

## Research at RSIS

Issue 13 - September 2018



**Institute of Defence and  
Strategic Studies (IDSS)**



## Maritime Security and Sea Lines of Communication — Research Paper

Ms Jane Chan *Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Maritime Security Programme*  
Mr Collin Koh *Research Fellow*

“The programme collaborates with the Information Fusion Centre (IFC) to work on topical maritime security issues relating to Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) and chokepoints within IFC’s areas of interest. The project aims to better understand the threats and challenges in regional waters. It will consider national, regional and inter-regional maritime law enforcement capacity, best practices and cooperation.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies / Maritime Security  
*region* South Asia / Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## Future Maritime Security Environment — Policy Paper and Workshop

Dr Sam Bateman *Adviser to the Maritime Security Programme*  
Ms Jane Chan *Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Maritime Security Programme*

“The study will identify likely developments in the maritime security environment of Asia over the next decade, including shifts in the maritime balance of power and particular threats and challenges in the maritime domain. The study will take a comprehensive view of security, and will include issues such as the trends with international shipping, environmental protection and resource scarcity. The overall objective will be to identify the implications of these developments for the region and for Singapore. The geographical scope for the study will be the Indo-Pacific region.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies / Maritime Security / Conflict and Stability  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / Southeast Asia and ASEAN / Indian Ocean Region  
*entity* IDSS

## Japanese Security Policy: Military Crises, Threat Inflation and Security Policy Development

Dr Bhubhindar Singh *Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Regional Security Architecture Programme*

“One of the most critical changes to Japan’s post-Cold War security policy has been the incorporation of the Japanese military, known as the Self-Defence Force (SDF), as a legitimate and important tool in its security policy practice. It has developed new roles both outside and within the U.S.-Japan alliance to contribute to regional/international security. The question is how has the Japanese security policymaking elite been able to bring about this critical change to the security policy practice in light of the domestic social and legal constraints that have traditionally prevented the expansion of Japan’s security role, in military terms, in regional and international affairs. This research introduces external military crises as a critical cause of this change in Japanese security policy. It argues that the security policymaking elite constructed or inflated elements of threat from an external military crisis as directly affecting both the international environment and Japan’s national security. This process allowed the security policymaking elite to circumvent the social and legal limitations and fulfil its role of a responsible and engaged actor in regional/international security. This study will focus on all military crises faced by Japan in the post-Cold War period.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies / International Politics and Security / Maritime Security  
*region* East Asia and Asia  
*entity* IDSS

## The Legal Authority of ASEAN as a Security Institution

Dr Tan See Seng *Professor of International Relations, Deputy Director and Head of Research of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies*

Dr Hitoshi Nasu *Professor of International Law, Exeter Law School, University of Exeter*

Dr Donald Rothwell *Professor of Law, ANU College of Law, Australian National University*

Dr Robert McLaughlin *Honorary Professor, ANU College of Law, Australian National University*

“As a regional institution long known for its preference of consensus, consultation and informality, ASEAN took a step in late 2007 to develop a legal personality with the establishment of the ASEAN charter. But while ASEAN has in place a legal framework for mediating and settling economic disputes between and among member states, such a framework for handling security challenges and facilitating intra-ASEAN security cooperation remains underdeveloped. This project highlights and discusses various transnational security-related issues and challenges that affect most if not all the ASEAN member countries and assesses how ASEAN has sought to address them through the legal-institutional frameworks and instruments at its disposal.”

*theme* International Politics and Security /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism

*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN

*entity* IDSS

## National Service in Singapore [Edited Volume]

Mr Ho Shu Huang *Associate Research Fellow*

Dr Graham Ong-Webb *Research Fellow*

Mr Eddie Lim *Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Military Studies Programme*

Ms Nur Diyanah Binte Anwar *Research Analyst CENS*

Ms Priscilla Cabuyao *Research Analyst CENS*

Mr Chang Jun Yan *Associate Research Fellow*

Dr Bernard Loo *Associate Professor and Coordinator of the MSc (Strategic Studies) Programme*

Mr Eugene Mark *Senior Analyst*

Mr Henrik Paulsson *Research Analyst*

Dr Terri-Anne Teo *Research Fellow CENS*

Dr Norman Vasu *Senior Fellow and Deputy Head of CENS*

Dr Wu Shang-Su *Research Fellow*

“National Service (NS) is one of Singapore’s foundational national defence policies. First introduced by the British in 1954, amended in 1967 to provide a means to defend a fledgling independent nation, and codified into its present form in 1970, NS is deeply woven into Singapore’s political and social fabric. The 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the enlistment of the first batch of full-time National Servicemen is an opportune time to contemplate the past, present and future of NS. This volume brings together a range of perspectives on NS in Singapore. It covers three main areas: the history of NS, NS in practice, and international perspectives. Comprising chapters by individuals with varied backgrounds, National Service in Singapore hopes to offer a broad account of one of Singapore’s fundamental public policies.”

*theme* General / Singapore and Homeland Security

*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN

*entity* IDSS / CENS

## Defence Reforms in India

Dr Anit Mukherjee *Assistant Professor*

“This is a chapter in a proposed book co-edited by the author tentatively titled *India’s Emerging Strategic Challenges*. This chapter examines the process of defence reforms in India. In doing so, it describes the evolution in India’s higher defence organisation including post-Kargil defence reforms. The chapter also focuses on contemporary debates and analyses the functioning and recommendations of the Naresh Chandra and the Shekatkar committees — which were created in 2011 and 2016 respectively, and were tasked to revisit the defence reforms process. Next, it will assess the prospects for defence reforms under Prime Minister Narendra Modi and will conclude by suggesting a roadmap for the future.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics and Security

*region* South Asia

*entity* IDSS

## How Generals Decide: Skilled Intuition and Military Effectiveness

Dr Pascal Vennesson *Professor*

“Why do generals make sensible decisions that help achieve operational effectiveness in some cases, yet misjudge the odds and make the wrong choices in others? Generalship is a core dimension of the art of war, but its relative importance for military effectiveness is theoretically contested and empirically unresolved. The overconfidence model and the recognition-primed decision model, two of the most influential perspectives about judgement and decisions in cognitive psychology, provide contrasting insights into the effect of generalship on military effectiveness. To assess these two models, I select a central puzzle in the history of command: General Douglas MacArthur’s success at Inchon followed a few weeks later by the stunning failure of his drive to the Yalu.”

*theme* International Politics and Security  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / Global  
*entity* IDSS

## Wide from the Start: Security and Post-Colonial State Building in Southeast Asia

Dr Pascal Vennesson *Professor*  
Dr Delphine Allès *Associate Professor, University of Paris East,  
France*

“Critical security advocates generally assume that the process of broadening and deepening security starts with a core, the defence of state borders, which is progressively left behind or complemented by “non-state” concerns and “non-military” policies. They see this incorporation of economic, societal and environmental issues to security as a conceptual and policy innovation, which downplays and even puts into question the centrality of the military. Finally, they maintain that broadening security tends to favour more liberal values and policies. In this paper, we seek to challenge this Western-centric interpretation by exploring the state and military sources of the comprehensive conception of security in Indonesia and Malaysia. Despite their differences in state building and international alignments, they both adopted comprehensive conceptions of security right from the start. Political, societal and economic issues have been constituted as security issues before the consolidation of frontiers and sovereignties.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics and Security / Maritime Security /  
Non-Traditional Security  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## Contesting Visions of Regional Orders in East Asia

Dr Bhubhindar Singh *Associate Professor and Coordinator of the  
Regional Security Architecture Programme*  
Mr Shawn Ho *Associate Research Fellow*  
Ms Sarah Teo *Associate Research Fellow*  
Mr Henrick Z. Tsjeng *Associate Research Fellow*

“Major power dynamics continue to shape East Asia’s peace and stability. While the Trump administration has declared its intentions to engage with regional countries and institutions, challenges are emerging to the U.S.-led regional order. China, for instance, has implemented initiatives that seem like the elements of an alternative regional order centred on its leadership. Other regional/ middle powers, including ASEAN and its member states, have to navigate these complex dynamics and ensure that their own interests are preserved in the evolving regional strategic landscape. This project will examine four sub-themes: (i) relevance and sustainability of U.S.-led regional order; (ii) elements of Chinese-led regional order; (iii) implications for defence multilateralism in East Asia; and (iv) prospects for issue-based multilateralism in regional security cooperation.”

*theme* International Politics and Security /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific /  
Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## Operationalising the Military Balance: Perception, Reality, and Stability in Southeast Asia

Dr Graham Ong-Webb *Research Fellow*

“This book project aims to fill a gap in the rigour and knowledge about military balances, with a focus on the balance in Southeast Asia. The term “military balance” is used quite loosely in current discussions about regional security. In the end, both the “perception” and “reality” of a military balance matters because it is the degree of misperception that lead states to underestimate (or over-estimate) the capabilities of others, distorting foreign policy positions and realising security dilemmas.”

