

INDONESIA–SINGAPORE YOUNG LEADERS SCENARIO PLANNING WORKSHOP

Event Report

7–9 NOVEMBER 2018

RSiS

S. RAJARATNAM
SCHOOL OF
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Nanyang Technological University, Singapore



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SINGAPORE

Event Report

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

**7–9 November 2018
Sofitel Sentosa Singapore**

Organised by:

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

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INTRODUCTION

On 7–9 November 2018, the Indonesia Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, in partnership with the Temasek Foundation, organised the “Indonesia-Singapore Young Leaders Scenario Planning Workshop” for next generation Indonesian and Singaporean leaders in their respective fields. The capacity-building workshop sought to bring together these leaders to envision how the two countries, their bilateral relations, as well as the Southeast Asian region in general, would evolve in the next two decades. The workshop provided an opportunity for these leaders to engage with their fellow countrymen and foreign counterparts, as well as leverage their varied expertise and perspectives to derive fresh insights into the future. It is hoped that the workshop had deepened the relationships between the new leadership cohorts of both countries, thereby enhancing mutual understanding and bilateral cooperation.

The closed-door workshop was facilitated by Dr Khong Cho-Oon, Chief Political Analyst at the Global Business Environment Team at Shell International and author of *The Politics of Oil in Indonesia: Foreign Company-Host Government Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 2011). Mr Faisal Basri, a faculty member at the University of Indonesia who specialises in political economics, and Mr Yahya Cholil Staquf, General Secretary to the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Supreme Council, were invited to address the workshop on the first and second days, respectively. The 21 Indonesian and 26 Singaporean young leaders who participated in the workshop came from various organisations, namely, their respective national parliaments, major political parties, businesses, armed forces, and academia.

The workshop was divided into four sessions conducted over a period of two days. The first session identified trends and issues that could shape the two societies in the year 2040. The second session focused on developing scenarios built on the trends and issues identified in the first session. Throughout the second session, participants demonstrated their common concerns over diverse themes such as technology, education, politics and social stability that were likely to reshape their respective societies. For the third session, each group identified five key aspects that matter for Indonesia-Singapore relations and brainstormed two “black-swan” events as well as the conditions under which such events might occur. The final session focused on developing scenarios for the future of Indonesia-Singapore relations in 2040 by looking at the various ways that two among the five key issue clusters identified in the previous session might interact with one another.

WORKSHOP BACKGROUND

Two similar workshops titled “The Future of Indonesia Beyond 2014: Prospects and Challenges” and “Indonesia-Singapore Young Leaders Scenario Planning Workshop” were held in 2008 and in 2016 respectively. They were intended to offer an avenue for Indonesia’s future leaders to envision a better future for Indonesia. For the 2008 workshop, world renowned futurist Professor Sohail Inayatullah, a political scientist associated with the Graduate Institute for Future Studies, Tamkang University (Taiwan), and Prout College, led participants through the future studies workshop. In 2016, the workshop was led by Dr Khong Cho-Oon, Chief Political Analyst at the Global Business Environment Team at Shell International. The workshop participants were 18 young Indonesian leaders in 2008 and 17 in 2016, They were selected from Indonesia’s national parliament, major political parties, universities, research institutions as well as representatives from major civil society groups and the media.

Both workshops began by providing the participants with a brief conceptual overview of futures thinking and its framework. The following sessions then saw participants engaging critically and employing the framework to come up with their respective futures. They then had the opportunity to engage with one another through various group discussions, enabling them to exchange ideas on how to build a better Indonesia. At the end of the workshop, participants jointly reflected on the various future studies methods they had learnt and hoped to bring back to Indonesia and their respective institutions.

Notable participants who benefitted from the two workshops include **Dr Anies Baswedan, Dr Yuddy Chrisnandi, Mr Andi Widjajanto, Dr Bima Arya Sugiarto, Dr Dinna Wisnu, and Ms Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo**. Some of these participants have gone on to hold important positions in the Joko Widodo (Jokowi) administration and non-governmental organisations. Dr Anies Baswedan, previously rector of Paramadina University in Jakarta, became Minister of Culture and Primary & Secondary Education and is currently Governor of Jakarta, while Dr Yuddy Chrisnandi became Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform and was subsequently assigned to serve as the Indonesian ambassador to Ukraine. Mr Andi Widjajanto was President Jokowi’s Cabinet Secretary, while Dr Bima Arya Sugiarto became Mayor of Bogor and is currently serving his second term. Female participants such as Dr Dinna Wisnu and Ms Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo have

also risen to prominent positions. The former was appointed as the Indonesian representative to the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission of Human Rights (AICHR) while the latter served as a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI).

These workshops not only provided a platform for potential young Indonesian leaders to apply strategic thinking and develop new policy solutions but also formed the basis for actual policy-making as these young leaders took up leadership positions.

WELCOME REMARKS BY RSIS EXECUTIVE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN



In his welcome address, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, highlighted the importance that Singapore attached to maintaining strong ties with Indonesia. Recounting his five-year long experience in Jakarta when he served as Secretary-General of ASEAN, Amb Ong said his stay had given him the opportunity to

witness at first hand Indonesia's diversity and the way its economy and politics functioned. He emphasised that there was a need for Indonesia and Singapore to strengthen their bilateral cooperation and work towards a better future for ASEAN and its member countries. He expressed his belief that stronger Indonesia-Singapore ties are essential in an increasingly uncertain world, in light of the US-China rivalry and trade war, as well as the presence of other major and middle powers in Asia, such as Japan, South Korea and Russia. He noted that both countries are witnessing change and development, such as the booming of start-up businesses, and expressed his interest in seeing such positive trends continue. Concluding his address, Amb Ong said he hoped that through the workshop the participants would find many commonalities between Singaporeans and Indonesians. He also acknowledged the generosity of Temasek Foundation in supporting the event.

SESSION I: INTRODUCTION TO SCENARIOS

Introduction to Scenario Planning

The facilitator of the scenario planning workshop, Dr Khong Cho-Oon, opened the first session by explaining that scenarios are not predictions — rather, they are projections shaped by the perspective of the present and include elements of how to deal with unexpected events. He delivered a brief history of scenario planning, which was first initiated by Herman Kahn of the RAND Corporation, who conducted scenario-planning exercises on nuclear strategy during the Cold War. Since then, scenario planning has been adapted to other fields, including the business sector.



Dr Khong highlighted four key features of good scenario planning: (i) scenarios must be plausible enough for an average person to identify with; (ii) scenarios should be recognisable, based on real world trends and tendencies; (iii) scenarios should have logical paths; and (iv) scenarios should challenge the continuity and assumptions of

the present. According to him, each scenario has to be a mix of good and bad events, and that in developing such scenarios planners should look back to relevant events in the past, while watching out for biases. A scenario planning exercise should also account for how societal changes in norms, values and approaches can translate into real-world consequences. For instance, the 1973 oil crisis shaped the future, particularly in terms of political and economic implications.



