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## APSEC 2012 Looks At Dynamics of Change



The Chief of the Republic of Singapore Air Force, MG Ng Chee Meng (sixth from left), with some of the participants at APSEC 2012

The 6<sup>th</sup> Asia-Pacific Security Conference (APSEC) was held on 12-13 February 2012 at the Raffles City Convention Centre. Co-organised by RSIS and Experia Events, the conference brought together international experts on military and security issues to discuss the dynamics of change in the Asia-Pacific. Nearly 300 participants from the academic, defence, diplomatic, government, and media communities attended the event.

Ambassador Barry Desker, Dean of RSIS, who started proceedings at the welcome dinner, commented that the emergence of China and India have very important strategic and security implications for the security environment of Asia and the world. Thus, it is essential for regional stakeholders to understand these implications as the two powers move towards their respective global status.

Mr Lawrence Wong, Minister of State for Defence and Education, in his keynote address noted that developments in the Asia-Pacific region will largely define whether the century ahead will be marked by conflict or cooperation, by needless suffering or human progress. He urged the global community to work together to reach a consensus on the big issues, which are the bases for mutual security and continued stability in the evolving geopolitical landscape of the Asia-Pacific.

The first discussion panel was chaired by Dr Tim Huxley, Executive Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (Asia). Dr Huxley stated that sustained economic growth has not only brought wealth to Asia Pacific nations, but also uncertainty. With growing economic and political clout, some states in the region have begun to exert their influence, thereby unsettling the security environment in Asia. The panellists included senior academics Professor C. Raja Mohan, Adjunct Professor at RSIS and Senior Fellow of the Centre for Policy Research in New Delhi, Associate Professor Jing Dong Yuan, and Acting Director of the Centre for International Security Studies at the University of Sydney, and RSIS Associate Dean, Professor Joseph Liow.

The second panel was chaired by Mr Richard Bitzinger, Senior Fellow at RSIS, who addressed the issue of regional military modernisation programmes. According to him, a number of Asia Pacific nations are modernising their armed forces as a result of strong economic growth and the consequent imperative to safeguard growing national interests. Some nations have procured sophisticated defence systems to strengthen their military forces. However, some concerns have been raised about the nature of those arms acquisitions in the context of regional tensions. The panellists included former senior military officers Rear Admiral (retired) Yang Yi of the National Defence University in Beijing and

*Continued on page 2*

*Continued from page 1*

Brigadier General (retired) Gurmeet Kanwal from the Centre of Land Warfare Studies in New Delhi. Dr Michael Green from the Centre of Strategic and International Studies completed the speaker line-up.

The conference concluded with a Distinguished Lunch Talk by the Commander of the United States Pacific Air Forces, General Gary L. North. General North highlighted

the importance of stability and security as the top priority for all the nations in the Asia-Pacific region. He asserted that the U.S. and its allies and partners in the region must work together for mutual respect, trust, and honesty. He said events like the APSEC provide a great opportunity to refresh and improve the relationships as the nations in the region collectively move ahead.

*Contributed by Kelvin Wong*

## India's Strategic Capabilities and Regional Security



*Barry Desker, Dean of RSIS, speaking at the workshop*

**H**ow will the growth and expansion of India's strategic capabilities affect regional security and the regional military balance?

This was among the questions on Indian military modernization discussed in the second edition of a two part workshop on the subject organised by RSIS on 24 February 2012. The focus was principally on the evolution and modernization of India's strategic capabilities in the missile, nuclear and space sectors.

The workshop featured contributions from both Indian and American scholars with papers that combined conceptual and

empirical arguments. The papers explored the opportunities and challenges facing India's efforts to modernize its strategic capabilities.

Based on interviews with former and current military, technical and scientific personnel, the workshop themes delved into how conceptual, organizational and doctrinal factors impact India's military strategy. Some of the papers analyzed the bureaucratic and organizational issues pertaining to strategic modernization, while others assessed technical issues and questions surrounding India's nuclear weapons and missile programmes.

