Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies



1996 - 2001: A Review

DSS

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# **Message from the Director**

The Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) was established on 30 July 1996 amidst significant changes in the strategic environment following the end of the Cold War. The Soviet Union had collapsed while Communism was discredited. This allowed the United States to shift towards a 'forward-deployment' policy in the region—an agreeable expression which masked the greatly reduced presence of American forces in the region. The rise of China and its military modernisation, and the impetus these gave to the military build-up of Japan, compounded fears that the region was headed for greater instability. Such shifts in the balance of power had not been seen in the Asia-Pacific since the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of China in 1949.



Barry Desker Director, IDSS

Given the greater sense of insecurity and uncertainty engendered by these new trends, any thought of reaping peace dividends following the ending of the Cold War would have been misplaced. Indeed, the Gulf War of 1991–92 and cross-Straits tensions between China and Taiwan in March 1996 called for greater circumspection. The disappearance of the bi-polar system and the discipline it imposed on the conduct of relations between states also contributed to an increase in the number of territorial disputes in East and Southeast Asia.

Seen in this light, the establishment of IDSS to assist in developing comprehensive approaches to strategic thinking in areas related to Singapore's interest was timely. As Dr. Tony Tan, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence, highlighted on 13 March 1996, security and stability cannot be taken for granted. Speaking during the Parliamentary Budget Debate for the Ministry of Defence, he said, "The point which I want to highlight in this debate is the speed with which the strategic situation of a country can change and how quickly uncertainties and even the possibility of war can arise in an environment which to everyone's eyes appears to be peaceful and stable."

New ideas and new ways of thinking were needed to fathom and to cope with the problems of an increasingly globalised world, and a new strategic environment which in the last decade or two have come to encompass non-traditional threats to security. Examples of the latter include environmental degradation, humanitarian disasters, international terrorism, drug-trafficking, piracy and, not least, the destabilising effects of currency flows on weak economies in the electronic age.

The haze that enveloped much of Southeast Asia in 1997 and the financial crisis that gripped many Asian economies in 1997–98 are significant reminders of our vulnerability. The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, DC, on September 11, 2001, demonstrate the fact that rich and powerful states are not immune to some of these new threats. What we need to note from these setbacks is the fact that the nature of threats to human and state security have changed. Just as we need to focus on the conventional threats, we must remain alert to new ones. The more we understand their causes and their nature, the better equipped we are to overcome them.

IDSS was established with three objectives in mind.

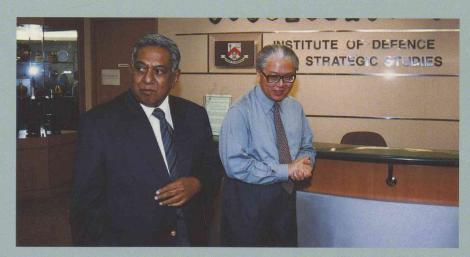
- To research the impact and implications of the rapidly changing post-Cold War environment on Singapore's security and defence
- To participate in teaching a postgraduate programme in strategic studies
- To keep Singapore in the loop of the growing number of regional security networks and conferences

As reflected in this review, the work of IDSS over the last five years has been guided by these objectives. Faculty and research staff (including Visiting Research Fellows) have done work on a very wide range of issues, at a rate that belies the relative youth of the Institute. In the area of teaching, new Masters and Doctoral programmes will be offered in 2002, in addition to the existing Master of Science in Strategic Studies programme which is into its fourth year. As for networking, numerous conferences and workshops, public lectures and colloquia, seminars and roundtables have been organised, drawing in policymakers, eminent scholars, leading specialists, diplomats, journalists and businessmen to share their knowledge and to engage in a mutually beneficial exchange of views on security issues. The Institute has also served as the Singapore Secretariat of the Council for Security Co-operation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP).

This review provides an introduction to IDSS and its work. I hope that you will find our activities interesting enough for you to want to visit us and, where possible, to attend our talks and seminars. Further information about us and our programme of talks and seminars are available at our website http://www.idss.edu.sg.

# **A Brief History of IDSS**

The Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) was inaugurated on 30 July 1996 by Dr. Tony Tan Keng Yam, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence. It was established by Statute as an autonomous research institute within the Nanyang Technological University (NTU). IDSS has research, teaching and networking objectives. These are aimed at assisting policymakers to develop comprehensive approaches to strategic thinking in areas related to Singapore's interests. The Institute is guided by a Board of Governors chaired by Dr. Andrew Chew, Chairman of the Public Service Commission. This review covers the history of IDSS from the time of its establishment.



Founding
Director of
IDSS,
Mr. S.R.
Nathan (left),
with the
Deputy Prime
Minister and
Minister for
Defence,
Dr. Tony Tan

The founding director of IDSS was Mr. S.R. Nathan, who was then concurrently Ambassador-at-large in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and formerly Singapore's Ambassador to the United States. Mr. Nathan raised the Institute with start-up funds contributed by the Government and the Totalisator Board. He relinquished his post on 17 August 1999 when he became President of the Republic of Singapore and was succeeded by his Deputy, Professor Khong Yuen Foong.

Another leadership change took place on 1 October 2000 when Professor Khong returned to teach at Oxford University. He was succeeded by Mr. Barry Desker who was formerly Chief Executive Officer of the Singapore Trade Development Board and, before that, Singapore's Ambassador to Indonesia. Professor Khong continues to provide invaluable service to IDSS in a concurrent capacity as Senior Research Advisor.

The Institute runs several lecture and conference series that have established it as the centre for strategic studies in Singapore and a key node in the global web of networks linking scholars, analysts and institutions in the field. These are listed below.

- The Strategic Challenges in the Asia-Pacific Distinguished Lecture
- The Distinguished Public Lecture
- The Colloquium on Strategic Trends in the 21st Century
- The Developments in Indonesia Public Lecture
- The Annual Asia Pacific 'Summer Camp' for Senior Military Officers



Panel at the Millennium Conference on "Security Challenges and Responses in the 21st Century", 17–18 January 2000, (from left) Ambassador Chan Heng Chee, Professor Aaron L. Friedberg, Professor Khong Yuen Foong (Acting Director, IDSS), Professor Tommy Koh and Professor Yan Xuetong

IDSS has also been active at organising conferences and workshops on regional security. Besides the annual 'Summer Camp', it also convened a major international conference on "The Future of the ASEAN Regional Forum", which was funded by the Ford Foundation, in April 1998 and the "Millennium Conference on Security Challenges and Responses in the 21st Century" in January 2000. A more recent effort was the pan-Asian "Conference on Asian Security in the 21st Century: Globalisation, Environment and Governance" which it organised jointly with the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Sri Lanka, and the United Nations University, Tokyo. This conference was part of a Ford Foundation project on non-traditional security issues in Asia.

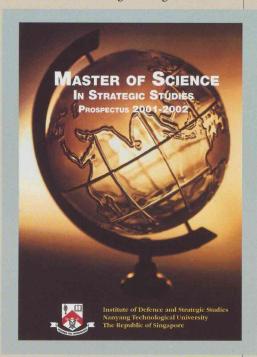
The Institute's role in such multilateral activities was enhanced in 1998 when it took over the Secretariat for the Singapore National Committee of the Council for Security Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP). In this capacity, IDSS has contributed to the ASEAN Regional Forum's security agenda through its participation in or convening of workshops on behalf of the Council.

#### A B O U T I D S S

In the area of teaching, the full-time Master of Science in Strategic Studies Programme was inaugurated in July 1998 to cater to the development of defence and security professionals, civil servants and others with an interest in the field. The Faculty comprises IDSS staff as well as international and local specialists in the field of strategic studies, foreign policy analysis, defence technology and business management. This Master's programme has benefited from its association with King's College, London

and, in particular, from the advice of its Professor of War Studies, Professor Lawrence Freedman. Professor Freedman is also the external examiner for the programme.

The Master of Science in Strategic Studies Programme is now into its fourth year. Although fairly new, the programme has been able to draw students from afar, including countries like Australia, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Taiwan, the United States and Vietnam. IDSS's role in teaching will be enhanced when several new programmes are introduced in 2002. These are a Doctoral and a Master's programme in International Relations, and a Doctoral programme in Strategic Studies.



Besides these core programmes, IDSS also teaches the module on "International Relations of the Asia-Pacific" to NTU undergraduates offering the elective in the General Studies Unit. IDSS is also contracted to teach geopolitics and regional security in various officer courses at the SAFTI Military Institute as well as in various courses at the Foreign Affairs and Defence ministries.

Where research is concerned, the faculty and research staff of IDSS are actively involved in the study of issues related to security and stability in the Asia-Pacific and their implications for Singapore. Research findings are shared with others, including those involved in policy, diplomacy and business by way of refereed journals and the Institute's Working Papers, *IDSS Commentaries* and other publications.

IDSS also hosts many local and foreign scholars under its Visiting Research Fellow Programme and the S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies. The presence of such scholars enriches the intellectual milieu of the Institute and provides many opportunities—through informal seminars and 'brown bag lunches'—for the faculty and research staff to acquire additional perspectives and insights.

IDSS is a non-profit organisation and is funded partly by a grant of \$20 million from the IDSS Endowment Fund. Half of this sum was donated by the Singapore Totalisator Board while the other half was a matching grant from the Government. Other major sources of funds for the Institute include the Ministry of Education which finances the Master of Science Programme in Strategic Studies, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which subsidises CSCAP and other Track Two activities, the Ministry of Defence which remunerates IDSS for teaching and consultancy services, and the Singapore Totalisator Board which provides significant funding for the annual 'Summer Camp'. The Institute was also fortunate to receive a U.S. \$310,000 grant from the Ford Foundation for the period 1999-2001. This grant was intended to help IDSS develop an institutional capacity on non-traditional security issues in Southeast Asia. More recently, in November 2001, the Institute was assured of a U.S. \$350,000 grant from the Sasakawa Peace Foundation for the purpose of assessing existing security relationships among the Asia-Pacific countries and the implications of the changing security order in the region.

IDSS was established five years ago with only one person to tend to its birth—its founding director, Mr. S.R. Nathan. Today, it employs 36 personnel including three on doctoral programmes overseas and one in a concurrent capacity. Under the able leadership of Mr. S.R. Nathan, then Professor Khong Yuen Foong and now, Mr. Barry Desker, IDSS has achieved a track record out of proportion to its youth and size. A good indication of the regional standing of IDSS was the recent establishment of the Asian office of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies within its premises. The Institute has come a long way in establishing itself as a centre for teaching and research in strategic studies, and as one of the key nodes in the global network of security conferences and institutes.

# **IDSS Board of Governors**

**I** DSS is guided by a Board of Governors appointed by the Nanyang Technological University Council. This Board comprises members representing the University and other organisations and international bodies concerned with defence and strategic studies. The Director of IDSS is an ex-officio member of the Board.

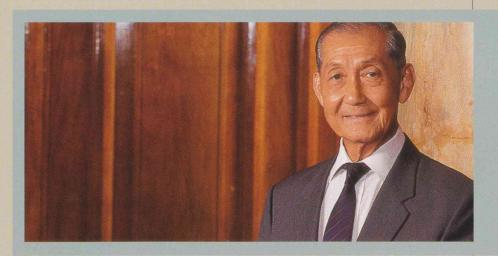
Amongst other functions, the IDSS Board of Governors sets objectives and provides general direction for the Institute. It reviews the Institute's programmes, approves its plans and its budgets, and provides advice when needed.

#### Chairman

Dr. Andrew Chew

Chairman

Public Service Commission



#### **Members**

#### Professor Eliot Cohen

Professor and Director of Strategic Studies The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies The Johns Hopkins University

#### Professor François Heisbourg

Chairman
International Institute for Strategic Studies
Council

#### Mr. Ho Kwon Ping

President
Wah-Chang International Corporation (S)
Pte. Ltd.

#### Mr. Peter Ho

First Permanent Secretary Ministry of Defence

### Mr. Koh Yong Guan

Managing Director Monetary Authority of Singapore

#### Professor Neo Boon Siong

Dean Nanyang Business School Nanyang Technological University

### BG (Ret) Tan Chin Tiong

First Permanent Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs

### Associate Professor Tan Tai Yong

Head Department of History National University of Singapore

#### Mr. Peter Seah

President and CEO Singapore Technologies Pte. Ltd.

### Professor Wang Gungwu

Director

East Asian Institute

### **Former Members**

### Professor Chen Charng-Ning

Deputy President Nanyang Technological University

#### Dr. Cheong Choong Kong

Deputy Chairman Singapore Airlines Ltd.

#### Professor Chia Siow Yue

Director

Political Science

Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

### Mr. Kishore Mahbubani

Permanent Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs

#### Mr. Eddie Teo

Permanent Secretary Ministry of Defence

#### Mr. Wee Ee Cheong

Deputy President United Overseas Bank Ltd.

#### Professor Michael Leifer (deceased)

Director
Asia Research Centre
The London School of Economics and

(Designations reflect the positions of the former members at the time of their appointment to the IDSS Board of Governors.)

# Staff of IDSS

S taff members of IDSS are organised under three broad categories.

- Management
- · Faculty and Research
- Administration and Support

There are 36 members, three of whom are currently on doctoral programmes overseas and one in a concurrent capacity as Senior Research Advisor. In the following lists, some of the staff members are listed under more than one category.