A participant noted that there are usually discrepancies between values espoused by a society and the reality on the ground, and queried how the gap might be bridged and accommodated in a scenario. Dr Khong responded that in scenario planning, one must keep an open mind in understanding the environment. If there is a gap between values and realities on

the ground, a scenario planner could try to understand why that is the case, and ponder which trend is more likely to prevail in the future. The last question raised revolved around the importance of the past in scenario planning. Dr Khong responded by quoting a maxim which stated that while the future is never similar to the past, past and future do rhyme. He stated that while history will not repeat itself in an exact same way, it is important to take account of lessons from the past.

First Scenario Planning Exercise

Following the introductory briefing, the participants were divided into six groups to identify key concerns and trends in Singapore and Indonesia in



order to plan scenarios depicting the future relationship between the two countries in 2040. The groups were instructed to use different, colour-coded hexagonal papers to identify distinctive issues that will affect Indonesia, and Singapore as well as issues that will influence the relationship between the two countries. (See pages 7–8 for the issues highlighted by the six groups).

Presentation Summary and Feedback to the Plenary

Dr Irene, a spokesperson for Indonesia’s Gerindra Party, was the first group representative who presented her group’s discussions. Her group identified population explosion as one of the key potential issues in Indonesia. In their view, the scenario could be negative if the expansion in population is not accompanied by adequate healthcare and education systems. Furthermore, the group noted that food security could be an issue if population growth is not matched by a growth in food production. On the Singapore side, the group expressed concern over the onset of a rapidly aging population. Economic sustainability could be threatened with this trend, which could also lead to unwanted tensions. Lastly, the group floated the possibility of two “black swan” events, i.e., events that are beyond the realm of expectation and that have high impact. For Indonesia, environmental destruction could take place as a result of over-consumption. For Singapore, the group pondered the possibility of Singapore being absorbed by another state.

Next, Bevin Desker, Associate Director of Temasek International, presented his group's discussion. The group identified disintegration and a decline in national unity as a possible scenario in Indonesia. According to the group, radicalism — including religious extremism — will continue to grow and divide society. The participants also highlighted food security as a destabilising factor. The group noted that increased tensions in the South China Sea could bring into focus border and territorial issues between Indonesia and its neighbours. As for Singapore, the group pointed out that social inequality and immigration issues will continue to be of concern. They also argued that regional military conflict stemming from territorial disputes should not be discounted.



The third group was represented by Kelvin Zee, Deputy Director of Singapore's Ministry of Home Affairs. The group noted that the lack of transparency and the activities of narrow interest lobby groups in Indonesia could lead to the fruits of economic growth being poorly distributed, along with infrastructural neglect and poor connectivity. The group also noted the rise of religious conservatism

as a factor that could hamper Indonesia's developmentalist ambitions. In the case for Singapore, the group flagged technocracy and an aging population as potential issues. On "black swan" events, the group considered the likelihood of a change in the governing system taking place in Indonesia or Singapore, for instance, a switch to a theocratic system.



The fourth presentation was delivered by Panji W. Ruky, Vice President for Public Policy and Regulatory Affairs at Indonesia's Go-Jek. Echoing the previous groups, his group noted that Indonesia could face a demographic nightmare if the population continued to grow without significant economic development. The group also pointed out that poor public services could hamper economic development. The

participants flagged environmental degradation, both caused by natural and

man-made factors, as a factor that could derail Indonesia's future. On the Singapore side, the participants noted that economic inequality could be a potential issue. The group also noted the uncertainty over the role of technology. As advanced technologies and artificial intelligence develop, they could cause disruptions to society, for example, artificial intelligence could replace human labour in a big way.



The next group summary was presented by Lim Teng Leng, who noted that Singapore may struggle to maintain its relevance in the region owing to societal and technological change. For instance, with advances in aircraft fuel efficiency, Singapore's role as Asia's leading transit hub could be eroded. For Indonesia, the group highlighted that the country could face issues related to corruption in government

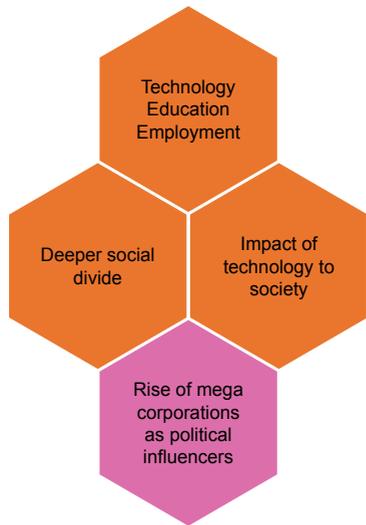
institutions, poverty, social inequality and radicalisation. The group also noted that the environment could be a source of concern owing to unsustainable business practices, such as in the palm oil business. On external factors, the group identified rising tensions between the United States and China as a trend that could upset the balance in the region and have serious implications for both Indonesia and Singapore.



The last group was represented by Suresh Sukumar, a Deputy Director in Singapore's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The group identified xenophobia and impacts of climate change as potential concerns in Singapore. On Indonesia, the participants pointed out that problems could arise from an aging population as Indonesians in general tend not to have sufficient

savings. They also highlighted that technological innovations both in Singapore and Indonesia will create winners and losers. The group agreed with the other groups that a military conflict could take place in the region. Change could also arise from a gradual shift in power and authority from the government to major multinational corporations such as Google.

