

## East Asia Summit Symposium on Religious Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration

Contributed by  
Sara Mahmood



(L-R) Dr Yaacob Ibrahim, Minister for Communications and Information, Singapore; Mr Rhazaly Noentil, Senior Member, Inter-Agency Aftercare Group (ACG); Mr Abdul Halim Abdul Kader, President, Taman Bacaan Pemuda Pemudi Melayu Singapura and Founding Member Inter-Agency Aftercare Group (ACG); Mr Lee Hsien Loong, Prime Minister of Singapore; Ustaz Ali Haji Mohamed, Co-Founder and Co-Chairman Religious Rehabilitation Group; Ustaz Mohamad Hasbi Hasan, Co-Founder and Co-Chairman Religious Rehabilitation Group; Mr Teo Chee Hean, Deputy Prime Minister, Coordinating Minister for National Security, and Minister for Home Affairs; and Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS

The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) organised the East Asia Summit Symposium on Religious Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration. The Symposium which attracted more than 550 delegates from over 30 countries in East Asia and experts from around the world, was held from 16-17 April 2015 at the Ritz-Carlton, Millenia

Singapore, with the closing session at the Khadijah Mosque.

The symposium was focused on mapping current and emerging threats of the Islamic State (IS), its global implications and how the government and civil society should respond.

During the closing address, Mr Lee Hsien Loong, Prime

Minister of Singapore, called for greater partnership between the government and community to mitigate the ideological threat of terrorism.

Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, said that specific strategies will be evaluated to explore the necessity and impact of aftercare programmes as part of the larger social integration

process of rehabilitated terrorists.

Mr Teo Chee Hean, Singapore's Deputy Prime Minister, Coordinating Minister for National Security, and Minister for Home Affairs, noted the escalation of the threat from jihadi terrorism with more 20,000 foreign fighters traveling to Iraq and Syria, and how it is integral to reintegrate and rehabilitate these returning fighters.

U.S. President Barack Obama's Special Envoy to the Global Coalition to Fight IS, General John Allen, spoke about the international response and means adopted to counter the threat of IS on the ground.

Professor Rohan Gunaratna, Head of ICPVTR, delineated the current and emerging threat landscape, and identified strategies to counter IS and its associated groups. Key aspects identified during the Symposium were online and offline radicalisation, means to counter terrorism, the promotion of moderation and the rehabilitation of radicalised terrorists and their extremist supporters.

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The Strategies on Aftercare and Reintegration (SOAR) Network, which will be managed by ICPVTR, was

launched at the end of the two-day Symposium. This network is primarily for scholars and practitioners, it

aims to explore emergent key challenges that have impacted the terrorism landscape and highlight on-going efforts

at rehabilitation and social reintegration.

## The United States in Asia – 1965 to 2015

Contributed by  
Stefanie Kam



Professor Stephen Rosen

Professor Stephen Rosen, Kaneb Professor of National Security and Military Affairs at Harvard University, delivered an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on “The United States in Asia – 1965 to 2015” on 22 January 2015 at Sheraton Towers Singapore.

In his lecture, Prof Rosen revisited three key events in the past 50 years in the United States’ relationship with Asia, namely: (i) the Vietnam war; (ii) the forging of a new relationship between the U.S. and China; and (iii) the development of new relationships between the U.S. and new allies in the region. He noted the history of close friendship between Singapore and the U.S., in light of Singapore’s 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of independence.

Drawing on an important lesson from the Vietnam War, Prof Rosen opined that the U.S. combat mission in Vietnam “bought time” for other Southeast Asian countries to crack down on internal communist movements with the help of U.S. intervention. He suggested that the delaying

of communist victory in Vietnam provided opportunity for the U.S. to forge new relations with China.

Examining the U.S.’ forging of new relations with China between the years 1969 and 1970 in the context of the Sino-Soviet conflict, Prof Rosen explained that China’s improved relations with the U.S. increased information-sharing concerning the activities of the Soviet Union.

Prof Rosen emphasised that while the U.S. is not seeking to curb the rise of China, it seeks to ensure peace and stability in the region by altering the way China uses its power. He pointed out that in general, U.S.-Asia relations have grown from strength to strength in spite of shifts in the relationship between

U.S.’ friends and allies in Asia.

Prof Rosen concluded that the U.S. has thought intelligently on how to manage both cooperative and competitive aspects of its relationship with China. Further cooperation is needed to prevent the territorial status quo from being altered by clandestine activities, incremental intrusions or gradually changing diplomatic norms. Singapore plays a critical role given its commitment to the freedom of navigation of the seas and its location at the edge of disputed waters.

