

7. S.RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (RSIS)

Overview

The Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) was upgraded and renamed to become the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) by President S R Nathan on 11 December 2006. IDSS was initially inaugurated by Dr. Tony Tan Keng Yam, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence on 30 July 1996. It was established by Statute as an autonomous research institute within the Nanyang Technological University (NTU). With its upgrading, RSIS aims to develop a new generation of leaders in diplomacy and security matters, and to produce a body of research that will help shape policies that safeguard the Asia-Pacific region. IDSS remains as a core research centre within RSIS.

Appointment holders

Management

Ambassador Barry Desker, B.A. Hons. (University of Singapore), M.A. (London)
Dean of RSIS and Director of IDSS

Dr. Ralf Emmers, B.A. (VUB-Vesalius College), M.Sc., Ph.D. (LSE)
Associate Professor and Head of Graduate Studies

Dr. Rohan Gunaratna, M.A. (Notre Dame), Ph.D. (St. Andrews)
Associate Professor and Head of International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research

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

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

Dr. Joseph Chinyong Liow, B.A. Hons. (Wisconsin-Madison), M.Sc. (IDSS, NTU), Ph.D. (LSE)
Associate Professor and Head of Research, IDSS

Prof Ron Matthews, B.Sc. Hons. (Aston), M.Sc. (Wales-Bangor), MBA (Warwick), Ph.D. (Glasgow)
Professor and Deputy Director of IDSS

Dr. Kumar Ramakrishna, B.Soc.Sci. Hons. (NUS), Masters in Defence Studies (UNSW), Ph.D. (London)
Associate Professor and Head of Centre of Excellence for National Security

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

Faculty and research (Listed in Alphabetical Order)

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Associate Professor

Dr. Ahmad Luthfi Assyaukanie, B.A. (Jordan), M.A. (IIUM, Malaysia), Ph.D. (Melbourne)
Post-Doctoral Fellow

Dr. Rajesh Manohar Basrur, B.A., M.A. (Delhi), Ph.D. (Bombay)
Associate Professor

Mr. Richard Allan Bitzinger, B.A. (Kalamazoo), M.A. (Monterey)
Senior Fellow

Dr. Richard Wayne Carney, B.A. (Rutgers), Ph.D. (UC, San Diego)
Assistant Professor

Dr. Chang Youngho, B.Sc. (Seoul), M.A. (Yonsei), Ph.D. (Hawaii)
Research Fellow

Dr. Alvin Chew, B.Eng. (NTU, CSE), M.Sc. (RSIS, NTU), Ph.D. (Imperial), DIC
Research Fellow

Dr. Emrys Myles Chew Khean Aun, B.A. Hons., M.A., Ph.D. (Cambridge)
Assistant Professor

Dr. Karim Douglas Sloan Crow, B.A. Hons. (American University, Beirut), M.A., Ph.D. (McGill)
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Dr. J. Soedradjad Djiwandono, B.A. (Yogyakarta), M.Sc. (Wisconsin, Madison), Ph.D. (Boston)
Professor

Dr. Bahtiar Effendy, B.A. (State Islamic University, Jakarta), M.A., Ph.D. (Ohio State)
Senior Fellow

Dr. Deborah Kay Elms, B.S., B.A. Cum Laude (Boston), M.A. (University of Southern California), Ph.D. (Washington)
Assistant Professor and Head of the Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade and Negotiations

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Assistant Professor

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Assistant Professor

Dr. Loo Fook Weng, Bernard, B.Soc.Sci. Hons. (NUS), M.A. (ANU), Ph.D. (Aberystwyth)

Assistant Professor

Dr Farish Noor, University of Essex, United Kingdom

Dr. C. Raja Mohan, B.Sc. Hons, M.Sc. Hons (Andhra), M. Phil., Ph.D. (Jawaharlal Nehru)
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Mr. Tan Seng Chye, B.Sc. Hons. (Univ of Singapore)
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Adjunct Fellow

Mr. Lee Wee Ann Nicholas, BBS (Monash)
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Adjunct Fellow

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Research Analyst

Research at RSIS

RSIS faculty and researchers conduct both academic and policy-oriented research on international and security issues that affect Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific regions, in the context of major developments and shifts in the international system. Research is organized under four broad categories:

- Asia-Pacific Security
- Conflict and Non-Traditional Security
- International Political Economy
- Country and Area Studies

The research areas under each category are reflected in the following table while the research programmes related to these areas are described further below.

Asia Pacific Security	Conflict and Non-Traditional Security	International Political Economy	Country and Area Studies
Multilateral Security	Political Violence and Terrorism	Finance	China
Revolution in Military Affairs	Homeland Security	Trade	Indonesia
Maritime Security	Non-Traditional Security	Economic Development	United States
	Negotiations		
	Contemporary Islam		South Asia
	Civil and Internal Conflicts		
	Science, Technology and Security		

ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY

Multilateralism and Regionalism

In the brief span of six years, academic and policy-relevant scholarship produced by RSIS on multilateralism and regionalism in the Asia Pacific has achieved international renown. Funded by international foundations such as the Sasakawa Peace Foundation of Japan and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of Germany, the research output of the Multilateralism and Regionalism Programme is comparable to that of more established centres elsewhere.

