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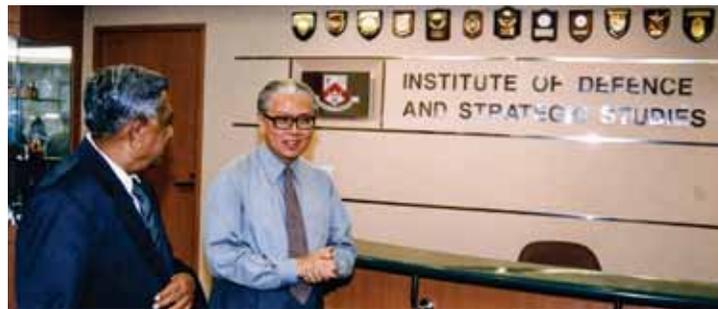
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## New Chairman at RSIS



*Dr Tony Tan's visit to IDSS as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence in August 1999, accompanied by the late Mr S R Nathan, the founding director of IDSS*

Former President of the Republic of Singapore, Dr Tony Tan Keng Yam, took over as Chairman of the RSIS Board of Governors from Mr Eddie Teo Chan Seng on 1 August 2018.

Mr Teo has chaired the Board of Governors of RSIS since January 2009. He has led the Board in setting academic and policy research objectives for

the School, providing strategic directions for RSIS, instituting new programmes, reviewing ongoing activities and approving its plans and budgets. He has contributed much to the development and international standing of RSIS.

Dr Tan has been involved with RSIS from the very beginning of the School. On 30 July 1996, he

launched the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) — the predecessor of RSIS and now a prominent centre within the School — as then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence. Over the years, Dr Tan provided strong support to advance the development of IDSS and RSIS.

Dr Tan served as the Seventh President of the Republic of Singapore from 2011 to 2017. Presently, he is concurrently Special Adviser to GIC and the Honorary Patron and Distinguished Senior Fellow at the Singapore Management University.

Amb Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, expressed the deep appreciation of all in RSIS for the excellent leadership provided by Mr Teo in his decade of service to the School. Amb Ong warmly welcomes Dr Tan to RSIS. He says, "All of us at the School look forward to Dr Tan's continuing mentorship in the coming years".

## The Security Implications of the Fourth Industrial Revolution

By **Vincent Mack**

Dr Cung Vu, Visiting Senior Fellow at RSIS, delivered a public lecture on 18 May 2018 titled "The Third/Fourth Industrial Revolution or Industry 4.0 — Security Implications". The aim of the seminar was to raise public awareness of the issues involved in the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) and to allow policymakers to formulate informed policies and strategies.

Dr Vu acknowledged that the benefits of the 4IR technologies were immense. Nevertheless, he cautioned that we cannot dismiss the potential threat

that they have spawned. For example, the world is now at the stage where synthetic biologists can manufacture species of viruses and micro-organisms that have never existed before. This development, coupled with the speed and efficiency of global air travel, means that diseases — new or otherwise — can spread before authorities are able to detect and circumvent them.

Singling out another potential threat, one arising from developments in cognitive science, Dr Vu noted that research in stimulants and opioids has enabled the production of a pill that could

create an altered state of consciousness and heightened alertness and mental performance. These "Jihad pills" are found in the conflict areas of the Middle East and are taken by militant Islamists before battle.

On cybersecurity threat and identity theft, he noted that AI and Machine Learning (ML) technologies have reached the stage where hackers can now mimic the voice and facial movements of anyone and create doctored videos. AI and ML technologies have also ramped up the credibility of phishing emails, and studies have shown that they have a higher success rate than manually crafted phishing emails.

In conclusion, Dr Vu stressed that the best defence against the potential security threats of the 4IR is education and awareness of science and technology, for policymakers and the general public alike.

# RSIS' Visit to Germany

By **Tan Ming Hui**

Amb Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, led a delegation to Berlin and Munich from 23 to 25 May 2018. During the visit, the delegation participated in a conference titled "Singapore-Germany: Mastering Innovation and Resilience in the Digital Age", which was co-organised by RSIS and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and supported by the Singapore Embassy in Berlin.

The opening talk by Amb Ong provided an overview of the geopolitical and socio-economic challenges in Southeast Asia. He also discussed Singapore's chairmanship of ASEAN in 2018 and the promotion of the ASEAN Smart City Networks and Cyber Security Cooperation initiatives. Mr Benjamin Ang, Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Cyber and Homeland Defence Programme at RSIS' Centre of Excellence for National Security, and Mr Nicolas Zimmer, CEO of Technology Foundation Berlin,

participated in the first panel, titled "Smart Cities vs Data Protection and Citizen Rights". Mr Ang discussed Singapore's smart nation initiatives and highlighted two case studies, including enabled ageing and smart lamp posts. Mr Zimmer talked about the ground-up initiatives that have made Berlin "smarter" and noted the importance of a trusted data management system.

Amb Ong and Dr Tan Teck Boon, Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Science and Technology Studies Programme, participated in the second panel, titled "Digital Economy vs Workforce Disruption and Unemployment". They were joined by Mr Thomas Heilmann, Member of the German Bundestag (Parliament), and Mr Oliver Röseler, Head of Berlin Corporate Representation, DHL. Mr Röseler shared DHL's experiences in

adapting to the digital age. Mr Heilmann highlighted the need for education reform and the importance of lifelong learning. Dr Tan discussed the slower pace of global productivity growth in the last decade despite technological development. Finally, Amb Ong examined the impact of technological changes on employment benefits, energy consumption, and the environment.

Apart from participating in the conference, the delegation held discussions with and explored partnership opportunities with a number of think tanks and practitioners in Berlin and Munich. These included the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Körber Foundation, Center for Applied Policy Research, and Hans Seidel Stiftung.



*Mr Benjamin Ang (left) speaking during one of the panels*

# NADI Workshop on Counter-Terrorism, Counter-Radicalisation and Cybersecurity

By **Henrick Tsjeng**

RSIS hosted a Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) workshop titled "Counter-Terrorism, Counter-Radicalisation and Cybersecurity" from 25 to 29 June 2018. Amb Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, highlighted the transboundary nature of terrorism, radicalisation and cyber threats, which necessitated multilateral cooperation and whole-of-government approaches.

Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Head of International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at RSIS, and Assistant Professor

Mohamed Bin Ali from the Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies (SRP) Programme at RSIS, gave keynote speeches on terrorism and radicalisation, respectively. Guest speakers Ms Gwenda Fong, Director, Strategy Division, Cyber Security Agency of Singapore, and COL Teoh Chun Ping, Director (Policy), Defence Cyber Organisation, Ministry

of Defence, Singapore, gave presentations on how their respective agencies ensured cybersecurity.

