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THINK TANK

News from the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studie

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Singapore Global Dialogue Off to a Good Start



Mr. Tang Jiaxuan (left) and Dean Barry Desker having a lively discussion during the Singapore Global Dialogue

ttended by more than four hundred participants, including some one hundred and fifty from overseas, the inaugural Singapore Global Dialogue organised by RSIS is well on the way to becoming the region's premier conference on global strategic issues. The inaugural event marked the first time that an event of such a nature and scale had been initiated by a Singaporean think tank, to address global concerns from an Asian perspective.

Opening with positive reviews from participants and the media, the Singapore Global Dialogue aims to become Asia-Pacific's foremost platform for discussions on contemporary security issues that transcend the region's borders. With an overwhelming response in registration, the sold-out event included high-ranking delegates from government policy sectors, security forces, think tanks, NGOs and

the international community. Such dialogues are, as Dr. Ramesh Thakur, the former Senior Vice Rector of United Nations University, said "critical to facilitating exchanges among stakeholders of contemporary issues. They can shape and shift the terms of global discourse". The Honourable John Howard, former Prime Minister of Australia, agrees as much when he said that the Asia-Pacific is "not a passive member in the international arena, but an active contributor to global discussions. Conferences like Singapore Global Dialogue are significant in the shaping of contemporary debates on international affairs".

His Excellency S R Nathan, President of the Republic of Singapore, was the Guest-of-Honour at the conference's Welcome Dinner, during which Mr. K Shanmugam, the Minister for Law and Second Minister for Home Affairs,

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delivered a keynote address on counter-terrorism in Southeast Asia.

In a captivating keynote speech, which was widely commented on by the media, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, a former Chinese State Councillor and former Minister for Foreign Affairs of China spoke on the evolving role of China in the international landscape, and made timely and thought-provoking comments on Chinese relations with Japan. Other eminent speakers included Dr. Paul Wolfowitz, former President of the World Bank and former US Deputy Secretary of Defense; His Excellency M K Narayanan, Governor of West Bengal and former National Security Advisor of India; Ambassador Christopher R. Hill, Dean

of Josef Korbel School of International Studies, and former US Ambassador to Iraq; Prof. Paul Collier, of Oxford University; and Dr. Shashi Tharoor, Member of the Indian Parliament, former United Nations Under-Secretary General for Communications and Public Information, and former Indian Minister of State for External Affairs.

The inaugural Singapore Global Dialogue concluded with a keynote address by Mr. Tharman Shanmugaratnam, the Minister for Finance, who spoke on the ways to tackle the challenges of creating growth and preserving cohesion.

For brief reports on the speeches and panel discussions, please visit www.singaporeglobaldialogue.com.

Contributed by Melvin Lin

Temasek Foundation Extends Its Support to TFCTN



Dr. Deborah Elms, Head of TFCTN, welcoming participants to the Executive Programme

SIS' Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade & Negotiations (TFCTN) received a boost recently when it received almost \$2.2 million from the Temasek Foundation. This award for projects to be implemented over the next three years follows an earlier grant of \$1,282,651 donated by the foundation in 2008.

The projects which will take place on a yearly basis include the following:

- 1. The six-week Executive Programme for mid-level government officials in Asia
- 2. The three-day TFCTN Parliamentarian Workshop for Members of Parliament in Asia
- 3. The three-day in-country refresher course in

- developing countries in Asia to train government officials dealing with trade
- 4. Outreach programmes for the Asian business community
- 5. The Temasek Foundation Distinguished Guest Speakers Programme

RSIS Dean, Ambassador Barry Desker, signed the contract on behalf of TFCTN while Mr. Goh Geok Khim signed on behalf of the Temasek Foundation as its Chairman.

The Temasek Foundation is a non-profit philanthropic organisation established by Temasek Holdings to contribute to sustainable growth and a bright future of hope and opportunities for the people of Asia.

Contributed by Quak Swee Seng

Theory vs. Reality in Policy Making



Professor Eliot Cohen sharing his experiences with the audience

n 13 August 2010, Professor Eliot Cohen, the Robert E. Osgood Professor of Strategic Studies at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of the Johns Hopkins University, addressed a colloquium at RSIS on the topic "Theory and Practice: Reflections on Advising a Secretary of State". Professor Cohen, who was RSIS' S. Rajaratnam Professor of Strategic Studies, looked into the continuing tension between academic theorists and practitioners in the formulation of foreign policy, and argued that the gap should be bridged between the two worlds. His lecture was a reflection on his own personal experiences in the academic world and the policy world, having served as Counsellor to the United States Department of State under Secretary Condoleezza Rice from 2007 to 2009.

