

THINK TANK

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President Tony Tan Keng Yam (right) inaugurating the SRP Programme

Inauguration of the SRP Programme

Mohamed Bin Ali

The newest programme at RSIS, the Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies (SRP) Programme, was inaugurated by President Tony Tan Keng Yam on 9 June 2014. The inauguration at Marina Mandarin was attended by 550 people including the Deputy Prime Minister,

Coordinating Minister for National Security and Minister for Home Affairs, Mr Teo Chee Hean, key government officials, diplomats, religious and community leaders, students and foreign guests.

To commemorate the inauguration, the SRP

Programme organised the SRP Distinguished Lecture by Sheikh Dr Ali Gomaa, former Grand Mufti of Egypt and current Chairman of the Misr Al Khayr Foundation. Dr Gomaa spoke on the theme "Reclaiming Our Common Humanity - Role of Religion Amidst Pluralism". In his lecture, Dr Gomaa called

for an honest and fruitful dialogue across religions and cultures. According to him, the Islamic tradition considers dialogue to be the key towards the prevention, management and resolution of conflict situations. More importantly, dialogue should also lead to the pursuit of the common good across religious and cultural boundaries. This will lead to a constructive building of a human civilisation that thrives on diversity.

The SRP Programme also organised the inaugural SRP Seminar on 10 June 2014. The Head of SRP Programme, Ambassador Mohammad Alami Musa delivered the opening remarks and introduced the keynote speakers. The keynote speakers were Archbishop Dr Mouneer Hanna Anis, Bishop of the Episcopal / Anglican Diocese of Egypt, and Professor Abdullah Saeed, Adviser to the SRP Programme and Sultan of Oman Professor of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Melbourne. They delivered papers on the theme "Theological and Cultural Foundations for Positive Inter-Religious Relations".

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Besides the keynote speakers. Master Wei Yi. Secretary-General of the **Taoist Federation Youth** Group and member of Inter-Religious Organisation, Singapore, and Venerable Shi Chuan Guan, Chairman

of the Singapore Buddhist Federation's Dharma Sub-Committee and Monk at the Kong Meng San Phor Kark See Monastery (KMSPKS) also presented on "Inter-Religious Relations in Singapore". Their presentations were followed by a discussion with panelists comprising Dr Ali Gomaa; Archbishop Dr Mouneer; Dr

Mohamed Fatris Bakaram. Mufti of Singapore; and Right Reverend Dr John Chew, of the Anglican Diocese of Singapore. The discussion was chaired by Professor Abdullah Saeed.

During the inauguration, the SRP Programme announced the endowment gift of S\$3 million by well-known

Singaporean philanthropist, Mr Peter Lim and a matching grant by the Singapore Government towards the establishment of the Peter Lim Professorship in Peace Studies. This endowment enables the SRP Programme to appoint a professor who can lead the Programme in teaching and research in Peace Studies.

Prof Joseph Liow - the Inaugural Lee Kuan Yew Chair in Southeast Asian Studies at the Brookings Institution



Professor Joseph Liow and his family

Professor Joseph Liow, Associate Dean of RSIS, has been appointed as Senior Fellow and inaugural Lee Kuan Yew Chair in Southeast Asian Studies at the Brookings Institution. This new research position, established in October 2013, was named after Singapore's former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. This position aims to enhance America's understanding and appreciation of the complex politics and societies in Southeast Asia in a way that

will allow policymakers to strengthen and deepen their relations with the region.

The position, generously sponsored by donors from Singapore, the United States. and Indonesia, will be rotated among academics chosen from the different ASEAN countries, starting with Singapore. "It was not an easy decision for myself and RSIS to take (to accept the position of the Lee Kuan Yew Chair), as it meant releasing me for two years during

a critical period of RSIS' leadership transition," shared Prof Liow. Nevertheless, he received strong support from RSIS Chairman, Mr Eddie Teo, RSIS Board member and Singapore's former Ambassador to the US, Prof Chan Heng Chee, Dean Barry Desker, all of whom saw the potential of this attachment for RSIS in the long term.

Brookings Institution is the top politics and security think tank in the world, and its reputation has been built on the generation of rigorous and thoughtful scholarly research on pressing policy issues. Its leadership has decided that Southeast Asia, and specifically the discussions and debates over Southeast Asia's role in America's overall Asia strategy, is one research area where Brookings could use more attention.

During Prof Liow's two-year tenure as the Lee Kuan Yew Chair at the Brookings Institution, he will be involved in conducting research on Southeast Asia and will also give talks and workshops to U.S. lawmakers, policy analysts, and scholars.

"This is a good opportunity to interact with policymakers in Washington D.C. The U.S. is the only global superpower in international affairs today, and marshaled in its capital is a collection of experience. wisdom, and intellect from across the political and ideological spectrum," Dr Liow averred. "It really is a fantastic opportunity to get an insight into the discussions and debates that inform the decision making process, that in turn have an impact in every corner of the globe."

