

Managing Geopolitical Instability in East Asia



Mr Hitoshi Tanaka (left) with Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS

By **Vincent Mack**

Mr Hitoshi Tanaka, Chairman of the Institute for International Strategy, Japan Research Institute; Senior Fellow at Japan Center for International Exchange; and former Deputy Foreign Minister of Japan; delivered the 8th S. T. Lee Distinguished Annual Lecture on 8 February 2017. Titled "How to Manage Geopolitical Instability in

East Asia: The Shifting Balance of Power, Surging Anti-Globalisation Sentiment, and the New U.S. Administration", the lecture was held at Marina Mandarin Singapore.

Mr Tanaka highlighted that we live in uncertain times as the world is facing a surge of anti-globalisation sentiment as demonstrated by the United Kingdom's Brexit referendum and the election of American President Donald

Trump on an anti-free trade platform. In his view, the rise of emerging economies such as China has initiated the shift of regional power balance. These developments have shaken the international liberal economic and security order, which the United States has led since 1945.

Mr Tanaka noted that the U.S. has traditionally played the role of an offshore balancer in the East Asia region. This included the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) as the crucial economic pillar, the U.S. joining the East Asia Summit, increased military engagement as conflict deterrence, and the collaborative approach in the conduct of Sino-U.S. relations. He opined that President Trump's "America First" approach to foreign policy may render unpredictable trilateral relations between the U.S., China and Japan.

Mr Tanaka went on to point out that since China opened its borders and begun its economic reform in the 1980s, it has grown into one of the biggest economies in the world, and the key trading partner for many countries in the region. As China's trade surplus with the U.S. accounts for about half of the overall U.S. trade deficit, a trade war between the U.S. and China will likely result in negative consequences in the region.

The uncertainty in the U.S. role as a global leader has implications on the denuclearisation negotiations with North Korea. Mr Tanaka is wary that if Sino-U.S. relations deteriorate, North Korea's nuclear weapons programme will be unchecked, further destabilising the region.

With all these challenges to the geopolitical stability of the East Asian region, political leaders need to find a new way to cooperate beyond the vision of an "East Asian Community". Mr Tanaka suggested a "multi-layered functional cooperation" model that builds on common interests on different issues, which require different coalitions of cooperation for effective outcomes.

The global demand for energy has grown along with middle class economies such as China, India, and the ASEAN nations. Mr Tanaka is hopeful that joint international efforts in energy exploration and extraction technologies will ensure that energy demands are met with minimal disruption to the environment.

Mr Tanaka feels that the East Asia Region needs multi-layered functional cooperation now more than ever. Only then can the geopolitical instability in East Asia be managed, safeguarding the shared regional peace and prosperity.

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The Future of Europe and Prospects for EU-Asia Relations



Mr Christian Masset (left), with Professor Ralf Emmers, Associate Dean of RSIS

By Huan Su Minn, Amanda

Mr Christian Masset, Secretary-General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development, spoke on the future of Europe

and the European Union following Brexit, and the prospects for EU-Asia relations during an RSIS Seminar on 25 January 2017.

Mr Masset cautioned that turbulent times are ahead

for many parts of the world. Europe, in particular, is dealing with multiple challenges. The region is still facing an uneven economic recovery despite the end of the Greek debt crisis. Security and border concerns are now hot-button issues. The rise of populism has contributed to a feeling of a loss in sense of direction for the region. The impending unprecedented withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union is also causing great uncertainty amid other global changes such as the election of the Trump presidency.

However, the situation is not all bleak as Mr Masset remarked that Europe has experienced major crises before and has always emerged stronger.

Additionally, Europe remains one of the world's biggest market and economy and there is strong political will among the member states to work on regional issues.

On the prospects of EU-Asia relations, Mr Masset commented that there will be an unpredictable multi-polarity in the international order. He emphasised that states should act not only according to their own national interests, but also with the interests of other states in mind. He added that Europe regards regional security in Asia as important and is supportive of regional economic integration, and that there should be greater people-to-people exchange between the two regions.

Book Launch by Professor Kent Calder

By Eugene Mark

The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) organised a book launch entitled "Singapore: Smart City, Smart State" on 19 January 2017. The author of the book was Professor Kent Calder, Director of Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies and Director of Japan Studies and Asia Programs, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). With Professor Tan See Seng as the moderator and Dr Tan Teck Boon as the discussant, the objective was to discuss how Singapore's public policy could provide examples of best practices for other societies.

A former S. Rajaratnam Professor of Strategic Studies at



Professor Kent Calder signing his new book titled "Singapore: Smart City, Smart State" at the book launch

RSIS, Prof Calder started off by stating that the way Singapore conducts urban management, transportation, public security and public health were relevant examples that the world could emulate. He further posited that our airport management has served as a model for many other airports in the

world. More importantly, Prof Calder emphasised the broader relevance of Singapore's policy on public housing and home ownership, to not only the developing world but also to the Group of Seven (G7). In particular, the focus on home ownership as the cornerstone of social security was a useful

lesson for welfare states and the West.

Dr Tan followed the conversation by highlighting that the key to Singapore's success rested on the combined sense of pragmatism, meritocracy and honesty, supported by a highly efficient bureaucracy and good policymakers. In particular, pragmatism was a difficult governing principle that required care and deep thinking to operationalise; if not, it risked being "uncritical pragmatism", where "anything goes" to achieve a limited set of human goals. Dr Tan thus highlighted that while other states would like to replicate the Singapore model, there was a need to be mindful of this "uncritical pragmatism".

In essence, the book launch has not only enriched the understanding of Singapore's development, but also shed light on the various lessons regarding the Singapore model.

Indonesia's Foreign Policy under the Jokowi Administration



Her Excellency Retno L. P. Marsudi with Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSiS

By **Chaula Rininta Anindya**

Her Excellency Retno L. P. Marsudi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, delivered an RSiS Distinguished Public Lecture titled "Indonesia's Foreign Policy under the Jokowi Administration" at Pan Pacific Singapore on 10 February 2017.