The workshop saw an active exchange of views. The delegates agreed that terrorism, radicalisation and cyber threats continue to pose major threats to the political, economic and social well-being of ASEAN member states. They highlighted

the importance of robust legal frameworks and inter-agency cooperation in tackling terrorist threats. On radicalisation, the delegates agreed that the issue was not about religion, but about individuals who have been radicalised with extremist ideologies. They stressed that counter-radicalisation efforts should be focused on the rehabilitation and reintegration of these individuals into society. On the question of cyber threats, the delegates emphasised the development of common norms, training to develop technical expertise, and use of international platforms in developing effective responses.



*Delegates to the NADI workshop*

# ASEAN Leadership Forum

By Joel Ng

On 28 April 2018, RSIS co-organised the ASEAN Leadership Forum, a high-level annual forum held in conjunction with the ASEAN Summit. Now in its 15<sup>th</sup> year, the forum brings together leaders in government, business, academia, think tanks, and civil society from the ASEAN countries.

Amb Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, delivered the keynote address at the forum. The theme was “Future Proof ASEAN: Strengthening Resilience, Promoting Innovation”. Outlining the challenge of coping with new technologies, especially those with disruptive characteristics, Amb Ong pointed to the need for rethinking existing government and business institutions and structures and how these

interfaced with one another. He said new regulations would be needed for coexistence of these institutions, which made partnerships in ASEAN even more critical.

At the ministerial dialogue component of the forum, senior economic and trade ministers from the ASEAN countries spoke on the challenges their respective countries faced, particularly in harnessing technological change for small and medium enterprises. Dr Koh Poh Koon, Singapore’s Minister of State for Trade and Industry,

stressed that disruption also brought new opportunities and that digitisation would make it easier for companies to connect with growth markets. Panel discussions covered subjects such as tackling the digital economy, connectivity through infrastructure such as China’s Belt and Road Initiative, the UN Sustainable Development Goals, and innovation.

At the forum, Emeritus Senior Minister Goh Chok Tong, former Prime Minister of Singapore, was awarded the Special ASEAN Distinguished Lifetime Achievement Award. This was in recognition of his services to ASEAN while leading Singapore during momentous periods such as the establishment of the ASEAN Free Trade Area, its expansion, and the Asian financial crisis. In a keynote address at the close of the forum, Singapore’s Foreign Minister Dr Vivian Balakrishnan delved into the history of the region to extrapolate what the future might hold.



Minister Koh Poh Koon (seventh from left) at the forum

# RSIS-WTO Parliamentarian Workshop 2018

By Aédán Mordecai

In May 2018, RSIS’ Centre for Multilateralism Studies organised the ninth RSIS-WTO Parliamentarian Workshop, an event to increase the capacity of regional legislators to engage in international trade issues. The workshop was co-sponsored by the World Trade Organization (WTO) Secretariat and the Temasek Foundation International under the auspices of the Temasek Foundation International Series on Trade & Negotiations. Forty-eight parliamentarians from across the Asia Pacific region and Central Asia attended the workshop. The event was a timely one, with the multilateral trading system coming under threat as a result of the rise of economic nationalism, particularly in some of the Western economies

that used to be the flag-bearers of free trade. The Trump administration’s recent imposition of tariffs on goods from China, Mexico, Canada, and the European Union, as well as the tit-for-tat tariffs imposed by some of the latter countries pose a real risk of a trade war. The invited parliamentarians could learn more about how their respective countries could benefit from greater free trade and what they could do to re-ignite momentum into the global trade system.

In his address, Mr Tan Chuan-Jin, Speaker of the Parliament of Singapore, stressed the importance of the multilateral trading system to Singapore and the ASEAN region. Participants had the opportunity to hear from industry experts as well as representatives of the WTO. The topics covered included the future of fisheries subsidies



Speaker Tan Chuan-Jin (left), in discussion with the workshop participants

and recent developments in the WTO Information Technology Agreement (ITA).

The three-day event included a field trip to the PSA Port of Singapore to discover how Singapore find out an

efficient transshipment industry, a vital contributor to the success of Singapore as a trading economy.

# RSIS Hosts EU Delegation

By **Sylvène See**

Mr John Gatt-Rutter, Chief of Counter Terrorism at the European External Action Service, visited the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at RSIS on 22 March 2018 to understand the threat landscape in Southeast Asia. He was accompanied by EU Ambassador to Singapore Ms Barbara Plinkert, EU Ambassador to ASEAN Francisco Fontan, EUROPOL Officer Mr Benoit Godart, and officials from the EU mission to Singapore and the EU mission to ASEAN.

With Singapore acting as the coordinator for EU-ASEAN relations from 2018 to 2021, the visit was to establish meaningful dialogue and explore areas for further collaboration between Singapore, ASEAN, and the EU in the field of counter-terrorism.

Chairing the discussion, Prof Rohan Gunaratna, head of ICPVTR, stressed that

intelligence was the spearhead in the fight against terrorism. However, he acknowledged the inherent challenges involved in intelligence-sharing, especially the use of intelligence for prosecution. Mr Gatt-Rutter indicated that while there was improvement in the exchange of information and intelligence in EUROPOL databases, more needed to be done to iron out issues related to data migration and interoperability among the databases. Prof Gunaratna stressed the importance of strong leadership to deliver “an integrated form of intelligence”.

Reflecting on several key threats to EU security, Mr Gatt-Rutter highlighted the

growing threat of home-grown radicalisation. He stressed the need to form “constructive partnerships” with technology giants such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter in the fight against radicalisation while acknowledging that these companies had already played a substantial role in this regard by removing extremist online posts in a more effective and efficient manner. Mr Gatt-Rutter lamented that it was difficult to establish rehabilitative programmes in the EU for incarcerated terrorists. Although there was increasing interest in rehabilitative efforts, finding a role for religious leaders in the rehabilitative process remained a challenge, he said.

On counter-terrorism measures, Mr Gatt-Rutter identified the need to push for stronger

cooperation between law enforcement authorities and the military. Addressing the issue of security legislation, he felt that states should extend these to soft targets such as nightclubs and concert halls. He suggested that security considerations be taken into account when designing such buildings.

On Singapore-EU relations, Prof Gunaratna stressed the need to move beyond cooperation to collaboration. This, he noted, could be achieved by creating common databases, conducting joint training and operations, and sharing expertise, resources, and experiences. Commending the brilliant work that the EU had done in some of the key areas, he suggested that future EU projects focus on capacity building in counter-terrorism.