In 2007, the research output of the Multilateralism and Regionalism Programme, which is coordinated by Dr. Tan See Seng, included the following:

- One edited book on Asia-Pacific security cooperation
- One single-authored book on regional Track 2 diplomacy
- One monograph on ASEAN regionalism and regional security
- One roundtable report on Asian security
- One study group report on Asian regional institutions
- Multiple journal articles, book chapters, working papers, op-ed pieces and commentaries

Programme staff and associates also presented papers at various academic as well as policy-related conferences, workshops and roundtables both within and beyond Singapore. In 2007, the programme was awarded, through competitive tender, two major research projects by the ASEAN Secretariat: one on the East Asia Summit and regional cooperation, and the other on the ASEAN Regional Forum and preventive diplomacy.

There was considerable networking activity, including the organization of conferences, symposia, a study group workshop in support of the Sentosa Roundtable and numerous briefings and discussions with visiting delegations and project teams. Among these, two conferences are particularly noteworthy: a meeting commemorating ASEAN's fortieth anniversary and a meeting inaugurating the establishment of a new Track 2 network of defence and security institutions aimed at supporting the annual ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting. The programme also hosted visiting researchers and doctoral candidates working on Asian multilateralism and regionalism from around the world.

RSIS is seeking funding that will enable this programme to be upgraded to a Centre for Diplomacy and International Affairs. This project—which began in 2007 in the form of a modest Seminar Series on Diplomacy involving senior or retired diplomats—is premised on the fact that skilled diplomacy is indispensable to bringing people together in the maintenance of a stable and peaceful world order. The proposed centre will include a Regionalism Programme and a Multilateralism Programme that will do research as well as conduct workshops for mid-career officers from countries in Asia. It will also conduct a year-long Fellows Programme for diplomats and other officials from countries in Asia. RSIS's Multilateralism and Regionalism Programme aspires to become a leading research hub for multilateralism and regionalism studies in the Asia-Pacific region. The anticipated evolution to a centre in the near future is an important step in that direction.

Revolution in military affairs

The Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) Programme was established in 2003. Coordinated by Dr. Bernard Loo, the RMA Programme aims to develop an indigenous scholarly and policy-relevant expertise on the subject of RMA theory and the related area of military transformation. The programme thus seeks to adapt the existing body of RMA literature towards the geopolitical conditions unique to Singapore and the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF). In so doing, the programme aims to be relevant to the future development of the SAF.

The programme continues to work closely with the SAF's Future Systems Directorate in identifying areas of research. These areas of research fall into four broad categories:

- Transformation and strategy
- Transformation and operational doctrines
- Impediments to transformation
- Country approaches to transformation

Over time, the programme has expanded its research focus to include matters pertaining to counter-insurgency, post-conflict operations, defence industrialization and defence economics.

The programme has published one Adelphi Paper—*Network Centric Warfare: Coalition Operations in the Age of US Military Primacy*, Adelphi Paper 385 (London: IISS, 2006). It also had articles accepted by internationally refereed journals such as *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* and the *Stockholm Journal of East Asia Studies*. In addition, members of the programme have had chapters accepted in a number of edited volumes. The programme has also contributed actively to the *RSIS Commentaries* series. In addition, it is publishing with Routledge selected papers from two conferences organized in 2005 and 2006. In the pipeline are two book-length studies and an edited volume arising out of a conference organized in 2007.

In the area of networking, the programme has participated in a number of international conferences and fora—the Soumenlinna Seminar (National Defence University, Finland) and the Western Economic Association's International Annual Conference. Programme members also had meetings with the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the Swedish Defence Research Agency, the Centre for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, the East-West Center and the Centre for Strategic and International Studies' Pacific Forum. Two conferences were also organized in 2007—one in conjunction with the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School's Center for Contemporary Conflicts on nuclear proliferation in Asia, and a conference on the state of the art in defence industries in the Asia Pacific. Finally, the programme has secured in-principle agreement with several leading specialists on the RMA and on military affairs to be visiting scholars at RSIS in 2008.

Maritime security

LTC Joshua Ho coordinates the Maritime Security Programme at IDSS-RSIS. Research in maritime security started in 2004, following concerns over the security of ports and sea lanes. Due to this concern, the programme has maintained a research focus on piracy, armed robbery, maritime terrorism and the security of sea lanes.

In terms of research output, programme staff have had articles accepted by major refereed journals such as *Security Challenges*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, *Maritime Affairs* and *Maritime Studies*. A number of articles are also currently under review by other refereed journals. In addition, members of the programme have had chapters accepted in seven edited volumes and are also in the process of editing two edited volumes. The programme has also contributed actively to the *RSIS Commentaries* series.