### Management

Mr. Barry Desker, B.A. Hons. (Univ. of Singapore), M.A. (London) *Director* 

Professor Amitav Acharya, B.A. (Utkal), M.A. (Jawaharlal Nehru), Ph.D. (Murdoch) Deputy Director and Head of Research

Professor Khong Yuen Foong, B.A. (Claremont McKenna), Ph.D. (Harvard) Senior Research Advisor (concurrent appointment)

Associate Professor Ang Cheng Guan, B.A. Hons. (Univ. of Singapore), Dip.Ed. (Singapore), M.A. and Ph.D. (SOAS, London) Head of Studies

Mr. Kwa Chong Guan, B.A. Hons. (Univ. of Singapore), M.A. (Kent) *Head of External Programmes* 

Mr. Sng Seow Lian, Dip. (RMA Sandhurst), B.A. Hons (NUS), Masters in Defence Studies (UNSW)

Executive Secretary



Some of our management staff, (from left) Sng Seow Lian, Kwa Chong Guan, Ang Cheng Guan and Amitav Acharya

### **Faculty and Research**

(listed in alphabetical order)

Dr. Amitav Acharya, B.A. (Utkal), M.A. (Jawaharlal Nehru), Ph.D. (Murdoch) *Professor* 

Mr. Mushahid Ali, B.A. Hons. (Univ. of Singapore) Senior Fellow

Dr. Ang Cheng Guan, B.A. Hons. (Univ. of Singapore), Dip.Ed. (Singapore), M.A. and Ph.D. (SOAS, London)

Associate Professor

Dr. J.D. Kenneth Boutin, B.A. (Saint Mary's), M.A. and Ph.D. (York) Ford-IDSS Post-doctoral Fellow in Asian Security

Dr. Chung Chien-Peng, B.A. Hons. (Calgary), M.A. (Toronto), Ph.D. (Southern California)

Assistant Professor

#### ABOUTIDSS



Some of our faculty and research staff, (from left) Sinderpal Singh, Kumar Ramakrishna, Tan See Seng, Joey Long and Bhubhindar Singh

COL (NS) Goh Chye Kim, B.Sc. (NUS) Fellow

Dr. Khong Yuen Foong, B.A. (Claremont McKenna), Ph.D. (Harvard) *Professor (concurrent appointment)* 

Mr. Kwa Chong Guan, B.A. Hons. (Univ. of Singapore), M.A. (Kent) *Head of External Programmes* 

BG (Ret) Law Chwee Kiat, B.A. (NUS) Senior Fellow

Mr. Lee Chek Liang, Terence, B.A. Distinction (Wisconsin-Madison), M.Sc. (IDSS, NTU) Associate Research Fellow (on study leave)

Mr. Liow Chin Yong, Joseph, B.A. Hons. (Wisconsin-Madison), M.Sc. (IDSS, NTU) Associate Research Fellow (on study leave)

Mr. Long Shi Ruey, Joey, B.A. Hons. (NUS), M.A. (NIE, NTU) Associate Research Fellow

Mr. Loo Fook Weng, Bernard, B.Soc.Sci. Hons. (NUS), M.A. (ANU) Associate Research Fellow (on study leave)

Ms. Melina Nathan, B.A. Hons. (Cambridge), PGCE (NIE, NTU), M.Sc. (LSE) Associate Research Fellow

Dr. Kumar Ramakrishna, B.Soc.Sci. Hons. (NUS), Masters in Defence Studies (UNSW), Ph.D. (Royal Holloway, London)

Assistant Professor

Dr. Leonard Sebastian, B.A. Hons., M.A., Grad. Dip. in Strategic Studies (York), Ph.D. (ANU)
Senior Fellow,

Mr. Bhubhindar Singh, B.A. Hons. (NUS), M.Sc. (IDSS, NTU) Associate Research Fellow

Mr. Sinderpal Singh, B.A. (NUS), M.A. (ANU) Associate Research Fellow

Dr. Tan See Seng, B.A. Hons. and M.A. (Manitoba), Ph.D. (Arizona State University) Assistant Professor

Dr. Tan Tian Huat, Andrew, B.A. and B.Soc.Sci. Hons. (NUS), M.Phil. (Cambridge), Ph.D. (Sydney)

Assistant Professor

Some of our faculty and research staff, (from left)
Leonard
Sebastian, Melina
Nathan, Ken
Boutin,
Mushahid Ali
and Terence Lee



### **Administration and Support**



Members of our administrative and support staff

#### **Administrative Officers**

Mr. Ee Keng Siong, Peter, B.A. (Winnipeg) Senior Administrative Officer

Ms. Ng Chooi Hooi, Caroline, B.B.A. (NUS) *Administrative Officer* 

#### Administrative Assistants and Secretaries

Ms. Lee Shiuan Erl, Yvonne Administrative Assistant

Mr. Ng Gim Choon, Ben Administrative Assistant

Ms. Yeo Chor Ing, Daisy Personal Assistant to Mr. Barry Desker

Ms. Regina Arokiasamy
Secretary to Mr. Kwa Chong Guan

Ms. Ermayanty Ginnin Secretary to Professor Amitav Acharya

Ms. Leong Mee Yit, Sandy Secretary to Associate Professor Ang Cheng Guan

Ms. Tan Hui Koon, Melina Secretary to BG (Ret) Law Chwee Kiat

#### Library Personnel

Ms. Chong Yee Ming, B.Ec. (Monash), Grad. Dip. Lib. (Melbourne SC) Librarian

Ms. Lai Foong Yee, Jean Library Assistant

#### IT Personnel

Mr. Tng Eng Cheong, Adv. Dip. IT (NCC) IT Technician

#### **Drivers**

Mr. Zulkafri Abdulhai

Mr. Samsun bin Munasip



Librarian Ms. Chong Yee Ming (left), with her assistant

# S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies

The S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies at IDSS was inaugurated on 31 August 1998 to enable the Institute to invite distinguished scholars in strategic studies and related fields to participate in its activities. The Professorship was established in honour of Mr. Sinnathamby Rajaratnam for his distinguished services to the nation.

Mr. Rajaratnam, 86, was elected as the Member of Parliament for Kampung Glam in 1959 and continued to represent the constituency until his retirement in 1988. He became the Minister for Culture in 1959, the Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1965 and, while in the latter capacity, took on a second portfolio as the Minister for Labour from 1968 to 1971. He became Second Deputy Prime Minister (Foreign Affairs) in 1980, after which he was appointed Senior Minister until his retirement.

The S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies is made possible by a \$2.6 million fund (excluding a matching grant from the Singapore Government) raised by the Fund Raising Committee chaired by

THE S RAJARATNAM PROFESSORSHIP IN STRATEGIC STUDIES

Established in honour of Mr S Rajaratnam



se Technological Universi

Mr. S. Chandra Das, the former Member of Parliament for Cheng San constituency.

The S. Rajaratnam "Chair in Strategic Studies" at IDSS will be held in perpetuity. Income generated from the invested endowment fund is used to invite internationally renowned scholars to teach and to research at the Institute. The S. Rajaratnam Professorship thus enables IDSS to increase its international linkages as well as benefit from the knowledge, experience and wisdom of eminent scholars appointed to the Chair. Since its inauguration, two eminent scholars have held this Chair.

They were:

- Professor Steven M. Walt, Evron and Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of International Affairs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, in January 2000; and
- Professor Jack L. Snyder, Robert and Rénee Belfer Professor of International Relations at the Institute of War and Peace Studies, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, from July to August 2001.



Professor Steven M. Walt



Professor Jack L. Snyder

The next S. Rajaratnam Professor at IDSS will be Professor Wang Jisi, Director of the Institute of American Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. He will hold the Chair in 2002.

# **Visiting Scholars**

Visiting scholars play an important role in the Institute's research agenda. Besides the scholars appointed to the S. Rajaratnam Chair in Strategic Studies, IDSS also has a Visiting Research Fellow Programme to enable local and overseas scholars to do research at the Institute, for varying periods of three months to a year. Visiting Research Fellows contribute to intellectual life in IDSS by providing faculty and research staff additional perspectives and insights through informal exchanges at in-house seminars and 'brown bag lunches'.



Our Visiting Research Fellows, (from left) Irman Lanti, Andrew Walter and Aung Myoe

# Scholars presently doing research at IDSS as Visiting Research Fellows

Mr. Irman Gurmilang Lanti

Center for Information and Development Studies, Indonesia / Ph.D. candidate, University of British Columbia

Dr. Aung Myoe University of Mandalay, Myanmar

Dr. Andrew Walter
The London School of Economics and Political Science

### Former Visiting Research Fellows at IDSS

Associate Professor Amitav Acharya York University, Canada (15 June 1998 – 25 August 1999) Associate Professor Han Feng

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China (21 September – 17 October 2001)

Dr. Alice Hills

Joint Services Command and Staff College, United Kingdom (24 August – 15 September 2001)

Mr. Hsieh Fu Chin

Cross-Strait Interflow Prospect Foundation, Taiwan (3 May - 13 October 2000)

Professor Khoo Kay Kim

University of Malaya, Malaysia (15 January 1999 - 14 July 2000)

Mr. Khoo Kay Siang, Nicholas

Singapore (19 January - 7 August 1998)

Maj. Sheldon Kidd

Australian Defence Force (2 October – 30 November 2000)

Professor Li Shaoxian

China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, China (30 November 1998 – 27 April 1999)

Mr. Ansari Marican

Ministry of Home Affairs, Singapore (1 February – 9 June 1999)

Professor Sukh Deo Muni

Jawaharlal Nehru University, India (2 March – 31 August 2001)

Mr. Oon Khim Yong, Benny

Ministry of Home Affairs, Singapore (2 October - 31 December 2000)

Professor Ryaas Rasvid

Institute of Government Studies, Indonesia (8 May – 31 July 2001)

Dr. Rizal Sukma

Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia (16 February 2000 – 15 May 2000)

Dr. Rukmantoro Hadi Sumukti

Indonesia (1 March 1998 - 29 February 2000)

#### RESEARCH

Mr. Jun Tsunekawa

National Institute for Defense Studies, Japan (25 January 1999 - 23 April 1999)

Mr. Wang Han Sen

China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, China (14 May 1998 – 25 April 1999)

Besides the scholars listed above, IDSS was also host to the following scholars.

- Professor Amitav Acharya of York University, Toronto, before he became the Institute's Deputy Director and Head of Research
- Associate Professor Chin Kin Wah, Dr. N. Ganesan and Professor Wong Poh Kam of the National University of Singapore
- Dr. Michael Smith of King's College, London
- Professor Ron Matthews of Cranfield University, U.K.

All these scholars were visiting lecturers and faculty members in the Master of Science in Strategic Studies Programme.

# **Research Projects**

Research projects at IDSS comprise those conducted at Institute level, and those undertaken by its researchers, whether individually or in collaboration, to meet their research objectives. The following is a selection of some of the research projects presently being done at the Institute.

## **Institute Research Projects**

# Ford-IDSS Programme on Non-traditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia

IDSS administered a programme on Non-traditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia from January 2000 to October 2001. Sponsored by the Ford Foundation, the programme's objective was to facilitate discussion on non-traditional aspects of security as they relate to Southeast Asia in the post-Cold War regional security environment. The end of the Cold War provided greater space for recognition of the importance of a broader range of aspects of security. Non-traditional security concerns arguably have been present for some time but were overshadowed by security concerns of a more traditional nature during the Cold War, particularly those arising in the context of inter-state rivalries and conflicts.

To this end, a select group of twenty-six scholars whose research focuses on non-traditional security were commissioned on the basis of a competitive evaluation to examine this in the context of the Southeast Asian region. They have identified and analysed key trends and developments in important issue areas. Their studies encompassed aspects of globalisation, regional institutions, governance in plural societies and environmental security in individual states or the region as a whole.

In two conferences in 2000, these scholars met in Singapore to present and critique their work. The revised studies that resulted from these fruitful discussions illuminate many facets of the Southeast Asian security environment that have not been accorded the attention they deserve in more conventional regional security analyses. These studies have been published in the edited volume *Non-traditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Select Publishing, 2001).

Five separate working papers were also published in May 2001.

- Globalisation and its Implications for Southeast Asian Security: A Vietnamese Perspective by Nguyen Phuong Binh
- Framework for Autonomy in Southeast Asia's Plural Societies by Miriam Coronel Ferrer
- Burma: Protracted Conflict, Governance and Non-traditional Security Issues by Ananda Rajah

#### RESEARCH

• Natural Resource Management and Environmental Security in Southeast Asia: Case Study of Clean Water Supplies in Singapore by Kog Yue Choong

• Crisis and Transformation: ASEAN in the New Era by Etel Solingen

In addition, the Ford Post-doctoral Fellow, Dr. Kenneth Boutin, will also be publishing a book entitled *Staying the Course: States, Security, and Technological Globalisation in East Asia.* 

The programme's effort to increase awareness of and stimulate discussion and debate on non-traditional aspects of security in Southeast Asia has not concluded with the publication of the series of studies outlined above. It is hoped that these will raise awareness of the important issues involved and encourage academics and policymakers alike to consider the implications of trends and developments in non-traditional aspects of security as they impact on Southeast Asia. This process is already underway. A workshop on "Nontraditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia" held in Singapore in July 2001 conveyed the findings of the programme to a select group of senior military officers, academics and media representatives from across the region. A pan-Asian conference under the title "Asian Security in the 21st Century: Globalisation, Environment and Governance" was also organised in collaboration with the South Asia and Northeast Asia co-ordinators of the Ford programme on Non-traditional Security Issues in those regions, namely, the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Sri Lanka, and the United Nations University, Japan. Some 50 scholars met in Singapore on 10-11 October 2001 to discuss their findings. The three centres involved, including IDSS, are currently awaiting the



At the closing of the Ford Conference on "Non-traditional Security Issues in Asia", 10–11 October 2001, Gen (Ret) Dipanker Banerjee, Director of RCSS, presenting a book to one of the participants, Dr. Abdur Rob Khan



The President of Singapore, Mr. S.R. Nathan, and his wife arriving for the official dinner of the Ford Conference

outcome of their proposals to the Ford Foundation for a continuation of the programme into a second phase.

