



INDONESIA-SINGAPORE YOUNG LEADERS SCENARIO PLANNING WORKSHOP

Event Report

15-16 November 2016

Event Report

**INDONESIA-SINGAPORE YOUNG LEADERS
SCENARIO PLANNING WORKSHOP**

**15-16 November 2016
Capella Singapore**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	5
Workshop Background	6
Welcome Remarks	7
Session 1: Introduction to Scenarios	9
First scenario-planning exercise	12
Presentation summary and feedback to the plenary	13
Session 2: Scenario Building of Indonesia-Singapore Relation in 2040	26
Presentation summary and feedback to the plenary	28
Session 3: Indonesia, Singapore, and Southeast Asia 2040	37
Presentation summary and feedback to the plenary	38
Concluding Remarks	50
List of Participants	51
About the Temasek Foundation Connects	53
About the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies	53
About the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies	54

Organised by:

The S. Rajaratnam Endowment; and
The Indonesia Programme,
Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies,
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies,
Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Rapporteurs:

Keoni Indrabayu Marzuki, Satrio Dwicahyo, Chaula Rininta Anindya,
Jonathan Chen, Santi H. Paramitha

Edited by:

Leonard C. Sebastian, Jonathan Chen, Vinay Kumar Pathak, James Guild,
Alexander R. Arifianto

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Indonesia Programme at S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, in partnership with the S. Rajaratnam Endowment, Temasek Foundation Connect, organised the “Indonesia-Singapore Young Leaders Scenario Planning Workshop” for next-generation Indonesia and Singapore leaders from various sectors.

Held on 14 and 15 November 2016, the workshop aimed to provide capacity building opportunities for next-generation leaders of both countries to envision possible futures for Indonesia, Singapore, Indonesia-Singapore relations, as well as the Southeast Asian region. Aside from capacity building, the workshop was also as a forum for next-generation leaders of Indonesia and Singapore to engage both their fellow countrymen and foreign counterparts. Ultimately, the workshop served as an alternative confidence-building measure for both countries.

The closed-door workshop was facilitated by Dr Khong Cho-Oon, Chief Political Analyst in the Global Business Environment Team at Shell International. Mr Anggito Abimanyu, Bank Rakyat Indonesia’s chief economist, served as an external adviser on the economic aspect. The workshop participants included 17 Indonesian and 21 Singaporean younger generation leaders from various backgrounds including the national parliament, major political parties, businesses, academia and military. These individuals have been identified as potential future leaders in various sectors.

The workshop proceeded by providing the participants with some basic instructions and guiding principles to form scenarios. The first session of the workshop identified trends and issues that will affect Indonesia, Singapore, and Indonesia-Singapore relations in 2040.

The second session of the scenario planning exercise focused on developing scenarios based on the interactions of the variables of uncertainty identified in the first session. Throughout the second session, the common theme that emerged from the participants was their concern of political and social stability in both Indonesia and Singapore.

The final session of the scenario planning exercise identified trends that have affected and will affect the Southeast Asian region. Based on these trends, the participants formed a number of scenarios that anticipated the future of Southeast Asia.

WORKSHOP BACKGROUND

A similar workshop titled “The Future of Indonesia Beyond 2014: Prospects and Challenges” was held in 2008 to provide capacity building for Indonesia’s future leaders to help them envision a better future for Indonesia by equipping them with the strategic mindset to achieve such an outcome. The workshop was held in the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University (NTU). World-renowned futurist Professor Sohail Inayatullah, a political scientist associated with Tamkang University (Graduate Institute for Future Studies) and Prout College, led the framework of the future studies workshop. The workshop participations included 17 young Indonesian leaders selected from Indonesia’s national parliament, major political parties, universities, research institutions, as well as representatives from major civil society groups and the media.

As Indonesia advances beyond 2014, a new generation of aspiring young leaders has arisen to gradually take over the reins of governance and leadership positions from the remnants of the old political regime. Their perspectives will increasingly carry weight as they begin to shape the future of an Indonesian state that has enjoyed the outcomes of expeditious reforms conducted in the early stages of the post-Reformasi government. Already there are visible signs that demonstrate such a trend, one that is detached from the old styles of leadership. Joko Widodo, the current President of Indonesia, and a host of other similar figures in government service are but recent examples.

The 2016 Indonesia-Singapore Young Leaders Scenario Planning Workshop had objectives that were twofold. In both Indonesia and Singapore, a generation of young leaders has started to assert themselves as captains of industry in their respective fields including the military, police, business associations, large conglomerates, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), academia and think tanks. The exercise aimed to share with participants the big picture behind policy-making from the standpoints of both Singapore and Indonesia. Secondly, the forum aimed to foster closer ties that will be beneficial to Indonesia-Singapore relations in the long-term. The RSIS Indonesia Programme envisions that these emerging leaders and captains will change the political, economic, socio-cultural and business landscape of their respective countries.

WELCOME REMARKS

RSIS Executive Deputy Chairman, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, warmly welcomed the participants to the inaugural Indonesia-Singapore Young Leaders Scenario Planning Workshop. In his speech, Amb Ong mentioned that the workshop would contribute significantly to the maintenance of ties between Indonesia and Singapore, allowing the younger generation of leaders to build lasting networks while strengthening bilateral relations between the two countries. As Indonesia and Singapore commemorate the golden jubilee of their diplomatic relations next year, Amb Ong expressed hope that the workshop would help build up a greater capacity of understanding towards the challenges faced by each country.



The workshop's format was similar to the one in 2008. The participants who benefitted from the 2008 workshop include Dr Anies Baswedan, Mr Endy M. Bayuni, Dr Yuddy Chrisnandi, Mr Dicky Dooradi and Mr Andi Widjajanto. Recently under the Joko Widodo administration, a few participants from the workshop in 2008 went on to hold important ministerial positions in his cabinet. Dr Anies Baswedan, previously a rector at Paramadina University in Jakarta, became the Minister of Culture and Primary & Secondary Education. Dr Yuddy Chrisnandi became the Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, while Mr Andi Widjajanto was President Joko Widodo's Cabinet Secretary. In addition, one of the futuristic themes discussed during the workshop in which Indonesia was conceived as a regional maritime power, actualised in 2014 when the Widodo administration unveiled plans to transform Indonesia into a "global maritime fulcrum".

The workshop in 2008 not only provided a platform for potential young Indonesian leaders to strategically envision how Indonesia would be like in 2014, it also gave these soon-to-be leaders an insight to what policymaking is like in its foundational stages.



Amb Ong continued by mentioning that while the workshop was designed to strengthen bilateral relationships, it was also important to discuss challenges that could arise in the future given the evolving geopolitical context of Indonesia and Singapore. He gave examples of the intensifying Sino-U.S. rivalry, the ASEAN Economic Community, and the rise of populist leaders. He encouraged the workshop participants to exchange ideas and views on regional developments, as well as share their own perspectives in order to advance each country's interests and promote ASEAN's well-being.

Amb Ong ended his remarks by thanking the facilitator of the workshop, Dr Khong Cho-Oon; the S. Rajaratnam Endowment; and his colleagues at RSIS for organising the workshop. He also thanked the participants for taking time out of their schedules to attend the workshop.

**SESSION I:
INTRODUCTION TO SCENARIOS**

SESSION I: INTRODUCTION TO SCENARIOS

The facilitator of the workshop, Dr Khong Cho-Oon, began the session by dispelling the myth that scenario planning is “mysterious” and “extremely difficult” to undertake. While scenario planning is essentially about coming up with variations of how the future might unfold, he stressed that they are neither predictions nor forecasts. Dr Khong continued by briefly introducing the history of scenario planning, tracing its origins back to Herman Kahn who first introduced the technique when working at the RAND Corporation as a military strategist and systems theorist during the Cold War. Scenario planning was later brought into other fields including business.



Dr Khong then emphasised that a scenario planning exercise should consider the element of “the unthinkable” as it is highly unlikely that the future would be shaped by the status quo. He cited the 1973 oil crisis due to the Arab-Israeli War and the 2016 U.S. election outcome as examples of “the unthinkable” or significant events shaping the future. He also added that it is quite unlikely for societies to consistently behave in a manner where everyone benefits equally as societies tend to act in a manner that benefits themselves. Nonetheless, the most important aspect that participants need to focus on are trends — be it societal, technological or political — that can be considered disruptive as they will define the future.

Dr Khong added that a scenario planning exercise is different from that of a forecast. The latter is based on an understanding of the present that will lead to only one possibility, whereas the former is based on multiple, equally valid understandings of the present which can lead to multiple possibilities of the future. Scenarios are essentially stories of the future which: (i) take in multiple contrasting perspectives; (ii) identify turning points or counter-currents that challenge existing trends; (iii) include broad perspectives or contexts; and (iv)

challenge existing or present assumptions.

According to Dr Khong, there are four hallmarks of a good scenario. First, it must be plausible enough for the average person to identify with. Second, a good scenario should be recognisable based on trends occurring in the present. A radical scenario untethered to current trends is unlikely to be acted upon due to its extremely complex nature. Third, a good scenario is one that should be consistent, embodying a logical path. Fourth, a good scenario should not be simplistic, meaning it should challenge generic assumptions and the status quo. There is a balance that must be struck between challenging a scenario and the plausibility of such a scenario occurring.