A conference on “South China Sea: Towards a Cooperative Management Regime” was also organized in May. The conference examined the current situation in the South China Sea and looked at how a cooperative regime could be developed to manage safety, security and even environmental issues. An edited volume based on the conference’s proceedings is due to be published soon.

The programme has also been active in the area of networking. It organized or participated in four major events. In March, the programme organized, in concert with the Maritime Institute of Malaysia and the Centre for Southeast Asia Studies, Jakarta, a symposium on “Enhancement of Safety of Navigation and the Environmental Protection of the Straits of Malacca and Singapore”, that was held in Kuala Lumpur. The project was funded by the Nippon Foundation. The Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia delivered the opening remarks for the conference, which was followed by a workshop in Singapore on a similar theme that was held in June.

In April, members of the programme were involved in the Southeast Asia Cooperation Against Terrorism (SEACAT) Senior Leadership Seminar organized by the COMLOGWESTPAC in Singapore as well as in the MILOPS seminar organized by the U.S. Pacific Command. In October, the programme co-organized the inaugural RSIS-National Maritime Foundation Conference, which was held in New Delhi. The conference examined security issues in the Indian Ocean region.

The programme is planning to organize a joint conference with the Centre for Ocean Law and Policy, University of Virginia, on the Law of the Sea in 2008. To be titled “Freedom of the Seas, Passage Rights and the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention”, it will be held in January. The programme is also planning a joint conference with the National Maritime Foundation. This will be a follow-up conference to the one organized in October this year. It is expected that the conference will be an annual event alternating in venue between India and Singapore. Following the positive response to our participation this year, the programme is expected again to participate in the SEACAT Senior Leadership Seminar in 2008. Besides this, the programme will also be undertaking a project on Law and Order at Sea in Southeast Asia.

CONFLICT AND NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY

Political violence and terrorism

In 2007, the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at RSIS grew to become one of the largest counter-terrorism research, education and training centres in the world. A testament to the international standing of the ICPVTR is the large number of briefings—more than 60 for the year in review—that its staff gave to visitors. With 31 staff from nine countries, it has truly become an international centre. Almost half its staff are Muslims and, for the first time since the inception of the centre, foreigners outnumber Singaporeans, making up 58% of total staff strength.

Apart from its primary focus on terrorism and extremism in the Southeast Asian region, the centre continued to build its Middle East desk (which was started in 2006) and commenced special focus on Pakistan in 2007 by recruiting three native Pakistanis to carry out in-depth research and to monitor security developments in the militant-infested border areas between Afghanistan and Pakistan and the rest of Pakistan.

In 2007, ICPVTR spent much time focusing its research on countering radical Islamist ideology. Singapore’s de-radicalization programme attracted much global interest. Dr. Rohan Gunaratna, the Head of the Centre, and Mr. Mohamed bin Ali, an Associate Research Fellow at ICPVTR, shared their knowledge and literature on counter-ideology with numerous countries, including Iraq, which has started a de-radicalization programme

partly based on knowledge gained from these ICPVTR experts. While Mr. Muhammad Haniff published a book in 2006 to counter Bali bomber Imam Samudra's justification for the bombing, ICPVTR's Counter-Ideology desk members produced an easy-to-read Q&A booklet on *Jihad* in 2007 for mass circulation, not only to the Muslim community but also to the rest of the population. The booklet was very well received and was even promoted by DPM Wong Kan Seng at a grassroots function.

ICPVTR launched its new Counter Terrorism Leadership Programme (CTLP) in August 2007. During the past several years, ICPVTR has been offering a unique attachment programme that allows counter-terrorism officials to work with and receive training from ICPVTR while they contribute their professional experience and domain knowledge to our staff. This programme has attracted international attention and significant praise. Its participants are drawn from the counter-terrorism services of government ministries and agencies. During their three-month attachments, the participants in the programme are required to attend all classes offered during a given trimester on the Counter-Terrorism certificate track in addition to any agreed upon assignments while attached to ICPVTR. In the August to October trimester the CTLP had two participants from the Maldives Police, one from the Hong Kong Police, and two from the Ministry of Home Affairs.

In March 2007, ICPVTR conducted a special course for three visiting Afghans from the Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies (CAPS) in Kabul. They were taught how to write terrorist profiles, attack profiles and other related matters. This was followed in September 2007 by a Counter-Terrorism Finance Training Programme organized for senior officials in the Philippines. The 2½-day programme at the National Defense College of the Philippines was a big success.

The ICPVTR and the National Library Board of Singapore (NLB) signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 2007. Under the MoU, the NLB will preserve critical documents recovered by ICPVTR from the field. The centre also received a request from Chinese agencies and institutions to share their knowledge of potential threats to the 2008 Beijing Olympics. At their invitation, an ICPVTR staff member visited China in late September 2007. ICPVTR was also invited to brief U.S. Pacific Commander Admiral Keating, the highest-ranking U.S. military leader in the Asia-Pacific, and his commanders on the strategic threat of terrorism.