*theme* Conflict and Stability /  
Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics and Security /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## Defence and Security in Singapore: An Annotated Bibliography

Mr Ho Shu Huang *Associate Research Fellow*  
Dr Samuel Chan *Adjunct Lecturer, Australian Defence Forces Academy, University of New South Wales*

“This project seeks to compile an annotated bibliography on defence and security issues focused on Singapore. This bibliographical database will be similar in form to the NTU Library Digital Project’s Singapore Literature in English: An Annotated Bibliography that was launched in 2008. Accessible on the Internet in the form of a searchable catalogue, the database of bibliographical entries will be organised by themes and keywords accompanied by abstracts. Additionally, information on where and how to access the document will be provided. Where possible, and copyright permitting, a soft copy of the document will also be available for download. Envisioned to be a living document, this database will be updated regularly, and users will also be able to suggest additions, as well as highlight any errors in existing entries.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
Singapore and Homeland Security  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## Chinese Exceptionalism: A Framework to Interpret China’s Rise and International Relations

Mr Benjamin Ho *Associate Research Fellow*

“This study examines the concept of Chinese exceptionalism and how it frames China’s international relations, particularly its claims to being “different” and “good” compared to the Western-led international system. Among others, this study analyses how exceptionalist thinking is manifested in various aspects of China’s global interactions: (i) in its international relations theory, and (ii) in its self-identity and its national image. Empirically, it will look at China’s relations with its neighbours, relations with the diaspora as well as the Belt Road initiatives.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics and Security /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / Southeast Asia and ASEAN /  
Global  
*entity* IDSS

## The Malaysian Approach to Counterinsurgency (1963–1990)

Dr Ong Weichong *Assistant Professor*

“This proposed research project is a historical study of Malaysian counterinsurgency (COIN) strategy and practice against the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) and the North Kalimantan Communist Party (NKCP) during the 1963–1990 period. This study intends to elucidate the following three areas of historical significance: Why were there two distinct communist insurgencies in Malaysia; How did Malaysia defeat two separate communist insurgencies in two different geographical locations (Peninsular Malaysia and Borneo); the COIN response and strategy of Malaysia and to a lesser extent the counter-subversion strategy of Singapore to the CPM threat. The results of the research project will be published in a sole-authored book.”

*theme* Conflict and Stability / Country and Region Studies  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## Military Innovation in East Asia: Paths and Patterns

Dr Michael Raska *Assistant Professor*

“This book seeks to address emerging trends and developments when it comes to future warfare in East Asia. It will explore the likely future military domains, warfighting concepts, and subsequent military-technological priorities that could be the most critical in the next two decades. It considers what may constitute the next revolution in military affairs and when and how it might occur. Questions to consider include:

- (i) what is the role of new and emerging enabling technologies and their impact on warfighting in East Asia;
  - (ii) what are the most likely kinds of armed conflict that we can expect in the next two decades;
  - (iii) where is conflict most likely to occur;
  - (iv) will armed conflict be more or less prevalent than now; and
  - (v) what are the shocks or game-changers that can alter the route to the most likely future?
- How, then, might these long-term developments affect regional security and defence?”

*theme* International Politics and Security  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / Europe  
*entity* IDSS

## Professional Military Education of Military Officers in the Asia Pacific

Mr Eddie Lim *Senior Fellow and Head of Military Studies Programme*

“In a complex security environment, the challenges of the military profession today is to stay ahead of the curve of perceived threats, and achieve mission success for its mandate of securing the nation and its people. However, within the milieu of expanding demands, how do nations approach the educational and professional development of its military officers to deal with today’s context?”

This research project seeks to chart out the officer education for the militaries of key Asia Pacific countries. This report will provide a strong basis to compare and contrast the state of officer training and education between ASEAN members and other militaries in the region.

The analysis from this report will provide a number of policy implications; a criterion for effective Professional Military Education (PME) across nations and services, a review of current officer training and education, differentiating how different Services approach officer education, as well as offering insights on how bilateral and multilateral relationships could be further enhanced through defence diplomacy.”

*theme* Military Studies  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## India's Pakistan Problem: Operation Parakram Revisited

Dr Rajesh Basrur *Professor and Coordinator of the South Asia Programme*

“The key questions that will be raised in this study are: (i) why did India launch its sustained exercise in coercive diplomacy to try and compel Pakistan to abandon its support for terrorist groups attacking Indian targets? and (ii) why did India decide to terminate the exercise ten months later? Implicit in the first is the corollary question: was there a real intent to go to war? Or was it all just a giant bluff? An integral aspect of the questions posed above is “to what extent did nuclear weapons exercise an influence on the decision?” The focus of this project is on methodology and the state of our knowledge with regard to the availability of reliable evidence.”

*theme* Conflict and Stability / Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics / Terrorism Studies  
*region* South Asia  
*entity* IDSS

## Analysing Regional Political Trends in Indonesia Prior to the 2019 Indonesian General Election

Dr Alexander R Arifianto *Research Fellow*  
Mr Adri Wanto *Associate Research Fellow*  
Mr Jonathan Chen Jieyang *Associate Research Fellow*  
Mr Emirza Adi Syailendra *Senior Analyst*  
Mr Keoni Indrabayu Marzuki *Senior Analyst*  
Ms Chaula Rininta Anindya *Research Analyst*

“As part of the ongoing research on contemporary trends in Indonesian politics prior to the 2019 general election, the 2018 Simultaneous Regional Executive Elections is being studied to determine the bilateral and regional policy implications to Singapore. The project plans to conduct the study in the Riau Islands, North Sumatera, West Java, East Java, and West Kalimantan provinces, which all serve as political barometer for the 2019 presidential election. The project also plans to study the elections by highlighting three main themes that is believed to be very crucial to understanding the 2018 regional elections and their future implications towards the 2019 general election:

- (i) The relationship between candidates and political parties,
- (ii) Islam and politics at regional level, and
- (iii) Business and politics relationship at regional level.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies / Non-Traditional Security /  
Religion in Contemporary Society  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* RSIS / IDSS

## Challenges and Opportunities for ADMM/ADMM-Plus

Dr Tan See Seng *Professor of International Relations, Deputy Director and Head of Research of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies*  
Dr Bhubhindar Singh *Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Regional Security Architecture Programme*  
Dr Wu Shang-Su *Research Fellow*  
Mr Shawn Ho *Associate Research Fellow*  
Ms Sarah Teo *Associate Research Fellow*  
Mr Henrick Z. Tsjeng *Associate Research Fellow*

“This project aims to take stock of the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) and ADMM-Plus, as well as Singapore's ASEAN and ADMM Chairmanship. The scope of this project includes examining:

- (i) suggestions on how the ADMM and ADMM-Plus can continue contributing to regional security challenges;
- (ii) the pros and cons of ADMM-Plus observership; and
- (iii) Singapore's objectives and achievements in its ASEAN Chairmanship year.”

*theme* International Politics and Security /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS



## The Future Regional Security Architecture

Dr Tan See Seng *Professor of International Relations, Deputy Director and Head of Research of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies*

Dr Bhubhindar Singh *Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Regional Security Architecture Programme*

Dr Wu Shang-Su *Research Fellow*

Mr Shawn Ho *Associate Research Fellow*

Ms Sarah Teo *Associate Research Fellow*

Mr Henrick Z. Tsjeng *Associate Research Fellow*

“This project aims to study emerging groupings and “minilaterals” that could play key roles in the future regional security architecture. These include the “Quad” which seeks to underpin a “free and open Indo-Pacific”, the Indian Ocean Region fora, as well as cooperative platforms in mainland Southeast Asia such as the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation mechanism and China-Laos-Myanmar-Thailand joint patrols in the Mekong River. The scope of this project includes:

- (i) conceptualising the idea of “minilateral” groupings vis-à-vis multilateralism;
- (ii) studying the motivations and institutions involved in these groupings, as well as how they relate to other geographical concepts such as the Asia Pacific and East Asia;
- (iii) implications for the ASEAN-centric regional order, including effects on ASEAN centrality and unity, and the ways that ASEAN can play a role amidst these constructs; and
- (iv) implications for the major powers’ engagement of the region.”

*theme* International Politics and Security /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism

*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## Analysing Regional Trends in Indonesia Prior to the 2019 Indonesian General Election (with an emphasis on East Java, Surabaya and West Kalimantan, Pontianak)

Mr Chen Jieyang Jonathan *Associate Research Fellow*

Dr Alexander Raymond Arifianto *Research Fellow*

“The research on “Analysing Regional Trends in Indonesia Prior to the 2019 Indonesian General Election” with an emphasis on the ongoing gubernatorial election in East Java Province and West Kalimantan Province has the primary aim of teasing out the dynamics of the election and its potential implications for the upcoming 2019 Indonesian general election. The key research questions analysed are:

(i) the relationship between the candidates and political parties who are supporting them;

(ii) the role of Islam and politics at the regional level and;

(iii) business and politics relationship at regional level. The research will utilise qualitative interviews with resource persons from representatives and campaign staffs from the gubernatorial campaigns, political party representatives, politicians, Islamic civil society organisations and representatives of the business community supporting the different candidates in East Java and West Kalimantan.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
Religion in Contemporary Society

*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN

*entity* RSIS / IDSS

## Constructing Regional Security in the Indian Ocean: Institutions, Processes and Extra-Regional Powers

Dr Sinderpal Singh *Senior Fellow*

“Maritime security concerns in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) have been changing rapidly in the past decade, leading to three key difficulties. The first is the difficulty of gaining a broad consensus on how institutions and processes should prioritise between traditional and non-traditional security concerns. The second is the significant sub-regional variance of the types of security threats facing individual states and the varying capacity to respond to these threats. The third relates to addressing the role of extra-regional states in contributing towards maritime security in the IOR. Re-crafting security architecture in the IOR via modifying both institutions and processes in three core areas will significantly mitigate these three difficulties.”

