



Mr Eddie Teo presenting Ambassador Barry Desker a token of appreciation on behalf of RSIS

RSIS Appreciation and Welcome Dinner

Contributed by
Geanina Bujoreanu
and Ng Kok Hiong

On 9 January 2015, Mr Eddie Teo, Chairman of the RSIS Board of Governors, hosted the RSIS Appreciation and Welcome Dinner at Sheraton Towers Singapore. The guests attending the event

showed their appreciation to the former Dean of RSIS, Ambassador Barry Desker, and welcomed Ambassador Ong Keng Yong as the RSIS Executive Deputy Chairman and Professor Joseph Liow

as the new Dean of RSIS. Distinguished guests who graced the occasion included current and preceding Presidents of NTU, Professor Bertil Andersson, Professor Cham Tao Soon and

Professor Su Guanqing, all of whom have worked with Amb Desker during his tenure in RSIS.

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Amb Desker led the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) followed by RSIS for 14 years before stepping down on 3 November 2014. The event acknowledged his key achievements during his time at IDSS and RSIS in a video montage. Under Amb Desker's leadership, RSIS has become one of Asia's leading policy think tanks and professional graduate schools of international affairs, expanding from one research centre in 2000 to six centres today, and from one masters programme to five masters programmes and a PhD programme today. The RSIS staff strength and operating budget also grew exponentially over this period, from 28 staff and \$3.3M in 2000 to 168 staff and \$26.7M

respectively. Amb Desker was instrumental in laying a firm foundation for RSIS' growth, playing a key role in establishing an endowment fund of \$40M in 2008.

As a policy think tank, RSIS was ranked among the world's top 50 Think Tanks outside the U.S. in 2011. RSIS was also one of the 24 founding members of the Council of Councils, an initiative launched by the Council on Foreign Relations in 2012, aiming to connect leading foreign policy institutes from around the world to discuss issues of global governance and multilateral cooperation. In the same year, RSIS was invited to participate in Think20, a grouping of the leading think tanks of G20

members although Singapore is not a member, which was a further testament of RSIS' growing stature as a leading international affairs think tank.

In recognition of Amb Desker's contributions in the field of international relations, he was conferred honorary doctorates by the University of Warwick in 2012 and the University of Exeter in 2013.

In his welcome address, Mr Eddie Teo, Chairman of the RSIS Board of Governors, paid tribute to Amb Desker. He said: "To me, Barry's strongest and most enduring ability in running RSIS was how he managed to balance two very difficult, and sometimes contradictory, demands – policy work and academic research."



Ambassador Barry Desker,
former Dean of RSIS



Ambassador Ong Keng Yong,
Executive Deputy Chairman



Professor Joseph Liow, Dean of RSIS

PLA Maritime Modernisation and U.S.-China Relations

Contributed by
Sara Mahmood



Professor Robert S. Ross

On 8 October 2014, Professor Robert S. Ross, Professor of Political Science at Boston College, and Associate at the John King Fairbank Centre for Chinese Studies, Harvard University, spoke on "PLA Maritime Modernisation and U.S.-China Relations" during a RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture.

Prof Ross observed that China's improving maritime capabilities have enhanced its ability to develop a proactive policy that can both defend its sovereignty claims and resist adverse regional security trends. In particular, Prof Ross noted that these changes represent China's rise to power and changing

U.S.-China relations. He argued that rising powers rise incrementally and do not transform into great powers overnight. He added that presently China's concern is not to wage a war with U.S.

While some argue that China is a strong military power because it has a large fleet of submarines, no country can ever win a war with submarines. Prof Ross believes that what is important is China's naval strength. The country has an educated naval force, which is highly trained, and large in number; something which the U.S. does not possess.

In this context, Prof Ross referred to the "repeated cycles of coercive diplomacy" and states that they will represent the trends in

relations of these two great powers. Prof Ross added that China is pushing back against U.S. alliances over the South China Sea disputes because of maritime security. However, the two countries will not directly fight a war, but will indirectly let each other know of the possibility.

Prof Ross argued that the combined result of U.S. and Chinese foreign policy missteps have been mutual recriminations and heightened tension. He opined that the difficulty for both countries in striking a balance between their respective competing interests will lead to regular instances of great power tension. Prof Ross concluded that Chinese ships will be a constant presence in the South China Sea, and that mutual cooperation between both the great powers will become necessary, but will not be easy to achieve.