TECHNOLOGY AND EDUCATION



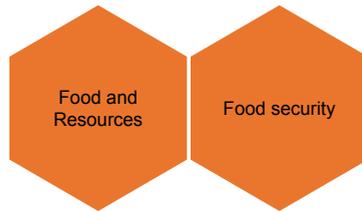
HEALTH



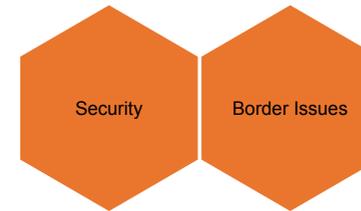
SOCIAL UNITY/ COHESIVENESS



FOOD

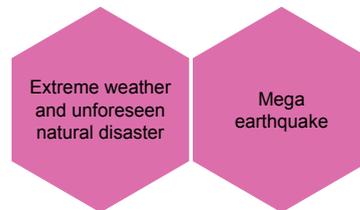


REGIONAL SECURITY

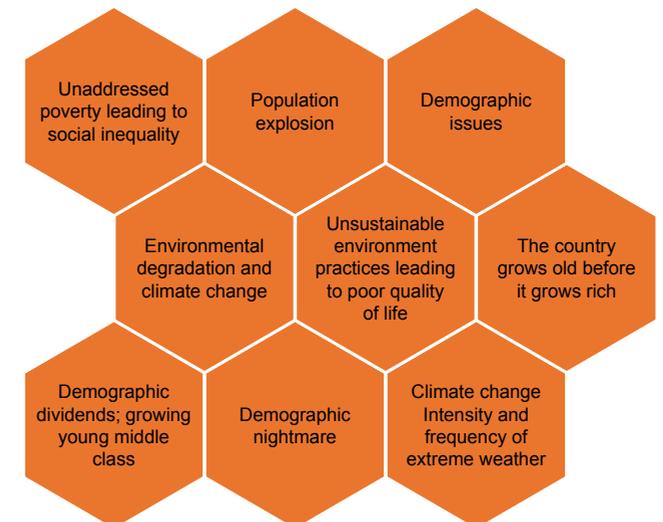


POLITICAL CHANGE

NATURAL DISASTER



DEMOGRAPHY / ENVIRONMENT



Legend

Issues affecting the future of Indonesia-Singapore relations

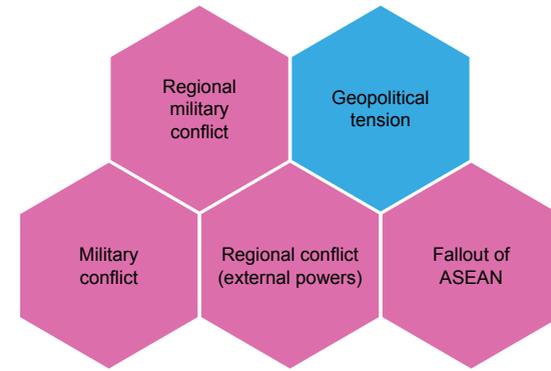
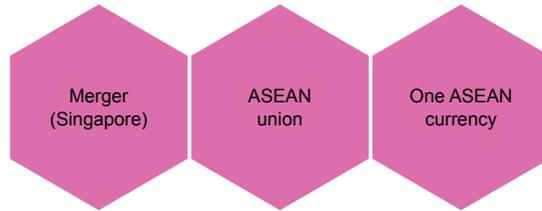
Issues affecting the future of Indonesia

Issues affecting the future of Singapore

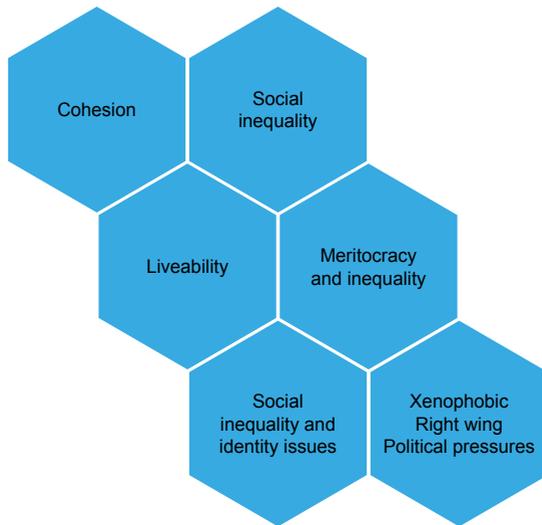
SIZE



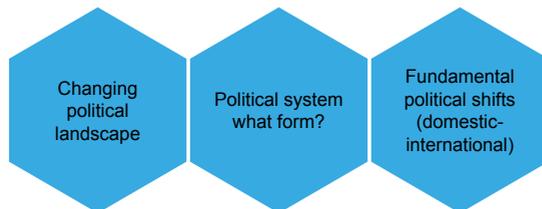
ASEAN AND THE REGION



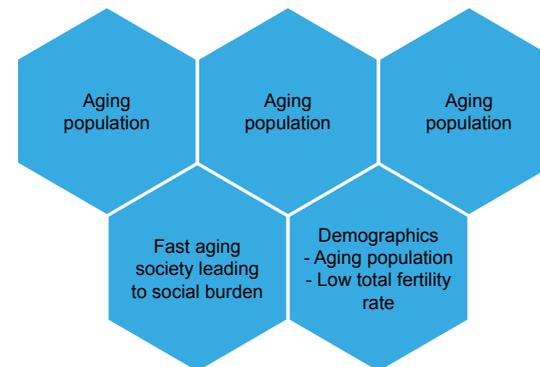
REGIONAL CONFLICT



POLITICAL CHANGE



CLIMATE



GEOPOLITICS



SESSION II: INDONESIA AND SINGAPORE IN 2040

Address by Dr Faisal Basri



The afternoon session kicked off with a lunchtime keynote lecture by Dr Faisal Basri, a faculty member at University of Indonesia specialising in political economy and a member of the Komisi Pengawas Persaingan Usaha (KPPU), Indonesia's competition regulatory outfit. In his lecture titled "Indonesia Now and Readiness towards 2030-45", Dr Basri expressed scepticism about presidential contender Prabowo

Subianto's prediction that Indonesia would break up in 2030. This, he noted, was because Indonesia's ranking on the Fragile States Index had improved from 32 more than a decade ago to 94 (the higher the score the lower the fragility). Indonesia's fragility score is lower than better that of Somalia, the benchmark for the most fragile country in the world.

Dr Basri then commented on President Jokowi's yearning for recognition by boosting Indonesia's image and its economy through the promotion of the Global Maritime Fulcrum. He noted that, Indonesia, in fact, is currently the fifth largest contributor to the global GDP and that it will hold that position until 2030 and could improve its position to second rank by 2050. Yet, Dr Basri stressed, all these numbers are not as significant as they seem; considering that Indonesia has a huge population, its role in the global economy is not as significant as it should be.

Dr Basri estimated that Indonesia would require 20–40 years to attain high-income status and avoid the middle-income trap. Even though Indonesia and Singapore started at almost the same level of Gross National Income (GNI) per capita, Singapore reached its high-income level some 20 years ago and has performed significantly better than Indonesia. A study done by the Institute for Development of Economics and Finance for the German foundation Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung found that to transit into high-income economy status Indonesia would need to have approximately 9 per cent annual GDP growth for the next 10 years.

Dr Basri argued that an economic slowdown is less likely in countries where the population has a relatively high level of secondary and tertiary education. Indonesia currently ranks 87th among 157 countries in terms of the Human Capital Index. It is the lowest ranked country among the original ASEAN Six. He felt that Indonesia should upgrade its education and human resources. He lamented in this context that Indonesian students' performance in mathematics, science, and reading subjects was less than stellar. He also noted that Indonesia faces a shortage of scientists and engineers and spends less than 1 per cent of its GDP on research and development.

Concluding his lecture, Dr Basri noted that Indonesia is the only country whose openness is declining in terms of export-import activities. He felt Indonesia could be more globally competitive. He also highlighted that xenophobia and the inability to compete have constrained Indonesia's economic development. If Indonesia did not adapt to the dynamics of the global economy, it might eventually lose its relevance to its competitors, he warned.

Scenario Building of Indonesia and Singapore in 2040

Dr Khong introduced participants to the drivers and forces of change that could shape scenario building and planning. He discussed several of these key drivers such as technology and education, regional conflict, and political change,. He argued that a driver of change must not only be seen from present trends but should also account for the underlying forces that could emerge to shape the future environment. Dr Khong also emphasised the necessity of identifying critical uncertainties that could provide a glimpse into alternative pathways for Indonesia's and Singapore's development till 2040.

Dr Khong introduced participants to the technique of using a 2x2 matrix to generate four different scenarios based on the interplay between two selected critical uncertainties. He explained that the multiple different ways each of these uncertain issues played out and interacted with one another could lead



to many conceivable scenarios. To illustrate the technique, he picked the tradeoffs between pollution and economic growth, which could lead to a country experiencing rapid economic growth but high levels of pollution, or, conceivably, rapid but also sustainable economic growth.

