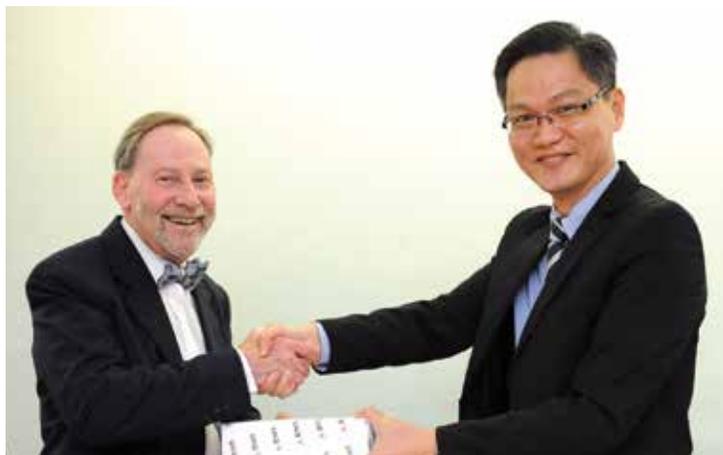


## Science and Technology Foresight – Preparing for an Uncertain Future



*Prof Richard Silbergliitt (left) receiving a memento from Dr Tan Teck Boon, Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Science and Technology Studies Programme*

By **Nandhakumar Gunasekaran**

The Science and Technology Studies Programme (STSP) held an inaugural lecture titled “Science and Technology Foresight – Preparing for an Uncertain Future” on 10 April 2018. RSIS Distinguished Visiting Fellow Prof Richard Silbergliitt, Senior Physical Scientist at RAND Corporation,

and Professor at Pardee RAND Graduate School, was the speaker. Representatives from the government, academia, industry, and members of the public interested in science and technology, foresight and policymaking, attended the RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture.

Prof Silbergliitt opened his lecture by presenting the audience with a science and

technology (S&T) policy dilemma – the need to decide on the most promising courses of action out of a myriad of possible future outcomes, in an environment of technological advances, social change and environmental constraints.

S&T foresight has a role to play in addressing this dilemma. Future visions can be developed by considering a range of possible futures, envisioning paths to those futures, and considering what may happen on those paths. On technology, Prof Silbergliitt emphasised that foresight considers how technology is applied rather than the technology itself.

Prof Silbergliitt said that S&T policy implementation rested on three interdependent factors: research & development (R&D) capacity, an updated or expanded manufacturing base, and capacity for S&T commercialisation.

Prof Silbergliitt also explained

how foresight tools can be applied to policymaking. The Three Horizons Foresight (3HF) framework is one such tool that provides a means to envision alternative futures. In the 3HF, the first horizon describes the current state of affairs, the third horizon paints a desired future state, while the second horizon represents the phase of conflict resolution where trade-offs are made in transitioning from the first to third horizon.

Another foresight tool, Assumption-Based Planning (ABP), provides a means to consider the effects of plausible events by identifying and testing important assumptions, and acting to reduce the likelihood of avoidable surprises. 3HF and ABP have been used to develop scenario paths for a wide range of policy issues such as law enforcement technology needs and energy demand in ASEAN.

Prof Silbergliitt concluded by underscoring how S&T policies must reflect local conditions in relation to technology, society, the economy and the environment. Foresight could be a useful tool if alternative scenarios are considered, and hedging strategies designed to allow for flexibility and agility.

Science and Technology Foresight – Preparing for an Uncertain Future page 01

The Korean Crisis and Geopolitics Regional Maritime Security Outlook 2018 page 02

Back to the Future: Singapore, China and Southeast Asia page 03

Countering the ISIS Threat to Multicultural Societies Mediation for Peace: Conflict Prevention and Early Action page 04

The Prospects of Sino-US Relations and Implications for the Asia-Pacific

The 14<sup>th</sup> Malaysian General Elections: Analysis and Implications page 05

China’s Overseas Investments: Trends, Patterns, and Supervision NTS-Asia Consortium Annual Conference on Resilience in the Face of Disruptions page 06

Role of the AHA Centre on Disaster Management Track II NADI 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting page 07

APPSNO 2018 page 08

Eleventh Terrorism Analyst Training Course The India-US Strategic Relationship: A Global Partnership or a Relationship Oversold? page 10

Iran’s Economy: Prospects and Challenges Energy-Security Nexus of China’s Belt and Road Initiative page 11

Nuclear Supply and Demand in North Korea Outlook on Singapore’s ASEAN Chairmanship Year page 12

SRP-HEB Joint Public Lecture on Countering Fundamentalism IDTF-RSIS Total Defence Day Seminar 2018 page 13

RSIS-MAC Roundtable Malaysia and Belt & Road Initiatives page 14

RSIS-CNA Workshop on East Asian Maritime Issues The Global Resurgence of Religious and Nationalistic Ideologies page 15

Staff Publications and Upcoming Events page 16

# The Korean Crisis and Geopolitics

By Shawn Ho

Dr Lee Seong-Hyon, Research Fellow from the Sejong Institute in South Korea, delivered a seminar titled “The Korean Crisis and Geopolitics” on 24 January 2018 at RSIS.

His three key messages were: (i) the possibility of conflict breaking out on the Korean Peninsula has been at one of its highest points since the Korean War; (ii) the upcoming Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang, South Korea, has helped to reduce tensions on the Korean Peninsula and it might be the last window for diplomacy to work; and (iii) that

China views the North Korea problem in the context of the wider Sino-US rivalry.

Dr Lee remarked that the real question that people should ask is what will US do after the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics and as North Korea makes further progress in its nuclear and missile capabilities over the next few months.

On the topic of China’s relationship with North Korea, while the US often asks China to do more to rein in North Korea, Dr Lee is of the view that China’s policy towards North Korea will not change significantly as long as there is no major change in the strategic



Dr Lee Seong-Hyon (left) speaking at the seminar. Beside him is Mr Shawn Ho, Associate Research Fellow at RSIS

rivalry between China and the US. Moreover, North Korea

does not pose an existential threat to China’s security.

# Regional Maritime Security Outlook 2018



Ms Jane Chan (left), Coordinator of the Maritime Security Programme, IDSS, with Prof You Ji, Head, Department of Government and Public Administration, University of Macau

By Lee YingHui

The RSIS Conference on “Regional Maritime Security Outlook 2018” was held at Marina Mandarin Singapore from 31 January to 1 February 2018. Organised by the Maritime Security Programme of the Institute of Defence and

Strategic Studies at RSIS, the two-day conference provided a platform for participants to exchange views on future maritime security challenges facing Southeast Asia.

Panels on the first day focused on trends in the broader maritime environment and the evolving maritime strategies

of regional stakeholders. Panellists from various countries presented their views on the maritime strategies and priorities of regional and extra-regional players, including Indonesia, Vietnam, China, India and the United States. Some pertinent issues discussed include recent developments in the South China Sea, rising defence budgets among regional navies, escalating tension between the great powers in regional waters, and the emergence of disruptive technologies.