Fixing Global Finance: Unfinished Business

Contributed by
Su-Hyun Lee

Dr Stephen Grenville, NTUC Professor of International Economic Relations, RSIS; Non-resident Fellow at Lowy Institute for International Policy, delivered an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on “Fixing Global Finance: Unfinished Business” at Sheraton Towers on 11 November 2014.

In his presentation, Dr Grenville revisited the consequences of financial reforms in the wake of the global financial crisis of 2008-2009. He began by agreeing that a series of reform efforts has been coordinated at the international level by the Financial Stability Board (FSB), which was established by G20 as a pillar of global economic governance. While acknowledging that the reform mitigated somehow the losses associated with the financial crisis as it required banks to hold more capitals, Dr Grenville emphasised that the reform agenda has not fully addressed the structural weakness of the financial sectors. A fuzzy distinction between a protected banking sector and an unguaranteed banking sector has generated ambiguities in the “buyer-beware” framework, and the disruptive characteristics of the financial markets, such as pro-cyclicality and episodic dynamic instability have remained unsolved.

Dr Grenville explained the causes of the 2008-2009 global financial crisis in three dimensions: (i) macroeconomic policies; (ii) the evolution of financial markets over the past few decades; and (iii) inadequate or ineffectual regulatory and institutional frameworks. First, Dr Grenville suggested that every financial crisis has preceding macroeconomic



Dr Stephen Grenville

problems and/or policy errors, and that poorly designed macroeconomic policies after the crisis tend to make the recession associated with the crisis much worse than it needs to be. In this vein, he pointed out that the 2008-2009 crisis was extremely and hugely costly. The post-crisis recovery was both lower and flatter than it should have been, and GDP in all three regions did not get back to the old trend easily.

On financial markets and the market efficiency myth, Dr Grenville maintained that we would have been better served if there had been more recognition of the possibility of market malfunctions and a higher degree of skepticism about what the market would achieve if left to its own devices. One of the selling points of deregulation in the financial markets was that it would encourage financial innovation. Nevertheless, Dr Grenville criticised that

many of these innovations, such as multiple layering of transactions, credit derivatives, and the growth of the shadow-banking sector made the financial sector far more vulnerable, especially when they were combined with the inherent pro-cyclicality of financial markets.

Last but not least, Dr Grenville also maintained that the regulators in the crisis countries were ineffectual because of the resistance of vested interests against central authority as well as the powerful belief in the beauty of free self-regulating markets. Despite common beliefs in market efficiency, the clear distinction between the safe banking sector and the potentially unsafe non-banking sector has not been made, as both banks and shadow banking sectors were determined to blur the boundary. The lack of caveat emptor (i.e. lender/buyer beware) distinction also

exacerbated the issues of principal-agent problem and asymmetric information in financial markets.

Dr Grenville concluded by putting his policy suggestions in a more general context. He specifically suggested that we should work far more boldly to enforce a sharp distinction between the guaranteed banking sector and the shadow banking sector. In order to do so, the institutional framework should enact two strategies: first, enforcing a clearer “caveat emptor” modus operandi on financial sectors, especially those investors with money at stake; and second, limiting the interconnectedness with the intermediate sector. Dr Grenville also highlighted that all of these measures should be accompanied by strong political backing for regulators, so that they would effectively counter the powerful vested interest groups that have been resisting financial reforms

Inaugural Staff Ride for Strategic Studies Students

Contributed by
Katie Tan

The RSIS' Strategic Studies programme held its inaugural Staff Ride over three Wednesdays, from 12-26 November 2014. Adapted from a historical battlefield tour, the Staff Ride was an educational tool that the Programme had launched, to expose RSIS' students to the origins of the Malayan Campaign in World War II by

addressing grand strategic choices and dilemmas, exploring theatre strategies, extracting insights about the battles in Malaysian peninsula and Singapore, and unpacking the logic behind campaign termination.

Organised into three groups, students participated in the staff ride led by Professor

Pascal Vennesson, Associate Professor Bernard Loo, and Assistant Professor Ong Wei Chong. Students took on the roles of the main actors of the Malayan Campaign, such as Japan's Prime Minister Tojo and Allied Supreme Commander Southeast Asia, Field Marshal Archibald Wavell. The British Naval Swing strategy was

discussed in front of the 6-inch 40-calibre Naval Gun emplacement at Labrador Park. The failure to launch Operation Matador was examined at the site of the British's Malaya Command HQ at Fort Canning. The Japanese invasion of Singapore was analysed at the Kranji landing sites. At the Old Ford Factory, where the British surrendered to Japan on 14 February 1942, what-ifs scenarios were explored.