*theme* Conflict and Stability / Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics and Security / Maritime Security /  
Non-Traditional Security / Regionalism and Multilateralism

*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific/ South Asia /  
Southeast Asia and ASEAN

*entity* IDSS

## Taiwan's Air Power

Dr Wu Shang-Su *Research Fellow*

“This is a chapter in a book on air power edited by Amit Gupta. Airpower has been a critical factor in the military balance across the Taiwan Strait since 1949, and Taipei always places its air force and, broadly, air defence, on the top priority of defence investment. After seven decades of efforts, Taiwan has built a remarkable air defence network comprised of fighters, surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), ground based and airborne radars and other facilities. In parallel, the other side of the Strait has also worked hard to neutralise the network through conventional and non-conventional means. The cross-Strait dynamic relations determines the nuance of Taiwan's air power, along with other important factors, such as the domestic politics and Taiwan's international isolation. This chapter will be divided into four parts, historical reviews, dynamic challenges, current plans, and conclusion to form a comprehensive view on Taiwan's air power.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific  
*entity* IDSS

## Federalism, State Influence and Centre-State Relations

Mr Rashaad Ali *Research Analyst*  
Ms Najwa Abdullah *Research Analyst*

“This research project analyses the federal agreement of Malaysia between the federal government and states following GE14. This analysis will include an examination of how existing Barisan Nasional (BN) states use the promise of delivering state and parliamentary seats to the federal government as leverage for demanding greater state autonomy, as was the case during the Sarawak state elections in 2016. It will also examine how states manage their relationships with the centre post-election: (i) Pakatan Harapan (PH)-controlled states; (ii) BN-controlled states; (iii) Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS)-controlled states; and (iv) federal territories. It shall examine how state manage disbursement of federal funds, control of resources as well as matters of religion, defence and security policies. Of particular interest is to see how the election may contribute to a centralisation or devolution of power. The increasing centralisation of Malaysia's security decision-making process shall be studied by examining the National Security Council.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## India's Indian Ocean Doctrine: Building an Indian Ocean Security Architecture

Dr Sinderpal Singh *Senior Fellow*

“In last decade, India has devoted an increasing amount of resources and political capital in augmenting its naval capability and has articulated its desire to take on a leadership role within the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). In this endeavour it has confronted several issues. The first is the appropriate role China should play in the IOR. The second problem India faces is the diversity of the IOR and the disparate security needs of countries in the different sub-regions within the IOR. Can IORA and IONS be strengthened to play a central role in the security dynamics of the IOR? Should India lead in building new security institutions outside IORA and IONS? This project will examine these questions from the perspective of India's emerging power status within international politics.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics and Security /  
Maritime Security / Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* Africa / East Asia and Asia Pacific / South Asia /  
Southeast Asia and ASEAN / Global  
*entity* IDSS

## Malaysia's Relations with the Major Powers: Changes and Continuity in the Midst of Complex Challenges

Dr Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman *Assistant Professor*

"This research project explores changes and continuity in Malaysia's relations with the major powers, namely the United States and China. Although Malaysia's ruling elites have constantly claimed that Malaysia's foreign policy is independent, neutral and non-aligned in its engagement with the major powers, Malaysia's ability to adhere to this principle has come under considerable pressure for three key reasons. First, former Prime Minister Najib Razak faced considerable political, economic, and social challenges to its legitimacy and survivability on the domestic front. Second, Malaysia has faced difficulties in maintain its autonomy in foreign policy because of the China-US rivalry in recent years, especially under recently ousted Prime Minister Najib. Thirdly, the fact that Barisan Nasional (BN) has lost federal power for the first time ever suggests that there may be a noticeable shift in terms of how Malaysia approaches foreign policy towards major powers."

*theme* International Political Economy /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* Americas / East Asia and Asia Pacific /  
Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## The 14<sup>th</sup> General Elections in Malaysia Part 2

Dr Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman *Assistant Professor*  
Mr Prashant Waikar *Research Analyst*

"Even though Barisan Nasional successfully consolidated its political position through a series of strong-armed moves to neutralise opposition threats to its leadership, it lost the 14th General Elections. Former UMNO elites opposed to Najib, led by Mahathir Mohamad, coalesced to form an additional opposition force via a new Malay-nationalist political party (Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia – Bersatu) that is modelled on UMNO. This project will look to provide an analysis of the major electoral themes and the electoral dynamics between political parties that have influenced the election outcomes, how and why the Mahathir-led Pakatan Harapan (PH) coalition was successful in both winning the federal power and control of eight state governments, as well as an examination of the future trajectories in Malaysian politics and policymaking under the Mahathir administration."

*theme* Country and Region Studies  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## Towards a New Political Islam of Malaysia: Gender Politics and Islamist International Relations

Dr Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman *Assistant Professor*  
Mr Prashant Waikar *Research Analyst*

"This project synthesises two areas of focus in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of hitherto neglected research subjects:

(i) the role of women in framing and re-framing Islamic politics in Malaysia; and

(ii) Malaysia's Islamic and Islamist influence in Southeast Asia. It shall be conducted over two years as a multi-methods project. The policy implications of this project are multiple and include potential proposals for interstate security policy concerning terrorism, Singapore's foreign policy concerning Islam, and Singapore's domestic religious management. While little is currently known about the proposed research areas, it is anticipated that the knowledge produced may result in a significant development in both academic and policy understandings of Malaysian political Islam — from Malaysia as a passive recipient of Islamist influence, to Malaysia's active role in shaping a tradition of Islamism in the region and beyond."


*theme* General / Conflict and Stability /  
Country and Region Studies /  
Terrorism Studies / Religion in Contemporary Society  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* IDSS

## From Denial to Punishment: The Security Dilemma and Changes in India's Military Strategy towards China

Dr Wu Shang-Su *Research Fellow*

“A book chapter in *The Taiwan Issue: Challenges and Prospects*, edited by Andrew Tan, this chapter examines the development of Taiwan's armed forces, the problems and challenges it faces, and its future prospects. Taiwan's armed forces with an offensive structure during the Cold War have been transformed for island defence in the 1990s. However, their ability of defence in the face of China's rising military power has been doubtful, despite considerable investment. The root would be the dramatic strategic changes corresponding to the diverse national identities. As independence and unification are diverse approaches, the respective strategic guidance are unavoidably contradictive. Apart from politics, the poor internal management and some popularist policies, such as all-voluntary forces, also contribute to the unreliable image of Taiwan's armed forces. Based the current political situation, an overall reform of armed forces for greater deterrence would be unlikely.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific  
*entity* IDSS




## Taiwan's Armed Forces

Dr Wu Shang-Su *Research Fellow*

“A book chapter in *The Taiwan Issue: Challenges and Prospects*, edited by Andrew Tan, this chapter examines the development of Taiwan's armed forces, the problems and challenges it faces, and its future prospects. Taiwan's armed forces with an offensive structure during the Cold War have been transformed for island defence in the 1990s. However, their ability of defence in the face of China's rising military power has been doubtful, despite considerable investment. The root would be the dramatic strategic changes corresponding to the diverse national identities. As independence and unification are diverse approaches, the respective strategic guidance are unavoidably contradictive. Apart from politics, the poor internal management and some popularist policies, such as all-voluntary forces, also contribute to the unreliable image of Taiwan's armed forces. Based the current political situation, an overall reform of armed forces for greater deterrence would be unlikely.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific  
*entity* IDSS



**International Centre for  
Political Violence and  
Terrorism Research (ICPVTR)**



## The Three Pillars of Radicalisation: Needs, Narratives and Networks

Dr Arie W. Kruglanski *Professor, University of Maryland*  
Dr Jocelyn J. Bélanger *Assistant Professor, New York University*  
Dr Rohan Gunaratna *Professor and Head of ICPVTR*

“In this book project, the authors will examine how radicalisation happens from the social psychological perspective. This book is based on the field research conducted with terrorists and their supporters.”