The quality and robustness of India's capabilities were analyzed both in the papers and in subsequent discussions. How does India's ad hoc decision-making affect its military strategy? How have its strategic capabilities evolved and how are they likely to evolve? How does the quality of India's decision-making at the apex level affect the trajectory of its capabilities?

Also addressed was the status and progress of key programme initiatives such as cruise missile development, which has formed a key part of India's military strategy. Is India likely to shift its position on space military security such as anti-satellite weapons development?

A combination of strategic restraint and capability development featured in the papers and in the discussions. Most of the research material incorporated in the papers was highly original and insightful. They will provide invaluable inputs to policymakers, strategists, and military practitioners. The papers will be compiled in an edited volume by Dr. Rajesh Basrur, a Senior Fellow of RSIS, and Dr. Bharath Gopalaswamy, Associate Director, Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security Program, of University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

*Contributed by Rajesh Basrur*

# China's Foreign Policy: Domestic Actors and Institutions



*Associate Professor Tan See Seng giving the opening remarks at the conference*

**T**he China Programme of RSIS organized a conference on *Domestic Sources of China's Foreign Policy* on 15-16 March 2012 to examine the actors and institutions that shape China's foreign policy. Discussants deliberated on a range of domestic sources of foreign policy. The conference brought together leading scholars and analysts from China, Australia, the European Union, Singapore, Taiwan, and the United States.

Associate Professor Tan See Seng, Deputy Director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at RSIS, opened the conference proceedings by quoting the German historian Eckart Kehr, who once noted, "A foreign policy has not only an antagonist in front of it but a homeland behind it." This homeland consists of disparate sources of influence as well as ideas from individuals and groups, at times with competing if not conflicting aims. Dr. Tan noted that recent years had witnessed "heterogenization" of the Chinese polity, which has resulted in the blooming of different "flowers" (or ideas) on what is of importance to China and how China ought to pursue them.

Deliberations on day one of the conference started with a fundamental question whether domestic factors play a role in China's foreign policy, followed by discussions on the role of China's elite and bureaucratic politics in framing foreign policy. The next panel focused on the ability of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to influence China's foreign policy choices, perceptions among PLA officers regarding the threat posed by the United States, and the growing role of defence

industries in foreign policy. The third panel was about the influence of non-traditional actors on foreign policy, which includes think tanks, scholars, and the media. The last panel discussed the impact of public opinion including the power of "nationalism" on foreign policy.

On day two, the first panel focused on the role of private and state-owned enterprises as well as provincial governments in engaging international audiences and affecting the policy process at home. The last panel involved case studies of how domestic factors influence China's relations with the European Union, the United States, and in managing disputes in the East and South China Seas.

The papers presented at the conference will be published as an edited volume by the China Programme led by Dr. Li Mingjiang.



*Professor Arthur Ding, Acting Director of the Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University, Taiwan (centre) speaking at the conference*

*Contributed by Kalyan M. Kemburi*

## Incentive Awards for Publishing in Policy-Oriented Publications



RSIS Adjunct Associate Professor Friedrich Wu

**R**SIS staff members have been given a fresh incentive to publish in policy-oriented publications through a fund established from a personal donation of \$10,000 by Adjunct Associate Professor Friedrich Wu. This fund will disburse cash awards to full-time staff and post-doctoral fellows who publish in international policy-oriented publications.

Explaining the reason behind his initiative, Adjunct Associate Professor Wu – who has also more than two decades of experience in the corporate and government sectors – said, “While we have done well in academic publications, some

of our research needs to be more policy-oriented in order to maintain a healthy balance. To do this, we should aim to also publish in international newspapers, magazines and journals that are read by global political, business and economic leaders. Hence, aside from academically rigorous research, some of our publications should also aim for policy relevance, with high visibility and impact in the multilateral, government, business, and economic communities”.

The cash awards range from \$500 for op-eds in newspapers like *Financial Times* (UK) and *People’s Daily* (China); \$750 for short articles in magazines like *The Economist* (UK) and *Beijing Review* (China); \$1,000 for feature articles in journals like *International Affairs* (UK) and *The Washington Quarterly* (US); and \$1,250 for feature articles in top journals like *Foreign Affairs* (US) and *Harvard Business Review* (US).

