

Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding: First SRP Executive Programme

Contributed by
Akanksha Narain

The Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies (SRP) Programme organised its first Executive Programme on 16-20 November 2015 at the Raffles City Convention Centre, Singapore. The week-long programme titled “Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding” brought together more than 50 professionals from areas of community development, defence, policymaking, education and religious relations.

Ambassador Mohammad Alami Musa, Head of the SRP Programme, noted that academics who had felt that religion would no longer play a pivotal role in our lives had been proven wrong with the phenomenal rise in violence related to religion. Saddened by the attacks in Paris, Beirut and Baghdad, he added that it is imperative to work towards inter-faith dialogue and peace-building.

Professor Emeritus Julius Lipner, University of Cambridge, and visiting professor at the SRP Programme, said that the recent attacks showed

that “battles will now be in the ideological space between exclusivist ideologies and ideologies that promote dialogue. We will have to counter ideologies and visions in the ‘hearts and minds’ of people.” Associate Professor Paul Hedges of the SRP Programme, discussed the impact of religious theologies on relations with religious others.

During the course, the participants explored various topics and issues pertaining to religion, peace and conflict—ranging from the global impact of religion in the contemporary world, key concepts such as “fundamentalism” and “extremism”, to religious rationalisation for conflict and resources for peace. Dr Jude Fernando, Assistant Professor at Trinity College Dublin, familiarised the participants with the tools of conflict resolution.

Religious leaders, scholars and practitioners highlighted how resources from Islam, Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism can be used to promote peace and constructive dialogue between religions. Assistant Professor Mohamed



Speakers at the SRP Executive Programme, (from left) Associate Professor Paul Hedges, Professor Julius Lipner, Dr Abdullah Saeed, Dr Jude Lal Fernando, and Ambassador Ong Keng Yong

Bin Ali, also from the SRP Programme, referred to the Medina Charter, shedding light on how Islam has historically been conducive to inter-faith harmony.

Academics, practitioners and religious leaders from across the world participated in the programme, including Dr John Chew, former Archbishop of Singapore; Dr Irfan Jamil, current Bishop of Lahore; Professor Lily Kong, Provost

of Singapore Management University; Assistant Professor Chang Qing, Buddhist College of Singapore; and Professor Abdullah Saeed, Peter Lim Professor of Peace Studies at RSIS. The participants also visited religious institutions where they learned about different practices and beliefs and interacted with religious and community leaders involved in the field of inter-faith harmony and countering of radicalisation.

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RSIS and ZICO Holdings Inc. Launch Lecture Series on ASEAN and Partners

Contributed by
Scott Lai

RSIS and ZICO Holdings Inc. co-launched the “RSIS-ZICO Distinguished Lecture on ASEAN and Partners” series with its inaugural session on 30 November 2015 at the Shangri-La Hotel, Singapore.

The objective of this collaboration between RSIS and ZICO Holdings Inc. is to increase awareness among the business community on developments in international affairs, geopolitics and strategic challenges in the ASEAN region. This is done through public lectures by noted scholars and policymakers, or roundtable discussions with select business leaders.

Mr George Yeo, Chairman of Kerry Logistics Network, Visiting Scholar at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, and former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore, delivered the inaugural

lecture titled “ASEAN and the New China Trade”.

Mr Yeo led the audience through the intricate history between China and Southeast Asia, peppering his speech with personal anecdotes and insights. Beginning with the development of Southeast Asia's sea trade and China's tributary system, he then touched on (i) the development of ASEAN; (ii) the transformation of the Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement into the Trans-Pacific Partnership; (iii) the impact of the Asian Financial Crisis; (iv) the signing of the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA); and (v) China's One Belt, One Road initiative.

Mr Yeo recounted former Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji's speech during the signing of

the framework agreement for the ACFTA, in which Premier Zhu had stated that China did not seek an exclusive position in Southeast Asia, and that China would renegotiate the ACFTA if it led to a future imbalance in favour of China. He opined that China had demonstrated in numerous instances that its interest was not to dominate Southeast Asia,

but to sustain a long-term relationship with the region.

In concluding, Mr Yeo opined that despite the good relations and connectivity between ASEAN and China, the mentality in Southeast Asia would be to always maintain a separate existence and to have multiple relations in all directions.



(from left) Dato' Thambynathan Jasudasan, Chairman of ZICO Holdings Inc., with Mr George Yeo, Chairman of Kerry Logistics Network, and Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS

Post-2015 AADMER Strategic Policy Dialogue

Contributed by
Zin Bo Htet



Speakers and panellists of the dialogue

A Strategic Policy Dialogue on the Post-2015 ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) was facilitated by RSIS, in collaboration with the ASEAN Secretariat and the Singapore Civil Defence Force on 2 November 2015 at Mandarin Orchard Hotel, Singapore.

In his opening address, Mr K. Shanmugam, Minister for Home Affairs and Minister for Law, said that the landscape of humanitarian assistance in disaster management is one that is constantly evolving and requires a sustained collective effort by all ASEAN member states. The policy dialogue was attended by more than

70 representatives from the public, private and people sectors in the Asia Pacific region, including Mr Ross Sovann, Chair of ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management; Mr Said Faisal, Executive Director of AHA Centre; current and former ASEAN Secretary-Generals Mr Le Luong Minh; Dr Surin Pitsuwan (2008-2012); and Ambassador Ong Keng Yong (2003-2007), Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS.

The Secretary-Generals panel on “Vision 2025” was facilitated by Mr Said Faisal. During the panel discussion, SG Le Luong Minh said that participation of the people is key as ASEAN forges toward a more people-oriented, people-centred and resilient ASEAN Community.

Dr Pitsuwan remarked that ASEAN must deliver on its own commitment to one another and full implementation of AADMER is a basic requirement in the next 10 years. Amb Ong emphasised that it is crucial to engage as many stakeholders as possible at all levels, and partnerships on the ground will make ASEAN more confident in responding to disasters.

The plenary discussion was followed by a closed-door meeting where the ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management identified key strategies to respond to regional and global trends in disaster-related issues.

Asia's Nuclear Future

Contributed by
Kyaw San Wai

Dr Olli Heinonen, RSIS Distinguished Visitor and Senior Fellow of Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs in the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, delivered an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture titled "Asia's Nuclear Future" on 27 October 2015 at the RSIS Lecture Theatre. Dr Heinonen shared his outlook on the future of Asia's nuclear energy industry, and the basic tenets of nuclear safety, security and safeguards.

Dr Heinonen projected that by 2030, the nuclear energy and technology landscape will be entirely different, with the focus shifting from the United States and Western Europe towards Asia. There will also be around 15 new comer countries joining the nuclear energy landscape, mostly in Asia and the Middle East. China will be the biggest nuclear power country (with a projection of 130 nuclear power plants) and a major exporter of reactor technology. Asian countries pursuing

nuclear power will need to construct a sufficient technological and scientific infrastructure to train an adequate body of experts to design, construct, operate and regulate the large number of planned nuclear power plants. The training will need to focus on both the technological and policy aspects. Russia's new proposal of a Build-Own-

Operate model will also impact the nuclear power landscape.

Nuclear safety and security are based on conventions, and do not have verification mechanisms. Nuclear safeguards are based on the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

operates the verification system. Dr Heinonen explained the IAEA's verification process based on the "All-Source Information Acquisition Analysis" approach, and listed some of the challenges faced by IAEA's activities. With the increased use of nuclear power, the IAEA will have to increase its verification efforts.



Dr Olli Heinonen signing his lecture's poster, which will be displayed in RSIS

Trends in Terrorism: Bringing the Ideology Online

Contributed by
Nur Azlin Mohamed Yasin

Professor Gabriel Weimann, Professor of Communication at the Department of Communication at Haifa University, spoke on "Terrorism in Cyberspace: The Next Generation" during an RSIS Seminar on 4 November 2015. The seminar was held in light of the growing online presence of the terrorist group, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

He began by noting that terrorist groups of all types including the Basque ETA movement and the Aum Shinrikyo are known to use

the online platform as an avenue for their propaganda. The numbers of such sites have grown from 12 in 1998, to 2,650 in 2003 and 9,800 in September 2015. There are three stages in the terrorists' use of the internet: (i) the first stage consists of only websites; (ii) the second has an added interactive feature represented by forums and chatrooms; and (iii) the last includes social media.

Prof Weimann asserted that there are four new trends in terrorism online: (i) new terrorism meets new media;

(ii) narrowcasting; (iii) lone wolves in cyberspace; and (iv) cyber-terrorism. The first trend involves a media assembly line that starts from the producer and is passed on to distributors, spokespersons and terrorist celebrities. The second trend of narrowcasting focuses on delivering specially designed media products to categorised target audiences. The third trend highlights the phenomenon of online radicalisation and terrorists' call to individuals to conduct lone wolf attacks. The last trend involves terrorists' use of the dark net and plans to

attack computer networks and national infrastructures.

Prof Weimann proposed the M.U.D. model for countering online terrorism. This model suggests that monitoring, using and disrupting online terrorism as a solution requires research involving multi-disciplinary studies and an international front with an interdisciplinary force involving academics, security forces, policymakers, civil rights organisations and others.

Assessing the Future Maritime Environment in Asia

Contributed by
Collin Koh and Lee YingHui

RSIS' Maritime Security Programme held a workshop titled "Assessing the Future Maritime Environment in Asia" on 12 November

2015 at Marina Mandarin Singapore.

Participants presented on selected country perspectives



Ms Youna Lyons, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for International Law, NUS, at the workshop

from across the Indo Pacific region. Great Power rivalries, chiefly involving China, India, Japan and the United States, featured prominently in the discussion, which had a particular focus on the on-going tensions in the South China Sea. The building of strategic trust, especially between China and the United States, was highlighted. Participants acknowledged that while there are grounds for optimism, considering the interdependence between the regional actors, there are also reasons for concern.

There are various factors that influence the regional maritime environment. These include the spate of military build-up efforts undertaken by regional countries, as well as marine environmental issues –

especially those concerning fisheries management and the physical impact of coral dredging in the South China Sea. Participants cautioned that these factors might complicate the geopolitical rivalries taking place within the maritime domain and could potentially destabilise the region.

A panel discussion was convened on the way forward to build confidence among the diverse stakeholders in the region, especially in view of the persistent South China Sea tensions. Participants discussed operational and strategic trust-building initiatives, including the proposed Code of Conduct in the South China Sea.

Social Fault Lines and Singapore

Contributed by
Norman Vasu

The Social Resilience Programme at RSIS' Centre of Excellence for National Security organised a conference titled "Social Fault Lines and Singapore" on 23 October 2015 at Marina Mandarin, Singapore. With ethnic and religious tensions part of Singapore's early history, the maintenance of social harmony is an issue of concern for policymakers. Recent incidents such as the Little India riot as well as online expressions of anti-immigrant sentiment may indicate that new social fault lines are developing.

In order to discuss current and possible future social fault lines within Singapore society, speakers from multi-disciplinary backgrounds

were invited to offer insights into three possible areas of concern: (i) gender and sexuality; (ii) religion; and (iii) the cosmopolitan and heartland dichotomy.

Speakers included Mr Paul Tobin, President of the Humanist Society of Singapore, who spoke about the nature of humanism, issues which non-believers face in largely religious environments, and the issue of offending and being offended. Ms Jolene Tan, Senior Manager, Programmes and Communications at AWARE, provided a broad overview of the state of gender equality in Singapore. She used the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against



Mr Paul Tobin

Women (CEDAW) as a point of contrast between state commitment and national interests in advancing the position of women as equal members of society. Mr Lee Tzu Yang, Chairman of the

Esplanade Company Ltd, stressed the importance of individuals and organisations in developing experience, knowledge, and confidence in dealing with diversity.

Perspectives on Malaysia's Approach to Foreign Relations

Contributed by
David Han

Professor Anthony Milner, Tun Hussein Onn Chair in International Studies at the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS Malaysia), highlighted at an RSIS seminar on 16 November 2015, three principles to address several puzzles of Malaysia's foreign policy. Titled "Perspectives on Malaysia's Approach to Foreign Relations", he said these principles can be traced back to the international politics of the Old Malay kingdoms prior to the modern Westphalian system of nation-states. The sources of these principles are the old Malay texts, namely the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*.

The first principle is reputation or prestige. It pertains to a system of hierarchy among rulers. In diplomacy, there was little problem for a ruler to accept his lower status

compared to another ruler who was ranked higher than himself. Gaining territorial grounds was not so important to rulers in the old Malay kingdoms, which was somewhat different from European attitudes towards territorial disputes. The notion of reputation may explain why Malaysia takes on a more relaxed posture towards China, a bigger country than Malaysia, in the South China Sea disputes.

The second principle is relationship-building, which deals with group binding. Relationship-building is deeply embedded in Malay culture. Indeed, the notion of community building in the form of ASEAN may have its roots in the Malay concept of relationship building.

The third principle is maintaining moral balance. This entails the attempt to

build friendly relations and have openness to different perspectives whereby a just and fair ruler would consult other people. An example of moral balance in Malaysia's foreign relations can be seen in the MH17 Malaysian airliner crash. Malaysia did not hold Russia responsible for the plane crash. Instead, Malaysia consulted the United Nations Security

Council in handling the aftermath of the crash.

Prof Milner added that these three principles do not explain everything related to Malaysia's foreign policy. Rather, these principles can contribute to studies of international relations by providing non-Western perspectives on international politics.



Professor Anthony Milner (right) at the seminar

50 Years of Singapore-Malaysia Relations

Contributed by
Abdul Mateen Qadri

Professor Khoo Kay Kim, Emeritus Professor in the Department of History at the University of Malaya spoke on "50 Years of Singapore-Malaysia Relations" during an RSIS seminar on 6 November 2015. He highlighted the fact that a large portion of the public was unfamiliar with the history of Singapore-Malaysia relations.

First, he outlined Singapore's successes prior to separation in 1965. Singapore was seen as a hub for trade, where the British could later sell tin and rubber to the Europeans and Americans. Singapore's education system was excellent, particularly with the Raffles Institution and the Anglo-Chinese school.

Additionally, Singapore was outstanding in sports.

The Malay citizenry were fearful that the country would be taken over by non-Malay citizens. Racial tensions rose, with the Indians and the Chinese labeled with terms such as *pendatang* [immigrants]. The paths of Singapore and Malaysia diverged post separation. Singapore prospered economically and soon became an international powerhouse while Malaysia continued to face the challenges of a disunited population. Racial differences continued to be used as a tool for division. He noted the establishment of ethnic parties, vernacular schools

and the varying dialects spoken by members of the same race as factors which contributed to the lack of commonality. The Kadazan and Dusun tribes were labeled as *lain-lain* [the others], when they should actually be referred to as *Bumiputeras*.

Prof Khoo also noted a few other problems such as

ineffective trade policies and a dysfunctional education system that currently plague Malaysia. Overall in his opinion, significant action needs to be taken by the political elites to remedy the situation and to unite all the races in Malaysia.



Professor Khoo Kay Kim (right) with Mr Mushahid Ali, Senior Fellow at RSIS, at the seminar

The Way Forward for the ADMM/ADMM-Plus

Contributed by
Henrick Z. Tseng

RSIS' Regional Security Architecture Programme organised the roundtable titled "The Future of the ADMM/ADMM-Plus and Defence Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific" on 17 November 2015, at Marina Mandarin, Singapore. The roundtable provided a platform for an exchange of views between experts on the current state and future trajectory of the forums. Optimism on the way forward for the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting and ADMM Plus was a key outcome.

Associate Professor Ralf Emmers, Associate Dean of RSIS, highlighted the momentum in the forums that are not seen in other

ASEAN-related forums. This was followed by a stock-take of defence regionalism in Southeast Asia by Professor Tan See Seng, Deputy Director and Head of Research of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies.

The roundtable explored the achievements of the ADMM, discussing the role of the ASEAN Way in the development of the ADMM, as well as the roles of functional and practical cooperation. Some of the challenges that the ADMM currently face are the presence of great power rivalry in the region and the rise of non-traditional security threats, along with

institutional challenges inherent in the ADMM. Although challenges such as mismatches on the position of regional security and resource shortages for coordinated action remain,

there was optimism on the role of the ADMM-Plus, given that it has emerged as being more than a talk shop with the establishment of the Expert Working Groups.



Assistant Professor Ken Jimbo, Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University, at the roundtable

Nuclear Safety and Security in Southeast Asia

Contributed by
Kyaw San Wai

RSIS organised, in coordination with the Energy Market Authority, a roundtable panel discussion at the Singapore International Energy Week (SIEW) with the theme "Is Southeast Asia Ready for Nuclear Power?" The RSIS roundtable was held on 30 October 2015 at the Marina Bay Sands

Expo and Convention Centre, Singapore. The participants included a panel of nuclear energy experts.

Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, delivered the welcome remarks. Dr Olli Heinonen, RSIS Distinguished Visitor and

Senior Fellow at Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, along with Dr Taswanda Taryo, Deputy Chairman of National Nuclear Energy Agency of Indonesia; Dr Tran Chi Thanh, President of Vietnam Atomic Energy Institute; Dr Ronald McCoy, President of the Malaysian Physicians for Social Responsibility; and Mr Egor Simonov, Director of ROSATOM Asia had frank discussions on issues surrounding nuclear energy and security in Asia.

Dr Heinonen shared that nuclear energy cooperation among Nordic countries can be a good model for Asia on how to improve nuclear governance issues. Dr Taryo spoke about the

implementation of nuclear safety, security and safeguards in Indonesia, along with measures to protect nuclear power plants from terrorist attacks. Dr Tran spoke on the status of Vietnam's nuclear power programme and the issues it faced. Dr McCoy raised concerns regarding the safety and long-term impact of nuclear energy and nuclear waste. Drawing a lesson from Fukushima, the panel highlighted the need for a coordinated system to tackle accidents and incidents. Expanding nuclear energy programmes in Asia require a sufficient body of trained specialists. The public needs to be better educated on the benefits, costs and risks of nuclear energy and nuclear waste.



Dr Tran Chi Thanh, President of Vietnam Atomic Energy Institute, speaking at the roundtable

One Belt, One Road: Fine-tuning Needed

Contributed by
Alessandro Arduino and Hoo Tiang Boon



Participants at the roundtable discussion

RSIS co-organised a roundtable with the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS), one of China's leading policy think tanks, on 30 October 2015. Held at RSIS, the roundtable, titled "China's Belt Road Initiative", centred its discussion on how China could fine-tune its "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR) initiative as it gets further concretised. While

the initiative is gaining momentum, concerns remain that the OBOR risks overstressing China's financial reserves, as well as raising potential suspicions over a hidden geopolitical agenda.

During the meeting, SIIS scholars introduced the role of the OBOR as a key element of China's "new

round of opening to the world." They underlined that the OBOR, even as it overlaps with several multilateral organisations, is not envisioned to compete with but rather to complement them.

RSIS scholars made a number of suggestions; one being that OBOR "awareness" should be raised further among countries in the region. They are of the opinion that there is still insufficient knowledge and appreciation of China's OBOR, not only among the general population, but also among the business and political circles. In this respect, it was suggested that Beijing could come up with a more comprehensive communication plan, including a precise road map that allows for the engagement of local socio-economic actors.

While the participants agreed that the OBOR is considered "good for business", the general consensus was that the present initiative lacks specific policies that aim to prevent environmental crisis and social unrest. This was the perspective that in order for the OBOR to be successful, participating Chinese companies need to be better aware of the local contexts in which they are operating, so as to better promote sustainable growth and avoid negative political and/or social blowbacks. The roundtable concluded with the mutual view that China is extending its economic influence at a faster pace than before, and that the OBOR is a defining moment in the shaping of China's relations with regional countries.

Towards a Rules-based ASEAN

Contributed by
Vishalini

A conference titled "A Rules-based ASEAN" was jointly organised by RSIS and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore, in collaboration with the U.S. Mission to ASEAN (USASEAN) and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) on 9-10 December 2015 at the Copthorne King's Hotel, Singapore. The two-day event was attended by senior government officials from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of ASEAN Member States, academics and legal experts and desk officers of the ASEAN Secretariat.

The opening remarks were delivered by Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, Associate Professor Ralf Emmers, Associate Dean and Head of

the Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS) at RSIS; and Ms Jennifer Wilson, Senior Advisor for ASEAN Affairs at USAID's Regional Development Mission to Asia.

Participants shared their views on how best to implement and support a rules-based ASEAN, the influence of the "ASEAN Way", the impact of different cultures on transforming ASEAN into a rules-based community and the strategic direction that ASEAN should take to evolve into a more rules-based organisation.

The discussion sessions were facilitated by Professor David Cohen, Stanford University; Professor Kevin Tan, RSIS; Associate Professor Alan Chong, RSIS; and Assistant Professor Tan

Hsien-Li, NUS. Dr Termsak Chalermpanupap, Ms Moe Thuzar and Ms Sanchita Basu Das from ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute ASEAN Studies Centre facilitated an open

discussion on the second day, during which conference participants explored issues and challenges related to implementation of a "Rules-Based ASEAN".



Mr Sovann Ke, Deputy Director-General, ASEAN Department of Cambodian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, speaking at the conference

Preparing for Nuclear Crises: Nuclear Energy Experts Group Meeting

Contributed by
Julius Cesar I. Trajano

The Nuclear Energy Experts Group (NEEG) Meeting was co-organised by RSIS and the Pacific Forum-Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) on 15-16 October 2015 at Grand Park City Hall, Singapore. The meeting brought together 34 nuclear specialists from 15 countries across the Asia Pacific.

Participants examined the Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) process and deliberated on prospects for nuclear governance post-2016. They discussed the potential of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to take over the NSS process, given its large membership, expertise and experience.

However, it was agreed that continuing the NSS process under the IAEA umbrella would be an expansion of the agency's mandate, requiring requisite political support and increased funding.

Participants also discussed post-2016 nuclear governance in Southeast Asia given that Vietnam will potentially commission its first nuclear power plant by 2025. The two prominent emerging nuclear governance issues in the region are nuclear waste management and potential nuclear accidents triggered by natural disasters. ASEAN will have a crucial role to play in ensuring a consistent and comprehensive nuclear governance regime to

address these two important issues. With regard to nuclear waste, it was recommended that member-states should begin discussing a regional framework on spent fuel management that will help foster regional cooperation on finding ways to manage and dispose nuclear waste.

To institutionalise preparations for possible nuclear crises, it was suggested that ASEAN member-states should jointly establish a regional nuclear crisis centre or mechanism. This would enable member-states to facilitate information exchange, coordinate regional response, conduct joint clean-up activities, and organise workshops,

training, and drills. Discussing a hypothetical scenario of a nuclear accident, it was highlighted that working with ASEAN will be integral in coordinating responses to a nuclear crisis. This will involve preparatory work and engaging regional officials and technical experts involved in nuclear safety.



Dr Alistair D. B. Cook of RSIS' NTS Centre speaking during the discussions

Asia Pacific Regional Meeting of Trilateral Commission

Contributed by
Aéadán Mordecai

The Trilateral Commission returned to Singapore for its annual Asia Pacific Regional Meeting on 5-6 December 2015, at the Fullerton Hotel, Singapore. Formed in 1973, the Trilateral Commission bring together experienced leaders within the private sectors of Europe, North America, and Asia, to discuss issues of global concern.

The event, supported by RSIS, saw Singapore hosting many distinguished members of the Asia Pacific Group from Japan, South Korea, China, India, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as the five original ASEAN countries.

The members discussed current global issues, with particular attention to those affecting the Asian region. Associate Professor Mely Cabellero-Anthony, Head, Centre of Non-Traditional Security Studies at RSIS, gave a presentation on

"Managing New Faces of Migration: Fixing Broken Regimes?" The session was moderated by Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, and served as introductory discussion of the topic "Building of an Orderly International Migration Regime Task Force", which was a focus for the Trilateral Commission this year.

Mr K. Shanmugam, Minister for Home Affairs and Minister for Law, spoke in the first session that looked at the prospects and challenges that the ASEAN integration face, which was chaired by Ambassador Barry Desker, Distinguished Fellow of RSIS. Amb Desker also delivered the welcome and closing remarks to the three-day meeting.

Other topics discussed included: (i) East Asian Security; (ii) Regional Economic Cooperation (AIB,

One Belt One Road); (iii) Modinomics, the "Law of the Sea" in regard to the South China Sea; and (iv) the Trans-Pacific Partnership. Members of the commission

visited the Asian Civilisation Museum and were hosted to a dinner by the Singapore Group.



(from left) Ambassador Bilahari Kausikan, Ambassador-at-Large and Policy Adviser, with Mr K. Shanmugam, Minister for Home Affairs and Minister for Law, and Ambassador Barry Desker, Distinguished Fellow at RSIS

Macro Trends in the International Relations of Asia

Contributed by
James Char

Professor David Shambaugh, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs and founding Director of the China Policy Programme at the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University, surveyed the geopolitical, economic and security trends in Asia in an RSIS seminar titled “Macro Trends in the International Relations of Asia” on 20 November 2015. He also discussed the roles played by its major and middle powers, as well as the growing number of multilateral institutions in shaping the regional order.

Speaking on the theme of continuity and change, Prof Shambaugh opined that major power competition between the U.S. and China has become comprehensive

in nature, with Sino-U.S. rivalry now apparent in the diplomatic, economic, military and soft power realms. The U.S.-China competition also had an impact on Asian countries. In spite of the present realist balance of power, he noted that interdependence at the state level in addition to the growth of multilateralism (such as an increasingly institutionalised ASEAN) have so far succeeded in ameliorating regional tensions.

Nonetheless, Prof Shambaugh shared his observation that some of Asia’s key nations could still play an important role in asserting themselves on the regional landscape. He postulated that greater strategic coordination among the Indo Pacific region’s middle powers, including

South Korea and Indonesia, might yet prove helpful in serving as an effective buffer against instability.

Prof Shambaugh highlighted that in spite of Asia’s potential flashpoints, there has been a number of encouraging developments such as growing intra-regional economic activity and a significant improvement in

Cross-Straits ties between China and Taiwan. Moreover, he was hopeful that the security dynamics in the region was manageable, with a growing number of confidence building mechanisms between the American and Chinese militaries and robust inter-societal interactions at the sub-state level.



Professor David Shambaugh (left) with Associate Professor Ralf Emmers, Associate Dean of RSIS

Seminars by CENS’ Distinguished Visitor, Ms Emily Hands

Contributed by
Dymples Leong

Ms Emily Hands, Head of National Security Communications, Prime Minister’s Office, United Kingdom, was the fourth Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) for 2015. Ms Hands gave two seminars on 3 and 4 November 2015, and also spoke as a Distinguished Speaker at the CENS’ Social Media workshop entitled “Managing Full Spectrum Communications – Experience from the Cross-government Space” held at Marina Mandarin Singapore on 5 November 2015. In the first seminar entitled “Countering Extremism—At Home and Abroad, as a Coalition and a Country”, Ms Hands discussed the challenges faced by

extremism and shared the various counter-terrorism and prevention approaches of the United Kingdom. She highlighted key areas in the United Kingdom’s counter-extremism strategy—such as fostering cohesion in communities—and mentioned that the role of communications in national security involves understanding methods of integrating various approaches into a cohesive strategy.

In Ms Hands’ second seminar entitled “Defending the Indefensible—Communicating Contentious Policies in Difficult Circumstances”, Ms Hands elaborated on the role of the British Government Communications Service (GCS) in providing world

class communications, supporting ministers’ priorities, improving peoples’ lives, and enabling the effective operation of government. In the Social Media Workshop, Ms Hands discussed the six elements of the national security communication framework:

(i) explaining; (ii) reassuring; (iii) prompting; (iv) amplifying; (v) delivering; and (vi) influencing. Ms Hands noted that the role of national security communications involved the coordination of cross-government efforts in areas such as countering extremism.



Ms Emily Hands with Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna, Head of Policy Studies in the Office of the Executive Deputy Chairman

RSIS, ReCAAP ISC and IFC Launches a Guide for Tankers

Contributed by
Lee YingHui and Collin Koh

RSIS, together with the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP) Information Sharing Centre (ISC) and the Republic of Singapore Navy's Information Fusion Centre (IFC) launched the Guide for Tankers Operating in Asia against Piracy and Armed Robbery Involving Oil Cargo Theft on 25 November 2015. The launch was attended by representatives from various segments of the maritime industry.

In his welcome address, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, highlighted the importance of ensuring the safety and security of regional shipping

routes. In his opening speech, Ambassador Dr Pornchai Danvivathana, Chairperson of the ReCAAP ISC Governing Council, and the Thai Ambassador to the Sultanate of Oman, said that the guide was a response to calls from the industry to address preventive measures and mitigate risks. He highlighted the significance of joint efforts to combat crimes at sea and announced that the three agencies are working towards a comprehensive regional guide, which will address the occurrence of incidents involving all types of vessels and cargos when underway or at ports and anchorages in Asian waters. In opening the panel discussion, Ms Jane Chan, Research Fellow and

Coordinator of the Maritime Security Programme at RSIS, solicited comments and feedback on the guide for tankers, and also suggestions for a more comprehensive regional maritime guide. Lieutenant Colonel (Ret.) Nicholas Teo, Deputy Director of ReCAAP ISC, emphasised that the industry will be actively consulted in producing the comprehensive guide, and

he welcomed like-minded partners and organisations to participate in the process. Senior Lieutenant Colonel Raymond Ong, Head of IFC, reiterated the good level of operational cooperation among the littoral states, while acknowledging that more can be done to increase regional capacity to better manage the safety and security of regional waters.



(from left) Ambassador Ong Keng Yong with Ambassador Dr Pornchai Danvivathana and Senior Lieutenant Colonel Raymond Ong

Women, Peace and Security: 15th Anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

Contributed by
Vishalini

RSIS in collaboration with the Embassy of Sweden, Singapore, organised a panel seminar to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325: Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325) on 1 December 2015 at the residence of HE Håkan Jevrell, Sweden's Ambassador to Singapore.

HE Håkan Jevrell and Associate Professor Ralf Emmers, Associate Dean of RSIS delivered the welcome remarks to more than 60 representatives from the public, private and people sectors.

The blueprint for women, peace and security is rooted in the UNSCR 1325, which was adopted by the United

Nations Security Council on 31 October 2000. The panel seminar sought to advance the agenda of women, peace and security by evaluating the impact of the resolution on women and children in the Asia Pacific, as well as during natural disasters.

The event was chaired by Dr Alistair D. B. Cook, Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) Programme at RSIS. The panellists comprised of Ms Janet Lim, Fellow at Singapore Management University, Executive-in-Residence for Geneva Centre for Security Policy and former UNHCR Assistant High Commissioner for Operations (2009-2015); Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony, Head of

Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, RSIS, and former Director of External Relations at the ASEAN Secretariat (2011-2012); Ms Olivia Forsberg, Disaster Risk Management Advisor for Plan International; Dr Tamara Nair, Research Fellow at

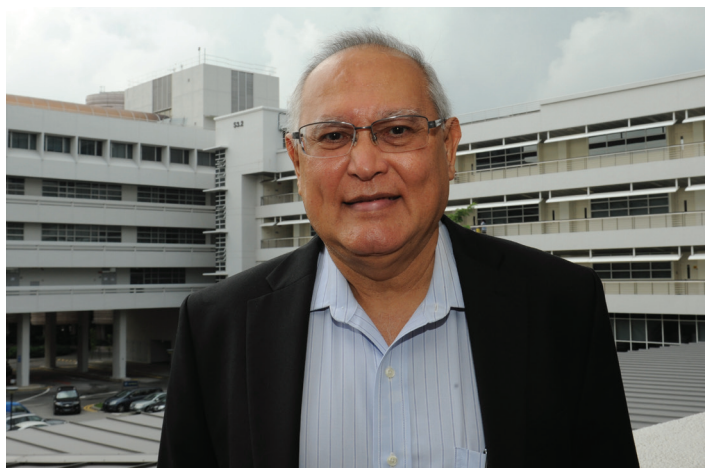
NTS Centre; and Ms Pia Bruce, Executive Director for National Committee for UN WOMEN Singapore. Each of them shared their views regarding the implementation of UNSCR 1325.



Associate Professor Ralf Emmers, Associate Dean of RSIS (second from left) and HE Håkan Jevrell, Sweden's ambassador to Singapore (fourth from left), with NTS Centre staff and speakers

Honours and Awards for RSIS Staff

Appointments to ASEAN Inter-Governmental Commission on Human Rights



Ambassador Barry Desker, RSIS Distinguished Fellow and Bakrie Professor of Southeast Asia Policy, has been appointed as the Singapore representative to the ASEAN Inter-Governmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 2016. The AICHR is a consultative body operating by consensus which is composed of one representative from each ASEAN member

country nominated by their respective governments. The commission's mandate focuses on the promotion and protection of human rights, capacity building, advice and technical assistance, information gathering and engagement with national, regional and international bodies. Dr Shashi Jayakumar, Head of RSIS' Centre of Excellence for National Security, has been appointed as the Alternate Representative.

Appointment to the Singapore Social Sciences Research Council

Associate Professor Farish A. Noor, Head of Doctoral Studies, has been appointed as a member of the newly-established Singapore Social Sciences Research Council (SSRC). Scheduled to meet from January 2016, the aim of the SSRC is to develop a policy to enhance the social sciences and research in the humanities to anticipate Singapore's needs in the

future. The Council will meet to plan a long-term strategy to help fund and support the development of the social sciences and humanities in the universities and colleges of Singapore. Associate Professor Farish A. Noor's appointment will be for a period of two years, from January 2016 to December 2017.



Inaugural Class of Schwarzman Scholars

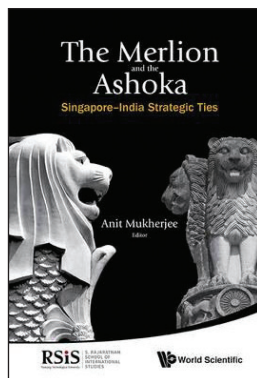
Mr Caemmerer Jesse Carl, Research Analyst at RSIS, has been selected to the inaugural class of the Schwarzman Scholars

to pursue a fully funded Master of Global Affairs at Schwarzman College, located on the campus of Tsinghua University.

Out of more than 3,000 applicants for the masters degree programme at Tsinghua University in Beijing, 111 Schwarzman Scholars were selected as the inaugural class on 11 January 2016. With an acceptance rate of 3.7 per

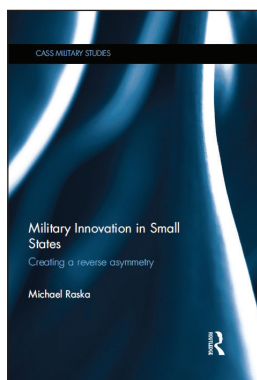
cent, the Schwarzman Scholars is one of the most selective programmes in the world. Comprised of students from 32 countries and 71 universities with 44 per cent from the United States, 21 per cent from China, and 35 per cent from the rest of the world, the class will attend classes at the Schwarzman College on the Tsinghua campus in September 2016.

STAFF PUBLICATIONS

**The Merlion and the Ashoka: Singapore-India Strategic Ties**

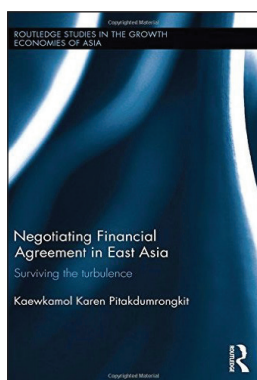
*Edited by Anit Mukherjee. World Scientific Publishing Company: 2015.
ISBN: 978-981-4704-66-3*

The Merlion and the Ashoka: Singapore–India Strategic Ties examines the historical evolution and future prospects of the strategic and defence ties between these two nations. India, which considers Singapore to be one of its closest partners in Southeast Asia, has offered Singapore unprecedented access to training facilities, including basing equipment on Indian soil. In turn, Singapore has a close defence dialogue at various levels with India and active military cooperation at the tactical and operational levels. How did the two countries attain such an unprecedented level of defence cooperation and what were the challenges they had to overcome? Combining perspectives from policy-makers, academics and military officers, this book examines different aspects surrounding this question. While exploring the future trajectory of Singapore–India relations, it makes recommendations on how to enhance this strategic partnership.