The historical context, the options available, the strategy and decisions made, are presented and discussed, from the perspective of each actor. The graduate students of RSIS' Strategic Studies programme listened intently as "GEN Yamashita" recounted how he launched his 5th and 18th Divisions across the Johor Straits towards Singapore on that fateful morning of 9 February 1942. "Yamashita" explained why the Sarimbun mangrove swamps had posed more problems to his troops than the thinly spread out brigades of the 8th Australian Division, which were tasked to defend Singapore's Northwestern coast.



Professor Pascal Vennesson (front, left) sharing his thoughts on the Allied Commanders' concept of Operation Matador



Associate Professor Bernard Loo (extreme right) explaining the Japanese pre-war planning and preparation that led to their successful landings in Southern Thailand

Despite the relative lack of pristine battle sites, these excursions managed to bring the Malayan Campaign to life. Through role-play, students got into the heads of the historical figures, relived the conflicts intrinsic to decision making, tried to get a sense of why certain seemingly irrational decisions were made, and attempted to appreciate the geographical and personal challenges faced by those main personalities. In the end, the questions of whether Singapore had to fall at all and had to fall the way it did, remains open to lively debates.

The New Threat Landscape: ISIS

On 18 November 2014, the RSIS' International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) organised a seminar at the Marina Mandarin Singapore, to discuss the new global and regional threat landscape that is emerging with the rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). The seminar was attended by the counter-terrorism community of Singapore, diplomatic missions, researchers and the media.

Chaired by RSIS Executive Deputy Chairman, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, the seminar's panel of speakers included Mr Wong Kan Seng, former Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore; Major General Dr Muhammad Tito Karnavian, former Commander of Detachment 88, Indonesia's elite counter-terrorism force and Deputy of Indonesian

National Counter Terrorism Agency; Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Head of ICPVTR; and Ms Nirmala Murugaian, former senior writer at *The Straits Times*.

Delivering the keynote address, Mr Wong reiterated that Singapore has not been spared from the impact of the Syrian conflict. Based on how Singapore responded to the al Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah threat, he stated that community engagement is integral to countering the threat of ISIS. Mr Wong lauded Ms Murugaian's book *Old War, New Methods* as a timely effort that will assist in Singapore's efforts to counter-terrorism.

MG Tito highlighted the growing footprint of ISIS in Southeast Asia. Drawing from his extensive knowledge and understanding of dismantling the JI network in Indonesia,

MG Tito said ISIS is a group that is violent in nature, and attractive to radicals. In order to control increased recruitment by ISIS, MG Tito called for enhanced international intelligence cooperation to control the travel of terrorists and recruits.

Prof Rohan Gunaratna said the al-Qaeda centric threat landscape in Southeast Asia is being eclipsed by an ISIS-al-Qaeda hybrid landscape. The counter terrorism foundation created in Singapore during Mr Wong's tenure to fight the al-Qaeda-Jemaah Islamiyah threat is robust in countering the ISIS threat. Tracing the genesis and genealogy of ISIS, he said that the competition between al-Qaeda and ISIS has created discord between the threat groups in the region. By engaging in graphic violence, ISIS has become an attractive

organisation to radicals. Prof Gunaratna showed an ISIS propaganda video of 15 Syrian pilots beheaded by ISIS. He said a combination of kinetic and ideological means is necessary to counter the expanding global footprint of ISIS.

Providing a synopsis of her book *Old War, New Methods*, Ms Murugaian explained that the interviews of counter-terrorism experts in her book, led her to the conclusion that terrorism is innovative and stronger than before. By investing in active policymaking, states need to eradicate the toxic appeal of radicals who spread their ideologies of violence. To secure future generations from the threat of terrorism, Ms Murugaian asserted the need to fight against both terrorism and its precursor, ideological extremism.



(From left) Ambassador Ong Keng Yong with panel speakers Mr Wong Kan Seng, Ms Murugaian Nirmala, MG Dr Tito Karnavian and Professor Rohan Gunaratna

Future Challenges and Opportunities for TNI

Contributed by
Adhi Priamarizki



General Dr Moeldoko

In an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture delivered on 29 October 2014 at Sheraton Towers Singapore, General (TNI) Dr Moeldoko, Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian National Defence Forces, shared his thoughts on the future challenges that the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) will have to face in the domestic and regional arena. GEN Moeldoko explained that the creation of the post

for coordinating minister for maritime affairs, led by Mr Indroyono Soesilo, is a strong indication of the Indonesian President's commitment to maritime issues.

