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## A New Global Educational Experience in International Affairs



*The Guest of Honour, Mr. Zainul Abidin Rasheed, Senior Minister of State for Foreign Affairs*

On 3 November 2009, RSIS, with the Department of Politics and International Studies (PAIS) at UK's University of Warwick jointly launched the new NTU-Warwick Double Masters Programme. Addressing the growing interest in a global educational experience among today's graduates and leaders, the new NTU-Warwick Double Masters Programme will equip professionals from both private sector and public office to understand and appreciate the dynamics and trajectory of contemporary developments today.

The NTU-Warwick Double Masters Programme capitalizes on both Schools' strengths to address the importance of multiple and cross-disciplinary approaches to global issues. At the same time as broadening the scope, experience and expertise of students in international affairs, the degree provides opportunities to expand their networks across countries and industries. This new full-time Masters venture will allow students, in their first year, to study at the University of Warwick's Department of Politics and International Studies (PAIS) and in the second year, at RSIS in Singapore.

The Department of Politics and International Studies (PAIS) at the University of Warwick is one

of the largest in the UK and sits among the elite of UK Politics and International Relations research departments. It has been consistently ranked amongst the top 10 departments for Politics and International Studies in all the UK Good University Guides. PAIS' provision of postgraduate education in the field of international studies is particularly strong on theoretical and methodological issues, and provides an excellent training for students wishing to undertake further study.

RSIS complements PAIS through its commitment to policy-oriented education, specifically (though not exclusively) in the Asia-Pacific region. RSIS has acquired the reputation as a leading research institution and provider of rigorous professional education in strategic and international affairs with a solid practical and area emphasis. The School's reputation continues to attract and bring together professionals from various fields, including public officers and corporate leaders.

Speaking at the official launch of the Programme, RSIS' Dean, Ambassador Barry Desker, expressed the view that the joint Programme would not only provide a cutting-edge learning experience for students, but would also allow them to be immersed in "the latest thinking and networking opportunities

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from (the two Schools') respective strategic positions at the centres of Asia-Pacific and Europe."

Professor Richard Higgott, Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Research in the Faculties of Arts and Social Science, and Professor of International Political Economy at Warwick, said, "Our global problems increasingly require global solutions and this new

programme will help create a new generation of policy-makers and researchers who will have a truly international perspective of the key issues and problems facing us today."

For more details about the NTU-Warwick Double Masters Programme, please visit <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/grad/NTU-Warwick.htm>.

## Is the Al Qaeda on the run?



*Professor Bruce Hoffman*

**P**rofessor Bruce Hoffman, professor in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service addressed a colloquium at RSIS on 11 August 2009. At the colloquium, Prof. Hoffman talked about various aspects of the Al Qaeda's organisation, assessed its grand strategy and shared with the audience his views on countering the Al Qaeda and managing the global jihadi threat.

Prof. Hoffman began by saying that despite global efforts against it, the Al Qaeda had been able to maintain eight major networks globally, including networks operating in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, East Africa, Yemen and Europe. He pointed out that the Al Qaeda had created a networked, transnational movement rather than a single, monolithic entity.

Prof. Hoffman explained that the Al Qaeda functioned at four different operational levels. At the top was its senior leadership; the battle-hardened professional terrorists who were skilled in terrorism tactics, and who were responsible for some of the Al Qaeda's most important operations. The next level comprised the Al Qaeda associates; like-minded terrorists who had allied themselves with the movement. There were also the sleeper cells comprising the individuals who had received some training from the Al Qaeda camps and were sent back to their own or adopted countries. The final level was the Al Qaeda network, which comprised independent, self-radicalised and self-selected individuals

who had absolutely no contact with the Al Qaeda or any of its agents but nonetheless, had been inspired and motivated by the Al Qaeda's message to resort to terrorism.

Moving on to the Al Qaeda's grand strategy, Prof. Hoffman cited six tactics that it employed. The first was Al Qaeda's efforts to overwhelm, distract and exhaust its adversaries. Secondly, Al Qaeda sought to create, foster and encourage fissures and divisions within the alliance against it. The Al Qaeda's third tactic involved conducting campaigns of subversion and destabilisation in key operational theatres. Fourthly, the Al Qaeda employed tactics to enhance the capabilities of its allies. The Al Qaeda's fifth tactic involved obtaining access to citizens of enemy countries who possessed "clean passports". The sixth Al Qaeda tactic was to be opportunistic. Prof. Hoffman explained that the Al Qaeda constantly monitored the defences of its enemies to identify gaps and then moved in to attack or exploit those gaps.