In the area of research, ICPVTR analysts have produced numerous *RSIS commentaries*, one of which was recently cited in the Philippine Senate. Its weekly report series has generated significant interest, with a recent report on Sri Lanka being quoted in a leading Indian newspaper.

The centre plans to produce a series of terrorism-related documentary films. Additionally, it will work with the Wee Kim Wee School of Communication and Information in NTU on a research project involving its Informatics Security project. By early 2008, ICPVTR plans to recruit one to two staff from Bangladesh to start in-depth research on Islamist extremism and militancy in Bangladesh. It will also be launching a new monthly summary report of the trends in terrorism as well as a new publication called *Counter-Terrorism Trends and Analysis* (CTTA). This monthly publication will provide its threat specialists with greater opportunity to offer focused insight and discussion on critical issues in terrorism.

Homeland security

The Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) at RSIS was established in March 2006. It has the following objectives:

- To build up intellectual capital in support of national security management objectives
- To augment and provide new perspectives to national security policy-making and planning processes
- To plug into the international network of think tanks, universities and relevant government agencies to promote strategic partnerships for knowledge generation and intellectual exchange
- To help promote greater public national security awareness

Headed by Dr. Kumar Ramakrishna, CENS covers three areas of research, namely, Risk Assessment and Horizon Scanning; Social Resilience; and Homeland Defence. CENS has grown from four staff members to include a total of nine researchers and professors today.

In the past year, CENS has been preparing policy-oriented analytical commentaries, along with op-ed pieces published in leading local newspapers—such as *The Straits Times*, *Today* and *Berita Harian*—and foreign newspapers. CENS also participated in other media events including Channel News Asia's Insight programme and radio interviews. In addition, *CENS Outlook*, a short analysis of emerging security threats,

vulnerabilities and trends, is published once a week while CENS staff members have also published books, including *Social Resilience in Singapore: Reflections from the London Bombings* and academic book chapters.

In order to tap into global best practices in national security management, CENS has continuously sought to foster networking opportunities, both with local and international security agencies as well as foreign think tanks. For example, in May 2007, CENS collaborated with the Royal United Services Institute of London on a day-long workshop on Social Resilience. CENS has also fulfilled its public outreach function in several ways. CENS staff members participated in local and international media interviews, lectured to diverse local and foreign audiences on national security issues and moderated public seminars on relevant topics such as religious extremism.

Working with other members of RSIS, CENS staff also taught modules for the Civil Defence Academy and the Home Team Academy's Senior Commanders' Course. A two-day-long course was also conducted for Thailand's Foreign Ministry on issues pertaining to national security. Besides such external teaching, Dr. Kumar Ramakrishna and Dr. Norman Vasu also teach Master's courses related to national security in the M.Sc. Programmes at RSIS.

In 2007, CENS organized a number of highly focused workshops and seminars on its different areas of research. In addition, CENS also organized four major international conferences: (i) the Asia-Pacific Programme for Senior National Security Officers (APPSNO) in January; (ii) a conference on Land Transport Security in February; (iii) the International Risk Assessment and Horizon Scanning (IRAHS) Symposium in March; and (iv) a conference on Pandemics Surveillance in September of 2007. The proceedings for all four conferences have been published as conference reports. In 2008, besides its teaching and publishing responsibilities, CENS plans to host key events such as the Networked Government & Homeland Security Workshop, the Social Resilience Workshop, the IRAHS Symposium and APPSNO.

Non-traditional security

2007 marks yet another eventful year for the Non-Traditional Security Programme in RSIS. The Inaugural Meeting of the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia) held on 8–9 January 2007 was a milestone in the progress of NTS studies. The meeting not only launched the consortium but also brought together its 14 regional network members to discuss current NTS challenges facing the region and possible policy responses to address these problems. The agenda of the Inaugural Meeting also included discussions on the future activities of the consortium. Dr. Surin Pitsuwan, former Thai Foreign Minister and Member of the International Commission on Human Security, was the keynote speaker.

On 5–9 March 2007, three dissemination meetings were held in the United States—in New York, Washington and San Francisco. These seminars were aimed at building regional capacity and expertise in NTS by bringing together scholars, analysts and the policy community, thereby further mainstreaming NTS issues in the wider community.

The NTS-Asia Research Fellowship Programme commenced in July 2007. Three research grants, each of three months, were given to outstanding active researchers who had the choice of doing their research at any of the 14 NTS-Asia member institutes. This pioneering batch of research fellows comprised Dr. Rizal Sukma (Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia), Mr. Mohd Jalal Sikder (Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit, Bangladesh) and Ms. Wang Jiangli (Zhejiang University, China). The three research fellows are expected to produce a publishable research paper or monograph for NTS-Asia at the end of their fellowship.