Submarine operations and safety, which formed the second theme of the conference, was the focus on day two. Speakers and participants engaged in a two-way dialogue on the risks to submarine operational safety in the region. The discussion was centred on the South China Sea. Major risks identified include shallow water depth, congested waterways, vessels

with increasingly deeper draught, and the presence of other underwater hazards such as mobile oil rigs and unmanned underwater vehicles.

The discussion on submarine safety can be divided into two categories: (i) reactive safety and (ii) proactive safety. On reactive safety, speakers spoke on the submarine rescue capabilities of various regional countries. With regards to proactive safety, a lack of trust among regional countries was recognised as the main inhibiting factor to achieving a collective and institutionalised framework on submarine operational safety in the region.

The conference was attended by Naval practitioners including submariners, representatives, and International Liaison Officers from the Information Fusion Centre (IFC), in addition to academics and analysts from various institutions.

# Back to the Future: Singapore, China and Southeast Asia



Prof Linda Lim

By Aédán Mordecai

On 21 March 2018 at the NTU@one-north, the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) hosted Prof Linda Lim as she held the RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture titled “Back to the Future: Singapore, China, and Southeast Asia” which was moderated by RSIS Executive Deputy Chairman Amb Ong Keng Yong. Prof Linda Lim is the NTUC Professor of International Economic Relations, RSIS; and Professor Emerita of Corporate Strategy and International Business, Stephen M Ross School of Business, University of Michigan. Her research has covered a wide array of topics including labour markets, industrialisation, and international trade, culminating in extensive publications from books to journal articles. Her

wealth of experience positioned her perfectly to discuss current economic trends in the region, and suggestions for the direction that Singapore and Singaporean citizens should head, to stay competitive in a global economy which does not stand still.

Prof Lim pointed out that the international economic landscape seems to be shifting slightly, with America under current leadership, moving away from multilateralism as well as globalisation. China, as a result is better placed to become arguably the most important actor in the global economy. For countries in Southeast Asia, including Singapore, China is without doubt the most important economic partner due to proximity. The development of the Belt Road Initiative (BRI) is only likely to offer even greater opportunities to benefit from China’s growth.

Prof Lim repeated the common belief that Southeast Asia would be an area of high economic growth in the coming years, especially compared to the low rates of growth being experienced in many developed countries in the West. Prof Lim, however, did provide a warning for Singapore. In her opinion, the city-state’s position as a bridge between Southeast Asia, and China as well as the rest of the world, is not a given. With technology being able to provide a more direct link between the growing middle-income populations in Southeast Asia, and the international business community, Singapore must adapt if it wants to stay relevant in the region and take advantage of the growing demand that exists in a youthful Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

According to Prof Lim’s observations, Singapore has become too focused on China and other developed Western nations at the expense of relations with its more immediate neighbours. Prof Lim offered her own personal experiences of high-achieving Singaporean students who are likely to be business leaders in the country but are extremely reluctant to learn Bahasa. This is indicative of the separation that exists between Singapore and the rest of Southeast Asia, from a social, cultural, and economic point of view. Prof Lim’s advice to Singapore’s policymakers and individuals, is to build a deeper holistic relationship with the closer countries as this might be Singapore’s best chance of remaining as an economic player in the future.

# Countering the ISIS Threat to Multicultural Societies

By **Stephanie Neubronner**

On 5 February 2018, the National Security Studies Programme (NSSP) organised a half-day workshop on “Countering the ISIS Threat to Multicultural Societies”. The by-invitation-only workshop comprised of two panels and saw a total of four speakers who shared their views on how multicultural societies could

work towards countering the threat of violent extremism.

Dr Bilveer Singh, Adjunct Senior Fellow at the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) at RSIS, spoke on the threat of ISIS to Southeast Asia. Returning foreign fighters, the threat of the virtual Caliphate, the presence of active jihadi groups in the tri-border region, and ISIS’s attempts to establish



(L-R) Dr Bilveer Singh, Mr Nafees Hamid, Dr David Cook, Assoc Prof Kumar Ramakrishna, Head of Policy Studies and Coordinator of National Security Studies Programme, and BG (Ret.) Russell Howard

a regional stronghold were identified as key concerns. Dr Singh concluded that Southeast Asia should adopt a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach to combat the threat.

Dr David Cook, Assoc Prof of Religion at Rice University, who specialises in Islam, argued that ISIS is as Islamic as any other Sunni Salafi-jihadi organisation. ISIS has tried to legitimise its actions, including its brutality, by aligning itself with historical practices. Thus, challenging ISIS on ideological or religious grounds would be difficult. Novel methods are, thus, needed to delegitimise ISIS and its ideologies.

Mr Nafees Hamid, Research Fellow at ARTIS International, used examples from studies carried out in Europe;

demonstrating the usefulness of social networking analysis, and crime mapping tools when studying jihadist terrorist groups in the extended Paris-Brussels attack networks. Mr Hamid also elaborated on the use of these analytical tools alongside the administration of the standard radicalisation psychometric survey in research he carried out in Spain. Such analytical tools, he asserted, allowed for a multi-layered investigation of the complex system of radicalisation and terrorist group mobilisation that exists in Europe today.

Brigadier General (Ret.) Russell Howard, President of Howard’s Consulting Services, spoke on integrating “soft” and “hard” power in the fight against ISIS. His presentation, based on his 2015 TED Talk, discussed “hard” and “soft” strategies to combat ISIS. BG (Ret.) Howard predicted that ISIS would search for new bases following its defeat in Iraq and Syria.

# Mediation for Peace: Conflict Prevention and Early Action



Dr Noeleen Heyzer

By **Christopher Chen**

The RSIS’ Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies (NTS Centre) hosted a seminar

titled “Mediation for Peace: Conflict Prevention and Early Action” on 7 February 2018. The seminar was delivered by Dr Noeleen Heyzer, RSIS Distinguished Visiting Fellow and former Under-Secretary General of the United Nations (2007-2015). Assoc Prof Mely Caballero-Anthony, Head of the NTS Centre, moderated the event.

Recently appointed as a member of the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General’s High-Level Advisory Board on Mediation, Dr Heyzer provided a brief summary of the initiative, stating how the board was set up as an instrument to facilitate the

surge in diplomacy for peace. She noted how it also allows the UN to work more effectively with regional, national, and local organisations involved in conflict mediation processes. She contended that diversity, coupled with a failure to coexist were the main causes of conflict in many countries, and emphasised the pressing need for the international community to prevent such occurrences.

In addition, she highlighted some of the current challenges to mediation efforts. Some of these challenges include the regionalisation and internationalisation of local conflicts, the accelerated rate of information dissemination,

the lack of inclusive peace agreements, and the lack of consensus among UN Security Council members. These challenges exacerbate conflict situations and contribute to their intractable, protracted natures.

