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## Minister Chan Chun Sing's Visit to RSIS



Mr Chan Chun Sing, Second Minister for Defence (front row, second from left) being briefed by RSIS staff

**M**r Chan Chun Sing, Minister for Social and Family Development and Second Minister for Defence, Singapore, made his first visit to RSIS on 11 October 2013.

Mr Chan is an alumnus of RSIS' Asia Pacific Programme for Senior Military Officers (APPSMO), in which he participated in 2006. He recalled that he was also involved in the setting up of the original incarnation of RSIS, the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), as a staff officer in MINDEF.



Mr Chan being introduced to RSIS students

During his two hour visit, Mr Chan was updated on the progress RSIS had made over the years, as well as various outcomes from recent researches. He commended RSIS for the giant strides it had taken to become a global "thought leader" and its outreach in policy-oriented areas as well. Highlighting RSIS' contributions to Singapore, Mr Chan valued the interdependent relationship between RSIS and MINDEF and looked forward to an even more successful partnership in the future.

The Minister also interacted informally with RSIS' staff and students at the staff lounge, and engaged the latter in a lively discussion about their studies and plans for their future contributions after graduation.

Dean Barry Desker said the staff and students of RSIS look forward to more such opportunities to engage the Minister.

*Contributed by Chang Jun Yan*

## Enhancing South Korea-Singapore Partnership



*Participants of the Forum from Korea and Singapore*

The inaugural Korea-Singapore Forum hosted by the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) and the Korea Foundation was held on 29 August 2013 at the Marina Mandarin Singapore. The closed-door Forum entitled “*Collaborating with Middle Powers for a Prosperous Asian Partnership*” engaged 36 participants comprising policymakers, government officials, and representatives from academia, think tanks, businesses and the media from both countries.

The Forum had three themes, namely, *The Evolving Dynamics in the Asia Pacific*; *Prospects for South Korea-Southeast Asian Relations*, and *Domestic Trends and Future Directions for Bilateral Cooperation*.

Participants noted that the evolving dynamics of regional relations, in particular the Sino-U.S. relationship, would shape the future of the region. Many countries face the challenge of balancing their close security ties with the United States with increasing economic engagement with China.

Given the positive relations that South Korea and Singapore had developed with the United States and China, both countries could explore opportunities to build bridges between the major powers. In this regard, ASEAN and its related fora remain as important platforms to constructively engage the major powers.

It was also suggested that Singapore and South Korea could cooperate in non-traditional security issues and enhance

their engagement with extra-regional countries to help stabilise the region amid geostrategic uncertainties.

Participants highlighted the need to deepen the economic and cultural aspects of the South Korea-Southeast Asian and South Korea-Singapore partnerships. As South Korea and Singapore had strong economic and trade links with the region, both countries could work toward synergising existing frameworks such as the ASEAN Plus Three dialogue, as well as the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).

To enhance cultural ties, it was suggested that information about Southeast Asia be made more easily available in South Korea, while South Korea could promote its image in Southeast Asia beyond popular culture.

Four areas which could provide opportunities to boost South Korea-Singapore cooperation were identified: (i) facilitating the peaceful rise of China; (ii) strengthening global financial stability; (iii) developing a regional market centring on natural gas; and (iv) reviving the economy, one tenet of South Korean President Park Geun-hye’s Grand National Objectives.

Overall, the forum discussions provided a better sense of the Singapore and South Korean perspectives of the future strategic outlook, the changing political and security environment, and how regional peace and stability could be maintained.

*Contributed by Sarah Teo*

# Indonesia's Economy: Future Challenges and Opportunities

**M**r Gita Wirjawan, Indonesia's Minister of Trade began his presentation by emphasising the series of challenges that Indonesia's economy faced and which could affect its overall performance in 2013. The stimulus package issued by the United States Federal Reserve is one example of how the global sphere is affecting emerging economies such as Indonesia. Although the Indonesian government has put in place policy packages to mitigate its effect, the prospects in the domestic sphere remain daunting. Other challenges that could inhibit Indonesia's economic growth, Mr Wirjawan added, are centralised economic development, unequal distribution of wealth, over dependence on commodities, inflation and the lack of infrastructure.

