No. 243

Role of Intelligence in International Crisis Management

Kwa Chong Guan

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
Singapore

23 July 2012
About RSIS

The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) was established in January 2007 as an autonomous School within the Nanyang Technological University. Known earlier as the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies when it was established in July 1996, RSIS’ mission is to be a leading research and graduate teaching institution in strategic and international affairs in the Asia Pacific. To accomplish this mission, it will:

• Provide a rigorous professional graduate education with a strong practical emphasis,
• Conduct policy-relevant research in defence, national security, international relations, strategic studies and diplomacy,
• Foster a global network of like-minded professional schools.

GRADUATE EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RSIS offers a challenging graduate education in international affairs, taught by an international faculty of leading thinkers and practitioners. The Master of Science (M.Sc.) degree programmes in Strategic Studies, International Relations and International Political Economy are distinguished by their focus on the Asia Pacific, the professional practice of international affairs, and the cultivation of academic depth. Thus far, students from more than 50 countries have successfully completed one of these programmes. In 2010, a Double Masters Programme with Warwick University was also launched, with students required to spend the first year at Warwick and the second year at RSIS.

A small but select Ph.D. programme caters to advanced students who are supervised by faculty members with matching interests.

RESEARCH

Research takes place within RSIS’ six components: the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS, 1996), the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR, 2004), the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS, 2006), the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies (Centre for NTS Studies, 2008); the Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade & Negotiations (TFCTN, 2008); and the recently established Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS, 2011). The focus of research is on issues relating to the security and stability of the Asia Pacific region and their implications for Singapore and other countries in the region.

The school has four professorships that bring distinguished scholars and practitioners to teach and to conduct research at the school. They are the S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies, the Ngee Ann Kongsi Professorship in International Relations, the NTUC Professorship in International Economic Relations and the Bakrie Professorship in Southeast Asia Policy.

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

Collaboration with other professional schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence is a RSIS priority. RSIS maintains links with other like-minded schools so as to enrich its research and teaching activities as well as adopt the best practices of successful schools.
ABSTRACT

This Working Paper reviews conventional thinking about the contribution of strategic intelligence to early warning of diplomatic crisis and its escalation and resolution. The paper argues that in an increasingly complex and interdependent world driven by forces of globalization strategic intelligence may not be able to provide policy makers the foresight of crisis and its possible outcomes. Instead, strategic intelligence can perhaps help the policy maker to make sense of an increasingly chaotic, uncertain and unpredictable situation and grasp the complexity of a spectrum of possible outcomes.

Kwa Chong Guan is Senior Fellow at the S Rajaratnam School of International Studies where he coordinates the Schools networks with policy institutions in the region. He joined the School after serving at its forerunner, the old Department of Strategic Studies at the SAFTI Military Institute. He is also Co-Chair of the Singapore National Committee in the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific and was in June 2011 nominated by his ASEAN colleagues to co-chair the CSCAP. Kwa started his career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before moving to the Ministry of Defence where he worked on some of the issues discussed in this Working Paper. He also worked on the issues of this Working Paper as a Singapore Armed Forces reservist officer in various military intelligence assignments. He was seconded for several years to the Oral History Department and concurrently, the old National Museum, which he lead through a major reorganization. Kwa has also taught history as an Adjunct staff of the History Department at the National University of Singapore, and before that, the National Institute of Education. He continues to be associated with the National University of Singapore History Department in an honorary capacity and is involved in a department project to compile an anthology of early modern European and Asian archival records and texts on Singapore. He has published on subjects from the archaeology of 14th century Singapore to policy analysis for regional security crisis management.
ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE IN INTERNATIONAL CRISIS MANAGEMENT

“There cannot a crisis next week. My schedule is already full.”

Henry Kissinger

The Cuban missile crisis has, and continues to be the locus case of successful crisis management and of the role of US intelligence in shaping the crisis. The evaluations of US intelligence performance in the crisis have usually focused on the failure to estimate the Soviet intent to deploy strategic missiles on Cuba. Special National Intelligence Estimate (SNIE 85-3-62) issued on 19 Sept ’62 argued against Soviet deployment of missiles on Cuba because the risks involved were “incompatible with Soviet practice to date and with Soviet policy as we presently estimate it.” However, it was monitoring of the Soviet buildup on Cuba, especially the U-2 aerial reconnaissance, which confirmed the construction of ballistic missile sites at San Cristobal and precipitated a crisis. Declassified records now enable us to assess the support US intelligence provided to their policy makers during the crisis by monitoring the levels of Soviet buildup on Cuba and globally while also attempting to estimate Soviet reactions to possible US options against their missiles deployed on Cuba. Declassified records also enable us to follow US intelligence monitoring of the Soviet removal of their missiles from Cuba. In contrast, the opening up of the Soviet archives shows that Soviet intelligence were cut out of the Soviet decision making leading to the deployment of missiles on Cuba and during the crisis had no information on US options and response to this deployment of missiles on Cuba.

The Cuban missile crisis confirms our conventional thinking of an international crisis as an unexpected and surprising turn of events that threatens the survival of the nation-state. Could the CIA have forecast Khrushchev’s intention to base offensive

1 Attributed to H Kissinger and quoted with his permission in M Leventhal, ed., The hand of history; An anthology of history quotations commentaries (Elstree, Herets: Greenhill Books, 2011), pg. 80. Editor M Leventhal invited a number of leading historians to either write an aphorism about history or to select a quote about history or its writing, and to provide a commentary on their choice of quotations.

2 Graham Allison & Philip Zelikow, Essence of Decision; Explaining the Cuban missile crisis (New York: Longman/Addison-Wesley, 1999. 2nd edn) remains the benchmark study, with this second edition reiterating the Rational Actor Model of decision making argued for in the first edition of the text published some twenty-five years earlier.


4 James G Blight & David A. Welch, eds., Intelligence and the Cuban missile crisis (London: Frank Cass, 1998)
missiles in Cuba? Special National Intelligence Estimate 85-3-62 indicates that the CIA did consider this prospect, but ruled it out. Was this another instance of intelligence failure to provide its policy makers early warning of possible war in an escalating international crisis? Twenty years earlier the different intelligence services failed to provide their service chiefs and national leaders warning of the Japanese decision to go to war with the US. Strategic intelligence is, in our current understanding of international crises, expected to provide the policy maker the information which anticipates what the adversary is planning and so enable the policy maker to take appropriate pre-emptive action to avoid war. These notes identify some of the reasons cited for intelligence failure to provide policy makers with early warning of an international crisis that could escalate into war. If we accept that intelligence failures are inevitable, then should we resign ourselves to being surprised, or examine how to reframe our understanding of an international crisis and expectations of intelligence in the management of international crisis?5

UNDERSTANDING INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

The start of an international crisis is to recognize when normal diplomatic relations have broken down and events are taking an unexpected and surprising turn, creating a crisis that has to be managed. Crisis management is about maintaining control over events to avoid war,6 and intelligence is expected to provide policy makers the foreknowledge of events taking an unexpected turn leading to a crisis. For Kennedy the crisis over Soviet deployment of missiles arose on 14 October when U-2 aerial photographs confirmed the construction of missiles sites on Cuba and undermined the Special National Intelligence Estimate 85-3-62. Kennedy and his colleagues who had been assured by that Estimate were thus fundamentally surprised that Khrushchev would act so irrationally against what they, the White House policy group, perceived


6 Alexander L George, ed., Avoiding war; Problems of crisis management (Oxford: Westview Press, 1991) and earlier, Phil Williams, Crisis management; Confrontation and diplomacy in the nuclear age (New York: J Wiley, 1976) make this point about crisis management being about maintaining control over events to avoid war.
to be Soviet national interests and clear US warnings of its interests. But for Khrushchev the outbreak of a crisis was over whether the US will discover the deployment of Soviet missiles before they had completed it and so present the US with a *fait accompli*. Apparently Khrushchev thought Kennedy would do nothing because the US was already vulnerable to Soviet intercontinental missiles, and Soviet missiles in Cuba were therefore not a new or escalating threat. Further, Khrushchev may have assessed that the Soviet Union could withstand any diplomatic pressure from the young US President. Were both Kennedy and Khrushchev wrongly advised by their respective intelligence services about the intentions and resolve of each to challenge the other?