*theme* Terrorism Studies  
*region* Global  
*entity* RSIS / ICPVTR

## Women and Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives

Ms Sara Mahmood *Senior Analyst*  
Dr Rohan Gunaratna *Professor and Head of ICPVTR*

“Despite the evident involvement of women in terrorism, the subject continues to be clouded by androcentric perspectives. This leads to a limited understanding of the important roles women possess within radical Islamist and non-Islamist groups, such as al-Qaeda and IS, and the Chechen Black Widows and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Not fully understanding the dimensions of women’s participation in terrorist groups impedes effective policymaking to curb their radicalisation processes. Hence, this edited book will bring together diverse perspectives and case studies from different countries/regions on women in extremist and terrorist groups to draw some key lessons challenging mainstream assumptions and present policies on the subject.”

*theme* Conflict and Stability / Terrorism Studies  
*region* Europe / South Asia / Southeast Asia / Middle East and North Africa (MENA)  
*entity* ICPVTR

## Normalisation of Violence: Case Studies

Dr Irm Haleem *Assistant Professor and Manager (Research & Publications)*

“This is a multi-authored edited volume, where Dr Haleem serves as both the editor and author of three chapters, including a chapter on the conceptual framework for the book. The authors in this volume argue for or against the framework laid out by Dr Haleem in Chapter One: *Conceptualising the Normalisation of Violence.*”

*theme* Conflict and Stability / Terrorism Studies  
*region* Global  
*entity* ICPVTR

## Muslims Living in Non-Muslim Lands: Contesting Muhammad Saeed Al-Qahtani's Argument on *Hijrah - Al Wala wa Al Bara* Nexus

Mr Muhammad Saiful Alam Shah Bin Sudiman *Associate Research Fellow*

Dr Mohamed Bin Ali *Assistant Professor*

"This paper examines Muhammad Saeed Al-Qahtani's argument on the nexus between the Islamic concept of *Hijrah* and the Salafi concept of *Al-Walā' wal Barā' (WB)*. Al-Qahtani asserts that Muslims' faith is compromised if they choose to live in a non-Muslim land, accept the rule of non-Muslims and live under any rule other than the *Sharī'ah* (Islamic law). Accordingly, this violates the creed of WB. This essay is an attempt to offer a different perspective that is cemented to the opinions of traditional and contemporary Muslim jurists. The paper will begin with a brief introduction of Al-Qahtani and his work, followed by his argument on *hijrah*. It will then discuss the obligation of *hijrah* from Islamic perspective and the context of *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-harb* (abode of Islam and abode of war) as counter arguments to the claims made by Al-Qahtani."

*theme* Terrorism Studies  
*region* Global  
*entity* ICPVTR and SRP

## Normalisation of Violence: A Conceptual Analysis

Dr Irm Haleem *Assistant Professor and Manager (Research & Publications)*

"This book is intended for the short book series that several publishers offer. It seeks to conceptualize violence so as to cast a light on the "what is" of the normalization of violence. This book expands on the conceptual framework that Dr Haleem offers in her edited volume: *Normalisation of Violence: Case Studies*. However, unlike the edited volume, this book offers an exclusively conceptual (and not an empirical) analysis."

*theme* Conflict and Stability / Terrorism Studies  
*region* Global  
*entity* ICPVTR

## Terrorism on the New Silk Road: Challenges and Responses

Dr Rohan Gunaratna *Professor and Head of ICPVTR*  
Mr Nodirbek Soliev *Senior Analyst*

"This is a co-authored book project that will examine the challenges arising from radical Islamist terrorist and insurgent groups operating in China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Russia. It will analyse the state and regional responses to such violence. More specifically, the book will cover developments from 1990s to the present time, thereby focusing on the era from the revival of Islam in Central Asia, to the rise of new generation of Islamist fighters in the Middle East."

*theme* Terrorism Studies  
*region* Central Asia / East Asia and Asia Pacific / Europe / Middle East and North Africa (MENA)  
*entity* ICPVTR

## Understanding India's Counter Terrorism Relations with Saudi Arabia and the UAE

Mohammed Sinan Siyech *Research Analyst*

“Counter Terrorism Cooperation between India and the Gulf nations has only strengthened over the past five years whereas transnational links in these countries have existed since the 1990's. This paper explores factors which have improved Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and India's security collaborations, particularly in counter terrorism. Drawing on primary sources and statements of various ministries involved, it argues that economic and geopolitical factors apart from the changing security landscape in the Middle East in Afghanistan account for this new cooperation. In doing so it also discusses how much the Modi administration has changed the dynamics of India's relationship with the two nations. This paper thus, explores an under researched area of India's security relations with nations in West Asia.

**Key Words:** India, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bilateral Counter-terrorism Cooperation, Geopolitical Shifts, Changing Security Landscape”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics and Security / Terrorism Studies  
*region* South Asia/Middle East and North Africa (MENA)  
*entity* ICPVTR

## Anti-India Sentiments in South Asia: Terrorist Recruitment Narratives

Mohammed Sinan Siyech *Research Analyst*  
Nazneen Mohsina *Research Analyst*

“Due to India's hegemonic aspirations in South Asia, its presence and actions have often threatened its neighbouring states and garnered considerable anti-Indian sentiments. This paper highlights how terrorist groups in the region have exploited this sentiment as a rallying call for recruitment. Specifically, it looks at Pakistan and Bangladesh and discusses how contrasting attitudes of the two states towards India have generated/shaped anti India rhetoric among its populace.

By analysing state policies, statements of terrorist group and the contextual/historical backgrounds of some prominent attacks, the paper demonstrates how identity threats, state support of radicals and a disdain of India's treatment of its minority Muslim population is intertwined with growing recruitment by terrorist groups. It then examines if this dislike of Indian foreign policy may manifest itself in other south Asian countries. Accordingly, this article concludes that while a dislike of Indian policy is not a major factor radicalizing terrorist groups in South Asia, it is likely a notable trend that will have to be paid closer attention in the future given the rapid changes in the geopolitics of South Asia.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics and Security / Terrorism Studies  
*region* South Asia  
*entity* ICPVTR



**Centre of Excellence for  
National Security (CENS)**



## The Societal Reintegration of Prisoners Convicted of Terrorism Offences in Indonesia

Mr Cameron Sumpter *Associate Research Fellow*

“The societal reintegration of former prisoners convicted of terrorism offences is an often overlooked aspect of a state’s counter-terrorism policy portfolio. In Indonesia, several hundred people have been released from prison in the past 10 years after serving sentences for involvement in or support for terrorism. Both state agencies and civil society organisations have worked towards facilitating their successful transition back into society, but resources appear to be modest and recent cases of recidivism suggest that efforts may be falling short. The present study seeks to evaluate initiatives to reintegrate former terrorist prisoners with Indonesian society. It will attempt to gauge the specific problems faced by returning prisoners, as well as state and non-state efforts to address the difficulties of readjusting to normal life.”

*theme* Terrorism Studies  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* CENS

## Detecting Future “Marawis”

Mr Joseph Franco *Research Fellow*

“[Field research for CENS]

This project looks at the overlooked drivers that led to the Battle for Marawi. It will assess how clan politics and local issues led to the internationalised conflict. Field research will be conducted in Metro Manila, central Mindanao, and other areas that are potential sites of Marawi-style uprisings.”

*theme* Terrorism Studies  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* CENS

**Centre for Non-Traditional  
Security Studies (NTS Centre)**



## Community Protection and Empowerment

Dr Mely Caballero-Anthony *Professor and Head of NTS Centre*  
Dr Alistair D. B. Cook *Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) Programme*  
Dr Tamara Nair *Research Fellow*

“This project aims to (i) map the most vulnerable populations across the world to better understand their needs and vulnerabilities; and (ii) to understand the capacity of communities to respond in the event of crises. This project will map out marginalised communities as well as regions that are more prone to disasters and violence. Special focus will be given to regions where these various categories overlap as they are defined as complex security environments. This project will also look at specific ways to help these communities to protect themselves in crises and also determine where and what type of humanitarian assistance should be provided to help them. This project also seeks to bring together the public, private and people sectors to debate on best practices when dealing with vulnerable communities.”

*theme* Conflict and Stability / Non-Traditional Security / International Politics and Security  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / South Asia / Southeast Asia and ASEAN / Global  
*entity* NTS Centre

## Future HADR Landscape in Asia: Structures and Mechanisms

Dr Mely Caballero-Anthony *Professor and Head of NTS Centre*  
Dr Alistair D. B. Cook *Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) Programme*  
Ms Foo Yen Ne *Senior Analyst*

“This project aims to track the emergence of new humanitarian actors (both state and non-state) and to map particular successes, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in preparing for disaster relief and conflict response in the region. The project also focuses on the relationships between civilian and military actors and the emerging points of difference and convergence between the two in responding to HADR in the Asia Pacific. The project also evaluates the quality and impact of both military and civilian organisations’ emergency responses.”

*theme* Conflict and Stability / International Politics and Security / Non-Traditional Security / Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* Americas / East Asia and Asia Pacific / South Asia / Southeast Asia and ASEAN / Global  
*entity* NTS Centre

## Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) Database

Dr Mely Caballero-Anthony *Professor and Head of NTS Centre*  
Dr Alistair D. B. Cook *Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) Programme*

“This project aims to establish a Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) database that will provide the basis upon which to capture lessons learnt and reflections on HADR operations. This will provide an avenue to build institutional memory on HADR and the evidence for periodic briefings on HADR developments. Its success will be dependent on the ability to engage with returning and serving relief workers and military personnel involved in HADR activities.”