The first to benefit from the incentive scheme, which was implemented on 1 January 2012, was Professor Rohan Gunaratna who received a \$500 incentive for publishing an article in *The National Interest* in January 2012. Professor Gunaratna, who is also Head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) in RSIS, said: “With economic power shifting from the West to the East, Singapore is emerging as the ideal platform for informed debate and discussion on contemporary issues. At the forefront of this dialogue is RSIS, Asia’s leading think tank. If we are to offer an Asian perspective on the most pressing challenges of the day, we should contribute actively to high impact policy journals”.

Contributed by Melvin Lin

## RSIS Annual Staff Dinner

**W**ith a manpower strength of more than 140, the annual RSIS Staff Dinner has come to be a lively affair, providing an opportunity for its faculty and staff members to come together for social interaction and an evening of fun and entertainment. This year’s event was held on 28 March 2012 at the Chevron Club in Jurong East, which provided a resort setting for staff to unwind and relax.

Staff members were treated to a sumptuous buffet spread and enjoyed exciting games and attractive lucky draw prizes. Most importantly, the event provided a platform for staff from the different centres and programmes to mingle and bond. Everyone present had a good time and felt proud to be a member of the RSIS family.



RSIS staff members at the Annual Staff Dinner

Contributed by Alicia Cheung

## ADBI-RSIS Conference on the Evolving Global Architecture: From a Centralised to a Decentralised System



*Mr Bilahari Kausikan, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore*

**T**he first conference on the Evolving Global Architecture: From a Centralised to a Decentralised System took place at the Traders Hotel from 26 to 27 March 2012. Jointly organised by the Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI) and RSIS, the conference brought together a wide range of experts from academia, research institutes, global and regional development banks, and foundations, to discuss the ever-changing global and regional architectural structures that increasingly influence and define economic and policy developments worldwide.

The conference comprised six sessions, which addressed the topics of G20 effectiveness and reforms; global financial safety nets and regional safety nets; global and regional financial architecture; trade architecture, with particular reference to the World Trade Organization (WTO) and regionalism; global and regional security arrangements; and the relationship between the World Bank and regional development banks, namely the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).

In his welcome remarks, RSIS Dean Barry Desker noted that the legitimacy of the global economic architecture, which evolved out of the Breton Woods institutions has come under question in recent times, as its institutions failed to respond to emerging realities and economic crises. ADBI Dean Masahiro Kawai agreed, saying that while the post-war Washington Consensus-based global economic architecture was able to provide the necessary global public goods to promote international growth, stability,

reconstruction, development, and open trade in the past, today's global economic and political power balances are irrevocably shifting.

In his opening address, guest of honour Mr Bilahari Kausikan, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, highlighted the importance of these issues, particularly in view of US President Barack Obama's recognition of the need for a new global economic architecture and to look beyond the Bretton Woods institutions. He noted that the Western global system was undergoing profound changes and that the Western leadership imperative, both culturally and economically, was no longer self-evident.

These points and more were further expounded upon by luncheon keynote speaker Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, Dean and Professor in the Practice of Public Policy of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore. Dean Mahbubani spoke comprehensively on the subject of "Is Capitalism Dead? – An Asian Perspective", underlining the multitude of challenges to sustaining the state of modern-day capitalism. Additionally, he explained the importance of the joint engagement of government and private interests towards overcoming present-day global economic challenges. The state, he asserted, should not be viewed as an obstacle to capitalist practices, but rather as an essential cog in a well-functioning global free market-based economy.

*Contributed by Ong Suan Ee*

# Understanding Complexity, Enhancing National Security



**T**he 6th Asia Pacific Programme for Senior National Security Officers (APPSNO) was held at the Sentosa Resort and Spa from 8 – 13 April, 2012. It was jointly organised by RSIS' Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) with the support of the National Security Coordination Secretariat in the Prime Minister's Office.

Since its inception in 2007, APPSNO has been a leading regional forum for national security practitioners and scholars to engage in frank discussions and to deliberate on issues related to national security while building collaborative networks. This year's APPSNO was no different. Approximately 70 national security officers and scholars from Asia, Oceania, North America and Europe participated in the event.