GEN Moeldoko pointed out the importance of maintaining the security of shipping and sea-lanes for Indonesia and Singapore. It emphasised the need to recognise that the sea-lanes

in the region are critical to the global distribution of goods and resources. Indonesia and Singapore have to work together in this aspect to protect those sea-lanes and territorial waters against piracy and threats of encroachment onto sovereign territory.

The Indonesian military realises that the smallest disturbance in this maritime zone will trigger a "Butterfly Effect". If mutual trust on regional security between both countries declines, investors will inevitably seek opportunities in other regions. This may trigger an economic downturn in ASEAN. Risks have the potential to develop and multiply rapidly. He cited the example of terrorism, Ebola and the recent global credit crisis.

GEN Moeldoko mentioned that the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) is a threat to regional security and the worst idea to ever proliferate in history. He staunchly reiterated the point that the actions of ISIS are not Islamic. He also asserted that there is no room for ISIS in Indonesia. He then called for a meeting of his counterparts (Commanders-in-Chief of Armed Forces in the region) to address this threat through a regional conference and develop a regional strategy to fight the common menace of extremism.

GEN Moeldoko concluded the lecture by affirming that the combination of Singapore's leadership innovation and Indonesia's policy innovation has the potential to make the ASEAN community thrive.

'Asian Navy Watch' Workshop Series

Contributed by
Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto

On 3 December 2014, RSIS' Maritime Security Programme held a workshop on "Naval Development and its Impact on Southeast Asia." Invited speakers discussed the external influences affecting Southeast Asian naval development.

In the first session, RSIS Visiting Professor Geoffrey Till and Associate Professor Bernard Loo discussed the general characteristics of naval development and established the basis of "why regional naval modernisations do not constitute an arms race".

Having explained the drivers of Southeast Asian naval modernisations in the second session, the speakers then delved into the extra-regional



Participants of the Workshop

naval development that can shape and influence those drivers.

In the third session, Dr You Ji explained the motives behind Chinese naval modernisations, while CAPT David Mayo reassured the continuity of the U.S. rebalance towards Asia, including its naval dimension,

notwithstanding the economic downturn and budget cuts.

In the fourth session, VADM (Ret.) Yoji Koda, CAPT Raghavendra Mishra, and Dr Alexey Muraviev spoke about naval development and modernisations in Japan, India and Russia respectively, and all agreed that Southeast Asia has gained greater

prominence in those countries' naval strategies.

RADM (Ret.) James Goldrick and CAPT (Ret.) Sukjoon Yoon also examined the 'middle power' navies of Australia and South Korea, and believed that ASEAN is an important defence and naval cooperation partner beyond a mere destination for arms exports.

Deciphering Trends in Social Media



Mr Strath Gordon

The Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) held its annual social media workshop from 27-28 November 2014 at Marina Mandarin Singapore. Over 60 participants from the public and private sectors attended the event, which was entitled “Emerging Trends in the Social Media Domain: Perceptions, Behaviours, Communication and Governance”.

The workshop was organised in recognition that the ever-changing social media domain, with its inherently complex dynamics, requires a more holistic approach when analysing issues such as (i) online and offline behaviour; (ii) strategic and crisis communication; (iii) new technologies; and (iv) governance. In doing so, it is envisaged that improvements in communication strategies can be made, investigation and analytical efforts

enhanced, and future areas of research identified.

Various local and overseas notables were invited to discuss changing perceptual behaviours, public trust in the digital age, tools for social media analysis, legal and regulatory frameworks, as well as real-world case studies. Among the distinguished presenters were Ms Andrea Weckerle, founder of CiviliNation, who spoke on “Too Much Digital Drama: Creating a Better and More Productive Approach to Online Discourse and Conflict” in her keynote address; Mr Strath Gordon, Director of Public Affairs with the New South Wales Police Force; and Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna, Head of CENS. The insights and comments offered by all the presenters provided useful takeaways and lessons learned.



Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna

To enable more engagement between the participants and presenters, an interactive Q&A segment was introduced.

Despite the inevitable fatigue following two full days of discussions, deliberations and networking, the workshop ended on a high-note.

Participants and speakers alike responded positively with some remarking that the workshop: (i) was “informative and very comprehensive”; (ii) highlighted “interesting perspectives and new upcoming developments in the field”; and (iii) was “well-structured”.