Professor Cohen opined that while academics had to depend on generalisations, theories and structural explanations, practitioners of policy relied on particular, unique and individual explanations to various foreign policy issues. The foreign policy bureaucracy had often taken policy positions based on departmental interests and their own views.

He argued further that although the organisational theory of decision-making had been a useful tool, for good policy-making, psychology appeared to be very useful, owing to the need to process information, deal with different personalities and to think in groups during policymaking. He gave a good example of how personality had played a key role during the two terms of the Bush administration. The clash between the Department of Defence and the Department of State was mainly due to personalities like Donald Rumsfeld,

Collin Powell, Robert Gates and Condoleezza Rice.

Professor Cohen also suggested the importance of anthropology in decision-making, as it could provide us with the cultural sense of various people and issues of national interest. Besides, history had helped to find the root of a problem, assisting further to move beyond stereotypical or common wisdom and to understand the limitations of any action.

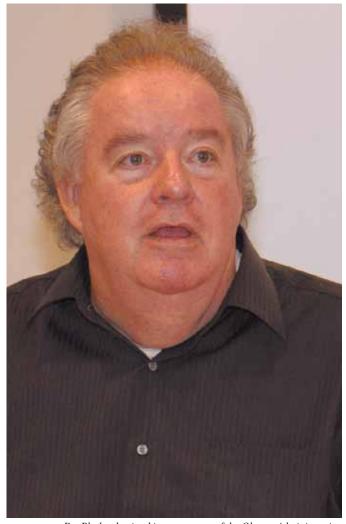
He also discussed a few disadvantages for an academic working in the policy world. First, academics, by and large, are supposed to be irresponsible for their acts. This might not be the case in real policy making. Second, it is tangible and sound actions, rather than right ideas which matter in policy-making circles. Finally, collective efforts are more important than individual credit.

However, according to Cohen, academics had also brought virtues to the real policy-making world, namely, by listening during policy discussion, much like listening students, lecturing with clear and forceful arguments, writing good memos, finding alternatives, analysing data and asking simple questions in a serious way.

Professor Cohen concluded his lecture by suggesting the cultivation of a sense of reality that could require reading history, biographies and psychology. A broader intellectual background could help one perform effectively in policy making. According to him, the two worlds could interact with each other in a productive way only when they knew and valued their differences.

Contributed by Ajaya Kumar Das

Assessing the Obama Administration



Dr. Plotke sharing his assessment of the Obama Administration

SIS organised a seminar on 30 September 2010 at which Dr. David Plotke delivered a lecture on the topic "The Obama Administration: Domestic Policies, the Midterm Elections, Foreign Policy and American Power". Dr. Plotke, a Senior Professor of Political Science at the New School for Social Research in the United States, explained the strengths and weaknesses of the first two years of the Obama administration and their influence on the upcoming midterm elections in November and on Mr. Obama's prospects for re-election in 2012. He noted that the main issues such as unemployment and unhelpful economic conditions would impact on the reform by efforts of Mr. Obama's policies. Dr. Plotke also explained the reasons for Mr. Obama's victory in the election and the extent to which he had accomplished what the public expected from his administration.

Dr. Plotke highlighted the key achievements of the Obama Administration so far, such as the implementation of healthcare reform, a new regulatory frame for the financial industry, and prevention of the recession of 2008 and 2009 from becoming a catastrophe. On the other hand, the continuing high unemployment rate was a main weakness of the Obama Administration. He predicted that the Republicans would lead in the upcoming midterm elections in November 2010 and that the Democrats would have fewer seats in the House. He also saw the likelihood of a shift of the number of votes from the Democrats to the Republicans in the upcoming midterm election, but added that it would not be possible to say for certain whether Mr. Obama would be re-elected in 2012.

Contributed by Neelanga Randimal Somaratne

Understanding the Evolving U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Partnership

n 7-8 October 2010, RSIS collaborated with the Center on Contemporary Conflict (CCC) of the Naval Postgraduate School to host the "The U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Partnership: A Track-Two Dialogue for Long Term Security Coopoeration".