During his tenure at the Brookings Institution, Prof Liow will still have a role to play in RSIS and NTU, and will be making frequent trips back to Singapore to attend to the School and University's work. Needless to say, strengthening the relationship between the Brookings Institution and RSIS would be a priority for Prof Liow. It will be an opportunity to exchange best practices from both think tanks, such as shaping policy discussions, influencing policy thought processes and engaging with the policy community.

We wish Prof Liow success as the inaugural holder of the Lee Kuan Yew Chair in Southeast Asian Studies.



Dr Robin Niblett

Limits and Potential of the U.S.-European Partnership: Chatham House Chief Contributed by Te-Anne Robles

Chatham House Director
Dr Robin Niblett shared his
views on the current state
of U.S.-European relations
at the RSIS Distinguished
Public Lecture "Between
Purpose and Apathy: Can the
United States and Europe
Confront an Uncertain World
Together?" The talk was
held at Sheraton Towers
Singapore on 31 March 2014.

The transatlantic relationship was the defining alliance of the 20th century, but its resilience is being tested as they move into the 21st century. Is the transatlantic relationship set for a resurgence, stuck in a drifting period, or does it run the risk of separating further?

Dr Niblett noted that the prospects of the transatlantic relationship would depend on the United States' and Europe's ability to find a

shared sense of purpose upon which they can build a strong partnership. He identified two areas wherein the United States and Europe have managed to maintain an effective alliance. One of the key drivers of the U.S.-Europe relationship after the Cold War is their shared agenda of sustaining open markets and deepening transatlantic trade and investment links. On this front, the latest and most promising initiative is the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. The United States and Europe also work together to facilitate political transitions to democratic societies and stop the emergence of failed states.

Although the transatlantic relationship is going strong, Dr Niblett argued that it has noticeably drifted in

four areas. First, the United States and Europe take different positions in their foreign policy towards Asia. While the former continues its rebalancing strategy, the latter chooses not to be involved in any security arrangement with Asia as its interests in the region are strictly commercial in nature.

Second, there is divergence in terms of their priorities in the Middle East. The United States wants to detach itself and be more selective with its engagement in the region. Europe on the other hand is increasingly worried about the developments in the Middle East.

The third area is their stand on military intervention and the aftermath of the experience in Iraq and Afghanistan. The United States is more focused on sustaining forward defence through offshore deployment while Europe is wary of using any type of military force. Finally, the changing dynamics of domestic politics in the United States and Europe has also made it more difficult to sustain the transatlantic relationship. Both governments have to deal with waning public support and must work harder at earning legitimacy.

Dr Niblett felt that the U.S.-Europe relationship could coordinate more effectively when dealing with a more limited transatlantic agenda; collaborating on issues on a global scale will be problematic. He predicted that the transatlantic relationship will be increasingly more selective in the coming years. Dr Niblett suggested that it would be best for the rest of the world to prepare for a transatlantic relationship that will not be a major force in global security.

ICRC and RSIS Hold Consultative Roundtable on "Trafficking in Persons"

Contributed by Gianna Gayle Amul and Alistair D. B. Cook



Roundtable participants from various agencies and organisations

The RSIS' Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, together with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) hosted a Consultative Roundtable on the Humanitarian Dimension and Protection Aspects of Trafficking in Persons (TIPs) on 26–27 June 2014. The event was to support and further advance the current protection initiatives and activities for victims of TIP in the region.

The roundtable brought together about 35 experts, practitioners and representatives from the Singapore Interagency Taskforce on Trafficking in Persons, relevant government agencies from ASEAN countries, regional organisations, UN agencies, civil society organisations, humanitarian organisations and members of the academe in the region.

This collaboration is an offshoot of the Roundtable on 'Managing Cross-border Movements of People' organised by the Centre for NTS Studies in November 2012. The roundtable emphasised the need to enforce anti-trafficking measures that focus on reducing the vulnerabilities of victims of trafficking through strengthening efforts at victim protection and empowering them through rehabilitation and reintegration. This prompted the ICRC and the Centre to collaborate on further developing the understanding of the humanitarian and protection aspects of trafficking that can further translate into responses that are based on human security and migrant rights in the region.

Apart from identifying the unmet needs of victims of TIP, the roundtable also

aimed to share country experiences, approaches, lessons learned and best practices in response to the protection needs of victims of trafficking. It also aimed to develop a better understanding of the roles of the various actors involved in the protection of trafficking victims in order to further contribute to regional norms that can influence national and regional policies that focus on the protection of victims of TIP.

The roundtable highlighted:
(i) the regional frameworks on the protection of victims of trafficking, including the Bali Process, ASEAN and the Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative against Trafficking; (ii) the differences between smuggling and trafficking, and the challenges and good practices in identifying trafficking victims; and (iii)

improving the protection of persons trafficked for sexual exploitation and forced labour, including men, women, children and transgenders.