Dr Khong proceeded to invite questions and comments from participants with regard to his introduction. One participant commented on the element of self-interest in scenario planning which Dr Khong had mentioned previously. He believed that problems of the future require more cooperation than competition, especially on issues that challenge mankind collectively. Dr Khong responded that while it is indeed true that certain challenges such as climate change require collective effort to combat, the imperfections of human nature and its impact on scenario planning should not be overlooked as the element of self-interest is present in most activities, even in a seemingly altruistic act.

Another participant commented that projections and scenarios are not the same. Projections rely heavily on historical data, while scenarios rely on the understanding of today and forward thinking to map out the future. The participant highlighted that reliance on historical data may lead to the formulation of a linear scenario. Dr Khong responded that history is essential in scenario planning because they serve as a reference on past trends and how they shape the present. He admitted that while there is a possibility that historical data and trends may skew a scenario, having a differing perspective will help counter this proclivity.

Another participant enquired about the recognisable characteristics of a good scenario. The participant also asked why a scenario should be recognisable based on historical data. Dr Khong responded that attempts at scenario planning without any anchor on present or historical trends will result in a radical scenario that may be extremely difficult to comprehend and respond to. While the future may be radically different than it is today, there will still be similarities to the present. Dr Khong emphasised that while looking at trends or data is important, it does not necessarily dictate the future.



One participant commented that it is perhaps easier to develop scenarios pertaining to technological advancement or the economy rather than on society due to the fluid nature of societal development. The participant followed up by enquiring about the best method to develop a scenario on social change. Dr Khong responded by reiterating that scenarios are not predictions. He added that societal trends generally co-exist with counter-trends. While counter-trends may not be vividly expressed, it may rise to the surface and replace existing trends. Hence, it is imperative for the participants to take note of counter-trends.

First scenario-planning exercise

Following the tea break, Dr Khong provided instructions for the first scenario-planning exercise. The exercise aimed to identify key issues pertaining to Indonesia, Singapore, and Indonesia-Singapore relations in 2040. Prior to the commencement of the exercise, Dr Khong instructed the groups of participants to appoint a spokesperson who will take notes and present their group's discussion. The facilitator then instructed each group to come up with three distinct issues each for Indonesia and Singapore, and write them down on different colour-coded hexagonal papers. The groups were also required to discuss and present two other issues that will affect Indonesia-Singapore relations.





As a guideline, Dr Khong asked the participants to briefly reflect on the trends and changes that transpired in both Indonesia and Singapore during the 1990s, notably in the areas of politics, economics, society and technology. Aside from domestic changes, Dr Khong also reminded them to take note of changes in the external environment and how they can affect domestic dynamics. Based on this guideline, the group of participants were expected to pay close attention to existing signals in the present that will shape the future.

Presentation summary and feedback to the plenary

The first group was represented by Mr Ainun Najib, Head of Data at Traveloka and co-founder of Kawal Pemilu. He highlighted religious fundamentalism as an issue that will affect Indonesia in the future and explained that digital media has strongly amplified the diffusion of narrowly-understood fundamentalist interpretations of the scripture. The second issue is volatile leadership changes. He noted that Indonesia's high expectations towards new leaders will render them prone to dissatisfaction, which in turn could lead to a rapid successive change of leaders. The third issue that will affect Indonesia is inequality. Inequality has been manifesting not only on a socio-economic stratification, but on a geographical one where people living in the outer reaches of the country are experiencing economic burdens and lack of opportunities.



Mr Najib continued by presenting the issues for Singapore. The first issue he discussed was the fragility of social and racial cohesiveness, whose delicate nature could result in deep socio-political fracturing if not properly handled. The second issue for Singapore is an ageing population caused by low birth rates. The third issue is the reinvention of Singapore's economy. Singapore's economy traditionally relies on international trade. However, due to growing economic nationalism and protectionism trends across major global markets, Singapore will have to reinvent its economy to better adapt to future economic trends.

With regard to issues affecting Indonesia-Singapore relations, Mr Najib highlighted the rise of China and the shift of geopolitical and economic powers as the first key issue. The shift may compel Indonesia and Singapore to choose sides, opening a pathway to discord. The second issue is the rise of populist politics as observed during the recent U.S. elections and Brexit; the occurrence of populism in Singapore or Indonesia can put a strain on the relationship between the two countries.

The second group was represented by Mr Eddy Soeparno, Secretary-General of the National Mandate Party. The group highlighted food and natural resource insecurity as the first issue that will affect Indonesia, explaining that growing industrialisation and urbanisation in Indonesia will diminish food production capability and fresh water supplies. The second issue is the rise of exclusivism and intolerance as result of growing inequalities. The third issue is trans-national crime activities such as terrorism and international money laundering.



Mr Soeparno continued his presentation on the issues affecting Singapore. The first is the growing presence of automation and its impact on the workplace and workforce. Moreover, with the advancement of digital technologies, brick and mortar businesses (especially retail) will become less relevant. The second issue is Singapore's changing demographics, identity, and ageing population

due to the high level of immigration. The third issue is the balancing of Singapore's relationship with great powers.



On issues that will affect Indonesia-Singapore relations, the group listed the rise of populist leaders and emerging populist politics as the first issue. The second issue is trans-national crimes especially in terms of trans-national terrorism, financial crimes and transboundary haze. These have been longstanding issues for both countries and will continue to be prominent issues shaping the relationship of Indonesia and Singapore.

The third group, represented by Vikram Nair, a member of the Singapore Parliament, highlighted the poor quality of education in Indonesia as the first major issue that will affect the country. The group believed that poor education is the primary cause of the second major issue afflicting Indonesia: the lack of economic opportunities and increasing socio-political demands for a sustainable living. The third issue relates to social integration. Social differences along the ethnic, economic and religious lines remain a strong issue that will continuously play a role in Indonesia's domestic dynamics.

On issues affecting Singapore in the future, the group highlighted ageing population and declining labour force as the first issue. The second is the growing trend of trade protectionism across the globe. As Singapore is part of the global value chain network, increasing protectionism may hurt its economy in the future. The third issue is an uncertain national identity caused by differences in economic affluence, ethnicity, and religion.

Mr Nair continued presenting on the issues that will affect Indonesia-Singapore relations in the future. The first issue is regarding economic cooperation and people-to-people relations. Singapore is a global financial hub and Indonesia is a major economic powerhouse in the region; the cooperation strengthens bilateral relations and has allowed both parties to mutually benefit from one another. As strong economic cooperation is a key foundation in Indonesia-

Singapore relations, any changes may affect the stability of said relations. The second issue that will profoundly impact Indonesia-Singapore relations is both countries' political and economic health. As Indonesia's largest foreign investor, an economically and politically stable Singapore will benefit Indonesia immensely. Similarly, Indonesia is one of Singapore's most important regional partners whose stability is essential to Singapore's trajectory.

Mr Lee Chor Pharn, principal strategist at the Strategic Planning & Futures division under the Prime Minister's Office Singapore, represented the fourth group. He listed the lack of good governance as an issue that will affect Indonesia. According to Mr Lee, the absence of proper governance delays or prevents the delivery of vital public services. The second issue is the weak population development measures in Indonesia. Indonesia is predicted to benefit from the upcoming demographic bonus because of the high population of young people. However, due to the poor quality of education, demographic bonus could be a major liability instead of benefit. The third issue is the emergence of highly advanced technology elsewhere around the globe which may challenge Indonesia's nascent digital technology platforms. It poses a competition for indigenous digital technology platforms and may even render the country's existing digital technology platforms obsolete even though they might have been adopted or have emerged only recently.



The group listed the ageing population taking up scarce resources as an issue affecting Singapore in the future. The second issue is digital disruption. The challenge for Singapore is not only to create jobs, but to create the right kind of jobs amidst digital disruption. The third issue is the rise of deglobalisation where multilateral free trade agreements such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership may be repealed.

Regarding the issues affecting Indonesia-Singapore relations, the group listed China's aggressive investment in improving connectivity under the One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative in ASEAN member states such as Cambodia and Laos as a dynamic that poses challenge to Indonesia-Singapore competitiveness. As new connectivity hubs are developed under OBOR, Singapore's relevance as the hub of Southeast Asia and Indonesia's formidable economic power may no longer be sustainable, thus compelling both countries to innovate to remain competitive.

The second issue is trans-national crime including trans-border criminal activities such as money laundering. The issue of money laundering and tax evasion is a sensitive issue for Indonesia and a potentially politicised issue. It will inevitably stress the Indonesia-Singapore relationship if left unresolved.

The fifth and last group was represented by Mr Jeremy Rabani, deputy director of Southeast Asia I Directorate (Indonesia) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Singapore. According to the group, the first issue that will affect Indonesia in the future is income and social inequalities, as well as the urban/rural social divide across Indonesia. Some regions in Indonesia, especially those in Java and Sumatra, are developing far more rapidly than the rest of the country. The second issue is the diffusion of more advanced technology from overseas. This can potentially transform Indonesia into a service economy. The last issue is the growing regional autonomy which could hurt Indonesia's unity in the future. In relation to growing religious fundamentalism and social inequality, Indonesia's regional autonomy would enable certain provinces, cities or districts to establish regulations that are discriminatory in nature.

Mr Rabani continued his presentation on the issues affecting Singapore. He listed Singapore's economic relevance as one key issue. There is a possibility of new trade routes opening in the Arctic and in the Kra Isthmus canal. These new routes will definitely challenge Singapore's status as regional trade hub and challenge its ability to maintain its economic well-being. The second issue is tension borne out of inequality as a result of Singapore's meritocratic system, which denies some segments of the society with access towards better economic opportunities. The final issue that could affect Singapore in the future is the transition of political leadership from the current ruling party to another. This transition will affect different aspects of Singapore including its bureaucracy and economic policies.