As modern security threats have become more intricately interconnected and unpredictable, the term 'complexity' has become a germane conceptual tool to understand and address national security issues. As such, the theme for this year's APPSNO was "Complexities: Interactions and Interdependencies for National Security".

The event was graciously opened by Mr Teo Chee Hean, Deputy Prime Minister, Coordinating Minister for National Security and Minister for Home Affairs. Mr. Teo cautioned that "the risk landscape will become increasingly complex and diverse, with no single dominant risk, but a series of interconnected ones, which could coalesce into a major event. This in turn makes achieving security more difficult. We not only have to improve our ability to identify potential risks as quickly as possible, but also have to raise our game, and be adaptable in tackling those same risks in order to safeguard vital national interests."

Following from this, participants spent the week mulling over issues such as the manner in which 'complexity' manifested itself in national security threats; the challenges complex threats posed to national security planning; best practices in the management of security in complex and unpredictable environments; and how government agencies and ordinary citizens alike could be trained to adapt to the new security challenges today and respond in a resilient manner in unexpected crises. Panels also addressed the application of complexity in specific aspects of national security such as terrorism, cyber security and crisis recovery.



Leading the discussions was a distinguished panel of international and local speakers who provided penetrating insights to these issues. As part of the Distinguished Dinner Lecture series, Ian Morris, Professor of Classics and History at Stanford University, shared incisive views from his multiple award-winning book, *Why the West Rules—For Now: The Patterns of History, and What they Reveal About the Future*, on the future challenges in national security at the Old Parliament House. The slate of eminent speakers included Patricia Longstaff, Professor at the S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications, Syracuse University; Stephen de Spiegeleire, Senior Scientist at the Hague Centre for Security Studies; Kumar Ramakrishna, Head of CENS; Mia Bloom, Associate Professor of International Studies at the Pennsylvania State University; Rex Hughes, Visiting Fellow for cyber security at Wolfson College, University of Cambridge; Nigel Phair, Director of the Centre for Internet Safety at the University of Canberra; Yoshioka Tatsuya Director of the Japan-based international organisation, Peace

Boat; Magnus Ranstrop, Research Director at the Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies (CATS) at the Swedish National Defence College; W. Timothy Coombs, Professor at Nicholson School of Communication, University of Central Florida; Jan Vabinder, Director of the Centre for Complexity Sciences, Nanyang Technological University; and Mohamed Feisal Mohamed Hassan from the Religious Rehabilitation Group, Singapore.

The 2012 APPSNO concluded on a high note with participants expressing their satisfaction with the overall event, the relevance of the topics discussed and the ability to forge closer working relationships. Many found the takeaways from the event highly useful as it had caused them to re-think their previously-held assumptions. After all, as Dean Desker had said in his opening address: “APPSNO endeavours to be the forum where national security practitioners and scholars can learn, unlearn and relearn their tradecraft through active engagement”.

## Conference on Security Environment of East Asian Seas



*Participants at the conference*

**R**SIS and the Ocean Policy Research Foundation (OPRF) of Japan jointly hosted an international conference with the theme “From the East and South China Seas: Power Shift and Response”, on 28-29 February 2012.

Mr Kwa Chong Guan, Head of External Programmes at RSIS, welcomed the continued partnership with OPRF while Professor Masahiro Akiyama, Chairman of OPRF, thanked RSIS for hosting the conference. The event was attended by local and international participants. Besides those from RSIS and OPRF, experts from other institutions were also present, including the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam, Jakarta-based Center for Strategic and International Studies, Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security (ANCORS), Observer Research Foundation of India, the Korean Institute for Maritime Strategy, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, and the Centre of International Law at the National University of Singapore.

The conference was divided into four sessions. The first session, “Strategic Value of the Seas in East Asia and Geopolitics”, outlined the geopolitical approach to strategic issues of maritime East Asia and identified the problems that the region is currently facing. Dr. Ian Storey argued that a final solution on the South China Sea disputes is unlikely to be achieved in the foreseeable future, due to the unwillingness of claimant states to make compromises.