Dr Heyzer stressed that mediation requires consistent political engagement with key stakeholders, not only at international level, but also at regional and local levels. Relationships of trust and diplomatic networks are important components needed to promote such engagement. In her opinion, states should be encouraged to identify and develop domestic structures and institutions that promote peace and stability. By fostering resilient, inclusive societies within their own borders, states can then strive for peaceful coexistence with other states in the international arena.

# The Prospects of Sino-US Relations and Implications for the Asia-Pacific

By Zhang Hongzhou

Prof Wu Xinbo, RSIS Distinguished Visitor; and Dean, Institute of International Studies, and Director, Center for American Studies, Fudan University, delivered an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture



Prof Wu Xinbo

on 29 March 2018 at NTU@one-north. The topic of the lecture covers on the prospects of Sino-US relations and implications for the Asia Pacific.

In his lecture, Prof Wu painted a picture of China-US relations. As China rises, China-US relations will evolve around the logic of power-sharing, not power transition. Prof Wu's opportunist view of the future of Sino-US relations is based on four key assumptions: (i) since the end of the cold war, America's China policy mainly centered around responding to the rise of China; (ii) the bilateral relationship featured by both competition and cooperation; (iii) to predict the future of China-US relations, one needs to look at the whole picture

of bilateral relations and look beyond Trump's administration; and (iv) China's capability in shaping China-US interactions in material, normative, tactical, and strategic terms will continue to grow. Looking forward, Prof Wu believes that while militarily China will be still lacking behind the US, economic interdependence between two countries will become more symmetric.

As far as implications of the evolving China-US relations for Asia Pacific region is concerned, Prof Wu feels that the Asia Pacific will not be divided and separated economically given a serious Sino-US trade war or economic war is highly unlikely. Politically, as Washington will adjust reluctantly and slowly to

the changing power balance in the region and learn to share influence with Beijing, most countries in the region would prefer to develop relations with both China and US.

On the security front, the two countries will continue to coordinate and cooperate on important regional security issues. Alternatively, Prof Wu believes that China's security influence in Western Pacific will expand further whereas the America's security influence will decline leading to a new strategic equilibrium. As the US is determined to expand its security alliance and partnership, China might also develop other security cooperation mechanisms and some regional countries could join both.

# The 14<sup>th</sup> Malaysian General Elections: Analysis and Implications



Amb Barry Desker (front left), Distinguished Fellow of RSIS, with Prof Ahmad Fauzi

By Chan Xin Ying and Iulia Beatrice Lumina

The Malaysia Programme of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at RSIS,

organised "The 14<sup>th</sup> Malaysian General Elections: Analysis and Implications" workshop on 28 February 2018 at NTU@one-north, Singapore.

The workshop ventured into

both micro and macro issues that affect the GE14. Regarding the Northern Malay states, the speakers argued that the multi-corner fight will be beneficial to Barisan Nasional (BN). Pakatan Harapan (PH) needs to put in more effort to gain support despite the protest votes effect. Moreover, the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) might lose Kelantan due to inner party's fractures and Nik Aziz's death.

As for Negeri Sembilan and Johor, the ability of Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (PPBM) and Parti Amanah Negara (AMANAH) to dethrone the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) remains uncertain, while PAS could play the role to split the Malay votes. On East Malaysia, Assoc Prof

Faisal S. Hazis, Senior Fellow at the Institute of Malaysian and International Studies, highlighted that Sarawak is more capable to play the Kingmaker's role than Sabah. However, if BN wins the majority in the Peninsula, both states will lose their special position.

Prof Ahmad Fauzi, Professor of Political Science, School of Distance Education, Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), argued that the use of Tun Mahathir's Malay-centricness focus by PH to attract Malay rural votes has indicated a strong regress for Malaysia's nation-building and reliance on the ethnocentric past. On the economic front, Prof Terence Gomez, Professor of Political Economy at the Faculty of Economics & Administration, University of Malaya, indicated that patronage appointments, which link political parties to big businesses, is a phenomenon that is pervasive to BN but it exists in the opposition too.

# China's Overseas Investments: Trends, Patterns, and Supervision

By Gong Xue

The China Programme of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at RSIS, organised a workshop titled "China's Overseas Investments: Trends, Patterns, and Supervision" on 16 March 2018 at the Nanyang Executive Centre, Singapore. Twelve scholars from China, Australia, and Thailand shared their insights at the workshop.

The workshop focused on three major themes: (i) changing patterns in Chinese overseas investment; (ii) domestic

supervision of overseas investment; and (iii) future trends. Participants shared their research findings on the changes that have taken place since China's opening up in the late 1970s.

The first panel provided legal and business explanations of China's evolving control over its overseas investments. The second focused on domestic supervision that covered sustainable development, corporate social responsibility, and overseas insurance funds. The third panel focused on domestic supervision studied from different areas where

China had heavily invested such as Southeast Asia, Europe, and Africa. The last panel provided discussion on future trends where China might need to improve on, such as in investment risks and bilateral investment treaties.

The panellists acknowledged that competition for supremacy between the United States and China and tighter screening on China's overseas investment especially in technology led by the United States would create a harsh situation for Chinese overseas investment. The domestic control of capitals would pose another difficult

scenario to its own overseas investments. However, it was recognised that China's institutional reforms realised in the recently closed "Two Sessions" would have a significant impact on Chinese overseas investment policies and its leadership in global governance.



*Assoc Prof Li Mingjiang (right), Coordinator of the China Programme, IDSS, speaking during the workshop. Beside him is Dr Gong Xue, Research Fellow under the same programme*

# NTS-Asia Consortium Annual Conference on Resilience in the Face of Disruptions

By Lina Gong

The RSIS' Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies (NTS Centre) convened the annual conference of the NTS-Asia Consortium in Singapore on 27-28 March 2018. The NTS-Asia Consortium was initiated in January 2007, and relaunched in February 2016 as a network of NTS research institutes and think tanks.

The Consortium, which now has 31 member institutions, provides an enabling platform for exchange on the latest developments and research findings in the field of NTS studies. The NTS Centre now leads and coordinates the Consortium. The conference this year brought together around 50 participants from member institutions and non-member partners to discuss the theme of "Resilience in the Face of Disruptions."



*Participants of the NTS-Asia Consortium 2018*

Amb Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, delivered the keynote address on building resilience amidst new disruptive factors. Amb Ong argued that disruptions in Asian countries have changed from war and poverty to climate change, and the advent of new technologies is likely to change existing norms and practices within state and society. Innovative and collaborative approaches are thus needed to manage their implications. He stressed on the importance of multilateral and multi-level cooperation and coordination

for effective governance of transnational problems arising from disruptions.