CENS Distinguished Visiting Fellow: Sir Jonathan Evans KCB

Contributed by
Jennifer Yang Hui



Sir Jonathan Evans KCB

In his first talk as CENS Distinguished Visiting Fellow on 10 November 2014, Sir Jonathan Evans KCB, the former Director-General of the U.K. Security Service, spoke on “The Evolving National Security Threat Landscape – What it means for Homeland Security” at Marina Mandarin Singapore. He presented his

observations on terrorism, cyber security, organised crime and state threats. The presentation also discussed homeland security response in the areas of institutional arrangement, the role of legal authorities, community and political consent, and the contributions of public and private sectors. In addition,

Sir Jonathan spoke on domestic and foreign policy dimensions as well as international collaboration for national security, with special attention to reflections on the U.K. experience.

In his second talk on 12 November, Sir Jonathan discussed “Intelligence Analysis in the Digital Age – How do we Strike a Balance between Privacy and National Security Concerns?” He spoke about intelligence collection, intelligence analysis and the use of intelligence for operational and policy purposes. He also discussed contemporary attitudes towards privacy and security, concentrating on issues of trust and the role of the state in public engagement, highlighting how decision makers can manage a public debate without triggering

damage to national security. Sir Jonathan’s speech also touched on legal constraints and operational realities of intelligence collection in the age of social media.

In his final talk on 14 November, Sir Jonathan spoke on “Coping with Emerging Cyber Threats – A Practitioner’s Perspective.” He addressed the difficulties faced in securing the cyberspace given the different levels of cyberspace and the fact that multiple adversaries can be found on each level. He concluded by suggesting possible responses for:

- (i) the government in terms of response to threats and exploitation of opportunities;
- (ii) the private sector in terms of response to threats and exploitation of opportunities; and finally,
- (iii) the best approach to cybersecurity governance in the Boardroom.

Film Screening: Climate Diplomacy

Contributed by
Goh Tian

The Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies at RSIS and the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Singapore jointly organised the screening of two documentaries on the themes of environmental security and climate change on 10 December 2014.

This third event in the series on “Climate Diplomacy” saw the screening of the documentaries “ASEAN Peatlands and Trans-boundary Haze Pollution: Achievements, Impacts and Agenda for 2020” and “Environmental Issues and Human Impact”, followed by a panel discussion chaired by Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony, Head of the Centre for NTS Studies.

Dr Raman Letchumanan, Senior Fellow at the Centre, emphasised the need to give greater attention to the impact of peatland fires (fires caused by the burning of carbon-rich soil) on the increase in greenhouse gases. Institutions and policymakers must go beyond high-level negotiations, such as the United Nations climate conferences, and ensure that the agreements reached bring real benefits to people’s lives.

Dr Thomas Reindl, Deputy CEO of the Solar Energy Research Institute of Singapore (SERIS), spoke about the underestimation of the potential of switching to energy efficient appliances in reducing carbon emissions.

Dr Ann Florini, Professor of Public Policy at the Singapore Management University, called for countries to look beyond governments and corporations as the key players in the bid to reduce global emissions.

The discussions also highlighted:

- (i) Government commitment as a key factor in tackling the issue of trans-boundary haze and climate change.
- (ii) The need to overcome vested interests within the energy commodity market in order to set up an incentive structure, and eventually liberalise the energy market for the uptake of renewable energy directly by consumers.



Dr Thomas Reindl

- (iii) The complementary relationship between huge technological advancements in renewables and political will, support from businesses, as well as changes in consumer behaviour.

Role of the Civil Service in Singapore

Contributed by
Tamar Rurua



Mr Lim Siong Guan

RSIS hosted a seminar by Mr Lim Siong Guan, President of the Singapore Government Investment Corporation, on 5 November 2014. In the seminar “Leadership in the Civil Service and its Importance

to Singapore’s Continued Success”, Mr Lim discussed the role of the civil service in Singapore and addressed the importance of change and leadership for the country’s successful development.

Mr Lim defined the civil service as a unique phenomenon in parliamentary systems and stated that the unique character of the civil service lay in its ability to influence and shape the next 20 to 30 years. Mr Lim identified the main values of Singapore’s civil service as *integrity, service and expertise*, defining the latter in terms of excellence. Excellence, with the emphasis on realising potential, was understood as the highest level of performance. Emphasising the importance of measuring

a person’s ability to excel in comparison to what she/he is capable of doing, Mr Lim noted that it was crucial to measure performance against potential. This, argued Mr Lim, made excellence a never-ending process, driving individuals to be the best they can possibly become.

In discussing the role of the civil service, Mr Lim also examined Singapore’s governing principles and focused on change and effective leadership as one of the key drivers for development. Change was described as a phenomenon imposed by the outside world in terms of global developments; hence his emphasis on the significance of “riding on globalisation” during the seminar. Mr Lim stated that success was

determined by the ability to adjust to the situation through policies and stressed the importance of being able to change in “good times”, when change did not seem important or even necessary.

