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Benefits of Democratisation from an Indonesian Perspective



Air Chief Marshal (Ret.) Djoko Suyanto

Indonesia's Minister-Coordinator for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, Air Chief Marshal (Ret.) Djoko Suyanto shared Indonesia's experience with democratisation in a RSIS Distinguished Lecture on 10 December 2012. In his speech, "Democracy, Security and Welfare: The Indonesian Experience" ACM (Ret.) Suyanto stated that the democratisation process had significantly contributed to the country's development, primarily in security and national development. He also asserted that Indonesia's experience with democracy was not only a product of history, but also of a concerted intellectual choice by the Indonesian people.

ACM (Ret.) Suyanto observed that as countries with a democratic characteristic rose to a higher economic level, there was less chance of them regressing to their authoritarian past. Indonesia has been enjoying notable economic growth since democratisation measures were introduced, and with growing ascendancy and visibility on the world stage, Jakarta could play an exemplary role, using its own example to foster international economic cooperation.

Nevertheless, Indonesia still needs to improve several things on the domestic front, its

infrastructure in particular. ACM (Ret.) Suyanto reiterated that efforts to build and enhance the country's infrastructure would undoubtedly maximize the advantage of Indonesia's economic growth. On the other hand, while the Indonesian government had successfully reduced poverty, there was still a long way to go to overcome income disparity and the issue of economic inclusivity.

Stating that citizens and their rights should be at the centre of the state's concerns, ACM (Ret.) Suyanto asserted that Indonesia's experience with democracy had shown the world that democracy can be compatible with security. The combination of the two can produce a much more stable and robust economy and state.

He said that Indonesia had made good on its promise by emphasising more on the social and legal aspects, rather than implementing a military solution for the Papua issue, as well as encouraging greater international cooperation, especially within ASEAN, in order to maintain regional peace and stability.

Contributed by Adhi Priamarizki, Adri Wanto and Jonathan Chen

Combating Crime and Terrorism: Engaging the Middle East



Prof Rohan Gunaratna (right), Head of ICPVTR, presenting a Certificate of Participation to Maj-Gen Dr Mohammed H. Alsarra, Head of the NAUSS delegation

An inaugural International Course on Combating Crime, Narcotics and Terrorism was conducted in Singapore from 1 to 5 October 2012 by the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), in collaboration with the Naif Arab University for Security Studies (NAUSS). The delegation from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was led by Maj-Gen Dr Mohammed H. Alsarra, and comprised officers from security and intelligence agencies under the Ministry of Interior. ICPVTR staff were on hand to provide interpretation of the course in Arabic, which was greatly appreciated by the Saudi participants. The course benefitted from the leadership and guidance of the President of NAUSS, Prof Abdulaziz Bin Sagr Al-Ghamdi, who ensured the success of this first collaboration between ICPVTR and NAUSS.

The course was designed to provide a holistic understanding of the current and emerging threats of crime, narcotics and terrorism. It explored each of these areas and highlighted the negative implications that could arise from a nexus between these three threats. Speakers from government, law enforcement and intelligence agencies, and specialists within ICPVTR, shared their insights on the topics.

On the issue of crime, the participants were introduced to crime prevention strategies, the concept of self-help in crime prevention, and enhancing public awareness of the importance of crime prevention through community engagement. On the narcotics front, participants were given insights on Singapore's multi-pronged approach in the fight against drug abuse. The approach involves tough legislation, vigorous enforcement and a high-profile drug prevention programme sustaining a national consensus towards zero tolerance for drug abuse. On terrorism, participants explored both current and emerging terrorism threats and the strategic response by security and intelligence agencies. They discussed the involvement of the community, local agencies and private sectors to mitigate the threats.

As part of the holistic learning experience, ICPVTR organised visits to the Singapore Prison Complex, Singapore Anti-Narcotics Association (SANA) and the Home Team Academy. These visits provided participants with a deeper understanding of specific strategies on combating crime, narcotics and terrorism.

Contributed by Salim bin Mohamed Nasir

Prof Ibrahim Gambari: A Distinguished Visiting Fellow at RSIS

Professor Ibrahim A. Gambari has joined RSIS as a Distinguished Visiting Fellow for six months from January 2013.