Prof Rosen also affirmed the U.S.’ role in helping countries in Asia develop economically and in moderating fervent nationalism to ensure peace and stability in Asia in the next 50 years.

## One Belt, One Road, for Asia’s Stability and Prosperity

Contributed by Lim Kheng Swe

Ambassador Wu Jianmin, Member of the Foreign Policy Advisory Committee, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, gave his views on China’s “One Belt, One Road” initiative during an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture at Sheraton Towers Singapore on 12 March 2015.

In his speech, Amb Wu placed the “One Belt, One Road” initiative in its broader geopolitical and historical context. He first spoke of the “theme change” that the world faced after World War II. While the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were marked

by war and revolutions, the “theme” of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is that of peace and cooperation. This has allowed many positive developments to occur, not least of which is the rise of Asia as an economic force.

Amb Wu mentioned that there are two trends underlying the “theme” of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The first is that of conflict, and the second is cooperation. He said that China was hoping to add to the latter trend in order to assuage worries about China’s rise. He dismissed the “zero-sum” mindset that characterised much thinking about international relations

during the Cold War era, calling for a focus on “win-win” solutions.

He stressed that the world today is reliant on Asia as an engine of growth, given the conflicts in the Middle East and the economic slowdown in Europe. China can therefore use the “One Belt, One Road” initiative to link Central, East and Southeast Asia, thereby creating an even more powerful engine for growth.

Finally, Amb Wu noted that China is now a great power, and therefore needs to behave responsibly as such.



Ambassador Wu Jianmin

He asserted that the “One Belt, One Road” initiative, together with the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, is one way that China can provide such public goods to the international community.

# The U.K.'s “All-of-Asia” Engagement

Contributed by  
Iftekharul Bashar

The Rt Hon Philip Hammond MP, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, shared his perspective of U.K.'s engagement with a rising Asia in an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on 30 January 2015 at the Sheraton Towers Singapore.



The Rt Hon Philip Hammond MP

Mr Hammond highlighted three particular areas of interest: (i) the people to people relationship between the U.K. and Asia; (ii) the shared vision of free trade and economic openness; and (iii) the U.K.'s commitment to rules based international system.

As global political and economic power has shifted towards Asia, the continent matters for maintaining global security, driving global prosperity, and sustaining global growth.

Highlighting his country's long and historic ties with Asia, Mr Hammond said that the U.K. understands Asia more than any other country in the West, and that with two of the world's top three economies now Asian, the U.K. is invigorating its partnership with the region.

In response to China's historic re-emergence as a global power, the U.K.

is expanding its diplomatic outreach in China and building linkages in its fast-growing cities. Likewise, the U.K. has scaled up its diplomatic footprint in the rest of Asia, especially Myanmar, Vietnam and the Philippines.

Mr Hammond said that his government

is pursuing an “All-of-Asia” policy to build partnerships between equals that can help to confront common challenges and maximise shared opportunities. Besides having a shared vision of free trade and economic openness, there was a common recognition of responsibilities to maintain a rules-based international system to protect shared interests.

Regarding the sovereignty disputes in the South and East China Seas, Mr Hammond said that the U.K. does not take a position on this, but supports a rules-based, not a power-based order in Asia. He said that it is critically important for regional stability, that disputes in the region are resolved, not through force or coercion, but through dialogue and in accordance with international law.

Mr Hammond underscored the fact that there were many common challenges to the common prosperity of the U.K. and the Asia Pacific region. Expressing his satisfaction with the existing partnership between the U.K. and the countries of the Asia Pacific region, he was hopeful that such partnerships will be further strengthened for a safer and more prosperous world.

## Future of ASEAN-China Relations

Contributed by  
Lim Kheng Swe



RSIS' Associate Professor Li Mingjiang participating in the discussions

RSIS' China Programme held a workshop titled “The Future of ASEAN-China Relations” on 23 March 2015. The workshop provided a platform for representatives from different ASEAN

countries, as well as Singapore-based experts, to share their views on ASEAN's relations with China. In particular, the participants discussed what China's new economic initiatives, including the Maritime Silk Route and the Asian Infrastructure

Investment Bank, would mean for ASEAN as a grouping, as well as its individual members.

China's spate of economic initiatives will profoundly

affect global geopolitics. They will definitely have an impact on the ASEAN-China relationship, especially given the deep economic ties between China and Southeast Asia. However, the South China Sea disputes also loomed large in the dynamics of the region. These two factors will inform the nature of Sino-Southeast Asian relations for the foreseeable future. The discussions during the workshop were aimed at placing these themes in the context of China's relations with ASEAN as a whole, as well as with individual Southeast Asian countries.