Concluding the colloquium, Prof. Hoffman shared with the audience his views on countering the Al Qaeda and managing the jihadi threat. One way was to continue the strategy of divide and conquer that would isolate the most radical and violent extremists from the more moderate elements. Secondly, he pointed out the need to water down the Al Qaeda brand and diminish Al Qaeda's message. Thirdly, Al Qaeda's recruitment efforts had to be countered by communicating more effectively with the core demographic from which the Al Qaeda drew its strength. His fourth suggestion was to isolate the Al Qaeda both intellectually and theologically by enlisting clerics, theologians, and others who were knowledgeable to counter the Al Qaeda ideology. The fifth way was to continue efforts to counter Al Qaeda's finances and resources. Finally, Prof. Hoffman emphasised the need to recognize and develop local initiatives to address the specific root causes that gave rise to terrorism: despair, unrest and upheaval.

The podcast of Prof. Hoffman's colloquium can be downloaded from <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/podcast/index.htm>.

# The Future of the Asia-Pacific's Political Architecture

**P**rofessor Michael B. Yahuda, Professor Emeritus of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science, spoke on “The Changing Political Architecture of the Asia-Pacific” at a RSIS seminar on 23 September 2009.

Prof. Yahuda began by stating that the US remains central to East Asian Security. He considered that it is essential to recognise the continued predominance of the US as it is still the main provider of the basic ‘public goods’ that enabled East Asia to rise. The US not only continues to provide a framework of ‘old fashioned security’ for the region and guarantee the security of the sea-lanes, but also remains as the main market for East Asia’s produce. Thus, according to Prof. Yahuda, the US remains central to any consideration of political and economic security in the region.

Moving on, Prof. Yahuda made the point that states are still the main actors, as the latest economic crisis has shown that it is still governments, not private actors, which are called upon and expected to address issues and solve problems. Greater regionalisation, he observed, has also become possible after the removal of bipolar constraints. This is evidenced by the development of new regional institutions and associations like APEC and the ARF. Prof. Yahuda felt that US predominance does not mean that it can lay down the law for others. Moreover, US involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan had greatly reduced its capacity to act as the primary power in the world. This situation has provided even more breathing room for states to establish their own identities and priorities.

The rise of China, continued Prof. Yahuda, has taken place primarily through economic means, and China is increasingly pivotal to other countries because of its growing demand for resources and raw materials. However, China does not seek to impose itself on the world, but is more like the proverbial elephant, affecting the world by virtue of its size. There was an initial fear in the region that an ascending China would conflict with the US. Prof. Yahuda felt that this would not happen because the US is paying the price for its adventures in Iraq and Afghanistan. He felt that China’s national interests would serve the region well because China needs to cultivate better relations with its neighbours to aid in its economic development. Prof. Yahuda believed that China would present itself as a good member of regional associations.

In concluding his presentation, Prof. Yahuda stated that international politics has now become more about management rather than power structure. The expectation is that in spite



*Professor Michael B. Yahuda*

of inability to resolve differences, open confrontation would be avoided by managing bilateral relationships. He felt that this leaves the countries of the Asia-Pacific more room to manoeuvre. Thus, the fate of the region lay in the hands of the countries within the region.



## Investigating the threat of Science & Technology to National Security



*A panel of discussants at the Emerging and Disruptive Technologies' conference*

**T**he International Conference on Emerging and Disruptive Technologies (ICEDT), jointly organised by the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), Global Futures Forum (GFF) and the National Security Coordination Secretariat (NSCS), was held in Singapore from 14 to 15 September 2009.

The impact of science and technology on national security has become increasingly evident in recent years. Such impact is particularly acute in the field of terrorism and counter-terrorism. Recent attacks clearly demonstrate that terrorists are highly adept at using the latest technology to carry out their intentions. However, it is fair to state that policymakers in charge of national security seldom possess deep knowledge and expertise in the fields of science and technology. Conversely, scientists and technologists are often not well-versed and informed about national security policies as well. Accordingly, ICEDT was organized in recognition of this, and experts engaged in the field of science, technology and national security from the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia and the Asia-Pacific gathered to share their expertise, ideas, knowledge and experiences.