Mr Lim defined leadership as the ability to make good things happen, which would not happen otherwise. Adding a moral dimension to leadership, Mr Lim stated that leaders are tasked to make moral decisions and decide according to their view of “goodness”. In the case of Singapore, it was argued that the real question is whether the “good” is what gives individuals as much right as they could possibly have, or whether the “good” is building a country, which is worthy for future generations.

ASEAN’s Long-term Economic Potential and Vision

Contributed by
Don Rodney Ong Junio



Associate Professor Tan See Seng,
Head of the Centre for
Multilateralism Studies

More than 20 participants from the academic and policy communities attended a regional conference co-hosted by RSIS and NTU’s Economic Growth Centre. The event was held at Hotel Jen Tanglin, Singapore, on 20-21 November 2014. The conference focused on

the long-term aspirations and challenges facing the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) together with the blocs’ long-term potential and vision.

The event was organised in response to the need to look beyond the 2015 deadline regarding the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community. The event also built on RSIS’ expertise and experience in researching the topic, having previously been requested by the High-Level Task Force on ASEAN Economic Integration in 2014 to prepare a “Vision Paper on the AEC Beyond 2015” together with ISEAS.

Notable speakers presented the outcome of their research, and the presentations were organised under five

topics: (i) ASEAN’s strategic issues including long-term aspirations; (ii) modalities for ASEAN integration; (iii) institutional issues facing ASEAN; (iv) progress in key pillars of the ASEAN Economic Community; and (v) ASEAN centrality and its engagement with the rest of Asia. While the theme of the conference focused mainly on the ASEAN Economic Community, other cross-cutting issues such as climate change and rule of law were also discussed.

This conference provided an opportunity for the participants to flag their ideas on the challenges and opportunities facing ASEAN beyond 2015.

One of the issues raised by the participants was in the area of dismantling non-

tariff barriers to trade. While ASEAN has come a long way in bringing down tariff barriers, it could still do more in ensuring that non-tariff barriers were not erected moving forward. Other issues highlighted by the participants included the need to look at institutional reforms within the ASEAN Secretariat, policies to improve the trade and investment climate in the region, and emerging issues such as ASEAN community-building amidst threats of climate change. Critical next steps to reach the envisioned ASEAN Economic Community were also discussed together with existing bottlenecks hampering deeper economic integration in the region.

With the discussion and comments during the conference, the presenters were subjected to double-blind peer review and those accepted will be published in a Special Issue of the Singapore Economic Review on ASEAN’s Long-term Economic Potential and Vision.

2nd Singapore-U.S. Strategic Dialogue on Biosecurity

Contributed by
Kyaw San Wai



Participants of the dialogue

The second Singapore-U.S. Strategic Dialogue on Biosecurity was jointly organised by RSIS' Virtual Research Cluster on Science, Technology and Security, and the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center's Center for Health Security (UPMC-CHS) on 12-13 November 2014. The dialogue focused on current biosecurity issues such as bioterrorism, emerging infectious diseases, regional

biosecurity contingencies, multidisciplinary governmental approaches to biosecurity and biosafety regulations.

Over 30 biosecurity experts, practitioners and researchers from Singapore, the U.S., Malaysia and Indonesia participated in the two-day dialogue held at RSIS. RSIS' Executive Deputy Chairman Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, UPMC-CHS Chief Executive

Officer Dr Tom Inglesby and UPMC-CHS Senior Associate Dr Gigi Gronvall gave the welcome remarks and Mr Peter Ho, former head of the Singapore Civil Service and senior advisor to the Centre for Strategic Futures, delivered the keynote address.

Participants shared how perceptions and approaches to biosecurity were affected by each country's experiences.

Southeast Asian countries approached biosecurity mainly through epidemics and emerging infectious diseases, due to experiences with SARS and Avian flu. The U.S. focused more on bioterrorism due to the 2001 anthrax-contaminated letters, but was now looking more towards infectious diseases after recent Ebola cases.

Biosecurity approaches needed to be based on a regional or global level rather than be confined to national borders due to the trans-boundary nature of the challenges.

Domestically, biosecurity challenges required multi-sectoral whole-of-government approaches alongside community participation.

Participants also discussed the threats confronting biomedical research facilities from insider-job bioterrorism by disgruntled or ideologically motivated employees. Fortunately, most states and terrorist groups have yet to show interest in pursuing biological weapons, which were seen as barbaric and double-edged.