Moreover, the roundtable explored best practices from an Asian Tier 1 country in improving the response to the specific needs of victims of trafficking in the region. The roundtable concluded with three breakout sessions and a discussion to identify protection "checklists" that address the identification challenges, protection needs and alternative solutions beyond repatriation and reintegration for victims of trafficking.

Workshop on "China's Economic Statecraft"

Contributed by Zhang Hongzhou

Over 30 participants attended the workshop by the RSIS' China Programme, entitled "China's Economic Statecraft", which was held on 21 March 2014 at the Nanyang Executive Centre in NTU. The event brought together experts from the United States, Japan, China, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Taiwan and local institutes to discuss various aspects of China's Economic Statecraft.

The workshop's objective was to examine whether China is moving towards a foreign policy strategy that ostensibly incorporates all the dimensions of economic statecraft: (i) inducement; (ii) reward and coercion;

and (iii) how China is employing economic tools in its foreign relations.

As the second largest economy in the world and the biggest international trader, as well as being the holder of the largest amount of foreign reserve and one of the most rapidly growing economies, China has emerged as an economic powerhouse. International reactions towards China's growing economic power are mixed with expectations and anxieties.

Speakers of various fields shared their critical reviews on this topic and held intensive discussions on how China is employing the

economic tools in achieving its policy goals. RSIS' Dr Li Mingjiang and Mr Kalyan Kemburi provided an overview of China's economic statecraft. The session on "China's Economic Power and Major Foreign Policy Issues" focused on how China is employing economic statecraft in advancing Sino-U.S. relations, securing energy and food resources overseas, and gaining bigger roles in international financial institutions. Discussions on China's core Interests and economic statecraft delved into how economic tools were adopted by China in managing cross straits relations and dealing with maritime boundary and territorial disputes in East

and South China Seas. The last session touched on China's economic tools in its international partnerships, particularly Sino-North Korea relations and Sino-Africa relations.

The workshop participants engaged in a very fruitful exchange of reviews on multi-dimensions of China's economic statecrafts. While for the long time, China has employed political. diplomatic, and in some cases, even military tools to advance China's economic interests in foreign countries and international arena, China is increasingly tempted to use its economic and technological clout to pursue other strategic, political and security interests.



Dr Li Mingjiang, Coordinator of the China Programme at RSIS

'Vulnerability is What States Make of it': A Social Theory of International Vulnerability

By Ian Clark



Professor Ian Clark

During my stay as a Visiting Professor at RSIS, I conducted a seminar on "'Vulnerability is What States Make of it': A Social Theory of International Vulnerability" on 24 April 2014.

What makes people vulnerable? In my presentation, I discussed the arguments of my recent book, *The Vulnerable in International Society* (OUP, 2013), about violence, human movement, climate change, and global health.

While it might seem at first glance that people are exposed to 'natural' risks in those contexts, I pointed out that this misses the crucial point, that the degree of exposure is already often 'socially' determined. Drawing upon the literature on 'natural' disasters, and especially studies of Hurricane Katrina, I shared the concept of 'social vulnerability' that I had developed. This reflects how societies distribute the

risk of harm unequally. If this was the case with societies generally, how might this apply to international society particularly?

I noted that the regimes developed to manage specific issues set out highly consequential policy categories. In managing human movement, for instance, it works on key binaries, such as regular versus irregular migrants, or refugees versus internally displaced persons: the granting, or denial, of the category of refugee is thus crucial to subsequent life chances for the person in flight. In the case of political violence, the Geneva Conventions likewise proceed on the basis of fundamental distinctions between international and non-international armed conflict, again creating a specifically social topography of vulnerability for those caught up in the fighting. Levels of protection or

vulnerability map onto these categorical schemes, producing unequal risks.

I also pointed out that the important policy perspective emerging from this approach is the focus it provides upon the 'gaps' between these various categories, and how people can fall into them with harmful consequences. Not only are there serious gaps within each of these regimes (such as climate change and global health), but there are equally risky gaps created between them. For example, there is legally no such thing as a 'climate refugee'.

I concluded the seminar by highlighting that at a time when the policy issues of violence, climate, movement, and health are increasingly interlocking, it is vital that we develop equally integrated international regimes to deal with them, to avoid incidentally compounding the 'natural' risks with additional layers of 'social' harm.

Visit by U.S. National War College

Contributed by Justin Michael Goldman

RSIS hosted a group of 10 students as well as two professors from Washington D.C.'s U.S. National War College on 5 May 2014. They were here as part of the Joint Professional Military Education programme for mid-career officials.

The group was led by Dr Cynthia A. Watson, the Associate Dean for Research and Outreach.

and accompanied by Major Carrie Howe, the Marine Attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Singapore.

The students, who ranged in experience from a Foreign Service Officer who had previously served at the U.S. Embassy in Laos, to a Naval Aviator who pilots the E-P3 maritime patrol aircraft, expressed interest in a range of topics from the rise

of China to changes in the regional security architecture.

In addition to matters of security, there was interest in how the US could go beyond the military aspect of its policy towards Asia.