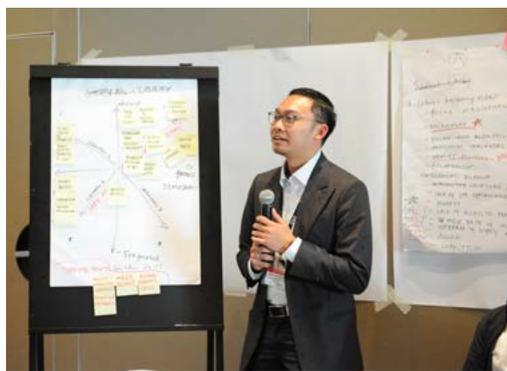
Participants then divided themselves into four groups, two focusing on

Indonesia and the other two on Singapore. They were instructed to brainstorm in their respective groups to identify the key signals and trends most likely to shape each country's development. They would then have to project into the next two years before planning a scenario up to 2040. Dr Khong suggested social cohesion, economic competitiveness, and demographic changes as the three most significant issues to be considered for Singapore, and for Indonesia, social unity and cohesion, demography and environment, and technology and education.

Presentation Summary and Feedback to the Plenary

A) Indonesia

Pandu Utama Manggala represented the first group that was focused on Indonesia. The group applied a framework looking at how Indonesia might develop in the next 100 years. They highlighted social unity and demography as two issues that will be of importance to Indonesia's future development. Social unity can be cohesive or fragmented, and demography can be a bonus or disaster. The interplay of these two issues will determine the future of Indonesia — that of a “Dark Age” or a “Golden Age”.



The group highlighted religious exclusivism as the most significant factor leading to the rise of intolerance, identity politics, and polarisation of society. Other factors include increasing socio-economic disparities, lack of job opportunities, poverty, and the lack of access to healthcare. If not checked, these problems may pull Indonesian society apart and bring about a

“Dark Age”. On the flip side, positive trends such as a growing middle class and the budding creativity of millennials more literate in technology offer the promise of a more prosperous society. The Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah movements, with Pancasila as the unifying ideology, can continue serving as pillars of the Indonesian nation. Democratic values encourage society to get involved in electoral process and elections. This group believed that Indonesia could encounter a “Golden Age” if all these positive trends are preserved. But the group, highlighted that this situation could potentially be disrupted by uncertainties such as a global economic crisis and the geopolitical competition in the South China Sea.



The second group focused on Indonesia, represented by Panji Winanteya Ruky, highlighted two problems tied to Indonesia's demographic boom, namely the availability of high quality jobs and high income inequality. of the existence of many agricultural workers with low incomes and few job prospects, in their view, illustrated the problem of the large income disparities in Indonesia.

Another issue they flagged is the high crime rate owing to socio-economic inequalities and the lack of jobs. However, the group noted that Indonesia's digital economy is booming, which could help alleviate income inequality. In fact, the Indonesian government and Parliament had agreed to allocate a major part of the state budget to the Village Fund scheme (dana desa) to speed up the modernisation and development of the agricultural sector. Infrastructure development is crucial in attracting investments, reducing income inequality, and creating high-quality jobs. It will also boost trade.

The group discussed the problems related to social unity, including Indonesia's inability to create high quality education and strong public institutions. Poor quality education and weak public institutions are manifested in the polarisation of society ahead of elections (voters are not educated and continue to pick corrupt leaders). The presence of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), a relatively strong public institution tasked with combating corruption, is perhaps the only positive example that stands out, the group noted. They also noted that the issue of a potential brain drain from Indonesia reflects precisely the "high level of education, low trust in institutions" paradox.

(B) Singapore



The first group focusing on Singapore, represented by Eunice Huang, selected two variables for the framework, namely technological change and social cohesion. The first scenario they came up with, titled "Divided by Tech", illustrated a situation where technological adoption became politicised, leading to lower economic growth. The

second scenario envisaged a situation where high social cohesion is prioritised over growth. This “Singapore First” scenario encompasses a society that is fed up with technology and has withdrawn behind high walls. As a result, economic



growth falls drastically. The third scenario is considered the best among the three scenarios and constitutes a continuation of the status quo, where technological adoption drives economic growth but there is a good balance to ensure the people are not left behind. For instance, Singapore is encouraging its older citizens to learn about digital devices and how to operate them.

The second group working on Singapore, represented by Terence Chia Yong Wei, presented three scenarios. Considering the inevitable progress of development in technology, the group foresaw Singapore as a technologically advanced country with Artificial Intelligence (AI) and robots taking over the activities performed by low-end workers. They named this scenario “Silicon Country”, where “Smart Nation” implementers will be in charge of managing the country. A massive development of industries is expected. However, the group emphasized that this scenario depends greatly on the external environment, which must be stable and supportive. The second scenario, named “MadMax”, envisions an apocalyptic future where Singaporeans are divided by infighting. Technological advances come to a halt. Disruption, such as a cyberattack, is considered the prime cause for the emergence of such a scenario. Cyberattacks during an election or the hacking of a media company’s website may alarm the public. At this point, a “MadMax” scenario will emerge if social cohesion remains low, with the older generation blaming youngsters for bringing in various technologies into Singapore. However, if social cohesion is high, society will coalesce and find an alternative way to reduce technology usage.

Dr Khong commended the groups for their ideas and the scenarios, which offered good insights into the underlying workings of the respective societies and their potential consequences. He highlighted the importance of the global and regional environments, which could influence the trajectories of the two countries. He also highlighted the importance of good facilitation of discussions when planning scenarios.

Before concluding the session, Dr Khong urged participants to share their learning points. Faldo Maldini mentioned that the workshop had provided a supportive environment to discuss strategy and planning. Proditia Sabarini said the workshop had allowed both Indonesian and Singaporean participants to see their nations' problems in a new light and therefore helped them think of appropriate strategies to overcome them. Pandu Utama Manggala expressed his appreciation of the scenario-planning exercise because it helped identify possible pathways, which would facilitate the development of appropriate strategies. It also helped to identify plausible turning points and intervening variables. Thng Chin Hwee mentioned that he had learned a lot, especially on Indonesia's approach to democracy. He added that the diversity of opinion enriched the discussion. Terence Chia Yong Wei said the exercise had helped him recognise that Indonesia faces a much more complex situation than Singapore.

SESSION III: INDONESIA-SINGAPORE RELATION IN 2040

Day II: Keynote Lecture

The second day of the workshop started with a keynote lecture by KH Yahya Cholil Staquf, General Secretary of the Supreme Council of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Mr Staquf began his remarks by highlighting the dynamic global environment against which Indonesia and Singapore co-existed. Such an environment is becoming more inter-connected, with physical and political borders became increasingly blurred. This, he said, heightens the potential for conflict that arises from friction between civilisations with different, if not incompatible, cultures — or what Samuel Huntington envisioned in a seminal work as the “clash of civilisations”.



Mr Staquf noted that the blurring of physical boundaries had resulted in the rapid movement of people from one country to another, thereby allowing different civilisations to interact with one another.