The ICEDT was divided into four panels with group discussions based on the issues covered during the conference. The first panel, "Globalisation and Innovation", touched on how globalisation has contributed to growth in the trans-national dispersion of technological and scientific information, hence

facilitating the rise of innovation. The next two panels were on "Dual Technologies and ICT." The first dealt with scientific and technological issues, and professional scientists and technologists delivered presentations related to their specific expertise; while the latter panel focused on the relationship between technology and national security, and explored issues such as the adaptation of Information Technology (IT) by terrorists as well as examining technology from a Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) perspective. The last panel, "Other Technologies and Wild Cards," attempted to "scan the technological horizon" and address the reproductive, multi-utilitarian characteristic of disruptive and emerging technologies and the possible threats that these may pose to national and global security in the future.

The conference ended with syndicate group discussions, and the implications drawn from each group were further discussed at the closing panel. Key implications derived from this conference were that governments should always be aware of the technological trend to "keep ahead of the game" and identify potential threats and dangers; scientists and technologists should be able to work integratively with policymakers and openly communicate with each other; and that states must cooperate and share ideas and information.

The full report of the conference can be downloaded from RSIS' website at [http://www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/conf\\_reports.html](http://www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/conf_reports.html).

## Planning for Indonesia's Future



*His Excellency Dr. Boediono, the Vice President of Indonesia*

On 28 July 2009, RSIS' Indonesia Programme had the honour to have His Excellency Dr. Boediono, the Vice President Designate of Indonesia, speak at an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture. In this lecture, made during his first overseas trip following the results of the 2009 Indonesian Presidential election, Dr. Boediono described the measures taken by the central government in Jakarta to mitigate the impact of the global financial crisis, the lessons learned, and provided an overview of the incoming administration's policy priorities.

Dr. Boediono began by stating that the peaceful conclusion of the Indonesian election signified a step by Indonesia towards the consolidation of democratic rule for a country that would seek to achieve equitable prosperity for its citizens as well as establish its role as a member of the international community.

Proceeding to talk about Indonesia's response to the current global financial situation, Dr. Boediono revealed that a few mitigating measures were taken. These measures included the establishment of an interdepartmental crisis response task force, the maintenance of liquidity, establishing a deposit guarantee scheme, strengthening bank capital, implementing countercyclical policy, and introducing measures to mitigate the impact on the poor.

Stating that crises were the best source of economics lessons, Dr. Boediono highlighted a few lessons learnt from the current economic crisis. Firstly, financial sector development could act as a catalyst for economic growth, but this process had to be accompanied by adequate supervision. Dr. Boediono referred to Iceland's example of a financial sector collapse leading to total economic meltdown.

Secondly, he highlighted that economic development had to take place within some sort of national framework. A robust infrastructure had to exist to maintain a balance between the domestic and international forms of economic integration. This robust infrastructure would ensure economic resilience.

On the issue of Indonesia-Singapore relations, Dr. Boediono stated that relations were stable and solid. He highlighted that the leaders of the two countries knew each other well, and met bilaterally several times a year. Furthermore, Singapore had stood alongside Indonesia during natural disasters and he revealed that Indonesia shared Singapore's pain (from the financial crisis) and her hopes (for recovery). Even though Indonesia-Singapore relations were not free of differences, Dr. Boediono felt that the spirit for cooperation remained. He concluded his lecture by stating that Indonesia's national interest dictated the need for good relations with Singapore.

## The US, Asia and beyond



*Mr. Richard L. Armitage, former United States Deputy Secretary of State*

**M**r. Richard L. Armitage, former United States Deputy Secretary of State, spoke at an RSIS' Distinguished Public Lecture on 29 July 2009. In his lecture, Mr. Armitage dwelt on President Obama's administration as well as the United State's concerns in Asia and the Middle East.

Mr. Armitage believed that President Obama had done well to improve the United State's image overseas, although his policies had met with difficulties. This was partially due to the fact that Washington's bureaucratic structure could only take on a limited number of issues for translation into policies and legislation. However, Mr. Armitage believed that President Obama's popularity would remain as the Republicans, lacking a vision for the future, had not been able to pose serious challenges to dent his popularity.

Moving on to Asia, Mr. Armitage brought up US Defence Secretary Robert Gates' assertion at the Shangri-La Dialogue this year that the US was a resident nation in Asia. He stated that this was indicative of a US desire to be more involved in the region. Of particular concern to the US would be China.

Historically the US faced some issues with regard to China. Human rights, protectionism and Taiwan were some of the issues in China-US relations. Furthermore, the Chinese need for energy as well as access to energy might bring new challenges to China-US relations.

Mr. Armitage opined that with regard to North Korea, the US faced a dilemma of entering into a dialogue with North Korea and not appearing as though the two states were involved in negotiations. Mr. Armitage believed that the North Korean position of not giving up its nuclear weapons would make meaningful Pyongyang-Washington discussions difficult.