### Harvard-IDSS Project on Comparative Regionalism

This project, officially titled "Crafting Co-operation: Regional Institution Design in Comparative Perspective", is a joint initiative between IDSS and Harvard University's Asia Center.

During the past decade, regionalism has received increasing attention as a major potential force for global change. While regionalism has been a consistent feature of the global security and economic architecture since World War II, the end of the Cold War and economic regionalisation in the context of a rapidly integrating global economy have led to a new emphasis on regionalism. But the make-up and performance of regional organisations around the world is marked by a great deal of diversity. For example, Europe not only exhibits the highest institutional density in terms of the number of overlapping regional mechanisms but individual European regional groupings also tend to be more heavily institutionalised and intrusive, especially in terms of their approach to issues that affect state sovereignty (such as human rights). Yet, they lag behind many other regions, such as Africa and Asia, in terms of their inclusiveness and flexibility in decision-making. Asian institutions, relatively new on the international stage, have claimed uniqueness in terms of their decision-making norms and approach to socialisation but many have questioned their effectiveness in managing security dilemmas and the economic vulnerabilities of their members.

Why, then, do different forms of institutionalisation develop in different regions of the world? And to what extent variations in institutionalisation affect the performance of institutions? Are the more formalised, bureaucratised and often times intrusive institutions of European co-operation more effective than the more informal, weakly organised 'talk shops' of Asia-Pacific in promoting co-operation? It is the purpose of the Harvard-IDSS project on comparative regionalism to investigate these and other related questions.

The project is the first theoretically informed comparative study of regional institutions. The research product will provide important insights into why institutional design varies across regions, whether (by implication) we can treat regional subsystems as more determinative of actor behaviour and interstate outcomes than the international system writ large, and whether variation in the 'quality' of co-operation within and across regions has anything to do with institutional design. This last question has important policy implications. If indeed institutional design matters in this way, then it becomes a critical variable that is, in principle, more amenable to human agency than factors such as 'distributions of power' or 'historical / cultural' path dependent development.

The two-year project, co-directed by Professors Amitav Acharya of IDSS and

Alastair Iain Johnston of Harvard, involves approximately 15 experts on the international relations of a region to write papers exploring the origins of, variations in and implications for co-operation of variations in regional institutional forms and functions. Funding for the project has been received from Harvard University Asia Center, the Asia-Pacific Policy Programme of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, Lee Foundation (Singapore), University of Warwick's Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation and the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies.

# **Evolving Approaches to Security Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific**

This project addresses the following questions.

- Why have some form of security co-operation and institutionalisation in the Asia-Pacific proven more feasible than others? (For example, why is the region historically more receptive to co-operative security and security community approaches than collective security or collective defence, which have been the hallmark of the European security architecture?)
- Do bilateral modes of security co-operation, traditionally salient in the Asia-Pacific, complement or compete with emerging multilateral structures?
- If the relationship is competitive, then what kind of transformation is needed to develop a more complimentary relationship between the two?

Several important developments in the regional security environment of the Asia-Pacific necessitate a review of our current understanding of the region's security order. These include the rise of China, the revitalisation of America's bilateral alliances in the region, especially the US-Japanese alliance, Japan's efforts to expand its role in peacekeeping and multilateral security activities, the difficulties facing an expanded ASEAN, doubts about the credibility of ASEAN and the ASEAN Regional Forum in the wake of the Asian crisis, and the emergence of an ASEAN Plus Three economic and political framework.

This multi-year project, directed by Professor Amitav Acharya of IDSS, involves participants from Asia-

Pacific countries as well as Europe. Initial funding has been secured from the Sasakawa Peace Foundation. A brainstorming session to identify key themes and modalities for the project was held in Singapore on 28 November 2001.



Professor Amitav Acharya at the Sasakawa Peace Foundation brainstorming workshop on 28 November 2001

## **Individual Research Projects**

American National Security Policy and the Politics of Decolonisation in Singapore, 1953–1961

- Joey Long

This research project analyses broadly American containment strategies in Southeast Asia but focuses particularly on the U.S. involvement in Singapore from 1953 to 1961—a subject that has been conspicuously ignored in the historiography of U.S.-Southeast Asia relations. By analysing the Eisenhower administration's diplomatic activities, economic policy, propaganda / psychological warfare and clandestine operations in Singapore, this study will contribute to an understanding of not just a period of heightened American activism in Singapore but also how those activities shaped the city-state's political culture and identity. The work will, furthermore, add to the wider debate about the nature and impact of the American response to Third World nationalism.

# Armed Muslim Separatism in Southeast Asia: Persistence and Implications

- Andrew Tan

The salience of armed Muslim separatism in Aceh, Patani and Mindanao has been dramatically highlighted by recent events in Indonesia and the Philippines. These enduring rebellions have in recent years become trans-nationalised, with external links, including with Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda, becoming more salient. This study, which will be presented at the Global Terrorism conference in Australia in May 2002, will examine the fundamental causes of armed Muslim separatism in Southeast Asia, assess the problems and prospects for their resolution, and analyse the implications of recent developments, including the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001.

# China's Outward Leap: The Regional Implications of China's Economic Development Under Globalisation

- J.D. Kenneth Boutin

This article examines the regional implications of China's economic development. It argues that its export-led development strategy will complicate relations with its neighbours which are pursuing similar strategies and which will find it difficult to compete with China.

#### Civil-Military Relations in Myanmar since 1988

- Aung Myoe

This study explores the nature of civil-military relations in Myanmar in a historical perspective. It also examines the underlying causes of the military intervention and the factors that contributed to the prolonged dominance of the military in Myanmar's politics. It will shed light on the kind of political transition that could take place in Myanmar, thus contributing to the wider literature of civil-military relations as well as of regime change and regime maintenance.

#### A Critical History of the Idea of Human Security

- Khong Yuen Foong with Neil MacFarlane

This book is being written under the auspices of the Intellectual History of the United Nations Project. The working hypothesis of the volume is that the extension of the concept of "security" to human beings brings with it conceptual and practical costs that are not widely appreciated.

### East Asian Financial Arrangements: Strengthening or Undermining Multilateralism

- Melina Nathan

Although Japan's proposal for an Asian Monetary Fund was quashed, it signalled differences in interests and understandings of the Asian Financial Crisis as well as strategies in crisis management between the U.S. and the IMF on the one hand, and East Asians on the other. Subsequent attempts at East Asian financial co-operation as well as regional trade initiatives have been similarly interpreted as the beginnings of an East Asian regional bloc that will undermine an open international economy based on principles of multilateralism. Tracing the evolution of East Asian financial co-operation from the Asian Monetary Fund to the Chiang Mai initiative, this paper demonstrates how diverging interests and understandings have been accommodated, demonstrating a dissatisfaction with existing institutions rather than multilateralism per se.

# The Effect of Democratisation in Taiwan and South Korea on Cross-Strait and Inter-Korean Relations

- Chien-peng (C.P.) Chung

This research essay explores the profound effect on Cross-Strait and Inter-Korean ties brought about by the transition from authoritarianism to democracy in Taiwan and South Korea in the last 15 years. Democratisation exacerbated social divisions within both countries, as a result of which relations with their nearest neighbours underwent changes, depending on the revealed preference of the median voter. Democratisation in

Taiwan and South Korea have widened the spectrum of political debate, making issues like "Taiwanese nationalism" and "class politics" salient in the public discourse of their interaction with Mainland China and North Korea respectively. As a result, while South Korea has become more accommodating to the North, Taiwan has drifted apart from China politically.

# Ending the Vietnam War: The Vietnamese Communists' Perspective

- Ang Cheng Guan

This is the second of a two-volume study of the Vietnam War covering the period from the 1969 (post-Tet Offensive) to the fall of Saigon in 1975 based on newly released Western and communist sources. Written from the communists' perspective, it will be submitted to the publishers by June 2003.

### Fighting a 'War Without End': The West Needs an Indirect Strategy to Stop Osama Bin Laden

- Barry Desker and Kumar Ramakrishna

This policy-oriented project is an attempt to identify more precisely the strain of Islamic fundamentalism responsible for the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States, and consequently the policy and strategy options the American-led Coalition might need to neutralise potential future attacks.

# Ideas and Regional Security Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific – Amitav Acharya

The project investigates the impact of ideas on the evolution of Asia-Pacific regionalism. After an examination of rationalist and ideational theories of international relations, it develops a framework for analysing how norms and ideas are transmitted through the international system. The analytic framework stresses the importance of pre-existing normative orders in shaping the reception and acceptance of new norms. The project then examines the foundational norms of Asian regionalism in the post-war period and how they have shaped institution-building and reform in the 1990s, including the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum, and attempts to change norms of sovereignty in ASEAN.

# Implementing Global Financial Regulatory Standards in East Asia – Andrew Walter

This project considers whether and how a key set of new global regulatory standards are being implemented in some key countries in the East Asian region. For emerging market countries, these key standards are arguably the most important aspect of the

'new international financial architecture'; they have important implications for regulation and economic governance in most East Asian countries. They include, among others, the Basle "core principles for effective banking supervision", OECD "principles of corporate governance" and new international accounting and auditing standards. This emergent international, regulatory regime poses fundamental problems of institutional reform for many countries. The research undertakes a comparative analysis of the political and institutional obstacles to implementation in the region, and assesses the implications for regional divergence and co-operation.

# Japan's Increasing Political Role in Managing International Security

- Bhubhindar Singh

This paper compares Japan's roles in the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the recent U.S.-led effort to combat global terrorism. Unlike the embarrassing experience in the Gulf War, Japan was swift to show its commitment and support to the U.S.-led effort this time. This is a reflection of Japan's willingness to play a larger political role in managing international security in the post-Cold War period.

#### Kashmir: A Tale of Two Identities

- Sinderpal Singh

This paper will explore the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. It will discuss the history of the dispute and survey the literature on the sub-field before attempting to use identity theory to examine the nature of the conflict—looking at the way in which the conflict is more than just the result of conflicting military-strategic goals, the imperative of domestic politics or exogenous changes in the international geo-political environment. Indeed, the paper will contend that Kashmir is an indispensable symbol for both India and Pakistan in their efforts to render unproblematic the frequently contested identities of "India" and "Pakistan".

### Malaysia's Security Perspectives

- Andrew Tan

A well-developed and informed understanding of Malaysia's security perspectives is necessary given the strategic importance of Malaysia to Singapore. This research project aims to examine the key factors which have affected the formulation of Malaysia's security policies, the main objectives of Malaysia's national security policy and how Malaysia has attempted to realise these objectives. This study will demonstrate the complexity of factors that have given rise to Malaysia's broad strategy of Comprehensive Security, which incorporates political, military, economic, social, cultural and psychological dimensions.

#### The Next Round of WTO Negotiations

- Barry Desker

This policy-oriented project examines possible approaches to the launch and conclusion of a new round of WTO negotiations. It addresses the trend towards increasing regionalism and bilateralism and highlights the consequent risks to the multilateral trading system.

# On Justifying and Fighting Ventilated Humanitarian Wars: Richard Crossman and NATO's Campaign in Kosovo

- Kumar Ramakrishna

This project examines the argument that advances in telecommunications technology have 'ventilated' both battlefields, and in the case of humanitarian emergencies, the 'killing fields'. This means that not only is the brutality of ethnic cleansers exposed before a watching world, the egregious errors and misdemeanours of states intervening for ostensibly humanitarian purposes are also ventilated world-wide. Hence humanitarian wars are intrinsically propaganda wars because intervening states need to take pains to ensure that their actual deeds are consistent with their heady rhetoric—in short, that their intentions are credible. Thus, NATO's Kosovo campaign, despite its attention to propaganda in a technical sense, left many uneasy because Brussels failed to ensure that its high humanitarian rhetoric was reflected in its actual policy and strategy during the campaign.

# Political and Legal Impediments in the Suppression of Terrorism in Southeast Asia

- Valeriane Toon

This article examines the political and legal apparatus that are in place to deal with terrorism in Southeast Asia from the regional and international perspectives, and highlights their limitations. It would explain why the incumbent instruments are not necessarily the best ones available, with special reference to the international political order. In view of ASEAN's role in Southeast Asian politics, its relevance would also be explored.

# The Rise and Decline of the National Security State in Indonesia – Leonard Sebastian

This book is an attempt to understand how the national security state evolved in Indonesia and how its decline may change the political balance of power in the country. Much of the research on the state in Indonesia has focused on corporatist or bureaucratic politics models. This book attempts to provide a perspective that is different from

the traditional comparative politics approach to the study of the Indonesian state by taking a security approach developed from international relations theory methodology, particularly by adapting some of the literature on Third World security with reference to how the New Order emerged.

#### Southeast Asia's Security Strategies

- Khong Yuen Foong

The focus of this work is to explore the extent to which there exists a coherent regional strategy in the post-Cold War period and the underlying reasons for that strategy.

# Staying the Course: States, Security, and Technological Globalisation in East Asia

- J.D. Kenneth Boutin

This book examines how states such as China, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan have responded to deepening processes of technological globalisation, focusing on the aspects of the emphasis of technology policy, technological autonomy and relations with non-state actors.

