

Dealing with Security Issues the United Nations Way



Ambassador Oh Joon (second from left) with Professor Joseph Liow, Dean of RSIS (left), speaking to members of the Ngee Ann Kongsi Management Committee before the lecture

By **Lina Gong**

Ambassador Oh Joon, Professor of United Nations Studies at Kyung Hee University, Seoul, visited RSIS from 30 July to 26 August 2017 as Ngee Ann Kongsi Professor of International Relations at RSIS. Over the course of four weeks, he gave three talks on international security and the United Nations.

Speaking at RSIS' 19th Asia Pacific Programme for Senior Military Officers (APPSMO), held on 4 August 2017, Amb Oh focused on the North Korean nuclear issue during

the scene-setting roundtable titled "Geopolitics and Trends in Asia Pacific Security". He highlighted the importance of arms control regimes in managing nuclear weapons and singled out the 1967 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) for its comprehensiveness. However, he lamented that states such as Iran and North Korea had challenged the regime, with North Korea being the most serious challenger. Most other states that resisted the NPT had agreed to negotiate after sweeteners were provided. North Korea on the other hand, had expressed no interest in making any deal. Amb Oh cited Pyongyang's nuclear tests

and rejection of multiple UN resolutions as examples of its intransigence.

Amb Oh delved deeper into the North Korean nuclear threat at a seminar on 16 August 2017 titled "The Korean Peninsula Issues in the United Nations". He reviewed how the nuclear issue had developed since 2006, when North Korea conducted its first nuclear test, as well as the international efforts to tackle the threat. He warned that North Korea's nuclear programme threatened the NPT, constituted a destabilising factor in regional security, and carried risks in nuclear safety.

In his final engagement, Amb Oh delivered an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture titled "The United Nations and International Peace and Security" on 21 August 2017. He traced the development of the United Nations since its establishment in 1945 and provided an overview of the roles and responsibilities of major UN bodies such as the General Assembly, Security Council, and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Amb Oh explained that the absence of a UN standing army was one of the reasons why the organisation was not able to respond effectively during situations such as the Rwanda genocide and the Srebrenica massacre. He suggested that the United Nations could reform the decision-making mechanism of the Security Council to make it more reflective of the member states' respective national power. Amb Oh then used the North Korean nuclear issue as a case study to showcase the United Nations' efforts at maintaining international peace and security. He pointed out that the latest sanctions regime on North Korea was the most comprehensive so far but felt that it was necessary to make the regime more effective.

Dealing with Security Issues the United Nations Way
page 1

Indian Ocean Conference 2017 14th RSIS Alumni Dinner
page 2

Third Korea-Singapore Forum Mahatma to Modi: the Indian Ocean Narrative
page 3

RSIS Delegation Visits Beijing Softline Efforts Crucial in Counter-terrorism
page 4

Pursuing Inclusive Trade in the Multilateral Trading System
page 5

Book Launch: ASEAN and the Indian Ocean The 2016 South China Sea Arbitral Tribunal Award
page 6

Senior Indian Strategic Analyst's Visit The Fourth Industrial Revolution
page 7

DRUMS Workshop Joint Training on Economic Corridor Development in Asia
page 8

The Goh Keng Swee Command and Staff College Seminar 2017 RSIS Convocation 2017
page 9

ASEAN Mechanisms on Maritime Security Cooperation ASEAN and the World @ 50th Anniversary of ASEAN and Beyond
page 10

UK's Minister of State for Security Visits RSIS RSIS Distinguished Visiting Fellow Appointed to High-level UN Mediation Panel
page 11

Staff Publications and Upcoming Events
page 12

Indian Ocean Conference 2017



Mrs Sushma Swaraj (front right), Minister of External Affairs of India, greeting one of the delegates at the conference. Behind her is Dr Vivian Balakrishnan, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Singapore.

By Nazia Hussain

Following the successful launch in 2016 of the Indian Ocean Conference, organised by the India Foundation in association with RSIS, Bangladesh Institute of International & Strategic Studies, and Institute of Policy Studies of Sri Lanka, a second conference was held in

Colombo, Sri Lanka, from 31 August to 1 September 2017. The two-day event was focused on the themes of peace, progress, and prosperity and saw the participation of leaders from countries on the Indian Ocean rim as well as scholars from the region and beyond.

India's External Affairs Minister, Mrs Sushma Swaraj,

highlighted that the maritime economy of the Indian Ocean region was poised to become a force for global economic growth. She stressed that for this eventuality to be realised all stakeholders needed to abide by a rules-based global order.

Dr Vivian Balakrishnan, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Singapore, emphasised that continued prosperity in the Indian Ocean was contingent on the Indian Ocean remaining peaceful. He noted that continued peace constituted an "existential issue" for small trading nations such as Singapore. Stressing that inclusive and sustainable growth was "not a zero-sum game", he urged the Indian Ocean countries to focus on interdependence, collaboration, and the exchange of ideas and technologies.

Mr Ranil Wickremesinghe, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, hoped the forum would

recommend the abolition of protectionist trade measures, adoption of ease of doing business measures, commitment to the World Trade Organisation Trade Facilitation Agreement, and the removal of high tariffs, para-tariffs and non-tariff barriers over an agreed time period.

In his keynote address, Mr S Jaishankar, Foreign Secretary of India, stressed that the ethos of the Indian Ocean was a consultative one and that in the long run it was people-centric initiatives and projects that were likely to be more sustainable. People-to-people contacts, religious travel and exchanges, heritage conservation, and cultural promotion are all enabling factors that could contribute to a greater sense of bonding among the Indian Ocean littorals, he said.