An NTS-Asia sub-regional workshop jointly organized by RSIS and CSIS was held in Banda Aceh on 2–4 September. Entitled "Humanitarian Emergencies and Human Security: Lessons from Aceh", the workshop brought together a diverse array of participants, many of whom were involved in relief operations in Aceh following the 2004 Asian tsunami. Drawing on their various experiences, the workshop reflected the significance of cooperation among both state and non-state actors in addressing non-traditional security crises. RSIS participants also had the chance to visit various areas affected by the tsunami and several landmarks of Aceh's rich history and culture.

Another sub-regional workshop on migration is scheduled to be held in Dhaka, Bangladesh, in mid 2008. This will be organized by Bangladesh's Refugee and Migratory Research Unit, a member of the NTS-Asia consortium.

An NTS training course was organized for Indonesian police doctors, lecturers and NGO leaders on 22–24 August, with the support of the Ford Foundation in Jakarta. As an important agency in the country's security sector, the course was aimed at sensitizing the Indonesian police to the security implications of a wide range of NTS challenges—many of which are pertinent to Indonesia. The participants included 12 members from the Police Academy in Jakarta and five Indonesian NGO representatives.

On 11–12 October, RSIS's NTS programme organized an international conference on "Climate Change and Security" in collaboration with the Swiss Embassy in Singapore. The conference had various panels that covered different themes of climate change—issues and challenges, energy security, the politics of climate change among major powers, and the way forward in the post-2012 Kyoto Protocol period. The opinions and recommendations expressed were compiled for policy inputs in the UNFCCC meeting in Bali in early December 2007.

The year concluded with the holding of NTS-Asia's First Annual Convention in Colombo, Sri Lanka, on 5–6 November. Organized by the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), the convention brought together members of NTS-Asia as well as other NTS scholars associated with the National Defense University (NDU) in Washington, and members of the diplomatic corps and NGO community. Opening remarks were delivered by Professor Syed Rifaat Hussain, Executive Director of RCSS, Dr. Meiwita Budhiansana, Country Representative for the Ford Foundation in Indonesia, and Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony, Secretary-General of NTS-Asia. Dr. Rama Mani, Executive Director of the International Centre for Ethnic Studies, delivered the keynote address with a focus on emerging challenges to human security.

Moving forward from the discussion at NTS-Asia's First Annual Convention, a number of significant projects and activities are set to be implemented in the coming year. These include plans for the expansion of the network membership, the launch of research clusters, as well as plans to develop an NTS curriculum.

Negotiations Programme

The Asian Programme for Negotiation and Conflict Management (APNCM) was revamped in 2007. The objective is to expand this programme into a Centre for Negotiations when funding becomes available. While the APNCM focused on the conduct of negotiations workshops, the Centre for Negotiations will initially carry out research, training and teaching in international trade negotiations. Its objective is to train trade policy specialists for Singapore and other countries in Asia to deal with the complexities of day-to-day policymaking and policy implementation on trade issues. This will enhance capacity building for regional decision-makers. Our emphasis will be on practical issues that policymakers confront in the various trade regimes rather than on abstract theory. With adequate funding, the centre will move on to support research and training initiatives in conflict negotiations and diplomatic negotiations.

Contemporary Islam Programme

The Contemporary Islam Programme (CIP) is coordinated by Dr. Joseph Liow, who is concurrently Head of Research of IDSS-RSIS and Coordinator of the Institute's Civil and Internal Conflict Programme.

In 2007, the programme started on a project examining trans-national Islamist civil society networks across South and Southeast Asia. The project team includes Joseph Liow (overall supervisor), Farish Noor (University of Berlin), Greg Fealy (ANU), Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid (USM) and Mohamed Nawab (RSIS). The project entails in-depth research into a number of trans-national Islamic organizations, namely, Hizbut Tahrir (Indonesia), Jemaat Tabligh (Southeast Asia and South Asia), PAS (Malaysia), Tarbiyyah (Indonesia) and PKS (Indonesia), as well as a number of other civil society groups in Malaysia and Indonesia. The project is envisaged to run for two years, with the deliverables taking the form of reports as well as an edited volume.

In early 2008, the project will embark on a study of Islamic education institutions across Southeast Asia, focusing on Indonesia, Malaysia and southern Thailand. This project will be supervised by Dr. Liow and will involve both in-house researchers, including Dr. Leonard Sebastian and Dr. Luthfi Assaukanie from the Indonesia Programme, as well as local field researchers.

Aside from these projects, programme staff have been pursuing their own research. Dr. Karim Douglas Crow is completing a book manuscript on humanism in Islamic thought for Brill, while Dr. Liow has

recently completed two book manuscripts, one on Muslim politics in Malaysia and the other on Islamic education in southern Thailand. Both manuscripts are currently under review at several university presses.

Besides these, during the year in review, five reports were published (including three *RSIS Working Papers*), which were some of the research outputs from a major, multi-country research project concluded in 2006. This was the project on “Muslim Identities and Societies in Southeast Asia: Attitudes, Perceptions and Socio-political Structures”, which covered Indonesia (Sumatra, Java and Sulawesi), Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines.