Dr Euan Graham, along with the Coordinators of the China Programme, the Military Transformations Programme, and the Maritime Security Programme, represented RSIS.

The mission of the U.S. National War College is to educate future leaders of the Armed Forces, State Department, and other civilian agencies for highlevel policy, command, and staff responsibilities through conducting senior-level courses of study in national security strategy.



Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna, Head of the Centre of Excellence for National Security at RSIS

Confidence Building Measures and Norms for Cybersecurity

Contributed by Damien D. Cheong

The Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) organised its annual cybersecurity workshop from 3-4 July 2014 at the Pan Pacific Singapore. The Workshop, "Confidence Building Measures and Norms for Cybersecurity and the Future of Internet Governance", attracted over 80 participants from the private and public sectors.

The Workshop brought together experts from governments, international organisations, NGOs, academia, and the private sector to explore Confidence Building Measures (CBMs), norms, and internet governance issues to

shed light on challenges, opportunities, and the road ahead.

The three main themes for discussion were: (i) engaging in Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) to lessen the threat of cyber conflict. This was important given that the threat of cyber conflict is real and monitoring and indeed regulating the development of cyber weapons is difficult to accomplish; (ii) the development of norms to enhance cybersecurity. This was critical since traditional laws could not always be applied in the cyber domain; and (iii) the future of Internet governance. This allowed

practitioners and industry experts to discuss how and what form Internet governance would take in the years to come.

Six panels were organised around the above-mentioned themes: (i) Cybersecurity and Cyber-Insecurity: How Serious is the Threat?; (ii) Emerging Norms for Cyberspace; (iii) What Role can Confidence Building Measures play to enhance Cybersecurity?; (iv) Efforts of International Organisations and NGOs in developing CBMs; (v) The Future of Internet Governance; and (vi) How to Secure Cyberspace? Three Private Sector Perspectives.

Irving Lachow, Principal Cyber Security Engineer at the MITRE Corporation, delivered the Keynote Address on Cybersecurity 2014: Key Trends and Issues.

The Workshop ended on a high note. Participants and speakers alike responded positively with many remarking that the Workshop had: (i) provided a "great learning experience"; (ii) offered a "good balance and quality of speakers"; and (iii) enabled useful "networking opportunities".

APPSMO 2014:The Changing Roles of the Military

Contributed by Chang Jun Yan

The 16th Asia Pacific
Programme for Senior
Military Officers (APPSMO
2014) was held at the
Singapore Resort & Spa
Sentosa from 4-10 August
2014. Organised by RSIS'
Institute of Defence and
Strategic Studies (IDSS),
APPSMO 2014 was attended
by more than 50 military
officers from 25 countries
around the Asia Pacific
and Europe.

The theme of APPSMO 2014, "The Changing Roles of the Military" addresses questions and issues on the core roles of armed forces today and in the near future, in the context of a security environment that is rapidly evolving. Minister for Social and Family Development and Second Minister for Defence, Mr Chan Chun Sing, officiated at the opening of APPSMO 2014. The Chief of Defence Force of the Singapore Armed Forces, Lieutenant General Ng Chee Meng, was Guest of Honour at the Opening Dinner for participants and speakers at the Rasa Sentosa Resort.

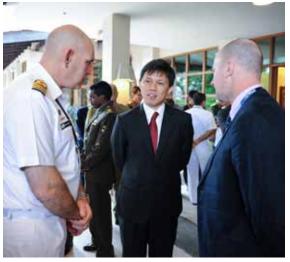
As in previous years, APPSMO provided a valuable forum for defence diplomacy and academic discussion, where military professionals, policy makers, practitioners, academics and other experts exchanged views on a broad range of subjects related to regional and international security.

The Military Studies
Programme, a component
of IDSS, assembled an
impressive range of speakers
for this year's APPSMO.
Local and RSIS speakers
included Rear-Admiral Giam
Hock Koon, Commander,
Maritime Security Task Force,
Republic of Singapore Navy,
and former Commander of
the multinational Combined





















Task Force 151 in the Gulf of Aden. Professor Gerard Chaliand, Professor Pascal Vennesson, Associate Professor Ahmed Salah Hashim, and Mr Richard Bitzinger. Distinguished overseas speakers included Lieutenant General (Ret.) Rhys Jones, Major General (Ret.) Zhu Chenghu, Professor T. V. Paul, James McGill Professor of International Relations. Dr Greg Mills, Director of the Brenthurst Foundation, Associate Professor Panitan Wattanayagorn of Chulalongkorn University, and Mr Jeremy England from the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The Distinguished Dinner Talk, "East Asia in Transition" was delivered by Ambassador Bilahari Kausikan, Ambassador-at-Large and Policy Adviser in the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In their Distinguished Lunch Talks, Lieutenant General Dato' Pahlawan Dr William Stevenson, Chief Executive of the Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security, touched on "Security Challenges in the Asia Pacific Region," and Major General Gary Hara spoke on "U.S. Land Forces in the Pacific; Rebalance, Roles and Relationships".