This was followed by five panel sessions: (i) environment and climate change; (ii) agriculture and food security; (iii) humanitarian crisis and forced displacement; (iv) cyber technology; and (v) inclusive society. The panel jointly examined the drivers of disruptions in these areas and their implications for national and human security. They proposed recommendations on building the resilience of states, communities and

people against complex challenges induced by new disruptive factors.

In her closing remarks, Assoc Prof Mely Caballero-Anthony, Head of the NTS Centre and Secretary-General of the NTS-Asia Consortium, highlighted the usefulness of an NTS lens for a better understanding of the implications of emerging disruptions. She concluded the conference by pointing out the need to assess whether existing governance mechanisms, institutions and norms were sufficient for addressing the challenges.

# Role of the AHA Centre on Disaster Management

By Vishalini Chandara Sagar

RSIS' Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies organised a seminar on the role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations

(ASEAN) Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Centre) in responding to crises in Southeast Asia. The seminar, titled "AHA Centre – The First 5 Years" was held on 9 February 2018 at The KeyPoint, RSIS.



Mr Said Faisal

The former Executive Director of AHA Centre, Mr Said Faisal, Visiting Senior Fellow at RSIS under the Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) Programme and a Senior Advisor to the Head of the National Disaster Management Agency of Indonesia, delivered the seminar. The seminar was moderated by Dr Alistair D. B. Cook, a Research Fellow and Coordinator of the HADR Programme in RSIS.

Mr Faisal reflected on his experience in establishing the AHA Centre and working with the Conference of the Parties to ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) to implement his vision for the region in coordinating disaster management and emergency response. He also shared some challenges he faced in

operationalising the mandate of the AHA Centre. During the seminar, Mr Faisal discussed about how he promoted a culture of execution and set the direction for his staff to focus on planning and executing disaster response operations in the region. He highlighted that one of the initial obstacles he faced was in creating public visibility for the work that AHA Centre was doing during crisis situations. For Mr Faisal, the three critical factors that drove HADR operations in the region were the AADMER mandate, the mechanisms in ASEAN to deal with crises, and financial support. The participants had an engaging discussion with Mr Faisal and a range of questions regarding the trends in HADR operations in the region and how AHA Centre was managed during his leadership were posed to him.

## Track II NADI 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting

By Henrick Tsjong

The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) hosted the Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting from 3 to 4 April

2018 at the Marina Mandarin Singapore. Amb Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS, welcomed the NADI delegates to the annual meeting and highlighted the increased uncertainty in the geopolitical landscape and the range of non-traditional

security challenges that the region faces. The keynote speaker, Mr Keith Tan, Deputy Secretary (Policy), Singapore Ministry of Defence (MINDEF), identified emerging issues that would have implications for ASEAN.

This was followed by the annual meeting proper, with delegates discussing the evolving regional political, security and economic environments, the importance of ASEAN-centric mechanisms in regional architecture for maintaining ASEAN centrality, unity and relevance, as well as the emerging non-traditional security challenges that threaten regional peace, stability and economic growth. The meeting had an active exchange of views, proposing recommendations for the consideration of the ASEAN

Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) on how to respond to the rapidly changing political, security and economic environments and address emerging security challenges.

There was also a brief meeting with the Leader of the ASEAN Defence Senior Officials Meeting Working Group (ADSOM WG), COL Aaron Beng, Director of the Defence Policy Office of MINDEF, during which COL Beng briefed NADI on the work plan of ADSOM WG and the key thrusts of Singapore ASEAN Chairmanship for the ADMM. Following this, the Annual Meeting deliberated and agreed on the Chairman's Report. Amb Ong concluded the meeting by thanking all delegates for their participation and constructive contribution.



Mr Keith Tan (right), speaking to Mr Tan Seng Chye, Senior Fellow at RSIS



# APPSNO 2018

By Terri-Anne Teo

The 12<sup>th</sup> Asia-Pacific Programme for Senior National Security Officers (APPSNO) was held at Marina Mandarin Singapore from 7 to 11 May 2018. Organised by the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) with the support of the National Security Coordination Secretariat (NSCS) at the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), APPSNO 2018's theme was "Boundaries of National Security".

The 12<sup>th</sup> edition of APPSNO enabled panels to discuss a broad range of national security issues affected both

positively and negatively by rapid change, and the resulting need for adaptation. These included the digitisation of biology, challenges of cross-ideological connectedness across extremist groups, relationship between cybercrime and political threats, and societal impact of populism.

Speakers were invited from a wide range of countries including Japan, Sweden, the United States and the United Kingdom to share their expertise and experience on the various topics. The week-long event gathered more than 80 participants from 25 countries, including senior national security officers from

the Asia Pacific and beyond, to Singapore for intensive discussions and networking. Coming from a spectrum of countries including Belgium, Bangladesh, New Zealand and Norway, the foreign participants were joined by their Singaporean counterparts from various government ministries and agencies.

Amb Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, opened the event. In his introduction, he stated: "Intrinsic within security measures is the ability to react effectively and accountably. Given the limited resources available to deal with threats, there is a need to prioritise these issues. We need to

understand the threats we face. We must have the ability to identify issues that fall under the remit of national security."

In line with the theme of boundaries, guest of honour Minister for Manpower and Second Minister for Home Affairs Mrs Josephine Teo, delivered the opening address: "Our world has never been more interconnected. What happens in one country can have significant implications for the security of another country. What happens on the virtual, online world, can spill over to the physical world. What started as a social issue, may have profound, long-lasting impact on security. We are therefore confronted by new





questions. In particular, how do we respond to the blurring boundaries of national security.”

Beyond hearing, engaging with and understanding the insights provided by speakers, international participants gave country presentations. These provided a snapshot of their respective national security policies and challenges with regard to homeland security management. This breadth of international perspectives engendered constructive exchanges between

participants. Further enhancing the programme was a lunch discussion on “Singapore’s Security and its Futures”, which comprised CENS panellists Dr Shashi Jayakumar, Dr Norman Vasu, Head and Deputy Head of CENS, respectively, and Mr Benjamin Ang, Senior Fellow and Coordinator of Cyber and Homeland Defence Programme. Mr Michael Shoebridge, Director of Defence and Strategy at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, delivered the Alumni Distinguished Dinner

Lecture on “The Boundaries of National Security”, offering a practitioner’s perspective on new challenges posed by the security landscape.

The exchange of knowledge extended beyond formal discussion during the conference. Conversations were sought during networking sessions, as well as group activities. One such activity was the Perspective Challenge, a board game designed to enable players to think differently about national security approaches.

Local and international participants were also invited to a Singapore Heritage Tour, which guided them through an interactive experience of Singapore’s national and military history.

Rounding off the event was the Certificate Presentation Ceremony and Closing Dinner hosted by Amb Ong Keng Yong. Overall, there was a positive consensus among speakers and participants alike that APPSNO was a stimulating, thought-provoking and valuable event.