These interactions have begun to bring about the assimilation and acculturation of different cultures. As such, conflict that occurs between these different cultures

would not manifest in inter-state rivalry, but would sharpen the differences between communities in a given country. Mr Staquf stressed that these conflicts could have far-reaching implications that could influence other communities in different countries with no real ties with the belligerent parties except for their common identity.

Mr Staquf noted the changing relationship between Indonesia and Singapore. In the past, both enjoyed a cordial relationship owing to the rapport enjoyed between President Suharto and Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. At present, social media and technology enables the elites, business community, civil society, and the general public, to contribute to the Indonesia-Singapore relationship. Mr Staquf noted that both countries have their unique strengths and urged that these comparative advantages be explored in a way that mutually benefits Indonesia and Singapore.

Mr Staquf highlighted terrorism as one of the common security challenges that both countries will face. Despite the trillions of dollars spent since 9/11 for

counter-terrorism efforts around the globe, the situation had deteriorated in some countries, as reflected by the emergence of the Islamic State group. Mr Staquf argued that the problem of terrorism and Islamic extremism have their roots within the religion itself, particularly in the Wahhabi-Salafi school that often interprets Islam from a textualist/literalist lens rather than that of a contextual understanding. In conclusion, Mr Staquf emphasised that the mankind's pursuits should not only be economic-oriented, but should also take into account the principles of civility and humanitarianism.

Indonesia–Singapore Relations in 2040



The key point that Dr Khong made at the opening of the session was that a good scenario is similar to a compelling story that captures audience attention. Participants should build scenarios that are not only convincing but also structured in a logical manner — much like a story —so that the audience can follow them closely. The use of

evocative pictures or a keyword that corresponds directly to the theme of the scenario would be a helpful guiding tool to form the story.

The focus of the session was on looking at the trajectory for Indonesia-Singapore relations. For this purpose, participants were divided into teams and first tasked to come up with five key aspects that matter for Indonesia-Singapore relations, as well as two critical uncertainties or “black swan” events and why such events would occur.

Presentation Summary and Feedback to the Plenary

Group 1. The first group, represented by Major C. Rusmanto, identified the following five factors as likely to identify Indonesia-Singapore relations: (i) security — both physical security and non-traditional security issues such as food security; (ii) sovereignty issues, particularly that involving borders as well as the possible Indonesian takeover of the Flight Information Region (FIR) above the Riau Islands. (iii) was economic cooperation between Indonesia and Singapore, encompassing labour migration and the impact of technology on labour and job opportunities in both countries; (iv) environmental issues, especially over transboundary haze and disaster management; and (v) the political aspect of the relationship, involving not only the relationship at the summit level but also horizontal relations between government officials at lower levels of the bureaucratic chain.

The group listed two critical uncertainties: (i) elections, notably, the possible future emergence of populist-type leaders; and (ii) the impact of climate change, notably, rising sea levels and extreme weather patterns, which could cause massive displacement and humanitarian crises, while also disrupting the economies of the two countries.



Following the presentations, a participant from another group remarked that the control of the FIR is not an issue of airspace sovereignty but flight safety.

Group 2. The second group, represented by Mr Ervin Yeo, listed the following five factors as issues that could affect the bilateral relationship in the future. (i) Global and regional dynamics. The group emphasised that ASEAN would remain consensus driven in the future even as Indonesia grows in terms of population. (ii) The domestic political climate and political systems in both Indonesia and Singapore. The group highlighted that while both countries have relatively stable political systems, any changes in those delicate systems will have an impact on overall relations. (iii) Socio-cultural factors such as people-to-people relations. The group noted that as the people of both countries became more inter-connected through technology, the effect in people-to-people relations could be both positive and negative. (iv) The economy, investment, and technology with a particular emphasis on competition and cooperation in digital start-ups and responsible business practices; (v) environmental issues and climate change, with special emphasis on transboundary haze.



The two “black swan” events that the group identified were: (i) Singapore’s irrelevance to Indonesia’s policy-making process, arising from some event that drives a wedge in the relationship between the two countries; and. (ii) the rise of China and its greater assertiveness and role in the Southeast Asian region, which could disrupt the harmonious fabric that ASEAN had

painfully forged in the past.

Group 3. The third group was represented by Mr Bimo Wijayanto. They identified the following as factors that could affect Indonesia-Singapore relations in the future: (i) the number of allegedly illegal Indonesian assets parked in Singapore, efforts to repatriate which could potentially trigger a rift in relations; (ii) people-to-people exchanges and the possibility of mutually ; (iii) migrant labour, considering that Indonesia’s labour force — both high and low-skilled — fulfil niche functions in Singapore; (iv) the rise of India, especially with its burgeoning population projected to overtake China’s by 2022, has rarely been discussed, but, like the rise of China it could have a significant impact on Indonesia-Singapore relations; and (v) energy and environmental issues — owing to the growing demand for bio-diesel in Indonesia, there is a strong likelihood that the country would push to increase palm oil production, but unsustainable practices in palm oil plantation expansion could lead to deforestation and increase the frequency of transboundary haze.

The group highlighted the potential development of a Kra canal in Thailand as the primary “black swan” event. This development would undermine Singapore’s Indonesia’s significance in global shipping lanes. The second possible surprise that the group envisioned is the sustainability of ASEAN as an organisation owing to the rivalry between the major powers that could potentially tear the region and the organisation apart.



One participant commented that Singapore had enacted a law that would punish Singapore-based palm oil companies implicated in slash-and-burn clearing activities. The onus in this case would fall on Indonesians to publicly reveal which Singapore companies had flouted these environmental laws.

Group 4. The fourth group, represented by Mr Lim Teng Leng, identified the following as factors that are likely to influence Indonesia-Singapore relations in the future: (i) flows of capital, labour and investments; (ii) changes in the tenor of domestic politics; (iii) climate change and energy security, the latter being particularly important as Singapore depends on Indonesia for its natural gas; (iv) the disruptive impact of technology and the various opportunities and/or challenges that it creates; and (v) protectionism and ultra-nationalism, a trend that appears to be gaining in traction globally.

With regard to two surprise events, the group brought up the possibility of the advent of a third world war between the major powers. The group envisioned



that the tension brought about by the ongoing Sino-US rivalry could escalate into a full-blown armed conflict, in which the Asia-Pacific region and Southeast Asia could become theatres of war. The second event they foresaw is a global catastrophe brought about by extinction-inducing natural disasters, climate change, drug-resistant bacteria and the resulting epidemic of new diseases.

Group 5. Mr Bevin Desker, associate director of Temasek International, represented the fifth group. The group identified the following factors. (i) The rise of religious fundamentalism in Indonesia and the difficulty of containing extremism. Given the free flow of information through the electronic and digital media, fundamentalism can spread through neighbouring countries and subsequently destabilise the region. (ii) The rise of Jakarta as a major financial hub in the region could potentially erode Singapore’s relevance in bilateral economic cooperation. (iii) Indonesia’s eventual rise as a more assertive and dominant player in regional or even global geopolitics. (iv) Climate change and environmental issues. (v) China’s assertiveness and power projection in



the Southeast Asian region, which have the potential to drive a wedge between Indonesia and Singapore.