In Iraq, the situation would remain tumultuous for some time to come, but Mr. Armitage believed that it would not likely become a threat to its neighbours. The other issue of Afghanistan was more complex. President Obama was willing to invest much in Afghanistan, but would not put in his utmost there, because if the incumbent Afghan government was re-elected, that would not bode well for nation building.

The podcast of Mr. Armitage's lecture can be downloaded from <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/podcast/index.htm>.

## Staff Publications

*See Seng Tan (Editor)*

### **Regionalism in Asia**

Routledge

Especially since the end of the Cold War, research on and around the international relations of Asia has grown exponentially and, to make sense of what is now a vast and unwieldy corpus of scholarly literature, this new four-volume collection from Routledge's Critical Issues in Modern Politics series brings together the best and most influential work in the field.

The first of the four volumes explores ASEAN and international relations theory. Volume II, meanwhile, focuses on the Association's history and evolution from 1967 to the present day. Volume III examines pan-Asian intergovernmental regionalisms by collecting the most important thinking on the 'new regionalism'. Vital questions addressed here include the nature of Asian intergovernmental institutions; the overall lack of strategic coherence; whether aims and agendas overlap; conflict or complement; and the implications for the region as a whole. Finally, Volume IV brings together crucial work on non-governmental or unofficial multilateral processes to examine the regionalization processes in Asia and the efficacy of these bottom-up processes in influencing policy and regional security discourse.



*Alyssa Ayres and C. Raja Mohan (Editors)*

### **Power Realignments in Asia China, India and the United States**

Sage

China's emergence as a great power is transforming the world, affecting its security, economy and physical environment. *Power Realignments in Asia: China, India and the United States* explores the impact of China's rise on relations among China, India and the United States.

The topics covered in the collection span traditional security issues-political-military affairs and military modernization-to new challenges posed by rapid and deep economic integration, to global issues like energy security and environmental degradation accompanying rapid economic growth. Each of these issues affects the triangular dynamic among China, India and the United States. A special feature of this volume is that it is an informed assessment of an under-researched theme-China's complex role in simultaneously promoting and inhibiting Indo-U.S. engagement. It examines the many shades of strategic ambiguity, reflected most recently in China's response to the historic Indo-U.S. civil nuclear initiative.

This work will be an important resource for all those interested in Asia's security politics, the American response to the rise of China and India and the changing dynamic of Asian balance of power.



*Li Mingjiang (Editor)*

### **Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics**

Lexington Books

*Soft Power* attempts to analyse the domestic and international views of China's soft power, the main strengths and weaknesses of China's soft power, and the application of soft power in China's international politics. It provides a comprehensive exploration of the soft power dimension in China's foreign relations by integrating views from various disciplines, such as history, education, culture, political economy, comparative politics, and philosophy. The book argues that soft power has become a very popular concept in China, that China is contemplating and exploring an innovative strategy in its rise and international politics, and that there have been quite a few notable elements of this in China's diplomatic practice, including softer rhetoric, promotion of the Chinese culture abroad, economic diplomacy, and image building. The book also argues that the limitations of China's soft power primarily stem from political values and China's own transitions, and reflects the reality that views and opinions regarding China's soft power are fairly diverse both in China and in the international arena.

Soft power is a useful and important perspective by which to understand Chinese foreign policy and the future evolution of China's role in international politics. This study is a pioneering work, providing a new perspective for the study of Chinese foreign policy and the rise of China that will appeal to scholars of Chinese foreign policy, East Asian studies, and international politics.



*Joshua Ho (Editor)*

### **Realising Safe and Secure Seas for All**

Select Publishing

This volume is a compilation of the proceedings arising from the inaugural International Maritime Security Conference 2009 held on 13-14 May 2009 at the Singapore Expo. The conference was organised by the Republic of Singapore Navy and the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and was held concurrently with the 7th IMDEX Asia 2009.

The conference sought to promote global maritime safety and security and to update maritime practitioners on the latest cooperative efforts and technological developments in the maritime domain. Consequently the conference adopted the theme of "Realising Safe and Secure Seas for All", which is also the title for this volume, and managed to bring together senior maritime defence officers, maritime security enforcement agencies, think



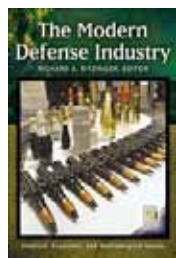


## Staff Publications

tanks, researchers, academia, policy-makers, maritime and port authorities, shipping practitioners, shipping lawyers, technology companies, maritime service providers, classification societies, maritime training institutes, security training providers, and security system and equipment vendors, from the Asia-Pacific and beyond to participate in this exchange of knowledge and experience.