*Mr John Gatt-Rutter (fourth from left) and Prof Rohan Gunaratna (fifth from left), with members of the EU delegation and staff from ICPVTR*

## The Situation on the Korean Peninsula: Turning a New Page or Same Old?

By **Henrick Tsjeng**

Dr Dino Patti Djalal, founder of the Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia (FPCI) and former Indonesian Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, spoke at a seminar at RSIS on 26 April 2018. It was titled “The Situation on the Korean Peninsula: Turning a New Page or Same Old?”

Dr Dino had led a small Track II delegation of Asian scholars and experts to North Korea earlier in April 2018. The purpose of the trip was to

conduct a Track II “citizens’ diplomacy” to promote interaction and an exchange of views with North Koreans. This was deemed important owing to the escalation of tensions on the Korean peninsula by the end of 2017, necessitating the need to reduce the communication and perception gaps between North Korea and the international community.

Presenting his observations from the trip, Dr Dino noted that reunification was still a passionate theme in North Korea, while nuclear arms were considered a key part of North

Korean power and prestige. Dr Dino assessed that North Korea’s fear of a possible pre-emptive strike by the United States might have been a factor in the regime’s recent policy shift.

Looking ahead, Dr Dino cautioned that it would be a mistake to underestimate North Korean leader Kim Jong-un. He observed that the North Korean regime was shrewd, calculating, and capable of strategic thinking. But he conceded that the real strategic intentions of North Korea remained unknown. Dr

Dino concluded that developing confidence, trust, and reconciliation were more urgent tasks than reunification and denuclearisation, which should be pursued as long-term goals.



*Dr Dino Patti Djalal*

# Professionalism and Propensity for Reform in the Indonesian Military



(L-R) Dwi Kurnia Indrana Miftach, Minister Counsellor of Information, Social, and Cultural Affairs, Indonesian Embassy, Singapore, LG (Ret) Agus Widjojo, Amb Ong Keng Yong, and COL Aaron Beng, Director (Policy), Defence Policy Office, Ministry of Defence, Singapore, after the signing of MOU

By **Dedi Dinarto** and **Made Ayu Mariska**

Lieutenant-General (Retired) Agus Widjojo, Governor of Indonesia's National Resilience Institute or Lemhanas, delivered a RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture titled "Professionalism and Propensity for Reform in the Indonesian Military" on 27 April 2018.

LG (Ret) Widjojo argued that although the Indonesian armed forces or TNI lacked political influence since Indonesia's democratisation process began in 1998, its lingering political aspirations derived from its history as a temporary political institution during Indonesia's independence struggle. He emphasised that the recent reform of the military stemmed from its own initiative. The military saw the democratisation of Indonesia as a watershed that forbade it from intervening in the political process. Consequently, it took concrete

steps to professionalise and free itself from the push and pull of political involvement. Thus, military reforms ironically preceded that of systemic political reform in Indonesia.

However, LG (Ret) Widjojo noted, there were challenges within the military's self-initiated reform path. While the military had abjured its role in the civilian realm, no Indonesian institution was allowed to play a dominant role during the political transition. Moreover, some civilian political authorities, especially those of an ultra-nationalistic bent, had a tendency to seek political support from the military. In addition, military reform had not been complete, LG (Ret) Widjojo noted. The post of defence minister was still held by a military officer, and the military's "territorial defence function" had not been abolished. Citing a survey conducted by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC), LG (Ret) Widjojo pointed out that the Indonesian

public placed a high degree of trust in the TNI as an institution, outranking trust in the national police.

LG (Ret) Widjojo outlined the efforts that had been made and still needed to be made to transform the TNI into a professional military. He encouraged Indonesian military officers to participate more widely in combined international exercises or operations to compare their role with that of other militaries. He had suggested that the TNI review its doctrines to focus on external threats, moving away from involvement in domestic affairs. He also addressed the need to allocate adequate funds to support the modernisation of the military, look after the welfare of soldiers, and educate civilians on essential military and defence matters.

On a final note, LG (Ret) Widjojo addressed the issue of the Global Maritime Fulcrum

(GMF) doctrine, adopted by the Jokowi administration as a national policy. With its emphasis on a maritime strategy to protect Indonesia's maritime assets, sea-lanes, and territorial waters from non-traditional security threats, the GMF, in his view, was another avenue for the TNI to focus on external threats and move away from involvement in domestic politics.

After the lecture, LG (Ret) Widjojo proceeded to the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signing ceremony as part of strengthening mutual cooperation between Indonesia's National Resilience Institute and S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University. The former was represented by LG (Ret) Widjojo, while the latter was represented by Amb Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS.

# Lowy Institute Launches Asia Power Index 2018 at RSIS



*Mr Herve Lemahieu and Ms Bonnie Bley sharing their findings*

By **Sarah Teo**

On 11 July 2018, the Lowy Institute's Asian Power and Diplomacy Program launched its "Asia Power Index 2018"

report at RSIS. The report, an analytical tool to track changes in the distribution of power in the region, was presented by its principal researchers, Mr Hervé Lemahieu, Director of the Asian Power and Diplomacy

Program, and Ms Bonnie Bley, a Research Fellow with the programme. Professor Tan See Seng, Professor of International Relations and Deputy Director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, RSIS, chaired the session.

The Asia Power Index ranks 25 countries and territories based on 114 indicators across eight thematic measures: (i) economic resources, (ii) military capability, (iii) resilience, (iv) future trends, (v) diplomatic influence, (vi) economic relationships, (vii) defence networks, and (viii) cultural influence. The pièce de résistance of the index is an interactive and accessible digital platform (<https://power>.

[lowyinstitute.org](https://power)) which allows users to adjust and customise the data to their specific needs.

The report concludes that while the United States remains peerless in the region for now, China is rapidly catching up to its superpower status. Meanwhile, although Japan and India are both considered major powers, the former is regarded as the "quintessential smart power", while the latter is viewed to be underperforming in relation to its resources. In contrast, Australia, Singapore, and South Korea are the "overperformers" in the region, as their influence outweighs their economic and military assets. The findings also suggest that North Korea, Russia, and Taiwan are "misfit middle powers" in Asia, with levels of diplomatic influence that seem to be at odds with their material resources.

# Chinese Public Diplomacy in East Asia and the Pacific

By **Joel Ng**

On 27 June 2018, AidData, a research outfit at the College of William and Mary, USA, together with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), USA, and the Asia Society Policy Institute, held a conference in Singapore, in partnership with RSIS, to launch a report titled "Chinese Public Diplomacy in East Asia and the Pacific".