Concluding the event with a valedictory address, President Maithripala Sirisena of Sri Lanka reiterated the need for sustained collaboration among all littoral countries to enhance security in the region.

14th RSIS Alumni Dinner

By Geanina Bujoreanu

Having run for more than a decade now, the RSIS Alumni Dinner has become a landmark event for the school's alumni community, creating unparalleled opportunities for rekindling old ties and friendships as well as networking with the new alumni, faculty, and staff joining the RSIS family.

Over 140 alumni, RSIS faculty, and staff attended the 14th RSIS Alumni Dinner on 28 July 2017. The evening of reunion saw 19 cohorts of alumni from more than 50 countries congregating at Hilton Hotel Singapore.

Welcoming the alumni, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, encouraged them to remain in touch with the school. In his address, Professor Joseph Liow, Dean of RSIS, said he was encouraged that the strong global brand of RSIS was attracting students from all over the world.

The Graduate Programmes Office encouraged the alumni to embrace mentorship opportunities under the RSIS Alumni Mentorship Programme. The programme aims to connect students with alumni who are keen to make a positive impact by providing insights into specific work sectors, professional practices, and the charting of career paths. Thus far, a number of alumni have shared their professional experiences

through the RSIS career talks series.

Prof Liow took the opportunity to present the 2017 RSIS Teaching Awards to Dr Rajesh Basru, Professor of International Relations and Coordinator of the RSIS South Asia Programme, and Associate Professor Farish Noor. The annual award recognises teaching excellence and outstanding contributions to the enhancement of teaching and learning at RSIS.



RSIS alumni with members of the faculty and staff

Third Korea-Singapore Forum



Participants at the Third Korea-Singapore Forum

By Shawn Ho

The third Korea-Singapore Forum was held in Singapore on 19 July 2017 with the theme "A New-Age Partnership for a World in Transition". It involved government officials, scholars, as well as media and business representatives from both countries and was co-organised by RSIS, The Korea Foundation

and the Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies from the Republic of Korea.

The objective of the biennial forum series is to enhance Korea-Singapore ties. The Singapore delegation to this year's forum was led by Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS, while the Korean delegation was co-led by

Ambassador Lee Sihyung, President of The Korea Foundation, and Professor Park Sa-Myung, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Opening the forum with congratulatory remarks were Mr Liang Eng Hwa, Member of Parliament and Chairman, Singapore-Northeast Asia

Regional Parliamentary Group, Singapore, and Mr Lee Seok Hyun, Member of the National Assembly and President, Korea-Singapore Parliamentarian Association, Republic of Korea. Keynote speeches were then delivered by Mr Ng Teck Hean, Deputy Secretary (Asia-Pacific), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore, and Mr Lee Jeong-kyu, Deputy Minister for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Korea.

Participants engaged in lively discussions on the evolving dynamics in the Asia-Pacific region as well as the prospects for regional and bilateral cooperation, particularly in the area of the digital economy. They agreed that there was potential for Korea and Singapore to work together on a wide range of issues, including the fight against climate change and the championing of free trade in an increasingly protectionist world.

Mahatma to Modi: the Indian Ocean Narrative

By Nazia Hussain

On 5 October 2017, Dr Makarand R. Paranjape, Professor of English at the Centre for English Studies at India's Jawaharlal Nehru University, presented a seminar at RSIS on the topic "Mahatma to Modi: Changing the Indian Ocean Narrative". The seminar was jointly organised by RSIS and the India Foundation.

Dr Makarand recalled that Singapore's first prime minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, had believed that "India was the ideal candidate to undertake" the role of a "guardian" of the Indian Ocean. Mr Lee had predicted India would dominate "for a long time". But, notwithstanding the fact that India plays an enabling role in the region, Dr Makarand emphasised the



Dr Makarand R. Paranjape (left) with Dr Sinderpal Singh, Senior Fellow in the South Asia Programme

need for multiple Indian Ocean narratives and stories apart from India's own.

Noting that the Indian Ocean had been characterised as "the ocean of notions" and "cradle

of globalisation", Dr Makarand said the Indian Ocean should not only be seen as a geopolitical construct but also as a cultural and conceptual space. He traced the changes in the Indian Ocean narrative

from the Mahatma Gandhi's oceanic exposition, Hind Swaraj (1909), to Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Security and Growth for All in the Region (SAGAR) initiative. Former Indian PM Jawaharlal Nehru's focus was mostly on India's continental reality but this focus was now shifting, with PM Modi's focus on the seas, as seen in the SAGAR initiative.

Dr Makarand then pondered over the role that India could play in the Indian Ocean arena. He concluded by insisting that the SAGAR initiative for the Indian Ocean should not be interpreted as a competition to China's Belt and Road Initiative. But, he conceded that SAGAR was certainly a tool for furthering India's soft power in the neighbourhood.

RSIS Delegation Visits Beijing

By Angela Poh

Professor Joseph Liow, Dean of RSIS, led a delegation to Beijing from 27 to 30 August 2017. During the visit, RSIS co-organised an academic workshop with China's Pangoal Institution. The workshop, "China-Singapore Think Tank

Forum 2017: New Challenges in Asia-Pacific Security", involved 21 participants, including researchers from various academic and research institutions based in China, the United States, Japan, New Zealand, and the Republic of Korea. There were five panels in all, and participants presented papers relating to China's

relations with the United States, ASEAN, Taiwan, Japan, and India, as well as the situation on the Korean peninsula, maritime security, and regional cooperation.