One of the main objectives of the forum was to advance the understanding of the evolving U.S.-Pakistan strategic partnership and to examine issues such as the emerging Asian power balance, current efforts to counter extremism and militancy, regional strategic stability, and global trends in weapons of mass destruction. The forum also built on a long history of collaboration between CCC and its South Asian partners, this being the fifth iteration of the U.S.-Pakistan track-two dialogue.

In his opening remarks, Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Head of the International Centre for Political Violence and

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Professor Rohan Gunaratna welcoming participants to the US-Pakistan track-two dialogue

Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at RSIS, highlighted the need for geopolitical issues in the South Asian region, especially those related to Afghanistan-Pakistan-India, to be resolved first. He also reiterated the need for the rest of the world to work closely with, and not against, Pakistan to resolve these issues. He emphasised the notion that the tribal areas of Pakistan have become the epicentre of international terrorism, particularly after the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan.

Brigadier (retd) Feroz Khan of the CCC gave a brief overview of the work and projects that CCC had successfully carried out in collaboration with other agencies and partners to promote strategic stability and peace in South Asia. He emphasised the desired outcomes of the forum: (i) to enhance cooperation among key stakeholders; (ii) defeat terrorism; and (iii) forge key partnerships in maintaining strategic stability, with the premise that the U.S.-Pakistan partnership would play a pivotal role. The approaches undertaken by the two countries might differ but the goal remained the same. However, he cautioned that the media's portrayal of the U.S.-Pakistan partnership was never a good start for any fruitful discussion.

In her keynote address, Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, former Pakistani ambassador to the United States and the United Kingdom, provided a very insightful overview of U.S.-Pakistan relations. She emphasised the critical roles played by the two countries in maintaining strategic stability in the region. The "political plan" of both the countries should be the main driver of the military plan rather than the opposite. She further elaborated on the many



Participants from Pakistan, the US and RSIS engaged in strategic discussions at the forum

complicated and intertwined issues characteristic of the current relationship, which need to be carefully reviewed, such as the drone attacks in Pakistan's tribal areas and U.S. policy on the Muslim world. She concluded that although efforts by both countries to improve relations may seem to show little progress, strategic success would be a reality in the near future if the two countries could more effectively work to attain their common goals.

Overall, the forum saw a productive, candid and engaging dialogue among the parties involved.

Contributed by Salim bin Mohamed Nasir

Singapore Global Dialogue: A Pictorial Perspective













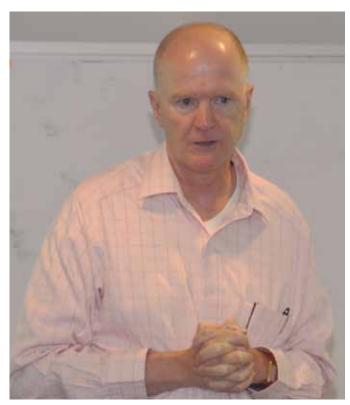






NEWS FROM THE S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Kenneth Knight on Warning and Risk Assessment



Dr. Kenneth Knight sharing his knowledge and experience at one of the four seminars

r. Kenneth Knight visited RSIS on 17–22 September as the Centre of Excellence for National Security's (CENS) Distinguished Visiting Fellow. Currently an Analytic Director at CENTRA Technology in the United States, Dr. Knight delivered four seminars on warning and risk assessment in the intelligence community, based on experience during his 15-year career in the business.

In the first seminar, "Anticipating Shocks in the Emerging Global Security Environment", Dr. Knight enumerated a list of what he considered to be the most significant nearterm risks in terms of global security. This list, which the risk assessment and business community had to keep itself updated with, included (i) ongoing regional conflicts in the Middle East and South Asia; (ii) the potential directions of rogue states, especially Iran and North Korea; (iii) stability issues in highly unstable states such as Pakistan, Iran and Yemen; and (iv) transnational issues, which include terrorism, cyber warfare and economic crises. Dr. Knight opined that we were currently in a turbulent global security environment, where different security factors were evolving in an increasingly interconnected manner.