# Eleventh Terrorism Analyst Training Course



Participants of the TATC

By Nur Aziemah Binte Azman

The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) organised the 11<sup>th</sup> Terrorism Analyst Training Course (TATC) from 29 January to 9 February 2018. A total of 60 participants

and 30 international speakers, including analysts, scholars, and practitioners on terrorism and security from 15 countries, attended the two-week course.

In his distinguished lecture on “Lessons Learned from the Liberation of Marawi”, Philippines Defense Secretary

Delfin Lorenzana, highlighted that the Marawi Siege underscores the need to enhance capabilities of the military in urban warfare fighting, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR), and signal and cyber intelligence. He noted that timeliness of dissemination of intelligence is important in a fast-paced urban warfare, and inadequate laws will allow the development of terrorist organisations and the spread of their ideology.

In his conclusion, he stressed that good governance is essential to prevent the development of would-be terrorists and that a whole-of-nation approach is necessary to address the threat of terrorism.

General Gregorio Pimentel,

Director for Intelligence Philippines National Police, spoke about the Philippines’ perspective on counterterrorism trends and intelligence *vis-à-vis* the security situation prevailing in the country. He noted that close coordination and information sharing with the Philippines National Police (PNP) units, military counterparts, and other law enforcement agencies are being regularly conducted, which strengthen efforts in combating terrorism not only in Mindanao but also in other parts of the country.

He concluded that although the threat posed by the Islamic State inspired groups has been reduced, the PNP will strive on the ideological battle so as to prevent radicalism that could bring forth a new breed of terrorist fighters.

## The India-US Strategic Relationship: A Global Partnership or a Relationship Oversold?

By Sumitha Narayanan Kutty

The South Asia Programme of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at RSIS hosted its annual workshop on 2 March 2018 at the Nanyang Executive Centre, NTU Singapore. The workshop, titled “A Global Partnership or A Relationship Oversold: The India-US Strategic Relationship”, brought together an international team from the US, UK, India, and Singapore of cross-disciplinary experts to discuss the present and future of India’s “strategic partnership” with the US — a relationship that is widely viewed as significant to global politics.

The participants addressed several conceptual and policy areas. They discussed the

definition and usefulness of concepts such as “strategic partnerships” and “strategic triangles”, with the aim to make the concepts analytically more useful. The presentations also underscored several important policy themes, including critical similarities and differences that influence India–US strategic ties and their growing military interactions in the backdrop of the uncertainty created by the advent of President Donald Trump. China’s expanding economic and military roles in South Asia and the Indian Ocean Region and strategic ties with Pakistan were two other issues that the participants stressed would impact India–US relations.

A third policy area of interest was the emergence and growing acceptance of the “Indo-Pacific” concept and

the possibility that it could mean different things for both India and the US. The return and effectiveness of the quadrilateral security dialogue, or “Quad”, between the US, India, Japan, and Australia were examined significantly in relation to this dynamic. With regard to Indo-US cooperation in South East Asia, their efforts

were seen to be running in parallel presently than in direct coordination.

Overall, there was consensus that the India–US strategic partnership was not yet a mature partnership, but participants maintained that its outlook remained one of cautious optimism.



(L-R) Dr Constantino Xavier, Fellow at Carnegie India, Ms Sumitha Narayanan Kutty, Associate Research Fellow at the South Asia Programme, IDSS and Dr Naburun Roy, Assistant Professor at Department of International Relations, South Asia University

# Iran's Economy: Prospects and Challenges

By Ng Chew Yee

H.E. Dr Ali Taiebnia, Senior Advisor to Iranian President Hassan Rouhani and former Iranian Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance, visited RSIS on 2 February 2018 for a roundtable titled "Iran's Economy: Prospects and Challenges". He was accompanied by H.E. Amb Javad Ansari, Non-Resident Ambassador of Iran to Singapore, Dr Ahmad Jamali, Director-General for Foreign Investment in Iran's Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, as well as, Dr Bahador Bijani, Vice-Chairman, Securities and Exchange Organisation of Iran.

Dr Taiebnia began the session with a brief overview of the Iranian economy and discussed

a wide range of issues from economic opportunities in Iran, the effects of sanctions on Iran, as well as, the dramatic fall in oil prices and its repercussions on the Iranian economy.

Dr Taiebnia argued that economic opportunities in Iran were not merely confined to oil and gas production, but included a large domestic market, the development of infrastructural networks, and notable tourist attractions. He added that despite the uncertainty in the region, Iran was still politically and economically stable and this would be key to Iran's growth in the near future. However, he also noted that of particular concern was the fluctuation in per capita income, which was partially due to external factors



H.E. Dr Ali Taiebnia (left) with Prof Ralf Emmers, Associate Dean of RSIS; and Head of Centre for Multilateralism Studies

such as the drastic fall in oil prices.

Dr Taiebnia was later joined by the rest of the delegation during the discussion session. Dr Jamali and Dr Bijani weighed in on economic and financial matters, while Amb

Ansari provided insights into Iran's perspectives on global affairs. Other areas discussed included the Belt and Road Initiative in Iran, Iran's economic relations and infrastructure projects with Afghanistan and India, and Iran's regional and international outlook.

# Energy-Security Nexus of China's Belt and Road Initiative

By Dedi Dinarto

Dr Frank Umbach, Research Director of the European Centre for Energy and Resource Security, King's College London, delivered two seminars – "China's Belt and Road Initiative and its Energy-Security Dimension" and "The Energy-Security Nexus of Major ASEAN Countries: Implications for Maritime Security Policies and the South China Sea's Territorial Disputes" at The Keypoint, RSIS on 21 and 23 February 2018, respectively.

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) aims to fulfil China's energy insecurities and drive domestic demands for fossil fuel and renewable energy sources. Dr Umbach argued

that these factors have propelled the Chinese Government to implement its energy investment project abroad, spreading across the Middle East, Persian Gulf, central Asia, Indian Ocean, and South China Sea. Not only does BRI serve as the multipurpose umbrella for Chinese geo-economic and geopolitical objectives, it is also an important gateway for China to reclaim its traditional hegemony.

High energy consumption and large numbers of energy projects make China a significant player. Dr Umbach argued that the militarisation of strategic sea lines of communication and choke points is inevitable to secure energy transshipments against

maritime security threats. Consequently, the presence of People's Liberation Army throughout the six corridors introduces a security dilemma.

Dr Umbach said that China's nationalistic tendency is even more overt for ASEAN countries, particularly in the case of the militarisation of the South China Sea, because China believes there are more energy resources on the seabed than the United States. Apparently, a lack of maritime law enforcement capabilities in Southeast Asia cannot prevent the creeping occupation of China.

In his conclusion, Dr Umbach highlighted the importance of the energy-security nexus that is the basis of China's



Dr Frank Umbach

BRI. Given its significant role in global energy, he recommended that China shift its diplomatic strategy from a bilateral to a multilateral approach, so as not to undermine regional institutions like ASEAN.