In addition to the workshop, the RSIS delegation had roundtable discussions with the People's Liberation Army

National Defense University (PLA NDU) and the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). Discussions at the PLA NDU were focused on (i) changes in China's regional security policy; (ii) China-US relations; (iii) Korean peninsula security; (iv) maritime security in the Asia-Pacific region; and (v) counter-terrorism in Asia. At CICIR, extensive discussions were held on China's Belt and Road Initiative, as well as on ways to enhance China-ASEAN and China-Singapore relations.

One highlight of the visit was a dinner hosted by Prof Liow for RSIS alumni based in Beijing. The dinner offered a valuable opportunity for the RSIS delegation to interact with the alumni, who are engaged in a wide range of meaningful careers. It served the purpose of maintaining a strong global community of RSIS alumni.



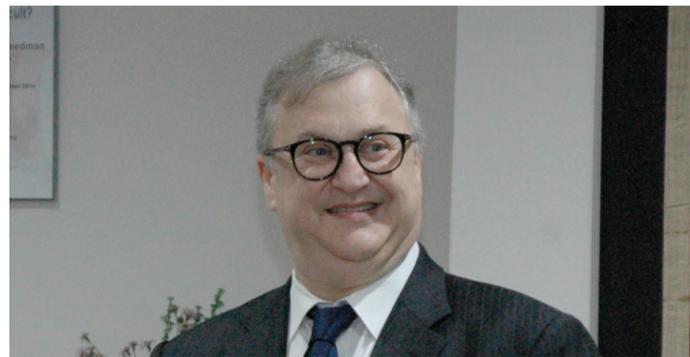
Some of the participants of the workshop co-organised by RSIS and China's Pangoal Institution

Softline Efforts Crucial in Counter-terrorism

By Jennifer Dhanaraj

Strategic counter-terrorist efforts must reflect the contextual factors that characterise operational environments and influence terrorist group formation. And, they should include a combination of hardline efforts, which are usually only effective in the short run, and "softline" efforts, which can have more long-term effects.

This was the view of Visiting Fellow Professor Richard J. Chasdi, who was speaking at a seminar at RSIS on 18 August 2017 titled "Strategic Counterterrorism". Prof Chasdi is Professor of Management at Walsh College and currently a Fulbright Specialist. His new book *Corporate Security Crossroads: Responding to Terrorism, Cyberthreats and*



Professor Richard Chasdi

other Hazards in the Global Business Environment is expected to be published in November 2017.

Prof Chasdi said strategic counter-terrorism efforts called for softline efforts that promote well-being, long-term health, and sustainability of resources. Softline measures could refer to good public policy

such as better education and healthcare that also help bring about economic progress in communities that are not doing well.

Prof Chasdi said that a combination of softline and hardline efforts could instill confusion and disarray among the leadership of terrorist groups. It could lead to the

splintering of these groups as well as disrupt the formation and success of new terrorist groups. Prof Chasdi highlighted the importance of methods such as "positive sanctions" and "integrative bargaining" to bring targeted terror elements around.

In the question and answer session, Prof Chasdi elaborated on how multinational corporations (MNCs) and the public sector could work together to create good public policy in communities that are economically deprived. "Decision-making in the public sector is slow whereas it is more agile in the private sector," he observed. Therefore, he felt that MNCs could help guide the public sector in softline efforts by, for instance, funding effective rehabilitation programmes for terrorists and important health services for vulnerable communities.

Pursuing Inclusive Trade in the Multilateral Trading System



Speakers and participants at the Fourth Singapore-WTO Policy Dialogue

By Phidel Vineles

A preparatory workshop for the upcoming 11th World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference (MC11) was held in Singapore on 5-6 October 2017. Targeted at senior trade officials from the Asia-Pacific region, the workshop was jointly organised by RSIS' Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS), Singapore's Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI), the Singapore Cooperation Programme, and the WTO.

The discussions centred on how WTO member states could navigate the multilateral trading system, with emphasis on how trade could become more inclusive. According to Mr Evan Rogerson, Distinguished Visiting Fellow at RSIS and the former Director of the WTO's Agriculture and Commodities

Division, it is essential to reinforce the trading system through concrete actions to strengthen the disciplines on fisheries subsidies, including the prohibition of subsidies that could lead to overcapacity and overfishing. Mr Rogerson also argued that it was the WTO's obligation to increase its relevance, especially by ensuring that the multilateral trading system was able to contribute significantly to job creation.

Underscoring the importance of a multilateral trading system, Mr Peter Govindasamy, Director of MTI's International Trade Cluster, said that there was no alternative to the WTO because it serves as an enabler to reduce trade tariffs and also as a stabilising force in settling trade disputes. He stressed that there was no room to be complacent on trade issues as carbon taxes

and renewable energy subsidies could create complications in the multilateral trading system.

Assistant Professor Kaewkamol Pitakdumrongkit, Deputy Head of CMS, noted that global trade faced the challenge of addressing the digital divide between developing and developed countries. She felt that there was an urgent need to narrow the divide so that more countries could effectively engage in the digital trade. Dr Pitakdumrongkit also asserted that it was important to further strengthen the rules governing the trade system and their transparency.

Ms Emmanuelle Ganne of the WTO's Economic Research and Statistics Division urged that the participation of micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs) in international trade be improved. She noted that

MSMEs represent 95 per cent of companies globally and 60-70 per cent of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP). She explained that MSMEs' participation in international trade was impeded by their lack of knowledge regarding international markets, the limited digital connectivity among developing economies, and high trade-related costs (e.g., logistics and transportation). She noted that these hurdles could be overcome if more efforts were made to reduce trade costs and increase their transparency. She was heartened that some steps were already being undertaken to strengthen MSMEs' foothold in international trade. For example, a work programme towards this end was being developed this year for the coming MC11, which includes promoting MSMEs' participation in e-trading activities and their access to finance.

