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# THINK TANK

News from the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studie

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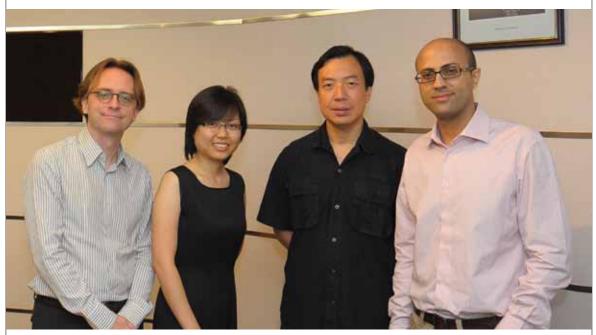
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# RSIS Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS)



Members of the CMS (from left): Ralf Emmers, Joann Saw, Tan See Seng and Bhubhindar Singh (not in picture: Pradumna Rana)

n a few short years, multilateralism has evolved from a mere academic notion to a convenient slogan and, finally, an unavoidable reality. Taking various forms such as mortar-and-brick institutions, activities and processes, and organising norms and principles, multilateralism has become a mainstay in political, economic and cultural interactions among nations and peoples. Thanks to globalisation, no country acting alone today can effectively address many of the world's contemporary challenges and crises, the complexity and enormity of which require collective multilateral action from the stakeholders involved.

Against that backdrop, RSIS is establishing a centre for the study of cooperative multilateralism at the global and regional dimensions. Headed by Associate Professor Tan See Seng, the RSIS Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS) will conduct advanced, cutting-edge research on multilateral economic, political and security cooperation in the Asia Pacific and beyond. Arrangements of interest include international and regional inter-governmental institutions as well as networks and communities of nongovernmental actors.

centre's research agenda the longstanding interests of the RSIS Multilateralism and Regionalism Programme. Since its inception in 2002, the programme, led first by Associate Professor Tan (2002-2009) and subsequently by Associate Professor Ralf Emmers (2009–2011), has consistently produced high-impact scholarly and policyoriented research on multilateral issues. Besides a prodigious output of critically acclaimed academic works, the programme has also produced a number of well received policy studies conducted on behalf of international institutions, regional organisations and the Singapore government. For example, the programme's work on preventive diplomacy received a special mention in the ASEAN Regional Forum 2008 Chairman's Statement.

Building upon this durable track record and firm foundation, the RSIS Centre for Multilateralism Studies aims to be an international hub for academic scholarship and policy-oriented analysis on cooperative multilateralism of the highest quality.

Contributed by Tan See Seng

# World Governance: A Brazilian Perspective



Dean Desker (left) with Ambassador Celso Amorim

former Brazilian Minister of External Relations, delivered the RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture at the Shangri-La Hotel. Ambassador Amorim spoke on "World Governance in the Second Decade of the 21st Century". Introducing the speaker, Dean Barry Desker noted that the first decade of the twenty-first century had been a tumultuous one, with many implications for global governance. He then invited Ambassador Amorim to share some insights from his time as Brazil's foreign minister.

Ambassador Amorim began by observing that the world was moving beyond the post-9/11 era, which had been dominated by the War on Terror, and suggested that Brazil would be playing an increasing role in world governance in the new decade. Brazil has achieved many foreign policy successes thus far, due in part to internal developments such as the consolidation of democracy, the tackling of inflation and the reduction of inequality. Ambassador Amorim also emphasised that Brazil's foreign policy was based on the principles of respect for sovereignty and non-intervention, but added that Brazil interpreted these principles in a more assertive way, balancing non-intervention with an attitude of non-indifference.

n 17 February 2011, Ambassador Celso Amorim, Brazil has been very active in building institutions, creating new fora linking Africa with South America and strengthening regional ones such as the Union of South American Nations. These efforts have helped to change the tectonic plates of international economy and geopolitics. The shift in world governance has been underscored by the rise of the G-20, and its rejection of protectionism at the WTO talks during the financial crisis. The reforms of the IMF and the World Bank are also taking place, with the transfer of veto rights to emerging world powers, albeit at a very slow pace.