H.E. Marsudi highlighted the significance of the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Singapore. She added that Indonesia acknowledged the importance of maintaining good relations with Singapore as both are close neighbours. She also reiterated the fact that President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) had met with Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong more than six times since he became president. The two country's economies are also closely intertwined

— Singapore is Indonesia's third largest trading partner, while Indonesia ranks fourth in Singapore's list.

To H.E. Marsudi, mutual cooperation between the two countries facilitated Indonesia's foreign policy priorities. First, Indonesia seeks to maintain its unity and integrity by resolving border issues with neighboring countries, including Singapore. Indonesia and Singapore recently ratified a treaty that demarcates maritime boundaries in the eastern part of the Straits of Singapore. Second, Indonesia is committed to protecting its citizens living abroad in adherence to the mandate of the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia. There are about 150,000 Indonesian workers in Singapore and Indonesia appreciates Singapore's efforts in protecting their interests. Third, Indonesia seeks to strengthen the existing economic diplomacy in which

Indonesia and Singapore have been working together to boost investments in the tourism sector. During PM Lee's last visit to Indonesia, there was a discussion on investments in infrastructure for the tourism sector.

Another key priority of Indonesia's foreign policy is its willingness to contribute to the stability of the region and to do its part for world peace as mandated by the 1945 Constitution. Indonesia has and will always pursue an active role in the region and in world affairs. H.E. Marsudi asserted that ASEAN remains the cornerstone of Indonesia's foreign policy and Indonesia is committed to ensuring the security and stability of the region. This was evident in its role in pushing for the full implementation of the Declaration of Conduct as well as reinforcing the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea issue.

Despite criticisms of Indonesia turning inwards under Jokowi, H.E. Marsudi stated that Indonesia had actually intensified its international engagement. Indonesia is determined to enhance the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) as a regional framework since it is a vital passage that bridges Indonesia and the African countries.

In conclusion, H.E. Marsudi spoke about Indonesia's potential contribution to the region and world affairs. Indonesia will continue to facilitate democratisation processes in other countries by sharing its experiences. Finally, Indonesia is committed to pursuing strong domestic economic growth as part of its contribution to the world. H.E. Marsudi believes that a peaceful world starts from a peaceful nation.

Beating the Southeast Asian Haze



Professor Parkash Chander

By **Helena Huang**

On 25 January 2017, Professor Parkash Chander, Professor of Economics and Executive Director of the Center for Environmental Economics and Climate Change at Jindal School of Government and Public Policy, delivered an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture at the Sheraton Towers Singapore. Prof Chander, who is also RSIS' NTUC Professor of International Economic Relations, spoke on the topic "Why the Southeast Asian Haze Problem is Difficult to Solve".

Prof Chander gave a brief history of the haze problem in the context of Southeast Asia, and noted the obstacles in achieving a permanent and effective solution. Prof Chander argued that the Southeast Asian haze is a major problem

for Indonesia, which spills over to Singapore and Malaysia in El Nino years, and recognition of this can better convince Indonesia to prevent and control fires for the sake of its own people and economy, rather than just for the sake of its neighbours.

Prof Chander provided a cost-benefit analysis of the practice of clearing land by fire. The Indonesian government estimates that the use of fires to clear land had cost the Indonesian economy USD47 billion. This amount is far more than the estimated amount of USD3 billion saved by Indonesian farmers and plantation owners in choosing fires over the more expensive option of clearing land mechanically and preparing it for agriculture using chemicals such as limestone to neutralise the acidity.

The implementation of existing policies was also discussed. Prof Chander opined that Indonesia's highly decentralised governance structure often leads to a conflict of interest and passive opposition to the central government's policies. *The Bupati* [head of the regency] and *Walikota* [head of the city] who possess the enforcement authority for national policies often perceive forest resources as a major source of profits and local revenues, and as such had often gained financial and political benefits from the industry. Local elections also pose an obstacle to the implementation of existing policies in Indonesia, as the elected local government would want to be supportive of the farmers in order to gain their votes.

Several policy recommendations were made by Prof Chander

to mitigate the Southeast Asian haze issue. They include eco-labelling of products by a Singapore agency, providing subsidies to induce small and poor farmers to adopt green practices, and also raising the productivity of existing oil plantations and farms. He also suggested that more funds be provided to the Indonesia Peatland Restoration Agency and for the ASEAN countries to sign a treaty to conserve and protect peatlands in the region. Last but not least, Prof Chander raised the possibility of instituting a reward and punishment policy for farmers to clear logged-out land and land with agricultural residue.

The Future of Asia Pacific Trade in the Trump Era



(L-R) Dr Lee Su-Hyun, RSIS, Dr Jeffrey Wilson, Murdoch University, and Professor T. J. Pempel

By Phidel Marion G. Vineles

On 7 February 2017, the Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS) at RSIS organised a conference on “Trump Era and the Trade Architecture in the Asia Pacific”. Held at the Orchard Hotel, a distinguished panel of experts from Singapore and overseas discussed their

views on the challenges in global trade and their impacts on the Asia Pacific region, with a focus on the uncertainties brought about by the Trump administration.

In the opening address, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, explained that the dilemma in the Asia Pacific trade

is that we are all part of the global economy where the U.S. is the centre. He also discussed how the ASEAN Economic Community has successfully helped its member states to have more connected and diversified trade in the region.

Dr Lee Chia-yi, Assistant Professor with CMS, explained that it is unlikely that the U.S. will impose a 45 per cent tariff rate on Chinese goods under the Trump administration. This might provoke China to retaliate by levying higher taxes on U.S. firms and cutting imports of American products. Another speaker, Dr Zha Daojiong, Professor of Peking University, suggested that the U.S. boost its foreign direct investments to address the problems of unemployment and wage stagnation.