The workshop included sessions analysing the

broader strategic and economic implications of China's new assertiveness in the region. The participants also went into great detail about the nature of different ASEAN countries' bilateral ties with China. They attempted to identify the similarities and the differences between the different countries, and debated the role that ASEAN as a grouping itself could play *vis-à-vis* their relations with China.

The discussions brought out the wide range of opinions that ASEAN's countries have about China's recent assertiveness and highlighted the multi-layered and highly complex nature of the Sino-Southeast Asian relationship.

# New Trends in Terrorism: Challenges and Responses

Contributed by  
Benjamin Ho

The Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) workshop on “New Trends in Terrorism: Challenges and Responses”, organised by RSIS, was held at Hotel Jen, Singapore, on 26-28 January 2015. Representatives from Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam attended the workshop.

In his opening remarks, Mr Tan Seng Chye, Senior Fellow of RSIS, noted the timeliness of the workshop in light of the emergence of terrorism activities and threats in the region affecting areas of life at the national, transnational and societal levels. Mr Tan also traced the developments of the terrorism threat in recent times, from Jemaah Islamiyah in Southeast Asia, Al-Qaeda and ISIS in the Middle East, as well as the attacks by numerous terrorist groups.

Within Southeast Asia, there were concerns that battle-hardened volunteers from member countries who went to fight for ISIS, will return to mount attacks in their own countries. Mr Tan expressed the hope that NADI participants would propose practical recommendations to their respective ADMM track in order to enhance cooperation among the militaries of the ASEAN countries in areas such as information-sharing, capacity-building and training courses in order to counter the terrorist threat.

In her keynote speech, Ms Jolene Jerard, Manager (Capacity Building) at the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, shared that the threat of terrorism continues to dominate the security agenda of many governments around the world. Ms Jerard highlighted three trends about terrorism threats in Asia: (i) the

on-going recruitment and radicalisation through social media; (ii) the presence of a loose network of operatives, which results in difficulty in identifying them; and (iii) the return of foreign fighters and recidivists who were initially arrested but not de-radicalised. To defeat terrorist and extremist groups, a multi-pronged, multi-agency, multi-national effort where best practices are shared in a collective and calibrated manner is required.

Dr Mohamed bin Ali, Assistant Professor in the Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies (SRP) Programme, spoke of the importance of terrorist rehabilitation and community engagement as an important long-term strategy to fight global Islamist terrorism. He shared Singapore’s unique collective approach in rehabilitating terrorists and engaging the masses, in particular the role of the Religious Rehabilitation

Group (RRG), the ulema (Muslim religious scholars), the community, and academics in rehabilitating terrorists and challenging extremist ideology in Singapore and the region.

Overall, the NADI participants had an extensive exchange of views following their presentations on national approaches and responses to the new trends in terrorism. Recommendations to the ADMM Track were also put forth by the NADI delegates, including the need for a “whole-of-nation” approach, the importance of the military in countering the terrorism threats, as well as holding forums or seminars involving both Track I and Track II counter-terrorism experts and officials.

Following the meeting, NADI participants visited the Information Fusion Centre (IFC) and Regional HADR Coordination Centre (RHCC) at Changi Naval Base. Both the IFC and RHCC reflect effective regional cooperation in non-traditional security issues. The NADI delegates found the visits to the IFC and RHCC useful and informative.



*Participants of the Workshop*

# Future Great Power Conflict – A Cool War?

Contributed by  
Justin Goldman



Professor Christopher Coker

Professor Christopher Coker, Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics, gave an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on the likelihood of great power conflict on

16 January 2015 at the InterContinental Singapore. Speaking on the continuing possibility of great power conflict, Prof Coker rejected post-modern notions that see this as an outdated idea.

Prof Coker opened by describing how Japanese Prime Minister Abe shocked people at the 2014 World Economic Forum by comparing current Sino-Japanese tension to the dynamics between Britain and Germany in 1914. He explained that the underlying meaning was not that another great power war was likely, but that it is not impossible;

not to discuss such a potential calamity was in fact dangerous.

On a broader level, his analysis covered how the resilience of the international order will be tested at a level we have not seen before. He described how it is challenged by the threat from radical Islam, from a revisionist Russia intent on re-establishing itself as a great power, with a lonely United States that is consumed with self-pity and resentment, and a rising China uncertain how much of a stakeholder it will be in the current system.