> Ambassador Amorim concluded by declaring that the big question on world governance today was how willing the Europeans and Americans were to reform global institutions and to give other countries greater representation. He called for the reform of the UN Security Council, declaring that he had never seen such non-transparent diplomacy as that over the Iran nuclear issue. While he acknowledged that reform would be difficult, he suggested that one way of overcoming this could be to create more informal tracks for negotiation. Ideally, the world would reform financial and trade institutions but countries such as the G4 alliance of UN Security Council aspirants could establish more informal institutions between themselves in the meantime.

> > Contributed by Brian Chang

### Naval Modernisation in Southeast Asia



Dr Euan Graham (right) participating in the discussion

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a conference on 26-27 January 2011 to explore the causes and consequences of naval modernisation in Southeast Asia. The conference brought together experts and practitioners from across the region, including serving naval officers, industry representatives and academia. The speakers identified the drivers and enablers of naval enhancements underway in Southeast Asia. Key discussion points included whether a naval arms race, or arms dynamic, was taking place, and whether the build-up of naval and maritime power was enhancing or undermining regional security.

Dean Barry Desker opened the proceedings by commenting that Southeast Asia had made great strides in modernising its defence over the last decade. He observed that many countries saw themselves as stakeholders in good order at sea and navies had a shared responsibility to maintain the safety and security of sea lines of communication as well as ensuring freedom of navigation. He concluded his opening address by asking what the challenges to developing a framework for maritime cooperation and to confidence building in the region were.

Professor Geoffrey Till led the first session, highlighting the importance of studying navies, both as a window on nations and as a shaper of the strategic environment. The speakers

he RSIS Maritime Security Programme convened in the second session, including RSIS' Richard Bitzinger and Dr. Ian Storey of ISEAS, profiled naval modernisation in Northeast Asia and the Indian Ocean, setting Southeast Asia's naval environment in a strategic and comparative context. Other presentations gave fresh insight on the interactive nature of the naval acquisitions process, including perspectives from the defence industry.

> Speakers from across the region provided national perspectives on naval modernisation from various Southeast Asian countries. The conference focus then shifted to particular capabilities. Commodore Jack McCaffrie asked whether submarines were a "special case" within naval modernisation while Bob Nugent of AMI forecasted Southeast Asian surface-ship investments over the next 20

> In the final session, Dr. Sam Bateman of RSIS turned to the changing role of regional coast guards, as they assumed a more prominent role in supporting foreign policy. The question of whether an arms race was developing in the region was also debated. RSIS' Dr. Bernard Loo concluded that there was limited evidence for this in Southeast Asia, despite consistent increases in defence spending and maritime acquisitions. Naval cooperation would remain a key imperative of regional security, as the spectrum of maritime problems faced required multinational solutions.

> > Contributed by Euan Graham

# Shifts in Politics of the Global Village



Rt Hon David Miliband

he world has become a global village in Miliband said. Resource scarcity was historically a source of profound effects on the future of political decision-making", so said former UK Foreign Secretary David Milliband, MP, when he spoke at a Roundtable with RSIS members and associated experts and dignitaries at a downtown hotel on 14 March 2011. Miliband, who was on a visit to Singapore as an eminent guest of MFA, described these shifts as follows.

individuals, a "civilian surge" that distinguished the current wave of globalisation from previous waves at the beginning of the 20th century that were limited to governments and businesses.

The second big change was the shift in power from West to East, symbolised by the rise of China and other strong economies in the East, including Singapore. He said international institutions like the UN, World Bank and IMF needed to reform their governance structures to recognise the growing weight of the East if they were to keep pace The challenge was to recognise that there was a diversity with the changes.

The third change was the return of scarcity after a century of relative plenty. The global commons needed more tending, and ungoverned spaces existed where the pursuit of some national interests had ill-served the global interest, Mr rules of governing the global village were needed urgently.

which three significant shifts will have conflict, and this would affect the other two shifts.

These three shifts, Mr Miliband argued, required a change to international relations. This was especially important when the decisions of one country might have effects on another, when people were forming a sense of "global consciousness" and rapid changes required increasingly faster reactions in order to deal with such problems.