Dr Pradumna B. Rana, Associate Professor with CMS, said that U.S. mercantilist trade policies — “buy American and hire American” — would have adverse impacts on ASEAN economies depending on their economic openness. However, Asia is more dependent on EU than the U.S. when it comes to capital flows.

Dr Danny Quah, Professor of Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, said that the implications of the Trump administration on Asia were not solely about trade. According to Dr T. J. Pempel, Professor of Political Science at University of California, Berkeley, it is also necessary for the region to examine the adverse implications of Trump’s distrust of regionalism and collective approaches on Asia.

Impacting Policies in India: RSS and the Modi Government

By Sumitha Narayanan Kutty

Dr Sanjaya Baru, Visiting Senior Fellow at RSIS; and Distinguished Fellow, United Service Institute of India;



Dr Sanjaya Baru

delivered an RSIS Seminar on “The Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS), the Government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and the Politics of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)” on 16 February 2017 at The KeyPoint, RSIS. In his seminar, Dr Baru traced the origins of the RSS, its relationships with the BJP and Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and its impact on policies.

Ever since its formation in 1925, the RSS aimed to generate a nationalist consciousness around the fact that India is essentially a Hindu nation. Dr Baru presented a key conceptual difference between the Indian National Congress (INC), the national political party prevalent since the independence movement, and the RSS. He observed

that the “Nehruvian” worldview of the INC was firmly rooted in the European narrative of nationalism while the RSS view was that culture defined Indian nationalism. A second distinction he made was that PM Modi’s government was the BJP’s first majority government and thus different from the coalition under AB Vajpayee (1998–2004). Prime Minister Modi was also a member of the RSS and embraced both hardline Hindutva language and Vajpayee’s legacy to win support within both RSS and BJP.

Dr Baru explored how these dynamics affected policymaking. On the economic front, PM Modi walks a fine balance between what India needs to do and what the RSS wants. For instance, the latter has reservations on

certain WTO policies and is strictly opposed to genetically-modified foods. On foreign policy, the PM’s approach is driven by political and economic compulsions at home and Dr Baru expects policy continuity between PM Modi and his predecessor. Regarding the RSS, one point of discord was PM Modi’s approach on China since it aims to establish better relations with the country.

Looking ahead, Dr Baru felt that PM Modi will need RSS’ support to clinch a second term in 2019. There was also a growing realisation that the BJP and the RSS would require more mutual dependency. One key long-term consideration, Dr Baru concluded, were the different timescales the BJP and RSS operated in. Every political party wants to win elections. This would contain excessive ideological parties, and pragmatism would win the day.

Nahdlatul Ulama and its Role in Promoting Moderation and Tolerance in Indonesia



Dr Kyai Said Aqil Siradj (left) arriving with Dr Leonard Sebastian, Coordinator of the Indonesia Programme

By Satrio Dwicahyo Rahadi

On 13 March 2017, by the invitation of the Indonesia Programme in the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, RSIS, Dr Kyai Said Aqil Siradj, General Chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) — the largest Islamic organisation in the world with an affiliation of approximately 60 million

Indonesian Muslims — delivered an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture. Held at Sheraton Towers, Dr Said Aqil spoke on “Promoting Moderation and Tolerance in Indonesia: The Nahdlatul Ulama’s Story”.

Dr Said Aqil described NU’s pivotal role as a vanguard of *tasamuh* [tolerance] and *tawassuth* [moderation] principles through the

introduction of *Islam Nusantara* (Archipelagic Islam). Beginning with his insights on *Islam Nusantara*, Dr Said Aqil recounted a brief history of the arrival of Islam in the archipelago. In its early contact with the Indonesian archipelago, Islam was propagated peacefully. Dr Said Aqil added that good deeds and high morals were crucial behind the warm acceptance of Islam in the region. This approach was later continued by Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy’ari, the founding father of NU. Despite his Middle Eastern education, Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy’ari was in favour of establishing a Muslim organisation based on local culture and nationalism.

With reference to issues relating to the incumbent governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (more commonly known as Ahok), Dr Said

Aqil reaffirmed the moderate stance of *Islam Nusantara* in its approach to national politics. He underlined that the gubernatorial election is unlike that of the process of choosing an *Imam* [leader of Islamic prayer] in which religious considerations become a crucial criteria. Dr Said Aqil also believes that what is currently happening in Jakarta is not solely about religion; it is also a political contestation among different interests.

During his visit to Singapore, Dr Said Aqil met Singapore ministers, Dr Yaacob Ibrahim, Minister for Communications and Information and Minister-in-charge of Muslim Affairs; Dr Mohammad Maliki bin Osman, Senior Minister of State, Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Mr Amrin Amin, Parliamentary Secretary of Ministry of Home Affairs.

Asia’s Views on America’s Role in Asia

By Joel Ng

The Asia Foundation policy report on “Asian Views on America’s Role in Asia: The Future fo the Rebalance” was launched on 1 March 2017 at the Marina Mandarin Singapore. Ambassador Chan Heng Chee delivered the keynote address, stating that the U.S. built an

international security and economic order that all countries have benefited from. The U.S.’ strategic presence is still highly valued by Asians, but its predominance is changing and China has become a key partner in the region.

A multilateral trade architecture is still needed, and America’s role cannot only be defence-

based. Bilateral agreements could be complemented by looser multilateral approaches such as the Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific.

Dr C. Raja Mohan of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace of India, said that three issues preceded Trump: domestic opposition to free trade, a backlash against the globalist elite, and a rethinking about immigration and open borders.

Dr Thitinan Pongsudhirak from the Institute for Security and

International Studies of Thailand, felt that Obama’s policies had been close to the region, but not effective. The question is whether a more unilateral Trump could be more effective for the region. ASEAN had to reaffirm its centrality.

Dr Yoon Young-kwan, the former foreign minister of South Korea, hoped that Trump would change his mind on some issues, and reaffirm the liberal international order. The “Kindleburger trap”, a failure to produce international public goods, would be destabilising and a big worry for Asia.