One of Nigeria's most eminent scholar-diplomats, Prof Gambari has held several leadership positions at the national, regional and international level. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria and a Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York for 10 years. He then served in the UN as a special advisor on Iraq, special envoy to Myanmar, Undersecretary-General for Political Affairs, and UN Special Representative in Angola and Cyprus.

Most recently, he served as Joint Special Representative of the African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) from January 2010 to September 2012. A Professor at Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria, Prof Gambari also spoke at the 3rd Singapore Global Dialogue in September 2012, where he delivered the Closing Keynote Address.

Prof Gambari was awarded South Africa's highest national award – The Order of Companions of Oliver Tambo, in

October 2012. The award is the highest national award given to non-South Africans in recognition of their contributions and support in the fight against apartheid and for the freedom of South Africa.

At RSIS, Prof Gambari is scheduled to give several talks (including one to the Singapore Business Federation), as well as to share his extensive experience in conflict mediation through workshops with RSIS students and with officers from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore. He will also be making calls on key policymakers.

Prof Gambari's stint at RSIS does not mean the end of his humanitarian work. In a recent release by the African Union, he has been asked to propose a strategy for the adoption of a hybrid international peacekeeping mission for Somalia, based on the pattern of the UN Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), which he led over the past three years.

Contributed by Indira Vergis



Prof Gambari delivered the Closing Keynote Address at the 3rd Singapore Global Dialogue in September 2012

Visit by the Philippine National Police Academy



ICPVTR staff (centre) with the PNPA delegates

The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) hosted a delegation of 100 cadets from the Philippine National Police Academy (PNPA) on 27 November 2012. The delegation, led by Police Chief Superintendent Clarence Guinto, came to learn about the work of ICPVTR and to understand the latest developments in the global terrorism landscape, particularly in Southeast Asia.

The session with the PNPA cadets was chaired by Mr Salim Mohamed Nasir, Associate Research Fellow, ICPVTR. In his presentation on ICPVTR, Ms Sirisena Nadisha Lushara, Senior Analyst, provided an overview of the operations and projects

of the centre, such as research, training, publication, terrorism threat analysis and capacity building. Mr Muhammad Saiful Alam, Associate Research Fellow, gave a presentation on the terrorism threat in Southeast Asia, in which he highlighted the latest developments and trends in Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand.

During the Q&A session, many of the cadets were interested in learning about Singapore's terrorist rehabilitation programme and how such programmes could be implemented in prisons in the Philippines.

Contributed by Mohamed Bin Ali

Working Together for Regional Security



CSCAP members during the 38th Steering Committee meeting

The Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) convened its 38th Steering Committee meeting in Singapore on 3 December

2012. CSCAP is a network of international and regional studies institutes in 21 Asia Pacific countries, and meets twice a year in June and December to review the Council's work.

CSCAP-Singapore co-chair Mr Kwa Chong Guan, who was elected by his ASEAN colleagues in June 2011 to co-chair CSCAP, led the Steering Committee meeting with his Indian counterpart, Ambassador Leela Ponappa.

Steering Committee members noted the increasingly uncertain and complex regional security situation, which was reflected in the Council's annual Regional Security Outlook for 2013. The members also agreed to consider setting up two new study groups to review regional security architecture and new issues in the maritime security of the region.

Contributed by Kwa Chong Guan

Former Pentagon Official Discusses Obama's Second Term Foreign Policy



Ms Michèle Flournoy

Ms Michèle Flournoy, former Undersecretary of Defence for Policy for the United States, participated in a Roundtable discussion hosted by RSIS on 4 December 2012, and delivered a RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on 5 December 2012. Ms Flournoy, who served as Undersecretary from 2009 to 2012, was the highest ranking woman in the history of the U.S. Department of Defense as its third-ranking official. She is currently a Senior Advisor at the Boston Consulting Group.