Book Launch: ASEAN and the Indian Ocean



Professor Ralf Emmers, Associate Dean of RSIS, during his opening remarks

By **Rajni Gamage**

The RSIS Maritime Security Programme held a seminar on 26 July 2017 to launch the monograph “ASEAN and the Indian Ocean: The Key Maritime Links”, edited by Sam Bateman, Rajni Gamage, and Jane Chan. The monograph is a follow-up to the 2011 policy paper analysing the evolving maritime-related developments within the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) and their implications for the ASEAN states.

In his opening remarks, Professor Ralf Emmers, Associate Dean and Head of the RSIS Centre for Multilateralism Studies, highlighted the timeliness of the publication as the Indian Ocean has been receiving an increasing amount of academic and policy attention in Southeast Asia. He hoped that research of the kind that the RSIS Maritime Security Programme had undertaken would drive such awareness towards deeper integration on the ground.

During the panel discussion, Dr Jivanta Schöetli, Visiting Research Fellow, Institute of South Asian Studies at the National University of Singapore, remarked on the puzzle of limited institutionalism in the Indian Ocean despite major power interests in the region. She also drew attention to the possibility of a weakened ASEAN in the future and pondered over the implications this would have for ASEAN-IOR maritime relations.

Dr Sinderpal Singh, Senior Fellow in the RSIS South Asia Programme, noted that India’s absence from China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and its attempts to fashion its own connectivity projects might result in competitive dynamics in the IOR. Would the other regional states be forced to choose sides as a result, he wondered. Dr Singh also observed that increasing tensions between India and China in the non-maritime domain would affect the

maritime domain. He suggested that the growing collaboration among India, the United States, Japan, and Australia in the IOR might leave little space for ASEAN to play a significant role. In any event, he noted, ASEAN was unlikely to play a role in the non-maritime domain of the IOR as it does not have ample reach.

The RSIS monograph comprises 11 chapters, contributed by RSIS faculty and research staff as well as external authors. Topics covered range from naval modernisation to the BRI and the “Blue Economy”. The monograph recommends a set of focused objectives and practical avenues for promoting linkages between ASEAN and the IOR, which, the authors hope, will lead towards a shared vision of maritime security and prosperity.

The 2016 South China Sea Arbitral Tribunal Award

By **Irene Chan**

On 18 August 2017, the RSIS China Programme hosted a roundtable to mark the first anniversary of the Permanent Court of Arbitration’s award on the South China Sea. Sixteen

South China Sea experts from RSIS and other local think tanks participated in the discussion. One of the main presentations at the roundtable was by RSIS Visiting Fellow, Associate Professor Lei Xiaolu from the China Institute of Boundary and Ocean Studies

at Wuhan University, China. She discussed China’s perspective of its claims in the South China Sea and of the dispute settlement after the arbitration.

Dr Lei spoke at length about what she perceived as the gaps between the tribunal’s consideration of China’s claims and China’s actual claims. She elaborated on her argument using issues such as the legal status of the maritime features and the nature of China’s historical rights. Pointing to the inferences made by the tribunal of Chinese actions dating to 2011, Dr Lei argued that the tribunal examined the submissions but ignored Chinese claims. She also examined possible areas where the award could have influenced China’s claims in the South China Sea.

Dr Lei questioned the notion of a “rules-based order” in the South China Sea. She contended that China was cognisant of the importance of regional rules and local customs, as demonstrated by its proactive participation in the negotiations for a Code of Conduct (CoC). She stressed that increasing cooperation and confidence-building measures remained necessary for future dispute settlement. Dr Lei concluded that, although ASEAN and China had adopted the CoC earlier in the month, the award could not change China’s claims in the South China Sea and that the future of the maritime territorial dispute depended on regional rules-building efforts and effective dispute management.



Dr Lei Xiaolu

Senior Indian Strategic Analyst’s Visit

By **Stephanie Neubronner**

As part of its Distinguished Visitor Programme, RSIS’ National Security Studies Programme hosted one of India’s most decorated military leaders, Lt Gen (Ret) Syed Ata Hasnain, from 4 to 8 September 2017.

A second-generation officer in the Indian army, Lt Gen Hasnain handled several turbulent situations in his 40-year career. He had seven tours of duty in Jammu & Kashmir, including on Siachen Glacier, the world’s highest battleground. He also served in Punjab during the heyday of militancy, in India’s

restive northeastern states, in Sri Lanka with the Indian Peacekeeping Force, and in Mozambique and Rwanda with United Nations forces. Among his most prestigious and challenging assignments was his appointment in 2010 as General Officer Commanding of XV Corps in Kashmir. During this two-year assignment, he initiated a slew of innovative measures to bring about calm after a period of agitation on the streets. His doctrine of balancing what he calls soft and hard power, as well as his efforts to reach out to the Kashmiri people while conducting kinetic operations against terrorists, succeeded in stabilising the situation.

During his week-long visit to RSIS, Lt Gen Hasnain delivered two public seminars. The first seminar, “The patterns of violent extremist infiltration

in the Kashmir conflict: Lessons learned”, was focused on the evolving situation in Jammu & Kashmir, the effects of worldwide extremism, and India’s efforts at countering terrorism in multiple domains.

At the second seminar, “Protecting multicultural societies against religious extremism: A practitioner’s insights”, Lt Gen Hasnain spoke about his experiences as a member of the minority in India. He also spoke about his efforts to practise and promote India’s unique principle of “unity in diversity” through his leadership of soldiers of different faiths in challenging tactical situations.

While in Singapore, Lt Gen Hasnain also met and exchanged ideas with some of Singapore’s senior government officials as well as analysts from both RSIS and the government sector.