*theme* Conflict and Stability / International Politics and Security / Non-Traditional Security / Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / South Asia / Southeast Asia and ASEAN / Global  
*entity* NTS Centre

## Humanitarian Technology

Dr Mely Caballero-Anthony *Professor and Head of NTS Centre*  
Dr Alistair D. B. Cook *Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) Programme*  
Mr Martin Searle *Associate Research Fellow*

“This project examines the field of humanitarian technology (HUMTECH) as applied to a broadly defined context of crises encompassing both natural disasters and conflict zones. This project seeks to identify the impact technology has on humanitarian responses as well as the emergent challenges of information technology, big data and technological innovations in humanitarian action.”

*theme* Conflict and Stability / International Politics and Security /  
Non-Traditional Security / Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / South Asia /  
Southeast Asia and ASEAN / Global  
*entity* NTS Centre

## Mapping Regional Frameworks for Nuclear Energy Governance in the Asia Pacific

Dr Mely Caballero-Anthony *Professor and Head of NTS Centre*  
Mr Julius Cesar Trajano *Research Fellow*

“The project explores pathways toward building a robust framework for nuclear energy governance in the Asia Pacific, including ASEAN. It has the following objectives:

1. To look into the nuclear energy plans of East Asian/ASEAN countries, including the construction of nuclear power plants in the region. Part of this objective is to identify the critical issues and challenges to NPP development in the region, with special focus on the safety, security and protection of nuclear facilities and radioactive materials.
2. To examine the regulatory frameworks on nuclear energy in ASEAN and the Asia Pacific. It includes understanding how international norms and frameworks on nuclear safety and security can inform regional nuclear governance cooperation in ASEAN, including the role of ASEAN Network of Regulatory Bodies on Atomic Energy (ASEANTOM).
3. To explore the feasibility of a “wider regional framework/blueprint for nuclear energy cooperation in the Asia Pacific”, building on some of the existing regional frameworks such as the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (SEANWFZ) Treaty, Forum for Nuclear Cooperation in Asia, etc. This will be done through the participation of RSIS in Track 1.5/2 networks such as the CSCAP-Nuclear Energy Experts Group and International Nuclear Security Education Network (INSEN).”

*theme* Energy Security /  
Cybersecurity, Biosecurity and Nuclear Safety /  
Non-Traditional Security  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* NTS Centre

## Knowledge Management for Humanitarian Continuity (Project 3 of Choped-Asia project) Analysing the disaster relief of a specific case study

Dr Mely Caballero-Anthony *Professor and Head of NTS Centre*  
Dr Alistair D. B. Cook *Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) Programme*  
Mr Chen Zhiming Christopher *Research Associate*

“Case study analysis of a past event on Asia Pacific in which disaster relief efforts took place.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics and Security /  
Non-Traditional Security /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific  
*entity* NTS Centre

## Mapping and Analysis of HADR Landscape (Project 2 of Choped-Asia project) Project will build a solid foundation by analysing the HADR actors involved in the Asia Pacific

Dr Mely Caballero-Anthony *Professor and Head of NTS Centre*  
Dr Alistair D. B. Cook *Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) Programme*  
Mr Chen Zhiming Christopher *Research Associate*

“For a comprehensive understanding of the regional landscape, this project will build a solid foundation by analysing the current and emerging actors involved in HADR in the Asia Pacific. Through mapping the landscape and then analysing their interactions, we will develop the intellectual capacity in Singapore to contribute to the global debate and provide an assessment of how the mechanisms in the region can coordinate the region’s response when disasters strike.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics and Security /  
Non-Traditional Security / Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific  
*entity* NTS Centre

## Assessing Gaps and Opportunities in Food Safety for Safer Food Production in ASEAN

Dr Mely Caballero-Anthony *Professor and Head of NTS Centre*  
Mr Jose Ma Luis P. Montesclaros *Associate Research Fellow*  
Dr Jorgen Schlundt *Professor and Director, NTU Food Technology Centre*

“This project aims to examine the current threats to food safety in ASEAN and explore ways to foster and enhance collaboration on food security. This project will produce a policy-relevant paper on how ASEAN as an institution, and its member states can address the types of food-borne diseases (FBD) that have plagued the region over the years. This is to be achieved by mapping out the ASEAN institutions involved in FBD management, and identifying gaps when compared to successful FBD management systems in countries/institutions such as Denmark and the European Union. This study will be limited to the top three to four diseases related to biotic factors (such as bacteria, parasites, and viruses), identified based on World Health Organization (WHO) Data. Literature review and stakeholder interviews will be done to provide insights on the ground. This research is being done in collaboration with the newly established NTU Food Technology Centre (NAFTEC).”

*theme* Non-Traditional Security  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* NTS Centre

## Contributing to Food Security and Fulfilling Agriculture’s Commercial Potential through Urban and Peri-Urban Agriculture in Singapore

Dr Paul Teng *Professor and Adjunct Senior Fellow*  
Mr Jose Ma Luis P. Montesclaros *Associate Research Fellow*

“Singapore imports more than 90 per cent of its total food consumption, and grows some quantities of eggs, fish and vegetables. There are plans of boosting these numbers, although any initiative will need to value-add to the country’s economy and productivity. In order to be more food secure amid the limitation of space, the government has supported technologies such as vertical farming, and provided funding to help farmers upgrade practices. This study will look into the types of technologies that can be leveraged to boost farming’s productivity, and allow for greater production within the limits of space, water and labour. It will further study the enabling environment for technology, focussing on the technology-policy interface. The first application is an exploration of agricultural technologies (agtech) applicable to urban and peri-urban agriculture (UPA). There is a parallel collaboration with the Singapore Centre for Research in Innovation, Productivity and Technology (SCRIPT), Murdoch University, in assessing the viability of identified agtech, and the commodities they apply to.”

*theme* Non-Traditional Security  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* NTS Centre

## Marine Environmental Protection Governance in the South China Sea: Prospects of Cooperation

Dr Lina Gong *Research Fellow*  
Ms Margareth Sembiring *Associate Research Fellow*  
Mr Julius Cesar Trajano *Research Fellow*

“This project will attempt to fill the research gap in the current policy debates and studies on the South China Sea disputes by examining marine environmental protection in this contested strategic sealane based on the existing literature and discussions. This project will explore the norms of marine environmental protection and regional cooperation as applied to the South China Sea. It will also highlight the importance of marine environmental protection as a shared responsibility of claimant states, ASEAN and relevant Dialogue Partners (e.g. Japan, China, the U.S., and Australia). It will explore the prospects of regional cooperation on marine environmental cooperation in the South China Sea and identify key issues that may hinder regional cooperation. It will likewise explore the applicability of current international environmental laws and conventions to the South China Sea, and how they can complement regional initiatives to protect the marine ecosystem in the disputed waters.”

*theme* Non-Traditional Security  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* NTS Centre

## China's Greater Commitment to Global Governance: Implications for Governance of Non-traditional Security Issues in East Asia

Dr Lina Gong *Research Fellow*

“China's foreign policy has gradually shifted away from the principle of “keeping a low profile” to that of “achieving something” in recent years. A good example of this trend is China's greater commitment to issues of global concern like peace and conflict and climate change. There are different approaches to addressing global challenges and the existing system is influenced by values and norms of developed countries. This project will seek to understand China's approach to global governance, compare it with existing models, and examine the implications of China's expanded role in global governance. This research will also attempt to analyse how changes in China's foreign policy influence regional governance, like whether and how a more proactive China leads to opportunities for and/or challenges to strengthened China-ASEAN cooperation in governance of non-traditional security issues.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies / Non-Traditional Security  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / Global  
*entity* NTS Centre

**Centre for Multilateralism Studies  
(CMS)**





## IMF = I'M Fired?: IMF Programme Participation and Workers' Rights

Dr Lee Su-Hyun *Assistant Professor*  
Dr Byungwon Woo *Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Korea*

"This is a research project in collaboration with Professor Byungwon Woo at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Korea. We examine the effects of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on labour rights. Critics of the IMF contend that participation in an IMF programme is detrimental to workers' rights as the IMF tries to impose pro-business labor policies via conditionality. In this paper, we argue that while the IMF might have tried to make IMF programs more beneficial to workers, those efforts are too little to reverse the overall negative effects on labour rights in both short term and long term. Utilising a labour rights dataset and the IMF labour market conditionality dataset for 89 countries, we demonstrate that IMF programmes with stricter labour-market conditions have more detrimental effects on both de jure labour rights and de facto labour practices.

[Update] The paper was presented at the Political Economy of International Organizations (PEIO)'s Annual Meeting in January 2017 at the University of Bern. We are currently checking the robustness of our findings with additional data sources from the 2018 IMF Lending Arrangements & the CIRI Human Rights Dataset."