Civil and Internal Conflict Programme

The Civil and Internal Conflicts Programme (CICP) is coordinated by Dr. Joseph Liow, who is concurrently Head of Research of IDSS-RSIS and Coordinator of the Institute's Contemporary Islam Programme.

In 2007, Dr. Liow was invited to be a guest editor for a Special Issue of *Asian Security*. This issue of the journal was titled “Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia: The Nature, Legitimacy, and (Changing) Role of the State”. Further to that, the programme intends to publish a major monograph exploring the conflict in southern Thailand from the perspective of the militants. This monograph will be co-authored by Dr. Joseph Liow and Mr. Don Pathan (of *The Nation*, Thailand), and will be based on extensive interviews conducted by both authors with militants from insurgency groups operating in southern Thailand, as well as with various people associated with the violence. The monograph is scheduled for publication in August 2008. Dr. Terence Lee, a faculty associate of the CICP, is also preparing a manuscript on civil-military relations for publication under the rubric of the programme.

Aside from publications, the programme also co-organized a workshop with the Henri Dunant Centre (HDC) of Switzerland on the prospects of dialogue with trans-national militants in Southeast Asia. This workshop, held on 10–11 December, brought together conflict negotiators and mediators as well as senior government officials from the region to share their experiences and to discuss the possibilities and problems with dialogue and negotiation processes in internal conflicts. RSIS is presently in advanced discussions with HDC to establish a Conflict Mediation Centre in Singapore. This centre, to be managed jointly by RSIS and HDC, will provide facilities for the training of conflict negotiators.

In 2007, Dr. Liow was also invited to speak on various occasions on the conflict in southern Thailand in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and Thailand. He was also invited to be an external consultant for a major Thai counter-insurgency workshop and course in November. This was the first course of its kind held in Thailand against the current backdrop of violence and Dr. Liow is one of only two foreign specialists invited by the Thai security agencies to speak at the course.

Science, Technology and Security Programme

The Science, Technology and Security Programme (STSP) at RSIS is a multi-disciplinary programme that addresses the broad security issues of the region through the conduct of both qualitative and quantitative analyses. It aims to drive policy formulation of a security nature by drawing upon the work of the engineering and science disciplines.

The STSP leverages on the strengths of the engineering schools in Nanyang Technological University to conduct inter-disciplinary research that cuts across the broad spectrum of security issues. The programme will be able to do this without having to re-invent available technological capabilities. Its work straddles a wide range of programmes within RSIS and supports their respective research activities by adding a quantitative dimension.

The STSP's current research activities revolve around the various aspects of energy security. One of its projects includes a joint study with the University's School of Civil and Environmental Engineering to analyse the feasibility of civilian nuclear operations within the ASEAN region. In addressing the security implications of natural hazards, it is also working with expert engineers to characterize the geological formations of the neighbouring region to achieve a more accurate prediction of the risks and impact of natural disasters.

In the area of teaching, members of the programme contribute by teaching elective courses in the School's Master's programmes. Their contribution widens the scope of the curriculum in the field of international studies. The STSP hopes to collaborate with existing Master's programmes on protective technology

currently residing in the engineering schools to provide a well-rounded curriculum that blends the hard sciences with the policy dimension.

In the year under review, the STSP also co-organized an international conference on Asia's energy security with the Swedish think tank, the Institute of Security and Development Policy (ISDP). Its focus on the Asian energy climate was again demonstrated through the high-profile, inaugural Middle East and Asia Energy Summit jointly organized with the Gulf Research Centre and International Business Communications (IBC). The programme also attracted prominent energy experts to give topical seminars at RSIS on topics such as the European Union's common energy policies. It also provided assistance to the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific's study group on Energy Security.

The STSP is dedicated to forging strategic partnerships with like-minded institutions in the United States and Europe (such as CISAC of Stanford University) that have a strong scientific and engineering establishment there. Such linkages will help guide the programme in research methodology to deal with emerging security issues.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

The research programme for the School's International Political Economy (IPE) programme, coordinated by Dr. Deborah Elms, fits within three broad programme areas: trade negotiations, financial integration and economic development. Staff members have been working on an integrated research agenda, collaborative teaching and increased international networking.

Important research projects for 2007 include the conclusion of a book manuscript on different forms of market capitalization in OECD economies and China, and a manuscript completed on negotiations in market access trade disputes. Articles based on both are currently under review at a variety of academic journals.

Dr. Richard Carney and Professor Soedradjad Djiwandono held an international conference in Singapore in June that examined the Asian financial crisis ten years after the event. The conference brought together former central bankers and academics to consider possible lessons for Asia. An edited book drawn from the conference will be published in 2008.

IPE staff members participated in multiple conferences, including the Society for the Advancement of Socio-economics and the Singapore Economic Review conference, and at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, International Studies Association, the Academy of Management and the British International Studies Association.