APPSMO participants attended seminars and plenary sessions dealing with "The Changing Dimensions of Strategy," "The Geopolitics of Asia Pacific," "The Challenge of Irregular Warfare," "Civil-Military Cooperation in a Coalition Environment," "Perceptions of the Military Profession," and "Cross-Domain Interoperability and Integration."

The participants also visited the Republic of Singapore Navy's Information Fusion Centre, as well as the Urban Redevelopment Authority. They joined Singaporeans in watching the National Day Parade at Marina Bay on 9 August.



Participants from RSIS and ADBI

ADBI and RSIS Continue Collaboration

Contributed by Te-Anne Robles

ADBI and RSIS co-organised another regional conference on "Trade in Value-added. Global Value Chains and Development Strategy" held at Traders Hotel Singapore on 6-8 May 2014. The event gathered around 20 senior government officials from developing countries across South and Southeast Asia to discuss the importance of trade in value-added in understanding global value chains (GVCs) and the policy implications of GVC participation. The conference also provided an opportunity for the participants to share best regulatory practices and development strategies in addressing policy challenges resulting from the rise of GVCs.

Top academics and policy experts shared their knowledge on the basic concepts of GVCs, measurement of trade in value-added, and the impact of GVC participation on innovation, industrialisation and economic development in emerging Asian economies. Speakers highlighted the growing interest in trade in valueadded in the recent years as it has emerged that traditional statistics measuring trade in gross terms give an incomplete picture of current trade patterns.

Presentations covered sectoral case studies including the Philippine call centre and business

process management industry, the Thai automotive industry, the Singapore textile and clothing industry and the Indian software industry. The experiences in these industries offer important lessons for the industrialisation strategies of emerging Asian economies. The discussions touched on the need to strike a balance between the role of the government and that of market forces and other stakeholders in facilitating the development of different industries. Value creation would depend on the degree and position of the country's participation in GVCs. The policy regime supporting GVCs should be designed such that it does not only

capitalise on the country's comparative advantages but it is also able to respond and adjust as the country's comparative advantage changes.

Other presentations also looked at how the increasing fragmentation and complexity of cross-border trade has transformed trade relations among countries participating in GVCs and called into question the validity of conventional trade rules and principles. Speakers saw the rise of GVCs as an impetus to foster bilateral and multilateral trade facilitation.

Advancing Human Security Through Resilience Building

Contributed by Gianna Gayle Amul and Alistair D. B. Cook

The RSIS' Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies hosted a Workshop on "Community Resilience and Human Security: From Complex Humanitarian Emergencies to Sustainable Peace and Development" on 10-11 April 2014. The workshop explored how community-based initiatives enhance resilience to complex humanitarian emergencies due to conflict and disasters and contribute to long-term sustainable development. The meeting, which was convened with support from NTU's Sustainable Earth Office (SEO), brought together about 50 experts, including representatives from relevant government agencies in Singapore, representatives from regional organisations. representatives from International Non-Governmental Organisations, Civil Society Organisations, humanitarian and grassroots

organisations, the private sector and members of academic and think tank communities from around the region.

The workshop built on the recommendations of the **Expert Working Group** Meeting on "Advancing Urban Resilience in the face of Environmental Change" hosted by the NTS Centre in April 2013. This year, 2014, marks the 20th anniversary of the UNDP Human Development Report, focused on human security in policy and practice. It is therefore timely to take stock of the extent to which human security has been mainstreamed. Community resilience as a policy concept is increasingly salient and relevant in responses to both conflict and disasterrelated complex humanitarian emergencies. It also has significant implications for long-term peace and

development. As a result, this workshop focused on the interaction between human security and community resilience.

Key areas of discussion included exploring the framework of community resilience and human security, the enabling dynamics of housing infrastructure and urban planning for communities; urban resilience elements of public transport systems and infrastructure; contributions of the private and informal sector, and technology to communities' adaptive capacities in the provision of public utilities and services; challenges brought about by disasters, conflict and pandemics on health systems and humanitarian relief: issues in raising awareness on climate change and communicating risk in times of conflict and disasters and; examining existing

frameworks for cooperation among cities, communities and other stakeholders in the region.

Five breakout stations deliberated on issues of: (i) how community resilience informs human security; (ii) challenges of implementing equitable and sustainable urban housing plans that affect community resilience; (iii) recommendations on building sustainably resilient and accessible transportation systems; (iv) implications of privatising public utilities on long-term sustainability and during disasters; and (v) critical elements for health systems resilience in disaster and conflict situations. The workshop successfully brought key stakeholders together to address the common challenges facing societal and government responses to sustainable development and complex humanitarian emergencies.