On “black swan” events, the group highlighted the possibility of open confrontation between the United States and China and the rise of populism in the two countries and its impact on Indonesia-Singapore relations.

Group 6. The final group, represented by Mr William Liew, highlighted the following factors as likely to affect Indonesia-Singapore relations: (i) volatile great power politics and major power rivalries in the region, the ultimate driver shaping the dynamics of the bilateral relations; (ii) since ASEAN unity had contributed to the maintenance of peace through consensus, the impact of its breakdown, which could have far-reaching consequences for the two countries; (iii) the international rules-based order and norms that have been in

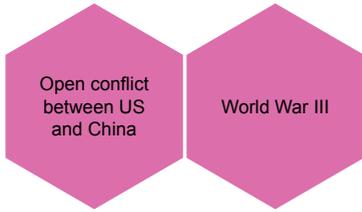
development for a long period of time; (iv) people-to-people relations, as well as relations at the leadership level; (v) economic cooperation and collaboration, given that the two countries have a number of complementarities, such as human capital, technological advances and natural resources, that could be exploited by the two countries but could also contribute to their relevance at the regional and global levels.



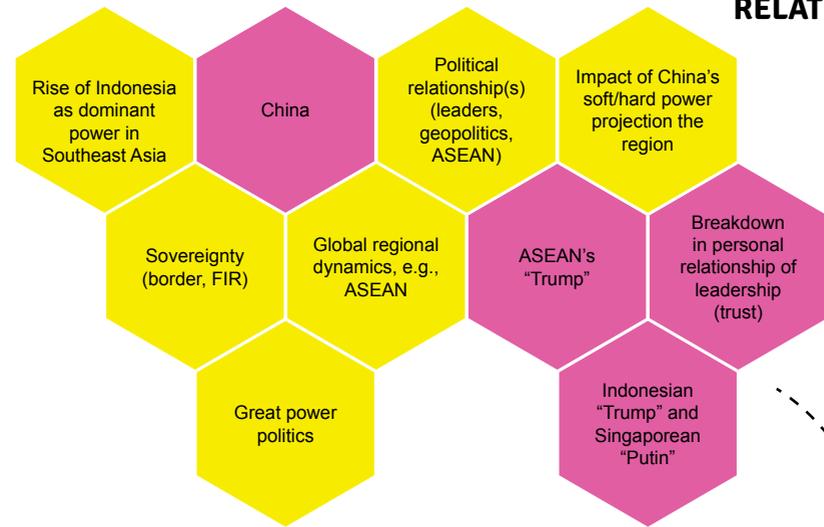
The first wildcard that the group highlighted was climate change. As climate change takes place, both countries are likely to be affected by extreme weather patterns, which could negatively affect relations between the two if they each prioritise their own needs rather than cooperate in disaster mitigation and management. The second wildcard highlighted was that of a nuclear-

powered Southeast Asia and the potential effects of a nuclear disaster, which could affect the entire region.

GLOBAL CONFLICT



GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS



REGIONAL WORLD



GLOBAL RULES-BASED ORDER



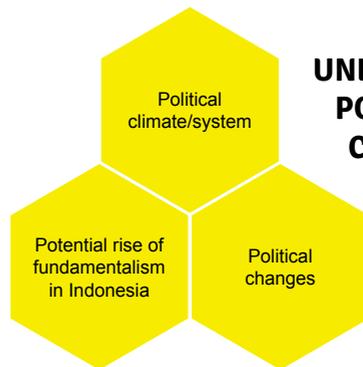
TECHNOLOGICAL OPPORTUNITIES / DISRUPTIONS



SECURITY



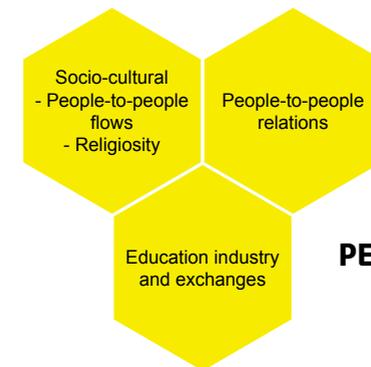
UNEXPECTED POLITICAL CHANGE



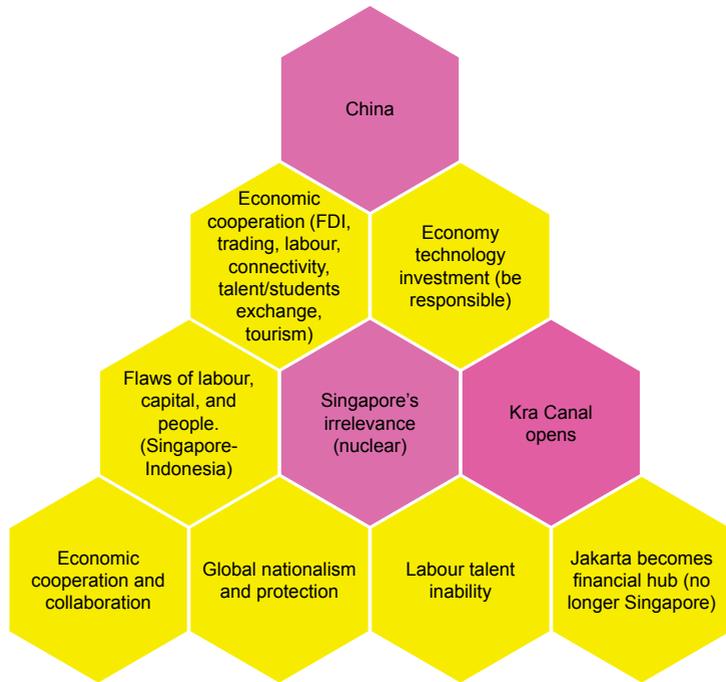
Legend

Trends/issues that could affect/shape Indonesia-Singapore relations

"Black Swan" events

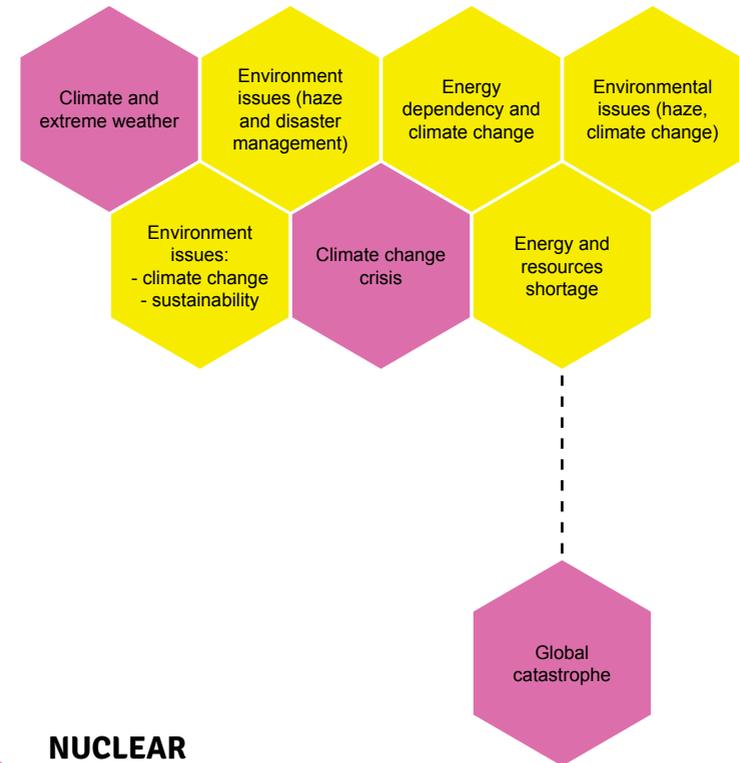


PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE RELATIONS

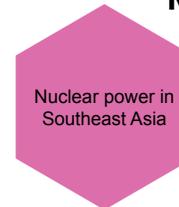


**ECONOMIC COOPERATION
(DOES SINGAPORE REMAIN RELEVANT?)**

ENERGY AND CLIMATE (HAZE?)