Lieutenant General (Ret) Syed Ata Hasnain (left) with Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna, Head of Policy Studies and Coordinator of the National Security Studies Programme

The Fourth Industrial Revolution

By **Henrik Paulsson**

The Military Studies Programme (MSP) of RSIS’ Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies organised a seminar titled “The Fourth Industrial Revolution: Challenges and Potential for National Security” on 11 August 2017. The seminar was intended as a platform for security and defence academics and practitioners to discuss how the Fourth Industrial Revolution will challenge and change how nations protect themselves in an environment with dynamic possibilities and no boundaries.

Dr Linton Wells II of George Mason University and the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the US National Defense University gave a

keynote address to set the scene for the discussions. He warned that the Fourth Industrial Revolution would bring increased and different security threats and urged governments to act now to shape the future instead of waiting passively for developments to unfold. He also stressed the need to break free of linear thinking.

In his presentation titled “Keeping Smart Cities Safe: A New Age of Insecurity”, Dr Tan Teck Boon from the RSIS National Security Studies Programme (NSSP) noted that the smart cities that the world was moving towards would bring great advantages but also challenges, arising from the unique nature of smart cities. He discussed possible solutions that could help mitigate these risks.

Dr Jolene Gerard from the RSIS International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) presented a paper titled “The Indomitable Hydra: The Transnational Terrorist Threat”, which highlighted how the Fourth Industrial Revolution was functioning as a revolutionary catalyst, where the mass availability of data was changing the way the commercial sector operated. She argued that the same global communication technology that businesses were using was also used by transnational terrorist organisations and was enabling them to evolve

into new iterations, similar to the many-headed hydra of Greek mythology. She then highlighted several significant trends in the evolution of these organisations.

Dr Gerard concluded on a positive note, encouraged that, although terrorists were taking advantage of new technologies, so were governments, which enabled them to combat terrorism more effectively.



Dr Linton Wells II

DRUMS Workshop

By Benjamin Ang

The Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) organised a workshop on 24 July 2017 titled “Distortions, Rumours, Untruths, Misinformation and Smears (DRUMS)”. The workshop explored new and existing methods in countering information operations and the phenomenon known as “fake news” in both the online and real worlds. It also assessed the methods available to counter DRUMS from a multi-disciplinary perspective and studied how states around the world were coping with the proliferation of DRUMS.

The 18 speakers included academics, practitioners, and private sector experts from the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Latvia, the Czech Republic, Hong Kong, Norway, Ukraine, and Singapore. They spoke from the perspectives of anthropology, psychology, journalism, counter-terrorism, technology,

hybrid warfare, computational propaganda, education, and national security. And, they provided fresh insights into a range of issues such as the psychological reasons why people believe conspiracy theories and the use of big data to target propaganda.

More than 100 participants from government agencies attended the two-day workshop and participated actively in

the syndicate discussions with the speakers. Feedback from participants showed that they had benefited from the broad range of perspectives that the speakers shared. The latter, for their part, benefited from networking with other international experts in the field, and this has paved the way for future collaboration opportunities with CENS.



Dr Shashi Jayakumar (right), Head of CENS, speaking during the panel discussion on countering “fake news”

Joint Training on Economic Corridor Development in Asia

By Phidel Vineles

On 23-25 August 2017, RSIS’ Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS), in cooperation with the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI), and Singapore’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, held a capacity-building training programme for public sector leaders, academics,

policymakers, and development planners across Asia.

Titled “Economic Corridor Development for Competitive and Inclusive Asia”, the training programme underscored the importance of economic corridors for bringing sustainable economic development in the region. A good example of a successful economic corridor is the Greater Mekong Subregion

(GMS) Economic Cooperation Programme, which consists of six countries, namely, Cambodia, China, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam. According to Mr Alfredo Perdiguero, Director of the ADB’s Southeast Asia Department, the GMS Programme had invested about US\$17 billion in various projects, with 80 per cent going to establishing transport connectivity. He noted that the

GMS Programme’s Southern Economic Corridor had reduced the travel time between Phnom Penh and Ho Chi Minh from 9-10 hours in 1999 to five hours in 2015.

Dr Aladdin Rillo, Senior Economist at ADBI, explained that infrastructure development and high productivity are important for boosting the gross domestic product (GDP). He said that infrastructure projects create jobs and also directly improve the production and distribution of an economy. Dr Rillo disclosed that the infrastructure investment needed in developing Asia was equivalent to a whopping US\$26 trillion, or US\$1.7 trillion per year, from 2016 to 2030.

Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, noted that establishing economic corridors was an effective strategy for building international cooperation. He also said that economic corridors help to facilitate investment flows and movement of skilled workers in Asia because they promote connectivity among countries.



Some of the public sector leaders, academics, policymakers, and development planners who participated in the training programme

The Goh Keng Swee Command and Staff College Seminar 2017

By Eddie Lim

The 7th Goh Keng Swee Command and Staff College (GKS CSC) Seminar, co-organised by the GKS CSC, SAF-NTU Academy (SNA), and RSIS, was held on 5-6 October 2017. It drew 356 participants, comprising military

and industry practitioners as well as academics.

Themed “Challenges and the Impact of Cyber Threats and Terrorism on National Security and the Role of the Military”, the seminar sought to create a platform for the students of the Command and Staff Course and invited guests to break

their mental horizons on the perceived roles of military and security professionals in the face of cyber threats and terrorism.