The first step of political crisis management is understanding what sense the adversaries are making of their rapidly changing environment, and based on that understanding of the adversary’s intentions and actions we then decide upon our response to the evolving crisis. What are the motives of the other side in pursuing this course of action which has lead to a crisis? This understanding, especially the resolve of the other side in holding on to their intention, is a key to our formulation of a negotiation strategy for the settlement of the crisis. The crux of successful crisis management is to be aware that the degree of coercion we are prepared to exert on the adversary, often in response to our own domestic and bureaucratic pressures, feeds back into the crisis and our response then becomes the basis of the next phase of the crisis when the adversary has to decide what to do next.

The US response to the al-Qaeda 9/11 attack on the New York World Trade Centre was driven in part by its understanding of al Qaeda narratives of its Islamic vision of the world. But more important was how those al-Qaeda visions fed into US visions of their place and role in the world as was being defined by a group of neo-conservative policy-makers who saw al-Qaeda’s actions as an evil against which the US must engage in a Manichean struggle. In contrast, Kennedy’s team responses in the

---

7 Both Phil Williams in his *Crisis management* chpt. 7 and A. L. George & W. E. Simons, eds., *The limits of coercive diplomacy* (Boulder, Colo.: 1994 2nd edn) acknowledge that successful crisis management is about recognizing the limits and need to moderate coercive diplomacy.
9 The BBC Two 3-part television series *The Power of Nightmares* by Adam Curtis and broadcast on 20 & 27 Oct and 3 Nov 2004 brings out, in albeit simplified form for television format, this epic interplay
Cuban missile crisis were apparently in large part driven by how their decisions will be judged by history a decade or century later. As Neustadt and May argued, Kennedy and his team were “thinking in time.”

**WHY HAS INTELLIGENCE FAILED IN ANTICIPATING INTERNATIONAL CRISIS?**

The traditional expectations of intelligence in the management of a political crisis are firstly, to apprise the policy maker of the impending breakdown of normalcy and the possible outbreak of a crisis or worse, surprise attack. Second, intelligence is expected to provide the policy maker during the crisis with a constant flow of estimates and assessments of the other side’s intentions and response to the changing environment. Third, these estimates and assessments are expected to provide the policy maker with an advantage in negotiating a settlement of the crisis or prosecution of a war.

The track record of intelligence in fulfilling these expectations in a crisis has been dismal. All the crises which escalated and erupted into war from before the Japanese invasion of Pearl Harbor that precipitate World War II in the Pacific, to the ongoing war in Iraq have been attributed to intelligence failures of one kind or another. Prussia’s victory against Austria in the battle of Sadowa and on to World War I; the Russo-Japanese War in 1904; the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor; the North Korean attack against South Korea in June 1950, and Chinese intervention in the conflict; the Suez War of 1956; the Indo-Chinese War of 1962; crisis and surprise in three Arab-Israeli Wars; the Argentinean invasion of the Falklands in 1982; first and second Gulf Wars against Iraq in 1991 and 2003 were all military surprises that have to a large part been attributed to intelligence failure to anticipate the incentives and opportunities for a surprise attack in a political crisis.

---

of two cosmic visions and their moral disgust with each other. Ex-CIA analyst Michael Scheuer writing anonymously in the first edition of his *Imperial Hubris; Why the West is losing the war on terror* (Lond: Bassey’s) makes the same critique of the US, that its sense of *imperial hubris* will be its downfall in its war on al-Qaeda.


11 Klaus Knorr and Patrick Morgan, eds., *Strategic military surprise; Incentives and opportunities* (New Brunswick, JJ: Transaction Books, 1983)
In this dismal record the Cuban Missile Crisis and the earlier Berlin Blockade Crisis of 1948-49 and possibly, the Sino-Soviet border clash of 1969 stand out as cases of successful crisis management which did not lead to war. Unfortunately, lack of awareness of more instances of successful de-escalation of a crisis\(^\text{12}\) to which strategic intelligence may have contributed, has focused attention on the catastrophes of failure of crisis management. The consequent post-mortems and studies have blamed intelligence for failure to provide their policy makers the foresight and understanding to avoid war in a crisis. Broadly, four categories of failures have been identified.

The first category of failures is the inability of intelligence to see through the fog of deception created by the adversary in the build-up to a crisis. Central to penetrating the fog of deception is uncovering the adversary’s actions to cover and conceal his movements to launch a surprise attack. The Soviets successfully covered and concealed much of their shipment of their missiles to Cuba from the CIA until October, when they were about to complete it. Barton Whaley\(^\text{13}\) pioneered the study of stratagems employed by adversaries in a crisis to deceive and surprise their adversary for a strategic advantage. Whaley’s 1969 study of the signals and warnings of the German invasion of Russia in 1941 are significant for how the Allied intelligence services drew very different interpretations from these warnings.\(^\text{14}\) The lesson that intelligence services have drawn is that Deception and Denial of information by the adversary of their intentions and actions are a major obstacle they are up against in their efforts to provide better assessments and estimates to their policy makers. But to what extent is it feasible or possible to develop counter-deception strategies\(^\text{15}\) given that successful deception feeds into, and exploits the adversary’s expectations and preconceptions to “see what they expect to see”? It is

\(^{12}\) Michael Handel has distinguished military surprise as an integral part of military planning from diplomatic surprise. Surprise in military planning is to gain a strategic advantage over the adversary who must be then deceived and deprived of knowledge of moves against him. In contrast, diplomatic surprise is about moves and signals to the adversary of planned changes in foreign policy which may surprise the other. The 1971 US-Chinese rapprochement is an instance of a major diplomatic surprise de-escalating US-China tensions. See Handel, *The diplomacy of surprise* (Cambr., Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981).

\(^{13}\) Barton Whaley, *Strategem; Deception and surprise in war* (Boston: Artech House repr. Of 1969 eds)


\(^{15}\) Michael Bennett and Edwad Waltz, *Counter deception principle and applications for National Security* (Boston: Artech House, 2007), and earlier, Donald C Daniel and Katherine L. Herbig, eds., *Strategic military deception* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982)
easy to preach as Sunzi did some two millennium ago that success in battle depends upon knowing oneself first, but practicing that maxim is not easy.

The second category of explanations for intelligence failures are the cognitive biases driving intelligence analysis. As CIA veteran Richards J Heuer, Jr\textsuperscript{16} has advised his staff, there are biases in the evaluation of evidence; biases in perception of cause and effect; biases in estimating probabilities and finally hindsight biases in evaluating the quality and value of intelligence products. Studies by a generation of scholars from Roberta Wohlstetter in her 1962 classic study of Pearl Harbor,\textsuperscript{17} to Richard Betts,\textsuperscript{18} Robert Jervis\textsuperscript{19} and a generation of post-Yom Kippur Israeli scholars lead by Michael I Handel\textsuperscript{20} and including Zvi Lanir\textsuperscript{21} and more recently Ariel Levite\textsuperscript{22} and Ephraim Kam\textsuperscript{23} have all lamented the inevitability of strategic surprise in a crisis which could lead to a surprise attack. For these analysts, surprise is inevitable.