The Future of the Global Arms Industry

Contributed by
Richard A. Bitzinger

On 10 November 2014, the Military Transformations Programme conducted a one-day workshop on "The Global Arms Industry in 2030 (and Beyond)". Held at RSIS, the workshop brought together a diverse group of expert analysts from Asia, North America, Europe, and Australia to address the potential effects of various macro-economic and geopolitical drivers affecting the global arms industry out to 2030 and beyond, and also explored how national defence industrial bases might — or might not — change over the course of the next 15 years or so.

The participants started out by agreeing that the global arms industry was a dynamic phenomenon, and that the future would be buffeted by several new developments, such as the increasing importance of dual-use technologies, and particularly cyber-based technologies, when it came to military-technological innovation and what constituted a "weapon."

In addition, it was felt that while traditional arms supplier states in North America and Western Europe — particularly the United States, Britain, France — would likely remain the largest arms-producers in the world, they would be

increasingly challenged in the international arms market by a resurgent Russia and by the rise of non-traditional arms suppliers, such as Israel, China, and South Korea.

Further complicating the future structure and character of the global arms industry was the fact that while defence budgets were declining among the traditional arms-production states in the West, military spending in Asia, Latin America, and Russia was growing, which in turn, could strengthen their indigenous arms industries, to the detriment of Western arms suppliers.

Finally, globalisation and nuclear weapons were unlikely to have as great an impact on the future of the global arms industry as what was once thought. Consequently, in many ways



Ms Caitriona H. Heintz, Research Fellow with the Centre of Excellence for National Security

the global arms industry would still look a lot like it does today: a system of heavily protected national defence industrial bases, highly competitive in the international realm, over-capacitised, and struggling to remain economically sustainable and technologically viable.

RSIS-CICIR Joint Seminar

Contributed by
James Char

RSIS organised a joint seminar together with a delegation from the leading Chinese think tank, the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) on 23 October 2014. The participants had an engaging discussion that focused on three aspects: (i) Sino-U.S. relations; (ii) interactions between China and Southeast Asian nations; and (iii) military modernisations in the region.

On bilateral relations between China and the U.S., the discussion focused on recent trends in Chinese foreign policy in the Asia Pacific as a response to U.S. rebalancing to the region and how Chinese perspectives of its immediate environment have changed with respect to evolving Sino-U.S. interactions; the new security dynamics in Asia; and China's evolving relations with other states in the Asia Pacific. Accordingly, China did not

perceive its security policies in the region as assertive and believed that they have been in response to the American rebalancing as well as other countries' actions. Unsurprisingly, members of the Chinese foreign policy fraternity were of the opinion that U.S. manoeuvres have been effected to constrain China.

It was also revealed during the discussion that the policies of the Chinese leadership were being formulated with the incoming American leadership in mind as opposed to the current administration. In line with an appreciation that their country was not in a position to challenge American hegemony, China has shown a willingness to collaborate with the U.S. on areas of shared interests. Interestingly, Chinese policymakers maintained that China's peaceful development cannot be realised if it

simply acquiesced to American demands.

Regarding China's relationship with Southeast Asian states, the participants agreed that ties between China and some maritime states in ASEAN have become strained in recent times. Nevertheless, it was pointed out that China has an interest in peace and stability in the region and did treasure good relations with ASEAN. On its part, the Chinese leadership has tried to ameliorate strained ties by partaking in building regional security architecture and fostering good bilateral ties with ASEAN states.

In the wake of maritime disputes in the South China Sea, China did not view its relations with the Philippines as promisingly as those with Vietnam and Indonesia. Despite these, however, China did not view conflict between itself and the other

players in the region as an inevitable outcome.

The final panel assessed the impact on China's relations with Southeast Asian nations due to China's military modernisation, and evaluated how the military build-ups in the region have affected regional security dynamics. On military modernisations and developments in the region, it was pointed out that most of the joint military exercises in the region do in fact target China, but have also been influenced by terrorist threats emanating from Southeast Asia. Similarly, it was highlighted to the participants that recent economic progress made by countries in the region has also contributed to their respective increased military expenditure. Despite these factors, it was generally agreed that military conflict between the key players in the region was by no means predetermined.