*theme* General / International Political Economy  
*region* Global  
*entity* CMS

## Ethnic Diversity, Political Institutions, and the Provision of Public Goods

Dr Lee Su-Hyun *Assistant Professor*

"Much previous research has identified ethnic diversity as one of the major factors explaining cross-national differences in economic growth and public policy outcomes. Diversity is negatively associated with various aspects of good governance, as it hinders the ability of a society to communicate on common goals and to sanction those who fail to cooperate. Then why are some countries more successful in overcoming the costs of ethnic division and providing more public goods than others? This paper argues that the relationship between diversity and public good provisions depends on domestic political institutions that shape the incentives and abilities of representative policymakers to serve broad, national constituencies. Using data on public policy outcomes and party politics in 78 countries for the period 1980-2015, the paper finds that high levels of party system nationalisation significantly mitigate the negative effects of diversity on public goods provision.

[Update: I am currently checking the robustness of the findings with alternative measures.]"

*theme* General / Country and Region Studies /  
International Political Economy  
*region* Global  
*entity* CMS

## Mobile Phone Users as Pseudo-brokers in Clientelism: Evidence from Africa

Dr Lee Su-Hyun *Assistant Professor*  
Dr Han Il Chang *New York University, Abu Dhabi*

"This is a research project in collaboration with Dr Han Il Chang at New York University, Abu Dhabi. In this paper we study the impact of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) on clientelistic exchanges. Relying on the literature on clientelism in developing countries, we maintain that politicians disproportionately direct private transfers to mobile phone users, who can easily share persuasive messages with their communication partners and provide cascading benefits. Analysing data from the fifth wave of the Afrobarometer survey, we find that mobile phone users are indeed more likely to be targeted. Their chances of being targeted, however, decrease as they reside in urban areas or as their feeling of being monitored rises. The data also reveal that mobile phone users are more likely to persuade others to vote for a certain politician upon receiving private transfers. Our findings imply that mobile phone users serve as pseudo-brokers in clientelistic politics in developing democracies."

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
International Political Economy  
*region* Africa  
*entity* CMS

## The Electoral Effects of Chinese Import Competition in the United States

Dr Lee Su-Hyun *Assistant Professor*

“How does trade liberalisation with shocks affect voting behaviour? Relying on the recent literature on trade politics (Yotam 2011; Jensen, Quinn, and Weymouth 2016), this research project aims to examine the effects of Chinese import competition on voting in the United States. Using data on localised economic shocks from trade and the outcome of presidential and general elections for the period from 1992 to 2016, the research investigates whether and to what extent congressional districts exposed to greater competition from China would punish incumbent party candidates. The theory is based on the following two hypotheses. First, the incumbent party’s share of the two-party vote in presidential and general elections tends to decline in areas in which voters experienced unemployment and wage reduction due to Chinese import penetration. Second, the anti-incumbent effect of rising imports from China, however, is conditioned by voters’ perception of representative responsiveness to protectionist demands.

[Update] The preliminary findings were presented at the International Political Economic Society (IPES)’s Annual Meeting, University of Texas, US, November 2017; and will be presented at the European Political Science Association (EPSA)’s Annual Conference, Vienna, Austria, June 2018.”

*theme* General / Country and Region Studies / International Political Economy  
*region* Americas  
*entity* CMS

## The Politics of Labelling Terrorists

Dr Chia-yi Lee *Assistant Professor*  
Dr Yasutaka Tominaga *Waseda University*

“This is a collaborative project with Dr Yasutaka Tominaga at Hosei University. This project aims to examine the causes and consequences of terrorist labelling. Different governments around the world have different lists of designated terrorist groups, and this project seeks to explain this variation and explore the domestic and international determinants of terrorist labelling. We plan to build a comprehensive database on designated terrorist groups and the governments that label them. Using this database, we will investigate the foreign policy and domestic politics considerations that drive the labelling. This project has been awarded MOE AcRF Tier 1 grant for two years.

[Update] Data collection and literature review for this project are ongoing.”

*theme* Conflict and Stability / International Politics and Security / Terrorism Studies  
*region* Global  
*entity* CMS

## Evolving Global and Regional Governance: Perspectives from Asia

Pradumna Bickram Rana *Associate Professor and Coordinator of the International Political Economy Programme*

“The rules-based centralised global economic architecture (GEA) worked well for a number of decades but has recently tend to become decentralised and fragmented with a large number of new regional and sub-regional institutions established in various regions of the world. The decentralisation process is expected to continue under the Trump Presidency as the US support for international economic institutions (IEIs) is expected to weaken while support for regional institutions will continue to remain strong thanks in part to economic dynamism in various parts of the world. This has posed a conundrum for the global order. The objectives of the research are:

First, study the evolution and take stock of the various IEIs and the resulting GEA. We will analyse the origin and evolution of the major IEIs from the Bretton Woods period until the present time and into the future. The research will focus on the monetary, financial, trade, and economic development architecture.

Second, examine the benefits and costs of the decentralising architecture and recommend ways to minimise the costs while maximising the benefits to improve global governance.

Third, identify Asia’s role in the evolving GEA.”

*theme* International Political Economy  
*region* Central Asia / East Asia and Asia / South Asia / Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* CMS

## Reconnecting Asia: A Stocktaking of the Chinese and Indian Projects and Strategies

Dr Pradumna Bickram Rana *Associate Professor and Coordinator of the International Political Economy Programme*

“In the bygone era when Asia dominated the world, Asian countries were also connected by the Silk Roads. After a disruption that lasted for a number of centuries, land-connectivity is making a comeback once again, for various economic and strategic reasons, and economic corridors are either proposed or being built across Asia. This study has three objectives: (i) discuss connectivity in Asia during the bygone era and the reasons for its decline; (ii) account for the revival of connectivity in the contemporary period; and (iii) stocktake the Chinese (Belt and Road Initiative) and Indian projects and strategies, identify the strengths and weaknesses of the strategies, and make recommendations.”

*theme* International Political Economy /  
International Politics and Security /  
Maritime Security Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* Central Asia / South Asia / Southeast Asia and ASEAN /  
Global  
*entity* CMS

## The Decentralising Global Economic Architecture: Case of the International Trade Architecture

Dr Pradumna Bickram Rana *Associate Professor and Coordinator of the International Political Economy Programme*

“Global economic governance is in flux. The centralised global economic architecture established at Bretton Woods is decentralising for various reasons. An increase in the number of international economic institutions per se is neither good nor bad for the provision of global public goods. It depends on how and whether these institutions are working together or competing with each other. This study has two objectives:

(i) identify the benefits and costs of the decentralising international trade architecture; and

(ii) recommend policies to manage the process. Have the benefits of the decentralising trade architecture outweighed the costs and global economic governance actually improved with decentralisation? Or is it, otherwise? The study will also recommend policy actions to “multilateralise regionalism”.”

*theme* International Political Economy /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* Central Asia / East Asia and Asia Pacific / South Asia /  
Southeast Asia and ASEAN / Global  
*entity* CMS

## A Study to Analyse Economic and Strategic Impacts of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

Dr Pradumna Bickram Rana *Associate Professor and Coordinator of the International Political Economy Programme*

“This study will conduct a comprehensive analysis of the BRI and other cross-border connectivity initiatives in Asia (e.g., ASEAN and ASEAN-India). It will quantify the country-level economic and welfare benefits of various economic corridors that have been proposed by using a Computational General Equilibrium model. It will also conduct a perception survey of Asian opinion leaders on the BRI and other initiatives focusing mainly on the non-economic dimensions of the BRI including the downsides and risks associated with the BRI. The study will enable us to offer a balanced evidence-based as well as perception-based recommendations. This study will result in, at least, two journal articles.”

*theme* International Political Economy /  
International Politics and Security / Maritime Security /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* Africa / Americas / Central Asia /  
East Asia and Asia Pacific / Europe / South Asia /  
Southeast Asia and ASEAN / Global  
*entity* CMS

**Studies in Inter-Religious  
Relations in Plural Societies  
(SRP) Programme**



## Framework and Resources for Understanding Inter-religious Relations in Singapore

Dr Paul Hedges *Associate Professor*  
Dr Hue Guan Thye *Contract Researcher*  
Ms Nursheila Mueez *Research Analyst*  
Mr Salim Mohamed Nasir *Associate Research Fellow*

“This research has two parts: interviews and theory. Interviews (Singapore), Phase 1: apex leaders across the Christian (Catholic and Protestant), Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, and Taoist/ Chinese religious traditions. Phase 2: mid-level and grassroots practitioners, other traditions and the non-religious. Exploring the resources within communities for inter-religious co-existence and harmony.

Theory: builds on the interviews and employs theoretical tools from hermeneutics, religious studies, philosophy, and dialogue theory to build a framework, or set of frameworks. These will map the local state of inter-religious relations and moving towards an Asian model for the theology of religions. It will include policy advice directed towards state, religious, and inter-faith actors for the promotion and securing of harmony and co-existence in common space.