*Richard A. Bitzinger (Editor)*

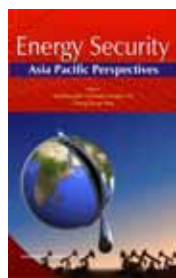
**The Modern Defense Industry  
Political, Economic, and  
Technological Issues**  
Greenwood



Whether it's guns and ammunition or multidimensional anti-terrorism systems, the defence industry is dynamic, complex, and ubiquitous. It is also mysterious, powerful, and controversial, involving thousands of players worldwide—from suppliers and producers to government and military procurers to shadowy figures that trade in the black market. This comprehensive, two-volume reference will explore, on a global scale, the various issues, concepts, problems, and controversies surrounding the rise of the modern defence industry. Unparalleled in its scope and insight, *The Modern Defense Industry* will prove invaluable to the industry's critics and champions alike.

*Virendra Gupta and Kwa Chong Guan  
(Editors)*

**Energy Security: Asia Pacific  
Perspectives**  
Manas Publications



Declining oil reserves and sharp fluctuations in oil prices in the global market have raised world-wide concern for energy security. The Asia-Pacific countries are diverse in terms of their energy endowments and requirements. As their development process gathers pace, their need for a clean and stable supply of energy at sustainable prices will rise. CSCAP Energy Security Working Group which was set up in 2006 to deal with the above issues held four meetings. Presentations made at these meetings have been developed and updated further for compilation in this volume.

*Farish A. Noor*

**Qur'an and Cricket  
Travels through the madrasahs of  
Asia and other stories**  
Silverfish Books

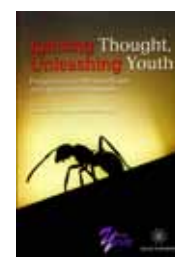


Farish A. Noor, academic, activist, traveller extraordinaire, visits, lives and interviews students (and others) in 'jihad factory' madrasahs (Islamic seminaries) from Patani to Pakistan and from Kashmir to Cairo, and comes away dazed and confused. In attempting to make sense of it all, he ends up confronting his own demons and nightmares.

This is a book that only Farish A. Noor will attempt and can write. He visits locations we would like to avoid even in our worst nightmares. Although he writes with his sense of humour firmly in place throughout, that does not obscure the seriousness of the subject. Is the world ready for some truth?

*Mohamed Nawab and Farhan Ali  
(Editors)*

**Igniting Thought, Unleashing Youth:  
Perspectives on Muslim Youth and  
Activism in Singapore**  
Select Publishing



This collection of essays by young Malay/Muslims provides a refreshing, if somewhat provocative, alternative to the views that currently permeate the local Malay/Muslim community. The sometimes self-critical, yet always constructive, reflections, sample the psyche and the thought processes of young members of a minority group in a heterogeneous society. They straddle ideas on the effects of Islamic extremism and radicalism; the implication and the utility of the internet; the impact of the environment on Islamic Thought and Practices; the current state of Muslim women activism; the critical need for inter-racial interaction; the urgency to emphasize education and scientific understanding; the future role of Malay/Muslim Youth Activism in Singapore. Crucially, the essays ask how young Malay/Muslims should develop a religious and a cultural identity alongside a Singaporean urban identity.

For community leaders and institutions, it offers insights into the aspirations of young Malay/Muslims and their efforts to contribute to society. For non-Muslim as well as non-Malay readers, it offers implications and applications beyond the Malay/Muslim group.



## Staff Publications

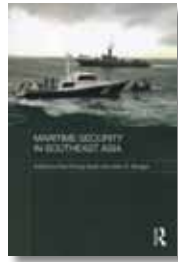
*Kwa Chong Guan and John K. Skogan  
(Editors)*

**Maritime Security in Southeast Asia**  
Routledge

This book confronts both the maritime security challenges and responses. In Southeast Asia, maritime security has, over the last twenty years, taken on a much greater importance, due to the Law of the Sea convention, which has resulted in a 200 nautical mile Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs).

As well as traditional security threats to maritime security, there has also emerged a range of non-traditional threat, such as those emanating from piracy and international terrorism that spill over into the maritime domain. Events such as September 11th, and the designation of Southeast Asia as a 'second front' in the war against terrorism, have resulted in the growing realization that multilateral security cooperation is required in order to better manage emerging security threats.