NUCLEAR



TAX



SESSION IV: IDENTIFYING KEY ISSUES OF INDONESIA-SINGAPORE RELATIONS IN 2040

Key Issue Clusters of Indonesia–Singapore Relations in 2040

Dr Khong started the final session by categorising the key uncertainties discussed during the previous session into five different clusters. The groups would then have to each pick two clusters and work out scenarios based on any number of ways the two sets of variables might possibly interact. The clusters are as follows.

(1) People-to-People (P2P) and Government-to-Government (G2G) relations.

Dr Khong explained that G2G does not only involve Indonesia and Singapore but regional organisations and international powers such as ASEAN, China, and the United States. P2P is about how people can connect without necessarily going through government-managed channels. It operates independently but is aided by technologies that enable information to flow easily without being dependent on any supra-national bodies.

(2) Economic cooperation.

This relates to the concern that Singapore might become irrelevant to Indonesia because its services are no longer required by the latter. Dr Khong stressed that the issues of economic cooperation, technology and global nationalism are inextricably linked to the growing sense of protectionism and nationalism among the big powers. However, this reality does not mean that the Indonesia-Singapore relationship would necessarily operate the same way. Indonesia and Singapore should find new ways of adapting to a changing world where several issues can potentially emerge, including labour, technology, and mobility issues.

(3) Energy and climate issues.

These refer to the types of issues that will affect Indonesia-Singapore relations and were heavily debated in the previous session, such as natural disasters.

(4) Unexpected political change.

Dr Khong asked participants to reflect on how unexpected change will affect the relationship between Indonesia and Singapore.

(5) The global order.

Dr Khong split this into two categories: (i) a global rule-based, regional world where ASEAN plays a pivotal role or; (ii) the advent of a series of global conflicts around the world.

Dr Khong reminded participants that several other issues remain important and worthy of consideration, such as nuclear technology in Southeast Asia, technological opportunities/disruption as well as other security issues. Participants were then divided into three groups and given 40 minutes to discuss before presenting scenarios based on what each group considered the two most critical uncertainties that would affect the Indonesia-Singapore relationship in 2040.

Presentation Summary and Feedback to the Plenary



The first group had Mr Bevin Desker, as its representative. His group chose G2G and economic cooperation as the interacting variables. The group characterised G2G relations and trust between Singapore and Indonesia as amicable. As for economic cooperation, however, the group felt more could be done. They believed that in the next couple of years, Indonesia and Singapore

should work together to tackle the issue of climate change and natural disaster, primarily the recurring haze crisis.

In one of their scenarios, named “Indopura”, the group envisaged rising tensions between the United States and China, which puts pressure on other nations to take sides. Nonetheless, Indonesia and Singapore decide to form a non-alignment pact that further increases the trust level between them. This eventually leads to strong partnerships, allowing for the sharing of strategic data and intelligence, as well as the development of a joint economic zone in the Riau Islands neighbourhood. Subsequently, Indonesia and Singapore set up a joint standard and regulations committee to improve economic cooperation. The private sector also plays an important role in providing a single online payment gateway. A single market across Indonesia and Singapore then emerges as a result of strong government relations and improving economic cooperation.

The group offered several alternative scenarios that could lead to increased distrust and undermine bilateral ties: (i) Singapore or Indonesia deciding to pick sides between the United States and China; (ii) Singapore opening an embassy in Jerusalem and; (iii) a conservative/nationalist leader being elected in Indonesia, with unchecked economic nationalism inciting Indonesian leaders to freeze the licences of Singaporean banks operating in Indonesia, which in turn

leads to a tit-for-tat situation where Singapore takes on similar actions against Indonesian banks in Singapore.

Based on the last scenario, tensions escalate, leading to the ride-hailing company Gojek to be banned in Singapore and its Singaporean counterpart Grab being banned in Indonesia. In response, a future Singapore leader responds with equal fervour, thereby unravelling bilateral relations. The two ultra-nationalist leaders clash and start to accuse each other of intervening in their domestic elections and then expel each other's ambassadors.

Responding briefly, Dr Khong commented that it is highly unlikely that the scenario of Singapore establishing an embassy in Jerusalem would materialise.

The second group was represented by Mrs. Alissa Wahid, the national director of Indonesia's GUSDURian Network. The group selected P2P and economic cooperation as their variables. Their first scenario was dubbed "Crazy Rich Asians" and it depicted the Indonesia-Singapore relationship as that between a boy and a girl who live in the same neighbourhood and eventually fall in love with each other. This scenario envisages an optimistic outlook, with the relationship between the two countries becoming stronger as grow up together. Advanced technology contributes to a seamless communication between the two. The robust cooperation allows the respective countries to actively contribute to the region, namely ASEAN. Indonesia and Singapore undertake joint tourism promotion as part of their economic cooperation programme. As a result, both countries emerge as prosperous countries in the region.

The group envisaged a second scenario named "The War of the Roses", where everything falls apart. The group depicted the presence of external actors as that of a mother-in-law ruining the harmony of the family. The external actors seek to sow dissent and division so that Singapore and Indonesia end up in a tit-for-tat scenario, in which no one wins. The group explained that such a scenario might occur when both countries cannot maintain trust in their relationship. Asked whether the scenario could emerge only through the intervention of external actors, the group replied that only a regional or global conflict can lead to a major fiasco of the sort they had described. An example would be when Southeast Asian countries decide to choose sides between the United States and China. On the other hand, minor problems such as the transboundary haze will not cause a breakdown in relations; instead, they will only lead to the typical ups and downs in a relationship between a couple.

The third group was represented by Terence Chia Yong Wei, a senior director in the Prime Minister's Office, Singapore. The group chose P2P and economic cooperation as their interacting variables. They offered four scenarios, namely



“Rising”, “Sinking”, “Fighting”, and “Playing”. The first scenario “Rising” was named after the slogan of Indonesia-Singapore’s 50 years of diplomatic relationship. Under this scenario, Indonesia and Singapore have a shared vision, policy, and market. This includes free trade and tariffs, common tax laws and a joint defence arrangement. Both countries emerge as prosperous countries in the region.