# Nuclear Supply and Demand in North Korea

By Chayanika Saxena

Paul Winter, Doctoral Candidate in the Politics Department, Otago University, Dunedin, New Zealand, delivered an RSIS Seminar on “Nuclear Supply and Demand in North Korea” on 29 March 2018 at The KeyPoint, RSIS.

According to Mr Winter, North Korea is a state of concern globally and for India, due to its nuclear proliferation record and the failure of US-led efforts to contain it. Mr Winter, whose research is on North Korea from the standpoint of the larger issue of proliferation patterns, observed that conventional understanding

about the failure of “supply-side restrictions” in controlling or averting the acquisition of nuclear bombs by North Korea is unfounded. Rather, the failure can be attributed to suboptimal diplomacy.

Dating back to the early 1960s, North Korea’s drive to acquire the bomb arose from Cold War politics. Contrary to what is generally believed, neither the USSR nor China played an active role in providing North Korea the assistance it needed. In fact, their restrictions on export of fissile technology and material had a dampening effect on North Korean plans. On the other hand, the Western bloc led by the United States was dismissive of North Korea’s

efforts and no effort was made to develop contacts with it. The decision not to engage with North Korea contributed to the failure of diplomacy in managing and minimising its nuclear aspirations. Given its security concerns, Winter noted, it is highly unlikely that North Korea will reverse its nuclear programme. Moreover, the factors leading to denuclearisation elsewhere are not seen in the North Korean context.

Mr Winter also analysed the prospects for a potential Trump-Kim meeting. There are three possible scenarios – the summit is called off; it is successful and both sides concede to each other’s key demands; and the



Mr Paul Winter

summit is held, but without producing much change. In his assessment, the most likely scenario is the third. Good faith has to be restored between the United States and North Korea to move in a more positive direction.

# Outlook on Singapore’s ASEAN Chairmanship Year

By Shawn Ho

On 5 April 2018, the Regional Security Architecture Programme at RSIS organised a seminar which provided an update on Singapore’s ASEAN Chairmanship in 2018. The audience was filled with members from the diplomatic corps, academia and the general public.

The moderator was Amb Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, and the two speakers were Mr Hirubalan V P, Senior Adviser, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore and COL Aaron Beng, Director (Policy), Defence Policy Office, Ministry of Defence, Singapore.

The speakers offered insights on the goals and expectations of Singapore’s ASEAN Chairmanship, what has been achieved, and the outlook for the rest of the Chairmanship year. Progress in the three



COL Aaron Beng (left) and Mr Hirubalan V P

pillars of the ASEAN Community (Political-Security, Economic, and Socio-Cultural) was also discussed.

Mr Hirubalan shared that Singapore’s objective as ASEAN Chairman for this year is to shape ASEAN as a cohesive organisation that is able to deal with complex geopolitical challenges and divisive forces, while preparing ASEAN Member States for the opportunities and challenges of the digital revolution. He added

that the theme for Singapore’s Chairmanship of ASEAN is “Resilient and Innovative” – there is a need to further strengthen ASEAN’s capacity and collaboration to deal with existing/emerging challenges as well as enhance adaptation to meet the challenges of digital revolution and the impact of disruptive technologies.

In his presentation, COL Beng focused on Singapore’s Chairmanship of the ASEAN Defence Ministers’ Meeting

(ADMM). He shared that there are “3Cs” to Singapore’s Chairmanship of the ADMM: (i) Enhancing Regional Counter-Terrorism Cooperation; (ii) Improving Regional Chemical, Biological and Radiological (CBR) Capabilities; and (iii) Developing Maritime and Air “Confidence Building Measures” (CBMs)/“Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea (CUES)”. He added that there is also a need to enhance engagement with ASEAN’s partners, and this could be achieved through the conduct of the first annualised ADMM-Plus in October 2018.

Amb Ong further shared that Singapore’s priorities under the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Pillar for this year are to promote initiatives to nurture ASEAN’s youth, strengthen ASEAN’s commitment to address climate change, develop a more socially responsible media in ASEAN and launch the ASEAN Smart Cities Network.

# SRP-HEB Joint Public Lecture on Countering Fundamentalism



(L-R) Amb Mohammad Alami Musa, Mr R Jayachandran, Chairman of the Hindu Endowments Board, Prof Julius Lipner and Mr Rajan Krishnan, Chairman of the Hindu Advisory Board

By Nursheila Binte Abdul Muez

The Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies (SRP) Programme at RSIS and the Hindu Endowment Board (HEB) held their second joint public lecture on 7 February 2018. Visiting Professor Julius Lipner delivered the lecture, titled “Countering

Fundamentalism: Hindu Perspectives”, to a 200-strong audience comprising local Hindu community leaders and people from various religious backgrounds.

In his lecture, Prof Lipner traced the origins of the term “fundamentalist” and highlighted three characteristics of a fundamentalist approach:

resistance to contextual changes; an isolationist attitude; and the inability to integrate different knowledge systems with faith.

Based on these characteristics, a fundamentalist approach in fact contradicts Hinduism, which has a long tradition of genuine dialogue and contextualisation. The concept of Dharmic justice in particular calls for its followers to exercise maturity and openness when engaging with others and to treat others with respect even though disagreements may occur.

Unlike Abrahamic traditions like Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, there is no one central text in Hinduism. Prof Lipner noted how Hinduism has a

polycentric tradition with all its different strands bound together by shared myths and stories, just like a banyan tree with its many roots.

At the end of the lecture, a lively question and answer session ensued. The questions covered a range of topics including the polycentric nature of Hinduism and the resources within the Hindu texts that allude to contextualisation.

Ambassador Mohammad Alami Musa, Head of the SRP Programme, said at the event, “SRP’s first joint lecture with HEB in 2015 was an early success, and today’s lecture indicated that the public appreciated it as an effective platform for dialogue. As part of our ongoing collaboration with apex religious bodies like the HEB and our memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the Hindu Centre, SRP will continue to hold more of such events with its partners.”

# IDTF-RSIS Total Defence Day Seminar 2018

By Ho Shu Huang

Colonel Dinesh Vasu Dash, Commander of the 2nd People’s Defence Force Command (2 PDF) invited the Military Studies Programme (MSP) to conduct a half-day seminar for its Island Defence Task Force (IDTF) on 12 February 2018. Together with the Home Team, the IDTF is responsible for Singapore’s homeland defence. This seminar, part of MSP’s Strategic Studies Seminars series, was held to commemorate Total Defence Day on 15 February 2018. It allowed the MSP and RSIS to share perspectives on national defence and security with others. This engagement with security practitioners is part

of an encouraging “Whole-of-Nation” approach to national security where the government and academia come together to learn, unlearn, and relearn concepts from each other.