Outlining the report, Ms Samantha Custer, Director of Policy Analysis at AidData, noted that the key questions explored were: (i) what is the scale and scope of Chinese public diplomacy, (ii) what are China's motivations and goals, (iii) which aspects of Chinese public diplomacy are most effective, and (iv) what

actions can bring foreign elites in line with Chinese foreign policy goals. Broadly, the findings showed that China's financial diplomacy efforts were effective with elites, elite-to-elite diplomacy was extremely effective at influencing decision-making, while cultural and informational exchange diplomacy was still nascent, with unclear results.

In a keynote speech, Mr Bilahari Kausikan, former Permanent Secretary in Singapore's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, noted that China's public diplomacy often involved spinning oversimplified narratives that presented target audiences with false dichotomies. Such false dichotomies put psychological pressure on target audiences to accept China's viewpoint, he said.

The panel discussions were focused on the role of public diplomacy in Chinese foreign policy, attempting to understand

how it fit with China's broader strategic interests and how it was affected by Chinese decision-making. Panellists also shared experiences from Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Oceania, looking at how Chinese influence was perceived domestically and when or how pushbacks could manifest.

At the close of the conference, RSIS Dean Professor Joseph Liow and Mr John Lee, Senior Fellow of the Hudson Institute, discussed the policy implications arising from the study. Mr Lee noted that pushbacks against China's public diplomacy efforts arose in countries with strong institutions, and therefore were driven by institutional rather than cultural considerations. Prof Liow suggested that one way Western countries could compete against Chinese influence was through a focus on education, where they had huge advantages over China.



*(L-R) Ms Samantha Cluster and Mr Sid Ghose, AidData*

# What Can an Economist Possibly Have to Say about Climate Change?

By **Margareth Sembiring**

On 3 May 2018, Dr Robert Stavins, Professor of Energy and Economic Development at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, presented an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on climate change. His key contention was that a market-based approach was important for the formulation of effective, economically sensible, and politically feasible climate change policies.



*Dr Robert Stavins*

Explaining his position, Prof Stavins noted that the market economy and the environment affect one another. On one hand, environmental problems are the unintended side effects of market activity, i.e., consumers' buying decisions. On the other hand, the consequences of environmental problems have important economic dimensions. Thus, an economic perspective is important in designing solutions

to the climate change challenge, he stressed.

Prof Stavins said the challenges facing climate policies lie in the classic global commons issue and its attendant free-rider problems. The greenhouse gases emitted to the atmosphere know no borders, and their most severe environmental damages will likely happen in the long run as they accumulate over time.

Therefore, for any state that carries out mitigation actions at present, the direct climate benefits it reaps from those actions will be evident only in the future and will be less than the direct costs it incurs, despite the fact that the global benefits may be greater than the global costs.

This global commons problem, coupled with the "upfront costs and delayed benefits"

phenomenon, make climate change an extremely difficult and politically contentious issue to solve, Prof Stavins noted.

In his view, carbon-pricing, exercised either through carbon taxes or cap-and-trade, provided the most feasible approach to meaningful carbon emission reductions, compared to other climate mitigation methods. Carbon-pricing affects all energy-using sectors: coal will see the greatest impacts globally as it has the highest carbon content, followed by natural gas and oil. Prof Stavins pointed out that carbon pricing is the least costly approach in the long term because it provides incentives for the development of carbon-friendly technologies.

On the climate change commitments of the United States, Prof Stavins noted that although the federal government, under President Trump, had withdrawn from the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change, some states in the country continued to show strong resolve in their commitment to climate change policies. As such, it was critical to look at progress at sub-national level instead of focusing on developments at the federal level.

## Visits Hosted by Military Studies Programme

By **Ian Li**

As part of RSIS' effort to engage partner institutions and share its knowledge in the areas of security and defence studies, it hosted visits from the Kenyan National Defence College (KNDC), the Canadian Forces College (CFC), and the Indonesian National Armed Forces' army staff and command school, TNI SESKOAD between 9 and 11 April 2018. Mr Eddie Lim, Senior Fellow and Head of the Military Studies Programme, hosted the visits.

The delegates from KNDC and CFC were senior government officials earmarked for key strategic leadership positions in

their respective governments. As part of the training to prepare them for their new roles, they were interested in understanding the security dynamics within the Asia Pacific region and were particularly keen to hear RSIS' insights on a number of regional issues such as the impact of great power politics, the rise of China, the South China Sea issue, and the continued influence of ASEAN within the region and beyond. Both visits were well received and the delegates benefited from the exchanges with RSIS staff.

The delegation from TNI SESKOAD comprised four Directing Staff. One of the main objectives of the visit was to discuss and exchange

pointers on the curriculum and pedagogy of professional military education. In this regard, the sharing of the expertise and experiences acquired by the Military Studies Programme

through its years of partnering with Singapore's Ministry of Defence (MINDEF) and the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) proved to be of great relevance and value.



*Mr Eddie Lim (left) with delegation from the Kenyan National Defence College (KNDC)*

# APPSMO 2018

By Ian Li

The 20<sup>th</sup> Asia Pacific Programme for Senior Military Officers (APPSMO 2018) was held at Singapore's Village Hotel Changi from 5 to 11 August 2018. Organised by the Military Studies Programme of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), RSIS, APPSMO 2018 was attended by more than 50 military officers from over 20 countries, spanning Asia, North America, and Europe.

This year's APPSMO represented a significant milestone for the programme, which has over the past 19 years contributed significantly to the fostering of closer ties and working relationships among defence officials, military officers, and strategic studies analysts within the region and beyond, and become an established instrument of regional defence diplomacy.

Dr Ng Eng Hen, Singapore's Minister for Defence, delivered the keynote address at APPSMO 2018, whose theme was "ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific Security Order". Mr Bilahari Kausikan, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore, delivered a Distinguished Lecture titled "ASEAN's Role in the Changing Asia Pacific Security Order", while Dr Tony Tan, former President of Singapore and the chair of RSIS' Board of Governors, was the guest of honour at the programme's opening dinner.

Over one week, APPSMO participants attended a series of panels addressing issues such as the challenges and trends in regional security, the shifting geopolitical landscape and its implications for the Asia Pacific security order, the future of war and strategy, terrorism and its impact on Southeast Asia, cyber and information threats, and the building of regional defence cooperation and confidence building measures.



In addition to RSIS researchers and faculty members, panel speakers from Singapore included Mr Matthias Yeo, Chief Innovation Officer and Board Advisor, Fund Singapore Pte. Ltd, and Dr Li Nan, Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.

As part of the programme, participants visited the Changi Naval Base, 2PDF/IDTI at Clementi Camp, Microsoft, and various military heritage sites such as Fort Siloso and the former Ford Factory.