As to what may affect Indonesia-Singapore relations, the group envisaged the declining relevance of ASEAN as one important issue not discussed by previous groups. The rise of new regional powers such as India and China

might pull the region's cohesiveness apart. The second issue is the weakening global trade relations due to rising inequality and populist sentiments. Considering that both Indonesia and Singapore rely largely on global trade, its slowdown would inevitably result in adverse implications for the relations of two countries as the decrease in trade opportunities would intensify economic competition between them.

Following the groups' presentations, Dr Khong provided feedback to their discussions. The issues raised by the groups were then arranged within clusters of a wider issue. He welcomed the participants input to rearrange the components of these clusters over the course of lunch. Dr Khong welcomed Mr Anggito Abimanyu, Bank Rakyat Indonesia's chief economist and external adviser on economic issues for this workshop, to give his thoughts on the scenarios presented by the participants.



Mr Abimanyu was impressed by the issues the participants had raised. He offered additional issues that could be of importance to Indonesia, Singapore and Indonesia-Singapore relations. For Indonesia, Mr Abimanyu highlighted the issue of food and energy security as the most pressing because Indonesia's population is projected to double by the mid-21st century, hence increasing the need for energy and food supply. The second issue for Indonesia is the inequality in income distribution. The final issue is the lack of domestic connective and distribution infrastructures that will drive up the cost of goods in Indonesia's periphery.

With regard to the issues affecting Singapore, Mr Abimanyu noted that the physical-geographical nature of Singapore as an island-state constrains its living space. As population numbers and demographic demands change, it is likely that Singapore will need to rethink its housing scheme. Secondly, Mr Abimanyu noted the shortage of energy as a key issue that will challenge

Singapore. As human population continues to increase across the globe, energy demand will rise in parallel and this may impact Singapore's procurement of energy. The final issue is Singapore's ageing population.

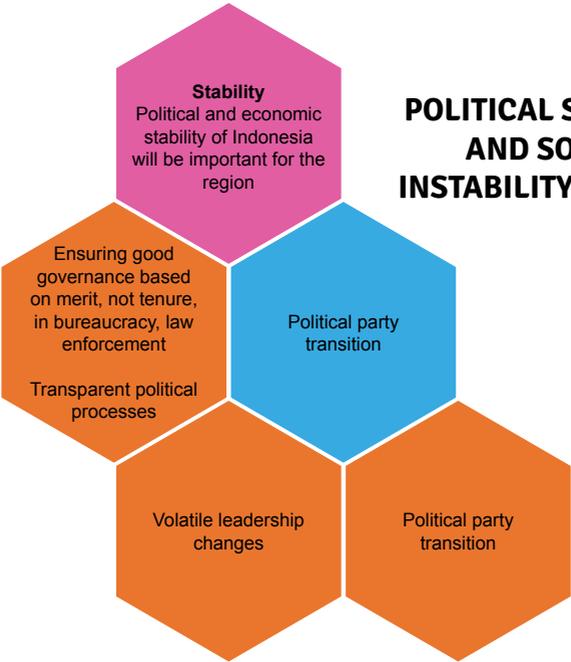
With regards to issues affecting Indonesia-Singapore relations, Mr Abimanyu highlighted two key ones. The first is the growing populist sentiment and the declining relevancy of ASEAN. The second is the rise of China and how Indonesia and Singapore respond to it. The response of these two countries towards China may affect their bilateral relations in the future.

Dr Khong proceeded to invite final questions and comments from the participants. One participant proposed a separate issue distinct from the existing cluster of issues that could affect Indonesia-Singapore relations. The participant highlighted the issue of the Riau Islands airspace, which is currently managed by Singapore's Flight Information Region, as a potential issue shaping the relationship. Nationalistic sentiment is often used by political actors in Indonesia to obtain an edge over their competition. If the issue is utilised extensively by politicians or political groups in order to gain public support, there is a great likelihood of strained bilateral relations between Indonesia and Singapore.

Over lunch, Dr Khong arranged the issues that the participants had raised, based on consensus, into six distinct clusters of critical uncertainties. The clusters are: (i) political and social stability/instability; (ii) energy and climate change; (iii) geopolitics; (iv) governance; (v) global trade regimes and increasing protectionism; and (vi) new wave of technology and the fourth industrial revolution.

The clusters would serve as starting points for the participants to build scenarios in the second exercise.

POLITICAL STABILITY AND SOCIAL INSTABILITY CLUSTER



Legend

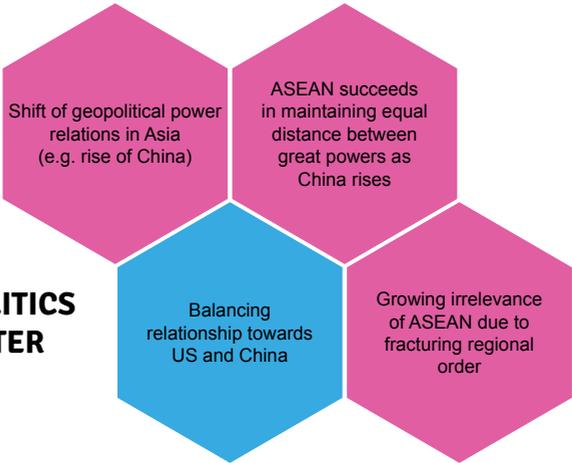
Issues affecting the future of Indonesia-Singapore relations

Issues affecting the future of Indonesia

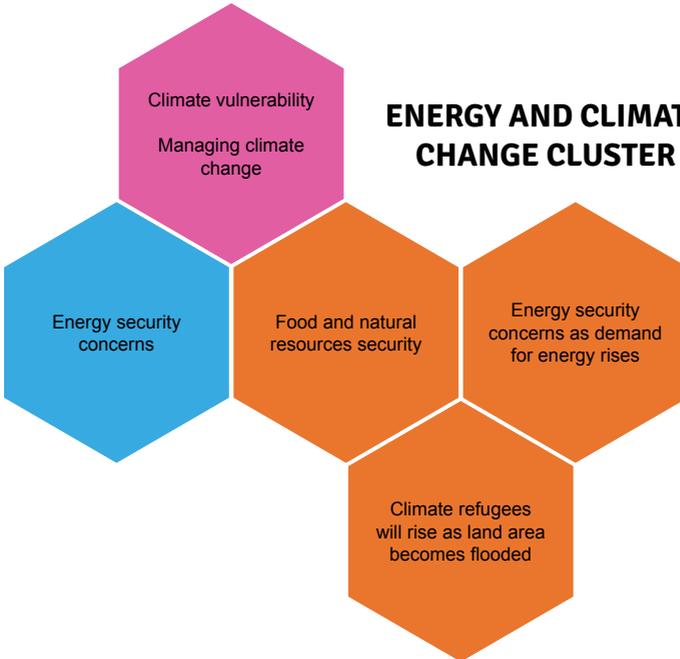
Issues affecting the future of Singapore



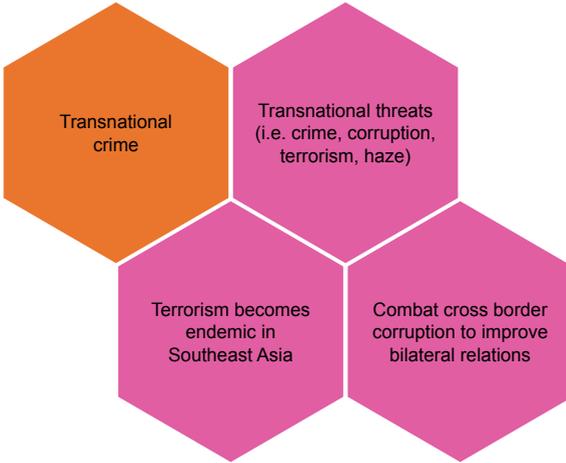
GEOPOLITICS CLUSTER



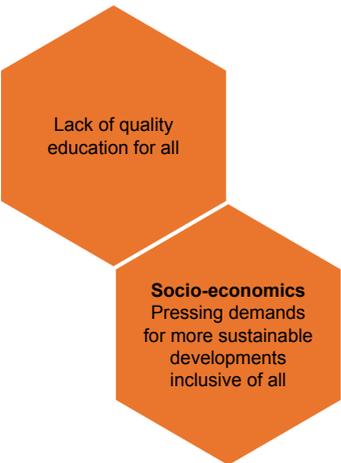
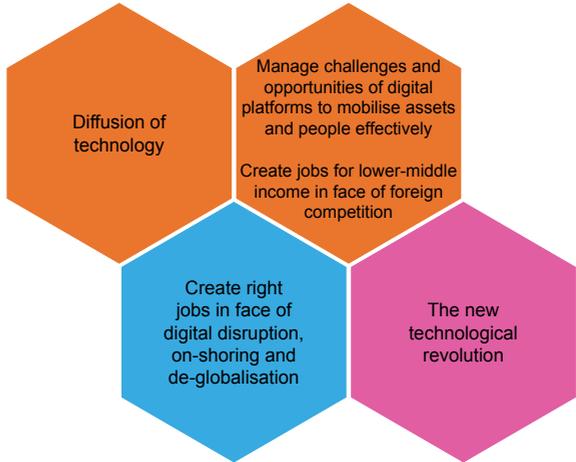
ENERGY AND CLIMATE CHANGE CLUSTER