Workshop participants from various agencies and organisations

CENS Distinguished Visiting Professor Steve Flynn

Contributed by Damien D. Cheong



Professor Steve Flynn

The RSIS' Centre of Excellence in National Security (CENS) hosted Professor Steve Flynn, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Resilience Studies, Northeastern University, under the Distinguished Visiting Professor Programme (DVP) in April 2014. Prof Flynn is a foremost authority on transportation security and infrastructure and community resilience issues. He has extensive experience in both the practitioner and academic domains, and has advised the Bush and Obama administrations on homeland security issues.

In his first lecture on "Mastering Crisis

Communications in the Fast-Moving Social Media Age: Lessons Learned from Practitioners" on 9 April, Prof Flynn observed that as social media enabled the quick generation and dissemination of information by any individual, the risk of misinformation spreading during a crisis was very high. This could exacerbate the existing crisis as well as adversely affect the reputation of the authorities and organisations involved. Therefore, it was imperative for them to provide timely and accurate information as quickly as possible. Pre-crisis planning should incorporate social media strategies into crisis communication plans, selecting the right spokesperson and

determining the information needs of the various target audiences.

On 14 April, Prof Flynn shared some personal reflections on "Balancing Security and Liberty in a Wikileaks Age". He argued that it was important that a society's core values and functions were not undermined by the traditional security paradigm. He opined that security and liberty were not necessarily at odds with each other since securing societies invariably required an "all-hands" approach. In other words. security was ultimately the responsibility of professionals as well as civil society and the community at large. To illustrate, he screened

Boatliff, a documentary about how private ferry and tugboat operators were mobilised to evacuate individuals from Lower Manhattan during the September 11 attacks. Prof Flynn believed that citizens should be viewed not simply as 'victims' in a crisis but rather as potential strategic assets. He suggested that bolstering national resilience was imperative as it could help deter adversaries.

Prof Flynn's final lecture on 16 April discussed "Community Resilience in a Disaster". He screened Gulf Coast Resilience, which documented how residents of the Mississippi Gulf Coast coped with two major crises (Hurricane Katrina and the BP Oil Spill) that had affected their community. Prof Flynn believed that trying to protect a community from a crisis or disaster was a self-defeating exercise. Instead, he advocated the need to make the community resilient by empowering them so that they would be able to cope better in a crisis. He observed that bolstering community resilience required a commitment to investing in social capital as well as constant adaptation and learning. Furthermore, he suggested that resilience should be celebrated to reinforce the "can do" attitude and mind set.

Prof Flynn, who met with several agencies to discuss resilience and other national security matters, was also able to network with local and international participants from RSIS' Asia-Pacific Programme for Senior National Security Officers 2014.



Research Fellow Dr Michael Raska (left) introducing Brigadier Ben Barry

Lessons Learned in Iraq and Afghanistan, and their Implications Contributed by Michael Raska

On 30 May 2014, the Military Transformations Programme hosted Brigadier (Ret.) Ben Barry, Senior Fellow for Land Warfare at the international Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London, for a lecture and discussion titled: "Lessons Learned in Iraq and Afghanistan, and their Implications for Wars and Armed Forces in the Future."

Brigadier Barry observed that the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan provided severe tests of conduct of war for the US and its allies, which nearly twice came extremely close to a strategic defeat. This was due to inadequate strategic leadership, military strategy, operational concepts, tactics and equipment, combined with failures at every level to adapt quickly enough to unforeseen circumstances.

In both wars, it took several years for the U.S. and its allies to recognise that the ends, ways and means being employed were inadequate, resulting in struggles to adapt quickly enough to the changing character of the conflict. Analysing the operational, tactical and technical adaptations and adjustments that were made during the wars, Brigadier

Barry examined how strategy, campaign design and military capability evolved over the course of both conflicts.

In this context, Brigadier Barry emphasised strategic and operational ramifications of the lessons learned, and their wider relevance to future conflicts. In particular, Barry noted the use of unmanned ground systems (UGVs) used in land operations against insurgent activity in Iraq and Afghanistan – from small, remotely-operated UGVs utilised for low-level **Explosive Ordnance** Disposal (EOD) and surveillance operations to completely unmanned fullscale ground vehicles.

Developments over the next decade, according to Brigadier Barry, could include not only proliferation of high-technology armed and unarmed systems, but also unmanned robotic systems. Select systems would take on a complementary role in collaborative endeavours with humans, but for some roles, they could probably fully replace manned systems.

Political Developments in Indonesia: Facing Contributed by Alexandry Contributed by Emirza Adi Syailendra and Jonathan Chen



General (Ret.) Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan

The Indonesia Programme of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies held a seminar by prominent Indonesian politician, General (Ret.) Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan of the Indonesian Armed Forces, on 5 May 2014. GEN Luhut's lecture covered topics such as the challenges that will be faced by the next Administration, the leadership transition process, possible coalitional scenarios, and the future of the Golkar Party.

GEN Lahut noted that the biggest challenge Indonesia will face is its pursuit of its goal to become the world's 7th largest economy, as envisioned by the McKinsey Global Institute Group. He put forward several proposals, which included (i) reducing fuel subsidies and better allocation of Indonesia's natural resources; (ii) "down-streaming" business practices to generate greater benefits for the local population and promoting local industries; and (iii) developing human capacity via education.