During the second seminar, "Developing the Next Generation of Strategic Analysts: Some Personal Musings", Dr. Knight talked about the crucial qualifications to become a good analyst based on personal observations throughout his career. The first element was whether an analyst had the right capacity to produce a sound analysis. The second element was whether an analyst had the right understanding of the analysis-policy nexus and knew how to tailor the analytic product based on the policymaker's needs and position. Leadership and communication skills were also crucial, as were the accumulated wisdom and knowledge from their past experience, capability in using a wide range of methodologies and knowing how to match the right methodologies to a given problem.

As for this third seminar, "Overcoming Common Organisational and Analytic Pitfalls", Dr. Knight talked about the organisational and analytic pitfalls that were commonly seen in the risk assessment and warning community. To him, the greatest causation of analysis failure was the "mindset" of the analyst. More specifically, even when an analyst might have the right information and understanding of a certain issue, he or she may not have put the data together in a proper context because of his or her mindset, such as a perception bias. Some of the common pitfalls mentioned were (i) forming a culture overly based on consensus; (ii) assuming future events based on known patterns; and (iii) overvaluation of the information at hand. Dr. Knight suggested that the best way to overcome these pitfalls was to engage in exercises that constantly challenged one's assumptions and conclusions, which can be done on an individual, group or institutional basis.

Lastly, Dr. Knight summed up his preceding three seminars in his final presentation, titled "Estimating Risk: Art and Science", and derived four crucial elements that the warning and risk assessment community should develop in the twenty-first century: (i) a broader mission concept that moved beyond simply "preventing surprises"; (ii) continuous and systematic engagement with the emerging global security environment; (iii) revitalising partnership with policymakers; and (iv) modern analytic training and tradecraft to improve professional skills and quality of work. All in all, this RSIS seminar series provided participants with fresh insights regarding risk assessment and horizon scanning in a dynamic global environment from the perspective of an experienced practitioner.

Contributed by Jenna Park

Challenges to Security in the 21st Century



His Excellency M. K. Narayanan offering his insights on global security challenges

hat are the challenges to security faced by the world today? This was the main theme of the RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture by His Excellency Mayankote Kelath Narayanan, Governor of West Bengal, India. The topic for the lecture, held on 28 September 2010 at the Marina Mandarin, was "Strategic Dimensions of Security in the 21st Century". Having served as National Security Advisor to the Government of India, it was a topic close to Mr. Narayanan's heart.

Mr. Narayanan divided his lecture into three parts. In the first, he offered a perspective on current and future strategic trends. The second part dealt with specific security challenges likely to be confronted in the twenty-first century. Lastly, he discussed the problems that nations and governments are likely to face in dealing with these security challenges.

He started by stating that the twenty-first century had several distinct characteristics. There has been a shift in the global and regional balance of power, while multi-polarity has replaced bi-polarity. To him, the twenty-first century is unlikely to see a reduction in traditional security concerns. Instead, it will witness a phenomenon he termed as the

"globalisation of insecurity". Moving on, Mr. Narayanan spoke about specific threats like the growth and spread of radicalism, extremism and fundamentalism. A relatively new instance is the attempt by terrorists to involve themselves in humanitarian activities. Nuclear security is another area of concern since more nations are now joining the "nuclear weapons club". There is also growing instability in many parts of the globe due to nuclear proliferation.

The twenty-first century, continued Mr. Narayanan, would involve battles in cyberspace. Cyber warfare is intangible: there are no borders and it involves unseen armies. He predicted that the future would involve targets like the banking industry. The security of global commons, which included niche areas like maritime security, the security of outer space and migration due to climate change, was also raised.

In concluding his lecture, Mr. Narayanan advised governments to undergo a change in mind-set. At the strategic level, importance should be placed on intelligence and there should be greater control of technological leakages.

Contributed by Durgalekshmi Suresh

American Jihad: The Threat from Within



Professor Bruce Hoffman addressing the audience at the colloquium

n 3 August 2010, Professor Bruce Hoffman, Professor of Security Studies at Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, addressed a colloquium at Nanyang Technological University on the topic "American jihad". Introducing the speaker, Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Head of RSIS' International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, said that the lecture was timely due to the escalating homegrown threat. Professor Hoffman began by pointing out that several disquieting trends converged in New York City's Times Square incident on 1 May 2010. A foreign terrorist group, the Pakistani Taliban, with a hitherto local agenda had stretched its wings and directly threatened the United States on its home soil. Similarly, less than six months earlier, Al-Qaeda terrorists in the Arabian peninsula attempted to destroy a U.S. jetliner over Detroit on Christmas Day. In the light of these and the fact that American citizens are being recruited to attack the United States, can the United States claim that it is winning the war on terrorism?