*I am gratified that APPSMO has flourished and continued for 18 years as a premier networking platform for the armed forces of the countries which are participants in the ASEAN Regional Forums (ARF).*

**Mr S R Nathan** 

*Founding Director of IDSS (1996 – August 1999) and  
6<sup>th</sup> President of Singapore (September 1999 – September 2011)  
From the book The APPSMO Advantage: Strategic Opportunities, 2016*



*The programme has fostered better understanding and mutual cooperation among various military establishments and policy agencies in a practical way that promoted defence diplomacy among the countries involved.*

**Ambassador-at-Large Ong Keng Yong** 

*Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS*

*From the book The APPSMO Advantage: Strategic Opportunities, 2016*

APPSMO 2018 brought together a list of distinguished speakers

**Dr Amy Searight**

*Senior Advisor and Director, Southeast Asia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, USA*

**Professor Evelyn Goh**

*Shedden Professor of Strategic Policy Studies, Australian National University, Australia*

**Vice Admiral (Ret'd) Yoji Koda**

*Advisor, Japan Marine United Corporation, Japan*

**Professor Anthony King**

*Chair of War Studies, The University of Warwick, UK*

**Dr Manoj Joshi**

*Distinguished Fellow and Head, National Security Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India*

**Professor Pascal Vennesson**

*Military Studies Programme, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore*

**Ms Maria Ressa**

*Chief Executive Officer, Rappler News, The Philippines*

**Professor Rohan Gunaratna**

*Head, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore*

**Mr Matthias Yeo**

*Chief Innovation Officer and Board Advisor, Fund Singapore Pte. Ltd., Singapore*

**Dr Michael Sulmeyer**

*Director, Cyber Security Project, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, USA*

**Dr Shashi Jayakumar**

*Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security & Executive Coordinator, Future Issues and Technology, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore*

**Mr Bilahari Kausikan**

*Chairman of the Board of Directors, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore*

**Dr Euan Graham**

*Senior Fellow, Lowy Institute, Australia*

**Dr Jusuf Wanandi**

*Vice Chairman, Board of Trustees, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Foundation*

**Captain (Dr) Gurpreet Khurana**

*Executive Director, National Maritime Foundation (NMF), India*

**Professor Kim Young Ho**

*Director-General, Research Institute for National Security Affairs, Korean National Defense University, Republic of Korea*

**Dr Li Nan**

*Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore*

**Professor Tan See Seng**

*Deputy Director and Head of Research, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore*

# Localising the Practice of Religion

By **Nursheila Binte Abdul Muez**

RSIS' Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies (SRP) Programme held a joint seminar in Singapore with the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS) on 19 March 2018. Titled "Localising the Practice of Religion", the seminar was a platform to exchange unique experiences and manifestations of the localisation of religion in Singapore and China.

SRP Programme's Dr Paul Hedges opened the seminar by illustrating some theoretical conceptions of religion and localisation using the case study of ancestral worship in Christianity while Dr Mohamed Ali, also from SRP Programme, explored how the Salafi revivalist movement threatens the practice of localising Islam in plural societies. Tracing the long history of localisation of Islam in China, Imam Musa Jin, President of the Shanghai Islamic Association and an

SASS delegate, agreed that Salafism can challenge the development of indigenous religious practices. Professor Yan Kejia, President of the Shanghai Association of Religious Studies and Institute of Religious Studies at SASS, highlighted other challenges to the localisation of religion, including religious exclusivism and religion-secular confrontations.

Two guest speakers, Mr Zalman Putra Ali from the Islamic

Religious Council of Singapore (MUIS) and Dr Roland Chia from Trinity Theological College, spoke on the contextualisation of Islam and Christianity respectively in secular Singapore. In turn, Dr Hei Ying of the Centre for the Study of Religion and Culture, China, spoke about how the Hui community in China's Linqing city integrated Islam with their cultural practices while Dr Huang Haibo of the Institute of Religious Studies, SASS, looked at how public expressions of Christianity in China have been localised.

During the discussions that followed the presentations, the participants acknowledged that localisation of religion is a natural process that should remain organic and not be imposed upon communities. Concluding the seminar, Prof Yan stressed the need for religious communities to be mindful of sectarian tendencies. He called for more platforms for dialogue so that communities could be equipped with the knowledge necessary to manage such challenges.



*Participants of the joint seminar*

# Addressing Singapore's Energy Security Challenges

By **Julius Cesar Trajano**

One of the key strategies that Singapore could adopt to enhance its energy security is to diversify not just its energy suppliers but also its energy mix. This was the key point made by Dr Alvin Chew, Adjunct Fellow at RSIS, at a seminar he presented on 3 May 2018 titled "Addressing Energy Security Challenges: Technological Options for Singapore".

Dr Chew argued that Singapore needs to diversify its electricity fuel mix, which is currently dominated by natural gas. Singapore could alleviate its energy security concerns with a more balanced energy mix that includes alternative resources to generate electricity, he said.

Given also the global challenges of limiting national carbon emissions, Dr Chew argued that one of the more attractive options for Singapore would be to turn to solar energy. He then discussed the key challenges that must be addressed as Singapore taps solar power, notably the vulnerability of solar panels to sabotage, availability of land for solar panel farms, the feasibility and viability of going underground for solar power stations, and the need to strengthen power networks and make them "smarter" to prevent disruptions.

During the question and answer session, several options for alternative technology apart from solar energy were considered. One such option discussed was the installation of small floating



*Dr Alvin Chew*

nuclear power plants (NPPs). In this regard, some participants noted that critical key issues such as that of handling the nuclear waste generated, the lack of global guidelines on the safety and security of floating NPPs, and especially public acceptance had yet to be analysed. It was stressed

that the country and society need to be prepared if nuclear power was the way forward. The seminar participants generally agreed that industry and consumers needed to shift their mindset and behaviour towards energy conservation.

# Visit to Command and Staff College and Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies in Brunei

By **Ian Li**

On 18 April 2018, Mr Eddie Lim, Senior Fellow and Head of the Military Studies Programme, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, visited the Royal Brunei Armed Forces Command and Staff College and briefed the students on the

challenges and opportunities involved in Singapore's chairmanship of ASEAN in 2018".

The College has an annual intake of 30 students, with international participants making up half the class. Following the presentation, Mr Lim and the class had a lively discussion.



*Mr Eddie Lim (third from right) and Mr Muhd Sharul Nizzam bin Umar (fourth from right) with staff of the Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies*

Mr Lim also visited the Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, where he had a fruitful discussion with its director,

Mr Muhd Sharul Nizzam bin Umar. The discussion covered possible areas of mutually beneficial research cooperation.