### Technology and Regional Integration in Europe

- J.D. Kenneth Boutin

This article examines the impact of the requirements of technological development and application on regional integration in Western Europe. This study employs a neo-functionalist analysis to argue that the integrative potential of technological requirements will be offset by national security concerns.



Library users discussing a project

# Telling the Simple People the Truth: The Role of Strategic Propaganda in the Malayan Emergency

- Kumar Ramakrishna

This project seeks to illuminate the hitherto neglected role and impact of British / Malayan strategic propaganda in producing the necessary public support which enabled Kuala Lumpur to intensify both military operations as well as psychological warfare against the Malayan communist terrorists, leading ultimately to the mass surrenders of 1958 which virtually ended the Malayan Emergency.

### Trends in United States Unilateralism in the 21st Century

- Khong Yuen Foong with David Malone

This will be a co-edited volume examining how unilateral or multilateral United States foreign policy has been, and with what consequences, across a range of issues, including arms control, human rights, climate change and the use of force. The volume will include essays by leading experts on America's post-Cold War foreign policy.

#### Will Indonesia Balkanise?

- Terence Lee

The question of Indonesia's balkanisation has garnered international prominence since the onset of the financial crisis in 1997. Many analysts have predicted that several restive provinces across the archipelago (including Aceh and Irian Jaya) will secede from the republic within the next few years. This paper aims to systematically examine the likelihood of such a balkanisation scenario by putting forth an analytical framework to assess a region or a province's propensity to secede.

# Publications and Conference Papers

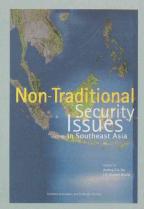
#### **Institute Publications**

#### **Books**

The Future of the ARF Khoo How San, ed. Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, 1999

Non-Traditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia Andrew T.H. Tan and J.D. Kenneth Boutin, eds. Singapore: Select Publishing and Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, 2001





### Monographs

The Next Stage: Preventive Diplomacy and Security Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific Region

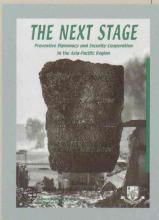
Desmond Ball and Amitav Acharya, eds. Canberra Papers in Strategy and Defence. Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University and Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, 1999

Neither Friend Nor Foe: Myanmar's Relations with Thailand Since 1988

Aung Myoe. Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, 2001

China's Strategic Engagement with 'New ASEAN' S.D. Muni. Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (forthcoming in 2002)

Water in Singapore-Malaysia Relations
Irwin Lim, Joey Long and Kog Yue Choong (forthcoming)



### **Working Papers**



Vietnam-China Relations Since the End of the Cold War Ang Cheng Guan, November 1998

Multilateral Security Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects and Possibilities
Desmond Ball, April 1999

Reordering Asia: "Co-operative Security" or Concert of Powers? Amitav Acharya, July 1999

The South China Sea Dispute Re-visited Ang Cheng Guan, August 1999

Continuity and Change in Malaysian Politics: Assessing the

Build-up to the 1999–2000 General Elections Joseph Liow Chin Yong, August 1999

Humanitarian Intervention in Kosovo as Justified, Executed and Mediated by NATO: Strategic Lessons for Singapore Kumar Ramakrishna, July 2000

Taiwan's Future: Mongolia or Tibet? Chien-peng (C.P.) Chung, February 2001

Asia-Pacific Diplomacies: Reading Discontinuity in Late-Modern Diplomatic Practice Tan See Seng, February 2001

Framing South Asia: Whose Imagined Region? Sinderpal Singh, May 2001

Explaining Indonesia's Relations with Singapore During the New Order Period: The Case of Regime Maintenance and Foreign Policy
Terence Lee Chek Liang, May 2001

Human Security: Discourse, Statecraft, Emancipation Tan See Seng, May 2001

Globalisation and its Implications for Southeast Asian Security: A Vietnamese Perspective Nguyen Phuong Binh, May 2001

Framework for Autonomy in Southeast Asia's Plural Societies Miriam Coronel Ferrer, May 2001

#### RESEARCH

Burma: Protracted Conflict, Governance and Non-traditional Security Issues Ananda Rajah, May 2001

Natural Resources Management and Environmental Security in Southeast Asia: Case Study of Clean Water Supplies in Singapore Kog Yue Choong, May 2001

Crisis and Transformation: ASEAN in the New Era Etel Solingen, May 2001

Human Security: East Versus West? Amitav Acharya, September 2001

Asian Developing Countries and the Next Round of WTO Negotiations Barry Desker, October 2001

Multilateralism, Neo-liberalism and Security in Asia: The Role of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum
Ian Taylor, December 2001

Humanitarian Intervention and Peacekeeping as Issues for Asia Pacific Security Derek McDougall, December 2001

#### **IDSS Commentaries**

*IDSS Commentaries* are published by the Institute to provide timely and, where appropriate, policy relevant background and analysis of contemporary developments. Listed here are the commentaries published since the recent inauguration of the series in October 2001.

Singapore-Malaysia and the Water Issue: A Concern Desecuritised Joey Long, October 2001

The Future of the ASEAN Regional Forum Barry Desker, October 2001

Prospects for a Revolution in Military Affairs in Southeast Asia J.D. Kenneth Boutin, November 2001

Can Megawati Win the Battle for the Hearts and Minds of Moderate Muslims in Indonesia? Leonard Sebastian, December 2001



# **Publications by Faculty and Research Staff**

Listed here are publications by faculty and research staff (including former Visiting Research Fellows) during their time at IDSS. The works are listed under the following categories.

- International Relations and Security
- National Security and Politics of Asian States
- Regional Conflict and Conflict Dynamics
- Regionalism and Multilateralism
- · Non-traditional Security Issues
- Technology and Arms Control
- Military History
- General History

### **International Relations and Security**

ASEAN's Perceptions of Japan: Change and Continuity Bhubhindar Singh, in *Asian Survey* (forthcoming)

ASEAN Threat Perceptions of China Melina Nathan, in an edited conference volume (forthcoming)

Asia-Pacific Diplomacies: Reading Discontinuity in Late-Modern Diplomatic Practice Tan See Seng, in *IDSS Working Paper* No. 8, February 2001

Review of Barry K. Gills, *Globalisation and the Politics of Resistance*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000 Bhubhindar Singh, in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, August 2001

A Concert of Asia? Amitav Acharya, in *Survival* Vol. 41 No. 3, Autumn 1999

Foreign Policy and Domestic Crisis in Malaysia Joseph Liow, in *Panorama* Vol. 2, 2000

Framing South Asia: Whose Imagined Region? Sinderpal Singh, *IDSS Working Paper* No. 9, May 2001 Globalisation and the Emergence of Trans-national Terrorism Andrew Tan, in *Commentary* (forthcoming in 2002)

'Humanitarian Intervention in Kosovo' as Justified, Executed and Mediated by NATO: Strategic Lessons for Singapore Kumar Ramakrishna, *IDSS Working Paper* No. 6, July 2000

The Keystone of World Order

Kwa Chong Guan and Tan See Seng, in *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 24 No. 3, Summer 2001

Malaysia-China Relations in the 1990s: The Maturing of a Partnership Joseph Liow, in *Asian Survey* Vol. XL No. 4, 2000

Malaysian Foreign Policy Under Mahathir

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Joseph Liow, in *Performance and Crisis in Governance in Mahathir's Administration*, edited by James Chin and Ho Khai Leong. Singapore: Times Academic Press, 2001

The 1998 North Korean Missile Launch and the 'Normalisation' of Japanese State-hood

Bhubhindar Singh, in Issues & Studies Vol. 37 No. 3, May/June 2001

Power in Transition: The Peaceful Change of International Order Khong Yuen Foong with Charles Kupchan, Emmanuel Adler and Jean Marc Coicaud.

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The Quest for Identity: International Relations of Southeast Asia Amitav Acharya. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 2000

Realism, Institutionalism and the Asian Economic Crisis Amitav Acharya, in *Contemporary Southeast Asia* Vol. 21 No. 1, April 1999

Securing Regional Peace and Stability

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Andrew Tan with Michael Smith and Khoo Kay Kim, eds. London: ASEAN Academic Publishing (forthcoming in 2002)

Southeast Asian Perceptions of Major Power Relations in Northeast Asia Chien-peng (C.P.) Chung, in *Regional Security Issues and Mongolia* No. 8, Institute for Strategic Studies (Mongolia), 2000

Southeast Asia's "Hedging" Relations with Major Powers of the Asia-Pacific Chien-peng (C.P.) Chung, in *Seeking Alternative Perspectives on Southeast Asia*, edited by Michael L.R. Smith, Andrew T.H. Tan and Khoo Kay Kim. London: ASEAN Academic Publishing (forthcoming in 2002)

Strategic Coercion in East Asia: The Cases of Cambodia and Korea Khong Yuen Foong, in *Strategic Coercion*, edited by Lawrence Freedman. Oxford University Press, 1998

A Time for Economic and Political Engagement: Singapore's China Policy Khong Yuen Foong, in *Engaging China*, edited by Robert Ross and Iain Johnston. London: Routledge Books, 1999

# **National Security and Politics of Asian States**

Speech at book launch of Ban Kah Choon's Absent History. Singapore: SNP Publishing, 2001

Barry Desker, in the Arts Issue 9, October - November 2001

Can Megawati Win the Battle for the Hearts and Minds of Moderate Muslims in Indonesia?

Leonard Sebastian, IDSS Commentaries, December 2001

China's Strategic Engagement with 'New ASEAN' S.D. Muni, IDSS (forthcoming 2002)

Continuity and Change in Malaysian Politics: Assessing the Build-up to the 1999–2000 Elections

Joseph Liow, IDSS Working Paper No. 5, August 1999

Crisis, Choice and Change: Malaysian Electoral Politics at the End of the 20th Century

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Indonesia Outs Its History
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The Nature and the Future of Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia Terence Lee, in *Asian Survey* Vol. XL Issue No. 4, July/August 2000

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J.D. Kenneth Boutin, in *CANCAPS Papier* No. 26. Toronto: Canadian Consortium on Asia-Pacific Security, 2001

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Singapore's Domestic Determinants of Security

Andrew Tan, Occasional Paper, Asia-Pacific Centre for Security Studies, Hawaii, 2001

Southeast Asia's Democratic Moment? The Impact of the Asian Economic Crisis on Human Rights and Democratisation
Amitav Acharya, in *Asian Survey*, May – June 1999

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ASEAN, China and the South China Sea: A Rejoinder Ang Cheng Guan, in *Security Dialogue* Vol. 30 No. 4, December 1999

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# Regionalism and Multilateralism

Asian Developing Countries and the Next Round of WTO Negotiations Barry Desker, *IDSS Working Paper* No. 18, October 2001

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China's Engagement with Southeast Asia after the Leadership Transition: A "Counterhedging" Strategy?

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# Non-traditional Security Issues

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Going Global: Economic Construction and the 'Opening Up' of China J.D. Kenneth Boutin, in *CANCAPS Bulletin* No. 29, 2001

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Human Security: East Versus West Amitav Acharya, in *International Journal* Vol. LVI No. 3, Summer 2001 Human Security in the Asia-Pacific: Puzzle, Panacea, or Peril? Amitav Acharya, co-author with Arabinda Acharya, in *CANCAPS Bulletin*, November 2000

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Melina Nathan, in *The 21st Century World Order and the Asia-Pacific*. New York: St. Martin's Press (forthcoming)

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Andrew Tan and J.D. Kenneth Boutin, eds. Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies / Select Publishing, 2001

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Security and Economics in Southeast Asia: A Regional Perspective Kwa Chong Guan, in *Arms Control in the Asia-Pacific Region*, edited by J.A. Larsen and T.D. Miller. Colorado: USAF Institute for National Security Studies/U.S. Air Force Academy, 1999

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The Trials and Tribulations of the Indonesian Economy in 2001 Leonard Sebastian, in *TDB International Day 2001*. Singapore: Singapore Trade Development Board, January 2001

# **Technology and Arms Control**

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The Information Revolution in Military Affairs in Singapore J.D. Kenneth Boutin, Working Paper. California: Joint Center for International and Security Studies (forthcoming in 2002)

Prospects for a Revolution in Military Affairs in Southeast Asia J.D. Kenneth Boutin, *IDSS Commentaries*, November 2001

States and Technology: Processes of Technological Globalisation and the Contemporary International System
J.D. Kenneth Boutin, IDSS Working Paper (forthcoming)

# **Military History**

"Bribing the Reds to Give Up": Rewards Policy in the Malayan Emergency Kumar Ramakrishna, in *War in History* (forthcoming in 2002)

Content, Credibility and Context: Propaganda, Government Surrender Policy and the Malayan Communist Terrorist Mass Surrenders of 1958 Kumar Ramakrishna, in *The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945-65*, edited by Richard J. Aldrich, Gary Rawnsley and Ming-Yeh Rawnsley. London: Frank Cass, 2000

Decision-making Leading to the Tet Offensive (1968) – The Vietnamese Communist Perspective
Ang Cheng Guan, in *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 33 No. 3, July 1998

Emergency Propaganda: The Winning of Malayan Hearts and Minds, 1948–1958 Kumar Ramakrishna. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001

Review of Karl Hack, Defence and Decolonisation in Southeast Asia: Britain, Malaya and Singapore 1941–1968. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001 Kumar Ramakrishna, in Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, October 2001

Khe Sanh – From the Perspective of the North Vietnamese Communists Ang Cheng Guan, in *War in History* Vol. 8 No. 1, January 2001