The second scenario that the group envisaged, “Sinking”, depicted a situation where an external entity starts to partner closely with Indonesia in a way that will affect the relationship between Indonesia and Singapore. The group provided an example of India as a rising nation that would intrude upon bilateral ties. As India supplants Singapore’s role, Indonesia becomes less dependent on Singapore and thus decides to terminate various bilateral agreements. As a result, both Singapore and Indonesia withdraw their assets from each other country. This leads to growing economic competition. The defence cooperation between Indonesia and Singapore also falls apart and cyber-attacks frequently occur.

The third scenario, named “Fighting”, envisaged a situation where the relationship between Indonesia and Singapore does not go well although both countries still have some form of economic interest and reason for collaboration. This situation is derived from the case of Italy in the European Union. The last scenario, named “Playing”, depicted a situation where the two countries do not enjoy a strong integrated economic partnership and have to compete against each other, even though their people still get along well.

A participant from one of the other groups asked whether there was any indication that the problems mentioned in the scenario might emerge in the near future. The group’s representative explained that they were trying to challenge themselves by coming up with possible scenarios at the two different ends of the spectrum. However, they stressed that these scenarios should be taken with a pinch of salt. They expressed confidence that the current positive relationship between Indonesia and Singapore will continue and cited as one sign of this optimism the signing of a bilateral investment treaty in October 2018.

Dr Khong, however, reminded the participants not to easily dismiss such dire scenarios even if they are hard to envisage, given existing circumstances.

Scenarios call for participants to consider all plausible conditions. Mr Panji Ruky from Gojek commented that what was missing from the scenario was the key drivers that will cause the x-axis to shift. He mentioned a few examples that should be considered, such as the rise of xenophobia and nationalism in Indonesia. This trend is likely to drive Indonesia towards greater protectionism.

Dr Khong explained that the two-axes should help participants to do a deeper analysis and identify what is the turning point in the relationship. The participants may argue that there is no turning point, but they need to provide the reasons for such a conclusion. He added that the second group provided a good example when they explored the difficulties arising in the relationship when there is an intervention from an external party. An additional element of this sort can make a scenario more nuanced and richer.

Mr Chia argued that scenario planning should include morphological analysis in which participants take the key drivers, map them onto the scenarios, and then do a reality check. He explained that his group had laid out four scenarios where there are multiple factors that will affect the relationship. Then, they started figuring out whether the two key drivers can coexist at the same time. Dr Khong noted that participants can have several levels of analysis, but bringing in additional layers will add more complexities to the scenario.

Dr. Khong invited Associate Professor. Leonard C. Sebastian, the coordinator of the Indonesia Programme, to comment on the scenario planning exercise. Assoc Prof Sebastian suggested that the major concern in the Indonesia-Singapore relationship is the lack of mutual understanding. Both Indonesia and Singapore have high expectations of each other. For instance, Indonesia expected Singapore to assist in the process of recovery after the fall of Soeharto. Singapore, however, was constrained by ASEAN's principle of non-interference. As a result, it failed to approach different groups in Indonesia that could have helped it understand the changing environment and offer assistance to Indonesia. On the other hand, non-ASEAN countries began to step up their engagement with Indonesia at different levels.

Assoc Prof Sebastian noted that Soekarno's leadership during the Confrontation Period was also a blemish in the relationship. Soekarno lacked political will and was not ready to have an equal dialogue with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. This perception gradually changed after Soeharto showed his willingness to improve the bilateral relationship between Indonesia and Singapore.

Nonetheless, Assoc Prof noted, a wide range of stereotypes have been internalised by both countries and this led to misperceptions over time. Today, the young generations of Indonesia and Singapore do not understand each



other. Assoc Prof Sebastian suggested that Indonesia and Singapore should develop a knowledge base on the major changes that have taken place in each country. In this case, both Indonesia and Singapore can broaden their respective areas of cooperation. He suggested that Singapore start developing other areas of cooperation beyond economic collaboration which

could add value to Indonesia. He noted that Indonesia can drive ASEAN in the direction that can be beneficial to neighbouring countries. He stressed that ASEAN can only move forward with the help of Indonesia as one of the founding fathers. Assoc Prof suggested that Indonesia assist in formulating ASEAN's identity so that the organisation could move forward and play a key role in the region. He said role of Indonesia in shaping the region would have a positive impact on the relationship between Indonesia and Singapore.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In his concluding remarks, Dr Khong commended the participants for developing detailed scenarios in such a short period of time. He noted that the process of building scenarios is important as it allows participants from diverse backgrounds to engage with one another and come up with fresh perspectives on how the future might develop. Such a process is helpful in producing quality scenarios.

The workshop was brought to a close by Assoc Prof Leonard Sebastian who thanked the participants for making time to participate in the scenario planning exercise. He said he hoped the workshop had given the participants a chance for networking and had served as a forum and conduit for the next-generation leaders of Singapore and Indonesia to get acquainted with one another. He concluded that initiatives such as this aim to celebrate the bond and challenges that Indonesia and Singapore share while also forging a better understanding between the two countries.



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About the Temasek Foundation Connects

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 our diverse communities and markets in the region and beyond.

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 manages two endowments – the Hon Sui Sen Endowment and the S Rajaratnam Endowment.

Temasek Foundation Connects is a member of the Temasek Family of Foundations, which was established by Temasek to better serve the evolving needs of the wider community, reinforcing its approach to sustainable giving.

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 conduct 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 about IDSS, 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 think tank and professional graduate school of international affairs at the Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. An autonomous school, RSIS' mission is to be a leading research and graduate teaching institution in strategic and international affairs in the Asia Pacific. With the core functions of research, graduate education and networking, it produces cutting-edge research on Asia Pacific Security, Multilateralism and Regionalism, Conflict Studies, Non-traditional Security, Cybersecurity, Maritime Security and Terrorism Studies.

For more details, please visit www.rsis.edu.sg. Follow us at www.facebook.com/RSIS.NTU or connect with us at www.linkedin.com/school/rsis-ntu.

About the Indonesia Programme

The **Indonesia Programme** focuses on three priority areas. First, to conducting innovative policy-relevant research over future trends and potential unknowns relating to Indonesia; to provide a research and networking platform to enhance Singapore-Indonesia relations; and to make an impact on international academic scholarship on Indonesia, thereby establishing IDSS/RSIS as a new research focal point to rival long-established research programmes in the United States, Australia, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. Second, contributing to the IDSS/RSIS teaching curriculum by offering quality graduate courses for NTU students (particularly mid-career military personnel and civil servants) enrolled in various MSc teaching programmes. Third, undertaking policy reviews and briefings to support IDSS/RSIS stakeholders plus educating the wider policy community to better understand the complex changes taking place in post-Suharto Indonesia.

At the regional and international level, the goal is to network with academic and policy institutions in Indonesia to deepen linkages and to engage in collaborative research with mutually compatible international institutions interested in modern Indonesia, specifically, post-Suharto Indonesia. The programme is headed by Associate Professor Leonard C. Sebastian. The staff include Dr Alexander Arifianto, Dr Syafiq Hasyim, Andar Nubowo, Adri Wanto, Jonathan Chen Jieyang, Keoni Indrabayu Marzuki, Emirza Adi Syailendra, Tiola, Chaula Rininta Anindya, Dedi Dinarto, Made Ayu Mariska, and James Guild.



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