# Roundtable on Humanitarian Technology and Innovation

By **Martin Stanley Searle**

On 11 June 2018, the Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief Programme of RSIS' Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, hosted a roundtable discussion on the critical questions that have arisen since humanitarian technology and innovation became a dedicated focus of the aid sector approximately 10 years ago.

The first panel — comprising speakers from academia and representatives from intergovernmental organisations and Non-governmental organisations (NGO) in the aid sector — raised three challenges stemming from the rapid adoption of new technologies in humanitarian operations. These were, first, the legacy impact on relations between local government and society of outside responders using new technologies to

enable dialogue with those they are assisting, in pursuit of accountability to beneficiaries. The second was the challenge of privacy when collecting data in conflict or disaster settings, where such data can be more sensitive than in ordinary contexts. The third challenge concerned how new technologies are being deployed by civil society disaster responders, specifically in China, in a way that challenges government monopolies on emergency

action. This introduces a novel, technology-based tension into the relationship between aid and politics.

The second panel — consisting of NGO and private sector practitioners — discussed specific experiences of innovating in East and Southeast Asian humanitarian response, and the lessons learned. These covered some of the pitfalls NGOs and private sector actors could face when collaborating on innovative

projects. It was noted that such challenges were particularly stark for smaller firms and aid organisations. The panel also discussed "solutionism" — that is, focusing excessively on particular answers instead of properly understanding the questions being presented to innovators — and how it can lead to innovations that at best do not respond to particular needs, and at worst undermine the effectiveness of aid operations. One presenter suggested aptly that 90 per cent of the time spent innovating should be dedicated to understanding the problem, and 10 per cent on proposing solutions.



*Participants and speakers of the NTS Roundtable*

# Ruling Coalition's Electoral Defeat: Dawn of a New Malaysia?

By **Najwa Abdullah**

RSIS' Malaysia Programme held a panel discussion on 18 May 2018 to analyse the results and implications of Malaysia's recent general election, which saw the historic defeat of the ruling Barisan National (BN) coalition. The panellists, all RSIS researchers, had conducted extensive fieldwork in various states of Malaysia in the run-up to the elections to discern ground sentiments and understand voting patterns.

Dr Lee Hwok Aun, Senior Fellow at ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, was invited to lead the discussions after the panel presentations.

The panellists concluded that, notwithstanding its robust electoral and patronage machineries, BN suffered from degeneration, which was due not only to the tarnished image of its prime minister, Najib Razak, but also ineffective campaign strategies and factionalism. The rise of populism and economic

nationalism also made a severe dent in BN's standing. Assoc Prof Farish Noor, Coordinator of RSIS' PhD programme, noted that the Pakatan Harapan (PH) coalition had, in contrast, gained momentum by offering political novelty and being better connected with the grassroots through efforts to address issues such as the economic sovereignty of Malaysia and rising cost of living. He added that the efforts of non-political actors and agents such as non-governmental organisations (NGO) and lobby groups had also contributed to weakening of voters' traditional alignment to specific political parties and directing them to vote pragmatically, putting aside issues such as ethnicity and religion. However, the panellists cautioned that PH's electoral victory was no guarantee of success in the long run. Given that many PH leaders were

once members of the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), the dominant party in the BN coalition, Mr Rashaad Ali, a research analyst with the Malaysia Programme, warned that PH could end up like BN if it began to play the same kind of patronage politics.

Discussing how the opposition Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) had benefitted from BN's collapse, Asst Prof Mohamed Nawab, Coordinator of the Malaysia Programme, noted that PAS had managed to capture a large segment of Malay voters, particularly in Kelantan and Terengganu, and gained more seats in Kedah, Perlis, Pahang, and Penang. The party had combined its rigid Islamic governance stance with a populist approach by sketching out a broader Islamic vision and addressing bread-and-butter issues in its electoral manifesto. If PAS continued to maintain this strategy in tandem with effective institution-building and rigorous profiling of voters, he suggested that it might well become the next big party to watch in Malaysian politics in place of BN.



*Asst Prof Mohamed Nawab (second from left), presenting his views during the panel discussion*

# Population Prospects and Profitability of Kuala Lumpur-Singapore High-Speed Rail

By **Aédán Mordecai**

On 21 June 2018, the Centre for Multilateralism Studies, RSIS, held a seminar by Dr Tomoo Kikuchi, Visiting Senior Fellow at RSIS, and Mr Akio Tanahashi, Visiting Scholar at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy and

a Civil Engineer for the Urban Renaissance Agency, Japan. The two scholars presented the findings of their paper "Population Prospects and Profitability of Kuala Lumpur-Singapore High-Speed Rail".

The proposed Kuala Lumpur-Singapore High-Speed Rail

(KL-SG HSR) has attracted controversy recently, with Dr Mahathir Mohamed, Malaysia's newly returned Prime Minister, casting doubts on Malaysia's commitment to the project. The study by Dr Kikuchi and Mr Tanahashi explored whether the rail project, if completed, would be a profitable one.

The study compared the proposed KL-SG HSR to the JR Tokai Tokyo-Osaka High Speed rail, which is one of the most profitable railway routes in the world. Taking into account the projected population and demographic profile in 2030, the KL-SG HSR, in the scholars' view, would not prove as profitable as the JR Tokai route.

However, if ASEAN achieved greater regional integration that allowed a greater movement of people, then the estimated growth of major cities such as Kuala Lumpur, following what is known as the rank-size rule, might allow the KL-SG HSR to become more profitable. Therefore, the key indicator to monitor to determine the likely success of the project, according to Dr Kikuchi and Mr Tanahashi, is the population density of the cities along the route.

The scholars noted, however, that whatever the feasibility of the KL-SG HSR might be, it would be the politics that would determine whether or not the KL-SG HSR becomes a reality.



*(L-R) Assoc Prof Pradumna Bickram Rana, Coordinator of International Political Economy Programme, Dr Tomoo Kikuchi and Mr Akio Tanahashi*

# Achievements and Challenges in Securing the World's Largest Archipelago

By Keoni Indrabayu Marzuki  
and Made Ayu Mariska

General (Ret) Dr Moeldoko, Presidential Chief of Staff, Indonesia, delivered an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on 6 July 2018 titled "Indonesia under President Joko Widodo's Administration: Achievements and Challenges in Securing the World's Largest Archipelago".