Review of Lawrence Freedman, ed., *War*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994 Kumar Ramakrishna, in *Pointer* Vol. 26 No. 2, April – June 2000

The Making of a Malayan Propagandist: The Communists, the British and C.C. Too Kumar Ramakrishna, in *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* Vol. LXXIII Part 1, 2000

Review of Michael Howard, *Clausewitz*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983 Kumar Ramakrishna, in *Pointer* Vol. 26 No. 3, July – September 2000

Sun Bin: The Art of War Ang Cheng Guan, in *Pointer* Vol. 22 No. 4, October – December 1996

"Transmogrifying Malaya": The Impact of Sir Gerald Templer Kumar Ramakrishna, in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* Vol. 32 No. 1, 2001 United States Defence Policy with Reference to East Asia Ang Cheng Guan, in *Pointer* Vol. 23 No. 4, October – December 1997

Vietnam: The Decision to Resume Armed Struggle in the South, Summer 1958 – Summer 1959 Ang Cheng Guan, in *War and Society* Vol. 15 No. 1, March 1997

The Vietnam War, 1962–1964: The Vietnamese Communist Perspective Ang Cheng Guan, in *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 35 No. 4, October 2000

Vietnamese Communists' Relations with China and the Second Indochina Conflict, 1956–1962 Ang Cheng Guan. Jefferson: McFarland, 1997

The Vietnam War from the Other Side: The Vietnamese Communists' Perspective Ang Cheng Guan. London: Curzon Press (forthcoming in 2002)

# **General History**

Defining Pre-Angkor Art: The Historiography of a Concept Kwa Chong Guan, in *New Discoveries in Art and Archaeology of Funan*, edited by James Khoo. Singapore: Singapore Ceramic Society (forthcoming)

Drawing Nature in the East Indies: Framing Farquhar's Natural History Drawings Kwa Chong Guan, in *The Farquhar Collection of Natural History Drawings*, edited by J. Bastin, et al. Singapore: Goh Geok Khim, 1999

From Melaka to Singapura: The Evolution of an Emporium Kwa Chong Guan, in *Port Cities and Trade in Western Southeast Asia*, edited by Withaya Sucharithanarugse, IAS Monograph 053. Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1998

Introduction: Approaches to the Singapore Story
Kwa Chong Guan, in *Singapore Story: A Learning Nation: A Select Bibliography*, edited by National Reference Library, 77ze. Singapore: National Library Board, 1998

Our Place in Time: Exploring Heritage and Memory in Singapore Kwa Chong Guan, co-editor. Singapore: Singapore Heritage Society, 1999

Oral History in Southeast Asia, Theory and Method Kwa Chong Guan, co-editor with P. Lim Pui Huen and James H. Morrison. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998

Remembering Ourselves Kwa Chong Guan, in *Our Place in Time: Exploring Heritage and Memory in Singapore*. Singapore: Singapore Heritage Society, 1999

Singapore in 1819: The Beginnings of a New Kerajaan Kwa Chong Guan, in *The Malay Muslim Community: 1819–1965, 146 Years of History.* Singapore: Association of Malay Professionals, Centre for Research on Islamic and Malay Affairs and Department of History, National University of Singapore (forthcoming)

Studying Singapore History before Raffles

Kwa Chong Guan, in RIMA Occasional paper Series 1–98 Malays / Muslims and the History of Singapore. Singapore: Centre for Research on Islamic & Malay Affairs, 1998

# **Conference Papers by Faculty and Research Staff**

Listed here are papers presented at conferences attended by faculty and research staff during their time at IDSS.

Aliran Politics and Indonesian Leadership

Leonard Sebastian, presented at the "Forum on Leadership in Asia" organised by Ericsson, held at the Sheraton Towers, Scotts Road, 29 August 2001

ASEAN Threat Perceptions of China

Melina Nathan, presented at "China Threat Conference" organised by Hong Kong Baptist University, 11–12 January 2001

Cambodianisation in World Politics

Amitav Acharya, prepared for the 10th Anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement, Phnom Penh, 22–23 October 2001

Changing Strategic Environment in Southeast Asia

Bhubhindar Singh, presented at the workshop on "Security Order in East Asia at the Beginning of the New Century", FY 2001 Defence Research Fellow Exchange Program between Southeast Asian countries and Japan

The Conservation of Kampung Glam: Government Plans and Public Response Kwa Chong Guan, for the Panel on "The Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites and Historic Districts" in the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Congress, Melaka, 1–7 July 1998

Constructing and Contesting Memory Sites in Postcolonial Singapore Kwa Chong Guan, presented at Singapore Heritage Society and NUS Department of History Workshop on "Spaces, Places and Memory in Contemporary Singapore", 10 November 2001

Critical Choices: Security and State Responses to Technological Globalisation in the U.S. and East Asia

J.D. Kenneth Boutin, presented at the Conference on Globalization and Security, Denver, Colorado, 9–11 November 2000

Deconstructing Difference: Negotiating Diversity in Regional Security Outlooks Tan See Seng, presented at the 16th CSCAP CSBM Working Group Meeting, Washington, DC, 29–31 October 2001

Democratisation in Southeast Asia: Reworking the Paradigm Kumar Ramakrishna, presented at the Workshop on "Security Order in East Asia at the Beginning of the New Century", organised by the National Institute of Defence Studies, Tokyo, 24–25 October 2000

Domestic Detereminants of Singapore's Security Policy Andrew Tan, presented at "Domestic Determinants of Security: Security Institutions and Policy-making Processes in the Asia-Pacific Region", Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Hawaii, U.S.A., 10–11 January 2001

Don't Mention the Conflicts: Inter-state Tensions Among the ASEAN States Andrew Tan, presented in "Alternative Perspectives on Southeast Asia", Perak Academy, Ipoh, Malaysia, 5–6 April 2001 (paper to be published in a forthcoming edited volume)

East Asia Post-Asian Financial Crisis: Globalisation or Regionalism? Melina Nathan, presented at the 21st Century Trust Fellowship Conference on "Asia-Pacific: Economics and Security Scenarios for 2020", Japan, 12–20 May 2000

Embedding East Timor Within a Southeast Asian Security Community Leonard Sebastian, presented at Experts Group Meeting on the "Security of East Timor in the Regional Context" organised by the Institute for International and Strategic Studies of Portugal (IEEI), Lisbon, 12–16 July 2001

The Emerging Synthesis Between Rationalist and Constructivist Theory: Ideas and Institution-Building in Asia-Pacific Amitav Acharya, prepared for the American Political Science Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, 29 August – 2 September, 2001

Force Modernisation Trends in Southeast Asia Andrew Tan, presented at "Conventional Arms Rivalry in the Asia-Pacific", Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Hawaii, U.S.A., 24–26 October 2001

The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia Terence Lee, presented at a conference on "The Future Direction of the Indonesian Armed Forces", Arlington, Virginia, 20 April 2001

The Future of the ASEAN Regional Forum Barry Desker, presented at the Asia-Pacific Security Forum 2001 Roundtable, 29–30 August 2001

Good Governance: Key Issues Confronting the Asia-Pacific Region Barry Desker and Sinderpal Singh, presented at the 15th Asia-Pacific Roundtable, 4–7 June 2001, Kuala Lumpur. (Included in a forthcoming volume to be published by the Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Kuala Lumpur) Commentary on Hans Maull, "The Record of the OSCE in Europe: Kosovo" Kumar Ramakrishna, presented at the Workshop on "Co-operative Security in Europe and its Relevance for the Asia-Pacific: The OSCE Experience", 31 May – 2 June 2000, Singapore

Identity Without Exceptionalism: Challenges for Asian Political and International Studies Amitav Acharya, presented to the Inaugural Workshop of the Asian Political and International Studies (APISA), 1–2 November, 2001, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

The Impact of Globalisation on Threat Perception: New Sources of Insecurity in Southeast Asia

Melina Nathan, presented at the Conference on "21st Century World Order and the Asia-Pacific", organised by the Centre for Asia-Pacific Studies, Lingnan University, Hong Kong, 7–8 April 2000

Indonesia and the Security of Southeast Asia

Leonard Sebastian, presented at the Fourth Japan-Singapore Symposium organised by the Institute of Policy Studies and the Association for Promotion of International Cooperation, Japan, held in Singapore, on 8–9 January 2001

Indonesia's Political Outlook

Leonard Sebastian, presented at the Indonesian Politics Seminar organised by the National University of Singapore Society, 4 May 2001

Intra-ASEAN Co-operation: An Impressionistic Stock-taking

Kwa Chong Guan, presented at ASEAN-ISIS, Myanmar-ISIS and Japan Centre for International Exchange Workshop on "ASEAN and Globalisation: Integrating New ASEAN Members into Asia-Pacific", Yangon, 31 October – 1 November 2000

Making Malaya Safe for Decolonisation: The Rural Chinese Factor in the Counterinsurgency Campaign

Kumar Ramakrishna, presented at the Conference on "Decolonisation and Transformation in Southeast Asia" organised by the National University of Singapore, the University of Toronto and the University of Cologne, 19–21 February 2001, Singapore

Multipolarity or Hegemony: Great Power Politics in Contemporary East Asia Tan See Seng, presented at the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Conference on "Security Policy: A German – Asian Dialogue", Berlin, 19–20 October 2001 Pacific Frameworks: Regional Organisations and Regional Issues Melina Nathan, presented at the Asia Foundation's "America's Role in Asia Project", Seoul, 18–20 February 2001

Regional Security and International Trade Kwa Chong Guan, Paper presented at the 1st ASEAN Government Legal Officers' Seminar, Singapore, 13–18 November 2000

The Relevance of the OSCE Experience to the Asia-Pacific Kwa Chong Guan, presented at CSCAP Workshop on "Co-operative Security in Europe and its Relevance for Asia-Pacific: The OSCE Experience", Singapore, 31 May – 2 June 2000

September 11 and its Impact on Indonesia Leonard Sebastian, presented at a seminar hosted by the Indonesian Business Association of Singapore (IBAS) and the Singapore Polytechnic Graduates Guild, Singapore, 29 November 2001

Southeast Asia as a Region in the 21st Century: The Long Cycles of History Kwa Chong Guan, presented at the IDSS Millennium Conference on "Security Challenges and Responses in the 21st Century, Singapore, 17–18 January 2000

Sultan Hussain's Legacy: An Archival Perspective Kwa Chong Guan, presented at the National Archives of Singapore 30th Anniversary Seminar on "The Role of Archives in the 21st Century", 4 May 1998

Telling Stories in Our Museums Kwa Chong Guan, presented at the National Heritage Board and Singapore Heritage Society's Dialogue on "Our Museums: Where are We Heading?", 7 November 1998; published in *The Sunday Times*, 15 Nov 1998

U.S.-ASEAN Relations Post-Asian Financial Crisis Melina Nathan, presented at Asia Foundation "America's Role in Asia Project", Bangkok, March 22–24, 2000

U.S. Missile Defence and its Strategic Implications for East Asia: A View From Singapore Tan See Seng, presented at the 15th CSCAP Steering Committee meeting, Kuala Lumpur, 3–4 June 2001

# Teaching Programmes

I DSS conducts a course leading to the degree of Master of Science in Strategic Studies which is awarded by the Nanyang Technological University. It is offered to people from the public and private sectors, including those from overseas. Besides this core academic programme, IDSS also teaches the module "International Relations of the Asia-Pacific" to NTU undergraduates offering the elective in the General Studies Unit.

The Institute is also contracted to teach geopolitics and regional security in various officer courses in the SAFTI Military Institute. It also teaches the subject in various courses conducted at the Foreign Affairs and Defence ministries.

# Master of Science in Strategic Studies

The Master of Science in Strategic Studies Programme was first offered in 1998 and is now into its fourth year with students from Australia, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, the United States and Vietnam. The consultant for the programme is Professor Lawrence Freedman who is the Professor and Chair of the Board of War Studies at King's College, London.

The programme aims to develop and nurture a community of strategic thinkers in Singapore who can appreciate real strategic issues in the Asia-Pacific and beyond. More specifically, it provides these professionals with an understanding of new security concepts and strategic theories, and the know-how and skills in strategic planning, design and policy analysis. Corporate planners, faced increasingly with the complexities of globalisation, will also benefit from the programme.

Candidates have to offer two core subjects, four electives, complete a dissertation of 10,000 words and, under the recently-revised curriculum, participate in a colloquium and a series of workshops on "Policy and Practice". The workshops and colloquium are categorised collectively as the Special Topic. They are designed to teach students negotiation skills, to handle the media and interviews, to write memorandums and policy papers, and to do risk assessment.



Dr. Michael Smith of King's College, London, with M.Sc. class of 1999/2000



Associate Professor Ang Cheng Guan, Head of Studies, with M.Sc. class of 2001/2002

#### TEACHING

The revised curriculum for Academic Year 2002/2003 is as follows.