GOVERNANCE / LACK OF GOVERNANCE CLUSTER



NEW WAVE OF TECHNOLOGY / FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION CLUSTER



EDUCATION AND HUMAN CAPITAL

AIRSPACE

Managing shared
airspace between
Indonesia and
Singapore

ECONOMY / HUMAN CAPITAL

Build human capital
to maximise benefit of
demographic bonus

Reinventing
Singapore's
economy

Future of economy
and work

Ageing population will
reduce our working
age population while
placing greater
pressure on social
spending

Singapore's
economic relevance

Ageing population
takes up scarce
resources for
declining workforce

Ageing
population

Demographic and
Singapore identity

**SESSION II:
SCENARIOS OF INDONESIA, SINGAPORE, AND
INDONESIA-SINGAPORE RELATIONS IN 2040**

SESSION II: SCENARIOS OF INDONESIA, SINGAPORE, AND INDONESIA-SINGAPORE RELATIONS IN 2040

For the second session, the workshop participants were tasked to choose two out of the six aforementioned clusters identified in the first session that would significantly impact Indonesia, Singapore and Indonesia-Singapore relations in 2040. The participants were then required to pair them on a two-by-two matrix with the selected clusters of critical uncertainties as the two axes guiding their scenarios. After which, they were tasked to compose at least two scenarios based on the matrix of critical uncertainties and draw the pathways of their scenarios in the assigned flipcharts.



After providing instructions on scenario building, Dr Khong explained to the participants that critical uncertainties are factors that will cause significant impact, yet whose outcomes are immensely uncertain or unknown. Dr Khong further suggested that there are two tests of significant critical uncertainties that the participants should bear in mind. First, it must be expressed along a certain dimension; for example in the case of economic growth, it can be “high” and “low”. Second, the two expressions of critical uncertainties do not necessarily have to be interlinked consequentially. Dr Khong provided a two-by-two matrix composed of economic growth (high and low) and pollution (high and low) as factors that construct the four quadrants of the matrix as an example.

Dr Khong urged the participants to consider these three aspects when determining the interactions of the variables: (i) signals occurring in the present; (ii) key players or actors that play a major role or have profound impact in the scenarios; and (iii) possible key events affecting the future.

One participant asked whether one large cluster such as political and social

The scenario was based on a real-life situation, citing Rio de Janeiro as an example where IBM has taken over some services traditionally provided by the government. The group also noted the undesirable consequences of such conditions. The extensive usage of digital technology may prompt self-radicalisation, the unlawful dissemination of technological know-how for weapons assembly and production, and increase vulnerability towards cybercrimes and cyberattacks. The group highlighted that Indonesia is especially vulnerable to these negative implications caused by the extensive adoption of new technology since Indonesia has a high number of youth who are active internet users. The scenario was built on a present-day trend whereby the government does not have the capacity to deliver proper public services, and is inept at digital technology at the same time. Corporations, with the goal to reap monetary benefits, will usually enter these sectors.

The “Shining City” scenario, on the other hand, envisaged a circumstance whereby the adoption of new and advanced technology is accompanied by good governance. In this scenario, major ASEAN metropolises and other emerging smart cities will be connected in a network. This network will enable ASEAN countries to combat threats of digital disruption, and allow public services to be delivered to all levels of society with greater levels of transparency, precision and efficiency. This scenario was based on a number of events and trends occurring in the present, including the “Digital 5” network of leading digital governments designed to strengthen the digital economy; the Bandung Smart Cities Summit; and the ASEAN Ministerial Conference on Cybersecurity. In addition to these efforts, the scenario also incorporated digital infrastructure upgrades such as high-speed fibre optics between cities in Indonesia, as well as initiatives from non-governmental entities in the form of startups like Go-Jek. Key actors that will shape this future include leaders like Mr Ridwan Kamil (Mayor of Bandung) and Mr Tri Rismaharini (Mayor of Surabaya) who extensively use digital platforms to engage and accelerate public service delivery.

The second group was represented by Mr Choy Yong Cong, an officer of the Singapore Armed Forces. His group chose political and social stability/instability and new wave of technology as their variables. The group defined the technology variable as “augmenting/enabling technology” and “human substituting technology”, and not “high and low”, because the latter is insufficient to describe the scenario they had composed. They added that technology will continue to progress and civilisation is unlikely to revert back to adopting lower forms of technology unless under extreme circumstances.



The group composed two primary scenarios, and a third one that was an extension of the first. The first scenario envisaged a future where the rise of augmenting technologies has caused a dip in employment, but the situation swiftly recovers thanks to harmonisation, policies and efforts that support the workforce with necessary skills to adapt to disruption brought on by advanced technologies. With proper responses in place, the impact of new technologies disrupting political and social stability would be mitigated.

In an alternative to the first scenario, the group envisaged the rise of augmenting technology coupled with a lack of proper policy response. They felt that this circumstance would trigger major migration and displacement caused by unemployment and other economic-related issues, causing social instability at an unprecedented scale. The harrowing situation would be further compounded by populist leaders who take advantage of social inequalities caused by technologies to pursue political gains. The group named the first scenario “Rebound”.

The second scenario dubbed “World Peace” envisaged an optimistic outlook whereby augmenting technologies would advance political and social stability. The presence of these technologies would open new doors and allow for more inclusive societies. The group cited AirBNB as an example of augmenting technologies that do not replace people with automatons, but instead open up new economic opportunities and greater productivity.

The group commented that both scenarios are essentially rooted in present trends that include the emergence of populist leaders across the globe; Singapore’s investment in Indonesia requires manpower; the emergence of tech-digital companies such as Uber and AirBNB; augmented reality; and artificial intelligence. The group further argued that new technology and automation has caused unemployment across the globe. The key players shaping the scenario are mainly tech companies or startups, government leaders who shape policies, and the labour force. Several key events that

shaped the scenario are the emergence of populist leader elected to high positions of power, major proliferation of tech companies, backlash caused by Singapore's investment in Indonesia, and economic restructuring by equipping people with technological proficiencies.

Dr Khong briefly commented on the second group's presentation. He noted that the "Rebound" scenario was typical of an action-reaction scenario where behavioural changes or occurring events change the direction of the scenario. He commented that the second scenario is less convincing but noted that it is certainly visionary.

The third group was represented by Mrs Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo, a member of Indonesia's House of Representatives from the Great Indonesia Movement Party. They selected socio-political stability and human capital as interacting variables. The group underlined that political stability in the context of their scenario represented a stable transition of government, good and clean governance, and a robust civil society. Meanwhile, human capital would indicate the quality of education, knowledge, and social habits in order to improve the skills of the labour pool and increase economic productivity. The group composed two scenarios. The first one envisaged a scenario of high political stability but with low human capital. The second scenario on the other hand depicted high political stability which was complemented by high quality of human capital.



The first scenario, called "Trump-enisation", was based on existing trends of corrupt practices, proliferation of false or misleading information on social or conventional media, failing or problematic education systems, and a declining public interest in political engagement. The group believed that actors such as political leaders, media, and upper class elites were the group most responsible for shaping the scenario. With regard to the key events that shaped this scenario, the group envisioned the rise of Donald Trump and other populist leaders across the globe, prolonged trade agreements, disunity in multilateral agreements to tackle climate change, and China's foreign and economic policy

assertiveness. The scenario depicted that an authoritarian regime would come to power due to public apathy towards politics and economic colonisation by China.

The second scenario, called “Live Happily Ever After”, envisioned a condition of high political stability and good quality of human capital. The scenario has characteristics that include a focus on the growth of an educated middle class and social-entrepreneurs, flourishing technological innovation, and idealistic millennials who endeavour to correct the errors of their predecessors. The youths, multilateral organisations, civil societies, intellectuals, the education system, and specific to the case of Indonesia, the diaspora, play prominent roles in shaping the scenario. The group continued by discerning two possible characteristics of the second scenario. The first is that the high quality of human capital, complemented by social media and technology, will augment public participation in politics. However, the group admitted that despite the high quality of human capital, there is likelihood for a politically passive society to endure. The group also mentioned that additional trends such as lower unemployment and poverty rates, a rise in average income, and the better implementation of ASEAN Economic Community policies would transpire in this scenario. The scenario envisaged that Indonesia-Singapore relations would be mutually benefitting and dynamic at the same time.

The fourth group highlighted political-social stability, and energy and food security, as issues most likely to affect the future. Represented by Mr Jeremy Rabani, deputy director of Southeast Asia I Directorate at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Singapore, the group came up with three future scenarios that portrayed the interaction of the two variables. The first scenario, called “Peace, Progress and Prosperity”, was based on the condition of good political-social stability and high energy and food security. The scenario portrayed both Indonesia and Singapore’s food and energy supply as secure, and described the relationship between the two countries as politically and socially stable.



This scenario was driven by present trends such as the stability of the Indonesia-Singapore relationship, as indicated by close economic relations, investments, people-to-people relations, tourism, and connectivity. Specifically for Indonesia, the group projected that the government's policies on infrastructure development would positively contribute to the availability and sustainability of energy and food security. The group emphasised that actors such as political leaders, entrepreneurs, business leaders, state officials, scientists and think tanks would play a key role in the scenario. Additionally, the group envisaged the development of energy cooperation initiatives such as the Trans-ASEAN oil and gas pipeline, continuous peaceful democratic transitions, and the implementation of 2030 climate change policies and efficient energy goals to happen.