The first was the shift in power from organisations to He suggested that the absolutism of sovereignty be qualified and "responsible sovereignty" needed to be brought into international institutions. For example, the Responsibility to Protect principle was particularly important, because norms were increasingly shared. While Responsibility to Protect in international consensus set the bar low, only intervening in the most serious crimes against humanity, the idea behind it was that governments must adhere to certain norms. Europe had recognised that norms were shared, and this had been one example of responsible sovereignty in action.

> in ways of living, but there was also interest in the global common. Mr Miliband concluded that the interdependence created by the three changes – the shift in power from organisations to individuals, the shift in power from West to East, and the reality of resource scarcity – meant that new

> > Contributed by Joel Ng

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### Why Bother to Study Navies?



rofessor Geoffrey Till, Visiting Professor at RSIS' Maritime Security Programme spoke at a colloquium on 28 January 2011 about why studying navies continued to be important. His talk explained how navies were important in discerning as well as defining the strategic environments in which they operated. To illustrate the point, he discussed the centrality of sea power, the impact of sea power on the decline of American confidence since the Cold War, and the coming historic transition of the dominance of strategic sea power from the United States to China.

Professor Till explained that sea power's influence extended far beyond the seas in which navies operate and was able to shape events on both land and sea. Sea power encompassed the geo-economic dimensions of human activity to a much greater extent than land or air power. This made maritime strategy a potentially much broader, more flexible and thus more effective instrument of national power than either land or air power.

Professor Till described how the importance of the sea and sea power could be seen in the current declinist angst of the United States since the end of the Cold War. America's declining sea-based trade, shipbuilding and ship operations had had a direct effect on its loss of economic dominance. threatening the entire structure of the United States' superiority. The United States had also chosen to fight two wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, wherein its most cost-effective force, its navy, played a secondary role. Land-based wars

such as these negated the main strategic advantage of a maritime power.

A historic transition of strategic sea-based power from the United States to China was beginning, asserted Professor Till, which would have profound consequences for the general international order for the remainder of the twentyfirst century. With the United States currently distracted, China had an advantage in the key balance of commitments on the one hand and resources on the other. It was unlikely that the United States would lose its advantage anytime soon due to its inestimable advantage of experience in round-theclock operations around the world for the last hundred years.

Professor Till observed that the United States had grown accustomed to its maritime supremacy in the western Pacific, which guaranteed its strategic interests in the Asia Pacific region. However, China felt a sense of entitlement to its local seas and believed its maritime borders needed to be defended. Neither side wanted to see tensions rise to open conflict and their growing economic interdependence made a serious dispute undesirable. This could lead, through their competing tensions, to a process of strategic convergence of interests that resulted in a form of maritime cooperation. Currently, however, it was unlikely that the transition would be tension-free, due partly to the level of recent tense strategic competition. This would make a transition, if it happened, intensely difficult.

Contributed by Brian McCartan

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### **APPSNO 2011**

### Strengthening Crisis Resilience: **Enhancing National Security**



iven the unexpected and complex nature of current practitioners and academic researchers from 14 countries security threats, societies face a key challenge, said Deputy Prime Minister Wong Kan Seng. That is to strengthen societal resilience so that citizens will "instinctively pull together and help each other survive and recover from a crisis" and emerge even stronger than before. Participants learned about the trends and global best practices

Mr Wong, who is also Coordinating Minister for National Security, made this point when he opened the Fifth Asia Pacific Programme for Senior National Security Officers (APPSNO) at the Sentosa Resort and Spa on 11 April 2011.

He underscored the importance of delving into the essence of a 'Resilient DNA', pointing to the Japanese people's extraordinary display of 'gaman' - enduring the unbearable with patience and dignity - in the wake of the recent devastating earthquake and tsunami.