As modern war continues to evolve, he utilised the term “cool war” for a scenario where an adversary would seek to damage the economic health of a rival without triggering a conventional or nuclear confrontation, using the 2007 conflict between Russia and Estonia as an example where the latter was cut off from the internet for two weeks. Focusing on the cyber domain, he reflected how the lack of attribution in these matters allowed countries to act recklessly online in ways they would never consider acting offline.

# Indonesia’s “Global Maritime Fulcrum”: Its Three Forms and Five Pillars

Contributed by  
Tiola



Dr Rizal Sukma

In an RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture on 4 March 2015 at the Marina Mandarin Singapore, Dr Rizal Sukma, Executive Director of Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia, elaborated on the concept of Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) as a guiding principle for Indonesia.

As the world has become more complex, Indonesia’s biggest challenge is no longer to “row between two reefs”, but to “sail in two oceans” – between the Pacific and Indian Ocean (PACINDO),

where competition for influence is taking place among major powers. In this context, Indonesia is aware of the growing importance of the ocean for its economy and security.

Dr Rizal emphasised that the basic principles of Indonesia’s foreign policy will remain the same, in which it will stick to the “*bebas aktif*” [free and active] principle. Further, the foreign policy will be guided by *Trisakti*, a principle introduced by the founding fathers that envisions Indonesia to

be sovereign in its politics, independent in its economy, and distinct in its cultural and national identity.

Dr Rizal explained that the GMF can be understood as a vision, as a doctrine, and as a set of development agenda. The GMF envisions the kind of Indonesia the government wants to build, and is a national call to return to Indonesia’s true identity as a maritime nation. As a doctrine, President Joko Widodo urges the nation to look at itself as “a power between two oceans”, which emphasises geographical, geopolitical, and geo-economic reality of Indonesia.

Dr Rizal further elaborated that the GMF stands on five pillars, the first being Maritime Culture, where Indonesia will revive its maritime identity. The second pillar is Maritime Resources, where Indonesia will utilise, preserve, and

secure its maritime resources in order to ensure food sovereignty and security. Maritime Infrastructure is the third pillar, putting its focus on building sea tolls, deep-sea ports, shipbuilding, and maritime tourism. Serving as the fourth pillar is Maritime Diplomacy. The last pillar is Maritime Safety, Security and Defence, in which Indonesia will develop and improve its maritime defence capability.

As a key take-away, Dr Rizal emphasised that the GMF should not be seen as a concept that exclusively addresses only one particular dimension — such as military or economic dimensions. It should be seen as an all-encompassing concept to guide the direction and development of Indonesia in order to become a maritime power. Furthermore, he admitted that the GMF is still a work-in-progress, and that Indonesia is working to improve it.



The 9th Asia Pacific Programme for Senior National Security Officers (APPSNO) was held at Marina Mandarin Singapore from 4-8 May 2015. Organised by the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), the event brought together senior national security officers from the Asia Pacific and beyond for a week of intensive discussions and networking. 27 participants from the Asia Pacific and Europe were joined by 35 of their Singaporean counterparts from various government ministries and agencies.

The theme for APPSNO 2015 was “Glocalisation and National Security”. Various panel sessions examined how international threats manifested themselves locally in particular ways – meaning that practitioners dealing with these challenges had to deal with them in a context-sensitive fashion that suited the environment in question.

Mr Teo Chee Hean, Deputy Prime Minister and Coordinating Minister for National Security, delivered the opening address



to start the Programme. He said “While our security agencies do what we can to prevent risks from materialising, it is also important to build a society where people can pull together regardless of differences in culture or origin, and overcome adversity with solidarity.”

A total of 17 speakers, including five from Singapore, and others from countries such as Australia, New Zealand, the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway, shared their expertise and experience during the week. The panel sessions explored issues ranging from radicalisation, national identity and national security architectures, to governance and communication. Also included in the programme were specific case studies that allowed participants to hear experts cover areas such as pandemics and aviation security. Further enriching the programme were distinguished lectures that focused on specific topics such as governance and strategic surprise, and transnational crime. In an effort to promote a better understanding of national security frameworks amongst those attending, foreign participants also gave country presentations, providing a concise overview of their respective state’s policies and challenges on Homeland Security Management.

The exchange of knowledge was not limited to the sessions and continued through group activities and external visits. These included a site visit to Changi Airport, and an amphibious city tour that (once on dry land) took in various historical sites. Also important was the ample opportunities for networking. Participants were afforded time and opportunity to mingle and exchange ideas not just during the Q&A, but also in more informal settings (such as the spectacular surrounds of the SEA Aquarium at Resorts World Sentosa, site of the APPSNO Alumni Distinguished Dinner Lecture).