The second session on “South China Sea Disputes”, discussed the possibility of conflict in the area, and the possible regional and global effects. Dr. Reinhard Drifte expressed European concerns over a conflict in the South China Sea, which European trade with East Asia is dependent upon. Dr. Rommel Banlaoi concurred with Dr. Drifte’s concerns, and further emphasized that conflicts would also undermine the Philippines’ security. He argued for the claimant parties to adopt the Philippines’ proposal of a Zone of Peace, Freedom, Friendship and Cooperation, which highlights the need to separate the disputed from the non-disputed areas, where joint development could take place in the latter. But he conceded that this solution lacks support from other ASEAN claimant states.

The third session on “Major Power Strategies and Power Balance of the Seas in East Asia”, focused on Japanese and Korean views of East Asian maritime security. Prof. Ryo Asano expressed Japan’s concern at the Chinese Navy’s frequent transits through the Miyako Straits, which sometimes intruded into Japan’s waters. Captain Sukjoon Yoon stated that China’s naval expansion and assertiveness were related to its creeping efforts to impose its version of the “Monroe Doctrine”, aimed towards Chinese domination of East Asian seas.

The fourth session on “Strategic Positions of Australia, India, and Japan”, looked at the three countries’ concerns on the security of East Asian Seas. Prof. Sam Bateman argued that Australia’s anxiety about China’s political and military assertiveness had led to a major modernisation of its armed forces with a strong focus on maritime capabilities. India’s position, as explained by Dr. Probal Ghosh, centred on China’s activities in the Indian Ocean, which he alleged was to counterbalance India’s preponderance while securing the sea lanes for its own energy security interests. Japan’s view, however, as elaborated by Mr. Junichi Takeda, was more concerned with the rapid modernisation of the Chinese navy, which aimed to expand its operational and strategic range from the first island chain to the second island chain and beyond.

The last session on “Legal Aspect of the EEZ”, dwelt on the legality of military activities in the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and different interpretations of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Debates centred on whether military surveys are allowed in EEZs. Prof. Robert Beckman argued that littoral states only have sovereign right over the EEZs. Any military survey conducted by other countries in the EEZs must be made with due regard to the littoral states’ concerns over their economic rights. It is likely that different interpretations over military surveys in the EEZs will remain and cause frequent maritime incidents, especially between China and the United States.

*Contributed by Jane Chan*

# Exploring Singapore as an International Rice Futures Market



*High-level stakeholders from the region representing the public and private sector in rice attended the Expert Working Group Meeting.*

On 22-23 March 2012, the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies at RSIS hosted a closed Expert Working Group Meeting to discuss the ongoing call for Singapore to consider hosting an international rice futures market. Key points for discussion were the feasibility of such a market in current international rice market conditions, the suitability of Singapore as potential host, and the potential impact of an international rice futures market on regional food security.

The proposal for Singapore to consider hosting an international rice futures market first arose in September 2010 in a report produced by the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) and the Asia Society. The authorship suggested that such an exchange would contribute to rice price discovery and stability. Key criticisms of an international market included concern that increased participation of outsider speculators (those not interested in the physical commodity of rice) would expose the price of rice to increased volatility, and that farmers would be disadvantaged by the trading system and would not have sufficient access to the market.

Participants discussed these and other aspects of this multi-dimensional issue during one-and-a-half days of dialogue, which blended academic rigour with the applied experience of practitioners in the trade. A key challenge that emerged

was the issue of the distribution of benefits, given that the few large traders and governments would likely benefit most from the market as a platform for trade. The variety of rice was seen to make the design of a single contract a challenge, and heavy-handed government intervention in the rice trade was seen as a major impediment to the efficient functioning of an international exchange. Some market practitioners suggested that these issues were not insurmountable and could be overcome through regulatory and governance measures.

Given the cross-sectoral challenges and complexity of issues uncovered, there was no collective conclusion drawn on the overall feasibility of a rice futures market and participants generally took positions in the middle ground. Many argued that incremental steps could be taken to explore feasibility further in the form of research, sample contract design for surveys, or experimentation with a futures exchange on a small scale with a secure variety of rice. If an international rice futures market is to be launched, Singapore was widely seen as a legitimate and feasible host by participants.