Four RSIS researchers presented on counter-terrorism topics to audience from the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) and other security agencies. Dr Jolene Jerard began the afternoon session with a presentation focused on the resilience on global terror networks, examining how they adapt to changing contexts. Assoc Prof Ahmed Hashim then explored three terror attacks on urban centres in Mumbai (2008), Nairobi (2013) and Paris (2015), outlining the terrorists’ motivations, the way they conducted their

respective attacks, and the response of each country’s security services. Assoc Prof Kumar Ramakrishna continued with a summary of the state of terror networks in the region and what governments can do to protect themselves against them. Mr Jasminder Singh ended the presentations admirably by focusing on the recent Siege of Marawi,

explaining its origins and the implications for the region.

The question and answer session, moderated by Mr Eddie Lim, Head of the Military Studies Programme, concluded the day’s proceedings. It is hoped such seminars will engender more opportunities for interaction between RSIS and security practitioners.



(L-R) Mr Eddie Lim, Assoc Prof Ahmed Hashim, Mr Jasminder Singh, Dr Jolene Jerard and Assoc Prof Kumar Ramakrishna

## RSIS-MAC Roundtable



*Mr Eddie Lim (right), speaking to CDR Eduardo Zevallos from the Peruvian Navy*

By Henrik Paulsson

On 16 January 2018, RSIS welcomed the Singapore Military Attaché Corps (MAC)

to the inaugural RSIS-MAC Roundtable. Hosted by Mr Eddie Lim, Head of the Military Studies Programme (MSP), part of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS),

the inaugural roundtable served as an introduction to the work done at the centres across RSIS. Mr Lim underscored how RSIS has a wide range of programmes and centres covering an extensive variety of subjects and fields. He also introduced the MSP faculty who were present at the roundtable. Representing the MAC was the new Dean of MAC, COL David Hay, the Australian Defence Adviser to Singapore and Brunei. Other guests from the MAC included military attachés from a number of countries represented in Singapore, including Brunei, Canada, Germany, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, Peru, Russia, South Korea, Sweden, the United States, and Vietnam.

The discussion was wide-ranging, comprising mostly

Southeast Asia, the South China Sea and other regional issues, as well as even the Arctic region. There was also a discussion on Asia-Pacific Programme for Senior Military Officers (APPSMO), Asia-Pacific Programme for Senior National Security Officers (APPSNO), and other RSIS events that MAC is keen to be more engaged with.

Both RSIS and MAC's objective is to expand upon these discussions and subjects. Mr Lim expressed his wish to start providing more opportunities for RSIS and MAC to get together and discuss issues frequently, both formally and informally. He also hoped that moving forward, respective embassies would further improve contact with RSIS and create more collaboration opportunities.

## Malaysia and Belt & Road Initiatives

By David Han

Dr Mao Wei, Director of the China-Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Research Institute of Guangxi University spoke on the topic of Malaysia's receptiveness towards the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) projects on 26 January 2018 at The Keypoint, RSIS. Her presentation was based on a national project in China, which sought to understand receptiveness of participating countries towards BRI, in order to improve the development of BRI cooperation between China and its partners, including Malaysia.

Dr Mao highlighted that most groups within Malaysia, particularly the business

community, the political elites, academics, and mainstream media have welcomed the BRI. However, these groups have exhibited caution as well, given existing problems with BRI projects. Although most Malaysian Chinese welcome BRI, there are some Malays who are worried that if BRI is successful, Malaysian Chinese will rise in political power.

Dr Mao commented that the BRI would be helpful in strengthening Malaysia's national development and economic plans. However, she mentioned that the BRI in Malaysia will face obstacles which include the overlap of industrial structures or products between China and Malaysia, the South China Sea disputes, Sino-US rivalry, and friction

between the Malays and ethnic Chinese in Malaysia, among others.

Lastly, Dr Mao provided some suggestions for improving BRI cooperation. These include improving publicity strategies, balancing the benefits of ethnic groups, downplaying the South China Sea issue, establishing showcase projects, and promoting technology transfers. To conclude, Dr Mao stated that China needs to understand the local culture, customs, and regulations to avoid mismanagement.

During the question and answer session, the discussions centred on issues such as the impact of the 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB) scandal on BRI,



*Dr Mao Wei*

actual changes and drawbacks that BRI would incur on local businesses, the issue of Malaysian Chinese, the role of East Malaysia, BRI's effect on small to medium enterprises (SMEs), and ASEAN mechanisms to implement BRI projects.

# RSIS-CNA Workshop on East Asian Maritime Issues

By Jane Chan

The RSIS' Maritime Security Programme hosted the fifth "Annual RSIS-Centre of Naval Analyses (CNA) Workshop on East Asian Maritime Issues" on 7 and 8 March 2018. The theme for this workshop was "Indo-Pacific Maritime Issues: Connectivity, Balance and Cooperation." Highlighting the geopolitical space and the symbiotic relationship between the Indian and Pacific oceans, participants of the workshop shared their views on the current challenges and opportunities facing the littorals and regional stakeholders. The panellists discussed the needs and interest of rising powers and also the aspirations of big and small powers of the Indo-Pacific region.



*Dr Sam Bateman (right), Adviser, Maritime Security Programme at IDSS, RSIS during the networking reception*

The first session addressed the evolving concept of the Indo-Pacific, with speakers providing perspectives from the US, China, India, and ASEAN. The second session focused on the trends in naval

power and military affairs in the Indo-Pacific region. The third session addressed the economic developments in the Indo-Pacific, with a particular focus on the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The fourth panel

addressed the topic of how to increase cooperation in the Indo-Pacific.

The last session of the workshop addressed non-traditional security threats and challenges in the Indo-Pacific. Apart from the various maritime security challenges, issues related to resource management and the humanitarian assistance and disaster relief were also discussed extensively.

The CNA delegation was led by RADM (Ret.) Michael McDevitt, and the visiting delegations also had the chance to visit the Information Fusion Centre and the Regional HADR Coordinating Centre based at the Changi Command and Control Centre.

## The Global Resurgence of Religious and Nationalistic Ideologies

By Paul Hedges

Dr Alexander Görlach, Affiliate Professor with the F. D. Roosevelt Foundation's In Defense of Democracy Program, Harvard University College, spoke on 16 March 2018 at RSIS on "The Global Resurgence of Religious and Nationalistic Ideologies". His lecture covered four areas.

Firstly, as context, he offered a global overview of the rise of religiously based nationalism and ideologies, from China and India, Turkey and Europe, to the United States and Southeast Asia.

Secondly, he identified this

with a rise in communitarian identities which hark back to pre-secular attitudes and represent an age of identity where religion and politics are intertwined.

Thirdly, he suggested that what marked out the contemporary phenomenon were the twin pulls of globalisation and digitalisation. Today, everywhere on earth we face the reality of other ways of living, including others who belong to the same religion or tradition as ourselves. So, we can see that our own local identities or forms of practice are not the only ones. Invoking the notion of Future Shock, he suggested that everyone

finds it hard to keep up and manage the increase of information and options we face. This leads to emotional responses often based on tribalism.