The second scenario was named "Together but Alone". This scenario portrayed a future in which food and energy security are at a robust level, but political-social stability is poor. The scenario was rooted in the rising economic inequality and slumping oil prices. Additionally, the impact of climate change on food production would cause some food supply shortages, but the issue would remain manageable. The scenario envisaged that growing nationalism in Indonesia would give rise to greater pressure for protectionist trade policies in the future.

The scenario envisaged similar actors as in "Peace, Progress and Prosperity", with the addition of civil society, social media celebrities and rural communities. Key events that would contribute driving the scenario include disruptive changes in government; relationship breakdown resulting in cessation of communication between the two states; and escalation of tension due to long-standing issues, namely the Flight Information Region and the extradition treaty and defence cooperation agreement. The scenario further envisioned that Indonesia was expected to develop its oil refining capabilities but remain unable to achieve self-sufficiency. On the other hand, Singapore would attempt to diversify its energy sources. The scenario envisioned lessening degrees of interactions and minimised interdependence between Indonesia and Singapore.

The group proposed another scenario called the "Black Swan". The scenario incorporated similar dynamics of the first scenario (i.e. political-social stability coupled with food and energy security). But unlike the first and second scenarios which considered mainly domestic factors, this scenario accounted for external factors such as drastic climate change or major conflicts in other strategic regions. It highlighted the possibility of certain conditions such as

extreme environmental degradation due to the lack of carbon emission control and the absence of political will to pursue environmentally-friendly energy policies or technology. Additionally, the group envisaged that the ongoing carnage in the Middle East would spiral out of control followed by the collapse of political stability in major oil producing Gulf countries. These harrowing circumstances, intensified by the unwillingness of the U.S. to export its recently tapped non-conventional oil and gas resources, would paralyse trade and energy production and in turn cripple trade activities. However, the group noted that these uncertainties would encourage Indonesia and Singapore to be closer.

The last group was represented by Mr Toh Boon Ngee, deputy director of the Ministry of Defence Singapore. The group selected global trade regimes and political-social stability as variables that shape their scenarios for the future of Indonesia and Singapore in 2040. The group composed three scenarios based on the possible variations of these issues and their corresponding interactions. The first scenario reflected a situation whereby political-social stability was accompanied by stronger global free trade regimes. The second reflected a scenario based on political-social instability and growing protectionism. The final scenario was based on the condition of political-social stability accompanied by the growing trend of protectionism.



The first scenario was named “Growing Together/Greater Economic Integration”. The scenario was based on the current status quo whereby Indonesia and Singapore is enjoying a high degree of political and social stability and each country’s economic policies are geared toward open markets and borderless interaction. Another trend that formed the basis of this scenario is the strong economic ties between Indonesia and Singapore — signified by investment and major joint economic ventures such as the Kendal Industrial Park which was developed by Indonesia and Singapore. Key actors that shaped the scenario were the current and upcoming political leaders of both

Indonesia and Singapore, especially those that understand the benefits of economic collaboration. In addition to political leaders, the group believed that businesses, entrepreneurs and relatively stable people-to-people relations would drive the scenario. The group continued by adding a transitional phase at the end of the scenario in which political-social stability is undermined by pressure from disenfranchised segments of the society that had not benefitted from open market and trade policies.

The second scenario, called “Constant Friction”, was essentially a continuation of the transitional phase from the first scenario. It portrayed conditions of political-social instability and growing protectionism marked by dissatisfaction towards the current regime’s economic policies and the widening gap between the haves and have nots. Key actors that shaped the outcome of the scenario include oppositions and political figures seeking political gains by appealing to populist rhetoric aimed at disenfranchised sections of the population. A number of key events that would give rise to the scenario include rising unemployment levels, pessimism towards open market and trade policies, tit-for-tat response towards economic policies such as quotas and tariffs, a widening income gap within the society, and a shift in popular support towards the opposition.

The third scenario, called “To Each Its Own”, depicted a situation where there was a degree of relative political stability but with protectionism in place. The scenario is possible if Indonesia experienced an orderly regime transition with its elites implementing populist policies and protectionism. The outcome of the scenario is that Indonesia and Singapore might drift apart as protectionism will drive economic interaction to a halt.

The group argued that these three scenarios were inherently inter-related and based on various possibilities of the given variables. The first scenario was based on a business-as-usual assumption of trends that occurred in 2016. Stable political and social conditions and the persistence of the current economic partnership were considered most likely to lead to the first scenario. If there was a sudden regime change that led to political instability (especially in Indonesia), then the second scenario would become more likely.

Dr Khong closed the session by reviewing the scenarios the participants had composed. He briefly mentioned that the exercises have yet to result in a holistic Indonesia-Singapore scenario. Having said that, he acknowledged that the groups brought forth interesting ideas with their scenarios — zooming in on the first group’s scenario which focused on technology and how it could positively and negatively affect the future. He also commended the complexity of their “Hunger Games” scenario. Dr Khong commented that the second group

had come up with an action-reaction model in their scenario planning exercise which was a typical method to form scenarios.

Dr Khong added that a number of scenarios envisioned a utopian-dystopian duality. He opined that some of these scenarios may actually be merged into a more holistic scenario that encompasses various aspects, especially scenarios that were formed by the political-social stability variable. Dr Khong further added that several scenarios such as “Together but Alone” and “Black Swan” were interesting in their own respective ways, namely because the former incorporated a dimension of critical uncertainties that other groups did not choose, while the latter provided good insight into what countries may do when faced with common adversities. Dr Khong also commended the last set of scenarios. He opined that the aspect of free trade and protectionism is critical in shaping the region and Indonesia-Singapore relations. Dr Khong ended his remarks by praising what the participants had achieved in a very limited amount of time.

**SESSION III:
INDONESIA, SINGAPORE AND
SOUTHEAST ASIA 2040**

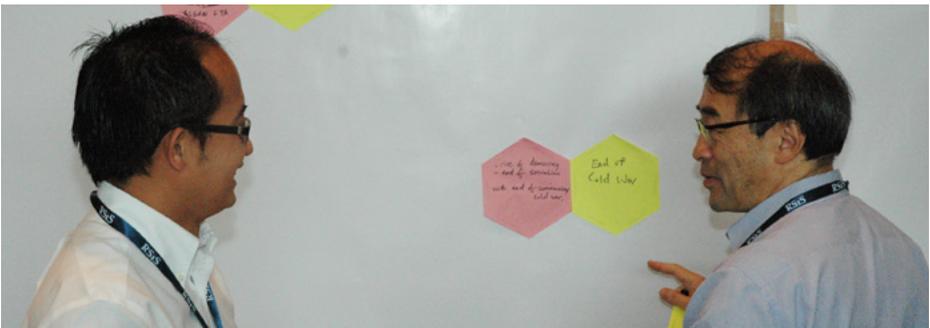
SESSION III: INDONESIA, SINGAPORE AND SOUTHEAST ASIA 2040

Day two of the Young Leaders Workshop began with both Singaporean and Indonesian participants engaging in brainstorming sessions and discussing possible scenarios that would likely emerge in Southeast Asia in the context of ASEAN. Dr Khong started the workshop by requesting participants to recall Southeast Asia twenty-five years ago in the year 1990 and observe how the nations in the region have evolved. Participants were asked to think of three trends that have emerged and shaped the Southeast Asian region since then. In a similar vein, participants were requested to look forward twenty-five years in order to determine the issues that will matter in the context of Southeast Asia in the year 2040, using the previous exercise as an example and an anchor. Participants were then given thirty minutes to discuss in their respective teams and were required to present four plausible trends that would affect the Southeast Asian region in 2040.

Presentation summary and feedback to the plenary

After thirty minutes of deliberation, each team appointed a spokesperson to present on major trends that have occurred since 1990, and what they envisage would occur in 2040.

Mr Wesley Tay of the first team spoke of the rise of free trade, democracy in Vietnam, the end of socialism, as well as the emergence of technology as trends that have changed the landscape of ASEAN since 1990. As for the future plausible trends, he highlighted environmental sustainability, regional fracturing, increased connectivity in the region, and a rise in primordial identity politics (community division or integration) as the ones to look out for.



The second team was represented by Mr James Ong who mentioned the Asian financial crisis, increase in terrorism, and rise of China as the top three

trends to have occurred since 1990. In terms of the four significant trends in 2040, the team anticipated that environmental disasters, regional fracturing and strengthening, terrorism, and protectionism (global trade regime) would be high on the list.



Mr Iman of the third team observed that the big wave of globalisation, the end of the Cold War, improvement of human dialogue, and modernisation (developmentalism) were the biggest trends that have occurred since 1990. On the other hand, the rise of civil society, the China-U.S. rivalry, climate change, technology, and connectivity were amongst the major trends for the region in 2040.



Dr Vishnu Juwono represented the fourth team and mentioned that the end of Cold War with ASEAN expansion, globalisation, and the Asian financial crisis were the major trends to affect the region since 1990. By 2040, the top four trends will be ASEAN integration, climate change, human trafficking, and the rise of China.



Mr Cai Dexian of the fifth team noted that globalisation, democratisation, and the rise of religious fundamentalism are the top issues that have dominated the region since 1990. Technology, the rise of intolerance (community division), deglobalisation, and protectionism will be the major trends by 2040.