The Centre will produce an evaluation report for internal distribution amongst participants and will build on the findings for upcoming research publications.

*Contributed by Sally Trethewie*

## The Evolution of India's Multilateralism



*RSIS Adjunct Professor C. Raja Mohan*

India as a rising power with increased global interests and dependence on trade and energy is shifting towards “responsible multilateralism”. Said Professor C. Raja Mohan, Adjunct Professor at RSIS and Senior Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research in New Delhi at an RSIS seminar on 21 February 2012.

Tracing the “Evolution of India’s Multilateralism beyond Third Worldism and National Exceptionalism”, Prof. Mohan said India has broken its military isolationism, expanded its engagement with other nations and adopted a new interest in free trade. He further argued that just as China and the United States appeared as exceptional states while articulating their interests, India too has made exceptionalist claims derived from its size and civilization.

Exploring India’s internationalism since 1947, Prof. Mohan identified four phases of multilateralism that have shaped its diplomacy. He noted that in the first phase under Nehru,

India had an ‘expansive’ multilateral engagement focussing on decolonization, nuclear disarmament, peaceful co-existence, and the Non-Aligned Movement. India had also a universalist approach to human rights at the UN. India’s faith in the UN led it to take the Kashmir issue to the UN, Prof. Mohan added.

In the second phase, from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, India’s multilateralism was ‘purposeful’ yet ‘misdirected’. With a leftist domestic policy, India’s quest for a new international economic order and South-South cooperation was unsuccessful, highlighting its drift towards third world radicalism. Prof. Mohan explained that India’s unwarranted focus on sovereignty limited its responsible approach towards the global commons, especially in space.

India engaged in a ‘defensive’ multilateralism with the end of the Cold War, fearing outside interference on the issue of Kashmir, facing pressure to roll back its nuclear programme, and also pressure to accept the liberal economic policy espoused by the Washington Consensus.

Now, with “responsible multilateralism”, India has changed its stand from universal disarmament to ‘discriminatory changes’. Though India continues to engage the Third World, it no longer emphasizes the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, but is more focussed on new groups like BRICS, IBSA and the Group of 20.

Prof. Mohan expected more change will come as India’s power position evolves. The West complained about India not being a responsible power, especially on issues like Syria and Iran. But India as a rising power should not necessarily always be pro-Western. According to Prof. Mohan, India’s focus should be on the responsible and legitimate use of force.

*Contributed by Ajaya Kumar Das*

## Workshop on General Agreement on Trade in Services

Some 19 officials from eight ASEAN member countries attended a workshop on General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) organized by RSIS’ Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade & Negotiations on 6-10 February 2012. The participants were from Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

The 5-day workshop was designed to help improve the capabilities of government officials in dealing with, planning

and understanding Trade in Services. This would help regional and local officials devise strategies to best meet the challenges of – and benefit from – global trade liberalization and economic integration. Topics covered included GATS Rules on Domestic Regulation, Review of the Current Services Negotiations, Regional Trade Agreement on Services, and GATS rules on government procurement.

*Contributed by Quak Swee Seng*

## Priorities and Challenges for the Indonesian Government Before 2014



*Dr Kuntoro Mangkusubroto*

**D**r. Kuntoro Mangkusubroto, Head of the Indonesian President's Delivery Unit for Development Monitoring and Oversight (UKP4), shared his experiences working in President Yudhoyono's second-term administration in an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on 10 February 2012. Dr. Kuntoro outlined the government's top priorities and the challenges to achieve them. The national priorities included bureaucratic reform, improving education and public health services, poverty reduction, food and energy security, infrastructure development, improving the investment and business climate, environmental and post-disaster management, developing isolated and post-conflict areas, as well as promoting creativity and technological innovation. These priorities are then translated into annual action plans of related ministries and state agencies. In monitoring and evaluating them the UKP4 assessed the achievements of selected action plans according to their respective measurements of success and issued quarterly reports for the President. It also utilized the geographic information system to monitor and verify the delivery of the government's projects.