At the Roundtable hosted by RSIS Dean Barry Desker, which included faculty from RSIS, the National University of Singapore, and Singapore Management University. Discussions encompassed various issues pertaining to U.S. policy in the Asia Pacific, such as the contours of the Obama Administration's "rebalancing" policy towards Asia, the roles of the U.S. and ASEAN in on-going maritime disputes in the South China Sea, the legal basis of the claims made by the various parties to those disputes, and Chinese naval aspirations and strategic culture.

At the RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on "U.S. National Security Priorities in President Obama's Second Term", Ms Flournoy said that the U.S. is facing a challenging and

consequential moment in its history as President Obama prepares to be inaugurated for his second term. She asserted that in light of Asia's rapidly growing geopolitical and economic salience, the "rebalancing" policy represents President Obama's highest national security priority.

She elaborated on the contours of the policy, which consisted of six elements: strengthening and modernising U.S. alliances in the region; forging deeper partnerships with Singapore and other strategic partners; engaging more deeply with regional institutions; developing a stable, cooperative, and comprehensive relationship with China; advancing the region's economic architecture and integration; and rebalancing U.S. military posture towards and within Asia.

During the Q&A session that followed the lecture, Ms Flournoy addressed concerns that the U.S. was attempting to contain China and inflaming tensions in Asia, and clarified the U.S. position on the South China Sea and East China Sea maritime disputes. Ms Flournoy also gave her view on the future of U.S. relations with India and Vietnam, and concurred with the Obama Administration's policy regarding Iran's nuclear activities.

Contributed by Evan Resnick and Anna Morris

Sharing Thoughts on Regional Security Issues



Participants at the RSIS-CICIR Workshop

On 1 December 2012, RSIS' China Programme held a half-day joint seminar with the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), which is one of RSIS' regular exchange partners in China. The CICIR delegation was headed by Dr Yuan Peng, the Assistant President of CICIR. The seminar focused on three topics: U.S. strategic re-balance to Asia, maritime security in the Asia Pacific, and regional security in Northeast Asia.

The two sides exchanged views on the motivations behind the U.S.' new strategy in Asia and gave their respective assessments on the sustainability of the strategy. CICIR scholars explained the different Chinese views regarding the impact of the U.S. strategic rebalance on China and the different policy proposals that had emerged in the Chinese debate. RSIS' participants also shared their thoughts on the responses of Southeast Asian states to the complicated state of relations between the two big powers.

Moving on to regional maritime security issues, the participants observed that due to historical and other reasons,

both China and ASEAN countries were trying to adjust their respective policies in the face of the new emerging environment in the region. Much of the discussion during this session focused on the disputes in the South China Sea. CICIR and RSIS scholars shared their different views on the sources of the disputes and discussed possible measures to contain the tensions. Both sides felt that the tensions in South China Sea were likely to continue in the coming years, serving as an obstacle to China-Southeast Asian relations and a factor in regional strategic realignments.

The issue of Northeast Asia security was also discussed. It was noted that the triangular relations among China, Japan and the U.S. were at a crossroad as the three countries were facing changes in leadership. The participants observed that there was no easy solution to the disputes over the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands between China and Japan. They also discussed the security situation in the Korean Peninsula and the policy changes that might take place in South Korea after the new government took over.

Contributed by Li Mingjiang

Integration or Assimilation? – A Roundtable with French MFA Delegation on Islam in Europe

RSIS hosted a roundtable discussion on ‘Islam in France and Europe’ with delegates from the French Foreign and Defence ministries on 13 December 2012. The French delegation was led by Dr Joseph Maila, Director of Policy Planning at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), and comprised Mr David Behar, a Policy Advisor at the French MFA on Emerging Religions, and Mr Louis Racine, a Strategic Analyst from the Defence Ministry.

From Singapore, the roundtable participants were Dr Yeo Lay Hwee of the Singapore Institute of International Affairs and Assoc Prof Farish Noor of RSIS, along with Non-Resident Ambassador to Kuwait, Mr Zainul Abidin Rasheed.

Tracing the development of Islam in Europe, Dr Maila said there were some 15 million Muslims in Europe, of whom five to six million were in France, five million were in Germany and over four million were in the United Kingdom. Muslims from North Africa were now immigrating to Mediterranean countries compared with previous migrations to Northern Europe, Dr Maila added.