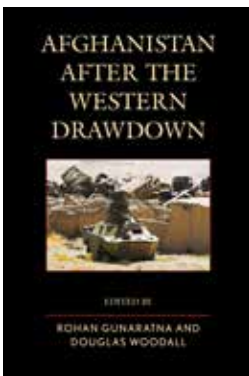
Delegation led by Prof Fu Xiaoqiang (third from left), Director of the Institute of Security and Arms Control at CICIR

STAFF PUBLICATIONS

**New Global Economic Architecture: The Asian Perspective**

Masahiro Kawai, Peter J. Morgan and Pradumna B. Rana. Edward Elgar: 2014. ISBN: 978-1-78347-219-2

The global financial crisis of 2007-2009 exposed flaws and shortcomings in the global economic architecture, and has sparked an international debate about possible remedies for them. The postwar global architecture was essentially guided by the major developed economies, and was centered around the IMF, the GATT – the predecessor of the WTO – and the World Bank. Today, however, the balance of economic and financial power is shifting toward the emerging economies, especially those in Asia, and both global governance and economic policy thinking are beginning to reflect this shift. This book addresses the important question of how a regional architecture, particularly one in Asia, can induce a supply of regional public goods that can complement and strengthen the global public goods supplied through the global architecture. These public goods include institutions to help maintain financial stability, support more open trading regimes and promote sustainable economic development.

**Afghanistan after the Western Drawdown**

Rohan Gunaratna and Douglas Woodall. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: 2014. ISBN: 978-1-4422-4505-1

Following the Western drawdown in Afghanistan, the global and regional security landscapes will change dramatically. Al Qaeda, the Afghan Taliban, and their allies, who are still posing a threat to the U.S.-led coalition, are poised to return to Afghanistan. Further, the “mujahidin” in the tribal areas of Pakistan may once again draw the support of pools of fighters.

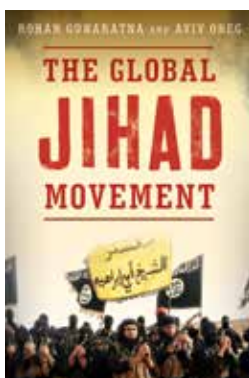
Scholars from the countries discussed use their own on-the-ground experience to explain the post-2014 key strategic decisions that face policymakers in Afghanistan, the United States, and the region. These diverse perspectives help grasp issues necessary to assess the strategic environment. The book provides a road map for the strategy outlined along with predictive analysis of what is likely to happen. Particular attention is paid to the U.S.-Afghanistan Bilateral Security Agreement as well as reconciliation talks with the Afghan Taliban. Overall, the looming increases in global terrorism that may result warrant a continued focus and resource allocation to the Afghanistan-Pakistan region.

**China's Power and Asian Security**

Mingjiang Li and Kalyan M. Kemburi. Routledge: 2014. ISBN: 978-1-13-878279-2

One of the most significant factors for contemporary international relations is the growth of China's economic, military, and political power. Indeed, few analysts would dispute the observation that China's power has strongly influenced the structure of the international system, major-power strategic relations, international security, the patterns of trans-border economic activities, and most importantly, the political and security dynamics in Asia in the twenty-first century.

This book maps the growth of China's political, economic, and military capabilities and its impact on the security order in Asia over the coming decades. While updating the emerging power dimensions and prevailing discourse, it provides a nuanced analysis of whether the growth of Chinese power is resulting in Beijing becoming more assertive, or even aggressive, in its behavior and pursuit of national interests. It also examines how the key Asian countries perceive and react to the growth of China's power and how US rebalancing would play out in the context of Beijing's political, economic, and military power.

**The Global Jihad Movement**

Rohan Gunaratna and Aviv Oreg. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: 2014. ISBN: 978-1-4422-4541-9

Three to four dozen international and local organizations, up to one hundred thousand individuals, and millions of supporters are part of the phenomenon of global jihad. The Global Jihad Movement endeavors to name and differentiate these organizations, and to explain their infrastructure, operational capabilities, and activities. It also analyzes their mutual and multi-lateral relations inside and outside the “jihadi framework.” In essence, this is a “who's who” in the global jihad.

The first section deals with ideology, focusing on the emergence of the Salafi and the Salafi-jihadi ideologies, which are still the most important factors behind the operational performance of global jihadi elements. The second section addresses the “affiliate groups” of Al Qaeda, such as Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, and Al Qaeda in Iraq. This section focuses mainly on the groups that adopted Al Qaeda's global jihad strategy by incorporating western targets in their vicinity of operations in their targeting policies. The next section discusses the different jihad arenas that have emerged over the last three decades, absorbing jihadi fighters from Islamic communities around the world. The last section examines the long process of radicalization, from regular and normative lifestyle patterns to the final jihadi stage—which in many cases involves martyrdom as suicide bombers in the name of radical Islam.

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