According to Dr. Kuntoro, the real challenges for Indonesia's development programmes and projects are coordination, bureaucratic reform and innovation. He cited the construction of the Trans Java Railway as an example of a coordination problem. Despite its strategic value, the project's implementation was complicated by bureaucratic and political processes that involved various ministries, agencies, regional governments and parliaments. Therefore, Dr. Kuntoro had to advise the President to step in to resolve bottlenecks on several vital projects, including the construction of oil production facilities at Cepu Oil Block in Central Java.

Dr. Kuntoro also highlighted that bureaucratic reform in Indonesia essentially aimed at improving public services, combating corruption and promoting people participation for governance transparency. For these purposes, the UKP4 developed an online reporting service for the Indonesian people to monitor the government's services and projects. This information system has become the foundation for the UKP4 to propose corrections in Indonesia's bureaucratic system.

*Contributed by Iisginarsah*

## Visiting the Immigration Issue in Singapore

**T**he Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) held a workshop on "Visiting the Immigration Issue in Singapore" on 24 February 2012. Designed to encourage a holistic, inter-disciplinary discussion, the aim of the workshop was to provide a balanced and informed assessment of what has become a highly contentious issue in contemporary Singapore.

The workshop drew together academics from various fields such as political science, economic development, sociology, human geography, public policy, cultural studies, strategic security and demography. The workshop saw lively participation and lengthy discussions in all the panels. Speakers in the first panel provided historical and statistical overviews of the role migration played in the growth and demographic structure of Singapore's population, from pre-independence to the present. This was complemented by weighing the conflicting interests of a pro-immigration government against the anxiety of its citizenry at such a policy.

The second panel considered perspectives from the ground, examining the difficulties of integrating immigrants in the Singaporean way of life and the impact such an influx has had on the country's multiracial ideology and identity. Completing the picture was an examination of the social realities of temporary domestic workers in the country.

The third panel examined the economic, cultural and social dimensions. On the economic front, a discussion on the economic benefits and challenges of an open door policy on immigration was followed by an in-depth consideration of the changing cosmopolitan and heartland landscapes caused by the influx of immigrants.

The final panel focused on the impact of immigrants on the crucial area of national security and ended with a detailed look at the debates surrounding immigration put forth by both the People's Action Party (PAP) and various opposition parties.



*Dr. Norman Vasu (left) welcoming participants to the workshop*

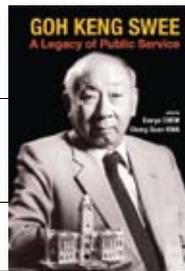
*Contributed by Yeap Su Yin*

## Staff Publications

*Edited by Emrys Chew and  
Kwa Chong Guan*

### **Goh Keng Swee: A Legacy of Public Service**

World Scientific, 2012



Dr. Goh Keng Swee's extensive career as a public servant was dynamic and distinguished, in many ways instrumental in the making of the Republic of Singapore. This distinctive collection of essays attempts an assessment of the long-term influence and significance of his major contributions. It brings together an exceptional team of Singaporean scholars whose interdisciplinary expertise and cross-generational perspectives offer balanced analysis and nuanced appraisal of Goh's lifetime of public service.

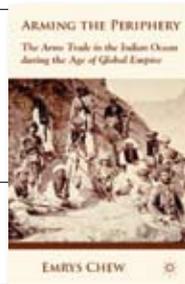
Collectively, Goh's endeavours bequeathed an enduring legacy, meriting fresh examination and careful evaluation in order to appreciate the heroic scale of such achievement. Over five decades that witnessed key turning points and phases of development in Singapore's transformation from colonial port city to independent global city, Goh played a leading role in the crafting and conduct of public policy, which with the creation of public institutions made the difference between survival and success. Particularly instructive are the examples of his thinking patriotism, fiscal prudence, strategic pragmatism, and creative imagination at work – technocracy at its finest – which could be of immediate, practical benefit to a wider 'nation of technocrats'.