While Muslim communities were free to organise themselves and build mosques, they faced the problem of integration in secular societies that were deeply influenced by Christianity or Catholicism. Integration was more evident among third- or fourth-generation European Muslims, who were small in number.

Dr Maila said France was in favour of inter-faith dialogue that could give a helping hand to integrating different communities. However, the European Union (EU) had not yet found a way to promote integration. Mr Behar noted that the EU had no competency in managing religion. While the Lisbon Treaty did provide for dialogue between the European Commission and various religious establishments, the issue was finding a single representative of Muslims in Europe.

Mr Zainul Rasheed said it was reassuring that EU countries saw the need to integrate Muslims in Europe, but wondered if they were actually seeking to assimilate them by requiring them to follow secular values like strict separation of church and state.



The development of Islam and the spread of Muslims in Europe were some of the topics discussed in this Roundtable

Contributed by Mushahid Ali

Emerging Military Technologies that “Change the Game”



Experts at this workshop deliberated on the impact of emerging military technologies on regional security in the Asia Pacific

RSIS’ Military Transformations Programme held a workshop in Singapore on “The Potential Military Impact of Emerging Technologies in the Asia Pacific” on 8 January 2013. This workshop, funded by the MacArthur Foundation as part of RSIS’ research programme on “Sources of Stability and Instability in 21st Century Asia,” brought together analysts and academics from North America, Europe, and Asia in order to discuss how new technologies could affect regional security in the Asia Pacific.

As Asian militaries continued to modernise at a rapid pace, there was concern that the introduction of new critical technologies could significantly affect the military balance in the region by providing some militaries with offensive capabilities they did not previously possess – and, conversely, putting militaries that had not acquired such technologies at a severe disadvantage.

The issues the workshop addressed included the meaning of “emerging” or “critical” technologies; the kinds of new technologies most likely to have an impact on military advantage and, therefore, on the balance of power in the Asia

Pacific; the factors most likely to drive technology innovation and exploitation; and the effect the unequal distribution of such technologies could have on military balances in the Asia Pacific and, therefore, on balances of power (e.g., are less-technologically advanced states doomed to military inferiority)?

Two key findings emerged from the workshop. The first was that many types of military-technological innovations, commonplace in Western militaries, were probably sufficiently novel enough to have a significant impact on Asia Pacific military capabilities. These technologies included advances in C4ISR (command, control, communication, computing, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance) and precision-guided munitions. In other words, technological innovations did not have to be “over the horizon” in order to have a significant impact on military capabilities in Asia. Second, progress in cyberwarfare was likely to emerge as the most critical “game-changer” when it came to generating military advantage in the future.

Contributed by Richard Bitzinger

The F-35 Joint Strike Fighter: A Classic “Boondoggle”

Assistant Professor Srdjan Vucetic of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa, Canada, delivered a lecture entitled “Choose Your Weapon: The Global Politics of the F-35” at RSIS on 15 January 2013.

Noting that the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) was a high-calibre international collaboration project that figured in many debates on the emerging structure of the international system, Asst Prof Vucetic highlighted some ambiguity about the ‘how’ and ‘why’ the U.S. government and the defence industry had entered into a set of international partnerships to develop this weapon system. Conversely, how and why did the partner nations become partners, and what influence, if any, have they had on the programme so far? Lastly, he discussed how participating governments have dealt with the mounting controversies surrounding the new fighter jet.

Asst Prof Vucetic observed that, in principle, collaboration projects not only cement alliance ties, they also helped to offset development costs and increase exports, thus

lowering overall unit costs. However, in reality, he said, the F-35 has been a classic ‘boondoggle’. Highly asymmetric by design, the JSF has proved challenging to partners, especially now that the programme’s overruns, delays, and performance shortfalls have become regular news items on mainstream media.

His preliminary analysis of the on-going F-35 debates across partner countries suggested that “high politics” issues trail behind those concerning technical issues such as overruns, work shares, and transfers of technology, and that this feature had interesting theoretical implications for the study of arms co-production and arms transfers. The F-35 may be a political hot potato for more than a few participating governments, but according to the speaker, defections were unlikely at this stage.