Ms Ellen Laipson of The Stimson Center argued that the U.S. needed to rethink its position on the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) as the candidates were still thinking domestically rather than strategically.



Professor Tommy Koh (centre) moderating the panel discussion

Assessing China's Future

By Irene Chan

On 20 February 2017, Professor David Shambaugh, Distinguished Visiting Professor at RSIS, Professor of Political Science & International Affairs, and Director of the China Policy Program, Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University, delivered an RSIS Distinguished Publish Lecture titled "Assessing China's Future" at the Sheraton Towers, Singapore.

Professor Tan See Seng, Deputy Director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, RSIS, moderated the lecture, which was based on Prof Shambaugh's latest book — *China's Future*. Prof Shambaugh

argued that China's future is one of the most consequential question in global affairs. He pointed out three comparative perspectives for assessing China's future, namely (i) the Newly Industrialising Economies model; (ii) Leninist political systems; and (iii) Chinese history and dynastic cycle. Each of these perspectives presents possible scenarios and their implications for China, but they depend on the Chinese leadership's key decisions, domestic socio-economic pressures and action by external parties.

In his analysis, Prof Shambaugh examined factors such as the current socio-economic trends and major challenges, the Chinese political climate and



Professor David Shambaugh (left) with Professor Tan See Seng

China's foreign relations that affect the Chinese leadership's decision to implement a new wave of reforms or shy away from drastic changes that may threaten the regime's power. He also discussed the possible scenarios that may happen with the leadership renewal at the upcoming 19th Party Congress.

Prof Shambaugh highlighted four paths that China may move

down — neo-totalitarianism, hard authoritarianism, soft authoritarianism and semi-democracy — and the likely results range from atrophy and regime collapse to successful reform and full transition of the Chinese state, economy and society.

Talks by NSSP Distinguished Visiting Professor, Lord John Alderdice

By Tan Teck Boon

Professor, the Lord John Alderdice visited RSIS as the NSSP Distinguished Visiting Professor from 13-17 February 2017. Currently, Lord Alderdice is Director of the Centre for the Resolution of Intractable Conflict (CRIC) at the University of

Oxford, U.K. and a Professor in the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Maryland, USA.

During the one-week with RSIS, Lord Alderdice delivered two seminars on "Is Extremism Inherently Violent?" and "Building Cohesion in Intractably Divided Societies: Some Personal Reflections".



Professor Lord John Alderdice

Moderated each by Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna and Dr Tan Teck Boon, both seminars were well-received by guests, which included members of the public, academics and government officials. Lord Alderdice also engaged in a dialogue discussion titled "Countering Violent Extremism Today: Does the IRA Experience Hold Any Lessons?" with Singapore government officials. Moderated by Assoc Prof Ramakrishna, the dialogue helped raise awareness of the ways in which the Irish sectarian conflict demonstrated the need for committed and determined political leadership on all sides to arrive at a negotiated agreement.

Lord Alderdice also had the opportunity to exchange ideas with senior government officials

and working-level analysts from within RSIS and outside. He also gave a live interview to MediaCorp's Channel NewsAsia during which he shared insights from his many decades of work in fostering cohesion in divided societies from Latin America, the Middle East and Northern Ireland.

As leader of the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland from 1987 to 1998, Lord Alderdice played a crucial role in the negotiation of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, ending decades of violence. He was the first Speaker of the new Northern Ireland Assembly between 1998 and 2004. He was also appointed by the British and Irish Governments to the Independent Monitoring Commission tasked with closing down terrorist operations and overseeing the normalisation of security activity in Northern Ireland from 2004 to 2011.

APPSNO 2017

By Benjamin Ang

The 11th Asia-Pacific Programme for Senior National Security Officers (APPSNO) was held at Marina Mandarin Singapore from 3 – 7 April 2017. Organised by the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) with the support of the National Security Coordination Secretariat (NSCS) in the Prime Minister's Office, APPSNO 2017's theme was "Innovation and National Security".

The 11th edition of APPSNO enabled panels to engage with a range of topics covering important elements of the impact of innovation on national security. These included the security of smart cities, influence and disinformation operations, community engagement in countering violent extremism, communications systems for disaster risk reduction, social media, disaster risk and scientific tools, and case studies.

Speakers from a wide range of countries such as Australia, Czech Republic, Latvia, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Singapore, the United Kingdom and the United States, shared their expertise and experience on various topics. The event brought together senior



national security officers from the Asia Pacific and beyond to Singapore for a week of intensive discussion and networking. More than 70 participants from over 21 countries met to discuss the challenges of national security. Foreign participants were joined by their Singaporean counterparts from various government ministries and agencies.

Dr Shashi Jayakumar, Head of CENS, delivered the welcome remarks, while Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS,

gave the opening address to kick-off the programme. In his opening address, Amb Ong said, "Innovation is often cited as a quality that countries need to propel themselves to greater heights. It drives growth in today's highly competitive international landscape." However, he continued, "The dark side of innovation is the evolution of new threats to national security." Fortunately, he noted "innovation also brings benefits for national security." Amb Ong therefore advised the participants "The common thread in all of these is the drive to constantly seek

better methods of achieving objectives, and this is applicable to national security practitioners in every field of expertise."

In keeping with the theme of innovation, guest of honour, Mr K. Shanmugam, Minister for Home Affairs and Minister for Law, subsequently conducted a closed-door dialogue session that was restricted to the participants of the conference.

Besides listening to panel presentations and engaging in small group discussions with the speakers, foreign participants gave country presentations, which provided a concise overview of their respective states' policies and challenges with regard to national security. Further enriching the programme was a distinguished alumni dinner lecture by Mr Peter Ho on the importance of innovation in national security, and a distinguished lecture by Mr Chris Kirchhoff, U.S. Department of Defence, on innovation in defence.





The exchange of information was not limited to the formal discussion sessions. It continued through group activities such as the Perspectivity Challenge — a board game designed to enable players to think differently about national security approaches — and a Singapore Heritage Tour.