The final leg of a three-part series on "Globalization and Economic Success: Policy Options for Africa" was held in October 2007 in South Africa. The conference was co-hosted by RSIS with the Brenthurst Foundation of South Africa, the Conrad Adenauer Foundation of Germany and Egypt's Information and Decision Support Centre.

Topics in the IPE seminar series included China's management of risk, the perils of regional or bilateral trade agreements, and an assessment of the World Trade Organization's Doha development round's failure.

COUNTRY AND AREA STUDIES

RSIS's research also includes studies of countries that could have an impact on regional security and stability through their domestic developments and foreign policies. Such work is currently being done through the China, the Indonesia, the South Asia and the United States Programmes.

China Programme

The China Programme, coordinated by Senior Fellow Dr. Shiping Tang, is broadly interested in all aspects of China's strategic thinking and behaviour. Its staff provide a distinctive regional voice on the issue of the role of China as a rising power.

In 2007, the programme largely completed its flagship project of 2006, which studied the dynamic interaction between China and other regional states through an empirical approach by looking at specific cases of

crises and turning points in the interactive process between China and other regional states. The conference-based edited volume will be submitted to an international publisher soon while some of the chapters are being considered for a special issue in *Asian Survey*. The programme also completed a major part of its second major project, a conference on China's soft power held on 18–19 October 2007. Again, a conference volume will be published.

In addition to these main projects, the China Programme hosted a visit by Professor David Shambaugh, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs and Director of the China Policy Program at George Washington University. Professor Shambaugh gave an informal talk to members of the Pyramid Club, delivered a distinguished public lecture titled "The Bush Administration's Asia Policy: A Preliminary Report Card", gave an RSIS seminar on "China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation" and met with senior Government officials. The China Programme also hosted Ambassador Raymond Burghardt, the former U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam and now Director of the East-West Seminar Series at the East-West Center and Chairman of the American Institute of Taiwan. Ambassador Burghardt gave the inside story on the U.S.-Vietnamese relationship.

In 2007, the China Programme hosted its first two visiting fellows. Colonel Qi Dapeng, Senior Fellow of the Institute of Strategic Studies, National Defense University, PLA, visited from 1 February to 30 April 2007. His paper on the "Role of the PLA in China's Regional Strategy", presented at the RSIS conference on "Living with China", was published as an *RSIS Working Paper* and will later be published as a chapter in the conference book. Dr. Chulacheeb Chinwano, Professor of Political Science at Thammasat University, was a visiting fellow from May to August 2007. Dr. Chinwano wrote a paper on the evolution of the Thai-China strategic relationship, which will be published as an *RSIS Working Paper*.

Other major publications by programme staff include Shiping Tang's *Defensive Realism: A Systematic Statement* (under review by the *Cornell Studies in Security Affairs*, a prestigious book series edited by Robert Art, Robert Jervis and Stephen Walt); "Correspondence: Uncertainty and Reassurance in International Politics", *International Security* Vol. 32 No. 1 (Summer 2007); "From Offensive to Defensive Realism: An Evolutionary Interpretation of China's Security Strategy", in Robert Ross and Zhu Feng (Eds.), *IR Theory and the Rise of China* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, forthcoming); Li Mingjiang's "China's Charm Offensive in Asia: Economics, Politics, and Interactions", *RSIS Working Paper* No. 134; "China's South China Sea Dilemma: Balancing Sovereignty, Development, and Security", in Sam Bateman and Ralf Emmers (Eds.), *The Strategic Significance of the South China Sea* (forthcoming); and Shiping Tang, Mingjiang Li and Amitav Acharya (Eds.), *Living with China: Dynamic Relations between Regional States and China* (forthcoming).

Indonesia Programme

During the year in review, the Indonesia Programme, coordinated by Associate Professor Leonard Sebastian, accomplished research on civil-military relations, defence and security, political Islam, Islamic militancy, terrorism, internal conflict, foreign policy and international relations, the economy, problems of underdevelopment, and local politics and decentralization in the Riau region. Notable publications arising from some of the research include a monograph by Dr. Yuddy Chrisnandi on the Indonesian military entitled *Civil-Military Relations in Post Suharto Indonesia* and a policy brief by Dr. Sebastian entitled *Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and His Generals*.

Ongoing research includes two book-length studies on Islam in Indonesia, scholarly articles on local politics and democratization, and regular monitoring of political, economic, security and society-related developments in the Riau Archipelago and Riau Province. The latter entailed the publication of the *Riau Bulletin*, a fortnightly newsletter by Dr. Nanyung Choi aimed at providing timely information to Singaporean investors in Riau. It also entailed the organization of a continuing series of Riau Roundtables and Riau Focused Discussions involving leading policymakers from the archipelago to discuss the implementation of the Riau Special Economic Zone. These and related seminars have resulted in an edited volume and several papers on Riau.

A book manuscript on *Islamic Political Thought in Indonesia* by Dr. Luthfi Assyaukanie is currently under review at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Dr. Assyaukanie also received the Chancellor's Award at the University of Melbourne for one of the best dissertations submitted in 2006.