The lecture was exceptionally well-attended, and there was much debate during the Q&A on the immediate and contentious issues of national sovereignty and equitable work-share as well as on the longer-term viability of the programme, given painful escalations in costs.



Assistant Professor Srdjan Vucetic

Contributed by Ron Matthews

Learning through Luncheon Seminars and Films



Participants at a luncheon seminar organised by Prof Pascal Vennesson (second from right)

In October 2012, RSIS re-launched its Luncheon Seminar series, which aims to facilitate and encourage theoretical, empirical and policy discussions in RSIS and contribute to cross-fertilization among the various centres and programmes. One seminar a month is held over lunch and the paper under discussion is circulated in advance.

The main goal of the seminar is to give an opportunity to RSIS faculty, fellows and PhD candidates to present their work and receive constructive feedback with a view to publication in top peer-reviewed journals or as book chapters in edited volumes, as well as more policy-oriented reports and working papers.

The first seminar held on 24 October 2012 discussed the work of Dr Evan Resnick, *“Hang Together or Hang Separately? – Evaluating Rival Theories of Wartime Alliance Cohesion”*. Over the next several months, the seminar topics included *“RMA Diffusion Paths and Patterns in Israel and South Korea’s Military Modernization: A Comparative Perspective”*, *“The Temporal Dimension of*

Military Transformation”, *“Food and Stability: Challenging Assumptions and Exploring Connections”*, *“Defense Offset as a ‘Second-Best’ Practice in the Arms Trade”* and *“The Rising Chorus of Chinese Exceptionalism”*.

This seminar series is coordinated by Prof Pascal Vennesson, who, along with Mr Benjamin Ho, co-organised the screenings of a series of movies and documentaries that illustrate the changing characteristics of war.

What has changed, and what has not? The RSIS Film Society aims to explore that question by providing students the opportunity to analyse three major armed conflicts – World War I, World War II and the 9/11 Wars – from different perspectives. The screening of each movie is followed by a discussion. The movies include Bertrand Tavernier’s *Capitaine Conan* (1996), Richard Fleischer, Fukasaku Kinji and Masuda Toshio’s *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970), and Tim Hetherington and Sebastian Junger’s documentary *Restrepo* (2010).

Contributed by Pascal Vennesson

Camaraderie beyond the Classroom



The students stuck to their game plan and was rewarded with a handsome 8-0 victory



RSIS staff and faculty put up a good fight and are eagerly looking forward to a re-match

The RSIS Student Board, representing MSc students and PhD candidates, organised the inaugural RSIS Staff-Student football match that took place on 25 January 2013 at the NTU Sports and Recreation Centre.

Decked out in white tops, the students started the match with vigour and intent, and fully utilised their advantages of youth and fitness to race to a 4-0 lead before half-time. However, the RSIS staff were no push-overs either, and

with individual flair and loads of combined passion, the staff competed with the students all the way, before eventually succumbing to an 8-0 defeat.

Staff and students rounded off the afternoon of camaraderie over food and drinks, with both sides eagerly looking forward to a re-match in the coming trimester

Contributed by Vyshak Vitobha

Sharing our Teaching Expertise



Prof Ron Matthews (standing) briefing more than 40 prospective RSIS students

The RSIS Graduate Programmes Office organised an Information Sharing Session on Saturday 17 November 2012 for prospective students interested in taking up a graduate programme. Held at the RSIS Student Wing Lecture Theatre, the sharing session was attended by more than 40 interested participants.

Prof Ron Matthews, Head of RSIS Graduate and Doctoral Studies, shared details about the graduate programmes, and the various programme coordinators, which included Prof Rajesh Basrur, Assoc Prof Li Mingjiang and Assoc Prof Pradumna Rana, were also on-hand to answer any queries from the prospective students. The Q&A session proved to be lively, and reflected the uncertainty of the international economic climate, with many of the questions directed at establishing the relevance of the Masters programmes to prospective employers. Additionally, there was much interest in the part-time Masters variant, and how this might be managed to fit into the work schedules of extremely busy full-time professional workers.

The key message that the participants took away with them was that RSIS' Masters programmes will enhance their intellectual capabilities and professional skills, thus strengthening their employability in an increasingly competitive job market.

Contributed by Ron Matthews and Bernard Chin

Staff Publications



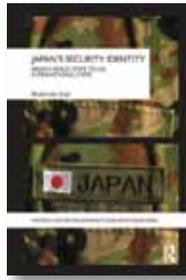
*Edited by Rohan Gunaratna
and Arabinda Acharya*

The Terrorist Threat from Thailand: Jihad or Quest for Justice?

Potomac Books, 2013.

Since January 2004, the violence in Thailand's southern provinces has claimed more than 4,600 lives. It has also adversely affected the local economy and overall quality of life there. An atmosphere of fear and intimidation is dividing the society along religious lines, and some experts are concerned about the possibility that this predominantly localised conflict might become absorbed into the global jihad.

Counterterrorism experts Rohan Gunaratna and Arabinda Acharya provide a short history of the conflict, which dates to at least the early 1900s, as well as an analysis of factors contributing to the most recent escalation of violence in 2004. The authors shed light on the causes of the southern Thai conflict and unravel the complex diversity and linkages among the key Thai insurgent groups and individuals involved. They examine its potential to spread to neighbouring countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, and Indonesia. In addition to analysing the insurgents' capabilities and opportunities, the authors provide a critique of government policies and make astute suggestions for resolving the conflict.



Edited by Bhubhindar Singh

Japan's Security Identity: From a Peace State to an International State

Routledge, 2012.

Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a significant change in Japanese security policy, as Japan's security identity has shifted from a peace state to an international state. In this book, Bhubhindar Singh argues that from the 1990s onwards, the Japanese security policymaking elite recognised that its earlier approach to security policy, which was influenced by the peace-state security identity, was no longer appropriate. Rather, as a member of the international community, Japan had to carve out a responsible role in regional and international security affairs, which required greater emphasis on the role of the military in Japan's security policy.

To explore the change in Japan's security identity and its associated security behaviour, this book contrasts the three areas that define and shape Japanese security policy: Japan's conception (or definition) of national security; the country's contribution, in military terms, to regional and international affairs; and the changes to the security policy regime responsible for the security policy formulation. Further, it seeks to challenge the dominant realist interpretation of Japanese security policy by adopting an identity-based approach and showing how whilst realist accounts correctly capture the trajectory of Japanese post-Cold War security policy, they fail to explain the underlying causes of the change in Japanese security behaviour in the post-Cold War period.



Edited by Arabinda Acharya

Ten Years after 9/11: Rethinking the Jihadist Threat

Routledge, 2013.

Ten years after the 9/11 attacks, this book reassesses the effectiveness of the "War on Terror", considers how al-Qaeda and other jihadist movements are faring, explores the impact of wider developments in the Islamic world such as the Arab Spring, and discusses whether all this suggests that a new approach to containing international, especially jihadist, terrorism is needed.

Among the book's many richly argued conclusions are that the "War on Terror" and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq have brutalised the United States; that the jihadist threat is not one, but rather a wide range of separate, unconnected struggles; and that al-Qaeda's ideology contains the seeds of its own destruction, in that although many Muslims are content to see the United States worsted, they do not approve of al-Qaeda's violence and are not taken in by the jihadists' empty promises of utopia.

UPCOMING EVENTS

6 FEBRUARY 2013

RSIS DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC LECTURE BY PROF DR MAHFUD MD, CHIEF JUSTICE, CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

18 & 20 FEBRUARY 2013

SEMINAR BY DR PETER NEUMANN, PROFESSOR OF SECURITY STUDIES, DEPARTMENT OF WAR STUDIES, KING'S COLLEGE LONDON, AND DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF RADICALISATION

20 FEBRUARY 2013

RSIS DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC LECTURE BY PROF HUGH WHITE, S. RAJARATNAM PROFESSOR OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, RSIS; PROFESSOR OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY; AND VISITING FELLOW, LOWY INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY

21 FEBRUARY 2013

RSIS-MACARTHUR ASIAN SECURITY INITIATIVE WORKSHOP

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