Capping the event was the Certificate Presentation Ceremony and Closing Dinner hosted by Mr Benny Lim, Permanent Secretary, National Security and Intelligence Coordination of Singapore. Overall, speakers and participants were of the view that APPSNO was a fascinating event that helped to broaden their own perspectives on national security. There was also the sense, shared by many, that the contacts made would last for a considerable length of time, reinforced by post-APPSNO discussions and exchanges that would continue long after the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> APPSNO.



# Original Sins?: Operation Coldstore Revisited



Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna (right) during the autograph session

On 1 April 2015, Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna, Head of Policy Studies in the Office of the Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS, launched his latest book *“Original Sin”?: Revising the Revisionist Critique of the*

*1963 Operation Coldstore*, during a seminar at the National Library Building.

Published by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, the book discusses Operation Coldstore, the internal

security dragnet launched in Singapore on 2 February 1963, which led to the detention of 130 leftwing politicians, unionists and activists in Singapore.

While conventional wisdom holds that Coldstore destroyed the dangerous Communist United Front that had infiltrated leftwing institutions at the time, revisionist or what Assoc Prof Kumar calls “alternate” historians and their supporters have painted a different story. In their view, the operation actually destroyed a legitimate leftwing political opposition movement, thus paving the way for the PAP to win the general election later that year.

According to the Alternates, if Coldstore had not happened, the opposition Barisan Sosialis could have won and Singapore’s history would have been vastly different.

Assoc Prof Kumar’s book is an attempt to engage with and debunk such Alternate views, citing both declassified and still-classified sources – some of which have never been seen before. The seminar generated a lively discussion featuring Prof Wang Gangwu, Chairman of East Asia Institute, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman of RSIS and Associate Professor Albert Lau of NUS’ History Department.

## Malaysia’s Second Emergency – 1968-1989

Contributed by  
Chang Jun Yan

Dr Ong Weichong launched his new book, *Malaysia’s Defeat of Armed Communism: The Second Emergency, 1968-1989*, at a seminar at The Pod, National Library Building, on 2 February 2015. The seminar’s panel comprised Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna and Dr Shashi Jayakumar as discussants, and was moderated by Professor Pascal Vennesson. The event was attended by a crowd of almost 80 people, including Tan Sri Rahim Noor and Dato Yau Kong Yew, two senior Malaysian police personnel and architects of the “Hadyai Peace Accord” with the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) in 1989.

In his keynote address, RSIS Executive Deputy Chairman, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong stated that Dr Ong’s book was especially timely in the year of Singapore’s 50<sup>th</sup> birthday. It was also an answer to the “revisionist history” espoused by some younger historians

and older participants of the armed struggle during that period. Amb Ong stressed the importance of learning from history, based on unchangeable facts and events that have happened. RSIS’ role as a think tank and graduate school is thus crucial in this regard.

Dr Ong drew attention to the dearth of literature on the so-called “Second Emergency” in Malaysia and summarised the key findings of his book on Malaysia’s success in dealing with the CPM’s insurgency. In so doing, Dr Ong emphasised insights derived from the “Second Emergency” for contemporary counter-insurgency (COIN) operations, as well as for nation-building through which the hearts and minds of contested populations in Malaysia and Singapore were secured.

Assoc Prof Kumar Ramakrishna, then Head of



(L-R) Dr Shashi Jayakumar, Dr Ong Weichong, Professor Pascal Vennesson and Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna

the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, subsequently attested that Dr Ong’s book was a “groundbreaking work that sheds light on an understudied period.” He compared the (first) Malayan Emergency from 1948-1960 and the Second Emergency, pointing out the continuities and discontinuities between these two periods of insurgency by the CPM. Assoc Prof Ramakrishna concluded by stressing that the winning of “hearts and minds” was achieved

by providing security and economic prosperity to the Malaysians and Singaporeans during the 1970s and 1980s, which rendered the propaganda of the CPM ineffective.

The next discussant, Dr Shashi Jayakumar, then Deputy Head of CENS, went on and spoke about the period of the Second Emergency and what it meant for Singaporeans. Comparing

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the Malayan Emergency and the Second Emergency, Dr Jayakumar also underscored the lack of support given to the CPM

in the latter. Noting that the Second Emergency did not feature in a recent IPS study on perceptions of Singapore's history, Dr Jayakumar echoed Amb Ong on the significance

of keeping in mind Singapore's history.

The seminar was a timely reminder that the SG50 activities are not only to celebrate Singapore's

achievements of the last 50 years, but also an occasion to remember the more tumultuous bends in Singapore's path to nationhood.