This year’s GKS CSC Seminar was different from previous years’ seminars in several ways. The most notable innovation was the inclusion of a student presenter. Representing

his cohort, a student of the Command and Staff Course shared his perspective on the topic “Regaining the Initiative: Terrorist Learning and Red Teaming — A Student’s Perspective”. This is an encouraging step towards student engagement and learning, which contributes to building student confidence. The organisers also broke new ground by making the seminar immediately relevant for the GKS CSC students. With Singapore taking over the ASEAN chair in 2018, they ensured that the seminar set the stage for the students to spar among themselves and ponder over the continued relevance and success of ASEAN.

The students were highly engaged throughout the entire seminar, participating in robust exchanges with the expert panellists during the question and answer sessions. Their post-seminar feedback was extremely positive.



Speakers at the GKS CSC Seminar 2017

RSIS Convocation 2017

By Atiqah Suhaimi and Akash S Goud

The annual RSIS convocation ceremony was held on 31 July 2017 at NTU’s Nanyang Auditorium. Many of the graduating students had flown in from across the world to attend the convocation along with their families and friends. It was a pivotal moment for the students, marking the culmination of years of hard work.

The graduating batch of 2016/2017 comprised doctoral candidates, students from the NTU-Warwick Double Degree Programme as well as students from the Master of Science degrees in Asian Studies, International Political Economy, International Relations, and Strategic Studies. Over 200 graduands were present at the ceremony.

Mr Inderjit Singh, Chairman of the NTU Board of Trustees’ Enterprise Committee, presided over the ceremony, handing out degree scrolls to the graduates as Professor Joseph Liow, Dean of RSIS, announced their names in turn. After the presentation, the graduates gathered for a group photo-

taking session — an impressive feat to undertake as the massive cohort filled up the entire entrance to the auditorium.

Following the ceremony, the graduates adjourned to the Hive for lunch, where they had the opportunity to catch up with their ex-classmates and professors.

It was heartening to learn that many of the graduates had already successfully landed jobs in prestigious companies across a diverse range of industries — a success partly due, no doubt, to the solid foundation that their RSIS training has provided them.



(L-R) Doctoral graduands Gong Xue, Lina Gong, and Katheryn Henneey Floyd

ASEAN Mechanisms on Maritime Security Cooperation



Professor Joseph Liow (centre), Dean of RSIS, with Ms Jane Chan (left), Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Maritime Security Programme (MSP), and Dr Shafiah Fifi Muhibat, Senior Fellow, MSP

By **Rajni Gamage**

The RSIS Maritime Security Programme held a workshop titled “ASEAN Mechanisms on Maritime Security Cooperation” on 26 September 2017. The aim of the workshop was to gain deeper insights into the role of maritime security in ASEAN and the ASEAN-Plus mechanisms. Representatives from the 10 ASEAN member

countries discussed the different country perspectives of these mechanisms and the various initiatives that had been tabled through them.

Some of the key themes discussed were: Should maritime security be collapsed into one dedicated sectoral body or is there merit in overlapping discussions on multiple platforms? How does the presence of extra-regional

powers in the expanded formats of these mechanisms affect ASEAN centrality and the success of the various maritime security initiatives? What are the country perspectives on the various maritime security initiatives tabled at these forums, such as the Code for Unplanned Encounters at Seas (CUES) and the ASEAN-China Code of Conduct (CoC) for the South China Sea?

Participants were divided in their views on the various mechanisms and initiatives: while some feared that multiple overlapping meetings could pose coordination challenges, others preferred more, rather than fewer, meetings, citing the merits of meetings in facilitating confidence building.

A number of observations were made at the workshop, with Singapore’s chairmanship of ASEAN close at hand. It was expected that progress on the South China Sea issue would be foremost on the agenda during Singapore’s chairmanship, especially in terms of determining what practical cooperation activities could be pursued in accordance with Article 6 of the CoC. Participants also noted that should Singapore, as ASEAN chair, be able to get all the ASEAN Defence Ministers’ Meeting Plus (ADMM+) states to endorse CUES, there was the potential for ADMM+ to put in place a framework for multilateral maritime exercises (applying CUES) in appropriate areas in the South China Sea.

ASEAN and the World @ 50th Anniversary of ASEAN and Beyond

By **Eddie Lim and Adrian Tan**

To coincide with the 50th Anniversary of ASEAN, the Thai army’s Center for Strategic Studies organised an international seminar, with the theme “ASEAN and the World @ 50th Anniversary of ASEAN and Beyond”, on 1-4 August 2017. The seminar was held at the historic seaside resort town of Bangsaen in Thailand’s Chonburi Province. The choice of Bangsaen is particularly meaningful. It was in Bangsaen, at the home of then Prime Minister Plaek Phibunsongkhram, that the

foreign ministers of Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines came together 50 years ago to discuss the formation of ASEAN. The outcome of the discussions was the Bangkok Declaration, signed on 8 August 1967.

The seminar brought together an interesting mix of academics and officials from the United States, China, Australia, the United Kingdom, Russia, the European Union, as well as the ASEAN member states. The three-man RSIS delegation was led by Mr Adrian Tan, Deputy Head of Policy Studies at RSIS.

Discussing Singapore’s perspective, Mr Tan said Singapore attached great significance to ASEAN and would continue to contribute to its success. He also focused on ASEAN’s economic strength.

As a global player and an economic powerhouse, ASEAN, he noted, had a combined gross domestic product (GDP) of US\$2.6 trillion and was set to become the fourth largest economy by 2050. Mr Tan concluded that it was critical for ASEAN to continue putting effort into human capital development to meet the new challenges of the global market.