As some of these trends overlapped one another, Dr Khong was quick to group them into similar groups under a general heading. He also did this with another purpose in mind — to build scenarios with these trends vis-à-vis the use of stories, analogies and narratives as well as titles and visual images. Dr Khong also tasked the participants to group these trends based on two categories: the degree of uncertainty that the issue causes, and the impact that it generates. The aim of this exercise was for the participants to better articulate and communicate these trends to others. The major headings encapsulating these trends were “China and U.S.,” “global trade,” “environment” and “technology”. In the post-lunch discussion, participants in their respective groups were given thirty minutes to discuss optimistic or pessimistic narratives derived from the earlier clustering of trends.

China and U.S.

Romance of the three kingdoms

The “Three Kingdoms” herein refers to China, U.S. and the ASEAN region. As the influence and reach of U.S. remains strong in Southeast Asia, there is a healthy balance of power. ASEAN continues to stay united by practicing effective open seas and air space policies. With economic integration going well in ASEAN, small nations can stand to benefit too. There is also a peaceful resolution to security challenges coupled with a multinational cooperation in trade and economics.



Black hawk down

This pessimistic narrative depicts the complete withdrawal of U.S. from the region of Southeast Asia. With the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) failing to materialise and U.S. troops withdrawing from Japan and South Korea, China fills the void by default. This leads to a divergence in trade and policy. As a result of U.S. withdrawal and rising uncertainties on U.S. security guarantee to its East Asian allies, Japan and South Korea militarises with both becoming nuclear powerhouses in order to defend themselves. ASEAN on the hand suffers disunity and fractures while China intervenes with the domestic politics of ASEAN nations. There will be more uncertainty in the South China Sea if a trade war erupts between U.S. and China.

Global trade

Spider web

“Spider web” refers to a network of trade pacts. Due to the strengthening of global trade, China sees an opening through the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership. In 2022, U.S. ratifies the TPP which boosts trade in the region, allowing ASEAN goods and services to have global reach. More nations start opening up to investments from abroad. By the mid 2030s, a new free trade region will be created in the Asia Pacific.



Great wall of ASEAN

This scenario envisions that there will be an inertia of global agreements which leads to a smattering of bilateral agreements. As a result of minimal initiative at an international level, ASEAN will look inward to strengthen the ASEAN Economic Community as the only viable alternative for multilateral trade. The scenario also envisioned a resurgence of global protectionism.

Environment

Love boat

Much like the World Health Organization, an international governing body overseeing climate change will emerge. Nations will seek to sign the legally-binding CFC-free treaty. Southeast Asia will face low growth (two to three percent) as a result of these developments. In addition, there will be a growing green agenda and a carbon tax regime. There will also be a greater use of alternative energies with a higher consumption of energy in general. ASEAN will stay relevant as long as it embraces the trend.



Titanic

There will be a rise in climate change denials. This is followed up with a continued high dependency on fossil fuels and coal. This would result in a high economic growth of about five to seven percent as there is no climate agreement. There will also be a rise in climate refugees. In turn, ASEAN

Technology

Dystopia

The digital economy will rise along with increasing automation. However, the new industrial parks will not be managed by humans, leading to high unemployment rates. All nations will attempt to bypass the industrial stage to a post-industrial one, creating a society where rapid urbanisation divides the population based on socioeconomic status. As agriculture also becomes more automated, there will be increased identity divisions between the urban and rural population as the population in rural areas is affected by extreme unemployment levels. With the growth of cities, the role of mayors becomes increasingly important. There will also be a decentralisation of population within a nation. With increasing Chinese investments in Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar, Mainland Southeast Asia will start to break away from Maritime Southeast Asia.



Star wars

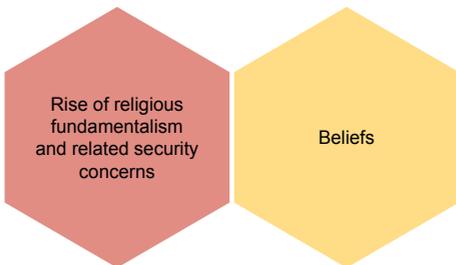
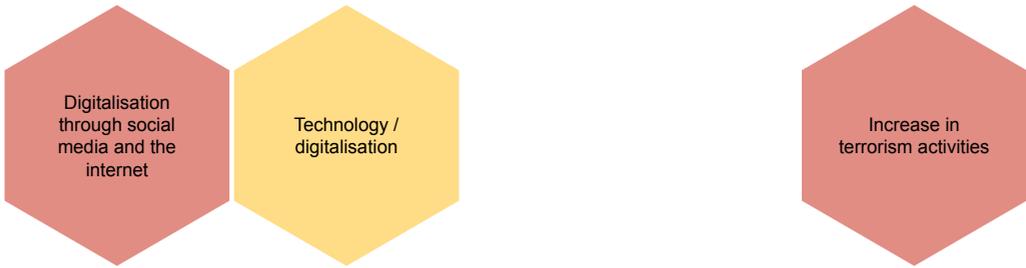
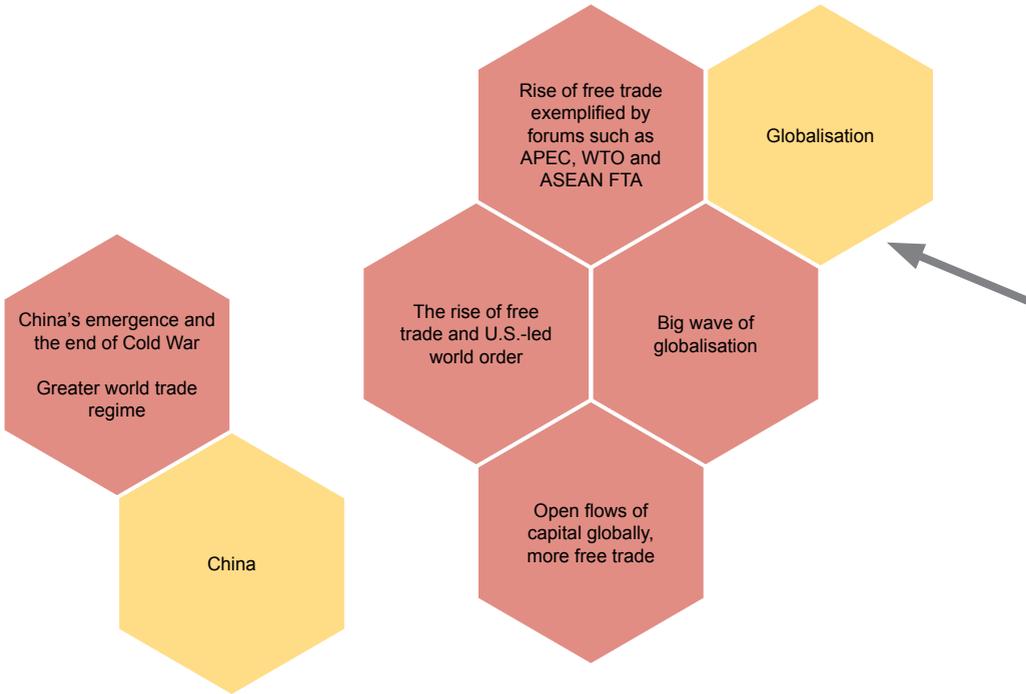
Growing technology will revolutionise the commercial industry. As such, there will be an influx of jobs. However, there is unpreparedness for these new kinds of jobs. Top technology companies with expertise particularly in the areas of education and healthcare will also make their way into ASEAN.

Rise of the empire

Conflict will emerge between the haves and have nots. Increasing unequal development leads to political contestation, resulting in a rise of populist leaders with short-term policies. There will be a loss of jobs and a stagnant minimum wage, giving rise to by inflation.