## Web 2.0, Netizen Activism and Civic Engagement in China

Contributed by  
James Char

Associate Professor Wu Fengshi from the China Programme presented her preliminary research on the development of China's information and communications technology (ICT) and its impact on politics and society on 18 March 2015. She discussed the implications of the on-going technical revolution on the breadth and depth of Chinese civic engagement.

In summary, societal actors across China's geographically dispersed regions display some degree of organisational cohesiveness

in the expression of their social autonomy. Unlike other democracies, however, the growth of ICT has more to do with working in the interests of the public as opposed to the institutionalised politics.

Illustrating those instances in which Web 2.0 has enabled society-driven initiatives, Assoc Prof Wu cited the examples of one public intellectual who had hinted at corrupt practices within the Chinese military. The establishment of an online organisation by dissidents in support of families of political prisoners; and the case of a hacker-turned-activist who

had created free-to-download geographic information system (GIS) applications in service of the public during times of emergency. In these examples, new ICT affordability has made it easier to limit the government's role in Chinese civil society. The fact that they have been replicated also reflects the impact of Web 2.0 on civic engagement, and redefines political participation in the authoritarian state.

Assoc Prof Wu elucidated that over time, the interactive nature of Web 2.0 that had first revolutionalised

internet usage has since moved on to become faster; more affordable; and more widely-used with the advent of an increase in Wifi spots and economies of scale in production. With these developments, massive changes in Chinese civil society are now afoot. Unlike Web 1.0, activists from a wide spectrum of society across China's diverse regions are now able to express solidarity more easily. Interestingly, members have also been noted for their self-reflectiveness and discipline in making public their internal audits. While it is debatable that such online activism can act as a viable substitute for actual public protests, such self-limiting behaviour nonetheless reflects the maturation of Chinese society.

## Hinduism, Peace-building and the Religious Other

Contributed by  
Ahuja Juhi

Professor Julius Lipner, Emeritus Professor of Hinduism and Comparative Study of Religion at the University of Cambridge, U.K, delivered an RSIS Public Lecture titled "Hinduism, Peace-building and the Religious Other" on 7 January 2015. The lecture, which was jointly organised by RSIS and the Hindu Endowments Board, was graced by Minister in the Prime Minister's Office and Second Minister for Trade and Industry and Home Affairs Mr S. Iswaran and other distinguished guests. Prof Lipner was visiting Singapore

at the invitation of the RSIS' Studies in Inter-Religious Relations in Plural Societies (SRP) Programme.

The lecture was well received by the audience as Prof Lipner, a Fellow of the British Academy, sought to explain the multifaceted character of the Hindu faith; its inherent peaceful nature; and its tolerance and acceptance of other religions. He introduced the term 'polymorphic monotheism' and explained that Hinduism is a religion which espouses the existence of a Supreme Principle

that manifests in different forms such as deities, which are worshipped by Hindus everywhere.

With regard to peace-building and the Hindu view of the religious other, Prof Lipner likened Hinduism to a banyan tree; with many different trunks belonging to the same original tree; just as there are many different and accepted ways of understanding the reality of God. He argued that it is this diversity within the religion that forms the basis of its inclusive nature with other religions and faiths.



Professor Julius Lipner

# “Across Borders with Dr Farish” Wins Major Award

Contributed by  
Mervin Kok

Associate Professor Farish A. Noor, Head of Doctoral Studies at RSIS, was recently honoured when his TV documentary series “Across Borders with Dr Farish” was awarded the silver medal for Best Series in the National/International Affairs category at the 2015 New York Festival World’s Best TV & Films competition. The award ceremony was held in Las Vegas on 14 April 2015.

Produced and nominated by Channel NewsAsia – an English language Asian TV News channel - Dr Farish A. Noor’s series was in contention with entries from 50 other countries. The series looked at life along and across several border regions, such as that between China and North Korea; Burma and Bangladesh; and

Cambodia and Thailand. It explored how identities are made and sometimes contested along border zones that are fluid and porous, and how the communities that live along these border zones often have a more complex understanding of themselves and the world around them. The series was topical as it looked at issues such as cross-border militancy and refugees, and also disputes over spaces and places, such as the Preah Vihear temple that was claimed by Thailand and Cambodia.



*Dr Farish A. Noor along the Cambodian-Thai border, where landmines from the Khmer Rouge era were still being cleared*

With various categories that depict global trends, the New York Festival World’s Best TV & Films competition is recognition of today’s TV and film-makers’ dedication in bringing story-telling to the screen.