#### **Core Subjects**

The Analysis of Defence / Security Policies

The Evolution of Strategic Thought

#### Special Topic

Colloquium on "The Emerging Global Order: Security and Defence Issues in the Post-Cold War Era" and a series of workshops on "Policy and Practice"

#### **Electives**

Management of Defence Technology Foreign Policy and Security Issues in Southeast Asia Revolution in Military Affairs Economics and Security Government and Politics of Southeast

Asia
Government and Politics of Northeast

Asia
The Study of War
Selected Topics in Strategic Studies
The Study of International Relations
International Political Economy
Critical Security Studies
International Relations of Northeast
Asia

International Relations of South Asia Multilateralism

# Electives Offered by the Nanyang Business School

Strategy Formulation Strategy Implementation Competitive Strategy Seminar in Strategic Management



The M.Sc. Class of 1998/1999



The M.Sc. Class of 1999/2000



The M.Sc. Class of 2000/2001 with Professor Amitav Acharya (centre)



The ongoing M.Sc. Class of 2001/2002

# **New Master's and Doctor of Philosophy Programmes**

The role of IDSS in the field of teaching will be enhanced when several new programmes are introduced in Academic Year 2002/2003. These are a Doctoral and a Master's programme in International Relations, and a Doctoral programme in Strategic Studies. These new programmes will help to meet the region's growing demand for policymakers, analysts and academics well-versed in current trends in strategic studies and exposed to cutting edge research in international relations with an Asia-Pacific focus.

# Master of Science in International Relations

As in the Master of Science in Strategic Studies, candidates have to offer two core subjects and four electives, complete a dissertation of 10,000 words and successfully complete the Special Topic.

### Core Subjects

The Study of International Relations International Political Economy

# Special Topic

As in the Master of Science in Strategic Studies Programme

#### **Electives**

Critical Security Studies
International Relations of Northeast Asia
International Relations of South Asia
Multilateralism
Selected Topics in International Relations
Management of Defence Technology
Foreign Policy and Security Issues in Southeast Asia
The Analysis of Defence/Security Policies
Revolution in Military Affairs
Economics and Security
Government and Politics of Southeast Asia
The Evolution of Strategic Thought
Government and Politics of Northeast Asia
The Study of War

## Electives Offered by the Nanyang Business School

As in the Master of Science in Strategic Studies Programme

## Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

The research areas under these programmes are either Strategic Studies or International Relations. These can be done either full-time or part-time, within a minimum of twenty-four months or a maximum of sixty months.

Full-time candidates must offer one enrichment subject, three specialisation subjects to be selected from the Master of Science in Strategic Studies and the Master of Science in International Relations programmes and attend six seminars. Part-time candidates must offer one enrichment subject, three specialisation subjects to be selected from the Master of Science in Strategic Studies and Master of Science in International Relations programmes.

The thesis, to be written in English, must contain original work or critical interpretation worthy of publication. The length of the thesis should not exceed 80,000 words (including footnotes but excluding appendices, bibliography, maps, charts, statistical tables, graphs, illustrations, etc.) It must be submitted within sixty months of the date of the student's admission as a candidate for the degree.

The candidate, after submitting his thesis, must present himself for an oral examination on the subject matter of the thesis and related subjects.

#### Elective in NTU's General Studies Unit

General Studies is the group of multi-disciplinary subjects that is offered to NTU's undergraduate students as a set of General Electives. Students may select freely from the list of subjects to complement and supplement the academic studies in their respective disciplines. The philosophy of General Studies is to enrich and to broaden the intellectual growth and cultural development of the undergraduates beyond their immediate disciplines. IDSS provides one of the electives, "The International Relations of the Asia-Pacific". This is an introductory course on the international relations of the Asia-Pacific in the Cold War and the post-Cold War periods. The course provides students with a basic understanding of the contemporary issues and debates affecting the region.

# **Non-academic Programmes**

IDSS also teaches the geopolitics and regional security components in various courses conducted by the SAFTI Military Institute, the SAF Warrant Officers' School (SAFWOS) and the Ministry of Defence (MINDEF). These courses are listed as follows.

- Command and Staff Course (SAFTI)
- Tri-Service Staff Course (SAFTI)
- Senior Leadership Programme (SAFWOS)
- Advanced Leadership Programme (SAFWOS)
- Middle Management Staff Course (MINDEF)
- Staff Foundation Course (MINDEF)

In addition, staff of IDSS also assist SAFTI's Military History Branch in the teaching of Military History in the following courses at the Military Institute and at SAFWOS.

- Command and Staff Course (SAFTI)
- Tri-Service Staff Course (SAFTI)
- Officer Cadet Course (SAFTI)
- Warrant Officers' Course (SAFWOS)

Lastly, IDSS also provides a week-long Foreign Service Advanced Programme for the training of officers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs assessed to have the potential to be Directors or Heads of Missions.



Dr. Kumar Ramakrishna giving a lecture to students of the Tri-Service Staff Course in the SAFTI Military Institute

# IDSS Activities in the Council for Security Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific Singapore National Committee

I DSS took over the Secretariat for the Singapore National Committee of the Council for Security Co-operation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) in early 1998. Mr. S.R. Nathan assumed Co-chairmanship of CSCAP-Singapore in November 1996 together with Mr. C.G. Kwa. Mr. Nathan was succeeded by Professor Khong Yuen Foong (1999) and Mr. Barry Desker (2000 to present).

### Members of the Executive Committee of CSCAP-Singapore

Professor Tommy Koh

Director, Institute of Policy Studies

Professor Chia Siow Yue

Director, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

Professor John Wong

Director of Research, East Asian Institute

Mr. Vanu Gopala Menon

Director, Directorate 1, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

COL Gary Ang

Director, Defence Policy Office, Ministry of Defence

Mr. Simon Tay

Chairman, Singapore Institute of International Affairs

Associate Professor Lee Lai To

Head, Department of Political Science, National University of Singapore

Associate Professor Hank Lim

Economics Department, National University of Singapore

Mr. R. Ravindran

Deputy Chairman, GPC for Defence & Foreign Affairs and MP for Bukit Timah GRC

Mr. Jeffrey Wong

Director, Joint Operations Division, Ministry of Home Affairs

Mr. S. Tiwari

Head, International Affairs Division, Attorney-General Chambers

The CSCAP Secretariat co-ordinated by IDSS has worked to increase Singapore's participation in CSCAP in the past five years. In late May 1997, CSCAP-Singapore organised the first General Meeting of the Council which brought together a number of senior officials of CSCAP Member Committees together with three Deputy Foreign Ministers.

The Working Group on Confidence and Security Building Measures which CSCAP-Singapore co-chairs with U.S.-CSCAP and CSCAP-Korea is one of the more active Working Groups in the Council. Since its inception, the Group has met 14 times and put forward recommendations and proposals for the drafting of defence policy papers as a confidence and security building measure, the feasibility of an arms register



Mr. Simon Tay (left), Chairman of the Singapore Institute of International Affairs, a participant at the CSCAP Workshop on "Preventive Diplomacy", 2–5 April 2000



Two of the Chinese delegates to the CSCAP Workshop on "Preventive Diplomacy", Mr. Ding Kuisong (left) and Maj-Gen (Ret) Pan Zhenqiang

in the region and especially on how to progress preventive diplomacy in the ASEAN Regional Forum. In February 1999 and April 2000, the Working Group, with the support of the United States Institute of Peace, conducted well-received workshops on Preventive Diplomacy which included a simulation game that enabled participants to experience preventive diplomacy in practice. The workshops were conducted immediately prior to meetings of the ARF Inter-sessional Support Group meetings on Confidence Building Measures to enable senior officials to join the workshops. A sub-group

#### NETWORKING

bringing together a group of nuclear energy experts has successfully established a CSCAP Asia-Pacific Nuclear Energy Transparency Website. This website was developed on the belief that greater transparency and increased awareness of each others' nuclear programmes would enhance confidence and security about each other's nuclear capabilities.

The IDSS has, together with the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies of the Australian National University, compiled and published the key papers and statement CSCAP has drafted on preventive diplomacy in a volume *The Next Stage: Preventive Diplomacy and Security Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific Region* edited by Desmond Ball and Amitav Acharya in 1999.

CSCAP-Singapore has also actively participated in the meetings of the other Working Groups of CSCAP on Comprehensive and Co-operative Security, Maritime Co-operation and on Trans-national Crime. More recently, CSCAP-Singapore started participating in meetings of the North Pacific Working Group.

In June 2000 IDSS Director, Mr. Barry Desker, as Co-chair of CSCAP-Singapore, was elected to Co-chair of CSCAP with Professor Desmond Ball from CSCAP-Australia. Mr. Desker will hold the Co-chair for two years to 2002.

IDSS looks forward to working with CSCAP to promote security co-operation in the region.

# **Conferences and Workshops**

I DSS routinely organises conferences and workshops involving the participation of eminent scholars and officials, both foreign and local, to discuss or brainstorm issues relevant to peace and security in the region. The conferences and workshops organised to date are listed below. Of these, the Asia-Pacific 'Summer Camp' for Senior Military Officers is a recurring annual event.

Mr. Kwa Chong
Guan, Head of
External
Programmes
(second from
left), on a panel
at the ARF Track
II Conference on
"Preventive
Diplomacy", 9—
11 September
1997

# ARF TRACK II CONFERENCE ON PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY

Hosted by IDSS, Singapore and IISS, London



Participants at the CSCAP Workshop on "Co-operative Security in Europe and Its Relevance for Asia Pacific: The OSCE Experience", 31 May – 2 June 2000



- ARF Track II Conference on "Preventive Diplomacy", 9– 11 September 1997
- 2. Seminar on "The Future of the ARF", 27–28 April 1998
- 3. IDSS 'Summer School' for Senior Military Officers from the Asia Pacific, 2–10 August 1999
- 4. Millennium Conference on "Security Challenges and Responses in the 21st Century", 17–18 January 2000
- 5. USIP-IDSS Experts' Workshop on "The United States and Southeast Asia: Towards a Common Agenda for Preserving Peace", 1–2 April 2000
- 6. Council for Security Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) Working Group on CSBMs Workshop on "Preventive Diplomacy", 2–5 April 2000
- 7. Council for Security Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific Workshop on "Co-operative Security in Europe and Its Relevance for Asia-Pacific: The OSCE Experience", 31 May 2 June 2000
- 8. Ford-IDSS Research Programme on "Non-traditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia", 9–10 March 2000
- 9. IDSS 'Summer Camp' for Senior Military Officers from the Asia-Pacific, 1–5 August 2000

#### NETWORKING

- 10. Ford-IDSS Research Programme on "Non-traditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia" (Final Conference), 20–22 September 2000
- 11. Group Discussion with H.E. Dr. Shri K. R. Narayanan, President of India, 10 November 2000
- 12. Roundtable briefing with United States' Congressmen, 30 November 2000 (jointly organised with the Singapore International Foundation and the International Management and Development Institute
- 13. IDSS-CSIS Dialogue on "Trends in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific", 21 May 2001
- 14. IDSS-SIIA Bilateral Exchange with China Institute for International Strategic Studies on "Regional Outlook and Regional Policies", 16–19 July 2001
- 15. Workshop for Regional Military Officers and Analysts on "Non-traditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia", 26–27 July 2001
- 16. IDSS Asia-Pacific 'Summer Camp' for Senior Military Officers, 6–12 August 2001
- 17. IDSS-CICIR Dialogue on "New Challenges and Changes in the Asia-Pacific: Developments in China's Relations with Other Asian Nations and Prospects for ASEAN and ARF", 8 October 2001
- 18. Conference on Non-traditional Security Issues in Asia, "Asian Security in the 21st Century Globalisation, Environment and Governance", 9–11 October 2001 (jointly organised with the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Sri Lanka, and the United Nations University, Tokyo)
- 19. IDSS-Sasakawa Peace Foundation Workshop on "Evolving Approaches to Security Co-operation in East Asia", 28 November 2001



The SAF's Chief of Defence Force, Lieut-Gen Lim Chuan Poh, with some of the participants of the 3rd Asia-Pacific 'Summer Camp' for Senior Military Officers, 6–12 August 2001



The three project directors of the Ford Project on Non-traditional Security Issues in Asia (from left), Maj-Gen (Ret) Dipanker Banerjee, Mr. Barry Desker, and Professor Ramesh Thakur

# **Lectures and Talks**

DSS frequently organises public lectures and colloquia which are attended by a broad cross-section of the public including policymakers, foreign diplomats, civil servants, journalists, businessmen, and students. The lectures and colloquia organised to date are listed below under the following categories.

- Strategic Challenges in the Asia-Pacific Distinguished Lecture Series
- Strategic Trends in the 21st Century Colloquium Series
- Distinguished Public Lecture Series
- Developments in Indonesia Public Lecture Series
- Joint Public Lectures

## Strategic Challenges in the Asia-Pacific Distinguished **Lecture Series**



Secretary for Defence, U.S.A., giving the inaugural lecture under the Strategic Challenges in the Asia-Pacific Distinguished Lecture Series on 21 November 1997



.. LUIC CH H.E. General Chi DISTING Haotian, Vice "CHINAS I Chairman of the CMC 中国 ( and State Councillor IS EXCELLED and Minister of National Defence of the P.R.C., giving a lecture under the Strategic Challenges in the Asia-Pacific Distinguished Lecture Series on 27 November

- H.E. William S. Cohen, Secretary for Defence, U.S.A., on "Continuity, Change and Commitment: America's Asia-Pacific Security Strategy", 21 November 1997
- H.E. Max Bradford, New Zealand Defence Minister, on "Our Future Security: Challenges and Opportunities for New Zealand and Singapore", 2 October 1998
- H.E. General Chi Haotian, Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission and State Councillor and Minister of National Defence of the P.R.C., on "China's Defence Policy", 27 November 1998
- H.E. Alain Richard, Minister of Defence, France, on "French Defence, European Defence Policy and Their Implications in Asia-Pacific", 24 February 1999
- The Right Honourable Geoffrey Hoon, Secretary of State for Defence, United Kingdom, on "British Defence Diplomacy in the 21st Century", 28 February 2001

# Strategic Trends in the 21st Century Colloquium Series

Professor Ezra Vogel, Henry Ford Professor of the Social Sciences, Harvard University, on "The Strategic Environment of East Asia: Prospects for Co-operation and Conflict", 17 August 1998

#### NETWORKING

- 2. Professor Joseph S. Nye, Dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, on "The Information Revolution and Relations Among Nations", 7 January 1999
- 3. Professor Stephen M. Walt, Harvard University, S. Rajaratnam Professor in Strategic Studies, on "Violent Conflicts in the 21st Century", 20 January 2000
- 4. Professor Eliot A. Cohen, Professor and Director of Strategic Studies, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, on "Problems of Civil-Military Relations in the 21st Century", 9 January 2001
- Professor Jack L. Snyder, S. Rajaratnam Professor Strategic Studies, IDSS, Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Relations, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, on "Democratisation and Ethnic Relations", 2 August 2001







Some of the distinguished scholars who have addressed IDSS Strategic Trends in the 21st Century Colloquium Series (from left), Professor Ezra Vogel (17 August 1998), Professor Joseph Nye (7 January 1999) and Professor Eliot Cohen (9 January 2001)

# **Distinguished Public Lecture Series**

- H.E. Alexander Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Australia, on "Australia and the Region: The East Asian Crisis – Challenges and Opportunity", 23 February 1999
- 2. Admiral Dennis C. Blair, Commanderin-Chief, U.S. Pacific Command, on "Collective Responsibilities for Security in the Asia-Pacific Region", 22 May 1999



H.E. Jaswant Singh, Minister of External Affairs, India, giving a lecture under the Distinguished Public Lecture Series on 2 June 2000

3. H.E. Jaswant Singh, Minister of External Affairs, India, on "India and ASEAN: Security Paradigm for A.D. 2000", 2 June 2000

- 4. H.E. Amre Moussa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt, on "The Middle East in a Changing World: An Egyptian Perspective", 30 June 2000
- 5. H.E. Surakiart Sathirathai, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Thailand, on "Towards an Asia Co-operation Dialogue", 17 July 2001

# **Developments in Indonesia Public Lecture Series**







Some of the prominent Indonesian leaders who have given lectures at the Developments in Indonesia Public Lecture Series (from left), Dr. Amien Rais, Ms. Megawati Soekarnoputri (presently President of Indonesia), Mr. Abdurrahman Wahid (former President of Indonesia), Dr. Marzuki Darusman, Dr. Alwi Shihab, and Mr. Akbar Tandjung







- 1. Dr. Amien Rais, General Chairman, The National Mandate Party, Indonesia, on "Indonesia today: Prospects for the Future", 26 January 1999
- 2. Ms. Megawati Soekarnoputri, General Chairman, Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan (PDI-P), on "Developments in Indonesia", 15 March 1999
- 3. Mr. Abdurrahman Wahid, General Chairman, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), on "Developments in Indonesia", 24 March 1999
- 4. Dr. Marzuki Darusman, S.H., Deputy Chairperson, GOLKAR, on "The Promise and Dangers of Democracy in Indonesia", 24 April 1999
- 5. H.E. Dr. Alwi Shihab, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Indonesia's Internal Development and Regional Stability", 11 August 2000

- 6. H.E. Akbar Tandjung, Speaker, House of Representatives, Indonesia, on "The Indonesian Parliament in the Era of Reformation", 18 September 2000
- 7. Dr. Marzuki Darusman, Attorney-General, Republic of Indonesia, on "Legal Reforms and Political Developments in Indonesia", 15 December 2000
- 8. Professor Dr. Yusril Ihza Mahendra, Chairman, Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB) and Dr. Hafid Abbas, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, Republic of Indonesia, on "Recent Political Developments in Indonesia", 2 March 2001
- 9. Professor Dr. Widjojo Nitisastro, Economic Advisor to the Government, Republic of Indonesia, on "The Future of Regional Co-operation: Prospects of ASEAN and Indonesia's Role", 18 October 2001

#### **Joint Public Lectures**

- Dr. David Dickens, Director, Centre for Strategic Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, on "Diplomatic Role of the Military", 29 October 1999 (jointly organised with the Singapore Institute of International Affairs)
- 2. Professor Adam Roberts, Montague Burton Professor of International Relations and Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford University, on "Humanitarian Intervention in the 21st Century", 14 February 2000 (jointly organised with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
- 3. Professor Francis Fukuyama, Omer L. and Nancy First Professor of Public Policy and Director, International Commerce and Policy Programme, Institute of Public Policy, George Mason University, on "The Social and Political Implications of the Transition to an Information Society", 20 July 2000 (jointly organised with the Institute of Policy Studies)
- 4. H.E. Dr. Javier Solana, Secretary-General of the Council of the European Union and High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, on "Future Relations Between the European Union and Asia", 26 July 2000 (jointly organised with the Asia-Europe Foundation)
- 5. Dr. Tan See Seng, Assistant Professor, IDSS, Dr. Derek da Cunha, Senior Fellow, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and Dr. K.S. Nathan, Senior Fellow, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, on "Regional Political and Security Implications of the Terror Attacks in the United States", 9 October 2001 (jointly organised with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies)
- 6. Dr. Surin Pitsuwan, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand, on "Strategic Challenges Facing Islam in Southeast Asia", 5 November 2001 (jointly organised with the Centre for Contemporary Islamic Studies)

# **Seminars and Roundtables**

Seminars and roundtables are held frequently within IDSS on a wide variety of topics related to security, geopolitics and international relations. Speakers have included academics, political leaders, analysts, and diplomats. Seminars and roundtables are held in a congenial atmosphere to facilitate a free exchange of views. Listed below are the seminars and roundtables held in IDSS to date.

## 1997

- Professor Baladas Ghoshal, Professor of Southeast Asia and Southwest Pacific Studies and former Chairman, Centre for South, Central, Southeast Asia and Southwest Pacific Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India, on "India and Southeast Asia in the Coming Millennium", 10 June 1997
- 2. Professor Efraim Inbar, Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, on "Recent Developments in the Middle East, Viewed from Israel's National Security Perspective", 21 August 1997
- 3. Dr. Jerrold D. Green, Associate Chairman of the Research Staff, Management Department and Director of the Centre for Middle East Public Policy at RAND, on "Developments in Iran and Their Implications for International Security", 12 September 1997

Mr. Harri Holkeri, President of the UN General Assembly (left), signing the Visitors' Book prior to the Roundtable Discussion at IDSS on 11 January 2001



4. Admiral (Retd.) Jean Betermier, Special Advisor to the Aerospatiale Chairman and Advisor to the President of the Armament College in Paris, on "What Contribution France Could Bring to Singapore (or ASEAN) in the Matter of Security", 5 December 1997

# 1998

 Mr. Graham Fuller, Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation, on "Islam and U.S. Foreign Policy with a Focus on the Geopolitics of Iran and Iraq", 5 March 1998

#### NETWORKING

- Professor Alfred Balitzer, Professor at Claremont McKenna College and Claremont Graduate School, on "U.S. Attitudes Towards Asia Especially Attitudes About the Troubled Economics and the Role of the U.S. in Assisting Those Countries", 27 March 1998
- 3. Dr. Rukmantoro Hadi Sumukti, Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "The Indonesian Congressional Sessions: Before, During and After", 27 March 1998
- 4. Professor Baladas Ghoshal, Professor of Southeast Asia and Southwest Pacific Studies and former Chairman, Centre for South, Central, Southeast Asia and Southwest Pacific Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India, on "Impressions of Recent Developments in Indonesia and What Events If Any are Expected to Unfold Hereafter", 16 April 1998
- 5. Dr. Michael Pillsbury, Research Fellow, National Defence University, Washington D.C., on "Net Assessment", 29 April 1998
- Dr. Rukmantoro Hadi Sumukti, Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "The High Price for Procrastinating: Scenarios on How the 1997–98 Indonesian Crises Could End", 29 May 1998
- 7. Professor Arthur Waldron, Director of Asian Studies, American Enterprise Institute, on "China's Changing Strategic Relationship with Southeast Asia", 19 June 1998
- 8. Mr. Masahiro Akiyama, Administrative Vice-Minister of Defense Agency, Japan, on "The Regional Security of the Asia-Pacific and Japan's Defense Policy", 6 July 1998
- 9. Mr. Irman Gurmilang Lanti, Head of Research Department, Centre for Information and Development Studies (CIDES), Jakarta, Indonesia, on "Developments in Indonesia and How Post-Suharto Indonesia will Evolve", 9 July 1998
- 10. Mr. Nicholas Khoo, Visiting Research Associate, IDSS, on "Maintaining U.S. Primacy in the Post-Cold War Era: Implications for Sino-U.S. Relations", 3 August 1998
- 11. Mr. Irman Gurmilang Lanti, Head of Research Department, Centre for Information and Development Studies (CIDES), Jakarta, Indonesia, on "Developments in Indonesia and How Post-Suharto Indonesia will Evolve", 6 August 1998
- 12. Ambassador Yasushi Akashi, former U.N. Under-Secretary General, on "Regional Security and Preventive Diplomacy", 14 August 1998
- 13. Maj-Gen (Retd.) David Ivry, Principal Assistant for Strategic Affairs, Ministry of Defence, Israel, on "Defence of Small States: Threats and Challenges in the 21st Century", 18 August 1998

- 14. Mr. Jusuf Wanandi, Chairman, Supervisory Board, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, on "A Perspective on Current Developments in Indonesia", 24 August 1998
- 15. Professor Desmond Ball, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra, on "Multilateral Security Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects and Possibilities", 31 August 1998
- 16. Dr. Rukmantoro Hadi Sumukti, Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Indonesia under Habibie: His First Four-Monthly Performance", 18 September 1998
- 17. Professor Khoo Kay Kim, University of Malaya, on "Developments in Malaysia", 3 October 1998
- 18. Associate Professor Amitav Acharya, Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Engaging China Through the ASEAN Regional Forum: Expectations vs. Evidence", 16 October 1998
- 19. Dr. Khong Cho Oon, Senior Analyst at Shell International Ltd., United Kingdom, on "Current Trends in the Asian Region", 27 October 1998
- 20. Maj-Gen (Retd.) Dipankar Banerjee, AVSM, Co-director, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, on "India's Views of Asia-Pacific Security", 18 November 1998
- Mr. Lim Kian Tick, Researcher, Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia, on "Regionalism in Malaysia's Foreign Policy: State Building, Regional Organisations and the Continuing Malay Dilemma", 19 November 1998
- 22. Mr. William Church, Managing Director, Centre for Infrastructural Warfare Studies, San Francisco, U.S.A., on "The Revolution in Military Affairs and Information Warfare/Operations: Implications for Singapore and the Region", 20 November 1998
- 23. Mr. Laksamana Sukardi, CEO, REFORM Consulting Group and a Board Member of PT Dunlop Slazenger, Indonesia, on "Impact of the recent Economic and Political Developments on Singapore-Indonesia Bilateral Relations", 4 December 1998
- Mr. Moh Jumhur Hidayat, Executive Director of Centre for Information and Development Studies, Indonesia, on "Guarding the Reform Agenda to Build Indonesia Anew", 11 December 1998

### 1999

- 1. Professor James Cotton, Head, School of Politics, UNSW College, Australian Defence Force Academy, Australia, on "Australia's Changing Conceptions of Regional Security", 11 January 1999
- 2. Professor Alfred Balitzer, Professor at Claremont McKenna College and the Claremont Graduate School, on "Impact of Changing Demographics on the Future of American Politics and America's Role in the Asia-Pacific", 12 January 1999
- 3. Dr. Andrew Tan, Lecturer and Head of Business Communication, Insearch Institute of Commerce, University of Technology, Sydney, Australia, on "Problems and Prospects for Malaysia-Singapore Relations", 11 February 1999
- 4. Professor Barry Buzan, Research Professor of International Studies at the University of Westminster, on "An Emerging Regional Security Complex in East Asia", 22 February 1999
- 5. Professor Desmond Ball, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra, on "Economics and Security in Asia", 10 March 1999
- 6. Professor Mohammed Ayoob, Professor, Michigan State University, on "Regional Security in the 21st Century: From System to Society", 30 March 1999
- 7. Ambassador Mushahid Ali, Singapore Ambassador to Cambodia, on "Developments in Cambodia", 6 April 1999
- 8. Professor Selo Soemardjan, Professor of Sociology, Universitas Indonesia, Expert staff member to the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, Chairman to the (Indonesia) Social Science Foundation, on "Indonesia Today", 19 April 1999
- 9. Professor June Tsunekawa, Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Asian Currency Crisis and Its Impact on Security", 21 April 1999
- 10. Rear Admiral Michael A. McDevitt, Senior Fellow, Center for Naval Analyses, CNA, on "U.S. Perception of Asian Security in the 21st Century", 5 May 1999
- 11. LG Bambang Yudhoyono, Chief of Territorial Affairs, Indonesian Armed Forces, on "Redefining, Repositioning and Re-actualising ABRI", 17 May 1999
- 12. H.E. Rodolfo C. Severino Jr., Secretary-General, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, on "ASEAN: The Imperatives of Regionalism", 24 May 1999

- 13. Professor Brian L. Job, Director, Institute of International Relations, University of British Columbia, on "Northeast Asia: Is There Hope for Co-operation?", 25 May 1999
- 14. Dr. Rukmantoro Hadi Sumukti, Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Campaign Issues in June Election", 26 May 1999
- 15. Dr. Sharon Siddique, Director, Sreekumar Siddique & Co., on "Indonesia's Political Direction", 27 May 1999
- 16. Dr. Kenneth W. Allen, Senior Associate, The Henry L. Stimson Centre, U.S.A., on "China's Foreign Military Relations Programme", 1 June 1999
- 17. Ms. Ann Marie Murphy, Lecturer, Columbia University, on "Domestic Politics and Regional Co-operation: The Case of ASEAN", 11 June 1999
- 18. Ms. Mary Lou Schram, International Foundation for Electoral Studies, Dr. Rukmantoro Sumukti and Ms. Melina Nathan, IDSS, on "The Indonesian Elections", 15 June 1999
- Dr. Rukmantoro Hadi Sumukti, Visiting Research Fellow and Ms. Melina Nathan, Associate Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Observations on the Indonesian Elections", 29 June 1999
- Professor David Elliot, H. Russell Smith Professor of International Relations, Pomona College, California, on "Vietnamese Conceptions of Security: Old Lessons and New Challenges", 8 July 1999
- 21. Professor Khoo Kay Kim, Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Malaysia's Foreign Relations Since 1981", 20 July 1999
- 22. Mr. John Bolton, Senior Vice-President, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, on "American Foreign Policy and the Issue of Kosovo", 30 July 1999
- 23. Professor Michael Leifer, Director, Asia Research Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science, on "Deciphering the International Relations of the Asia Pacific", 11 August 1999
- 24. Professor Baladas Ghoshal, Strategic and Security Studies Unit, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, on "Recent Trends in Indonesia", 30 August 1999
- 25. Professor Gerald M. Steinberg, Department of Political Studies, Bar-IIan University, Israel, on "Re-examining Israel's Security Doctrine", 31 August 1999

- 26. Professor Raj Vasil, Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University, Wellington, on "Reconciling Democracy with National Development: Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore", 6 September 1999
- 27. Professor Yitzhak Shichor, Academic Head, Tel-Hai Academic College, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, on "China-Israel Military Relations: Prospects for the 21st Century", 15 September 1999
- 28. Ms. Evelyn Goh, Ph.D. candidate, Oxford University, Visiting Associate Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Making a Friend Out of an Enemy: Constructing the U.S. Rapprochement with China, 1961-1974", 18 September 1999
- 29. Professor David Shambaugh, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, Director of China Policy Program, George Washington University, on "China's Military: Real or Paper Tiger?", 20 October 1999
- 30. Associate Professor William Tow, Department of Government, University of Queensland, on "Future Prospects for Australia-Indonesia Relations", 10 November 1999
- 31. Dr. Soedradjad Djiwandono, Former Central Bank Governor, Indonesia, on "Economic Prospects for Indonesia", 18 November 1999
- 32. Dr. Kamal Kharrazi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Islamic Republic of Iran, on "Iranian Foreign Policy in the Third Millennium and Security Issues in the Persian Gulf and Central Asia", 19 November 1999
- 33. Mr. Tan Puay Seng, Intern, IDSS, on "A Revolution in Southeast Asia's Military Affairs", 25 November 1999
- 34. Dr. Ariffin Omar, Associate Professor, School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia, on "Reflections on the Result of the 1999 Malaysian General Elections", 8 December 1999
- 35. Professor Etel Solingen, Professor of Political Science, University of California, Irvine, on "Domestic Coalitions and Regional Co-operation in ASEAN", 13 December 1999

# 2000

1. Professor Rosemary Foot, International Relations and Swire Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford University, on "Rights Beyond Borders: The Global Community and the Struggle over Human Rights in China", 4 January 2000

- Dr. Russell Ong, Telecom Finance/Satellite Finance, on "China's Future Strategic Orientation", 6 January 2000
- 3. Mr. Martin K. Andrew, Royal Australian Air Force Staff College, Australian Joint Warfare Establishment, on "The NATO Air Campaign Over Kosovo and the Chinese Military Strategy of Withholding Forces", 28 January 2000
- 4. H.E. Takakazu Kuriyama, former Ambassador and Visiting Professor, Waseda University, on "In Search of a New Security Order in East Asia: A Japanese Perspective", 16 February 2000
- 5. Professor Philip E. Tetlock, The Harold E. Burtt Professor of Psychology and Political Science, Ohio State University, on "Preconceptions and Theory-Driven Reasoning in Political Forecasting", 27 March 2000
- 6. Professor Stephen D. Krasner, Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations, Stanford University, on "How Constraining are the Rules of Sovereignty?", 28 March 2000
- 7. Dr. Rizal Sukma, Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Islam in Indonesia's Foreign Policy", 14 April 2000
- 8. Ambassador Robert D. Blackwill, Belfer Lecturer in International Security, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, on "Nine Geopolitical Trends that will Shape the International System in the Next Decade", 10 May 2000
- 9. Professor Peter J. Katzenstein, Walter S. Carpenter, Jr. Professor of International Studies, Cornell University, on "Asian Vulnerabilities in an Era of Globalisation", 8 June 2000
- Associate Professor Ashutosh Varshney, Government and International Studies, University of Notre Dame and Fellow of the Kroc and Kellogg Institutes, on "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond", 12 July 2000
- 11. Dr. Paul Robinson, President of Sandia Corporation and Director of Sandia National Laboratories, U.S.A., on "Nuclear Arms Control: Today and Tomorrow", 21 July 2000
- 12. Professor Baladas Ghoshal, Visiting Professor, Department of International and Strategic Studies, University of Malaya on "Indonesia and a Million Little Mutinies: The Birth Pang of a Transition", 31 August 2000
- 13. Tan Sri Dato Abdullah Ahmad, Executive Director, New Straits Times Press (Malaysia) Berhad and Chairman of the Editorial Committee on "Issues in Malaysian Politics 2000", 8 September 2000

#### NETWORKING

- 14. Mr. Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, Director for Strategic Affairs, Ministry of National Defence, France, on "Build-up of European Defence Identity", 11 September 2000
- 15. Professor Nehemia Levtzion, Chairman, Planning and Budgeting Committee, The Council for Higher Education and President of the Israel Oriental Society on "Islam and Politics: Lessons from the Past", 26 September 2000
- 16. Mr. Sichan Siv, Senior Adviser, International Republican Institute, on "U.S. Presidential Transitions", 24 November 2000

## 2001

- 1. Roundtable Discussion with Mr. Harri Holkeri, President of the 55th United Nations General Assembly, on "Emerging Challenges for the United Nations", 11 January 2001
- 2. Mr. Terence Lee, Associate Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Explaining Indonesia's Relations During the New Order Period", 1 February 2001
- 3. Dr. Natasha Hamilton-Hart, Assistant Professor, Southeast Asian Studies Programme, National University of Singapore, on "Anti-Corruption Strategies in Indonesia", 2 February 2001
- 4. Professor Dr. Zakaria Hj. Ahmad, Strategic and Security Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, on "Malaysian Strategic Perspective", 15 February 2001
- 5. Mr. Indraneel Datta, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Jakarta, Visiting Research Associate, IDSS, on "Decentralisation and Regional Autonomy in Indonesia", 1 March 2001
- 6. Dr. John Funston, Senior Fellow, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, on "Malaysia 2000", 5 March 2001
- 7. Dr. Aung Myoe, University of Mandalay, Myanmar, Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "The Armed Forces and Politics of Myanmar", 15 March 2001
- 8. Dr. Kumar Ramakrishna, Assistant Professor, IDSS, on "Rural Chinese Factor in the Malayan Emergency", 5 April 2001
- 9. Professor Khong Yuen Foong, Senior Research Advisor, IDSS, on "Will America Fight over Taiwan?", 19 April 2001
- 10. Professor Peter Van Ness, Visiting Fellow, Contemporary China Centre, Australia, on "Missile Defence: Implications for China and Japan", 20 April 2001

- 11. Mr. Irvin Lim, M.Sc. student (2000–01), IDSS, on "From Parallax Error to Collision Course How the U.S. Stumbles into Another Cold War", 3 May 2001
- 12. Mr. Norman Vasu, Ph.D. candidate, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, Intern, IDSS, on "Locating Diaspora: Balancing Roots and Routes", 17 May 2001
- 13. Professor Ryaas Rasyid, Senior Visiting Fellow, IDSS, on "An Update on Political Developments in Indonesia", 1 June 2001
- 14. Professor John Endicott, Retired Colonel of the United States Air Force and former Director of the Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, on "Improving the Climate for Co-operative Security Through Track II Endeavours the Notions of a Limited Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in North East Asia", 8 June 2001
- 15. Dr. Anthony Alexander Loh, John M. Olin Fellow in International Security, Yale University, on "Principles, Pitfalls and Promises in the Study of U.S.-China Relations", 11 June 2001
- 16. H.E. Dr. Muhammad A.S. Hikam, Minister of State for Research and Technology, Indonesia, on "An Update on Political Developments in Indonesia", 15 June 2001
- 17. Mr. Samuel Sharpe, Intern, IDSS, on "Is There an ASEAN Way to Security Cooperation? An assessment of ASEAN's responses to External Security Challenges in the 1979 Kampuchean Crisis and the 1995 Mischief Reef Incident", 21 June 2001
- 18. Mr. Bernard Loo, Ph.D. candidate, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, Associate Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Conventional Strategic Stability/Instability: Towards a New Framework for Analysis", 5 July 2001
- Dr. Merrily Wasson, International Institutions Analyst, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, on "The Impact of East Timor on Regional Security and Marine Resource Security", 11 July 2001
- 20. Professor Richard Stubbs, Professor and Chair, Department of Political Science, McMaster University, on "ASEAN + 3: Building East Asian Regionalism", 19 July 2001
- 21. Discussion with Professor V.A. Panandiker, expert on South Asian Security Issues and formerly Director of the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, on "South Asian Security Issues", 20 July 2001
- 22. Associate Professor Anselm Skuhra, Department of Political Science, University of Salzburg, Austria, on "Regionalism and Sovereignty: The Case of EU Sanctions on Austria", 23 July 2001

#### NETWORKING

- 23. Dr. Tan See Seng, Assistant Professor, IDSS, on "What Fear Hath Wrought: Missile Hysteria and the Writing of 'America'", 2 August 2001
- 24. Dr. Syed Rifaat Hussain, Chairman, Department of Defence and Strategic Studies, Quaid-I-Azam University, Islamabad, on "South Asian Security Regime for Conflict and Arms Control", 14 August 2001
- 25. Professor Ryaas Rasyid, Visiting Senior Fellow, IDSS, on "Regional Autonomy and Decentralisation Policy in Indonesia", 15 August 2001
- 26. Roundtable seminar by Professor S.D. Muni, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "China's Relations with the New ASEAN Members", 16 August 2001
- 27. Dato Megat Najmuddin Megat Khas, President of the Malaysian Institute of Corporate Governance, on "Corporate Governance in Malaysia", 23 August 2001
- 28. Dr. Alice Hills, Joint Services Command and Staff College, U.K., Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Urban Operations", 6 September 2001
- 29. Dr. Farish A. Noor, Malaysian Scholar, on "Islamic Student Networks in Pakistan and Southeast Asia", 18 September 2001
- 30. Dr. Farish A. Noor, Malaysian Scholar, on "The Islamisation Race in Malaysia and its Consequences for the Future", 19 September 2001
- 31. Mr. Kwa Chong Guan, Head of External Programmes, IDSS, on "Doing Policy Analysis/Research", 21 September 2001
- 32. Mr. Wimar Witoelar, Chairman of PT Intermatrix, Chief Editor of Indonesia Business, former Presidential Spokesman, Indonesia, on "Recent Political Developments in Indonesia", 26 September 2001
- 33. Dr. Kenneth Boutin, Ford-IDSS Post-Doctoral Fellow, IDSS, on "Defence Industrialisation Under Globalisation: Obstacles and Opportunities for Emerging Industrial States", 4 October 2001
- 34. Dr. Santishree D.N.B. Pandit, Reader, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Pune, India, Dr. P. Saravanamuttu, Executive Director, Centre for Policy Alternatives, Sri Lanka and Dr. Abdur Rob Khan, Research Director, Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Dhaka, on "Islam and Conflict in South Asia" and "Ethnicity and Terrorism: The Case of Sri Lanka", 12 October 2001
- 35. Mr. Irman Lanti, Centre for Information and Development Studies, Indonesia, Ph.D. candidate, University of British Columbia, Visiting Research Fellow, IDSS, on "Islam in Indonesia: Why Extremism is Sporadic", 18 October 2001

- 36. Associate Professor Derek McDougall, Political Science Department, University of Melbourne, on "Humanitarian Intervention and Peacekeeping as Asia-Pacific Security Issues", 8 November 2001
- 37. Professor Amin Saikal, Director, Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies, Australian National University, on "Islam and The West: Conflict or Co-operation", 12 November 2001
- 38. Professor Amin Saikal, Director, Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies, Australian National University, on "The Afghanistan Conflict, International Terrorism and U.S. Policy", 13 November 2001 (Roundtable Discussion)
- 39. Professor Dr. Syafii Maarif, Chairman of Central Board, Muhammadiyah, Indonesia, on "Contemporary Developments of Islam in Indonesia", 20 November 2001
- 40. Dr. Nan Li, Department of Political Science, University of Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A., on "RMA, Chinese Security Policy and Asian Security", 21 November 2001



Professor Amin Saikal, Director, Arab and Islamic Studies, ANU, speaking at an IDSS seminar on 12 November 2001



Professor Syafii Maarif, Chairman of the Central Board, Muhammadiyah, Indonesia, speaking at an IDSS seminar on 20 November 2001

#### FURTHER INFORMATION

Up-to-date information about the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies and its activities are available at our webpage: http://www.idss.edu.sg

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