Capping the event was the Certificate Presentation Ceremony and Closing Dinner hosted by Professor Joseph Liow, Dean of RSIS. Overall, there was a broad consensus among speakers and participants alike that APPSNO was an interesting, insightful and valuable event.



Seminars by Professor Christian Joppke, CENS Distinguished Visiting Fellow

By **Pravin Prakash**

Professor Christian Joppke, who holds a chair in sociology at the University of Bern, was invited to Singapore from 20 – 24 February 2017 under the CENS Distinguished Visitors Programme (DVP). During his visit, Prof Joppke delivered three talks at Marina Mandarin Singapore.

The first talk, titled “The Christian Right and its Impact on the Secular State”, elucidated the rise of the Christian Right in the United States in detail, differentiating between the varying successes it has had in different spheres. The talk also interestingly contrasted the American experience with religions-state relations in Europe.

In the talk on “The Role of the State in the Integration of Immigrants”, Prof Joppke focused on the dominant role that civic integration has played in shaping immigrant integration policy in Western Europe since the 1990s. Reviewing the key debates that surround the shift in this policy, it was contended that civic integration as a national-level policy tends to coexist with on-going de facto local-level multiculturalism and that in essence it remains a policy in a liberal register.

In his final talk on “Is the Project of Multiculturalism Dead?”, Prof Joppke tackled recent assertions about the retreat or even death of multiculturalism. Looking at a varied range of legal case studies, he argued that liberal law itself, in particular majority-constraining



Professor Christian Joppke

constitutional law, requires multiculturalism as multiple ways of life cannot and should not be contained by states.

During his visit, Prof Joppke also met with several government agencies such as the National

Security Coordination Secretariat, the Home Team Behavioural Sciences Centre, the Community Relations and Engagement Division of the Ministry of Culture, Community and Youth, as well as the Islamic Religious Council of Singapore.

Security in the Digital Age

By **Jennifer Yang Hui** and **Dymples Leong**

Mr Tim Godwin, Managing Director, Accenture Police Services and former Deputy Commissioner, London Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) was invited to Singapore from 16-20 January 2017 under the CENS Distinguished Visitors

Programme (DVP). Mr Godwin gave three talks at the Marina Mandarin Singapore during his visit.

The first seminar, titled “Intelligent Missions Require Intelligent Analysis: The State of Play and their Policy Implications”, discussed the use of data and police legitimacy, exploiting modern

analytical opportunities, and the implications these had on governance.

In his second seminar on “Smart CCTV and National Security Threats: Surveillance, Privacy and Public Trust”, Mr Godwin talked about the challenges in capturing, correlating, analysing, and sharing information from Smart CCTV footage, and proposed stronger public-private collaboration to address them.

In his final seminar on “AI and National Security: What is over the Horizon and How do we Prepare for it?”, Mr Godwin discussed intelligent technologies and their implications on the public sector. Organisations, he argued, had to constantly re-educate their workforce,

utilise network capability to maximise responses to threats and focus on digital ethics as a core strategy.

Among his many accomplishments at the MPS, Mr Godwin revitalised forensic strategy, created and led the “Safer Streets” initiative, and in partnership with Sir Denis O’Connor, led the National Reassurance Policing Programme, which improved neighbourhood policing in the United Kingdom. Mr Godwin strongly believes that diversion and prevention are often better than enforcement, and is thus heavily involved in diversion programmes and charities. For instance, he is a co-founder of the Kickz programme with Football Foundation and the Premiership Rugby. These programmes aim to help divert young people (men and women) from crime and assist in the development of life skills.



Mr Tim Godwin

HUMTECH Workshop: Assessing the Technological Turn in Humanitarian Action

By **Ennio V. Picucci**

On 15 February 2017, the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies (NTS Centre) at RSIS, hosted a workshop on “Assessing the Technological Turn in Humanitarian Action”. The aim was to bring together experts and practitioners concerned with the question of how technological innovations can assist and have impacted humanitarian action and disaster risk management in the Asia Pacific region.

The workshop featured nine speakers from Australia, Indonesia, Korea, the Philippines, the U.K., the U.S., Spain and Switzerland. More than 30 individuals from multilateral organisations, government institutions and academia also participated. Technologies that were discussed included disaster robotics for search and rescue operations, drones for mapping and the transportation of medical payload, big data and its use for development, renewable energy and

humanitarian assistance, and remote sensing for early warning systems regarding floods and tsunamis. Based on case studies, it was explained how these technologies can be used for making humanitarian operations more efficient in terms of speed, cost and the participation of the local population.

Even though many technologies are still in their initial phase of humanitarian action, the experiences and lessons learned made it clear that

technological innovations might significantly change the way humanitarian aid is delivered in the near future. The extensive discussions that followed the four panels highlighted how the increasing use of technology challenges the traditional landscape of humanitarian actors and that therefore new frameworks and guidelines are necessary to ensure an ethical use of technologies is in line with the humanitarian principle of “do no harm”.

This workshop was the first event on humanitarian technology organised by NTS Centre’s Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) Programme. A vivid exchange of knowledge, ideas and opinions among leading actors of the region involved in humanitarian technology helped make this workshop a success.



Participants of the HUMTECH Workshop

The Singapore and Australia Perspective on Regional Cooperation

By **Daniel Chua**

On 23 February 2017, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, led a delegation to the Australian Strategic Policy Institute for the ASPI-RSIS Track 1.5 Dialogue. Held in Canberra, Australia, the dialogue also included defence officials and academics from both Australia and Singapore.

Participants shared their views regarding the state of the regional order. As the United States is a close Australian ally and a strategic partner for Singapore, delegates of both countries shared the view that a

constructive U.S. presence will benefit the region.

Participants also discussed issues on maritime security and the South China Sea, which is an area that is important for regional trade and stability. Both countries share an interest in

the adherence to international laws and norms in the resolution of the disputes, as well as the preservation of freedom of navigation.

The dialogue also provided opportunities to discuss approaches to counter-terrorism and cyber security. With terrorism being a transnational risk that threatens the region’s security, Singapore and

Australia have invested heavily in counter-terrorism. The management of cyber-attacks, as well as the development of policy norms relating to cyber generally, has been an emerging concern for both governments. In closing, delegates from Singapore and Australia agreed that the dialogue had succeeded in identifying areas of mutual interest that could form the basis for future dialogue.



Participants of the ASPI-RSIS Track 1.5 Dialogue

Strengthening the Supply System after September 11



Dr Stephen Flynn sharing his views at the roundtable

By **Philipp Martin Dingeldey**

On 22 February 2017, RSIS and the Center for Resilience Studies, Northeastern University, Boston, held a roundtable titled “Recalibrating the Global Approach to Supply System Security and Resilience

15 Years after 9/11” at The Keypoint, RSIS. Dr Stephen Flynn, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Global Resilience Institute at Northeastern University, spoke on the vulnerabilities for the broader supply chain system and how the issue can be addressed.

Dr Flynn explained that supply system security initiatives and programmes post 9/11 have been too one-dimensional, focusing on possible threats and not on the system as a whole. Therefore, it was necessary for a more balanced approach that focused on minimising the impact of disruptions should they occur.

Dr Flynn pointed out that the global supply chain was immensely critical to the global economy and it was therefore pivotal to prevent any mass disruption. Traditionally, security approaches have always focused on hardening defensive measures to counter threats, without concern for continuity. For businesses, on the other hand, continuity was a priority in order to run operations, and a better partnership between

private firms and governments was needed to address the challenges.

Dr Flynn stated four areas that are critical in order to establish a resilience centred approach, viewing the global supply chain as a networked system. These areas are:

- Fostering an understanding that the supply chain is a system
- Moving from a government-centred approach to a more industry-focused approach
- Advancing near real time visibility and accountability of shipped goods
- Advancing a better understanding of what is in the system and what is not

Dr Flynn’s talk was followed by an informative Q&A session.

Fighting Pollution in China

By **Wu Fengshi**

Mr Ma Jun, founding Director of the Institute of Public & Environmental Affairs (IPE), delivered an RSIS Seminar titled “Fighting Pollution in China: The Institute of Public and Environmental Affairs Leads the Way” on 9 February 2017.

As China makes its ascent in the global economy and politics, it is increasingly faced with significant challenges posed by environmental and ecological degradation. Issues such as air pollution (or smog) in northern parts of China during winter, water pollution and shortages, loss of wildlife and habitat, land degradation, and desertification are challenges faced by concerned citizens and civic organisations.

The Stanford Business School’s case archive describes IPE as “a small non-profit organisation with an outside mission,” for it aims at solving China’s enormous pollution problems once and for all. Founded and led by prominent Chinese environmentalist Ma Jun, this Beijing-based organisation is a catalyst in facilitating the public’s access and monitoring of environmental information, strengthening environmental law enforcement, and advocating green practices by manufacturers, traders, financial institutions and individual consumers.

Mr Ma spoke on how IPE uses innovative methods to transform environmental practices among China’s state agencies, businesses and the public. In the past decade, Mr Ma and IPE



Environmentalist Ma Jun (right) with a participant before his seminar

have found that it is necessary to change the incentive structures for corporations to adopt environmentally friendly

technologies, for the public to have an impact on corporate behavior, and for governments to enforce regulations.

International Order in the Asia Pacific and Japan-ASEAN Cooperation

By Tan See Seng

On 13 February 2017, RSIS and the Japan Forum for International Relations (JFIR) jointly organised the RSIS-JFIR Seminar on “International Order in the Asia Pacific and Japan-ASEAN Cooperation”. With sponsorship from the Japan Foundation Asia Center, the seminar featured four speakers: Professor Kamiya Mataka, National Defense Academy of Japan; Mr Kato Yochi, Senior Research Fellow at JFIR; Professor Sakata Yasuyo, Kanda University of International Studies; and Professor Tan See Seng of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at RSIS.

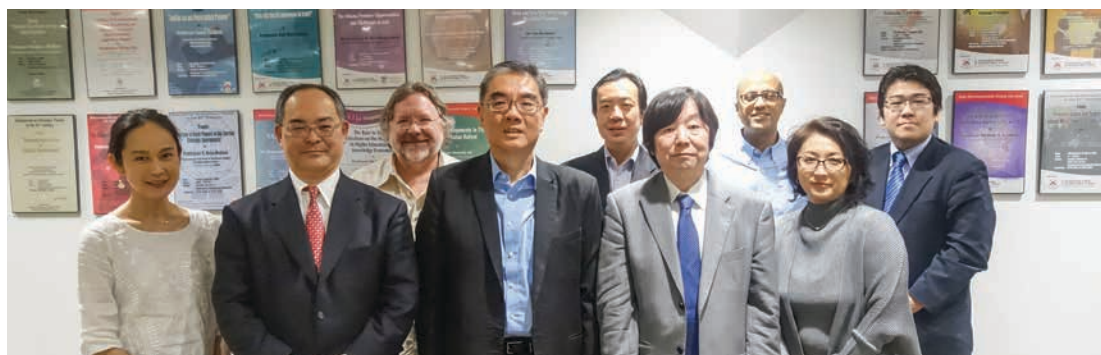
During the discussion, the panel exchanged views on the

evolving Asia Pacific order in the light of an increasingly assertive China and the uncertainty of a Trump-led United States. While the panel welcomed assurances offered by U.S. Secretary of Defense James Mattis regarding continued strong U.S. support for its Asian alliances, some speakers expressed concern

over what President Trump’s “transactional” approach to foreign policy might imply for the efforts by regional countries to build a rules-based order in the Asia Pacific.

Moreover, despite Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s success in securing a potential

bilateral trade deal with the U.S., the unpredictability of the policy of an U.S. administration still finding its feet has added to the sense of uncertainty. The panellists also discussed the possibilities of Japan-ASEAN cooperation in response to such a dynamic regional environment.



Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS (centre) with other panellists of the seminar

CSCAP Retreat: Reviewing of Regional Security Order and Architecture

By Shawn Ho

The Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) Singapore hosted a retreat from 2 – 3 March 2017 at Village Hotel Changi in Singapore. The objective of the retreat was to conduct a review of the regional security order and architecture, especially in light of the Trump administration and its foreign policy towards Asia. More than 40 participants from 16 CSCAP member committees from across the Asia Pacific region attended the retreat, which was chaired by CSCAP-Singapore Co-Chairs Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman, and Mr Kwa Chong Guan, Senior Fellow, both of RSIS.

The retreat examined the drivers of the Asia Pacific security environment and architecture, as well as their impact on the key multilateral institutions of the region. The retreat also focused on how CSCAP should position itself in this rapidly evolving regional

security landscape in order to remain relevant and to continue to add value to Track 1 processes such as the ASEAN Regional Forum.

There was a consensus that ASEAN will continue to be at the core of the regional

architecture and that it is important for ASEAN to find ways to keep its unity intact to face future regional challenges. While there are some initial signs of the Trump administration’s policies towards Asia, these policies are still constantly evolving and it will take a few more months before clearer signals emerge from Washington D.C. ASEAN needs to show how it can remain relevant to the interests of the major powers in an increasingly transactional world.



Participants at the CSCAP Retreat

Heading Towards the CCP's 19th Party Congress



The group comprising China experts and scholars sharing their views on China's affairs

By **Wu Fengshi**

There have been significant changes in the People's Republic of China's (PRC) politics and socio-economic development since the ascension of President Xi Jinping at the 18th Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Congress in late 2012. Almost five years of consolidating power, promoting grand

strategies, crushing corruption, and implementing "new normal" economic policies, the CCP is approaching the 19th Party Congress.

On 10 February 2017, the China Programme, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at RSIS, organised a workshop titled "Heading to the 19th Party Congress: Main Trends in Chinese Politics and Socio-Economic Development".

The workshop, which was organised in five panels, brought together a group of China experts, professionals and scholars to share their analyses and forecasts on the major decisions to be made at the 19th Party Congress. On politics and military, the focus included CCP internal politics, personnel changes, central-local relations and main reform policy options.

Professor Zheng Yongnian, Director of the East Asia Institute of NUS, explained the political implications of the CCP endorsing President Xi as "the core" [*hexin*] in 2016. Professor Chen Mingming, School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan University, gave a presentation on the two competing logics in PRC politics (i.e. centralisation *vis-à-vis* decentralisation of power) and the prospects of China's political reforms in the coming years. Professor You Ji, University of Macau, discussed measures of power consolidation and

re-shuffling within the People's Liberation Army (PLA).

During the panels on economic, social affairs and foreign relations, panellists converged that the level of uncertainty seems to have risen compared with the time when President Xi took over the leadership. The rise of political conservatism, Brexit, and the Trump election have also shaken the foundation of the neo-liberal global order from within, but it is unclear whether all these changes are necessarily conducive for China to pursue its ambition in global governance and international cooperation. President Xi's "One Belt, One Road" initiative can be a double-edged sword: it can promote the China brand across continents if carefully implemented; while, if not, it can also drag China into ill-designed infrastructure projects and bad finances, or even damaged bilateral relations and regional balances.

Continuing Partnerships: RSIS with South Korean Institutes

By **Eddie Lim**

On 6 – 9 March 2017, as part of efforts to continue the strong partnership with the Korea National Defense University (KNDU), Mr Eddie Lim, Coordinator of the Military Studies Programme, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at RSIS, presented a paper to the students of KNDU's National Security Course (NSC) and War College. RSIS had earlier signed a Memorandum of Understanding with KNDU in January 2016.

Entitled "The South China Sea Issue from the Southeast Asian Perspective", Mr Lim shared his views on how the

changing geopolitical strategic environment in Southeast Asia is affecting the dynamics of the South China Sea issue, especially with the uncertainty generated by a Trump Presidency and an assertive People's Republic of China. This sharing is the second time RSIS has participated in the faculty exchange with KNDU. RSIS had the pleasure of hosting visiting students from the War College in 2016.

Mr Lim also met academics of the Research Institute on National Security Affairs (RINSA), which is situated within KNDU. The meeting was a warm exchange of research profile and interests of both organisations and the meeting ended with RINSA and RSIS

agreeing to work together on multiple platforms, encourage research collaboration,

as well as strengthen the faculty network between both institutions.



Mr Eddie Lim presenting his paper at the Korea National Defense University

Farish Noor's Study and Lecture Tour of Japan



Associate Professor Farish A. Noor (standing, third from left) with his Japanese associates

By **Farish A. Noor**

Associate Professor Farish A. Noor was a guest at the Japan Foundation's Asia Centre from 20 February to 5 March 2017. Dr Noor's invitation was part of the Japan Foundation Asia Centre's Invitation Program for Cultural Leaders, and since its formation in April 2014, the Asia Centre has been actively engaged in cultural exchanges with the ASEAN region in particular. The aim of the programme was to introduce foreign scholars, writers and public intellectuals to Japan, as well as to expose the Japanese public to current issues and debates that are taking place in other parts of Asia.

Dr Noor was invited to speak at several seminars and forums, and to identify areas of interest that are relevant to his research at RSIS. A key theme addressed was the state of and level of interest in Southeast Asian studies in Japan today.

According to Dr Noor, Area Studies is still alive and well

in Japan's universities, and scholars from Southeast Asia should note that Japanese's interest in Southeast Asia is still strong. There are ample opportunities for joint Japan-ASEAN collaboration in the academic field, and scholars from Southeast Asia should note that Area Studies in Japan still places strong emphasis on field research, ground-level fieldwork and competency in local languages.

Dr Noor's first lecture was at the Osaka School of International Public Policy (OSIPP), Osaka University, which is organised by Professor Haruko Satoh. Over the past few years, OSIPP and RSIS have had a close working relationship, with regular exchanges of students between both schools. Dr Noor's lecture examined America's first encounters with Southeast Asia in the 19th century, and one of the outcomes of this meeting was a joint research plan between Dr Noor and Prof Satoh in the near future.

At Kyoto University, Dr Noor met with Professor Hiroyuki Yamamoto, who has been involved in many translation projects. Prof Yamamoto will be in Singapore later this year, as part of a joint project with the Malay Heritage Centre in Singapore. At Osaka University's Minoh campus, Dr Noor delivered a joint lecture with Prof Shinzu Momoki, on the subject of Japanese perceptions of Southeast Asia in the 19th century. Following that, Dr Noor had another joint seminar with Prof Soda Naoki at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, examining the extent of Japanese research into the 19th–20th century history of Southeast Asia. Prof Soda's work has also been focusing on 19th and 20th century thinkers of Southeast Asia.

Over at Tokyo, an important centre for Southeast Asian studies is the Waseda University, where Dr Noor met with Professor Shinzu Hayase, whose own focus on sub-regional settings and Area Studies "at/from the margins" is closely related

to Dr Noor's own research interests and concerns. At Toyo University, Dr Noor met with Professor Kazufumi Nagatsu, whose work on the Bajao sea people of Southeast Asia is hugely important for a better understanding of the complexities of ground-level socio-economic life in the sub-regions of Southeast Asia.

The trip lasted two weeks, with Dr Noor delivering talks at several universities in Osaka, Kyoto and Tokyo. As part of the cultural exchange programme, the Asia Centre also arranged several visits to important historical sites such as the Todaishi Temple and Shrine at Nara, Himeji castle and the Meiji Mura conservation park, which is home to important buildings of the Meiji period. This trip paved the way for further academic collaboration between RSIS and several schools and research centres in Japan, and also exposed members of the Japanese public to the current state of Southeast Asian politics, economics and society.

Deliberating the Future of the Indo-Pacific's Maritime Security



Ms Jane Chan, Coordinator of the Maritime Security Programme, addressing participants of the workshop

By **Rajni Gamage**

The Maritime Security Programme, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at RSIS, held a workshop titled "Thinking about the Future Maritime Security Environment in the Indo-Pacific" on 8 March 2017. Held at the Holiday Inn Atrium, Singapore, the workshop deliberated and discussed the trajectory of the future maritime environment in the Indo-Pacific.

Perspectives, expectations, and strategies of major regional stakeholders were presented

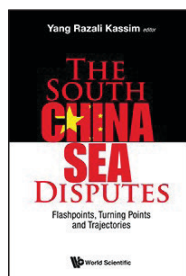
by speakers from the United States, China, India, Japan, and Southeast Asian countries. The key strategic dynamics in the region were flagged during the discussions, including the escalating strategic rivalry between China and the U.S., emerging contestations of visions of regional order, the role of middle powers (such as Japan and India) on regional stability, and the issue of building strategic trust among all players in the regional landscape. The general attitude of the participants with regard to the future maritime security environment was one of

cautious optimism, with progress anticipated on certain fronts and strategic deadlock envisioned in others.

The workshop also assessed key issues that are expected to influence the future maritime environment, including China's One Belt, One Road (OBOR) initiative, technological developments, the ability of regional organisations to manage challenges in the maritime domain, and marine environmental threats. Concerns were expressed with regard to ASEAN and its related forums becoming increasingly irrelevant in handling great power strategic rivalry in the region or managing maritime incidents.

A number of key recommendations were made in the interest of future maritime security and stability in the region. These included the need to invest a lot more in defence diplomacy, especially through the ADMM and ADMM+; and to draw up guidelines for cooperation under the Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum, which takes the form of an all-encompassing agreement that helps manage and prevent all categories of maritime incidents.

STAFF PUBLICATIONS



The South China Sea Disputes: Flashpoints, Turning Points and Trajectories

Edited by Yang Razali Kassim. World Scientific Publishing Company: 2017. ISBN: 978-981-4713-00-9

The South China Sea Disputes: Flashpoints, Turning Points and Trajectories focuses on the currently much-debated theme of the South China Sea disputes — one of the hottest international disputes of the 21st century which can easily turn from a brewing flashpoint into a regional conflict with global repercussions. Through a compilation of commentaries published by the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies from 2012 to much of 2016, the book attempts to reflect the evolution of the disputes in recent years through what can be seen as turning points and trajectories in the diplomatic tensions. The book is divided into four sections, taking off from a key diplomatic or related incident/development which can be seen as a turning point for each, with the concluding section looking at what lies ahead for Southeast Asia and the larger Asia-Pacific region, amidst the uncertainties triggered by the South China Sea imbroglio.

RSiS S. RAJARATNAM
Nanyang Technological University SCHOOL OF
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THINK TANK

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UPCOMING EVENTS

25 – 27 APRIL 2017
WORKSHOP ON "ENHANCING MARITIME SAFETY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION"

27 APRIL 2017
RECAAP ISC PIRACY AND SEA ROBBERY CONFERENCE 2017

9 MAY 2017
RSIS LUNCHEON SEMINAR BY MR JOEL NG, ASSOCIATE RESEARCH FELLOW, RSIS

15 MAY 2017
INTERNATIONAL MARITIME SECURITY CONFERENCE (IMSC) 2017

26 MAY 2017
RSIS SEMINAR BY DR CUNG VU ON "COLD WAR – THE IMPACT OF STRATEGIC TECHNOLOGY ON CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY"

6 – 7 JULY 2017
WORLD AGRICULTURAL FORUM 2017

19 JULY 2017
3RD KOREA-SINGAPORE FORUM

3 – 10 AUGUST 2017
THE 19TH ASIA PACIFIC PROGRAMME FOR SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS (APPSMO 2017)