The organization of this volume reflects both a thematic approach and a chronological arrangement of material, the focus and the order of chapters corresponding to the historical sequence of public offices that Goh held: social welfare; political and constitutional evolution; development economics and finance; the armed forces and defence industry; the education system, from schools through higher education to the research institutes; Chinese studies, from Confucianism to 'China watching'; and cultural development, with special emphasis on the creation of the Singapore Symphony Orchestra.

*Edited by Emrys Chew*

### **Arming the Periphery: The Arms Trade in the Indian Ocean during the Age of Global Empire.**

Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.  
ISBN: 978-0230354852



Arming the Periphery is a major historical study of the global arms trade, revolving around the transfer of small arms from metropolitan Europe to the turbulent frontiers of Indian Ocean societies across the 'long' nineteenth century (c.1780-1914). While industrialization modernized arms production, imperialism globalized arms procurement and proliferation. The new weaponry enabled both the expansion and limitation of European colonial authority, against the changing temper of indigenous state formation and warfare. This new study utilizes core-periphery and cross-cultural approaches in order to draw on sources relating to economic and imperial history; historical and contemporary surveys of weapons technologies and production; and works on the military and cultural usage of firearms, colonial warfare, and the arms transfer system.

*Edited by Li Mingjiang*

### **Mao's China and Sino-Soviet Split: Ideological Dilemma.**

Routledge, 2012.  
978-0-415-69836-8

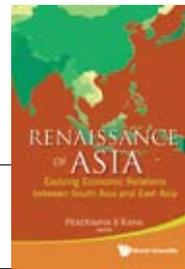


The Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s was one of the most significant events of the Cold War. Why did the Sino-Soviet alliance, hailed by its creators as "unbreakable", "eternal", and as representing "brotherly solidarity", break up? Why did their relations eventually evolve into open hostility and military confrontation? With the publication of several works on the subject in the past decade, we are now in a better position to understand and explain the origins of the Sino-Soviet split. But at the same time new questions and puzzles have also emerged. The scholarly debate on this issue is still fierce. This book, the result of extensive research on declassified documents at the Chinese Foreign Ministry, and on numerous other new Chinese materials, sheds new light on the problem and makes a significant contribution to the debate. More than simply an empirical case study, by theorising the concept of the ideological dilemma, Mingjiang Li's book attempts to address the relationship between ideology and foreign policy and discusses such pressing questions as why it is that an ideology can sometimes effectively dictate foreign policy, whilst at other times exercises almost no significant influence at all.

*Edited by Pradumna B Rana*

### **Renaissance of Asia Evolving Economic Relations between South Asia and East Asia**

World Scientific, 2012.  
ISBN: 978-981-4366-50-2



A recent study by the Asian Development Bank notes that by 2050, Asia's per capita income would rise six-fold to reach Europe's levels today, one of many indications of Asia's "re-emergence". By then, Asia's share of global GDP would have doubled and it would have regained the dominant economic position it once held some 300 years ago before the industrial revolution.

What is less well-known is that during the previous eras of globalization, Asia was also regionally integrated and globally connected. During the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, Asia was divided and fragmented.

This unique book argues that, led by the economic dynamism and "reencountering" between China and India, we are witnessing the "Renaissance of Asia". As in the bygone eras, Asia is integrating within itself and the global economy is intensifying, now driven by market-oriented production networks and economic policies. Asia is starting to be "re-centered" as trade and investment relations between South Asia and East Asia surge. Asia's rise is a restoration of the past, not a revolution. This book is a must-read for anyone interested in the economic development of Asia.

## UPCOMING EVENTS

**8 MAY 2012**

LAUNCH OF THE BOOK  
*GOH KENG SWEE:  
A LEGACY OF PUBLIC  
SERVICE*

**10 – 11 MAY 2012**

EXPLORING INDO-U.S.  
SPACE COOPERATION:  
TRACK 1.5 DIALOGUE

**6 JULY 2012**

WORKSHOP ON  
NORTHEAST ASIA  
REGIONALISM

**7 – 12 AUGUST 2012**

14<sup>TH</sup> ASIA-PACIFIC  
PROGRAMME FOR  
SENIOR MILITARY  
OFFICERS (APPSMO)

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