Although Indonesia has the benefit of human resources to meet these challenges, Mr Wirjawan stressed the need for this potential to be enhanced and protected if Indonesia is to overcome the middle-income economy scourge.

The decentralisation of the national budget has helped to enhance the development of the provinces, apart from Java, and has potential to become a key economic driver. While still a work-in-progress, bureaucratic reforms aim to ensure that establishing businesses in Indonesia will no longer be impeded by red tape and inefficiency. The rising number of manufacturing industries also indicates that Indonesia is on track to attain economic prominence.

Besides enhancing Indonesia's global economic position, Mr Wirjawan stressed the importance of Indonesia achieving prominence at the geopolitical level. As the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia could play a role as a bridge between the West and the Middle East. At the regional level, he reiterated that ASEAN remained an important organisation and the key platform for Indonesia. Cooperation among its members and ASEAN partner countries would provide the opportunity for Indonesia to propel itself towards economic and geopolitical prominence.

*Contributed by Adhi Priamarizki*



*Mr Gita Wirjawan*

## RSIS Fosters Stronger Collaboration with Top Chinese Universities



*Dean Barry Desker with Professor Wang Jisi, Dean, School of International Studies, Peking University*



*Dean Barry Desker with Professor Wang Fan, Assistant President of the China Foreign Affairs University*

**A**s part of RSIS' objective to foster stronger collaboration in the field of international relations with Chinese universities, two memorandums of understanding (MoU) were signed in Beijing with Peking University and the China Foreign Affairs University in June 2013.

Among other objectives, the MoU would provide opportunities for visits between staff for research, teaching

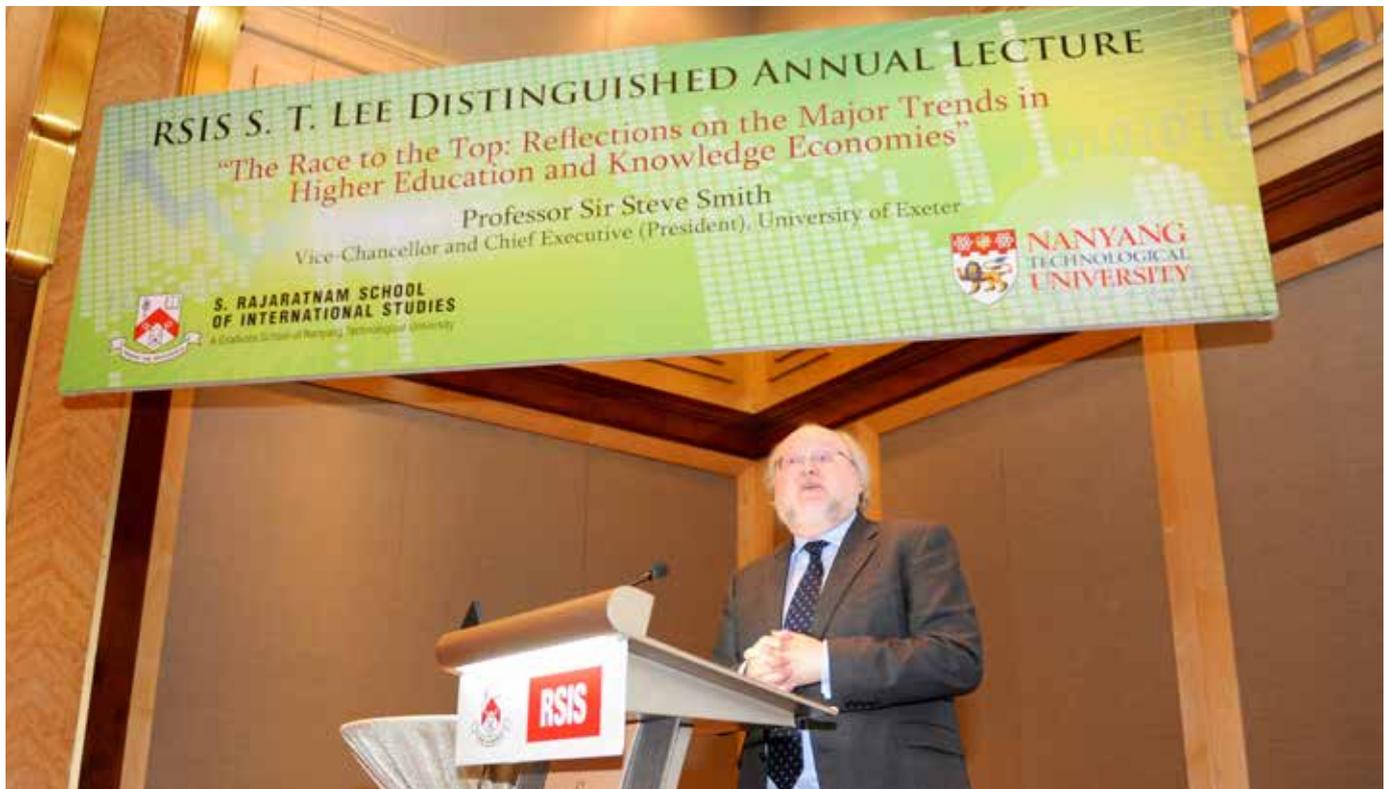
and discussions as well as allow graduate students to embark on exchange programmes. The MoUs also covered the exchange of library materials and research publications between RSIS and both Chinese universities. More research activities, including joint projects and the invitation of scholars to conferences would also be part of the MoU undertaking.

