*

Chairperson:

Associate Professor Li Mingjiang

*Coordinator of the China Programme
Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*

19:30

Opening Dinner

Guest-of-Honour:

Lieutenant General Ng Chee Meng

*Chief of Defence Force
Singapore Armed Forces*

Day 3

6 August 2014 (Wednesday)

07:30–08:30 Breakfast

08:30–09:30 Introduction by Participants

(Australia / Bangladesh / Brunei / Cambodia / Canada)

09:30–11:30 Session III

The Challenge of Irregular Warfare

Speaker:

Professor Gérard Chaliand

*Visiting Professor
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*

Associate Professor Ahmed Hashim

*Military Studies Programme
Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*

Chairperson:
Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna
Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

Dr Greg Mills
Director of the Brenthurst Foundation

Chairperson:
Assistant Professor Evan Resnick
Coordinator of the United States Programme,
Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

12:00–14:00 Distinguished Lunch Talk
Security Challenges in the
Asia Pacific Region

Speaker:
Lieutenant General William Stevenson
Chief Executive
Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security

12:00–14:00 Syndicated Discussion/Working Lunch
Syndicates 1, 2 & 3

14:00–17:00 Visit to Urban Redevelopment Authority

Chairperson:
Associate Professor Ralf Emmers
Associate Dean
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

17:00 Free and Easy

14:00–18:00 Visit to Information Fusion Centre and
Ship Visit

Day 5
8 August 2014 (Friday)

19:00 Distinguished Dinner Talk
East Asia in Transition

Speaker:
Ambassador Bilahari Kausikan
Ambassador-at-Large and Policy Adviser
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore

07:30–08:30 Breakfast

08:30–09:30 Introduction by Participants
(Japan / Laos / Malaysia /
New Zealand / Qatar)

09:30–11:30 Session V
Perceptions of the Military Profession

Chairperson:
Ambassador Barry Desker
Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of
International Studies; and
Director, Institute of Defence and
Strategic Studies

Speaker:
Associate Professor
Panitan Wattanayagorn
Department of International Relations
Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

Professor Pascal Vennesson
Professor of Political Science
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

Day 4
7 August 2014 (Thursday)

Chairperson:
Associate Professor Ang Cheng Guan
Head of Graduate Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

07:30–08:30 Breakfast

08:30–09:30 Introduction by Participants
(China / France / Germany /
India / Indonesia)

12:00–14:00 Syndicated Discussion/Working Lunch
Syndicates 1, 2 & 3

09:30–11:30 Session IV
Civil-Military Cooperation in a
Coalition Environment

14:30–18:00 Military Heritage Tour

Speaker:
Mr Jeremy England
Head
Regional Delegation of the International
Committee of the Red Cross

18:00 Free and Easy

Day 6
9 August 2014 (Saturday)

07:30–08:30 Breakfast

08:30–09:30 Introduction by Participants
(Russia / Singapore / South Korea /
Sri Lanka / Thailand)

09:30–11:30 Session VI
**Cross-Domain Interoperability
and Integration**

Speaker:
Rear-Admiral Giam Hock Koon
Commander
Maritime Security Task Force
Singapore Armed Forces

Mr Richard Bitzinger
Senior Fellow
Coordinator of the Military
Transformations Programme
Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

Chairperson:
Mr Eddie Lim
Senior Fellow
Coordinator of the Military Studies Programme,
Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

12:00–14:00 Distinguished Lunch Talk
U.S. Land Forces in the Pacific;
Rebalance, Roles and Relationships

Speaker:
Major General Gary Hara
Deputy Commanding General,
Army National Guard
U. S. Army Pacific

Chairperson:
Brigadier General (Ret) Jimmy Tan
Director
SAF - NTU Academy
Nanyang Technological University

16:30 National Day Parade

Late Dinner

Day 7
10 August 2014 (Sunday)

07:30–08:30 Breakfast

08:30–09:30 Introduction by Participants
(The Philippines / United Kingdom /
United States of America / Vietnam)

09:30–11:30 Plenary Session

Moderator:
Associate Professor Leonard Sebastian
Coordinator of the Indonesia Programme
Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

**12:30–14:30 Presentation of Certificates followed by
Farewell Lunch**

14:30 Departure

SPEAKERS

Mr Bilahari Kausikan

Ambassador-at-Large and Policy Adviser
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Singapore

Major General Gary Hara

Deputy Commanding General
Army National Guard
U.S. Army Pacific

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