Unity of the Golkar Party will be the eventual outcome in the opinion of GEN Lahut. He likened the Party to that of a large corporation with many stakeholders, but all with a common goal. GEN Lahut is also of the opinion that every member will act pragmatically for the best interest of the Party, especially following the results of the Presidential elections.



Participants of the Dialogue

TFCTN Dialogue on Services and Global Value Chains

Contributed by Quak Swee Seng

The TFCTN Dialogue on Services and Global Value Chains took place at the Pan Pacific Hotel in Singapore from 23 to 24 June 2014. 35 government officers from 15 countries in Asia participated in the Dialogue.

The purpose of the dialogue is to focus on the role of services in production and trade, with particular reference to the ways in which services enter value chains and what functions they fulfill. Issues considered

included the role of policy and international cooperation in setting the framework for services.

Governments are paying increasing attention to the role of services in global value chains (GVCs), both on account of the considerable value they typically represent and the multiple functions they fulfill at both the production and consumption stages of value chains. Services offer considerable opportunities

for acquiring greater national value along the chains, thus contributing to growth, jobs and development.

It turns out that services are critical to the delivery of even simple products. For more complex items, the contribution of services can be correspondingly greater - as much as half the value in a chain may come from services. Yet the knowledge about the connection between goods and services in GVCs has significant gaps. Policymakers are often making decisions about appropriate policies in the absence of clear information about what may be best for their own service providers.

The Dialogue addressed this absence of information

by covering the topic from a variety of perspectives, including those of economists, business analyst and policy makers.

This Dialogue is sponsored by the Temasek Foundation, a philanthropic organisation setup by Temasek Holdings to build a more prosperous, stable and connected Asia through developing human and social capital.

The Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade & Negotiations (TFCTN) is a policy research centre at RSIS, dedicated to improving the process of international negotiations, with a particular focus on increasing capabilities and access for developing states.

Getting A Strategic Perspective of Southeast Asia: Visit of IHEDN Delegation

Contributed by Mushahid Ali briefings on the strategic issues facing Southeast Asia by virtue of its location between China and India.



Mr Mushahid Ali, Senior Fellow of RSIS briefing the delegation

A 38-strong delegation from the Institute of Higher National Defence Studies of France, under the Prime Minister's authority, visited RSIS on 5 May 2014. The delegation, comprising senior military officers and private sector professionals, were on the first leg of a three-nation tour of Southeast Asia that included Indonesia and Vietnam.

They were led by the Joint Director of IHEDN Ambassador Nicolas Normand and sought RSIS faculty comprising Professor Pascal Vennesson. Associate Professors Farish A. Noor and Li Mingjiang, Senior Fellows Richard Bitzinger, Tan Seng Chye and Mushahid Ali apprised them of regional strategic issues, international response to the crisis of a missing airliner, proliferation and military modernisation in Asia Pacific, **ASEAN-China relations** and prospects for solution of the South China Sea disputes. The visitors were pleased to get an overview of the security and strategic situation of Southeast Asia.

RSIS Annual Staff Retreat 2014

Contributed by Bernard Chin

More than 40 RSIS staff gathered at the Moevenpick Heritage Hotel on Sentosa on 18 July 2014 for the School's annual Staff Retreat. Dean Barry Desker kicked things off by updating attendees on developments within the School in his welcome remarks, which included leadership transition, financial standing, and key achievements of the School as a think tank and a professional graduate school.

Briefings were then conducted to keep staff apprised of key projects and upcoming changes.



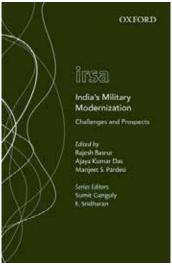
Dean Barry Desker delivering the welcome remarks

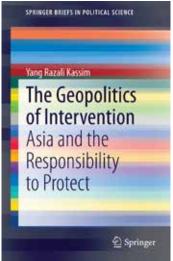
Ms Alicia Cheung, Head of Administration, followed up on Dean Desker's remarks on leadership transition for the School, and briefed staff on the new Management structure. Mr Eddie Lim, Coordinator of the Military Studies Programme, and Mr Mohammad Alami Musa, Head of the recently inaugurated Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies Programme, followed with presentations

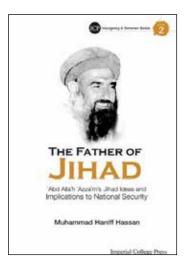
on the key projects that their respective programmes will be embarking on in the coming weeks and months. The remaining three presentations focused on the creation of the new RSIS Alumni Association that will be launched in late August, as well as key features of the new RSIS website and suite of corporate stationery. Following a scrumptious buffet lunch, where staff from various departments

interacted and mingled, staff were split into three groups to brainstorm and propose new ideas that will benefit the School, and how to create synergies between Centres and Programmes, and between personal and institutional research agendas. The day's programme concluded with a chill-out session that afforded staff from the different departments the opportunity to better know each other over drinks.