Update: Phase 1 completed (interviews with apex leadership) and dissemination of initial findings at SRP Symposium 2016; Phase 2: Mid-level leaders and grassroots in progress.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
Religion in Contemporary Society  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* SRP Programme

## Buddhist Diplomacy

Dr Paul Hedges *Associate Professor*

“This will be an exploration of the way that religious cultural capital is employed in soft power relations in Asia. Particular attention is paid to the Nalanda University project as well as recent Chinese moves to use Buddhism as a source of soft power and for wider diplomatic work. This will include recent comments by President Xi Jinping and other high profile leaders in relation to the Belt and Road strategy. Some aspects of the history and regional context is explored, alongside the way that largely secular nations make use of religion in such ways. A journal article looking at the soft power of Buddhist Diplomacy as employed by largely secular states will be explored. Further work will be done looking at ways that Buddhist resources may be utilised in developing diplomacy with a particular Buddhist focus in this area.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies /  
International Politics and Security /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism /  
Religion in Contemporary Society  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / South Asia /  
Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* SRP Programme

## Countering Contemporary Jihadism and Violence: Myths, Realities and Solutions

Dr Mohamed Bin Ali *Assistant Professor*  
Mr Muhammad Faris Alfiq Bin Mohd Afandi *Research Analyst*

“This paper will propose to weed out the myths from the realities regarding the problems of jihadism with a view towards formulating new strategies against the threat. The paper first sets out to understand the phenomenon of Islamism, and to show how it has evolved into the more violent strain of jihadism and establish both as aberrations to Islam. It will also examine the use of force in Islam: Is it legitimate in Islam and under what conditions? The paper will establish that a root cause of Islamist terrorism is the current intellectual crisis in the Muslim world. In providing solutions, the paper will highlight the critical role of religious organisations and influential religious leaders in shaping global reconciliation. It will conclude that the jihadist threat is a highly complex and delicate one and concerted efforts on every front is vital.”

*theme* Terrorism Studies / Religion in Contemporary Society  
*region* Global  
*entity* SRP Programme

## Conceptualising the Problem of Radicalisation: Contemporary Trends and Theories

Dr Paul Hedges *Associate Professor*

“Recent research on radicalisation is pointing towards a set of pathways that may lead people towards terrorism. However, scholars such as Marc Sageman, Olivier Roy, Gilles Kepel and others are stressing different aspects as the key factor or factors. Their analyses are not necessarily contradictory, but highlight that searching for a single magic key to unlock what radicalisation is may be problematic. Indeed, even the very term radicalisation may itself not help to clarify what is at stake, if it suggests it is something other than socialisation into a specific worldview. This project seeks to pick apart and assist rethinking the current empirical and theoretical data and analysis.”

*theme* Terrorism Studies / Singapore and Homeland Security / Religion in Contemporary Society  
*region* Europe / Southeast Asia and ASEAN / Global  
*entity* SRP Programme

## Muslims in Plural Societies — Singaporean Muslims’ Views of Secularism as State Ideology and its Reconcilability with Islam

Ambassador Alami Musa *Head of SRP Programme*  
Mr Salim Mohamed Nasir *Associate Research Fellow*  
Ms Nursheila Muez *Research Analyst*

“A study conducted in 2010 on the religious outlook of Singaporean Muslims provided strong evidence that they possess social ethos that are conducive for living under non-Syariah [non-religious] laws. A high percentage of respondents felt that they could live as good Muslims under civil laws and fully participate in secular-modern institutions. However, the responses to questions on religious understanding appear to contradict the responses to questions on social behaviour. This study aims to establish if there is a degree of cognitive dissonance and scepticism that exists in the Singaporean Muslim community and if they do, to identify the factors that have led to such a situation. It will also attempt to investigate the absence or extent of reconcilability (if it exists) between secularism with Islam in the Singapore context. Thirty-seven *asatizah* [clerics] had been interviewed face to face. A working paper to present the key findings of this interview stage has been prepared and submitted for peer review for publication. Nevertheless, these key findings will be analysed and discussed and another paper will be prepared for publication. The field survey will be conducted soon in collaboration with MUIS. The questionnaire is being field tested now.”

*theme* Religion in Contemporary Society  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* SRP Programme

## Understanding Religion in Plural and Diverse Societies: Methodologies and Theories

Dr Paul Hedges *Associate Professor*

“This project will look at the tools, skills, methodologies, and theories needed to understand religion in contemporary plural societies. Its primary outcome will be a textbook with California University Press. It seeks to provide an innovative and cutting-edge survey for students to understand the complexities of theoretical conceptions for engaging religion in social and political contexts. It will also focus on methods for studying and exploring religious traditions and practices.”

*theme* Religion in Contemporary Society  
*region* Global  
*entity* SRP Programme

## **Al-Wala' wal Bara' in Wahhabism: From a Tool to Fight Shirk to Takfir of Muslim Leaders**

Dr Mohamed Bin Ali *Assistant Professor*

“This paper examines the concept of Al-Wala' wal Bara (herein known as WB) in the Salafi-Wahhabi ideology or Wahhabism (Arabic: Wahhabiyyah). It aims to show that the Salafi concept of WB has its roots in Wahhabism and highlight the main factors that have contributed to the development of the concept in Wahhabism in the modern period (twentieth century and beyond). Essentially, the paper attempts to show that WB which started in early Wahhabism as a tool to fight apostasy and innovations in Islam has developed into an important element used by both the Saudi establishment scholars and those who oppose the kingdom to support their religious inclination and political agenda. The Wahhabi scholars who oppose the Saudi rulers on account of their political behaviour have used WB to condemn their rulers while some of them even go to the extent of excommunicating the leaders and thereby legitimizing attacks against them.”

*theme* Terrorism Studies / Religion in Contemporary Society  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN /  
Middle East and North Africa (MENA) / Global  
*entity* SRP Programme

## **“Muslims Living in Non-Muslim Lands: Contesting Muhammad Saeed Al-Qahtani's Argument on Hijrah - Al-Wala' wal Bara' Nexus”**

Dr Mohamed Bin Ali *Assistant Professor*

“This paper examines Muhammad Saeed Al-Qahtani's argument on the nexus between the Islamic concept of hijrah (migration) and the Salafi concept of Al-Wala' wal Bara' (loyalty and disavowal) referred to here as WB. In his famous book Al-Wala' Wal Bara' fil Islam min Mafahim Aqidah as-salaf (Loyalty and Disavowal According to the Belief of the Salaf), Al-Qahtani, a Saudi Salafi scholar claims that Muslims who live in a non-Muslim land and under non-Islamic political system must perform the hijrah to Muslim lands. He also claims that Muslims who willingly accept the rule of non-Muslims, and live under any rule other than the Shariah (Islamic law) are committing acts that will nullify their faith. This is because, according to Al-Qahtani, Muslims who live under such system and do not perform the hijrah has violated the creed of WB. In this paper, we contest Al-Qahtani's argument on the obligation of hijrah in the contemporary period and attempt to counter his arguments based on Islamic sources and opinions of Muslim jurists.”

*theme* Terrorism Studies / Religion in Contemporary Society  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN /  
Middle East and North Africa (MENA) / Global  
*entity* SRP Programme

**National Security Studies  
Programme (NSSP)**





## Non-Violent Extremism and Violent Extremism: A Nexus?

Dr Kumar Ramakrishna *Associate Professor, Head of Policy Studies and Coordinator of NSSP*

“To investigate the links if any between so-called “non-violent” extremism and manifestations of extremist violence. Case studies from the U.K. and Southeast Asia will be explored.”

*theme* Terrorism Studies  
*region* Global  
*entity* NSSP

## The Mental Illness-Violent Extremism Nexus: Implications for Southeast Asia

Dr Damien D. Cheong *Research Fellow*

“Some of the ISIS-inspired attacks over the last five years have been carried out by individuals with mental disorders. This has brought the mental illness-violent extremism nexus to the fore. The debate “rests on the question about whether the presence of a mental health diagnosis is enough to state that it was a driver of the radicalisation-linked behaviour or whether it was just one ingredient in the individual’s vulnerability profile and grievance structure.

This study aims to answer these questions, and in so doing, contribute to the on-going discussion of a highly complex subject. It argues that the most challenging aspect when dealing with this issue is determining the triggers that push the individual to commit the act of violence. These triggers need not be instigated by ISIS or an ideologue, but simply through regular news feeds that highlight humanitarian crises involving a particular religious group.”

*theme* Terrorism Studies / Singapore and Homeland Security  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN / Global  
*entity* NSSP

## Reducing Misinformation Dissemination in Senior Citizens: Education, Technology and Nudging

Ms Stephanie Neubronner *Associate Research Fellow*

“Sharing of unverified information or misinformation through social media apps is common. In most cases, the person sharing the dubious text/link is motivated by good intentions. Perceptual and behavioural changes that occur as a result of believing such misinformation is of significant concern, especially when they have adverse consequences on national security. Although many senior citizens in Singapore are technologically knowledgeable, they are also “guilty of propagating unverified information, such as political gossip or dubious health tips on social platforms like Facebook and WhatsApp”. This study will examine the phenomenon in greater detail, and suggest tangible approaches that involve education, technology and nudging.”