Return of the force

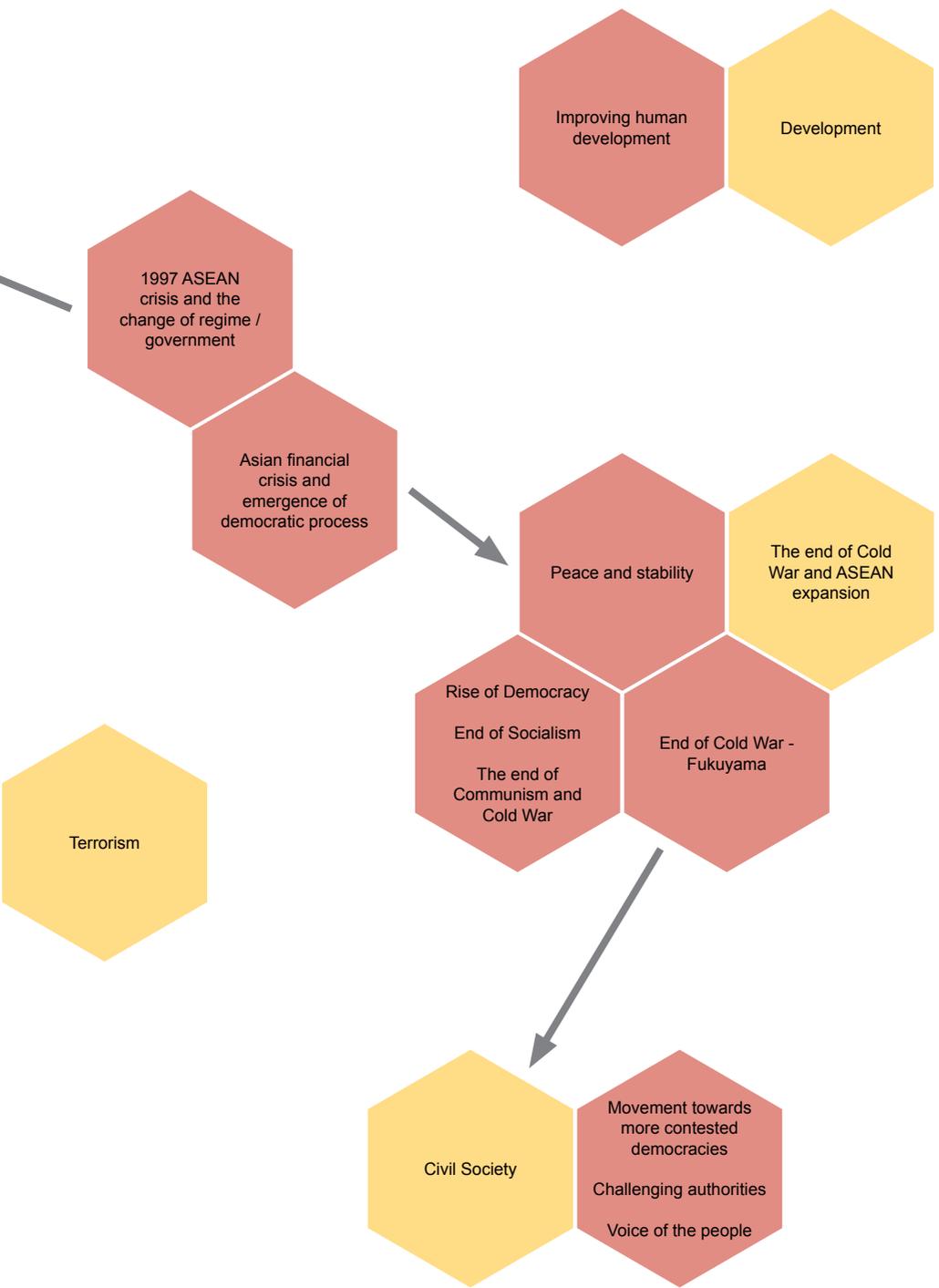
There will be a restructuring of the education system with a focus on science, technology, engineering and mathematics. This leads to the creation of new jobs with new technology. Simultaneously, there will be a rise in cyberwarfare.

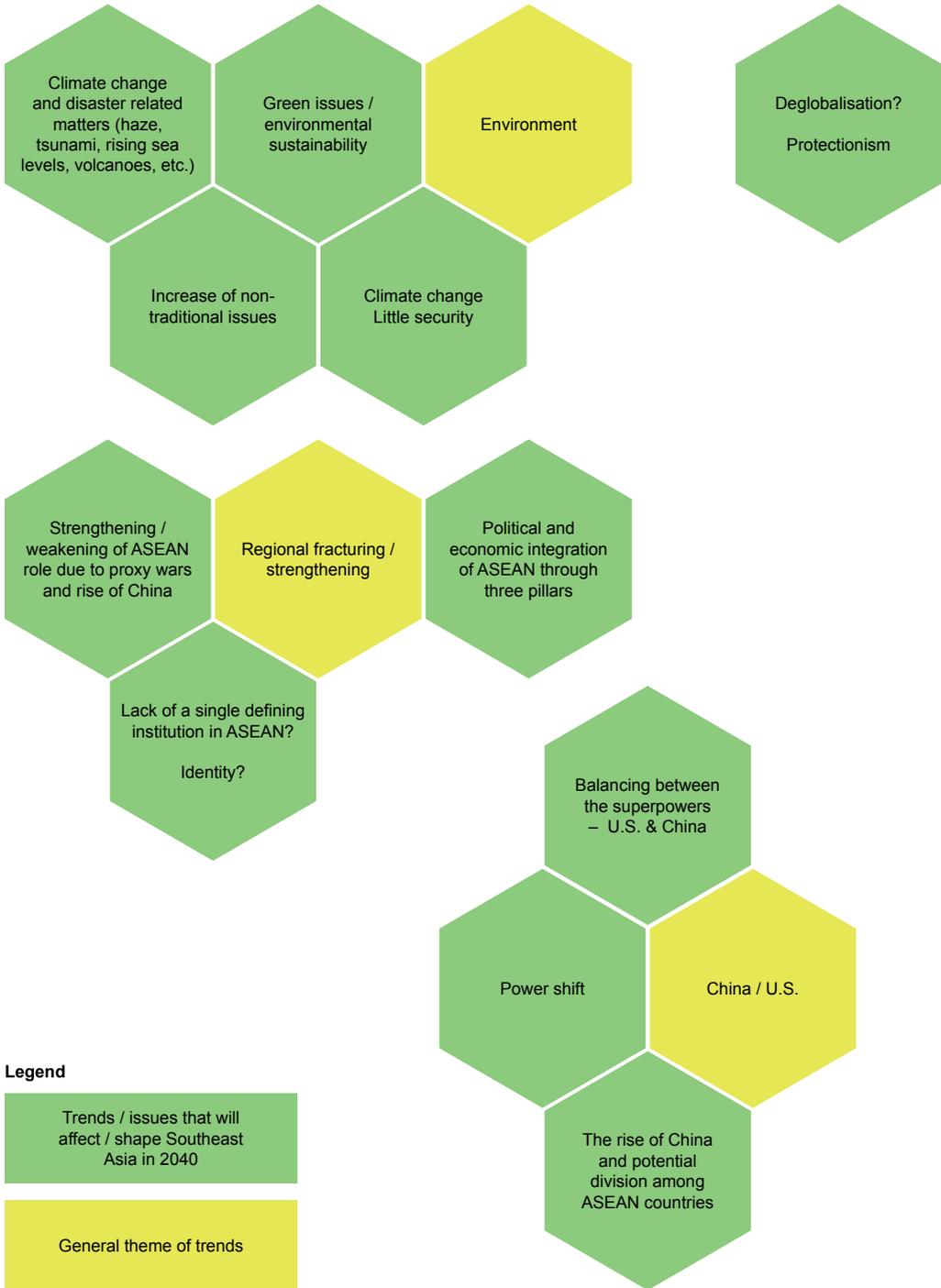


Legend

Trends / issues that affected / shaped Southeast Asia in the 1990s

General theme of trends





Global Trade
Regime

China's emergence and
the end of Cold War

Greater world trade
regime

The rise of civil
society

Rise of non-state
actors [polarisation]

Greater / lesser /
cheaper connectivity
across the region

Technology /
economic
connectivity

Technology –
driven economic
disruption

Technology and
connectivity

Community division /
integration

Rise in intolerance,
sectarianism and
nationalism

Transnational
terrorism

Rise of primordial /
identity politics

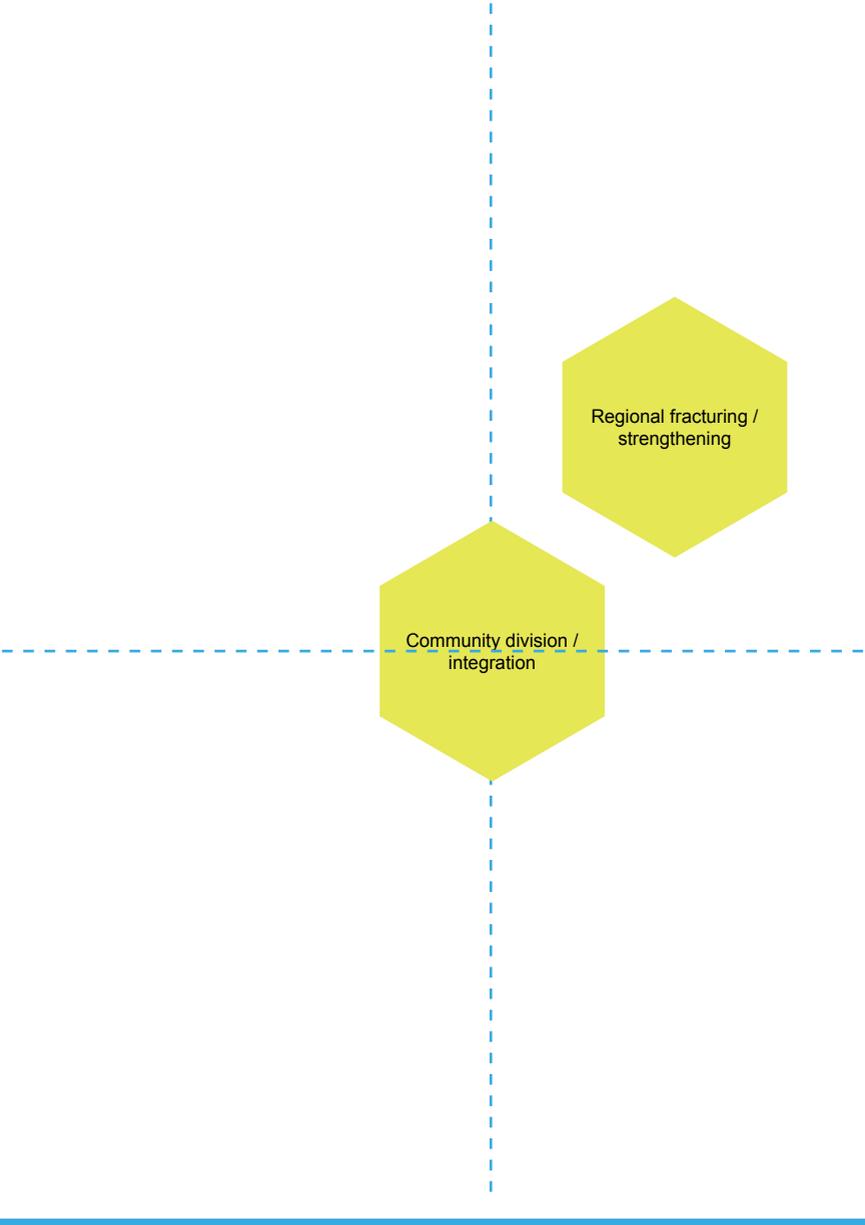
Security issues (human
trafficking, terrorism,
radicalisation and
transnational crimes)