Mr Adrian Tan (third from right), Deputy Head of Policy Studies at RSIS, and other guest speakers receive plaques of appreciation

UK’s Minister of State for Security Visits RSIS



The Rt Hon Ben Wallace

By **Jade Hutchinson**

On 22 September 2017, the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) hosted a visit to RSIS by the United Kingdom’s Minister of State for Security, the Right Honourable Ben Wallace, MP, and his delegation. The meeting was prompted by the minister’s interest in understanding

the terrorism landscape in Southeast Asia and efforts by countries in the region to counter the threat.

At a discussion chaired by Dr Jolene Jerard, ICPVTR’s Deputy Head, Minister Wallace pointed out that the United Kingdom’s number one threat was the so-called Islamic State (IS) terror movement. He wondered whether there were vulnerabilities in Southeast

Asia that IS might exploit in the wake of the battering it had taken in its strongholds in Iraq and Syria.

Dr Jerard noted that available intelligence had identified at least 41 foreign fighters in Marawi in the Philippines. The recent siege of Marawi, she said, was a symbolic success for the IS; it illustrated the military strength, speed, and capability of IS in the area. Dr Jerard cautioned that emboldened IS operatives had already called for indiscriminate attacks on American, Canadian, and Buddhist targets in Indonesia.

Minister Wallace was concerned that Al Qaeda, IS, and other terror groups active in Southeast Asia might begin to amalgamate. He recalled that terrorist media broadcasts issued in IS leader Al-Baghdadi’s name during the Marawi crisis had issued calls for solidarity in several languages to appeal to various ethnic sub-groups.

Minister Wallace also expressed concern that the absence of Western humanitarian aid during the Rohingya refugee crisis might have portrayed the West in a negative light. He feared that such an image could be used symbolically to stoke anti-Western sentiments and radicalise segments of the Myanmar population. Dr Jerard noted that the rhetoric of radicalisation was already evident at ground level although no large-scale recruitment had occurred as yet.

Discussing how best to counter the ideology and narratives spun by terrorists, Dr Jerard stressed that a critical success factor would be whether the authority figures who spoke out against terrorists had credibility with their respective audiences. Minister Wallace agreed that, as with Asia, it was proving difficult in Europe to find authority figures who could appeal to the intended audiences.

RSIS Distinguished Visiting Fellow Appointed to High-level UN Mediation Panel

RSIS Distinguished Visiting Fellow Dr Noeleen Heyzer has been appointed to a high-level Advisory Board on Mediation established recently at the United Nations.

The establishment of the Board is part of the “surge in diplomacy for peace” that UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres has committed himself to adopting in the face of the spiralling complexity and human cost of conflicts. Its role is to provide the

Secretary-General with advice on mediation initiatives and to back specific mediation efforts around the world.

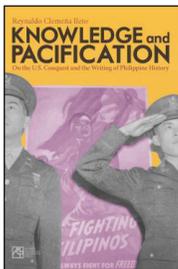
Dr Heyzer, a Singaporean, joins 17 other current and former global leaders, senior officials, and renowned experts on the Board, who bring together a wide range of experience, skills, knowledge, and networks. She herself is eminently qualified for a place on the Board. From 2013 to 2015, Dr Heyzer was the then Secretary-General’s

Special Adviser for Timor-Leste to support peacebuilding and sustainable development. She has also previously served as Executive Secretary of the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (2007-2014) and as Executive Director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (1994-2007).



Dr Noeleen Heyzer

STAFF PUBLICATIONS



Knowledge and Pacification: On the U.S. Conquest and the Writing of Philippine History

Reynaldo C. Ileto. Ateneo De Manila University Press: 2017. ISBN: 978-971-550-778-3

This book shows us how to think about the American century in the Philippines in another way. Colonial representations of the revolution and resistance to U.S. occupation have been contested quite effectively. But the bigger challenge, or rather pressing task, is to interrogate some basic notions that undergird our understanding of Philippine politics— notions that owe their provenance to early attempts by U.S. officials and scholars to pacify the enemy.

Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi

Edited by Hoo Tiang Boon. Routledge: 2017. ISBN: 9781138644175

There has been a discernable calibration of Chinese foreign policy since the ascension of Xi Jinping to the top leadership positions in China. This has not been a fundamental transformation of Chinese foreign policy, but there have been real changes, with important repercussions for China and the international system. The burning questions then are What, Where, How and Why: What are these key foreign policy adjustments? Where and how have these occurred in Chinese diplomacy? And what are the reasons or drivers that inform these changes? This book seeks to capture these changes. Featuring contributions from academics, think-tank intellectuals and policy practitioners, all engaged in the compelling business of China-watching, the book aims to shed more light on the calibrations that have animated China's diplomacy under Xi, a leader who by most accounts is considered the most powerful Chinese *numero uno* since Deng Xiaoping.

Jumpstarting South Asia

Pradumna B. Rana and Wai-Mun Chia. Oxford University Press: 2017. ISBN: 9780199479283

Economic reforms implemented by the South Asian countries in the 1980s and 1990s had positive impacts on growth, and the region's share of world GDP had started to increase. But, more recently, economic growth in South Asia has softened somewhat due to a number of reasons. This book focuses on the slowing pace of economic reforms and makes the case for a two-pronged strategy to jumpstart South Asian economies. First, South Asian countries should complete the economic reform process that they had begun and implement the more microeconomic reforms, namely, the sectoral, and governance and institutional reforms to enhance competition and improve the operation of markets. Second, they should implement the second round of "Look East" policies or LEP2 to (i) link themselves to production networks in East Asia, their fastest growing markets, and (ii) develop production networks in manufacturing and services within their region. The book argues that the proposed strategy will lead to a win-win situation for all countries in South Asia and East Asia, and reinvigorate economic integration within South Asia, one of the least integrated regions of the world. The book also identifies the unfinished policy reform agenda for each South Asian country and the components of the LEP2 that they should implement.