The third category of reasons for intelligence failures to forecast crisis and surprise attacks are attributed to the management and organization of the intelligence services. This has been the finding of most Commissions of Inquiry from the 39 Volumes \textit{Congressional Hearings} into Pearl Harbor to the Agranat Commission on failures in Israeli intelligence leading to Israel being surprised in 1973. More recently, the 9/11 Commission Report and the July 2004 Butler report on Iraq called for reform of not

\textsuperscript{17} Roberta Wohlstetter, \textit{Pearl Harbor; Warning and decision} (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962).
\textsuperscript{19} Robert Jervis, \textit{Why intelligence fails; Lessons from the Iranian Revolution to the Iraq war} (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2010) draws on a declassified study Jervis was commission by the CIA to undertake thirty years ago on the Iranian Revolution and now declassified and forms part of this book, together with CIA responses to Jervis’s findings and recommendations.
\textsuperscript{21} Zvi Lanir, \textit{Hahafta’a habsisit: Modi’in Bemashber} [Fundamental surprise: The national intelligence crisis] (Tel-Aviv: Hakibutz Hama’ukhad, 1983). I thank Zvi Lanir, who served in the Israeli Defence Force intelligence, for discussing his work with me in the late 1980’s.
\textsuperscript{22} Ariel Levite, \textit{Intelligence and strategic surprise} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987)
\textsuperscript{23} Ephraim Kam, \textit{Surprise attack; The victim’s perspective} (Cambr., Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988)
only the intelligence community, but much of the entire government. The challenge in reforming the intelligence services is the delicate checking of over-centralisation and balance with decentralization and pluralism.

Finally, failure of intelligence to warn their policy makers of an impending crisis may be rooted in their relations to their policy maker. The mainstream expectation of the intelligence analyst is that he is to provide an objective and accurate picture of ‘what is out there” to his policy maker. He is not necessarily a part of the policy process to ensure that his estimates and assessments are not biased and politicized. But separated from the policy process, the intelligence analyst, unaware of policy needs and tensions, risks producing estimates and assessments which are irrelevant to policy needs. The challenge, as more than one intelligence analyst has recognized, is how to be close to the policy maker without being caught in the policy process, to produce politicized products which rationalize and justify policy goals rather than objectively advising on the possible responses these policy goals might evoke from the adversary. As Richard Betts argued back in 1982, intelligence may correctly anticipate a crisis, but the policy maker may either choose to ignore it or is reluctant to authorize a military response. Was US intelligence, as Richard Betts asks “wrong for the right reasons on the issue of WMD in Iraq”?

**EMERGENT ISSUES IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT**

The expectation that intelligence should provide the foresight in sufficient warning time to pre-empt strategic surprise in a crisis is based on an understanding of the policy process as an empirically driven process within which policy issues and

---

26 An issue that also worries strategic intelligence analysts and their managers, see for example, Jack Davis, “Tensions in analyst-policy maker relations: Opinions, facts and evidence,” *Sherman Kent Center for Intelligence Analysis, Occasional Papers* vol.2/ii available at [https://www.cia.gov/library/kent-center-occasional-papers/vol2no1.htm](https://www.cia.gov/library/kent-center-occasional-papers/vol2no1.htm), and Davis’ earlier “Improving CIA analytic performance: Analysts and the policymaking process,” in *ibid* vol.1/ii which reviews five US government post-mortem critiques of intelligence process. The British perspective on this issue is summed up by Sir David Omand (who retired after a long service in various intelligence capacities as Intelligence and Security Coordinator in the Cabinet Office from 2002-2005) in his *Securing the state* (London: Hurst, 2010), pp. 171-208  
27 Betts, *Surprise attack*, pg. 4.  
28 Betts, *Enemies of intelligence.*
challenges can be empirically verified and analysed for rational choice of a preferred policy to solve the problem. It assumes that the policy maker is in some control of his environment and assured of being able to decide his future in an orderly, stable and predictable world. The quote attributed to Kissinger at the start of this essay typifies this attitude towards our world. Within this ordered world of policy making, an international crisis is precipitated by an actor seeking to challenge and change the established order to his favour. The intelligence analyst is expected to provide the policy maker the warning for action to deter the actor from destabilizing the status quo. This, from the perspective of Washington and its allies, is the issue of North Korea’s and Iran’s persistence in developing its nuclear capabilities. The challenge for intelligence is how to build a more effective early warning system to anticipate and manage crisis.

The current and dominant framework for crisis management, whether political-military or industrial or corporate is that a crisis may be occurring once the warning signals that an international actor is out to challenge the international order and flaunting diplomatic protocols (or industrial safety standards are being breached; or good corporate governance practice disregarded). The challenge for policy makers (and industry or corporate chiefs) is to recognize that the actor challenging the international order has crossed the Rubicon (or the safety valves of the industrial plant is about to blow) and a crisis is in progress, and contingency plans to contain the damage and limit the crisis must be launched. The successful containment and de-

---


escalation of a crisis (or termination of an industrial accident) in large part depends upon how the policy maker (or corporate chief) makes sense of, and grasp the crises as it unfolds.\textsuperscript{32} For how they make sense of the crises as it unfolds very much determines their response which determines whether the crisis de-escalates or reaches some form of stability and standoff or escalates further (Figure 1).\textsuperscript{33}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Figure 1}
\end{center}

It is however unlikely that any early warning system can anticipate the action of the skipper of a fishing vessel or the Captain of a naval patrol boat when it is confronted by another naval vessel challenging its right to be where it is. Neither can intelligence anticipate the nature and extent of “blowback” which will follow that naval confrontation or detention of a fishing vessel. Making sense of the crises which

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{32} The CIA appears to be exploring corporate practice of crisis planning in a category of “exotic” organizations called “high reliability organizations” (HROs) such as nuclear power plants, oil rigs and refineries where there is a high risk of accidents and are therefore expected to be preoccupied with warning systems and signals of breakdowns and accidents, see Warren Fishbein and Gregory Treverton, “Making sense of transnational threats,” Sherman KentCentre for Intelligence Analysis, Occasional Papers, vol. 3/I (oct 2004) at http://cia.gov/library/keng-center-occasional-papers/vol3no1.htm
\item \textsuperscript{33} See Denis Smith, “The crisis of management: Managing ahead of the curve,” in Denis Smith and Dominic Elliott, eds., Key readings in crisis management; Systems and structures for prevention and recovery (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 301-317 and especially his figures 3 and 4 for a similar conceptualization of industrial crises.
\end{itemize}
followed the 26 March 2010 sinking of the ROKS Cheonan (PC-772); or the 7 September 2010 collusion of the Chinese trawler Minjinyu 5179 with Japanese Coast Guard patrol boats Yonakuni and Mizuki near Senkaku Islands; and more recently, the 7 November 2011 Japanese Coast Guard detention of a Chinese fishing vessel within Japanese waters, was difficult. Today we continue to argue about the alternative explanations and narratives of what happened and the appropriateness of the responses to terminate these crises. Similar challenges confront our attempts to understand the political crises which erupted on 1 April 2001 over Chinese interception of a US EP-3 surveillance plane 110 km from Hainan Island, and 23 March 2001 Chinese frigate Jianheu blocking of the US Navy hydrographic survey vessel USNS Bowditch collecting data within China’s exclusive economic zone in the South China Sea. Such Incidents at Sea escalating into political crises are likely to continue as the South China Sea and the East China Sea become increasingly contested. 34 The issue for intelligence is what is their role in these crises over such Incidents at sea?

The unintended consequences of an Incident-at-Sea between competing Naval vessels or detention of fishing vessels are “wild cards” that are unpredictable and indicative of a complex and chaotic world. The instinctive reaction of the skipper to being pursued by a Coast Guard vessel cannot be anticipated and may trigger a series of events which culminates in a diplomatic crisis which was totally unpredictable. The policy maker today will not have the time which Kennedy and his advisers had in 1962 to reflect on their proposed responses to Khrushchev.

Information technology today has created a new matrix of real-time information flows enabling an unprecedented number of not only participants in a crises, but also observers to witness what is happening. 35 The response time for officials and policy makers to respond to the detention of their fishing vessels or collusion of their Naval


35 “This challenge of decreasing response time to an increasing volume of real-time information confronts not only the intelligence analyst and their policy makers, but also traditional media editors as BBC anchor commentator Nik Gowing explains in ‘Skyful of Lies’ and Black Swans: The new tyranny of shifting information power in crises, RISJ Challenges (Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism/ University of Oxford, 2009)
vessels is contracted to single-digit hours as the unfolding crises is captured and broadcast by participants on their mobile applications. The crisis maybe compounded by dormant or new stakeholders in the policy process emerging to assert a claim to the crisis for their own agendas. Non-governmental and other political movements or groups may try to push policy makers towards their special interest. The recent incidents-at-sea in the South China Sea involved not only Naval vessels of the conflicting parties, but also their Coast Guards and other maritime agencies with rather different agendas for how to deal with the crisis. All this complicates making sense of the crisis. Strategic intelligence will probably be unable to help the policy maker link cause and effect in such crises because they are impossible to determine in the turbulence of the crisis. This linking of cause and effect maybe apparent only in hindsight, after the crisis and as such makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the policy maker to decide how to intervene in the unfolding course of events to alter the effect.36

Donald Rumsfeld’s now infamous 2 February 2002 statement on the absence of evidence linking Saddam Hussein with the supply of weapons of mass destruction to terrorist groups, that “there are known knowns; there are things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns; that is to say we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns — the ones we don't know we don't know” sums up the trauma faced by the policy maker in a crisis, when he is dragged out of working on issues which he aware of, what he knows and does not know, into a world of “unknown-unknowns.”

REVISING THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE IN INTERNATIONAL CRISIS MANAGEMENT

Dave Snowdon, consultant and researcher in the field of knowledge management explains that in contrast to the realm of known-knowns where the leader has the time to collect and categorise data to make sense of the situation and then respond accordingly, in the world of unknown-unknown the “leader’s immediate job is not to discover patterns but to stanch the bleeding. A leader must first act to establish order,

then sense where stability is present and from where it is absent, and then respond by working to transform the situation from chaos to complexity, where the identification of emerging patterns can both help prevent future crises and discern new opportunities.

Has intelligence a role to support the policy maker act to seize control of events and impose some order at the onset of a crisis? Studies of how corporate chiefs react to crises shows that they act to bring events and structures into existence which they hope will contain, if not terminate the crisis. Diplomatic crisis is an ascending stairway to war on which there is at every step opportunities to de-escalate and return to normal, or achieve a standoff with no resolution of the crisis or climb up the next step of the crisis (Fig.). This decision of whether to escalate or de-escalate the crisis or go for a stand-off is shaped by a range of cognitive biases attempting to instinctively make sense of the chaos of a crisis. Our minds, as Daniel Kahneman has demonstrated, are wired to think fast and slow. Fast thinking enables us to balance on a bicycle without falling, multiply 2x2 or orient to the source of a sudden sound and detect hostility in a voice. It is this system of fast thinking that usually drives our reactions to the world around us, and in this case, respond to a crisis. The slower, more deliberative and logical system of our mind is only activated when fast thinking confronts a problem it has no immediate response to, like multiplying 17x24. The role of intelligence must be to support the slow thinking reflective system of the policy maker’s mind. Arguably, intelligence support for the fast thinking system of the policy maker’s mind has been its nemesis when it provides the policy maker desired evidence, for example of the presence of WMD in Iraq.

Intelligence should then feed the slow thinking system of the policy-maker’s mind to break the instinctive fast thinking system’s move to action because that action will

39 Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, fast and slow* London: Penguin/Allen Lane, 2011) sums up his work with his late colleague Amos Tversjy on decision-making and uncertainty, for which he received the Nobel Prize in economics in 2002.
feed into the crisis and may escalate it.¢\(^0\)\) Decision making in a crisis is not a static single choice. Rather, it is a dynamic decision problem requiring the policy maker to make sequential risky choices in a rapidly evolving and complex environment. The policy maker has to make sense of the feedback and consequences of his choice and decide how to respond to the next round of the crisis. Further, the policy maker can try to anticipate, but cannot control how a decision he makes now will impact on his options later in the unfolding crisis. The sequential risky choices made by adversaries in a crisis create an uncertain and unpredictable environment not under their control. The challenge for intelligence is to advise policy makers on the adversary’s capacity for risk, sensitize the policy maker to the possible consequences of his risky choices and open up his mindset to divergent outcomes of the crisis.

There is not one predictable outcome of a crisis. Rather there are multiple possible outcomes as competing parties in the crisis manoeuver and act out their scenarios to contain (or prolong, if not escalate) the crisis. Dave Snowden has pointed out that in a complex and chaotic world there is not one future we are working towards. Rather, there are multiple futures we could work towards which we need to probe, make sense of and then respond to. The start point of policy is not necessarily the past leading into the known present and then work towards the knowable future. Rather the more useful start point may be the multiple futures which a crisis could lead to and probe for whether there are patterns among them which can then be worked back to our present. Understanding China’s position on its claims to the South China Sea will involve identifying the various Chinese agencies who have emerged or are emerging as interested parties claiming a stake in the issue and trying to make sense of their different claims and core interests in the South China Sea.¢\(^1\) Making sense of the strategic ambivalence and ambiguity of the ten members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) on their positions and claims of some to the South China Sea is even more complex. Strategic intelligence has to revise its modus

---

¢\(^0\) Perhaps like the meteorologist Edward Lorenz’s butterfly flapping its wings in China could eventually lead to a tornado in the US. See J Gleick, Chaos (London: Sphere, 1987) on the “butterfly effect”

¢\(^1\) See the International Crisis Group, Asia Report no. 223, 23 April 2012, “Stirring up the South China Sea (I)” on trying to make sense of Chinese policies and positions on the South China Sea. The issue maybe more complex than poor or lack of coordination between China’s different state agencies claiming an interest in the South China Sea, as this report suggests, but a more complex issue of each of these agencies having a different justification and narrative for their stake in the South China Sea.
operandi of simplifying and reducing the “number of dots” it has to connect to form a pattern to increasing the number of dots and the possible patterns they could form.

Traditional data processing, as Max Boisot and Bill McKelvey\textsuperscript{42} have argued is hierarchic, in which the mountains of data is processed upwards through the layers of a pyramid of “experts” into a single agreed assessment. In the intelligence world this is the \textit{Intelligence Estimate}, SNIE 85-3-62 issued by the CIA assessing it to be unlikely the Soviets would deploy missiles on Cuba. But in the emergent complexity leading to a chaos world of crisis management, this pyramid has to be inverted in a search for multiple and divergent patterns. Predictive warning may then be more a process of socializing the policy maker into understanding and accepting that there are multiple futures, the “dots” of which need to be connected into various patterns that could form probable futures or scenarios which the analyst and policy maker then needs to keep in view as they work out of their present into their preferred future.

Connecting these multiple futures will be dependent upon the intelligence analyst’s awareness and empathy for the different narratives that justifies the initiation and continuation or termination of a crisis. For example, Singapore’s reaction to any crisis it has or may be involved in is the narrative of its survival against the odds to economic take-off to global city status and how any financial or political crisis challenges its aspirations to global city status. China’s narrative underpinning its response to the various crises it is involved in the South and East China Seas appears to be the narrative of China’s rise after a century of humiliation\textsuperscript{43} and the continuation of a Cold War strategy of containment enacted in a series of treaties at San Francisco at the end of World War II. For ASEAN, their narrative of the conflicting claims to the islands, reefs and waters of the South China Sea is about managing conflict in the region the “ASEAN Way” and the 40-year successful track record of what some ASEAN’s critics have described as equivocation. The challenge for the intelligence analyst is to discern how these foundation narratives are being appropriated, adapted and asserted by different parties in an emerging crisis for different agendas.

\textsuperscript{42} Max Boisot and Bill McKelvey, “Speeding up strategic foresight in a dangerous and complex world: a complexity approach,” in Gabriele G S suder, ed., \textit{Corporate strategies under international terrorism adversity} (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2006).

\textsuperscript{43} See Julia Lovell, \textit{The Opium War; Drugs, dreams and the making of China} (London: Picador, 2011) for a historiographic analysis of the myths of the Opium Wars and its legacy in shaping China’s relations with the West.
The conventional reductive analysis of inductive pattern recognition to predict a warning of a crisis will have to change to a more open warning system that probes and attempts to make sense of possible multiple crises and together with the policy maker, judge and assesses which are the more probable crises scenarios they should be responding to. Such a change amounts to a paradigm shift in intelligence practice from attempting to predict the outcome of a crisis to only supporting the policy maker respond to a crisis.

**CONCLUSION**

This essay has argued for a paradigm shift in our understanding of international crises and the role of strategic intelligence in the termination of these crises on three grounds. The first is the dismal record of intelligence in providing their policy makers with sufficient warning time of the onset of a crisis. This essay has reviewed the variety of explanations and justifications for the failure of intelligence to warn of a crisis which escalates into a surprise attack.

Second, and more problematic, is that intelligence is expected to provide early warning of a crisis within a policy framework that assumes an orderly, controllable and predictable world populated by Rational Actors working to maximize their gains. It is a view of human society and its nature embedded in an Enlightenment vision of the world of men and theorized in the work of at least two if not three generations of 20th century social and behavioural scientists who believed that the understanding of human society can be modelled after the physical and natural sciences. But this view of our physical and natural world as an orderly and predictable reality verifiable by scientific investigations and codified in theories was undermined by new experiments and theorizing about our physical world from the beginning of the 20th century. In Thomas Khun’s felicitous phrase, it was a paradigm shift from the Newtonian view of the physical world to a more uncertain, complex and chaotic world of sub-atomic particles of quantum physics. The implications of this shift from the orderly, predictable and deterministic world of Newtonian physics to the uncertainties and

---

44 See Dawn R Gilpin and Priscilla J Murphy, *Crisis Management in a complex world* (Oxford: University Press, 2008) for a similar call for a paradigm shift in corporate world approach to crisis management
relativity of the world of quantum physics is reaching the social and behavioral sciences today. Behavioural economics 45 challenges the rationality of homo economicus and the Rational Actor assumed in political science. The conundrum for intelligence is how to convince themselves and their policy-makers that the rationality they assume they bring to managing a crisis may be misleading them into believing that they have more control over the course of events than is often the case in the uncertainty and unpredictability of a crisis.

Third is how post-Cold War Globalization is drawing us closer and making us more interdependent in a tightly networked and complex world.46 Information technology is dragging us from our current www.2 world to a new www.3 world of more complex flows of information and knowledge that is changing our world and how we relate to each other, to governments and to markets. Unforeseen events, this essay has argued, can reverberate through our tightly networked world with catastrophic consequences, escalating minor events or issues into a crisis. An overload of fragmentary and contradictory information enabled by exponential development of information technology contributes to the confusion of the crisis, challenging the power and effectiveness of governments to be more transparent, responsive and accountable for its actions. A new approach to intelligence support for policy makers caught in a crisis is needed.

45 See for example, the collection of essays in Erwann Michel-Kerjan and Paul Slovic, eds., The irrational economist; Making decisions in a dangerous world (New York: Public Affairs/PerseusBooks, 2010) and for how behavioural economics is shaping public policy making in Singapore, see Donald Low, ed., Behavioural economics and policy design; Examples from Singapore (Singapore: World scientific/Civil Service College, 2012.

46 Well analysed by Manuel Castells in his now classic The rise of network society. This is the first of a three volume study The Information Age; Economy, society and culture (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).
1. Vietnam-China Relations Since The End of The Cold War  
   Ang Cheng Guan (1998)
   Desmond Ball (1999)
3. Reordering Asia: “Cooperative Security” or Concert of Powers?  
   Amitav Acharya (1999)
4. The South China Sea Dispute re-visited  
   Ang Cheng Guan (1999)
   Joseph Liow Chin Yong (1999)
6. ‘Humanitarian Intervention in Kosovo’ as Justified, Executed and Mediated by NATO: Strategic Lessons for Singapore  
   Kumar Ramakrishna (2000)
7. Taiwan’s Future: Mongolia or Tibet?  
   Chien-peng (C.P.) Chung (2001)
8. Asia-Pacific Diplomacies: Reading Discontinuity in Late-Modern Diplomatic Practice  
   Tan See Seng (2001)
9. Framing “South Asia”: Whose Imagined Region?  
   Sinderpal Singh (2001)
10. Explaining Indonesia's Relations with Singapore During the New Order Period: The Case of Regime Maintenance and Foreign Policy  
    Terence Lee Chek Liang (2001)
11. Human Security: Discourse, Statecraft, Emancipation  
    Tan See Seng (2001)
    Nguyen Phuong Binh (2001)
13. Framework for Autonomy in Southeast Asia’s Plural Societies  
    Miriam Coronel Ferrer (2001)
    Ananda Rajah (2001)
15. Natural Resources Management and Environmental Security in Southeast Asia: Case Study of Clean Water Supplies in Singapore  
    Kog Yue Choong (2001)
16. Crisis and Transformation: ASEAN in the New Era  
    Etel Solingen (2001)
17. Human Security: East Versus West?  
    Amitav Acharya (2001)
18. Asian Developing Countries and the Next Round of WTO Negotiations  
    Barry Desker (2001)
19. Multilateralism, Neo-liberalism and Security in Asia: The Role of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum
   Ian Taylor (2001)

20. Humanitarian Intervention and Peacekeeping as Issues for Asia-Pacific Security
    Derek McDougall (2001)

21. Comprehensive Security: The South Asian Case
    S.D. Muni (2002)

    You Ji (2002)

23. The Concept of Security Before and After September 11
    a. The Contested Concept of Security
       Steve Smith (2002)
    b. Security and Security Studies After September 11: Some Preliminary Reflections
       Amitav Acharya (2002)

24. Democratisation In South Korea And Taiwan: The Effect Of Social Division On Inter-Korean and Cross-Strait Relations

25. Understanding Financial Globalisation
    Andrew Walter (2002)

26. 911, American Praetorian Unilateralism and the Impact on State-Society Relations in Southeast Asia
    Kumar Ramakrishna (2002)

27. Great Power Politics in Contemporary East Asia: Negotiating Multipolarity or Hegemony?
    Tan See Seng (2002)

28. What Fear Hath Wrought: Missile Hysteria and The Writing of “America”
    Tan See Seng (2002)

29. International Responses to Terrorism: The Limits and Possibilities of Legal Control of Terrorism by Regional Arrangement with Particular Reference to ASEAN
    Ong Yen Nee (2002)

30. Reconceptualizing the PLA Navy in Post – Mao China: Functions, Warfare, Arms, and Organization
    Nan Li (2002)

    Helen E S Nesadurai (2002)

32. 11 September and China: Opportunities, Challenges, and Warfighting
    Nan Li (2002)

33. Islam and Society in Southeast Asia after September 11
    Barry Desker (2002)

34. Hegemonic Constraints: The Implications of September 11 For American Power
    Evelyn Goh (2002)

35. Not Yet All Aboard… But Already All At Sea Over Container Security Initiative
    Irvin Lim (2002)
36. Financial Liberalization and Prudential Regulation in East Asia: Still Perverse?  
   Andrew Walter  
   (2002)
37. Indonesia and The Washington Consensus  
   Premjith Sadasivan  
   (2002)
38. The Political Economy of FDI Location: Why Don’t Political Checks and Balances and Treaty Constraints Matter?  
   Andrew Walter  
   (2002)
39. The Securitization of Transnational Crime in ASEAN  
   Ralf Emmers  
   (2002)
40. Liquidity Support and The Financial Crisis: The Indonesian Experience  
   J Soedradjad Djivandono  
   (2002)
41. A UK Perspective on Defence Equipment Acquisition  
   David Kirkpatrick  
   (2003)
42. Regionalisation of Peace in Asia: Experiences and Prospects of ASEAN, ARF and UN Partnership  
   Mely C. Anthony  
   (2003)
43. The WTO In 2003: Structural Shifts, State-Of-Play And Prospects For The Doha Round  
   Razeen Sally  
   (2003)
44. Seeking Security In The Dragon’s Shadow: China and Southeast Asia In The Emerging Asian Order  
   Amitav Acharya  
   (2003)
45. Deconstructing Political Islam In Malaysia: UMNO’S Response To PAS’ Religio-Political Dialectic  
   Joseph Liow  
   (2003)
46. The War On Terror And The Future of Indonesian Democracy  
   Tatik S. Hafidz  
   (2003)
47. Examining The Role of Foreign Assistance in Security Sector Reforms: The Indonesian Case  
   Eduardo Lachica  
   (2003)
48. Sovereignty and The Politics of Identity in International Relations  
   Adrian Kuah  
   (2003)
49. Deconstructing Jihad; Southeast Asia Contexts  
   Patricia Martinez  
   (2003)
50. The Correlates of Nationalism in Beijing Public Opinion  
   Alastair Iain Johnston  
   (2003)
51. In Search of Suitable Positions’ in the Asia Pacific: Negotiating the US-China Relationship and Regional Security  
   Evelyn Goh  
   (2003)
52. American Unilaterism, Foreign Economic Policy and the ‘Securitisation’ of Globalisation  
   Richard Higgott  
   (2003)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Fireball on the Water: Naval Force Protection-Projection, Coast Guarding, Customs Border Security &amp; Multilateral Cooperation in Rolling Back the Global Waves of Terror from the Sea</td>
<td>Irvin Lim</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Revisiting Responses To Power Preponderance: Going Beyond The Balancing-Bandwagoning Dichotomy</td>
<td>Chong Ja Ian</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Pre-emption and Prevention: An Ethical and Legal Critique of the Bush Doctrine and Anticipatory Use of Force In Defence of the State</td>
<td>Malcolm Brailey</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>The Indo-Chinese Enlargement of ASEAN: Implications for Regional Economic Integration</td>
<td>Helen E S Nesadurai</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>The Advent of a New Way of War: Theory and Practice of Effects Based Operation</td>
<td>Joshua Ho</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Force Modernisation Trends in Southeast Asia</td>
<td>Andrew Tan</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Testing Alternative Responses to Power Preponderance: Buffering, Binding, Bonding and Beleaguering in the Real World</td>
<td>Chong Ja Ian</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Globalization and Non-Traditional Security Issues: A Study of Human and Drug Trafficking in East Asia</td>
<td>Ralf Emmers</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Outlook for Malaysia’s 11th General Election</td>
<td>Joseph Liow</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Not Many Jobs Take a Whole Army: Special Operations Forces and The Revolution in Military Affairs.</td>
<td>Malcolm Brailey</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Technological Globalisation and Regional Security in East Asia</td>
<td>J.D. Kenneth Boutin</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>UAVs/UCAVS – Missions, Challenges, and Strategic Implications for Small and Medium Powers</td>
<td>Manjeet Singh Pardesi</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Singapore’s Reaction to Rising China: Deep Engagement and Strategic Adjustment</td>
<td>Evelyn Goh</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>The Shifting Of Maritime Power And The Implications For Maritime Security In East Asia</td>
<td>Joshua Ho</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

70. Examining the Defence Industrialization-Economic Growth Relationship: The Case of Singapore
    Adrian Kuah and Bernard Loo (2004)

71. “Constructing” The Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist: A Preliminary Inquiry
    Kumar Ramakrishna (2004)

72. Malaysia and The United States: Rejecting Dominance, Embracing Engagement
    Helen E S Nesadurai (2004)

73. The Indonesian Military as a Professional Organization: Criteria and Ramifications for Reform
    John Bradford (2005)

74. Martime Terrorism in Southeast Asia: A Risk Assessment
    Catherine Zara Raymond (2005)

75. Southeast Asian Maritime Security In The Age Of Terror: Threats, Opportunity, And Charting The Course Forward
    John Bradford (2005)

76. Deducing India’s Grand Strategy of Regional Hegemony from Historical and Conceptual Perspectives
    Manjeet Singh Pardesi (2005)

77. Towards Better Peace Processes: A Comparative Study of Attempts to Broker Peace with MNLF and GAM
    S P Harish (2005)

78. Multilateralism, Sovereignty and Normative Change in World Politics
    Amitav Acharya (2005)

79. The State and Religious Institutions in Muslim Societies
    Riaz Hassan (2005)

80. On Being Religious: Patterns of Religious Commitment in Muslim Societies
    Riaz Hassan (2005)

81. The Security of Regional Sea Lanes
    Joshua Ho (2005)

82. Civil-Military Relationship and Reform in the Defence Industry
    Arthur S Ding (2005)

83. How Bargaining Alters Outcomes: Bilateral Trade Negotiations and Bargaining Strategies
    Deborah Elms (2005)

84. Great Powers and Southeast Asian Regional Security Strategies: Omni-enmeshment, Balancing and Hierarchical Order
    Evelyn Goh (2005)

85. Global Jihad, Sectarianism and The Madrassahs in Pakistan
    Ali Riaz (2005)

86. Autobiography, Politics and Ideology in Sayyid Qutb’s Reading of the Qur’an
    Umej Bhatia (2005)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Maritime Disputes in the South China Sea: Strategic and Diplomatic Status Quo</td>
<td>Ralf Emmers</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>China’s Political Commissars and Commanders: Trends &amp; Dynamics</td>
<td>Srikanth Kondapalli</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Piracy in Southeast Asia New Trends, Issues and Responses</td>
<td>Catherine Zara Raymond</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Geopolitics, Grand Strategy and the Bush Doctrine</td>
<td>Simon Dalby</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Local Elections and Democracy in Indonesia: The Case of the Riau Archipelago</td>
<td>Nankyung Choi</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>The Impact of RMA on Conventional Deterrence: A Theoretical Analysis</td>
<td>Manjeet Singh Pardesi</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Africa and the Challenge of Globalisation</td>
<td>Jeffrey Herbst</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>The East Asian Experience: The Poverty of ‘Picking Winners’</td>
<td>Barry Desker and Deborah Elms</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Bandung And The Political Economy Of North-South Relations; Sowing The Seeds For Revisioning International Society</td>
<td>Helen E S Nesadurai</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Re-conceptualising the Military-Industrial Complex: A General Systems Theory Approach</td>
<td>Adrian Kuah</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Food Security and the Threat From Within: Rice Policy Reforms in the Philippines</td>
<td>Bruce Tolentino</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Securitizing/Desecuritizing the Filipinos’ ‘Outward Migration Issue’in the Philippines’ Relations with Other Asian Governments</td>
<td>José N. Franco, Jr.</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Securitization Of Illegal Migration of Bangladeshis To India</td>
<td>Josy Joseph</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Securitizing border-crossing: The case of marginalized stateless minorities in the Thai-Burma Borderlands</td>
<td>Mika Toyota</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>The LTTE’s Online Network and its Implications for Regional Security</td>
<td>Shyam Tekwani</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
105. The Korean War June-October 1950: Inchon and Stalin in the “Trigger Vs Justification” Debate
Tan Kwoh Jack (2006)

106. International Regime Building in Southeast Asia: ASEAN Cooperation against the Illicit Trafficking and Abuse of Drugs
Ralf Emmers (2006)

107. Changing Conflict Identities: The case of the Southern Thailand Discord
S P Harish (2006)

108. Myanmar and the Argument for Engagement: A Clash of Contending Moralities?
Christopher B Roberts (2006)

109. TEMPORAL DOMINANCE
Military Transformation and the Time Dimension of Strategy
Edwin Seah (2006)

110. Globalization and Military-Industrial Transformation in South Asia: An Historical Perspective
Emrys Chew (2006)

111. UNCLOS and its Limitations as the Foundation for a Regional Maritime Security Regime
Sam Bateman (2006)

112. Freedom and Control Networks in Military Environments
Paul T Mitchell (2006)

113. Rewriting Indonesian History: The Future in Indonesia’s Past
Kwa Chong Guan (2006)

114. Twelver Shi’ite Islam: Conceptual and Practical Aspects
Christoph Marcinkowski (2006)

115. Islam, State and Modernity: Muslim Political Discourse in Late 19th and Early 20th century India
Iqbal Singh Sevea (2006)

Ong Wei Chong (2006)

117. “From Counter-Society to Counter-State: Jemaah Islamiyah According to PUPJI”
Elena Pavlova (2006)

118. The Terrorist Threat to Singapore’s Land Transportation Infrastructure: A Preliminary Enquiry
Adam Dolnik (2006)

119. The Many Faces of Political Islam
Mohammed Ayoob (2006)

120. Facets of Shi’ite Islam in Contemporary Southeast Asia (I): Thailand and Indonesia
Christoph Marcinkowski (2006)

121. Facets of Shi’ite Islam in Contemporary Southeast Asia (II): Malaysia and Singapore
Christoph Marcinkowski (2006)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Towards a History of Malaysian Ulama</td>
<td>Mohamed Nawab</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam and Violence in Malaysia</td>
<td>Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Greater Iran and Shi’ite Crescent: Some Thoughts on the</td>
<td>Christoph Marcinkowski</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of Iran’s Ambitions in the Middle East</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinking Ahead: Shi’ite Islam in Iraq and its Seminaries</td>
<td>Christoph Marcinkowski</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rearming of Southeast Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contested Capitalism: Financial Politics and Implications for China</td>
<td>Richard Carney</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The De-escalation of the Spratly Dispute in Sino-Southeast Asian</td>
<td>Ralf Emmers</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War, Peace or Neutrality: An Overview of Islamic Polity’s Basis of</td>
<td>Muhammad Haniff Hassan</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-State Relations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission Not So Impossible: The AMM and the Transition from Conflict</td>
<td>Kirsten E. Schulze</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Peace in Aceh, 2005–2006</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive Security and Resilience in Southeast Asia: ASEAN’s</td>
<td>Ralf Emmers</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach to Terrorism and Sea Piracy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ulama in Pakistani Politics</td>
<td>Mohamed Nawab</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China’s Proactive Engagement in Asia: Economics, Politics and</td>
<td>Li Mingjiang</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PLA’s Role in China’s Regional Security Strategy</td>
<td>Qi Dapeng</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War As They Knew It: Revolutionary War and Counterinsurgency in</td>
<td>Ong Wei Chong</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia’s Direct Local Elections: Background and Institutional</td>
<td>Nankyung Choi</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framework</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contextualizing Political Islam for Minority Muslims</td>
<td>Muhammad Haniff bin Hassan</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngruki Revisited: Modernity and Its Discontents at the Pondok</td>
<td>Farish A. Noor</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pesantren al-Mukmin of Ngruki, Surakarta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalization: Implications of and for the Modern / Post-modern</td>
<td>Geoffrey Till</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navies of the Asia Pacific</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Sulawesi: Aspirations of Local Muslims</td>
<td>Rohaiza Ahmad Asi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>Islamic Militancy, Sharia, and Democratic Consolidation in Post-Suharto Indonesia</td>
<td>Noorhaidi Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>New Security Dimensions in the Asia Pacific</td>
<td>Barry Desker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Japan’s Economic Diplomacy towards East Asia: Fragmented Realism and Naïve Liberalism</td>
<td>Hidetaka Yoshimatsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>The Asian Financial Crisis and ASEAN’s Concept of Security</td>
<td>Yongwook Ryu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Security in the South China Sea: China’s Balancing Act and New Regional Dynamics</td>
<td>Li Mingjiang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>The Defence Industry in the Post-Transformational World: Implications for the United States and Singapore</td>
<td>Richard A Bitzinger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>The Islamic Opposition in Malaysia:New Trajectories and Directions</td>
<td>Mohamed Fauz Abdul Hamid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Thinking the Unthinkable: The Modernization and Reform of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia</td>
<td>Farish A Noor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Outlook for Malaysia’s 12th General Elections</td>
<td>Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, Shahirah Mahmood and Joseph Chinyong Liow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>The use of SOLAS Ship Security Alert Systems</td>
<td>Thomas Timlen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Thai-Chinese Relations:Security and Strategic Partnership</td>
<td>Chulacheeb Chinwanno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Sovereignty In ASEAN and The Problem of Maritime Cooperation in the South China Sea</td>
<td>JN Mak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Sino-U.S. Competition in Strategic Arms</td>
<td>Arthur S. Ding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Roots of Radical Sunni Traditionalism</td>
<td>Karim Douglas Crow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Interpreting Islam On Plural Society</td>
<td>Muhammad Haniff Hassan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162.</td>
<td>The Securitization of Human Trafficking in Indonesia</td>
<td>Rizal Sukma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164.</td>
<td>A Merlion at the Edge of an Afrasian Sea: Singapore’s Strategic Involvement in the Indian Ocean</td>
<td>Emrys Chew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166.</td>
<td>Singapore’s Sovereign Wealth Funds: The Political Risk of Overseas Investments</td>
<td>Friedrich Wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170.</td>
<td>“Indonesia’s Salafist Sufis”</td>
<td>Julia Day Howell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175.</td>
<td>The Spread of the Tablighi Jama’at Across Western, Central and Eastern Java and the role of the Indian Muslim Diaspora</td>
<td>Farish A. Noor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176.</td>
<td>Significance of Abu Dujana and Zarkasih’s Verdict</td>
<td>Nurfarahisli Tante Mohamed Ismail, V. Arianti and Jennifer Yang Hui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
177. The Perils of Consensus: How ASEAN’s Meta-Regime Undermines Economic and Environmental Cooperation  
   Vinod K. Aggarwal and Jonathan T. Chow  
   (2009)

178. The Capacities of Coast Guards to deal with Maritime Challenges in Southeast Asia  
   Prabhakaran Paleri  
   (2009)