Fourthly, he suggested that over the last fifty or so years we have seen a reversal of global trends towards common humanity and co-operation. He invoked the 1968 image of Earth Rise from the Apollo spaceship as a symbol that epitomised humanity's sense of itself as being part of a larger picture, towards trends to the pre-modern, religious, and tribal identities that separated us. He suggested that this relied upon responses of anxiety and fear



*Dr Alexander Görlach*

about our globalised world.

During the question and answer segment, issues such as belief in creationism, the on-going project of secularism, the rise of atheist identities, generational challenges, and practices of communities were raised and debated.

## STAFF PUBLICATIONS



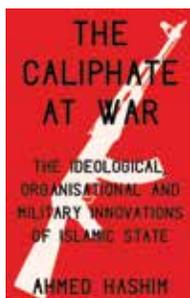
### Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia Pacific

Ralf Emmers and Sarah Teo. Melbourne University Press: 2018. ISBN: 9780522871180

*Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia Pacific* examines what drives the different regional security strategies of four middle powers in the Asia Pacific: Australia, Indonesia, South Korea and Malaysia.

Drawing on the extant middle power literature, the authors argue that the regional security strategies of middle powers could take two forms, namely, functional or normative. A functional strategy means that the middle power targets its resources to address a specific problem that it has a high level of interest in, while a normative strategy refers to a focus on promoting general behavioural standards and confidence building at the multilateral level.

This book argues that whether a middle power ultimately employs a more functional or normative regional security strategy depends on its resource availability and strategic environment.



### The Caliphate at War: The Ideological, Organisational and Military Innovations of Islamic State

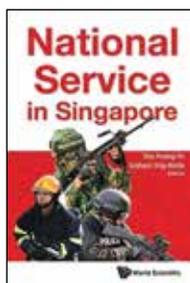
Ahmed S. Hashim. Hurst Publisher: 2018. ISBN: 9781849046435

ISIS's astonishing and unexpected military victories in 2014 and 2015 redrew the geopolitical map of the Middle East. Media attention focused on the organisation's savage treatment of its enemies and its ability to attract foreign fighters, but as this dispassionate book demonstrates it also made important innovations in strategy, ideology and governance.

Ahmed S. Hashim argues that by focusing their ideology first and foremost on extreme anti-Shia sectarianism — rather than on Western "infidels" — ISIS' founders were able to present themselves as the saviours of what they saw as the embattled Sunni 'nation' in Iraq. This enabled them to win the support of Sunni communities.

Moreover, ISIS' stunning ability to take major cities was a result of its innovative tactics. It sowed terror in advance of its attacks by using targeted assassinations to kill key city leaders, and its decentralised regional command structure facilitated an unusual degree of coordination between small assault units. At the same time the organisation made a serious effort to engage in state-building and population control.

By going beyond the often starkly unpleasant current affairs of the Islamic State, *The Caliphate at War* undertakes an essential investigation into the successes of the group, to better understand how the movement has survived, thrived, and reshaped the Middle East.



### National Service in Singapore

Edited by Shu Huang Ho and Graham Ong-Webb. World Scientific Publishing: 2018. ISBN: 978-981-3149-21-2

National Service (NS) is one of Singapore's foundational national defence policies. First introduced by the British in 1954, amended in 1967 to provide a means to defend a fledgling independent nation, and codified into its present form in 1970, NS is deeply woven into Singapore's political and social fabric. The 50th anniversary of the enlistment of the first batch of full-time National Servicemen (NSmen) is an opportune time to contemplate the past, present and future of NS. This volume brings together a range of perspectives on NS in Singapore. It covers three main areas: The history of NS, NS in practice, and international perspectives. Comprising chapters by individuals with varied backgrounds, *National Service in Singapore* hopes to offer a broad account of one of Singapore's fundamental public policies.



### Securing the Belt and Road Initiative: Risk Assessment, Private Security and Special Insurances Along the New Wave of Chinese Outbound Investments

Edited by Alessandro Arduino and Gong Xue. Palgrave Macmillan: 2018. ISBN: 978-981-10-7115-7

This collection explores the expansion of Chinese outbound investments, aimed to sustain the increased need for natural resources, and how they have amplified the magnitude of a possible international crisis that the People's Republic of China may face in the near future by bringing together the views of a wide range of scholars. President Xi's Belt and Road initiative (BRI), aimed to promote economic development and exchanges with China for over 60 countries, necessitates a wide range of security procedures. While the threats to Chinese enterprises and Chinese workers based on foreign soil are poised to increase, there is an urgent need to develop new guidelines for risk assessment, special insurance and crisis management. While the Chinese State Owned Enterprises are expanding their international reach capabilities, they still do not have the capacity to assure adequate security. In such a climate, this collection will be of profound value to policy makers, those working in the financial sector, and academics.

## THINK TANK

MCI (P) 006/01/2018

www.rsis.edu.sg

### EDITOR

Mervin Kok  
iswlkok@ntu.edu.sg

### ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Adrian Chong  
isakchong@ntu.edu.sg

### CONTRIBUTORS

Aédán Mordecai  
Chan Xin Ying  
Christopher Chen  
David Han  
Dedi Dinarto  
Gong Xue  
Henrick Paulsson  
Henrick Tsjeng  
Ho Shu Huang  
Iulia Lumina  
Jane Chan  
Lee YingHui  
Lina Gong  
Nandhakumar Gunasekaran  
Ng Chew Yee  
Nur Aziemah Binte Azman  
Nursheila Binte Abdul Muez  
Paul Hedges  
Sarah Teo  
Chayanika Saxena  
Shawn Ho  
Stephanie Neubronner  
Sumitha Narayanan Kutty  
Terri-Anne Teo  
Vishalini Chandara Sagar  
Zhang Hongzhou

### UPCOMING EVENTS

15 MAY 2018

REGIONAL SEMINAR ON DISARMAMENT AND NON-PROLIFERATION FOR ASEAN COUNTRIES

16 MAY 2018

RSIS LUNCHEON SEMINAR BY MS ANGELA POH ON "IS TALK CHEAP IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS? RHETORICAL ACTION, INTERNATIONAL AUDIENCE COSTS, AND FOREIGN POLICY CHANGE"

6 JUNE 2018

RSIS SEMINAR BY ASSISTANT PROFESSOR IOANA EMY MATEAN ON "PRINCIPLED PRAGMATISTS: THE ESCALATION AND DE-ESCALATION OF ISLAMIST TACTICS IN EGYPT AND INDONESIA"

26-28 JUNE 2018

TRACK II NETWORK OF ASEAN DEFENCE AND SECURITY INSTITUTIONS (NADI) WORKSHOP ON COUNTER-TERRORISM

5-11 AUG 2018

THE 20TH ASIA PACIFIC PROGRAMME FOR SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS (APPSMO 2018)