*theme* Singapore and Homeland Security  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* NSSP

**Science and Technology  
Studies Programme (STSP)**



## Novel Psychoactive Substances and Counter-measures

Dr Tan Teck Boon *Research Fellow and Coordinator of STSP*  
Mr Nandhakumar Gunasekaran *Senior Analyst*

“This policy brief examines what novel psychoactive substances are and the measures to curb their use. Using a mixed research methodology, it not only sheds light on what these dangerous substances are but also how their trafficking can be stopped. In the West, the use of novel psychoactive substances has risen sharply in the last decade; hence, there is a pressing need to understand what these highly addictive substances are and what impact they might have, especially in the local context. By presenting a number of viable countermeasures, this policy brief will also add to the on-going public policy discourse on novel psychoactive substances with a functional set of solutions for policymakers.”

*theme* Singapore and Homeland Security  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* STSP

## Antimicrobial Resistance: Homefront Security Implications for Singapore

Mr Nandhakumar Gunasekaran *Senior Analyst*

“This policy report examines the issue of antimicrobial resistance (AMR) that has emerged as a multi-dimensional threat to the health security of populations worldwide (including Singapore). Given the major role of the agricultural sector as a pathway of AMR through zoonotic diseases, the report highlights the role of the agricultural sector in contributing to the AMR issue. Focusing on homefront security, the possible threat and impact of AMR and zoonosis is then analysed in the hypothetical worst-case scenario of a public health crisis. Lastly, the steps taken by authorities in Singapore to manage such a possible threat are highlighted.”

*theme* Cybersecurity, Biosecurity and Nuclear Safety /  
Singapore and Homeland Security  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* STSP



**Others**



## Creating Frankenstein: The Saudi Export of Wahhabism

Dr James M. Dorsey *Senior Fellow*

“Tension between Middle Eastern regional powers Saudi Arabia and Iran are likely to intensify sectarian strains in countries that are home to both Sunni and Shiite Muslim communities. At the heart of the battle between Saudi Arabia and Iran is a four decade-old existential battle for dominance not only in the Middle East and North Africa but in the Muslim world as a whole. It is a battle that started with the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran. Concerned that the Iranian revolution would offer a form of Islamic governance involving a degree of popular sovereignty that would challenge Saudi Arabia’s absolute monarchy that cloaks itself in a puritan interpretation of Islam, the kingdom went on the warpath. In doing so, it turned Wahhabi proselytisation into the single largest dedicated public diplomacy campaign in World War Two history, spending up to \$100 billion since 1979 on the funding of Muslim cultural institutions across the globe and forging close ties to non-Wahhabi Muslim leaders and intelligence agencies.”

*theme* General / Conflict and Stability /  
Country and Region Studies /  
International Political Economy / Terrorism Studies  
*region* Central Asia / Europe / South Asia  
*entity* RSIS

## Mahathir, Anwar and Malaysia’s Opposition at the Crossroads: Beginning of the End, or a New Beginning?

Mr Yang Razali Kassim *Senior Fellow*

“To review the prospects for the Malaysian opposition, following the second incarceration of Anwar Ibrahim, and the “reinvention” of Mahathir as a de facto oppositionist leader. This paper will include the broader implications on Malaysian politics as a whole, taking into account whether the Malaysian opposition will evolve or remake itself in unexpected ways.”

*theme* General / Conflict and Stability /  
Country and Region Studies  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / Southeast Asia and ASEAN /  
Global  
*entity* RSIS

## Southeast Asia After the Cold War: Order and Regionalism

Dr Ang Cheng Guan *Associate Professor and Head of Graduate Studies*

“This is the sequel to the earlier study (Southeast Asia and the Cold War). This book will take stock of how Southeast Asia has evolved since 1990, the changes and continuities from a contemporary international history/politics perspective. It is targeted for publication in 2019-2020, a befitting time for reflection and also for looking ahead.”

*theme* General / Conflict and Stability /  
Country and Region Studies /  
International Political Economy /  
International Politics and Security /  
Regionalism and Multilateralism  
*region* East Asia and Asia Pacific / Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* GPO

## Science & Technology and Economic Security

Dr Christopher Lim *Senior Fellow*

“Studies would include:

- a) how the development of science & technology could change the economic future and security of any country and/or region;
- b) strategies and/or initiatives of a country and/or a region could alter the economic future and security of another country and/or region;
- c) exploration on the potential usage of biomimicry concept on how science, technology and economic could auto-feed and change the dynamics and characteristics of each other.”

*theme* General  
*region* Global  
*entity* RSIS

## Shifting Loyalties and New Political Trends in East Malaysia

Dr Farish (Badrol Hisham) Ahmad-Noor *Associate Professor and Coordinator of PhD Programme*

“The project looks at the latest currents of identity politics in East Malaysia, and considers the impact of local-level identity politics on the formation of new political parties and alliances in the East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak.”

*theme* Country and Region Studies  
*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN  
*entity* GPO

## In Search of the Singapore Identity

Mr Han Fook Kwang *Senior Fellow*

“This research will explore issues arising out of Singapore’s search for its identity. It will discuss what constitutes the Singapore identity, how has it changed, if any, what accounts for the change, why did the change occur, and what are the implications for the future.

Singapore’s search for identity is not taking place in isolation but against a global backdrop where issues of identity are coming to the fore. In Europe and the U.S., there has been a resurgence of public sentiment towards stronger national identities. Brexit and the election of President Donald Trump in the U.S. were examples of this, as is the rising strength of nationalistic, right wing parties in Europe.

The research will discuss Singapore’s identity in this global context. It will also explore the issue of identity in the following areas: (i) economic identity; (ii) cultural identity; (iii) political/social identity; and (iv) international identity.”

*theme* General / International Political Economy  
*region* Global / Southeast Asia  
*entity* RSIS

## Saudi Arabia's Wrecking Ball: Pushing Pakistan to the Brink

Dr James M. Dorsey *Senior Fellow*

“Saudi Arabia’s Wrecking Ball is an in-depth look at the devastating impact of Saudi Arabia’s ability to weave Sunni Muslim ultra-conservatism into the fabric of key Pakistani institutions, including its military, intelligence apparatus, and ministries of religious affairs, education and interior; and significant segments of its society. This book will tell the story of Saudi penetration of Pakistan since the 1950s and how successive Pakistani leaders abetted and aided the kingdom’s effort. It is also the tale of a successful Saudi effort to put Sunni Muslim ultra-conservatism on the world map. This is in a bid to foster anti-Shiite and anti-Iranian sentiment at the cost of increased sectarianism that threatens the social fabric of societies and fosters intolerance towards minorities and anti-Western sentiment, and creates environments that are potential breeding grounds for extremism and violence.”

*theme* Conflict and Stability / Country and Region Studies / International Politics and Security / Terrorism Studies / Religion in Contemporary Society

*region* Europe / South Asia / Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

*entity* RSIS

## The Gulf Crisis: Small States Battle It Out

Dr James M. Dorsey *Senior Fellow*

“Buried in the Gulf crisis is a major development likely to reshape international relations as well as power dynamics in the Middle East. The coming out of small states capable of punching far above their weight with Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, a driver of the crisis, locked into an epic struggle to rewrite the region’s political map.”

*theme* General / Conflict and Stability / Country and Region Studies / International Political Economy / International Politics and Security / Terrorism Studies

*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN / Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

*entity* RSIS

## SEATO: A History

Associate Professor Ang Cheng Guan *Head of Graduate Studies*

“This is an attempt to revisit the history of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation from its formation to its demise in 1977. The majority of writings on SEATO were published between the 1950s and 1980s. There is only one single-authored study of SEATO (published in 1983) which covers the complete life cycle of the organisation. A new study of SEATO was published in 2012 after a long hiatus. However, this account focuses mainly on developments up to 1965. My monograph/two-year book project will fill a gap in the historiography of the international history and politics of Southeast Asia during the Cold War years. Now that we have the primary/declassified archival sources, then not available to the authors writing in the earlier decades, it is perhaps worth revisiting the organisation for a better understanding of it.”

*theme* General

*region* Southeast Asia and ASEAN

*entity* GPO

## Climate Change Scepticism in an Ecology of Institutionalised Conspiracism

Mr Kalicharan Veera Singam *Research Analyst*

“This paper studies the political underpinnings in the scepticism over anthropogenic climate change among the masses. It situates climate change scepticism within an ecology of conspiratorial beliefs and argues that conspiracism has become institutionalised in the United States, particularly in the Republican party. This paper looks at some of the conditions that lead to institutionalisation of conspiracism, namely, the undermining of the mainstream media, vilification of political opponents and a binary political context and finds such conditions to be present in the Republican party of the US. It offers institutionalised conspiracism to show that the conspiratorial inclinations found in the Republican party base could be best explained by the party’s passive or active endorsement of the conspiracies and that climate change scepticism took root in such an environment of disbelief and ultra criticalism. “

*theme* Non-Traditional Security  
*region* Americas/ Global  
*entity* RSIS