ASEAN 50: Regional Security Cooperation through Selected Documents

By Daniel Chua and Eddie Lim. World Scientific. ISBN: 978-981-3221-13-0

ASEAN 50: Regional Security Cooperation through Selected Documents curates key official documents that establish ASEAN as the foundation of Southeast Asia's peace and security. Since 1967, ASEAN has played the crucial role of managing conflicts and maintaining stability in a region shaped by diverse political, economic and socio-cultural dynamics. During the Cold War, ASEAN's ability to keep major power rivalries and intra-mural disputes in check provided the conditions for economic growth in the region. Yet the extent of ASEAN's contributions to the security of Southeast Asia has not been systematically presented.

This compendium of official ASEAN declarations, statements, treaties, conventions and workplans demonstrates the activism and innovation of ASEAN member countries in their management of regional security for the past five decades. ASEAN 50: Regional Security Cooperation through Selected Documents provides answers to how ASEAN remains a cohesive organisation through periods of regional conflict, how ASEAN unity thrives despite seemingly insurmountable differences among the ten members, and how ASEAN centrality is resilient against pressure arising from great power influences in Southeast Asia.

Security, Economics and Nuclear Non-Proliferation Morality

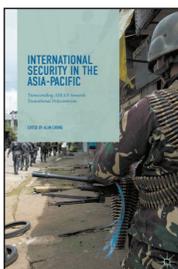
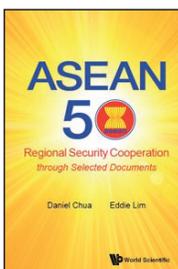
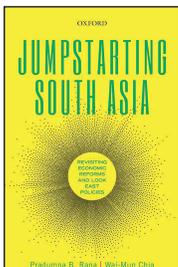
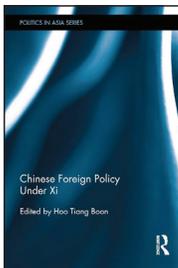
Nah Liang Tuang. Springer: 2017. ISBN: 978-3-319-62253-8

This book seeks to elucidate the decisions of states that have chosen to acquire nuclear arms or inherited nuclear arsenals, and have either disarmed or elected to retain their warheads. It examines nuclear arms policy via an interconnected framework involving the eclectic use of national security based realism, economic interdependence liberalism, and nuclear weapons norms or morality based constructivism. Through the various chapters examining the nuclear munitions decisions of South Africa, Ukraine and North Korea, a case is built that a state's leadership decides whether to keep or give up "the Bomb" based on interlinked security, economic and norms governed motivations. Thereafter, frameworks evaluating the likelihood of nuclear proliferation and accessing the feasibility of disarmament are then applied to North Korea and used to examine recent Iranian nuclear negotiability. This book is an invaluable resource for international relations and security studies scholars, WMD analysts and post graduate or undergraduate candidates focusing on nuclear arms politics related courses

International Security in the Asia-Pacific

Edited by Alan Chong. Springer: 2017. ISBN: 978-3-319-60761-0

This volume argues that international security in the Asia-Pacific lends itself to contradictory analyses of centrifugal and centripetal trends. Transitional polycentrism is intrinsically awkward as a description of the security of states and their populations; it implies the loosening of state control and the emergence of newly asserted authority by mixed constellations of intergovernmental organizations and non-state actors. It implies a competition of agendas: threats to the integrity of borders and human security threats such as natural disasters, airliner crashes, and displacement by man-made pollution and food scarcity. Conversely, polycentrism could also imply a return to a more neo-realist oriented international order where great powers ignore ASEAN and steer regional order according to their perceived interests and relative military superiority. This book embraces these contradictory trends as a foundation of analysis and accepts that disorder can also be re-described from the perspective of studied detachment as polycentric order.



THINK TANK

MCI (P) 114/01/2017

www.rsis.edu.sg

EDITOR

Mervin Kok

iswlkok@ntu.edu.sg

Contributors

Adrian Tan

Akash S Goud

Angela Poh

Atiqah Suhaimi

Benjamin Ang

Eddie Lim

Geanina Bujoreanu

Henrik Paulsson

Irene Chan

Jade Hutchinson

Jennifer Mary Dhanaraj

Lina Gong

Nazia Hussain

Phidel Vineles

Rajni Gamage

Shawn Ho

Stephanie Neubronner

UPCOMING EVENTS

23 NOVEMBER 2017

RSIS SEMINAR BY DR CUNG VU ON "DRONES: STATUS, APPLICATIONS AND ISSUES"

1 DECEMBER 2017

RSIS - HAIFA RESEARCH CENTER FOR MARITIME POLICY & STRATEGY (CMS) WORKSHOP ON "ANTI-ACCESS/AREA DENIAL STRATEGIES AND CAPACITIES: IMPLICATIONS FOR SMALL STATES"

8 DECEMBER 2017

WORKSHOP BY CHINA PROGRAMME ON "CHINA'S NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICIES"

2 MARCH 2018

WORKSHOP BY SOUTH ASIA PROGRAMME ON "INDIA-U.S. STRATEGIC RELATIONS"

23 - 25 MARCH 2018

THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION SINGAPORE PLENARY MEETING

3 - 4 APRIL 2018

TRACK II NETWORK OF ASEAN DEFENCE AND SECURITY INSTITUTIONS (NADI) ANNUAL MEETING

28 APRIL 2018

THE 15TH ASEAN LEADERSHIP FORUM

7 - 11 MAY 2018

12TH ASIA-PACIFIC PROGRAMME FOR SENIOR NATIONAL SECURITY OFFICERS (APPSNO)