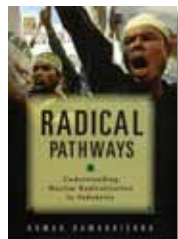
Expert contributors to this book identify the nature of the maritime security problem and critically evaluate the various responses with an eye to improving the management of prevailing and emerging security threats. This book will be an invaluable resource to academics, policy analysts, legislators and students interested in security issues in Southeast Asia.



*Kumar Ramakrishna*

**Radical Pathways: Understanding Muslim Radicalization in Indonesia**  
Praeger Security International

This book explores two of the most crucial areas of the war on terror: 1) why some Muslims turn to violent jihad, and 2) that process in the world's most populous Muslim nation, Indonesia. The recent history of terrorism in Indonesia has brought this country into the world's spotlight. The Bali night club bombing by Islamists in 2002 was one of the worst terrorist attacks in history. The recent violence following the executions of three of the Bali bombers, together with a number of thwarted bomb plots, demonstrate the continuing danger posed by radicalized violent Islamists in the country. Written by one of Southeast Asia's leading counter-terrorism experts, *Radical Pathways* offers innovative new perspectives on the sources of violent Muslim radicalization and what should be done to counter it.



*Shiping Tang, Mingjiang Li and Amitav Acharya (Editors)*

**Living with China: Regional States and China through Crises and Turning Points**  
Palgrave Macmillan

Although debating China's rise and its implications for Asia and beyond has become a cottage industry, and much ink has been spilled on whether China is going to be a benign or malign power and how other states ought to deal with China, few have bothered to tell the real stories of how China's neighbours have been living with a rising China. This book fills this vacuum. Many contributors in this volume have direct access to and have been often consulted by policy-making bodies in their respective countries and thus have intimate knowledge of their countries' way of living with China.



*Sue Chia Ng*

**Threads of Gold: The Rise of Indochinese Enterprises in Terengganu**  
VDM Verlag

It has been more than 20 years since the Cham community settled en masse in Kuala Terengganu, Malaysia. Yet, hardly much is written about them. This book aims to provide an ethnographical study and examine the immediate history, networks and identity of the Cham Diaspora. The locals had assumed that they are either 'Malays' from Cambodia or 'Vietnamese Muslim converts'. They are Muslim-Cham from Cambodia and Vietnam, who fearing the assaults of the Pol Pot regime and possible threats to their identity-and-religion, have from 1975 begun to flee to various United Nations-run refugee camps in Thailand, hoping to be resettled in Malaysia. From their initial occupations as petty traders and odd job labourers, they have emerged as successful textile and gold retailers in Kuala Terengganu. They have also built a socio-economic network within their community on which they could depend for various form of support.

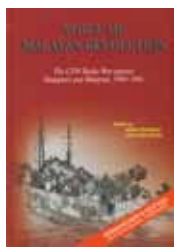
This book would be of interest to anthropologists and political analysts who are studying minority group relations and the social-political dynamics of refugees-local population interactions.



## RSIS Publications

*Wang Gungwu and Ong Weichong*  
(Editors)

### **Voice of Malayan Revolution: The CPM War against Singapore and Malaysia, 1969-1981**



Voluminous works - popular and academic - have been written on how the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) lost the shooting war in the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960). But much less has been said on what happened thereafter. By 1960, the CPM's "long march" from the Malayan interior into Southern Thailand was complete. In a sanctuary far from the writ of the Malaysian and Thai governments, the CPM reorganised, reviewed their strategy and bided their time. In 1968, inspired by the Cultural Revolution in Red China and events in Indochina, the CPM sought for a second time to establish a "People's Republic" in the Malay Peninsula. From 1968 to 1989, the Malaysian security forces and the CPM once again confronted each other in the jungles of the Malaysian-Thai border in what was known as the Second Emergency.

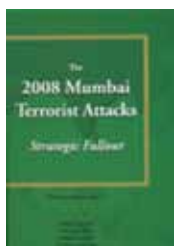
In an attempt to subvert the populations of Malaysia and Singapore and win them over to their revived revolutionary cause, the CPM embarked on a clandestine radio war. From a Chinese military base in Hunan, China, the CPM's underground radio network transmitted under the codename Project 691 and on the airwaves as "Suara Revolusi Malaya" or "Voice of Malayan Revolution" (VMR).

This edited volume, for the very first time, reproduces a selection of those broadcasts. These hitherto classified transcripts of the Internal Security Department, Singapore, are supplemented with an introductory essay and chapter introductions that seek to situate the selected documents against the revolutionary events of the 60s and 70s not only in Singapore and Malaysia but the whole of Southeast Asia. This selection is accompanied by a CD containing all available transcripts of VMR broadcasts made from its very first broadcast in 1969 to its very last in 1981.