STAFF PUBLICATIONS







India's Military Modernization: Challenges and Prospects

Rajesh Basrur, Ajaya Kumar Das, Manjeet S. Pardesi.

Oxford University Press, 2014. ISBN 978-0-19-8092384

The end of the Cold War transformed India's strategic orientation from a weak player with a defensive worldview to a confident emerging power. India's Military Modernization provides an in-depth analysis of this shift and of India's responses to changing strategic demands, the nature of military modernization, its links to strategy, and the effectiveness of these policy changes.

The volume, a part of the Oxford International Relations in South Asia series, explores India's responses to a complex and changing militarystrategic environment. With contributions from military and civilian experts, it discusses whether India's modernization process meets the needs of the armed forces and is congruent with India's overall foreign policy approach. It also takes a close look at issues like internal security, the country's relations with nations with whom it has defence ties, and the operation of nuclear forces.

The Geopolitics of Intervention: Asia and the Responsibility to Protect

Yang Razali Kassim

Springer, 2014. ISBN 978-981-4585-47-7

This book reviews the global dilemma and tensions over whether to intervene or not to intervene in severe civil conflicts which test the validity of the new doctrine of Responsibility to Protect or R2P. It particularly assesses R2P's relevance for Asia, which is defined broadly in this book to include West Asia or the Middle East and the region's emergence as the most severe threat to international order in the form of the Arab Uprisings. While East Asia and South Asia have their share of situations that warrant R2P-justified interventions, it is the conflicts in West Asia that have severely tested the viability of R2P. Has this new norm been effective as a tool for international law and diplomacy? Are there prospects for a tweaking or repositioning of R2P as advocated by some scholars and governments to make the concept more acceptable to the global community, including Southeast Asia? Has the Westphalian doctrine of state sovereignty and non-intervention become superfluous as a result of the rise of R2P? Will a new doctrine of "Eastphalia" or "non-intervention with East Asian characteristics" emerge in its place, led by China as well as like-minded Asian and other states?

The Father of Jihad: 'Abd Allah 'Azzam's Jihad Ideas and **Implications to National Security**

Muhammad Haniff Hassan.

Imperial College Press, 2013. ISBN 978-1783262878

This study revolves around the jihad ideas of 'Abd Allah 'Azzam — an iconic figure in the study of militant jihad in the 20th century, history of Afghan jihad against the Soviet Union, Al-Qaeda and current threat of terrorism.

This study has several objectives: to render an in-depth description of his ideas by way of a review of his writing, hitherto little referenced in the literature; to identify how these ideas have inspired so many to participate in militant jihad in the Soviet-Afghan war, and indeed elsewhere; to highlight the internal contradictions and inconsistencies in 'Azzam's ideas, and to juxtapose these ideas with contemporary jihadism; to identify specific aspects of 'Azzam's ideas in order to extract key lessons for counter-ideology work within the framework of counter-terrorism.

The study concludes and makes three key arguments/observations on 'Azzam's jihad ideas; 'Azzam's success in mobilising Muslims for jihad in Afghanistan was not due to his jihad ideas alone, although they mattered to him and were important tools for mobilisation. The study identifies two other non-ideational structural factors that were critical in effecting his mobilisation; some aspects of 'Azzam's jihad ideas have serious implications on national security; some of 'Azzam's jihad ideas diverge from dominant ideas held by current jihadist groups like Al-Qaeda and these could potentially be used to counter contemporary jihad ideas and practices of jihadists.



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THINK TANK

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UPCOMING EVENTS

12 AUGUST 2014

RSIS DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC LECTURE BY PROFESSOR T. V. PAUL ON "RISING POWER: IS PEACEFUL ACCOMMODATION POSSIBLE?"

21 AUGUST 2014

RSIS SEMINAR BY DR GREG MILLS

21-22 AUGUST 2014

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ASIAN FOOD SECURITY (ICAFS) 2014

23-31 AUGUST 2014

ASEAN-CANADA TRAINING WORKSHOP FOR JUNIOR SCHOLARS

27-28 AUGUST 2014

3RD RSIS-CENTRE FOR NAVAL ANALYSES (CNA) WORKSHOP

3 SEPTEMBER 2014

RSIS DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC LECTURE BY DR

24 SEPTEMBER 2014

ROUNDTABLE BY RSIS' MULTILATERALISM AND REGIONALISM PROGRAMME ON "IMPACT OF THE SINO-JAPANESE COMPETITIVE RELATIONSHIP ON ASEAN AS A REGION AND INSTITUTION

1 OCTOBER 2014

RSIS SEMINAR BY THE HONOURABLE BOB CARR

13-14 OCTOBER 2014

CENS WORKSHOP ON "EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM ONLINE: A MULTIDISCIPLINARY EXAMINATION OF CURRENT TRENDS AND

15 OCTOBER 2014

RSIS DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC LECTURE BY THE HONOURABLE BOB CARR