Professor Hoffman argued that conventional wisdom, which had long held that the terrorist threat to the United States was external and involved foreigners coming from overseas to kill Americans, had been shattered. The Times Square incident is part of an emerging pattern of the radicalisation and recruitment of American citizens to target the United States directly. The strategy of Al-Qaeda and its allies is now to overwhelm, distract and exhaust the U.S. national-security apparatuses. The already-stressed intelligence and law-enforcement agencies are deliberately flooded with low-level threats from "lone wolves", which are

designed to consume the attention of U.S. national-security apparatuses in the hope that such distraction will permit more spectacular terrorist operations to succeed by slipping beneath the radar. Professor Hoffman noted that theories about poverty, lack of education and lack of opportunity have long figured prominently in explanations for the eruption of terrorism. But both historical and contemporary empirical evidence have failed to support such sweeping claims, with the Times Square perpetrator Faisal Shahzad himself being the latest example. Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, the would-be Christmas day bomber, similarly defied conventional wisdom about the stereotypical suicide terrorist. The Shahzads and Abdulmutallabs we now encounter should no longer come as a surprise.

Concluding his lecture, Professor Hoffman underscored that the American "melting pot" theory that provided a "fire wall" against the radicalisation and recruitment of U.S. citizens, had arguably lulled the United States into the sense that homegrown terrorism could not happen there. The U.S. government currently has no strategy to counter the threat of homegrown terrorists and other radicalised recruits. Hoffman added that it was unclear as to who, in the U.S. government, is responsible for identifying radicalisation and interdicting attempts at recruitment. Thanking Professor Hoffman for his lecture, Professor Gunaratna remarked that the failure to counter the ideological threat has enhanced the homegrown threat. The terrorist threat to the West, especially to the United States, would likely increase in the coming months and years.

Contributed by Aaron Ng

The Changing Distribution of Power

SIS was honoured to host Lord Patten of Barnes, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, at the Raffles Hotel on 3 September 2010 for the S. T. Lee Distinguished Annual Lecture. Speaking on the "Changing Power Balance in the World", Lord Patten addressed the various tectonic shifts in the global economy and politics, and their effects on global distributions of power.

The world has undergone many changes, he said. It is not strong states that cause problems but weak ones which export problems that cannot be ghettoised in our intimately interconnected world. People worry over consequences of state institutions weakening further in Pakistan, or Mexico, where the government is being hollowed out by drug wars. The world has seen advances in technology, containerisation, air travel, mobile communications, information technology, the dismantling of trade barriers and how over two billion Indians and Chinese have in the last 30 years joined the world economy. This hugely beneficial process, though not without problems, has changed peoples' lives worldwide. Lord Patten noted that hundreds of millions have been lifted out of poverty; the increase in purchasing power in some countries has translated to an increase in production in others. The geography of that production has changed as well. Relative advantage has shifted from one place to another. Overall, the benefits of globalisation have far outstripped the pitfalls.

There is much talk about the United States losing its global pre-eminence, and living in a more multi-polar world which is reshaped by the emerging economies, in particular by Brazil, India, Russia and China. There is some

truth in this but the greater lesson is not about the changing relationships between the United States and others but the fact that no single country today can cope independently with global problems that increasingly demand global solutions. That said, Lord Patten reminded the audience that America remains the only country that matters everywhere. Name any global problem, and it is almost always impossible to tackle it without American leadership. In order to remain in this position, however, America must confront its rising debts. The same can also be said of Europe, which still occupies a lofty status in the global hierarchy but needs to re-examine its reluctance to accept changes necessary to sustain its quality of life.

In this new global power configuration, rising powers such as China and India need to accept more responsibilities as major players. Together with the developed economies of the West, they must commit to solving problems with global implications, such as environmental issues.

In bringing his lecture to a close, Lord Patten stressed that new international leaders would likely be pluralist countries which encouraged civil society and public accountability, as these are the best guarantees of flexibility, quality and a clean government. These are also most likely to promote advances in information technology, which liberate individuals. These countries and societies value not just education, but also high culture. This is because education should be more than mere utilitarianism, and it is high culture which gives society tradition and legacy.