Jointly organised by the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) of RSIS and the National Security Coordinating Secretariat (NSCS), Prime Minister's Office, the theme of the five-day Programme was "Exploring Crisis Resilience". The Programme brought together 60

across the Asia Pacific and beyond to share expertise and exchange perspectives as well as develop stronger networks for national security management.

in national security and discussed crisis resilience in the face of transnational terrorist threats, leadership and decisionmaking in a crisis and the role of hindsight and foresight in developing resilience. The distinguished panel of speakers included Gerd Gigerenzen, Director at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin. He shared his insight on the role of intuition in decision-making in a crisis. Ambassador Barry Desker, Dean of RSIS, summed up the essence of the discussion of the complexities of managing national security when he said: "It is important to prepare and train the community before something occurs... To be better prepared we have to consider questions like how we can better detect future threats and challenges, whether resilience during a crisis is found in the quality of the personnel or in institutional processes, and whether it is possible to avoid making bad decisions in a crisis."

#### **Speakers:**

- · Kok Ping Soon, Director of National Security Coordination Centre, Singapore
- Edwin Bakker, Head of Clingendael's Security and Conflict Programme, Netherlands
- · Mohamed Feisal Bin Mohamed Hassan, Senior Analyst at RSIS' International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research
- Gerd Gigerenzer, Director of the Centre for Adaptive Behavior and Cognition, Max Plank Institute for Human Development, Berlin
- Scott Graham, Disaster Services Director (Northeast Area) for the American Red Cross. Greater New York
- · Hassan Ahmad, Chief Executive of Mercy Relief
- Aaron Maniam, Head, Centre for Strategic Futures, Singapore

- · Jeanette Kwek, Senior Strategist, Centre for Strategic Futures, Singapore
- Marc Gerstein of Marc Gerstein Associates Ltd
- · Zachary Shore, Associate Professor of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School
- Chris Arculeo, Fire and Rescue Service Advisor at the Office of the Chief Fire and Rescue Advisor, UK
- · Stanley Osserman of the Strategic Planning and Policy Directorate, United States Pacific Command
- Majeed Khader, Director, Behavioural Sciences Unit, Home team Academy, Singapore
- Jansen Ang, Deputy Director, Behavioural Sciences Unit, Home Team Academy, Singapore

Contributed by Yolanda Chin

# Rivalry and Interdependence: International Relations in Asia Today



Dean Desker (right) presenting a token of appreciation to Professor Shambaugh

at a lecture as part of the RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture Series, entitled "International Relations in Ann Kongsi Professor in International Relations at RSIS observed that international relations in Asia had changed state-to-state level and at the society-to-society level. The latter, in particular, had grown much in Asia over the past 10 to 15 years and acted as buffer from potential interstate rivalry and conflict.

Professor Shambaugh began by highlighting several continuities and changes that marked the dynamics of international relations in Asia. It is a region marked by sustained tension and security dilemma, as well as increased economic interdependence, a proliferation of multilateral institutions and a growing menu of non-traditional security issues. The region is also undergoing re-balancing of majorpower relations.

Moving on to his analysis on the dynamics of international relations in Asia, Professor Shambaugh argued that at the state-to-state level, interstate relations in Asia had been volatile and potentially dangerous. This could be reflected in the dynamics of major power relations in Asia today, lack of strategic trust between the two countries in addition to competition for influence and allies. Nevertheless, both countries still regard each other as a peer competitor instead of a rival, enemy or adversary. In this sense, Professor

n 18 March 2011, Professor David Shambaugh spoke Shambaugh argued that the competitive dynamics between the two countries had not really hardened.

Asia Today: New Patterns and Consequences". The Ngee On the other hand, at the society-to-society level, numerous linkages between the people and parts of the society have produced connectivity within the region. Intra-regional trade significantly at two principal levels over the years: at the and direct investment have increased relative to the extraregional sector: free-trade agreements and preferential trade agreements have mushroomed; and non-traditional security (NTS) issues have become increasingly important. In other words, security in Asia is becoming increasingly sub-state and inter-regional. This is a positive development for Asia because interaction creates interdependence and can serve to buffer strategic rivalry at the state level by bringing stability and mitigating suspicion.