Gen Moeldoko outlined two main challenges that Indonesia faced. First, the threat to the number of conventional jobs arising from the rapidly evolving global economy and technological changes such as the shift to robotics. This trend would be detrimental if Indonesia fails to equip its workforce with the necessary



*Gen (Ret) Dr Moeldoko (centre), with participants at the lecture*

skills to cope with technological advances. Second, Indonesia faces a rising China and its growing assertiveness in the Asia Pacific region, along with

the waning influence of the United States. Gen Moeldoko stressed that, as the world's largest archipelagic state and a regional power, Indonesia would

and must play a role to maintain the delicate balance of power in the region, including playing a more proactive role in the South China Sea dispute.

Noting that Indonesia was moving forward in achieving its various national development goals, Gen Moeldoko pointed out that the Jokowi government's most significant achievement was to lower the poverty rate to 9.82 per cent, the lowest rate since the Asian financial crisis of 1997/1998. Other prominent achievements included providing cash transfers to 18 million students from poor and vulnerable families through the "Kartu Indonesia Pintar" smart card system and giving healthcare assistance to 92 million Indonesians.

## Indonesia's Foreign Policy Under President Joko Widodo

By Satrio Dwichayo Rahadi

On 13 April 2018, Prof Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Distinguished Visiting Professor at RSIS, delivered an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on Indonesia's foreign policy under Indonesian President Joko Widodo. A highly respected academic, Prof Anwar also comes with a practitioner's insight, having served in various government roles, most recently as Deputy for Government Policy Support to Vice President Jusuf Kalla (2015–early 2017).

Despite concerns that President Jokowi would adopt a self-serving, inward-looking, and ultra-nationalistic foreign policy, Prof Anwar believed Indonesia's foreign policy under



*Prof Dewi Fortuna*

him remained substantially unchanged from that of his predecessor, Susilo Bambang Yudhono. She attributed this continuity to the strong commitment required of Indonesian presidents to the Constitution, which mandates

an active and neutral foreign policy. However, she noted that President Jokowi had a slightly different approach to shaping foreign policy. For instance, he had a clear division of labour between himself and Vice President Kalla, who

represented Indonesia at foreign policy fora. President Jokowi also avoided appointing special staff on foreign policy, preferring to give the central role to the foreign ministry.

Prof Anwar highlighted President Jokowi's four foreign policy priorities, namely, (i) protecting national sovereignty, (ii) protecting Indonesian nationals abroad, (iii) continuing economic diplomacy, and (iv) enhancing Indonesia's regional and international profile. She noted that the president had also made it a point not to neglect Muslim countries and issues that had a tug on Islamic sentiments, notably, the Palestinian issue.

In concluding, Prof Anwar stressed that Indonesia's foreign policy under President Jokowi was far from transactional. Although the president tended to focus on key bilateral relations, she believed ASEAN remained the central pillar of his foreign policy.

# 2<sup>nd</sup> ASEAN Media Forum

Senior media representatives and bloggers from ASEAN came together on 4 May 2018 at the ASEAN Media Forum. Held for the second year and in the country holding the ASEAN chairmanship, the forum was designed to offer a platform for discussion of topical international and regional issues.

During his speech, Mr Tan Chuan-Jin, Speaker of the Singapore Parliament, urged the media and bloggers to bring across to their readers and followers the need to remain competitive by skilling up and

keeping economies open.

The forum included a panel discussion involving Singapore's Ambassador-at-Large Prof Tommy Koh and the former Dean of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, Prof Kishore Mahbubani. Prof Koh felt that all 10 ASEAN member states should remain neutral and united, maintaining a pro-ASEAN foreign policy. He observed that ASEAN was the only regional bloc that had platforms for bringing the major powers together. He encouraged the media to inform the public of the crucial role that ASEAN played in bringing

peace and stability to the region. Prof Mahbubani encouraged the media, through its coverage, to help build the people's sense of belonging to ASEAN.

The forum ended with an exclusive dialogue with Dr Marty Natalegawa, former Foreign Minister of Indonesia. Dr Marty called on ASEAN to take a "transformative outlook" instead of a business-as-usual outlook,

which would not be good enough if ASEAN was to remain relevant in the next 50 years. The challenge for ASEAN, in his view, would lie in how it managed the nexus between the domestic and the regional, and the regional and the global. Dr Marty observed that ASEAN had the agility to manage future challenges but might lose it if it remained straitjacketed in its way of thinking.



*Participants of the forum*

# RSIS Day

Over 200 staff and students gathered on 30 July 2018 in celebration of RSIS' 22<sup>nd</sup> anniversary. Held at the Hive within Nanyang Technological University, the annual RSIS Day commemorates its establishment on 30 July 1996, then known as the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS).



*Amb Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, addressing the staff and students*



*Amb Ong Keng Yong with staff*



*Staff at the anniversary celebration*

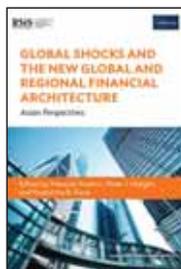


*Prof Joseph Liow, Dean of RSIS*



*Staff collecting RSIS Day memento*

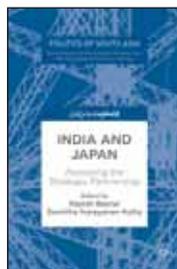
## STAFF PUBLICATIONS



### Global Shocks and the New Global and Regional Financial Architecture: Asian Perspectives

*Edited by Naoyuki Yoshino, Peter J. Morgan, and Pradumna B. Rana. Asian Development Bank: 2018. ISBN: 978-4-89974-069-8*

In light of the evolving global economic order and the experiences of the global financial crisis of 2008–2009, this book addresses the important question of how Asia's regional architecture for economic and financial surveillance, financial safety nets, and crisis management can be strengthened and meshed with those of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Financial Stability Board to establish an effective mechanism for dealing with economic and financial shocks. This includes shocks emanating from both within the region and those transmitted via contagion from other regions. It assesses the capacity of regional institutions for surveillance and financial safety nets, focusing on the ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office (AMRO) and the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization (CMIM).



### India and Japan: Assessing the Strategic Partnership

*Edited by Rajesh Basrur and Sumitha Narayanan Kuttu. Palgrave Macmillan: 2018. ISBN: 978-981-10-8308-2*

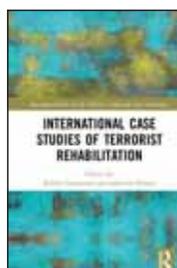
This volume focuses on the rapidly expanding strategic relationship between India and Japan, expanding on the hitherto under-analysed concept of “strategic partnership,” tracing the history of the interaction, and gauging its current and future trajectories. The rise of China and its challenge to US dominance of the global system is the setting in which the partnership has assumed a major profile, incorporating both defence and economic cooperation on an unprecedented scale. The increasing congruence of Indian and Japanese interests is juxtaposed with the inherent limitations of the partnership to portray a complex picture of a kind of strategic relationship that has become a staple of contemporary international politics.