RSIS would like to congratulate Dr Farish A. Noor and Channel NewsAsia for their achievement.

## Discussing Global and Asian Affairs through Films

Contributed by  
Sarah Teo and  
Pascal Vennesson



*Participants during the screening of “Invisible City”*

At an RSIS Film Series screening on 18 March 2015, participants considered how *Invisible City* (2007) directed by Singapore film-maker Tan Pin Pin raised the issue of memory and history in the rapidly changing city-state. Getting rid of the past

might be necessary to move forward quickly and explore new paths, but a forgotten or repressed past might also generate ignorance or resentment.

They further discussed ways to make different generations

appreciate history and how different countries deal with their past in multiple ways.

The screening was followed by a discussion session moderated by Associate Professor Ang Cheng Guan, Head of Graduate Studies, RSIS.

Launched three years ago, the RSIS Film Series has provided a platform for interested individuals to discuss the themes in global and Asian affairs through selected feature films and documentaries. The films are chosen to provide insights into a number of real-world

problems covering the range of RSIS graduate programmes: (i) international relations; (ii) strategic studies; (iii) international political economy; and (iv) Asian studies.

For the current Academic Year 2014/2015, the films address: (i) maritime piracy; (ii) the role of intelligence in security and foreign policy; (iii) the sources and consequences of the global economic crisis; (iv) crimes against humanity and their aftermaths; as well as (v) the unsettling searches for the past in rapidly changing societies.

# RSIS Awarded Gold for iGave Participation

Contributed by  
Mervin Kok



Mr Scott Lai (second from left) representing RSIS in receiving NTU's Gold Award for its 2014 iGave Campaign



Ms Cindy Goh (right) receiving the Loyal Ambassador Award from Professor Bertil Andersson (centre) and Professor Freddy Boey

RSIS was presented with the Gold Award during the 2015 Faculty & Staff Giving and Graduation Giving Campaign Kick-off on 25 February 2015. RSIS received the honour with a participation rate of more than 75 per cent. This award recognises RSIS' giving spirit and encourages further generosity from its staff. Mr Scott Lai, Events

Manager at RSIS, received the award on behalf of the School.

Ms Cindy Goh was recognised for her dedication towards the iGave series of campaigns since 2010. As the staff ambassador, Ms Goh was instrumental in bringing the campaigns to the notice of staff. She was presented with the Loyal Ambassador Award by Professor Bertil Andersson, NTU President, and Professor Freddy Boey, NTU Provost.

Introduced in 2009, donations received in the iGave campaigns are directed towards helping students with financial needs. These funds improve Student Life and Campus Vibrancy and help advance research and innovation by the respective schools in NTU, which in turn helps to build and develop NTU into a global university.

# RSIS Staff-Student Football Match

Contributed by  
Candice Leow



Staff and students pose before the match

Over 60 RSIS staff and students joined in a football friendly at the NTU Sports and Recreation Centre on 21 March 2015. Organised by the RSIS Student Board, this annual tradition allows

staff and students to pit their skills and to bond beyond the classroom.

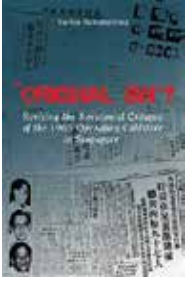
With players hailing from 15 countries, the two teams, comprising staff and students

were off to a good start after hazy skies cleared. The players took turns to score goals including Professor Joseph Liow, Dean of RSIS, Executive Deputy Chairman, Ambassador Ong Keng Yong,

was also present to lend his support.

Supporters and players were also treated to a barbecue dinner at Nanyang Heights after the match.

## STAFF PUBLICATIONS



**“Original Sin”? Revising the Revisionist Critique of the 1963 Operation Coldstore in Singapore**

Kumar Ramakrishna. *Institute of Southeast Asian Studies*: 2015.  
ISBN: 978-981-4620-43-7

“Revisionist” or “alternative” historians have increasingly questioned elements of the Singapore Story — the master narrative of the nation’s political and socioeconomic development since its founding by the British in 1819. Much criticism focuses especially on one defining episode of the Story: the internal security dragnet mounted on 2 February 1963 against Communist United Front elements on the island, known to posterity as Operation Coldstore. The revisionists claim that Coldstore was mounted for political rather than security reasons and actually destroyed a legitimate Progressive Left opposition personalized by the charismatic figure of Lim Chin Siong — rather than a dangerous Communist network as the conventional wisdom holds. Relying on both declassified and some previously unseen classified sources, this book challenges revisionist claims, reiterating the historic importance of Coldstore in helping pave the way for Singapore’s remarkable journey from Third World status to First in a single generation.