Professor Shambaugh concluded that while the two levels of analysis were complementary, governments ought to pay more attention to the society level in the future. Looking into the future, Professor Shambaugh remained cautiously optimistic, as there were challenges to be addressed. The first is the proper management of U.S.-China relations. The key challenge would be to prevent the relations from hardening and becoming adversarial in nature. The second is the nature of multilateral cooperation in Asia. Sovereignty and the nation-state are two concepts still deeply cherished particularly between the United States and China. There is a in Asia. However, Asian countries must realise that today's global challenges have become increasingly transnational. Therefore, while there will not be an Asian version of NATO or the European Union, Asian countries must find a way to institutionalise their cooperation in the future.

Contributed by Meta Silvyani Suwandi

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### China's Role in Global and Regional Governance



Dr. Li Mingjiang, Coordinator of the China Programme at RSIS

he China Programme at RSIS organised a conference on "China's Role in Global and Regional Governance" on 10–11 March 2011. The conference was held in the context of increasing Chinese strategic and unprecedented activism in multilateral diplomacy, as China has become one of the most prominent beneficiaries of the integrative process of globalisation and the international system. The idea of global governance has gained prominence in discussions among policymakers and the academic community especially following the two previous financial crises. The conference was a comprehensive study to examine China's role in global and regional governance, which refers to the interaction of transnational actors in order to solve problems affecting more than one state actor within the region.

The conference is timely for two reasons. First, it sought to understand what had been the main motivational factors for its activism in multilateral diplomacy. At the international level, China's interaction with the outside world continues to intensify at a phenomenal pace. This is unique in contrast to empirical development, considering its passivism in multilateral efforts up until the early 1990s. Beijing today demonstrates more willingness and capabilities to shape the discourse and agenda on many transnational issues, including global regimes on climate change, reform of the world financial system and global trade arrangements. At the regional level, China is also active in dealing with transnational challenges in East Asia, and ASEAN-led institutions and fora.

Secondly, the conference is timely because of a lack of understanding of China's position in global and regional

governance. The conference aimed to comprehensively study and assess if Chinese decision makers had developed any coherent strategic approach to global and regional governance to be shared with the wider international community. An accurate understanding of China's position on global governance issues will help to answer the intrinsic question of China's strategic thinking, whether China is emerging as a revisionist or a status quo power.

A total of 19 prominent scholars and experts from the Asia Pacific countries presented at the conference, which was also attended by dozens of local scholars, diplomats based in Singapore, government officials and business leaders. The conference consisted of seven sessions, which tackled issues like China's vision and strategy for global and regional governance; China's changing role in global economic and financial institutions; China's role in non-traditional security issues, including global energy and environmental concerns; China's role in the global development programme; global security issues; regional maritime security issues; and China's role in Asian regional governance issues, with a particular focus on the efforts of building formal multilateral institutions.

In general, participants acknowledged the notable increase in China's influence in global and regional governance and agreed that the conference was timely and crucial for better understanding about a rising power. Dr. Li Mingjiang, the Coordinator of the China Programme at RSIS and organiser of the conference, will produce a conference report as well as an edited volume, which will be shared with policymakers and scholars.

Contributed by Lee Dongmin

# The "New" Indian Military Workshop



The Workshop in Session

he South Asia Programme at RSIS brought together The workshop consisted of five sessions. The first two a range of military and civilian experts to present their papers on the various aspects of India's military modernisation process in a workshop in Singapore on 24-25 February 2011. The end of the Cold War had marked a turning point in India's strategic history, as New Delhi began to shift its strategic worldview from that of a relatively weak player with a defensive worldview to that of a more confident emerging power. While much has been written about India's emergence as a potential power on the world stage and the country's expanding strategic horizons. along with its strengths and challenges, there has been relatively little detailed investigation into its military forces and the ways in which they have responded to the changing geostrategic environment. The aim of this workshop was to address this lacuna in the existing literature on India's rise while understanding the policy implications of India's emergence as a military power in Asia.