Contributed by Tuty Raihanah Bte Mostarom



Dean Barry Desker presenting a token of appreciation to Lord Patten following the lecture

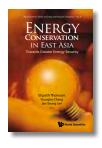
Staff Publications

Elspeth Thomson, Youngho Chang, Jae-Seung Lee (Editors)

Energy Conservation in East Asia: Towards Greater Energy Security

World Scientific Publishing, 2010.

ISBN: 9789812771773



As East and Southeast Asia continue to modernize and urbanize, their demand for energy will soar. Besides seeking to import fossil fuels from the Middle East, Africa, the Caspian Region, Russia, Latin America, Australia, etc., it is imperative for these Asian countries to cooperate in substantially raising the efficiency with which energy is consumed. This book offers a comprehensive examination of East and Southeast Asia's energy conservation policies. It begins with a summary of the current and projected energy supply and demand patterns in the region, and a discussion about the need and basis for cooperation in energy conservation. This is followed by an examination of the energy conservation policies and progress to date in seven ASEAN countries and in China, Japan and Korea.

Farish A Noor

From Inderapura to Darul Makmur: A Deconstructive History of Pahang

Silverfish Books, Kuala Lumpur, 2010-10-29



This is a deconstructive reading of the history of the state of Pahang, which examines the constructiveness of Pahang both as a state and an idea. Beginning from the pre-modern and pre-colonial era leading to the period of colonial and postcolonial rule, the author examines the development of the state of Pahang, from a loose collection of chieftain-led territories to an independent Sultanate, then to a colonial dependency and up to the postcolonial era when Pahang was integrated as a state among many in the Malaysian Federation. In particular it looks at the role played by a range of communities, from the Orang Asli to the Malays, Bugis, Chinese, Indian, Arab and European settlers and colonisers who have made Pahang what it is today.

Rohan Gunaratna, Khuram Iqbal

Pakistan: Terrorism Ground Zero

London: Reaktion Books,

2010

ISBN: 9781861897688



After the US-led coalition targeted terrorist groups operating in Afghanistan, Al Qaeda, the Taliban and two dozen other such organizations relocated to the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) of Pakistan. This remote, inhospitable region has become the sanctuary for, and headquarters of, the Al Qaeda-led global jihad movement. From this base Al Qaeda and its associated cells have planned, prepared and executed numerous terrorist attacks around the world, in addition to supporting and waging insurgencies in Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia and elsewhere. The epicentre of international terrorism, Pakistan is the keystone in the international fight against terrorism today.

John Malcolm Dowling and Praduma Bickram Rana

Asia and the Global Economic Crisis: Challenges in a Financially Integrated World

Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. ISBN: 9780230273634



This book examines the current global economic crisis through the lens of the Asian region, reviewing how different regions of Asia were affected, and identifies the challenges that Asia faces in a financially integrated world. It surveys Asian and global initiatives for rebalancing growth, highlights the impact of the crisis on poverty and the millennium development goals, and provides a detailed analysis of individual country responses and prospects. The book goes on to discuss policy measures adopted by Asian countries to manage and resolve the crisis, and to prevent a similar crisis from recurring in the future, discussing issues related to the reform of the international financial architecture. As the world emerges from the crisis, the book assesses what has been achieved so far, where Asia stands at the beginning of the new decade, and what more needs to be done to successfully manage financial globalization in the future. This book is indispensable reading for all interested in Asian studies, economic development, macroeconomics, international economics and finance and business cycles.

UPCOMING EVENTS

11 October-19 November 2010

TFCTN EXECUTIVE PROGRAMME 2010

18 NOVEMBER 2010

RSIS SEMINAR BY MR. ABURIZAL BAKRIE, CHAIRMAN OF THE GOLKAR PARTY, ORGANISED BY THE INDONESIA PROGRAMME

18 NOVEMBER 2010

LAUNCH OF THE BAKRIE PROFESSORSHIP IN SOUTHEAST ASIA POLICY & POSTGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AT RSIS

22 November 2010

RSIS DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC LECTURE BY MR. SHAH MAHMOOD QURESHI, FOREIGN MINISTER OF PAKISTAN

25-26 November 2010

3RD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE CONSORTIUM OF NTS STUDIES IN ASIA (NTS-ASIA)

9-10 DECEMBER 2010

NTS ENERGY SECURITY WORKSHOP

THINK TANK

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