179. China and Asian Regionalism: Pragmatism Hinders Leadership  
   Li Mingjiang  
   (2009)

180. Livelihood Strategies Amongst Indigenous Peoples in the Central Cardamom Protected Forest, Cambodia  
   Long Sarou  
   (2009)

181. Human Trafficking in Cambodia: Reintegration of the Cambodian illegal migrants from Vietnam and Thailand  
   Neth Naro  
   (2009)

182. The Philippines as an Archipelagic and Maritime Nation: Interests, Challenges, and Perspectives  
   Mary Ann Palma  
   (2009)

183. The Changing Power Distribution in the South China Sea: Implications for Conflict Management and Avoidance  
   Ralf Emmers  
   (2009)

184. Islamist Party, Electoral Politics and Da’wa Mobilization among Youth: The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia  
   Noorhaidi Hasan  
   (2009)

185. U.S. Foreign Policy and Southeast Asia: From Manifest Destiny to Shared Destiny  
   Emrys Chew  
   (2009)

186. Different Lenses on the Future: U.S. and Singaporean Approaches to Strategic Planning  
   Justin Zorn  
   (2009)

187. Converging Peril: Climate Change and Conflict in the Southern Philippines  
   J. Jackson Ewing  
   (2009)

188. Informal Caucuses within the WTO: Singapore in the “Invisibles Group”  
   Barry Desker  
   (2009)

189. The ASEAN Regional Forum and Preventive Diplomacy: A Failure in Practice  
   Ralf Emmers and See Seng Tan  
   (2009)

190. How Geography Makes Democracy Work  
   Richard W. Carney  
   (2009)

191. The Arrival and Spread of the Tablighi Jama’ at In West Papua (Irian Jaya), Indonesia  
   Farish A. Noor  
   (2010)

192. The Korean Peninsula in China’s Grand Strategy: China’s Role in dealing with North Korea’s Nuclear Quandary  
   Chung Chong Wook  
   (2010)

   Donald K. Emmerson  
   (2010)

194. Jemaah Islamiyah: Of Kin and Kind  
   Sulastri Osman  
   (2010)
195. The Role of the Five Power Defence Arrangements in the Southeast Asian Security Architecture  
   Ralf Emmers  
   (2010)

196. The Domestic Political Origins of Global Financial Standards: Agrarian Influence and the Creation of U.S. Securities Regulations  
   Richard W. Carney  
   (2010)

197. Indian Naval Effectiveness for National Growth  
   Ashok Sawhney  
   (2010)

198. Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) regime in East Asian waters: Military and intelligence-gathering activities, Marine Scientific Research (MSR) and hydrographic surveys in an EEZ  
   Yang Fang  
   (2010)

199. Do Stated Goals Matter? Regional Institutions in East Asia and the Dynamic of Unstated Goals  
   Deepak Nair  
   (2010)

200. China’s Soft Power in South Asia  
   Parama Sinha Palit  
   (2010)

201. Reform of the International Financial Architecture: How can Asia have a greater impact in the G20?  
   Pradumna B. Rana  
   (2010)

   Kumar Ramakrishna  
   (2010)

203. Future of U.S. Power: Is China Going to Eclipse the United States? Two Possible Scenarios to 2040  
   Tuomo Kuosa  
   (2010)

204. Swords to Ploughshares: China’s Defence-Conversion Policy  
   Lee Dongmin  
   (2010)

205. Asia Rising and the Maritime Decline of the West: A Review of the Issues  
   Geoffrey Till  
   (2010)

206. From Empire to the War on Terror: The 1915 Indian Sepoy Mutiny in Singapore as a case study of the impact of profiling of religious and ethnic minorities.  
   Farish A. Noor  
   (2010)

207. Enabling Security for the 21st Century: Intelligence & Strategic Foresight and Warning  
   Helene Lavoix  
   (2010)

208. The Asian and Global Financial Crises: Consequences for East Asian Regionalism  
   Ralf Emmers and John Ravenhill  
   (2010)

   Bhubhindar Singh and Philip Shetler-Jones  
   (2010)

210. India’s Emerging Land Warfare Doctrines and Capabilities  
   Colonel Harinder Singh  
   (2010)

211. A Response to Fourth Generation Warfare  
   Amos Khan  
   (2010)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>Japan-Korea Relations and the Tokdo/Takeshima Dispute: The Interplay of Nationalism and Natural Resources</td>
<td>Ralf Emmers</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>Mapping the Religious and Secular Parties in South Sulawesi and Tanah Toraja, Sulawesi, Indonesia</td>
<td>Farish A. Noor</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>The Aceh-based Militant Network: A Trigger for a View into the Insightful Complex of Conceptual and Historical Links</td>
<td>Giora Eliraz</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>Evolving Global Economic Architecture: Will We have a New Bretton Woods?</td>
<td>Pradumna B. Rana</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>Transforming the Military: The Energy Imperative</td>
<td>Kelvin Wong</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>ASEAN Institutionalisation: The Function of Political Values and State Capacity</td>
<td>Christopher Roberts</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>China’s Military Build-up in the Early Twenty-first Century: From Arms Procurement to War-fighting Capability</td>
<td>Yoram Evron</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>Darul Uloom Deoband: Stemming the Tide of Radical Islam in India</td>
<td>Taberez Ahmed Neyazi</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>Recent Developments in the South China Sea: Grounds for Cautious Optimism?</td>
<td>Carlyle A. Thayer</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Emerging Powers and Cooperative Security in Asia</td>
<td>Joshy M. Paul</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>What happened to the smiling face of Indonesian Islam?</td>
<td>Martin Van Bruinessen</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Winds of Change in Sarawak Politics?</td>
<td>Faisal S Hazis</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>Rising from Within: China’s Search for a Multilateral World and Its Implications for Sino-U.S. Relations</td>
<td>Li Mingjiang</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Rising Power… To Do What?</td>
<td>Evelyn Goh</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>Assessing 12-year Military Reform in Indonesia: Major Strategic Gaps for the Next Stage of Reform</td>
<td>Leonard C. Sebastian and Iisgindarsah</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>Monetary Integration in ASEAN+3: A Perception Survey of Opinion Leaders</td>
<td>Pradumna Bickram Rana, Wai-Mun Chia &amp; Yothin Jinjarak</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Authors</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229.</td>
<td>Dealing with the “North Korea Dilemma”: China’s Strategic Choices</td>
<td>You Ji</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230.</td>
<td>Street, Shrine, Square and Soccer Pitch: Comparative Protest Spaces in Asia and the Middle East</td>
<td>Teresita Cruz-del Rosario and James M. Dorsey</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231.</td>
<td>The Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) in the landscape of Indonesian Islamist Politics: Cadre-Training as Mode of Preventive Radicalisation?</td>
<td>Farish A Noor</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233.</td>
<td>How Indonesia Sees ASEAN and the World: A Cursory Survey of the Social Studies and History textbooks of Indonesia, from Primary to Secondary Level.</td>
<td>Farish A. Noor</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237.</td>
<td>Reflections on Defence Security in East Asia</td>
<td>Desmond Ball</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238.</td>
<td>The Evolving Multi-layered Global Financial Safety Net: Role of Asia</td>
<td>Pradumna B. Rana</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239.</td>
<td>Chinese Debates of South China Sea Policy: Implications for Future Developments</td>
<td>Li Mingjiang</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242.</td>
<td>The Forum Betawi Rempug (FBR) of Jakarta: An Ethnic-Cultural Solidarity Movement in Globalising Indonesia</td>
<td>Farish A. Noor</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>243.</td>
<td>Role of Intelligence in International Crisis Management</td>
<td>Kwa Chong Guan</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>