The workshop sought to understand how the Indian state was moulding the country's military to meet the demands of an entirely new strategic setting. India's evolving military doctrine, defence acquisitions, military posture and the various organisations managing the country's defence policy were analysed. The nature of strategic thinking and planning on military issues in India and their impact on the country's military effectiveness were also discussed. Finally, the workshop addressed India's defence cooperation with other states in an increasingly complex and interdependent world.

sessions focused on the military modernisation efforts of the Indian army, navy, air force and nuclear forces. The third panel discussed India's growing defence industrial base and the role of defence offsets in India's defence industrialisation policy. India's defence relations with Russia and the United States, and the geopolitical implications of these relationships were examined in the fourth session. The final panel considered the implications of the state of civil-military relations in India on the country's defence policy, including its modernisation efforts. The role of India's paramilitary forces in meeting the country's internal security challenges was also analysed in the final session. The most prominent theme that emerged from this workshop was that the main challenges facing India's military modernisation efforts had to be addressed at the highest political level in New Delhi. The South Asia Programme will publish an edited volume through a commercial publisher based on the proceedings and discussions at this workshop.

Contributed by Manjeet Singh Pardesi

### An Alumnus on His RSIS Experience



RSIS Alumnus Jan Eichstedt at the Brandenburg Gate, Berlin

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Strategic Studies at RSIS has been an unforgettable and life-changing experience. Having completed the programme in 2010, Jan has gone on to take up an Hoff, assisting her in her duties as a Member of Parliament, a Member and Co-Chair of the Armed Services Committee, as well as Spokesperson on Security Issues for the Liberal Democratic Party.

The former captain in the German army had wanted to "see a part of the world he had never seen", and to "earn a degree from a school with a great reputation that would set (him) apart from the rest of the competition". These led him to RSIS, a move that the 33-years-old credits as a crucial factor in helping secure his current role in helping to shape German national security policy.

Recounting his intercultural experience in the heart of Asia, Jan said that he went to school with fellow students from many countries, cultures and ethnicities, each unique in their own respect. This experience was most rewarding for him because it also offered the opportunity to reflect on Europe and Germany from afar.

On the course, Jan exclaimed that he had enjoyed all the courses and was thankful to all his teachers. He also credited the course with helping him at work, citing the example of the issue of piracy with reference to the European Naval Mission

■or Jan Eichstedt of Germany, doing his M.Sc. in ATALANTA. He recalled fondly, "I owe my understanding about legal issues in regard to anti-piracy missions to Professor Sam Bateman, who made sure that we went to bed with a copy of the United Nations Convention on the Law appointment as Chief of Staff in the Office of Mrs. Elke of the Sea and woke up with it under our pillows." Jan also advised his juniors to attend as many of the workshops and seminars as possible, which had broadened his mind and stimulated him intellectually, preparing him for his job.

> In closing, the alumnus believed that he had spent his time well in Singapore, which he described as efficient, clean, safe and friendly. Celebrating local festivities with his neighbours was something he had enjoyed, and he often craved the variety of great food he had tasted during his time here, for example nasi lemak, Chinese hotpots and Indian cuisine. In fact, he got so excited talking about food in Singapore that he confessed one of the reasons for his desire to return to his alma mater was the fact that he had not managed to find dim sum stalls in Berlin.

> > Contributed by Melvin Lin

### **RSIS Faculty Wins Recognition**

he article "Is Japan tilting towards China?" was published in Policy Innovation, an online publication of the Carnegie Council on 8 April 2010. In January 2011, it was selected as one of the best 18 articles of 2010 by a team from Policy Innovation. This article written by Dr. Bhubhindar Singh of RSIS was a response to some analysts who had argued that Japan's foreign policy under Prime Minister Hatoyama Yukio was "tilting" towards China and away from the United States. This assessment came after Hatoyama favoured a foreign policy with a stronger Asia focus and with less dependence on the United States. While a range of friendly gestures were extended to China, the Japan-U.S. relationship experienced difficulty resulting from the confusion over whether the United States would be included as a member of Hatoyama's proposed East Asian Community, as well as the transfer of the Futenma Base in Okinawa.

Dr. Singh argued that Japan was not tilting towards China and that the United States would remain the core of Japanese foreign policy for the following reasons:

- Despite the difficulties outlined above, the U.S.-Japan relationship was still very strong politically, economically and, increasingly, in strategic terms as well. The relationship continued to display strong shared objectives and interests that were institutionalised in many ways.
- Japan valued a strong bilateral relationship with the United States. The latter had successfully provided a security cover for Japan since the onset of the post-war period. This function was even more pronounced in light of Japan's main security challenges today-North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile programme and China's economic, political and military rise.