**Military Innovation in Small States: Creating a Reverse Asymmetry**

*Michael Raska. Routledge: 2015.
ISBN: 978-1-138-78723-0*

Although the 'Revolution in Military Affairs' (RMA) concept has enjoyed significant academic attention, the varying paths and patterns of military innovation in divergent strategic settings have been overlooked. This book seeks to rectify this gap by addressing the broad puzzle of how the global diffusion of RMA-oriented military innovation – the process of international transmission, communication, and interaction of RMA-related military concepts, organisations, and technologies – has shaped the paths, patterns, and scope of military innovation of selected small states. In a reverse mode, how have selected small states influenced the conceptualisation and transmission of the RMA theory, processes, and debate? Using Israel, Singapore and South Korea as case studies, this book argues that RMA-oriented military innovation paths in small states indicate predominantly evolutionary trajectory, albeit with a varying patterns resulting from the confluence of three sets of variables: (i) the level of strategic, organisational, and operational adaptability in responding to shifts in the geostrategic and regional security environment; (ii) the ability to identify, anticipate, exploit, and sustain niche military innovation – select conceptual, organisational, and technological innovation intended to enhance the military's ability to prepare for, fight, and win wars, and (iii) strategic culture. While the book represents relevant empirical cases for testing the validity of the RMA diffusion hypotheses, from a policy-oriented perspective, this book argues that these case studies offer lessons learned in coping with the security and defence management challenges posed by military innovation in general.

**Negotiating Financial Agreement in East Asia**

*Kaewkamol Karen Pitakdumrongkit. Routledge: 2015.
ISBN: 978-1-13-880752-5*

Every international negotiation bears a risk of collapse, as even among like-minded countries, different players often have different priorities and interests. This can result in conflict as states clash over certain agreement details, and their disputes can escalate and founder the entire negotiation, missing an opportunity to realise potential initiatives. However, other circumstances have witnessed the cases of successful deals. This begets a puzzle: What did these states do to salvage their talks and seal their deals?

This book examines East Asian financial negotiation processes and seeks to explain why some negotiations are successful despite the risk of bargaining failure. Using the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization (CMIM) talks as the case study, the book analyses how states with little prior experience at dealing with certain aspects of an agreement manage to avert negotiation failure and successfully conclude their final deal. Using extensive archival research, in-depth interviews with involved negotiators and experts, and process-tracing method, it reconstructs the making of the CMIM agreement. The multi-country analysis reveals the roles played by key actors, namely China, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand, in shaping the agreement terms. The book goes on to argue that preventing a stalemate or succeeding in concluding arrangements like the CMIM is a product of various strategies and tactics employed by negotiators. These include employing bargaining strategies and tactics that help avoid a negotiation deadlock, and assessing the conditions under which such strategies and tactics are likely - or unlikely - to achieve the objective of avoiding bargaining failure.

Abdul Mateen Qadri
Aédán Mordecai
Akanksha Narain
Alessandro Arduino
Collin Koh
David Han
Dymples Leong
Henrick Z. Tsjeng
Hoo Tiang Boon
James Char
Julius Cesar I. Trajano
Kyaw San Wai
Lee YingHui
Norman Vasu
Nur Azlin Mohamed Yasin
Scott Lai
Vishalini
Zin Bo Htet

For enquiries or
comments about Think Tank
please email to
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UPCOMING EVENTS

3 FEBRUARY 2016

RSIS SEMINAR BY MR JAMES M. DORSEY
ON "SAUDI ARABIA AND IRAN: THE BATTLE FOR
HEGEMONY THAT THE KINGDOM CANNOT WIN"

16 FEBRUARY 2016

RSIS SEMINAR BY ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
JAMES CURRAN ON "THE CONTEMPORARY
U.S.-AUSTRALIA ALLIANCE: LEARNING TO
SAY 'NO' AGAIN"

19 FEBRUARY 2016

RSIS SEMINAR BY DR CUNG VU ON
"THE SMART NATION UNPACKED – ISSUES,
CHALLENGES AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS"

22-23 FEBRUARY 2016

NTS ASIA CONSORTIUM RELAUNCH /
INTER-REGIONAL COMPARISONS OF
HUMANITARIAN ACTION

23 FEBRUARY 2016

RSIS STRATEGIC STUDIES SEMINAR BY
PROFESSOR AZAR GAT ON "THE PAST AND
FUTURE OF WAR"

25 FEBRUARY 2016

RSIS-HASS SEMINAR BY PROFESSOR
DONALD L. HOROWITZ ON
"CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES FOR
SEVERELY DIVIDED SOCIETIES"

9 MARCH 2016

RSIS SEMINAR BY ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
UHNAZ YILMAZ ON "ENERGY SECURITY
FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN A
TURBULENT REGION: EURASIAN CONTEXT
AND THE CASE OF TURKEY"

10-15 APRIL 2016

10TH ASIA PACIFIC PROGRAMME FOR SENIOR
NATIONAL SECURITY OFFICERS (APPSO)