Dean Barry Desker explained: "The signing of these Agreements reflects the strengthening of RSIS' links with major Chinese academic institutions. China is now the leading source of foreign graduate students in our MSc Programmes. We are attracting students who have graduated from the top universities in China. We are looking forward to a two-way exchange as RSIS students and faculty will visit China for research and familiarisation visits. We also look forward to hosting these Chinese institutions on visits to Singapore."

The Dean was on a five-day working trip (23-27 June) by an RSIS-delegation to China to meet with various Chinese think tanks as well as to attend the Tsinghua University Peace Forum. He was accompanied by Associate Professor Li Mingjiang, senior fellows Oh Ei Sun and Euan Graham, and Associate Research Fellow Benjamin Ho.

*Contributed by Benjamin Ho Tze Ern*

# Reflecting on Trends in Higher Education and Knowledge Economies



*Professor Sir Steve Smith*

**D**elivering the annual S. T. Lee Distinguished Public Lecture, Professor Sir Steve Smith, Vice-Chancellor and Chief Executive (President) of the University of Exeter, shared his insights on the many changes occurring in higher education systems in the knowledge economies of the world.

Prof Smith, who is also a member of the RSIS Board of Governors, highlighted four major challenges faced by higher education institutions in the United Kingdom and other knowledge-based economies: (i) winning the global race to the top through globally competitive research universities which contribute to national economic and social prosperity, (ii) the shift away from public funding to student revenues and the need for increased public investment in universities, (iii) the significance of international collaboration in university research for greater impact, and (iv) how stringent immigration policy may limit international student mobility and thereby reduce the competitiveness of universities.

Prof Smith said that Singapore should be rightly proud of its higher education sector and the swift rise in global university rankings by the National University of Singapore (NUS) and the Nanyang Technological University (NTU). He believes that Singapore's investment in higher education is an exemplary case in effective public investment in higher education that

reflects a concerted effort and commitment by university leaders, civil servants and the Singaporean government.

Prof Smith also presented key recommendations for knowledge economies so that they may win the global race to the top. First, increase public investment in leading universities so that they are equipped to generate cutting-edge knowledge and innovation to reinforce international competitiveness, as well as investment in high-demand research and development with industry partnerships. Second, promotion of international research collaboration so as to increase the probability of reaching high citation levels. Finally, promotion of international mobility of students and staff will limit the barriers of entry into the country.

In closing Prof Smith emphasised that in order to achieve all of the above measures, the acceptance of marketisation and internationalisation of all aspects of higher education is required, and that universities have no option but to adapt to the wider economic, social and political forces of the world.

Prof Smith also gave an overview on the main theories of international security during his seminar titled "New Dimensions in International Security" on 14 August 2013.

*Contributed by Iromi Dharmawardhane*

## Brainstorming Violent Extremism



*Participants at the Workshop*

**T**he Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) and the University of Warwick recently hosted the CENS-Warwick GR:EEEN Workshop Countering Violent Extremism: The State of Play from 02-03 September 2013 at the Marina Mandarin in Singapore. The Workshop brought together academics and policymakers to assess the state of play in countering violent extremism and radicalisation (CVE-Rad) and narrow the gap between the policy practitioners' needs and academic output.

Speakers gathered from Singapore, the Netherlands, Norway, Indonesia, the U.K., Australia, the U.S. and France shared cutting-edge research and shared experiences during the two-day workshop. Aside from being a meeting point for knowledge-sharing, the Workshop was an opportunity to forge professional links and explore future collaborative initiatives between key movers in the field of CVE-Rad across the globe and Singapore's dynamic national security policymaking community.

Seven different panels and a lunch lecture covered a broad array of topics which were: (i) the evolving threat of violent

extremism in Europe and Southeast Asia, (ii) the dynamics between violent and non-violent extremism, (iii) future directions in terrorism research, (iv) the role of religion in radicalisation, (v) online radicalisation, (vi) designing early warning indicators for violent extremism, (vii) countering extremist narratives through social media, and (viii) the ideological de-radicalisation of militants.

The key segment of the Workshop was a roundtable section, which highlighted the recurring themes during the event. These included (i) the growing salience of lone actor terrorism, (ii) the increasingly blurred lines between online and offline radicalisation and (iii) the need for multi-disciplinary approaches to terrorism research based on sound and evidence-based research.

The Workshop was made possible through the support of the National Security Coordination Secretariat (NSCS) and the Global Re-ordering: Evolution through European Networks (GR:EEEN) research project funded by the European Commission.

*Contributed by Joseph Franco*

## Workshop on Regional and Global Economic Governance Architectures



*Participants at the Workshop*

Over 50 participants attended the workshop by ORSIS' Centre for Multilateralism Studies entitled "Governance of East Asian Regional Economic Architectures", which was held on 10 September 2013, at the Parkroyal Hotel on Beach Road. The event brought together experts in a wide range of areas including Trade, Finance, Political Economy, and International Law to discuss an extensive list of issues concerning today's regional and global economic governance. The workshop's objectives were to: (i) identify economic and political challenges to East Asian economic governance, and (ii) suggest policy recommendations on the next steps to strengthen regional economic governance.

Shifts in economic momentum and strategic influence, changes in the flows and patterns of trade and finance and the limited ability of existing instruments and institutions to adapt to all these new developments have important implications for regional and global economic governance. East Asia's rise meant that its role has become more critical in sustaining an open trading system, ensuring financial stability and fostering sustainable economic development. Along with this increase in influence and responsibility comes an increasingly complex governance architecture as East Asia is required to work around a more dense and decentralised system.

Speakers from academia and regional organisations such as APEC and ASEAN+3 shared their insights on these issues and spoke on the dynamics between complementary and competing governance mechanisms and the interactions of the growing web of regional and global institutions and groupings. The session on Regional Trade Architecture focused on issues relating to the emerging regional arrangements (the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership), and the future of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the multilateral trade system. Discussions on the Financial Governance Architecture delved into the tensions between the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization (CMIM) and the ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office (AMRO), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The last session focused on the opportunities and challenges facing regional mechanisms nested within a multilateral system.

The participants engaged in a candid exchange of views on the prospects of East Asian regional economic architectures and the global trade and financial regime. While competition between regional and global mechanisms is expected to be a key driving force of governance architectures, the discussion highlighted the importance of integrating and consolidating regional and global structures so that they complement and support each other.

*Contributed by Maria Theresa Anna Robles*

## Understanding the Globalised Far Right

In a RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on 6 September 2013, Professor Stuart Croft, RSIS' Ngee Ann Kongsi Professor of International Relations and Pro Chancellor for Research at the University of Warwick, delivered a lecture titled "The Globalised Far Right". His lecture focused on the transformation of the movement during and after the Cold War, amidst globalisation and the ever progressing Internet.

Prof Croft posited that Far Right groups around the globe are driven by different motivations that include ideology, religion, identity, race and ethnicity. However, they are all connected to one another by the idea of existential threat in which they believe that their identity and survival are menaced by other identity or identities.

Prof Croft contended that Far Right groups after the Cold War are decentralised and fluid, whereas during the Cold War, Far Right movements such as Nationalists, Christian Fundamentalists and Neo Nazis had rigid structures with leaders who dictated the ideologies and fixed identities of the groups. Today, with the massive amount of information and online communication settings available, individuals create their own ideologies, reconstruct their own identities and assemble their own small cells. Hence, for instance, there are Jewish and Mongol neo-Nazis.

Prof Croft elucidated that the Far Right identity has five important elements. They are: (i) hate music, (ii) commercialisation, (iii) tattoos, (iv) power of physical presence, and (v) online life. In sequence, these elements provided Far Right individuals with an avenue to disseminate their message effectively; a way to venture different identities; feelings of being real; real-world meetings to discuss ideas obtained online; and convenient space to conduct all Far Right activities.

Discussing the security services' attitude about the Far Right, Prof Croft acknowledged that the issue had been sidelined after the Cold War ended because of the perception that the Far Right was driven by Communism which had been defeated. However, this has changed since 2008. Far Right individuals are conceded to be a threat and a significant amount of manpower and financial resources have been placed to track these individuals both online and in the real-world.

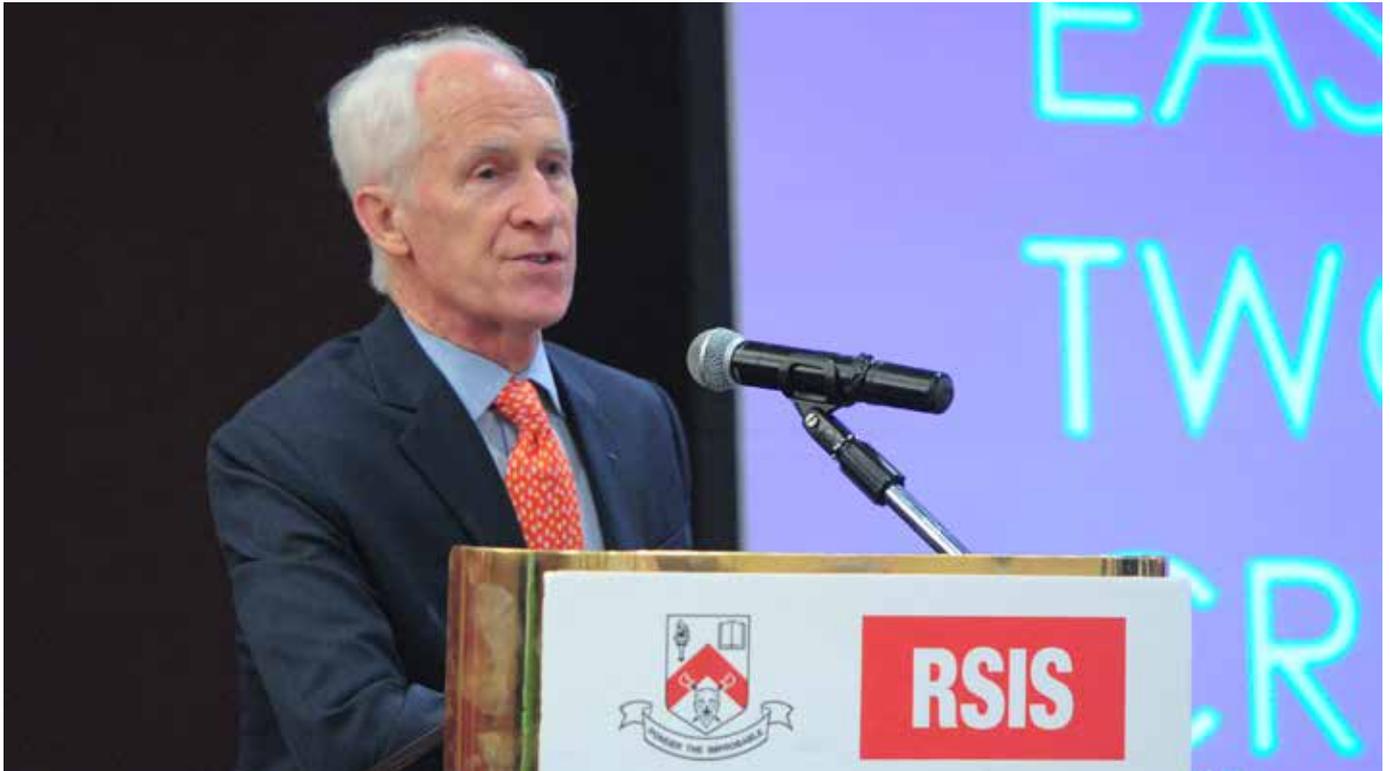
During his visit, Prof Croft also addressed a colloquium and a seminar, titled "*The Emergence of 'Everyday' Security Studies*" and "*Ontological Security Studies in International Relations*" respectively on 26 and 30 August 2013.

*Contributed by Nur Azlin Mohamed Yasin*



*Professor Stuart Croft*

## Two Economic Crises: Two Different Outcomes



Professor T. J. Pempel

Professor T. J. Pempel, RSIS' NTUC Professor of International Economic Relations, and the Jack M. Forcey Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley, delivered a Distinguished Public Lecture on 7 August 2013 on the topic "*Two Economic Crises: Two Different Outcomes*". The lecture focused on the Asian Financial Crisis (AFC) and the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), showing how the two crises were similar in certain aspects such as the global movement of capital, but different in terms of the politics underpinning them.

As a background to the two financial crises, Prof Pempel discussed the politics behind financial deregulation and how developments in this area provided more power and leverage to the financial industry in different economies. These developments include the "rise of the quants" where Physics PhD holders and the like were being hired by financial companies to create complex financial products which made "millisecond arbitration" profits possible.

Prof Pempel described the AFC as a "crisis due to the negative interactions of domestic political model of economic development and the power of global capital, with a heavy dose of politics from the United States and the International Monetary Fund." On the other hand, he described the GFC as an "economic problem created by a national development model that saw politics defer excessively to financial power and belief in self-regulating financial market."

In juxtaposing the impact of the AFC and the GFC on the Asian region, Prof Pempel argued that the reasons why the impact of GFC was minimal compared to the AFC were because of three main factors: (i) Asia's focus on the "real" economy such as manufacturing, exports, infrastructural development and fostering the middle class, (ii) regionalisation of trade and finance such as through development of regional production networks, and (iii) institutionalisation of reforms in the wake of the AFC both at the national and regional levels.

Prof Pempel concluded his talk by arguing that while the two crises manifested economically, they were heavily political in nature. At its core, Asian governments were able to insulate their economies from the GFC by surrendering little of their regulatory controls over markets despite political pressures to do so. He noted that it was possible for Asia to return to a high-growth era but this was far from guaranteed after the GFC due to various challenges such as (i) "middle income trap" for much of Southeast Asian countries (ii) slowing economic growth in China, and (ii) lack of structural reforms in Japan.

During his visit as RSIS' NTUC Professor of International Economic Relations on 27 July-12 August 2013, Prof Pempel also addressed a colloquium on "*The Economic-Security Nexus in Northeast Asia*" and a seminar on "*America's Pivot Toward Asia*".

Contributed by Don Rodney Ong Junio

## New Zealand's Dynamic Ties with a Rising Asia



*Hon Dr Wayne Mapp*

**D**r Wayne Mapp, Law Commissioner and former Defence Minister of New Zealand, shared his perspective on the major geopolitical and security issues in the Asia-Pacific in a Distinguished Public Lecture organised by RSIS on 20 August.

Speaking on *“Changing Dynamics of New Zealand’s Relationship with a Rising Asia”*, Dr Mapp discussed the fundamental shift in power in the Asia Pacific region, and what it meant for New Zealand’s foreign relations with Asia’s emerging economies.

Dr Mapp asserted that New Zealand’s core security relationships are with nations of the region on both sides of the Pacific, with China, Australia, the United States, Singapore and Malaysia while its strongest economic links are within the region, and increasingly with China. The role of China is at the heart of any discussion about the changes that are taking place in the region. These changes include a shift in New Zealand’s trade patterns toward Asia and the increasing importance of Asian investment in the New Zealand economy. For instance, Asia’s economic powerhouse China, for the first time, became New Zealand’s largest export destination in the first quarter of 2013. These changes will fundamentally alter New Zealand’s assessment of the strategic importance of its relationships in Asia.

Dr Mapp stated that the ASEAN nations are perhaps the most acutely sensitive to the change in the balance of power between the great powers. ASEAN nations have been assiduous in developing the fora that enable the nations of the region, including China, Japan and the United States, to meet and discuss contentious security issues.

Dr Mapp noted the challenges ahead. As Asia Pacific states become wealthier, they are able to extend the range and reach of their armed forces. In the case of China, its increasing wealth is enabling the Chinese military to build sophisticated and far reaching air and maritime forces, which by 2030 may rival those of the United States. The dramatic change in the balance of power will pose challenges to the region. Nonetheless, the nations of the region will have to understand the key concerns of China.

During his visit as a RSIS Distinguished Visiting Fellow, Dr Mapp also gave two seminars, *“Is There an Arms Race in Asia?”* and *“The Rise of Asia: A New Zealand perspective of Challenges and Prospects”* on 22 August and 27 August 2013 respectively.

*Contributed by Julius Cesar I. Trajano*

## RSIS Enhances Research in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies

**R**SIS recently established the Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies Programme (SRP). It is headed by Mr Mohammad Alami Musa who was the former Executive President of the Islamic Religious Council of Singapore (MUIS). When asked to comment on his new role, Mr Alami, who is also Singapore's Non-Resident Ambassador to Algeria, and an Honorary Business Representative to the Middle East and North Africa, said "I am honoured to be part of RSIS, a renowned, global think tank and I hope to bring to it my knowledge and experience in the area of inter-religious relations in a plural society like Singapore."

In the ten years under his watch, MUIS established the inter-religious programme that brings together faith leaders, scholars and activists at the academic and discourse levels. Tapping on his network of global scholars, Mr Alami initiated inter-faith study programmes involving prominent institutions like the Hartford Seminary in the United States and the Mumbai Centre for Democracy and Secularism.

The SRP will be a deepening of Mr Alami's commitment to further advance scholarly and societal interest in the field of inter-religious relations.

Another key member of the SRP team is Research Fellow Dr Mohamed Bin Ali. Dr Mohamed obtained his PhD in Arab and Islamic Studies from the University of Exeter in the United Kingdom. Prior to that, he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in Islamic Jurisprudence from the Al-Azhar University, and a Master of Science in International Relations from RSIS. Dr Mohamed is also the Secretary and a counsellor of the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG), a voluntary organisation of local Muslim scholars who provide religious rehabilitation to the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) detainees in Singapore. His research interests include Islamic law, Islamist ideology, religious extremism, de-radicalisation and inter-religious studies.

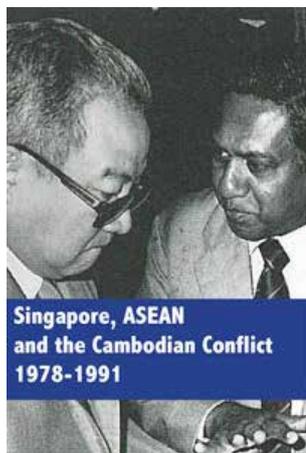
SRP, which comprises the education, research and discourse dimensions, will be launched in mid-2014.

*Contributed by Mohamed Bin Ali*



*Mr Mohammad Alami Musa (left) and Dr Mohamed Bin Ali*

## Staff Publications



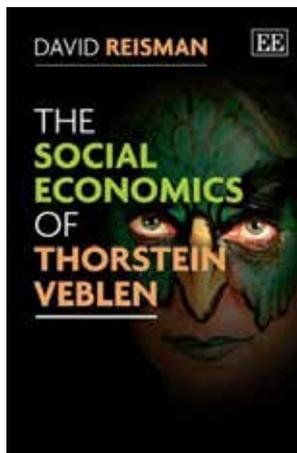
Ang Cheng Guan

### Singapore, ASEAN and the Cambodian Conflict 1978-1991

NUS Press, 2013. ISBN 978-9971697044

This important study of the shifting diplomatic efforts around the response to and resolution of the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia is based on the records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore, a key player in the complex diplomacy in the region at the end of the Cold War. The study provides a detailed account of the policies and decision-making of Singapore, as well as the diplomatic maneuverings of the other major parties and powers involved in the Cambodian conflict. It details one member country's input into the process of defining and developing a collective ASEAN position, a process which was formative for future diplomatic efforts by the regional grouping.

Ang makes use of a variety of sources contemporary to the period under study, as well as records which have become available post-1991. The use of detailed records from one of the Southeast Asian players is a first for the study of the region's diplomacy. The book describes Singapore's role and illustrate how Singapore's management of the Cambodian issue was shaped by the fundamentals of Singapore's foreign policy. The account also reveals the dynamics of intra-ASEAN relations, as well as ASEAN's foreign relations in the context of the Cambodia problem.



David Reisman

### The Social Economics of Thorstein Veblen

Edward Elgar, 2012. ISBN: 978-0-85793-218-1

The Social Economics of Thorstein Veblen examines all of Veblen's books and articles, revealing that they are closely integrated to form an organic whole. It will prove valuable for scholars and students interested in sociological theory, politics and political economy, history and institutional economics.

Thorstein Veblen was a multidisciplinary social scientist whose original insights continue to inspire debate. Rather than focusing on allocation, markets and scarcity, his perspective on economics was rather one of Darwinian evolution and perpetual development, unfolding conventions and interpersonal constraints. This interdisciplinary and comprehensive book determines that Veblen's disparate theories of conspicuous consumption, imperial Germany, the giant corporation and the speculation-led cycle all add up to a consistent and coherent world-view.

## UPCOMING EVENTS

### 28 NOVEMBER 2013

RSIS SEMINAR BY PROFESSOR GERALD CHAN, VISITING PROFESSOR, ON "DOES CHINA MAKE RULES FOR THE WORLD? HOW?"

### 29 NOVEMBER 2013

RSIS SEMINAR BY COL PER ERIK SOLLI ON "RETHINKING NATO'S FUTURE ROLE IN GLOBAL SECURITY"

### 4 DECEMBER 2013

RSIS SEMINAR BY COL PER ERIK SOLLI ON "COMING INTO THE COLD: ASIA'S ARCTIC INTERESTS"

### 6 DECEMBER 2013

RSIS DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC LECTURE BY DR GREG MILLS ON "AFRICA AND ITS THIRD LIBERATION – MORE IMPORTANT OR MORE IMPOVERISHED?"

### 9-10 DECEMBER 2013

RSIS WORKSHOP ON "CHINA'S REGIONAL POLICY IN ASIA: AN OMNIDIRECTIONAL ASSESSMENT"

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