### International Relations and Asia's Southern Tier: ASEAN, Australia, and India

*Edited by Gilbert Rozman and Joseph Liow Chinyong. Palgrave Macmillan: 2018. ISBN: 9811031703*

This book, part of a series, seeks to re-conceptualise Asian geographies; rather than a static East Asia core, this volume analyses Asia's southern fringe, as symbolized in the trading group ASEAN and its role in Asia's evolving international relations. The contributors include many leading experts in the field, ensuring that this book will be the go-to text for students, scholars, and civil society decision makers exploring Asia's contemporary political spectrum in real time.



### International Case Studies of Terrorist Rehabilitation

*By Rohan Gunaratna and Sabariah M. Hussin. Routledge: 2018. ISBN: 9781138604520*

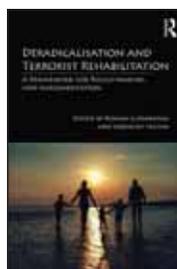
This book consists of a series of case studies of different terrorist rehabilitation initiatives that have been attempted around the world. Each initiative is critically analysed to develop a sound understanding of the significance of different approaches and strategies of terrorist rehabilitation in helping potential terrorists integrate back into society. Sharing and examining case studies, both by practitioners and scholars, this book provides vital tools to address the challenges faced by practitioners of terrorist rehabilitation programs.



### Securing the “Rice Bowl”: China and Global Food Security

*By Zhang Hongzhou. Palgrave Macmillan: 2018. ISBN: 978-981-13-0235-0*

This book offers a snappy but comprehensive investigation of how the resource needs of today could become the resource conflicts of tomorrow. As the most populous country in the world, the security of China's “rice bowl” is not only a top political priority for China's policymakers but increasingly a critical global concern as the country emerges as a leading food importer and a major player in outward agricultural investment. This book sheds light on China's efforts, both at home and abroad, to safeguard its food security and how these efforts will affect global food systems.



### Deradicalisation and Terrorist Rehabilitation: A Framework for Policy-making and Implementation

*By Rohan Gunaratna and Sabariah M. Hussin. Routledge: 2018 ISBN: 9781138602526*

There is no single, simple solution to the challenges of deradicalisation and rehabilitation, but this book places examples of best practice within a robust, but flexible, conceptual framework. It gives you guidelines for establishing and implementing a successful deradicalisation or rehabilitation program, derived from a series of empirical case studies of successful projects around the world. It sets out both the necessary and desirable facets of such a program, identifying which areas to prioritise and where budgets can be best spent if resources are tight. The authors provide detailed case studies of each step to illustrate an approach that has worked and how best to replicate this success.

## STAFF PUBLICATIONS



### America's Encounters with Southeast Asia, 1800-1900

By Farish A. Noor. Amsterdam University Press: 2018. ISBN: 9789462985629

A century before the Philippines came under American control, Americans were already travelling to Southeast Asia regularly. This book looks at the writings of American diplomats, adventurers, and scientists and chronicles how nineteenth-century Americans viewed and imagined Southeast Asia through their own cultural-political lenses. It argues that as Americans came to visit the region they also brought with them a train of cultural assumptions and biases that contributed to the development of American Orientalism in Southeast Asia.

*"Absolutely unique, beautifully written and quite simply mind-blowing. This is a distinct and original piece of work that offers an account of American-Southeast Asian encounters through a lens that is rightly critical of Orientalist constructions of Asia. There is nothing else like this book and the field of Southeast Asian studies is very much in need of it."* - Professor Rachel Harrison, SOAS, University of London



### Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and Political Islam: Identity, Ideology and Religio-Political Mobilization

By Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman. Routledge: 2018. ISBN: 9780815375289

This book offers a timely examination of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), a chapter of the transnational movement Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT), whose key aim is the revival of the caliphate. It cautions against an overly simplistic read of a group like HTI and political Islam in Indonesia. While there is much to laud, particularly with regard to how leaders in Indonesia have attempted to counteract Islamist extremism, insofar as the trajectory of non-violent Islamism in Indonesia is concerned there are clear reasons for apprehension. Groups like the HTI have been adept at using the democratic space in Indonesia to propound their illiberal objectives, including encouraging the curtailment of Indonesian art forms deemed un-Islamic, and more importantly pushing for certain Islamic sects, such as the Ahmadiyahs, to be banned. Yet, despite its extreme posturing, HTI is accepted as a mainstream Muslim organization. As such, the Indonesian chapter of Hizb ut-Tahrir represents a unique case: unlike other chapters, which are deemed extreme and fringe, HTI, though radical, still exists within the space provided by the Indonesian religio-political landscape.



### China and the Middle East: Venturing into the Maelstrom

By James M. Dorsey. Palgrave Macmillan: 2018. ISBN: 9783319643540

This book explores China's significant economic and security interests in the Middle East and South Asia. To protect its economic and security interests, China is increasingly forced to compromise its long-held foreign policy and defence principles, which include insistence on non-interference in the domestic affairs of others, refusal to envision a foreign military presence, and focus on the development of mutually beneficial economic and commercial relations. The volume shows that China's need to redefine requirements for the safeguarding of its national interests positioned the country as a regional player in competitive cooperation with the United States and the dominant external actor in the region.

*"Stunning and addictively readable, Dorsey's well balanced mix of investigative journalism and academic long-term perspective presents a new puzzle for China. It presents a compelling political, economic and social portrait from a region that is pivotal to the Chinese 'win win' Belt and Road initiative success."* (Alessandro Arduino, Co-Director, Security & Crisis Management Program, the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences – UNITO, China)

## THINK TANK

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### UPCOMING EVENTS

#### 14 AUGUST 2018

RSIS SEMINAR BY MR KENNETH W ALLEN ON "OVERVIEW OF CHINA'S MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL REFORMS"

#### 23 AUGUST 2018

RSIS DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC LECTURE BY PROFESSOR EVELYN GOH ON "ASIA'S AGE OF UNCERTAINTY: GLOBALISATION AND THE ECONOMIC-SECURITY NEXUS"

#### 5 SEPTEMBER 2018

WORKSHOP BY CHINA PROGRAMME ON "CHINESE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THINKING: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE"

#### 22 SEPTEMBER 2018

4<sup>TH</sup> SRP DISTINGUISHED LECTURE AND SYMPOSIUM

#### 4-5 OCTOBER 2018

TRACK 1.5 COUNTER-TERRORISM CONFERENCE

#### 8-9 NOVEMBER 2018

SRE-RSIS INDONESIA-SINGAPORE YOUNG LEADERS SCENARIO PLANNING WORKSHOP 2018