Far from being a spent force, the CPM had the capacity and resources to revive their ideological struggle against the newly emergent post-colonial states of Malaysia and Singapore for another 12 long years. This edited volume is part of that story.

*Rajesh M. Basrur, Timothy Hoyt, Rifaat Hussain and Sujoyini Mandal* (Editors)

### **The 2008 Mumbai Terrorist Attacks: Strategic Fallout, RSIS Monograph No. 17, 2009**

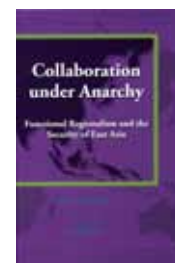


The terrorist attacks on Mumbai in November 2008, which killed 166 people, exposed India's vulnerability to organised armed violence, precipitated a fresh downturn in India-Pakistan relations and alerted the world to

the threat of commando-style terrorist assaults. This monograph systematically assesses the national, regional and global implications of the incident.

*See Seng Tan* (Editor)

### **Collaboration under Anarchy, RSIS Monograph No. 15, 2009**

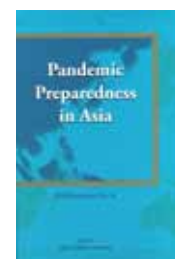


Today, common concerns are driving East Asians to collaborate in ways unimaginable a few years ago. In particular, recent developments in the financial, energy, health, anti-transnational crime, and other sectors suggest that "functional cooperation" - technical collaboration based on common interests or issues - is on the rise among East Asian states. Collaboration under Anarchy brings together ten leading experts who assess the prospects for deeper and more extensive cooperation in various "non-traditional" sectors of security, as well as the views of several regional powers and of ASEAN on functional cooperation within and by their region. Their analyses suggest that functional cooperation, while not without difficulties, could however prove indispensable to realizing East Asia's collective aspirations for prosperity, security and order.

For other titles from the RSIS Monographs Series, please visit <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/monographs.html>.

*Mely Caballero-Anthony* (Editor)

### **Pandemic Preparedness in Asia, RSIS Monograph No. 16, 2009**



It is not known when, or where, the next deadly infectious disease will emerge, or how it will spread around the world. Are Asian countries prepared for a pandemic? How are National Pandemic Preparedness Plans to be operationalized at the local level? Are there critical gaps in current planning? Which indicators can accurately determine comprehensive pandemic preparedness frameworks? What are the roles of different societal actors and how are they defined? What are the prospects of enhancing regional cooperation in preparing for pandemics and other public health emergencies?

These are some of the questions that this monograph aims to address. It does so by bringing together selected papers presented at a conference on Pandemic Preparedness in Asia, held in Singapore in January 2009. The conference was an integral part of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies' broader project on understanding and assessing the capacity of states and societies in Asia to manage transnational threats, as well as to contribute to the development of crises-management mechanisms in the region.

For other titles from the RSIS Monographs Series, please visit <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/monographs.html>.

## 5th Asia-Pacific Security Conference (APSEC)



# Asia Pacific Security Conference

**J**ointly organised by RSIS and Singapore Airshow & Events Pte. Ltd., this biennial conference will take place on 31 January – 1 February 2010 in conjunction with Singapore Airshow 2010. Since its inception in 2002, APSEC has not only succeeded in drawing expert speakers from around the world, but has grown to be an important event in the RSIS calendar for defence officials, military personnel, academics, analysts and defence industry leaders from around the world to meet and to exchange views on current international concerns.

The theme for APSEC 2010 is “The Evolution of Military Power in the 21st Century”. Dr. Ng Eng Hen, the Minister for Education and Second Minister for Defence, will deliver the keynote address. There will be two panels, which will address the topics “Asia-Pacific Military Transformation” and “The Future of Airpower”.

The first panel will focus in particular on the issue of Asia-Pacific modernisation and transformation in light of the military technology trends being shaped by China and the US. Presenting at this panel will be Mr. Bruce Lemkin, the US Deputy Under Secretary of the Air Force for International Affairs, Mr. Deba R. Mohanty, Senior Fellow in Security Studies at India’s Observer Research Foundation, Professor

Zhu Feng, Deputy Director of the Peking University’s Centre for International & Strategic Studies, and Mr. Dean Cheng, Research Fellow at the Heritage Foundation in the US.