- Japan had made significant strides towards assuming a more active security role in international affairs—a development that had materialised through the active support of the United States. The continued support of the United States for Japan's further security role was absolutely essential for Tokyo, as well as its neighbours, which harboured deep suspicion and mistrust against Japan stemming from their colonial histories.
- Finally, even China would not support the weakening or unravelling of the U.S.-Japan security relationship. A strong U.S.-Japan relationship would serve China's interests. It would ensure the peace and stability of East Asia (essential for China's continued economic growth and development) and serve to deter Japan's military rise, which China would like to avoid.

The DPJ government's behaviour suggests that it is still finding its feet. Since displacing the LDP in 2009, the DPJ has been struggling with issues of governance; balancing interests between various groups; and advancing its own political, economic and security agenda. It is attempting to distance itself from previous LDP governments, as demonstrated by the Futenma base issue; the uncovering of the LDP's secret nuclear pact with the United States; the withdrawal of the Japanese military mission from Afghanistan; and the push for stronger relations with China and East Asia. It is clear that, unlike the LDP, the DPJ lacks experience in managing the U.S.-Japan partnership. However, they have realised the importance of the partnership. After the present difficulties are overcome, both Japan and the United States will learn to manage their relationship in the post-LDP era.

#### **UPCOMING EVENTS**

#### 27 APRIL 2011

JOINT SEMINAR ON "INDONESIA AND THE 2011 ASEAN CHAIRMANSHIP: PRIORITIES AND PROSPECTS" BY RSIS' INDONESIA PROGRAMME, CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND THE ASIA FOUNDATION

#### 4-6 MAY 2011

WTO-TFCTN/RSIS PARLIAMENTARIAN WORKSHOP 2011

#### 19 MAY 2011

2<sup>ND</sup> INTERNATIONAL MARITIME SECURITY CONFERENCE (IMSC)

#### 19 MAY 2011

RSIS-MACARTHUR 3RD POLICY ROUNDTABLE CO-ORGANISED WITH AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

#### 3-10 AUGUST 2011

13TH ASIA-PACIFIC PROGRAMME FOR SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS (APPSMO)

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### Staff Publications

Rohan Gunaratna and Khuram Iqbal

#### Pakistan: **Terrorism Ground Zero**

Reaktion Books, 2010. 978 1 86189 768 8



Edited by Rohan Gunaratna, Jolene Jerard and Lawrence Rubin

Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-terrorism.

Routledge, 2011. 978-0-415-58293-3

This is the first detailed analysis of the myriad insurgent groups working in Pakistan. Well-known author on global terrorism Rohan Gunaratna, and leading scholar Khuram Iqbal examine the nature, structure and agendas of the groups, their links to activists in other countries, and describe how complex it will be to defeat terrorism in this part of the world. Based on extensive field research and interviews with serving and former terrorists and government officials, the authors argue that Pakistan faces a grave and continuing pressure from within, and that without steadfast international goodwill and support, the threat of extremism, terrorism and insurgency will continue to grow.

Pakistan: Terrorism Ground Zero demonstrates that if the international community is to win the battle against ideological extremism and operational terrorism around the world, then Pakistan should be in the vanguard of the fight.

This book seeks to explore the new frontiers in counter-terrorism research, analyses and practice, focusing on the imperative to rehabilitate terrorists.

The post-9/11 world is in a very early stage of global rehabilitation both of terrorists and criminals. Nonetheless, some correctional rehabilitation programs have led convicted and suspected terrorists to express remorse, repent, and recant their violent ideologies and re-enter mainstream politics, religion and society. Although operational counter-terrorism initiatives have received both investment and attention, strategic counterterrorism initiatives that ultimately end violence including terrorism but require patience and sustained efforts have been neglected by governments and received inadequate public coverage. This book is an early attempt to examine a few case studies both by practitioners and scholars. This book provides a better understanding of the process of deradicalization, and will be the first step towards exploring the development of tools necessary to examine and address challenges faced by practitioners.