Dr. Sebastian was also invited by the Research Unit on International Security and Cooperation at Madrid's Complutense University to be the guest editor for its journal's special edition on Indonesia, entitled *Studying*

Defence Reform and Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Indonesia: Indonesian Perspectives (October 2007). He is also currently working on two book-length studies: one entitled "Understanding the Context of Muslim Militancy in Indonesia" and the other focusing on the emergence of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera and its implications for Indonesia.

The Indonesia Programme, through Professor Abdul Munir Mulhan, Dr. Bahtiar Effendy and Dr. Luthfi Assyaukanie, will be developing closer ties with UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, and Paramadina University, Jakarta, which will help to facilitate the proposed research project on "Religion and Violence in Indonesia: Intolerant Doctrines in *Pesantren* Texts".

The Programme also hosted a number of talks and seminars by eminent Indonesians such as Dr. Mari Pangestu (Minister of Trade), Mr. Taufik Kiemas (Chairman, Central Advisory Board of PDI-P) and Dr. Kuntoro Mangkusubroto (Head, BRRI). Mr. Irwandi Yusuf, the Governor of Aceh, is expected to provide an update on conditions in the province in January 2008. Other Indonesian leaders likely to speak at RSIS in 2008 are Dr. Boediono (Coordinating Minister for the Economy), Sri Mulyani Indrawati (Minister of Finance) and Sutiyoso (former Governor of Jakarta), among others.

Two workshops are planned for 2008: the second in the Riau Roundtable series and another that will commemorate ten years of *reformasi*.

South Asia Programme

Recognizing the growing importance of the Indian subcontinent in Asian and global affairs, RSIS initiated a new programme on South Asia in 2007. Incorporating the earlier initiative on a rising India, the South Asia Programme is now coordinated by Professor C. Raja Mohan. With Associate Professor Rajesh Basrur, the programme now has a nucleus of expertise that has begun to contribute to the teaching and research activities of RSIS.

In 2007, the programme actively contributed to the international debate on the implications of the historic India-U.S. civil nuclear initiative. Professor Mohan has begun work on a revised edition of his book on the subject. Dr. Basrur has completed his book on nuclear weapons and conflict in South Asia. Both have published or submitted a number of research articles on the evolution of India's nuclear policy in its multifarious dimensions.

While continuing to work on issues relating to nuclear weapons and non-proliferation in South Asia, the programme has also begun to generate work on relatively under-researched security dimensions of the subcontinent. Dr. Basrur published a co-edited volume on human security in South Asia. Professor Mohan had a research paper under review on the new area of India's potential contribution to Asian regional security order. He has published a research paper on the impact of domestic politics on India's foreign and security policies. This will form the foundation of a larger project he has initiated on the examination of the grand strategy of a rising India. The programme is also studying some of the new approaches India has adopted in resolving its territorial disputes with Pakistan and China, as well as its more forthcoming attitude towards South Asian regionalism. Research work has also been initiated on the regional intersection of the ambitions of Asia's two rising powers, China and India.

United States Programme

The United States Programme focuses on the foreign, military and broad security policies of the United States. How policymakers in the United States respond to strategic developments within the region will have a significant impact on the Asia-Pacific's security architecture. Many of the other research projects undertaken at RSIS are also underpinned by considerations for contemporary U.S. security strategy and policies. American policies consequently demand close scrutiny.

In 2007, research was undertaken on: (i) the United States and the regional security architecture; (ii) the revisionist tendencies of the United States as a hegemonic power and the implications on international security; and (iii) the international history of U.S. involvement in Asia. A paper, entitled "U.S. Primacy, the New Eurasian Strategic Landscape, and the Emerging Asian Order", by Visiting Research Fellow Dr. Alexander Lam Vuying was submitted as an *RSIS Working Paper*. The programme's research has also been accepted for publication as an article in the journal *Diplomatic History* and as a chapter in an edited volume. Another article is also currently under review by a refereed journal.

In October 2007, the programme collaborated with the Stanley Foundation to organize a conference on "Changing Security Cooperation and Competition: New Power Dynamics in Southeast Asia" in Singapore. RSIS has likewise hosted a number of distinguished scholars and practitioners at lectures and seminars on subjects related to the United States and U.S. security policy. They include MG Robert Lee, Adjutant General, State of Hawaii, Advisor on Homeland Security to the Governor of Hawaii, USA; Professor David Shambaugh, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University; Henry A. Crumpton, Ambassador-at-Large, Coordinator for Counterterrorism at the Department of State, U.S.A.; and Professor Richard K. Betts, S. Rajaratnam Professor of Strategic Studies and Arnold Saltzman Professor of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University.

The programme's upcoming research projects include a study on the Christian Right and its impact, if any, on social movements in the region. Also coming under scrutiny are the nature of U.S. force redeployments in the Asia-Pacific region and the impact of the military posture on the Asian regional order. Finally, there are plans to convene a conference to discuss the priorities and security policies of the new administration following the 2008 presidential elections.