The second panel will provide an in-depth examination of the direction and trends that airpower technologies are moving towards. In addition, the panel will examine the challenges and choices facing the respective air forces of the Asia-Pacific region. The speakers for this panel are Mr. Richard Aboulafia, Vice President for Analysis of the Teal Group, Mr. Andrew James, Senior Research Fellow at the University of Manchester’s Manchester Business School, Air Commodore (Retired) Jasjit Singh, Director of the Centre for Air Power Studies in New Delhi, and Dr. Mark A. Lorell, Senior Political Scientist at the RAND Corporation.

The conference will conclude with a Distinguished Lunch Talk which will be delivered by the Honourable Gordon R. England, the former US Deputy Secretary of Defence. Mr England will speak on the topic, “Security Outlook during Economic Uncertainty and Instability”, in which he will look at the relationship between security and economic development in the present day context of economic uncertainty and regional security challenges.



## The RSIS Distinguished World Leaders Lecture



*His Excellency Dr. Yukio Hatoyama, Prime Minister of Japan, at the inaugural RSIS Distinguished World Leaders Lecture*

On 15 November 2009, Japan's Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama spoke at the RSIS Distinguished World Leaders Lecture. The RSIS Distinguished World Leaders Lecture Series is a platform for heads of states, heads of governments and leaders of international organisations to enunciate policies or share their views on issues of regional or international importance.

Prime Minister Hatoyama was followed by the President of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, President José Ramos-Horta, who also gave a lecture under the series on 17 December 2009.

PM Hatoyama's and President Ramos-Horta's lectures will be featured in the next issue of Think Tank. The podcast for the lectures will be available for download at [www.rsis.edu.sg](http://www.rsis.edu.sg).

## RSIS expands its Networks in China

A delegation from RSIS visited Beijing from 28 to 31 October 2009. Led by RSIS' Dean, Amb. Barry Desker, the 6-person delegation called on the National Defence University (NDU), the China Institute for Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), Peking University, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and the Foreign Affairs University (MFA).

Contemporary issues affecting both the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and China were presented and discussed with the delegation's Chinese counterparts. These included Asia's regional security architecture, the development of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), the future of ASEAN in the region and the impact of Japan and Australia's new security community proposals. RSIS also signed a Memorandum-of-Understanding (MOU) with NDU and CICIR, facilitating closer interaction with both prestigious institutions in the future.

## Visit by Delegations from the Australian Command and Staff College and the New Zealand Defence Force

On 23 October and 3 November 2009, RSIS hosted two delegations from the Australian Command and Staff College (CSC) and the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) respectively. The Australian CSC delegation was a 42-member delegation whilst the NZDF delegation comprised 65 officers. The discussions for the two visits

centred around issues ranging from the rise of China and its implications for the region, regional security architectures, to non-traditional security concerns like climate change and pandemics.

## Track II Support of ASEAN Defence and Security

On 28 July 2009, Mr. Eddie Teo, Chairman of RSIS' Board of Governors launched the Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) website. Speaking at the launch, Mr. Teo said that the research institutions continued to play an important supportive role in contributing to the making of government policies. NADI can support the Asean Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) track by providing fresh ideas and recommendations relevant to the ADMM track. For instance, NADI could discuss the new security trends in the region. They could suggest ideas and proposals to foster closer military cooperation among the NADI members and to manage developments like conflicting territorial claims so that they would not lead to confrontations.

RSIS inaugurated the Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions Meeting in August 2007 as a think-tank group to support the ADMM track. The participants attend the NADI meetings in their personal capacities to exchange views and provide recommendations to the ADMM track for their consideration. The launch of the NADI website was RSIS' initiative to highlight the work of NADI.

The website can be accessed at <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/nadi>.

## UPCOMING EVENTS

**20-21 JANUARY, 2010**

CONFERENCE ON MARITIME CHALLENGES AND PRIORITIES IN ASIA

**20-22 JANUARY, 2010**

SINGAPORE-US STRATEGIC DIALOGUE

**26 JANUARY, 2010**

RSIS SEMINAR ON "AN EVALUATION OF THE YUDHOYONO ADMINISTRATION'S FIRST 100 DAYS IN OFFICE"

**1 FEBRUARY, 2010**

5TH ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY CONFERENCE

**8 FEBRUARY, 2010**

RSIS COLLOQUIUM ON STRATEGIC TRENDS IN THE 21ST CENTURY BY PROF. GEOFFREY TILL, "SWINGS AND ROUNDABOUTS: CHANGES IN THE WORLD'S MARITIME BALANCE?"

*To be included in RSIS' mailing list for talks and seminars, please email your name, organization and job title to [iswyseng@ntu.edu.sg](mailto:iswyseng@ntu.edu.sg)*

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