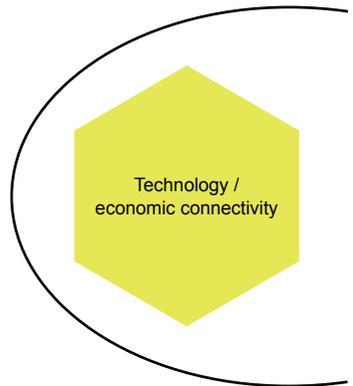
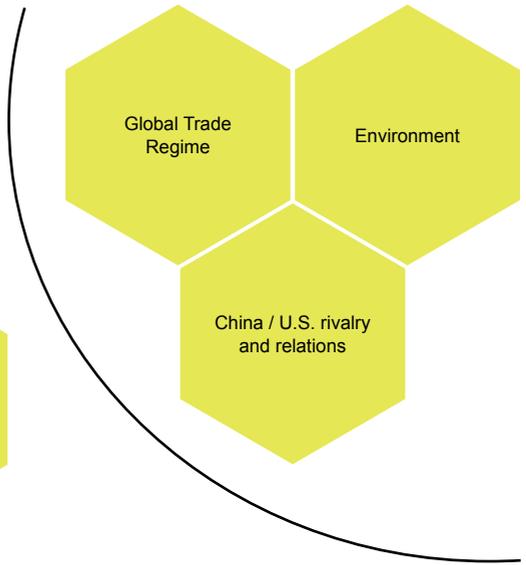
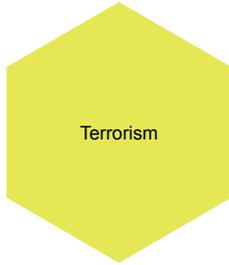
Terrorism

UNCERTAINTY

INEVITABLE

IMPACT





CONCLUDING REMARKS

Dr Khong, in his concluding remarks, stated that the process of building scenarios is just as important as the resulting scenarios because it allows each participant's ideas to be heard during discussions. These ideas, diverse as they are, offer a potentially fresh perspective on how the future would develop, and contribute to the production of quality scenarios. Dr Khong closed the exercise by once again praising the participants for developing detailed scenarios in such a short period of time.

The workshop was brought to a close by Associate Professor Leonard Sebastian who thanked the participants for making the time to participate in the scenario planning exercises. He told the participants how he hoped for the workshop to serve as a forum or conduit for the next-generation leaders of Singapore and Indonesia to get acquainted with one another. He concluded that initiatives like this workshop aimed to forge a better understanding between the two countries and also celebrate the bonds and challenges that Indonesia and Singapore share.



PARTICIPANTS

Workshop Leader

Dr Khong Cho-Oon

Chief Political Analyst

The Global Business Environment Team Shell International

Adviser

Dr Anggito Abimanyu

Chief Political Economist

PT. Bank Rakyat Indonesia Tbk (BRI)

Indonesian Participants

1. Dr Ahmad Najib Burhani

Researcher

The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI)

2. Ainun Najib

Head of Data

TRAVELOKA

3. Col (Inf) Bambang Trisnohadi

Personal Assistant

The Indonesian Army Chief of Staff

4. Burhanuddin Muhtadi

Executive Director

Indikator Politik Indonesia

5. Dimas Oky Nugroho

Deputy Assistant

Deputy IV Presidential Staff Office 2015

6. Dr Dinna Wisnu

Director of Graduate Studies

Universitas Paramadina

7. Col (Inf) Djon Afriandi

Operational Assistant of the Commander

Indonesian Army Special Operation

Command (KOPASSUS)

8. Eddy Soeparno

Secretary General

National Mandate Party (PAN)

9. Isyana Bagoes Oka

Chairman, Central Board of Leadership

Solidarity Party of Indonesia (PSI)

10. Lalola Easter Kaban

Legal Researcher

Indonesia Corruption Watch

11. Melvany Kasih

Expert Staff on Business

Office of the Governor of DKI Jakarta

12. Muhamad Iman Usman

Co-Founder & CEO

Ruangguru.com

13. Muhamad Wafa Taftazani

Manager for Business Development

Shopee Indonesia

14. Muhammad Romahurmuziy

Member of Commission III (Law and

Legislation, Human Rights, and

Security Affairs)

Indonesia House of Representatives

(DPR RI)

15. Dr Philips J. Vermonte

Executive Director

Centre for Strategic and International

Studies Indonesia

16. Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo

Member of Commission VIII (Religion,

Social, and Women Empowerment)

Indonesia House of Representatives

(DPR RI)

17. Dr Vishnu Juwono

Lecturer at Faculty of Administrative

Science

Universitas Indonesia

Singaporean Participants

- 1. Allen Tan**
Senior Director (Project Management)
PT. Keppel Land (Indonesia)
- 2. LTC Cai Dexian**
Deputy Director of Personnel Policy
Ministry of Defence Singapore
- 3. LTC Choy Yong Cong**
Commanding Officer of 2nd Battalion
Singapore Infantry Regiment
- 4. Chua Chi Boon**
Head, Business Development and Asset
Management Southeast Asia and Australia
The Ascott Limited
- 5. Daniel Seet**
Director of Crisis Preparedness
Ministry of Home Affairs Singapore
- 6. Desmond Choo**
Member of Parliament
Tampines GRC
- 7. Gary Ng**
Managing Director (Private Equity)
CLSA Capital Partners
- 8. James Ong**
Head of Corporate Finance
YCH Group
- 9. Jeremy Rabani**
Deputy Director for Southeast Asia I
Directorate (Indonesia)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Singapore
- 10. Juliana Binte Mohamed Rasid**
Vice President
OCBC Bank
- 11. Kenneth Chua**
Vice President
ST Asset Management
- 12. Kenneth Sim**
Divisional Director
International Enterprise (IE) Singapore
- 13. Law Heng Dean**
Director of Sustainability &
Stewardship Group
Temasek International
- 14. Lee Chor Pharn**
Deputy Director
Ministry of Trade and Industry Singapore
- 15. Max Jian Wei Lim**
Senior Vice President
Institutional Banking Group
DBS Bank
- 16. Oeij Ek Siang**
Deputy Director
Ministry of Trade and Industry Singapore
- 17. Sarah Pang**
Associate Director
Temasek International
- 18. Syed Zakir Hussain**
Deputy News Editor (Politics)
The Straits Times
- 19. Toh Boon Ngee**
Deputy Director
Ministry of Defence Singapore
- 20. Wesley Tay**
Southeast Asia Centre Director
Singapore Economic Development Board
- 21. Vikram Nair**
Member of Parliament
Sembawang GRC

About the Temasek Foundation Connects

The Temasek Foundation Connects is a Singapore-based non-profit philanthropic organisation that funds and supports programmes which seek to build bridges and partnerships, and promote dialogue and mutual understanding across international communities and markets.

Established in 2016, the foundation's programmes promote dialogue and advance collective knowledge and mutual understanding in key areas that are important to Singapore and on a global front. These include various issues such as security, geopolitics and economic imperatives of emerging markets, as well as best practices in areas such as corporate governance and stewardship. The foundation provides oversight to two endowments – the S. Rajaratnam Endowment and the Hon Sui Sen Endowment.

About the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies

The **Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS)** is a key research component of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). It focuses on defence and security research to serve national needs. IDSS faculty and research staff conducts both academic and policy-oriented research on security-related issues and developments affecting Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific. IDSS is divided into three research clusters: (i) The Asia Pacific cluster – comprising the China, South Asia, United States, and Regional Security Architecture programmes; (ii) The Malay Archipelago cluster — comprising the Indonesia and Malaysia programmes; and (iii) The Military and Security cluster — comprising the Military Transformations, Maritime Security, and Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) programmes. Finally, the Military Studies Programme, the wing that provides military education, is also a part of IDSS.

For more information, please visit www.rsis.edu.sg/research/idss.

About the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

The **S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)** is a professional graduate school of international affairs at the Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. RSIS' mission is to develop a community of scholars and policy analysts at the forefront of security studies and international affairs. Its core functions are research, graduate education and networking. It produces cutting-edge research on Asia Pacific Security, Multilateralism and Regionalism, Conflict Studies, Non-Traditional Security, International Political Economy, and Country and Region Studies. RSIS' activities are aimed at assisting policymakers to develop comprehensive approaches to strategic thinking on issues related to security and stability in the Asia Pacific.

For more information, please visit www.rsis.edu.sg.



S. RAJARATNAM
SCHOOL OF
INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES

Nanyang Technological University

Block S4, Level B3, 50 Nanyang Avenue, Singapore 639798

Tel: +65 6790 6982 | Fax: +65 6794 0617 | www.rsis.edu.sg