**Malaysia’s Defeat of Armed Communism**

Ong Weichong. *Routledge*: 2015. ISBN: 978-0-415-82088-2

The Malayan Communist Party’s (MCP) decisive defeat in 1960 led many academics and Counterinsurgency (COIN) experts to overlook the resurrection of its armed struggle in 1968. Most scholars continue to regard the so-called ‘Second Emergency’ in Malaysia (1968-1989) as a non-event, and most of the recently published work on the MCP tends to focus on the earlier Malayan Emergency (1948-1960). This book looks at the Second Emergency through recently released archival material from the National Archives in London, the National Australian Archives and the Australian War Memorial, as well as interviews with military and diplomatic officers from the UK and Thailand. It presents the first serious strategic and operational study of the Second Emergency, and analyses three areas of historical significance: the CPM’s strategy for armed struggle in the Second Emergency; the actual effectiveness of the CPM’s subversive propaganda on its target population and most importantly; the counterinsurgency (COIN) response and strategy of the Malaysian state and to a lesser extent the counter-subversion strategy of Singapore in the post-colonial era.

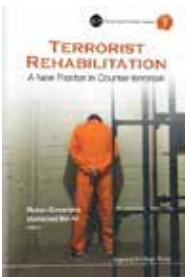


**India’s Military Modernization: Strategic Technologies and Weapons Systems**

Edited by Rajesh Basrur and Bharath Gopalaswamy. *New Delhi: Oxford University Press*. 2015. ISBN: 978-0-19-945162-3

Development of defence strategies in India has been slow and uneven due to the absence of a clear direction from the highest levels of government and the non-inclusion of the military in strategic decision-making. Focusing on the relative strengths of the state and society in this area, this volume provides a comprehensive assessment of the current situation and points to policy-relevant adjustments and changes necessary to future-proof India’s defence preparedness. It also maps both continuity and change in India’s evolving strategic capabilities.

Belonging to the Oxford International Relations in South Asia series, this volume is the second part of a two-part project on Indian military modernization. While the first part focused mainly on India’s conventional military modernization, the second part analyses the country’s progress in advanced technologies: cruise missiles, nuclear weapons, anti-satellite weapons, missile defence, and information-based warfare.



**Terrorist Rehabilitation: A New Frontier in Counter-Terrorism**

Edited by Rohan Gunaratna and Mohamed Bin Ali. *Imperial College Press*: 2015. ISBN: 978-1-78326-743-9

With the rise of religiously motivated violence and terrorism, governments around the world need to develop their religious and ideological capabilities in parallel with strengthening their law enforcement, military and intelligence capabilities. *Terrorist Rehabilitation: A New Frontier in Counter-terrorism* aims to provide an understanding of the importance of the approach and strategy of terrorist rehabilitation in countering this threat.

Comprising of nine chapters, this book provides case study assessments of terrorist rehabilitation practices set against the backdrop of their unique operational and geopolitical milieu in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. This will help the reader to form a foundational understanding of the concept of terrorist rehabilitation by combining the insights, successes and experience of senior government officials and counter-terrorism experts.

In addition, the contributors provide discussions on religious concepts that have been manipulated by violent Islamists as a background to understanding religiously or ideologically motivated terrorism and the avenues open for countering it.



**Resilience and Resolve: Communities against Terrorism**

Edited by Jolene Jerard and Salim Mohamed Nasir. *Imperial College Press*: 2015. ISBN: 978-1-78326-773-6

This book aims to provide an overview of the importance of communities to mitigate the threat of terrorism, drawing key lessons and experiences from countries adopting community-based approaches. There has been growing recognition among countries to understand the construct of radical ideology and the tools needed to counter its narrative through a more socially inclusive approach, using communities as key stakeholders that have the resolve to be resilient in the fight against terrorism.

The chapters provide invaluable insights on the psychological aspects of radicalization, the centrality of counter-ideology and case studies of approaches to promoting moderation, religious harmony and community engagement in building the resilience and resolve against terrorism.

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**UPCOMING EVENTS**

**14-15 MAY 2015**

2ND EXPERT GROUP MEETING ON FOOD SECURITY

**19-21 MAY 2015**

RSIS-WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION  
PARLIAMENTARIAN WORKSHOP ON  
“INTERNATIONAL TRADE”

**20-21 JULY 2015**

CENS CYBERSECURITY WORKSHOP  
ON “EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES AND  
IMPLICATIONS”

**5-10 AUGUST 2015**

THE 17TH ASIA PACIFIC PROGRAMME FOR  
SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS