



RSIS Working Paper

The **RSIS Working Paper series** presents papers in a preliminary form and serves to stimulate comment and discussion. The views expressed are entirely the author's own and not that of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. If you have any comments, please send them to the following email address: Rsispublication@ntu.edu.sg

Unsubscribing

If you no longer want to receive RSIS Working Papers, please click on "**Unsubscribe.**" to be removed from the list.

No. 258

Enhancing Global and Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Management and Resolution

Ibrahim A. Gambari

**S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
Singapore**

2 May 2013

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 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

In this paper I provide an overview of the global perspectives on conflict management and conflict resolution and the international and regional efforts to address them. In this regard, I begin with some general and theoretical observations followed by a synopsis of three case studies (Cyprus, Darfur/Sudan and Myanmar), each one chosen from three regions (Europe, Africa and Asia) and based on my direct involvement in helping to resolve them. I then make some concluding remarks and recommendations on enhancing the mechanisms for conflict management and resolution.

Ibrahim A. Gambari is a Professor at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, currently on leave, and a Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. A graduate and post-graduate of Columbia University, New York, he was a lecturer and then Assistant Professor at the State University of New York between 1969 and 1977. He became Senior Lecturer at the Ahmadu Bello University in 1977, then Assistant Professor in 1980 and Professor in 1983. He was a visiting professor at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) Johns Hopkins University, Georgetown University and Howard University from 1986-1989.

Prof Gambari was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria 1984-1985 and served as Nigeria's Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 1990-1999. He joined the UN as Under-Secretary-General and Special Advisor to the Secretary-General on Africa from 1999-2005, during which period he was also the UNSG's Special Representative to Angola. He became Under-Secretary-General and Head of the UN Department of Political Affairs (2005-2007) and also served as UNSG's Special Envoy on Cyprus, Zimbabwe and Myanmar. Ambassador Gambari was Joint Special Representative of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur in 2010 and was Joint Chief Mediator in Sudan in 2011.

He is the author of *Political and Comparative Dimensions of Regional Integration: The Case of ECOWAS* and *Theory and Reality in Foreign Policy Making*.

Enhancing Global and Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Management and Resolution

I. Global Context and General Observations Concerning Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution

1. The United Nations (UN) – to which almost all countries belong – is premised on the concept of collective security. The idea is that a threat to peace anywhere should be considered a threat to peace everywhere and should be met with collective response based on global solidarity. In reality, however, the record of international community in conflict management and conflict resolution is mixed. On the positive side, there has been a 40 per cent decline in violent conflicts since 1992, according to a recent Human Security Report. The report attributes this, in part, to the efforts made by UN peace-making. Indeed, since the end of the Cold War, more conflicts have ended through negotiations than ever before, with the UN being called upon to engage in all continents.
2. We need to better understand the reasons why and adapt our strategies and capacities in order to produce negotiated and durable solutions. We need to recognise that the nature of conflicts has changed: the root causes are broader and the actors are more varied. In this regard, three changes stand out clearly: (i) there are now more intra-state conflicts than inter-state conflicts; (ii) we now have more non-state actors involved in conflicts; and (iii) the root causes are broader and deeper when there are more non-state actors involved.

The starting point should be to understand and address the root causes of conflict. This includes domestic variables and economic and social factors, as well as critical elements, such as who the parties are, the degree of political will to resolve the conflict and the external dynamics that may positively or negatively affect any resolution effort.

3. We must also address the question of why efforts fail, what lessons can be drawn and the various approaches to conflict management and resolution. Both in academia and among diplomats, there are choices and preferred approaches. What then is it that makes a conflict seemingly intractable and mediation fails? Aside from the fact that parties to a conflict adopt a “zero-sum” game, there is also the tendency to prescribe a “one size fits all” solution. Most conflicts, however, feature “complex interactions of different forces, with each requiring well-designed structures that are purposely oriented to the needs of the specific situation.” Furthermore, there is the issue of dealing with spoilers in a peace process -

a. The spoilers in a peace process

Spoilers are actors, real or potential, whether leaders of parties or movements, within or outside of a peace process, which constitute themselves as deliberate obstacles to peaceful settlement of disputes/conflicts and employ violence to achieve their objectives. Nonetheless, we must address some relevant questions: Is

the term “spoiler” ascriptive or earned? Are spoilers born or made depending on given circumstances? Do all parties to conflicts have the capacity to become spoilers? Are spoilers home grown or externally induced or both? Can the spoiler of today become partners of tomorrow’s peace processes?

b. Approach to managing spoilers

For the UN, there is hardly the luxury of not talking to or engaging spoilers in the peace processes in which the organisation is involved. In any case, how does one try to obtain change of behaviour of spoilers without engagement? The real issue for the UN is what kind of engagement is most appropriate or capable of providing deliverables at specific stages of a particular peace process. In this regard, and with the caveat below, I endorse Steadman’s¹ broad categories of engaging spoilers:

i. The Inducement or Carrots strategy

This strategy consists of accepting all the demands of a spoiler in exchange for concessions in the peace process. These demands can include recognition or legitimacy, physical protection by UN troops, economic or political benefits. The Inducement approach is the easiest strategy to implement. Unfortunately, when used improperly it can exacerbate the situation, as in Angola in 1992 when custodians permitted the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) to play a continued role in the negotiation despite resuming war. On the other hand, in Cyprus, the design of the UN Peace Plan 2004 and the 8th of July Agreement were aimed at inducing the two communities there to stay engaged in the peace process.

ii. The Socialisation strategy

This strategy entails the establishment by custodians of a set of norms for acceptable behaviour in order for spoilers to be allowed into the peace process. It consists of sets of carrots and sticks to reward or punish spoilers based on their behaviour in relation to established norms. For the Socialisation strategy to work, norms, which should be fair and realistic, must be clearly established, communicated to all stakeholders and remain consistent over time. The management of the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) in Mozambique was a success, while the strategy has shown its limits with Hamas, in Palestine, although it is maybe too early to judge, and this also assuming that Hamas is considered as a spoiler.

iii. The Coercion or Stick strategy

¹ Stephen John Steadman 1997 *Spoiler: Problems in Peace Processes, International Security* 22

This strategy relies on the threat or reality of punishment. This approach includes coercive diplomacy, the use of force (e.g. NATO air “withdrawal” strategy), and the “departing train” strategy which entails the assertion that the peace process will proceed forward regardless of whether the spoilers join or not. The coercion strategy requires active measures to protect the parties of peace and the ability of spoilers to deter the process. The “withdrawal” strategy should be implemented with care as it can lead to disaster as illustrated by the hasty withdrawal of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda and the tragedy of the Rwandan genocide. In other words, there should be no exit of UN Peace-keeping Operations without a clear strategy.

c. Type of spoilers in relation to their ultimate objectives

- *Limited spoilers*: who seek recognition, redress of grievance, a just revenue or power sharing framework;
- *Total spoilers*: who pursue absolute victory in a zero-sum game, all or nothing approach (Hutu extremists Coalition for the Defence of the Republic [CDR] in Rwanda, who seek extermination of Tutsis)
- *Greedy spoilers*: who seek to maximise gains, but largely opportunistic (Jonas Savimbi, Angola)

Note, however, those spoilers can move up or down these categories depending on the situation in the peace processes and their respective capabilities.

d. Standing of the spoiler

Is the spoiler the leading force or driven by the followers? If the former, a change in leadership may provide opportunity to steer the group through negotiations. If the latter (e.g. President Habyarimana was held hostage by the elements of CDR followers), it would be more difficult to effect change through a transition in leadership as the driving force is embedded within the organisation.

e. Number of spoilers

Where there are multiple spoilers, each need to be managed differently although managing one effectively may inadvertently strengthen another. For example, the Security Council sanctions against UNITA weakened the organisation while strengthening the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) both politically and militarily. A further complication is where there are two main parties to the peace process and each perceives the other as the spoiler (e.g. Mehmet Talat of the Turkish Cypriots and Tassos Papadopoulos of the Greek Cypriots).

f. Location of spoiler in a peace process

The spoiler can be inside or outside the peace agreement or process and they tend to use different tactics to undermine or derail the process, e.g. Khmer Rouge in

Cambodia who signed the Paris Peace Accords as an insider but refused to demobilise and boycotted elections and the Revolutionary United Front [RUF] in Sierra Leone after the Lome Accord. CDR in Rwanda was an outsider force while some consider Syria, whose support for Hezbollah and others may have undermined reconciliation effort in Lebanon, as an outside spoiler.

4. Africa has the most developed regional organisation in the developing world for conflict resolution and peace-keeping. It is the African Union (AU), established in 2003 as a successor to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which came into being in 1963, almost 50 years ago. The AU has a Peace and Security Council, the Department of Peace and Security headed by a Commission working with (not under) the Chairperson of the African Union Commission. The current occupant of the position is Madame Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, ex-wife of President Zuma of South Africa and the first woman to do so. There is also the development of an African Stand-by Force, the deployment of peace-keeping/peace-enforcement mission in Somalia and a joint AU/UN Peace-Keeping Mission in Darfur. The latter is the largest international peace-keeping force with about 30,000 military police and civilian personnel and the most expensive with an annual budget of between US\$1.5 billion and US\$1.7 billion. Finally, there is the Panel of the Wise, consisting of some former presidents—all of these constituting what is called the AU Peace and Security Architecture. The Panel was created in 2002, became operational in 2008 and has sub-regional counterparts. Indeed at its second retreat with similar sub-regional mechanisms just concluded in Addis Ababa (11-12 April 2013), a decision was made to formally establish a continental Panel of the Wise called PANWISE.

There is no Asia-wide regional organisation comparable to the AU, but there is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) which seems to be hesitant about developing a peace-keeping let alone peace-enforcement capability.

5. There is a nexus between peace, security, development and human rights and democratisation and this is discussed in seminal reports by two UN Secretaries-General. One is by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, “An Agenda for Peace” followed by his “Agenda for Development.” According to Boutros-Ghali, first, there can be no development without peace. Second, there can be no durable peace without sustainable development. Kofi Annan argued in the report “In Larger Freedom” that there will be neither durable peace nor sustainable development without respect for human rights and democratisation. More specifically, most conflicts are caused by exclusion and could only be resolved by the politics of inclusion (power sharing, wealth sharing, rule of law and justice).

II. Synopsis of Three Case Studies in Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution from Three Continents

1. Cyprus

Cyprus is one of the longest running conflicts in the dossier of the UN since the outbreak of hostilities in 1963. There have been both a UN Peace-keeping Operation

deployed there since 1964 as well as the Secretary-General's Good Offices Mission Role in the island after 1974. The latter was encouraged by the Security Council following division of the country into two hostile camps of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots—with the presence of Turkish troops in Cyprus.

The admission of a divided country, Cyprus, as a full member of the European Union has been a complicating factor in seeking a resolution of the conflict. Nonetheless, the EU has a vote in facilitating the peaceful settlement. Meanwhile, the UN has remained a key third part—continuously seeking a formula which would lead to a bi-zonal, bi-communal, federal state (UN Plan of 2004 known as the “Annan Plan” and the 8 July, 2006 Agreement called the “Gambari Plan”).

Unfortunately, each community in Cyprus regarded the other as the spoiler in the peace process. There is also seemingly no sense of urgency in resolving the conflict in part because of the low-level of violence in the conflict. And, as the Cyprus problem has been compared to “a padlock requiring four keys, held respectively by the Greek Cypriots, the Turkish Cypriots, Greece and Turkey”, a strategy of “outside-in” consultations is vital. In the words of a former Special Envoy, Alvaro de Soto, who handled the dossier on behalf of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the history of attempts to overcome the division of Cyprus can be measured in false dawns. One or another leader could always be relied upon to thwart the effort and yell “no!” and support from either Ankara or Athens would go missing (“Another False Dawn, Op-Ed, *International Herald Tribune*, 28 March, 2008).

In fact, the biggest effort and perhaps the most comprehensive plan to resolve the conflict, presented by the UN to the parties which also had the blessing of the European Union, was approved by the Turkish Cypriots but turned down by the Greek Cypriots in separate referendums on April 2004.

2. Myanmar

Since 1993, in the absence of consensus among key interested countries on how to best deal with the issues of grave human rights abuses and democracy deficits, the UN Secretary-General had opted for a low-key approach. In this regard, he had designated Special Envoys/Special Advisers to do the heavy lifting in the process.² However, the latters' efforts had been hampered by the difficulties encountered in bridging the gap between the Government and the Opposition—with each seeing the other as the main obstacle to peace and progress.

It was therefore incumbent on the Special Envoys to try to mobilise support of neighbouring and other relevant countries to influence the Government of Myanmar to make progress in its Seven Steps Road Map towards democracy and to deliver tangible results in addressing the country's multi-dimensional problems (human

² I was the third and, according to a recent study, may arguably be “third time lucky” (Anna Magnusson and Morten B. Pedersen, *A Good Office? Twenty Years of UN Mediation in Myanmar*, International Peace Institute, New York, 2013).

rights; forced labour; child soldiers; humanitarian access and delay in achieving Millennium Development Goals; etc.)

The failure of past approaches in managing or resolving the conflict such as isolation, economic sanctions and Security Council Resolutions made the Good Offices Role of the UN Secretary-General even more critical. Nonetheless, the efforts had been daunting largely because of difficulties in retaining trust and confidence of both parties and interested countries.

In pursuing the Secretary-General's Good Offices Role in Myanmar as the last Special Envoy, there were four main principles which guided my efforts. The first was that the Secretary-General's Good Offices was a process and not an event. Second was that, given the complexities of the Myanmar conflict, our approach should not be reduced to a single issue, for example, freedom for Aung San Suu Kyi however important a priority that may have been. Third, engagement largely with the Government and to an extent the Opposition cannot be an end in itself; there must be progress defined in terms of concrete results. The fourth and final principle is engagement with all those both inside and outside the country, who can contribute to addressing Myanmar's challenges.

In addition to these principles, and with support from ASEAN, China, India, Japan and some others, I worked tirelessly to bring the Government and the Opposition leaders together to commence a political process. I incurred the wrath of exiled groups in Thailand, London and the United States and some key members of the Security Council in urging the National League for Democracy and its leadership to participate in the elections, the fifth and crucial step in the regime's Seven Steps Road Map, despite their shortcomings. I was convinced then and proved right subsequently that without the elections, there was no real chance of the release of Aung San Suu Kyi and the resolution of the political deadlock in Myanmar. The rest is now history.

3. Darfur/Sudan

The AU High-Level Panel on Darfur, led by former President Thebo Mbeki of South Africa, has defined the Darfur conflict as "Sudan's crisis in Darfur." In doing so, the Panel stated that "the roots of the Darfur crisis lie in the history of neglect of the Sudanese peripheries, dating from colonial times and continuing during the years of Sudan independence." Hence, the conflict should not be seen simplistically as Arabs versus Africans or Christians versus Muslims. Rather, and especially following the separation of South Sudan from the rest of the country in July 2011, the root cause of the Darfurian conflict is about inequality in access to resources (especially water) and to power (largely concentrated in Khartoum) and to economic opportunities.

Following the escalation of the conflict and the resulting humanitarian crisis in 2003-2004, the international community in general and the AU in particular got engaged first by arranging ceasefire arrangements and second, the deployment of a contingent of military observers and protection force. This marked the beginning of the AU Mission in Sudan (AMIS) which helped to stabilise the situation on the ground.

Unfortunately, this was not followed by a Comprehensive Peace Agreement as a basis for sustainable peace and development in Darfur.

Furthermore, the challenges on the ground (including protection of the civilian population; delivery of humanitarian assistance to over 2 million internally displaced persons and 300,000 refugees and the absence of an all-inclusive and comprehensive peace agreement) were beyond the capacity of AMIS, despite some support from international partners. Yet, the Government of Sudan was not prepared to accept a traditional UN Peace-keeping Operation for Darfur. After protracted negotiations, the AU/UN Hybrid Mission was finally established and called UNAMID—perhaps the highest form of collaboration between a global and regional organisation in the area of peace and security. UNAMID took over from AMIS on 1 January 2008.

Although many challenges remain, including, especially, persuading non-signatory parties to join the peace process, the situation in Darfur in 2013 is vastly different from that in the early period of the conflict. The signing of the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD) on 14 July 2011 between the Government of Sudan and one of the armed movements, Liberation and Justice Movement, is a significant milestone. It is widely regarded as the best document for addressing the root causes of the conflict in Darfur. Only last week on 6 April 2013, a break-away group from the main armed movement, Justice and Equality Movement, signed on to the DDPD in Doha. Moreover, as provided for in the DDPD, a Darfur Regional Authority was established and inaugurated on 8 February 2012 with powers devolved from Khartoum. And an International Donor Conference on Reconstruction and Development in Darfur was held in Doha on 7-8 April 2012 where over US\$3 billion were pledged for several projects in Darfur.

III. Concluding Thoughts/Recommendations

In his Report on Enhancing Mediation and Its Support Activities (S/2009/189 of 8 April 2009), the UN Secretary-General made important recommendations which are relevant to our discussion today. These include the need for experienced and knowledgeable mediators and support teams; sufficient resources to help parties design and pursue processes which address root causes of conflicts and achieve agreements which lead to durable peace and the need for building capacities for mediation at the local, national and regional levels while promoting coherent partnerships between the UN, regional and sub-regional organisations, Member States and NGOs.

I would like to end by highlighting some of these observations and adding a few other recommendations:

1. Peace and Justice

- The first challenge lies in the increased demands on the UN to both facilitate the negotiation of peace agreements and establish accountability mechanisms. This has led us to examine the relationship between the UN and the International Criminal

Court (ICC), and the interaction between UN representatives and persons indicted by the ICC.

- While in the long run, peace and justice are mutually reinforcing, in the short run there are often tensions between these two essential goals. As former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated before the Security Council in 2003, *“We should know that there cannot be real peace without justice, yet the relentless pursuit of justice may sometimes be an obstacle to peace. If we insist, at all times and in all places, on punishing those who are guilty of extreme violations of human rights, it may be difficult or even impossible to stop the bloodshed and save innocent civilians. If we always and everywhere insist on uncompromising standards of justice, a delicate peace may not survive. But equally, if we ignore the demands of justice simply to secure agreement, the foundations of that agreement will be fragile, and we will set bad precedents.”*
- To help manage these tensions, the Secretariat has come to the following conclusions:
 - On the relationship between peace and justice: there is no sustainable peace without justice—although they can be sequenced in time.
 - The UN does not recognize amnesty for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and other serious violations of international humanitarian law.
 - On the UN-ICC relationship: while the ICC is independent of the UN, the UN supports the Court and avoids any action likely to undermine its authority.
 - Contacts between UN representatives and persons holding positions of authority in their country who have been indicted by the ICC should be limited to what is strictly required for carrying out UN mandated activities.

2. Implementation agreements

- A second challenge is the need to factor implementation arrangements into the mediation process. The UN is often asked to help the parties implement agreements that were reached without our involvement, that sometimes go against fundamental UN principles, and, moreover, that offer no practical possibilities for implementation.
- For example, an agreement may hold unrealistic expectations of international support, or a time-table which neither party can manage. As a general rule, those institutions which are expected to support implementation should also be present, at least as an observer, during the negotiations.

3. Women’s participation

- A third challenge is women’s inclusion in the negotiation and mediation process, and not just civil society participation. The UN, like other governmental and intergovernmental bodies, has too few women engaged in these tasks. If we are to

practise what we preach, then we must lead by example. Those of us involved in mediation must all assist in rectifying this.

4. Exercising leverage

- A fourth challenge is the appropriate exercise of leverage in support of peace-making and conflict prevention. A lot has been written about sticks and carrots. I would draw attention to three types of leverage that are sometimes undervalued and therefore underutilised.
 - The first is the leverage which accrues when a mediator builds a relationship of trust with the parties, so that they will have sufficient confidence to ask for advice and be amenable to accept the mediator's suggestions. Mediators need to be prepared to invest personally in building such relationships, which takes time.
 - The second is the leverage that comes with being able to mobilise impartial technical expertise on some of the issues being negotiated.
 - While peace processes are fundamentally political in nature, technical advice can sometimes help to find a way out of an impasse, not least by giving the parties a common professional language or set of concepts to work with.
 - A third form of leverage is what has been called "enabling resources," which can help a party to carry out its part of the bargain. A classic example is the assistance to a guerrilla army to transform itself into an effective political party.

5. Practical suggestions for the future, especially in dealing with spoilers in a peace process

- a. Institutionalise spoiler awareness within preparations of envoys.
- b. Ensure necessary capacity within the envoy's teams to continuously re-assess the nature and type of spoilers as well as their capacities and motivations.
- c. On the ground, improve information exchange within the UN System and between UN agencies and NGOs to better understand motivations behind spoilers, assess their activities and evaluate any changes in their nature and style.

6. Promoting cohesion among mediators and good officers

- A fifth and final challenge is the proliferation of actors in the mediation arena. Overall this is a positive development.
- While the UN is the best-placed to succeed in some cases, in other situations one of our partners, such as the AU, European Union or ASEAN may have a comparative advantage.

- Under Chapter 8 of the Charter, the UN encourages regional organisation to assist in areas of peace and security. Also, certain processes are sometimes best handled by domestic actors, NGOs and institutions such as the Church, or the King of Saudi Arabia, can also be engaged in these tasks (e.g. Sudan, Somalia).
- What is essential, however—and this is the challenge—is that in each case we all unify behind a chief mediator, in order to prevent “forum shopping” by the parties, who are often adept at playing one off against another.
- The Chief Mediator should be tough but humble and very patient. He/She should meticulously respect the parties to conflict/s. Furthermore, the Chief Mediator should recognise his/her limitations and know when to walk away if the peace process comes to a dead-end or when the trust and confidence of the parties and key interested parties have evaporated.

RSIS Working Paper Series

1. Vietnam-China Relations Since The End of The Cold War (1998)
Ang Cheng Guan
2. Multilateral Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects and Possibilities (1999)
Desmond Ball
3. Reordering Asia: "Cooperative Security" or Concert of Powers? (1999)
Amitav Acharya
4. The South China Sea Dispute re-visited (1999)
Ang Cheng Guan
5. Continuity and Change In Malaysian Politics: Assessing the Buildup to the 1999-2000 General Elections (1999)
Joseph Liow Chin Yong
6. 'Humanitarian Intervention in Kosovo' as Justified, Executed and Mediated by NATO: Strategic Lessons for Singapore (2000)
Kumar Ramakrishna
7. Taiwan's Future: Mongolia or Tibet? (2001)
Chien-peng (C.P.) Chung
8. Asia-Pacific Diplomacies: Reading Discontinuity in Late-Modern Diplomatic Practice (2001)
Tan See Seng
9. Framing "South Asia": Whose Imagined Region? (2001)
Sinderpal Singh
10. Explaining Indonesia's Relations with Singapore During the New Order Period: The Case of Regime Maintenance and Foreign Policy (2001)
Terence Lee Chek Liang
11. Human Security: Discourse, Statecraft, Emancipation (2001)
Tan See Seng
12. Globalization and its Implications for Southeast Asian Security: A Vietnamese Perspective (2001)
Nguyen Phuong Binh
13. Framework for Autonomy in Southeast Asia's Plural Societies (2001)
Miriam Coronel Ferrer
14. Burma: Protracted Conflict, Governance and Non-Traditional Security Issues (2001)
Ananda Rajah
15. Natural Resources Management and Environmental Security in Southeast Asia: Case Study of Clean Water Supplies in Singapore (2001)
Kog Yue Choong
16. Crisis and Transformation: ASEAN in the New Era (2001)
Etel Solingen
17. Human Security: East Versus West? (2001)
Amitav Acharya

18. Asian Developing Countries and the Next Round of WTO Negotiations (2001)
Barry Desker
19. Multilateralism, Neo-liberalism and Security in Asia: The Role of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum (2001)
Ian Taylor
20. Humanitarian Intervention and Peacekeeping as Issues for Asia-Pacific Security (2001)
Derek McDougall
21. Comprehensive Security: The South Asian Case (2002)
S.D. Muni
22. The Evolution of China's Maritime Combat Doctrines and Models: 1949-2001 (2002)
You Ji
23. The Concept of Security Before and After September 11 (2002)
 - a. The Contested Concept of Security
Steve Smith
 - b. Security and Security Studies After September 11: Some Preliminary Reflections
Amitav Acharya
24. Democratisation In South Korea And Taiwan: The Effect Of Social Division On Inter-Korean and Cross-Strait Relations (2002)
Chien-peng (C.P.) Chung
25. Understanding Financial Globalisation (2002)
Andrew Walter
26. 911, American Praetorian Unilateralism and the Impact on State-Society Relations in Southeast Asia (2002)
Kumar Ramakrishna
27. Great Power Politics in Contemporary East Asia: Negotiating Multipolarity or Hegemony? (2002)
Tan See Seng
28. What Fear Hath Wrought: Missile Hysteria and The Writing of "America" (2002)
Tan See Seng
29. International Responses to Terrorism: The Limits and Possibilities of Legal Control of Terrorism by Regional Arrangement with Particular Reference to ASEAN (2002)
Ong Yen Nee
30. Reconceptualizing the PLA Navy in Post – Mao China: Functions, Warfare, Arms, and Organization (2002)
Nan Li
31. Attempting Developmental Regionalism Through AFTA: The Domestic Politics – Domestic Capital Nexus (2002)
Helen E S Nesadurai
32. 11 September and China: Opportunities, Challenges, and Warfighting (2002)
Nan Li
33. Islam and Society in Southeast Asia after September 11 (2002)
Barry Desker

34. Hegemonic Constraints: The Implications of September 11 For American Power (2002)
Evelyn Goh
35. Not Yet All Aboard...But Already All At Sea Over Container Security Initiative (2002)
Irvin Lim
36. Financial Liberalization and Prudential Regulation in East Asia: Still Perverse? (2002)
Andrew Walter
37. Indonesia and The Washington Consensus (2002)
Premjith Sadasivan
38. The Political Economy of FDI Location: Why Don't Political Checks and Balances and Treaty Constraints Matter? (2002)
Andrew Walter
39. The Securitization of Transnational Crime in ASEAN (2002)
Ralf Emmers
40. Liquidity Support and The Financial Crisis: The Indonesian Experience (2002)
J Soedradjad Djiwandono
41. A UK Perspective on Defence Equipment Acquisition (2003)
David Kirkpatrick
42. Regionalisation of Peace in Asia: Experiences and Prospects of ASEAN, ARF and UN Partnership (2003)
Mely C. Anthony
43. The WTO In 2003: Structural Shifts, State-Of-Play And Prospects For The Doha Round (2003)
Razeen Sally
44. Seeking Security In The Dragon's Shadow: China and Southeast Asia In The Emerging Asian Order (2003)
Amitav Acharya
45. Deconstructing Political Islam In Malaysia: UMNO'S Response To PAS' Religio-Political Dialectic (2003)
Joseph Liow
46. The War On Terror And The Future of Indonesian Democracy (2003)
Tatik S. Hafidz
47. Examining The Role of Foreign Assistance in Security Sector Reforms: The Indonesian Case (2003)
Eduardo Lachica
48. Sovereignty and The Politics of Identity in International Relations (2003)
Adrian Kuah
49. Deconstructing Jihad; Southeast Asia Contexts (2003)
Patricia Martinez
50. The Correlates of Nationalism in Beijing Public Opinion (2003)
Alastair Iain Johnston

51. In Search of Suitable Positions' in the Asia Pacific: Negotiating the US-China Relationship and Regional Security (2003)
Evelyn Goh
52. American Unilateralism, Foreign Economic Policy and the 'Securitisation' of Globalisation (2003)
Richard Higgott
53. Fireball on the Water: Naval Force Protection-Projection, Coast Guarding, Customs Border Security & Multilateral Cooperation in Rolling Back the Global Waves of Terror from the Sea (2003)
Irvin Lim
54. Revisiting Responses To Power Preponderance: Going Beyond The Balancing-Bandwagoning Dichotomy (2003)
Chong Ja Ian
55. Pre-emption and Prevention: An Ethical and Legal Critique of the Bush Doctrine and Anticipatory Use of Force In Defence of the State (2003)
Malcolm Brailey
56. The Indo-Chinese Enlargement of ASEAN: Implications for Regional Economic Integration (2003)
Helen E S Nesadurai
57. The Advent of a New Way of War: Theory and Practice of Effects Based Operation (2003)
Joshua Ho
58. Critical Mass: Weighing in on Force Transformation & Speed Kills Post-Operation Iraqi Freedom (2004)
Irvin Lim
59. Force Modernisation Trends in Southeast Asia (2004)
Andrew Tan
60. Testing Alternative Responses to Power Preponderance: Buffering, Binding, Bonding and Beleaguering in the Real World (2004)
Chong Ja Ian
61. Outlook on the Indonesian Parliamentary Election 2004 (2004)
Irman G. Lanti
62. Globalization and Non-Traditional Security Issues: A Study of Human and Drug Trafficking in East Asia (2004)
Ralf Emmers
63. Outlook for Malaysia's 11th General Election (2004)
Joseph Liow
64. Not *Many* Jobs Take a Whole Army: Special Operations Forces and The Revolution in Military Affairs. (2004)
Malcolm Brailey
65. Technological Globalisation and Regional Security in East Asia (2004)
J.D. Kenneth Boutin
66. UAVs/UCAVS – Missions, Challenges, and Strategic Implications for Small and Medium Powers (2004)
Manjeet Singh Pardesi

67. Singapore's Reaction to Rising China: Deep Engagement and Strategic Adjustment (2004)
Evelyn Goh
68. The Shifting Of Maritime Power And The Implications For Maritime Security In East Asia (2004)
Joshua Ho
69. China In The Mekong River Basin: The Regional Security Implications of Resource Development On The Lancang Jiang (2004)
Evelyn Goh
70. Examining the Defence Industrialization-Economic Growth Relationship: The Case of Singapore (2004)
Adrian Kuah and Bernard Loo
71. "Constructing" The Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist: A Preliminary Inquiry (2004)
Kumar Ramakrishna
72. Malaysia and The United States: Rejecting Dominance, Embracing Engagement (2004)
Helen E S Nesadurai
73. The Indonesian Military as a Professional Organization: Criteria and Ramifications for Reform (2005)
John Bradford
74. Martime Terrorism in Southeast Asia: A Risk Assessment (2005)
Catherine Zara Raymond
75. Southeast Asian Maritime Security In The Age Of Terror: Threats, Opportunity, And Charting The Course Forward (2005)
John Bradford
76. Deducing India's Grand Strategy of Regional Hegemony from Historical and Conceptual Perspectives (2005)
Manjeet Singh Pardesi
77. Towards Better Peace Processes: A Comparative Study of Attempts to Broker Peace with MNLF and GAM (2005)
S P Harish
78. Multilateralism, Sovereignty and Normative Change in World Politics (2005)
Amitav Acharya
79. The State and Religious Institutions in Muslim Societies (2005)
Riaz Hassan
80. On Being Religious: Patterns of Religious Commitment in Muslim Societies (2005)
Riaz Hassan
81. The Security of Regional Sea Lanes (2005)
Joshua Ho
82. Civil-Military Relationship and Reform in the Defence Industry (2005)
Arthur S Ding
83. How Bargaining Alters Outcomes: Bilateral Trade Negotiations and Bargaining Strategies (2005)
Deborah Elms

84. Great Powers and Southeast Asian Regional Security Strategies: Omni-enmeshment, Balancing and Hierarchical Order (2005)
Evelyn Goh
85. Global Jihad, Sectarianism and The Madrassahs in Pakistan (2005)
Ali Riaz
86. Autobiography, Politics and Ideology in Sayyid Qutb's Reading of the Qur'an (2005)
Umej Bhatia
87. Maritime Disputes in the South China Sea: Strategic and Diplomatic Status Quo (2005)
Ralf Emmers
88. China's Political Commissars and Commanders: Trends & Dynamics (2005)
Srikanth Kondapalli
89. Piracy in Southeast Asia New Trends, Issues and Responses (2005)
Catherine Zara Raymond
90. Geopolitics, Grand Strategy and the Bush Doctrine (2005)
Simon Dalby
91. Local Elections and Democracy in Indonesia: The Case of the Riau Archipelago (2005)
Nankyung Choi
92. The Impact of RMA on Conventional Deterrence: A Theoretical Analysis (2005)
Manjeet Singh Pardesi
93. Africa and the Challenge of Globalisation (2005)
Jeffrey Herbst
94. The East Asian Experience: The Poverty of 'Picking Winners' (2005)
Barry Desker and Deborah Elms
95. Bandung And The Political Economy Of North-South Relations: Sowing The Seeds For Revisioning International Society (2005)
Helen E S Neadurai
96. Re-conceptualising the Military-Industrial Complex: A General Systems Theory Approach (2005)
Adrian Kuah
97. Food Security and the Threat From Within: Rice Policy Reforms in the Philippines (2006)
Bruce Tolentino
98. Non-Traditional Security Issues: Securitisation of Transnational Crime in Asia (2006)
James Laki
99. Securitizing/Desecuritizing the Filipinos' 'Outward Migration Issue'in the Philippines' Relations with Other Asian Governments (2006)
José N. Franco, Jr.
100. Securitization Of Illegal Migration of Bangladeshis To India (2006)
Josy Joseph
101. Environmental Management and Conflict in Southeast Asia – Land Reclamation and its Political Impact (2006)
Kog Yue-Choong

102. Securitizing border-crossing: The case of marginalized stateless minorities in the Thai-Burma Borderlands (2006)
Mika Toyota
103. The Incidence of Corruption in India: Is the Neglect of Governance Endangering Human Security in South Asia? (2006)
Shabnam Mallick and Rajarshi Sen
104. The LTTE's Online Network and its Implications for Regional Security (2006)
Shyam Tekwani
105. The Korean War June-October 1950: Inchon and Stalin In The "Trigger Vs Justification" Debate (2006)
Tan Kwoh Jack
106. International Regime Building in Southeast Asia: ASEAN Cooperation against the Illicit Trafficking and Abuse of Drugs (2006)
Ralf Emmers
107. Changing Conflict Identities: The case of the Southern Thailand Discord (2006)
S P Harish
108. Myanmar and the Argument for Engagement: *A Clash of Contending Moralities?* (2006)
Christopher B Roberts
109. TEMPORAL DOMINANCE (2006)
Military Transformation and the Time Dimension of Strategy
Edwin Seah
110. Globalization and Military-Industrial Transformation in South Asia: An Historical Perspective (2006)
Emrys Chew
111. UNCLOS and its Limitations as the Foundation for a Regional Maritime Security Regime (2006)
Sam Bateman
112. Freedom and Control Networks in Military Environments (2006)
Paul T Mitchell
113. Rewriting Indonesian History The Future in Indonesia's Past (2006)
Kwa Chong Guan
114. Twelver Shi'ite Islam: Conceptual and Practical Aspects (2006)
Christoph Marcinkowski
115. Islam, State and Modernity : Muslim Political Discourse in Late 19th and Early 20th century India (2006)
Iqbal Singh Sevea
116. 'Voice of the Malayan Revolution': The Communist Party of Malaya's Struggle for Hearts and Minds in the 'Second Malayan Emergency' (1969-1975) (2006)
Ong Wei Chong
117. "From Counter-Society to Counter-State: Jemaah Islamiyah According to PUPJI" (2006)
Elena Pavlova

118. The Terrorist Threat to Singapore's Land Transportation Infrastructure: A Preliminary Enquiry (2006)
Adam Dolnik
119. The Many Faces of Political Islam (2006)
Mohammed Ayoob
120. Facets of Shi'ite Islam in Contemporary Southeast Asia (I): Thailand and Indonesia (2006)
Christoph Marcinkowski
121. Facets of Shi'ite Islam in Contemporary Southeast Asia (II): Malaysia and Singapore (2006)
Christoph Marcinkowski
122. Towards a History of Malaysian Ulama (2007)
Mohamed Nawab
123. Islam and Violence in Malaysia (2007)
Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid
124. Between Greater Iran and Shi'ite Crescent: Some Thoughts on the Nature of Iran's Ambitions in the Middle East (2007)
Christoph Marcinkowski
125. Thinking Ahead: Shi'ite Islam in Iraq and its Seminaries (hawzah 'ilmiyyah) (2007)
Christoph Marcinkowski
126. The China Syndrome: Chinese Military Modernization and the Rearming of Southeast Asia (2007)
Richard A. Bitzinger
127. Contested Capitalism: Financial Politics and Implications for China (2007)
Richard Carney
128. Sentinels of Afghan Democracy: The Afghan National Army (2007)
Samuel Chan
129. The De-escalation of the Spratly Dispute in Sino-Southeast Asian Relations (2007)
Ralf Emmers
130. War, Peace or Neutrality: An Overview of Islamic Polity's Basis of Inter-State Relations (2007)
Muhammad Haniff Hassan
131. Mission Not So Impossible: The AMM and the Transition from Conflict to Peace in Aceh, 2005–2006 (2007)
Kirsten E. Schulze
132. Comprehensive Security and Resilience in Southeast Asia: ASEAN's Approach to Terrorism and Sea Piracy (2007)
Ralf Emmers
133. The Ulama in Pakistani Politics (2007)
Mohamed Nawab
134. China's Proactive Engagement in Asia: Economics, Politics and Interactions (2007)
Li Mingjiang

135. The PLA's Role in China's Regional Security Strategy (2007)
Qi Dapeng
136. War As They Knew It: Revolutionary War and Counterinsurgency in Southeast Asia (2007)
Ong Wei Chong
137. Indonesia's Direct Local Elections: Background and Institutional Framework (2007)
Nankyung Choi
138. Contextualizing Political Islam for Minority Muslims (2007)
Muhammad Haniff bin Hassan
139. Ngruki Revisited: Modernity and Its Discontents at the Pondok Pesantren al-Mukmin of Ngruki, Surakarta (2007)
Farish A. Noor
140. Globalization: Implications of and for the Modern / Post-modern Navies of the Asia Pacific (2007)
Geoffrey Till
141. Comprehensive Maritime Domain Awareness: An Idea Whose Time Has Come? (2007)
Irvin Lim Fang Jau
142. Sulawesi: Aspirations of Local Muslims (2007)
Rohaiza Ahmad Asi
143. Islamic Militancy, Sharia, and Democratic Consolidation in Post-Suharto Indonesia (2007)
Noorhaidi Hasan
144. Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon: The Indian Ocean and The Maritime Balance of Power in Historical Perspective (2007)
Emrys Chew
145. New Security Dimensions in the Asia Pacific (2007)
Barry Desker
146. Japan's Economic Diplomacy towards East Asia: Fragmented Realism and Naïve Liberalism (2007)
Hidetaka Yoshimatsu
147. U.S. Primacy, Eurasia's New Strategic Landscape, and the Emerging Asian Order (2007)
Alexander L. Vuving
148. The Asian Financial Crisis and ASEAN's Concept of Security (2008)
Yongwook RYU
149. Security in the South China Sea: China's Balancing Act and New Regional Dynamics (2008)
Li Mingjiang
150. The Defence Industry in the Post-Transformational World: Implications for the United States and Singapore (2008)
Richard A Bitzinger
151. The Islamic Opposition in Malaysia: New Trajectories and Directions (2008)
Mohamed Fauz Abdul Hamid
152. Thinking the Unthinkable: The Modernization and Reform of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia (2008)
Farish A Noor

153. Outlook for Malaysia's 12th General Elections (2008)
Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, Shahirah Mahmood and Joseph Chinyong Liow
154. The use of SOLAS Ship Security Alert Systems (2008)
Thomas Timlen
155. Thai-Chinese Relations: Security and Strategic Partnership (2008)
Chulacheeb Chinwanno
156. Sovereignty In ASEAN and The Problem of Maritime Cooperation in the South China Sea (2008)
JN Mak
157. Sino-U.S. Competition in Strategic Arms (2008)
Arthur S. Ding
158. Roots of Radical Sunni Traditionalism (2008)
Karim Douglas Crow
159. Interpreting Islam On Plural Society (2008)
Muhammad Haniff Hassan
160. Towards a Middle Way Islam in Southeast Asia: Contributions of the Gülen Movement (2008)
Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman
161. Spoilers, Partners and Pawns: Military Organizational Behaviour and Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia (2008)
Evan A. Laksmana
162. The Securitization of Human Trafficking in Indonesia (2008)
Rizal Sukma
163. The Hindu Rights Action Force (HINDRAF) of Malaysia: Communitarianism Across Borders? (2008)
Farish A. Noor
164. A Merlion at the Edge of an Afrasian Sea: Singapore's Strategic Involvement in the Indian Ocean (2008)
Emrys Chew
165. Soft Power in Chinese Discourse: Popularity and Prospect (2008)
Li Mingjiang
166. Singapore's Sovereign Wealth Funds: The Political Risk of Overseas Investments (2008)
Friedrich Wu
167. The Internet in Indonesia: Development and Impact of Radical Websites (2008)
Jennifer Yang Hui
168. Beibu Gulf: Emerging Sub-regional Integration between China and ASEAN (2009)
Gu Xiaosong and Li Mingjiang
169. Islamic Law In Contemporary Malaysia: Prospects and Problems (2009)
Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid
170. "Indonesia's Salafist Sufis" (2009)
Julia Day Howell

171. Reviving the Caliphate in the Nusantara: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's Mobilization Strategy and Its Impact in Indonesia (2009)
Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman
172. Islamizing Formal Education: Integrated Islamic School and a New Trend in Formal Education Institution in Indonesia (2009)
Noorhaidi Hasan
173. The Implementation of Vietnam-China Land Border Treaty: Bilateral and Regional Implications (2009)
Do Thi Thuy
174. The Tablighi Jama'at Movement in the Southern Provinces of Thailand Today: Networks and Modalities (2009)
Farish A. Noor
175. The Spread of the Tablighi Jama'at Across Western, Central and Eastern Java and the role of the Indian Muslim Diaspora (2009)
Farish A. Noor
176. Significance of Abu Dujana and Zarkasih's Verdict (2009)
Nurfarahisinda Binte Mohamed Ismail, V. Arianti and Jennifer Yang Hui
177. The Perils of Consensus: How ASEAN's Meta-Regime Undermines Economic and Environmental Cooperation (2009)
Vinod K. Aggarwal and Jonathan T. Chow
178. The Capacities of Coast Guards to deal with Maritime Challenges in Southeast Asia (2009)
Prabhakaran Paleri
179. China and Asian Regionalism: Pragmatism Hinders Leadership (2009)
Li Mingjiang
180. Livelihood Strategies Amongst Indigenous Peoples in the Central Cardamom Protected Forest, Cambodia (2009)
Long Sarou
181. Human Trafficking in Cambodia: Reintegration of the Cambodian illegal migrants from Vietnam and Thailand (2009)
Neth Naro
182. The Philippines as an Archipelagic and Maritime Nation: Interests, Challenges, and Perspectives (2009)
Mary Ann Palma
183. The Changing Power Distribution in the South China Sea: Implications for Conflict Management and Avoidance (2009)
Ralf Emmers
184. Islamist Party, Electoral Politics and Da'wa Mobilization among Youth: The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia (2009)
Noorhaidi Hasan
185. U.S. Foreign Policy and Southeast Asia: From Manifest Destiny to Shared Destiny (2009)
Emrys Chew

186. Different Lenses on the Future: U.S. and Singaporean Approaches to Strategic Planning (2009)
Justin Zorn
187. Converging Peril : Climate Change and Conflict in the Southern Philippines (2009)
J. Jackson Ewing
188. Informal Caucuses within the WTO: Singapore in the “Invisibles Group” (2009)
Barry Desker
189. The ASEAN Regional Forum and Preventive Diplomacy: A Failure in Practice (2009)
Ralf Emmers and See Seng Tan
190. How Geography Makes Democracy Work (2009)
Richard W. Carney
191. The Arrival and Spread of the Tablighi Jama’at In West Papua (Irian Jaya), Indonesia (2010)
Farish A. Noor
192. The Korean Peninsula in China’s Grand Strategy: China’s Role in dealing with North Korea’s Nuclear Quandary (2010)
Chung Chong Wook
193. Asian Regionalism and US Policy: The Case for Creative Adaptation (2010)
Donald K. Emmerson
194. Jemaah Islamiyah: Of Kin and Kind (2010)
Sulastri Osman
195. The Role of the Five Power Defence Arrangements in the Southeast Asian Security Architecture (2010)
Ralf Emmers
196. The Domestic Political Origins of Global Financial Standards: Agrarian Influence and the Creation of U.S. Securities Regulations (2010)
Richard W. Carney
197. Indian Naval Effectiveness for National Growth (2010)
Ashok Sawhney
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 (2010)
Yang Fang
199. Do Stated Goals Matter? Regional Institutions in East Asia and the Dynamic of Unstated Goals (2010)
Deepak Nair
200. China’s Soft Power in South Asia (2010)
Parama Sinha Palit
201. Reform of the International Financial Architecture: How can Asia have a greater impact in the G20? (2010)
Pradumna B. Rana

202. "Muscular" versus "Liberal" Secularism and the Religious Fundamentalist Challenge in Singapore (2010)
Kumar Ramakrishna
203. Future of U.S. Power: Is China Going to Eclipse the United States? Two Possible Scenarios to 2040 (2010)
Tuomo Kuosa
204. Swords to Ploughshares: China's Defence-Conversion Policy (2010)
Lee Dongmin
205. Asia Rising and the Maritime Decline of the West: A Review of the Issues (2010)
Geoffrey Till
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. (2010)
Farish A. Noor
207. Enabling Security for the 21st Century: Intelligence & Strategic Foresight and Warning (2010)
Helene Lavoix
208. The Asian and Global Financial Crises: Consequences for East Asian Regionalism (2010)
Ralf Emmers and John Ravenhill
209. Japan's New Security Imperative: The Function of Globalization (2010)
Bhubhindar Singh and Philip Shetler-Jones
210. India's Emerging Land Warfare Doctrines and Capabilities (2010)
Colonel Harinder Singh
211. A Response to Fourth Generation Warfare (2010)
Amos Khan
212. Japan-Korea Relations and the Tokdo/Takeshima Dispute: The Interplay of Nationalism and Natural Resources (2010)
Ralf Emmers
213. Mapping the Religious and Secular Parties in South Sulawesi and Tanah Toraja, Sulawesi, Indonesia (2010)
Farish A. Noor
214. The Aceh-based Militant Network: A Trigger for a View into the Insightful Complex of Conceptual and Historical Links (2010)
Giora Eliraz
215. Evolving Global Economic Architecture: Will We have a New Bretton Woods? (2010)
Pradumna B. Rana
216. Transforming the Military: The Energy Imperative (2010)
Kelvin Wong
217. ASEAN Institutionalisation: The Function of Political Values and State Capacity (2010)
Christopher Roberts
218. China's Military Build-up in the Early Twenty-first Century: From Arms Procurement to War-fighting Capability (2010)
Yoram Evron

219. Darul Uloom Deoband: Stemming the Tide of Radical Islam in India (2010)
Taberez Ahmed Neyazi
220. Recent Developments in the South China Sea: Grounds for Cautious Optimism? (2010)
Carlyle A. Thayer
221. Emerging Powers and Cooperative Security in Asia (2010)
Joshy M. Paul
222. What happened to the smiling face of Indonesian Islam?
Muslim intellectualism and the conservative turn in post-Suharto Indonesia (2011)
Martin Van Bruinessen
223. Structures for Strategy: Institutional Preconditions for Long-Range Planning in
Cross-Country Perspective (2011)
Justin Zorn
224. Winds of Change in Sarawak Politics? (2011)
Faisal S Hazis
225. Rising from Within: China's Search for a Multilateral World and Its Implications
for Sino-U.S. Relations (2011)
Li Mingjiang
226. Rising Power... To Do What? (2011)
Evaluating China's Power in Southeast Asia
Evelyn Goh
227. Assessing 12-year Military Reform in Indonesia: Major Strategic Gaps for the Next Stage of
Reform (2011)
Leonard C. Sebastian and Iisgindarsah
228. Monetary Integration in ASEAN+3: A Perception Survey of Opinion Leaders (2011)
Pradumna Bickram Rana, Wai-Mun Chia & Yothin Jinjark
229. Dealing with the "North Korea Dilemma": China's Strategic Choices (2011)
You Ji
230. Street, Shrine, Square and Soccer Pitch: Comparative Protest Spaces in Asia and the Middle
East (2011)
Teresita Cruz-del Rosario and James M. Dorsey
231. The Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) in the landscape of Indonesian Islamist Politics: Cadre-
Training as Mode of Preventive Radicalisation? (2011)
Farish A Noor
232. The Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) Negotiations: Overview and Prospects (2012)
Deborah Elms and C.L. Lim
233. How Indonesia Sees ASEAN and the World: A Cursory Survey of the Social Studies and
History textbooks of Indonesia, from Primary to Secondary Level. (2012)
Farish A. Noor
234. The Process of ASEAN's Institutional Consolidation in 1968-1976: Theoretical Implications
for Changes of Third-World Security Oriented Institution (2012)
Kei Koga

235. Getting from Here to There: Stitching Together Goods Agreements in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement (2012)
Deborah Elms
236. Indonesia's Democratic Politics and Foreign Policy-Making: A Case Study of Iranian Nuclear Issue, 2007-2008 (2012)
Iisgindarsah
237. Reflections on Defence Security in East Asia (2012)
Desmond Ball
238. The Evolving Multi-layered Global Financial Safety Net: Role of Asia (2012)
Pradumna B. Rana
239. Chinese Debates of South China Sea Policy: Implications for Future Developments (2012)
Li Mingjiang
240. China's Economic Restructuring : Role of Agriculture (2012)
Zhang Hongzhou
241. The Influence of Domestic Politics on Philippine Foreign Policy: The case of Philippines-China relations since 2004 (2012)
Aileen S.P. Baviera
242. The Forum Betawi Rempug (FBR) of Jakarta: An Ethnic-Cultural Solidarity Movement in a Globalising Indonesia (2012)
Farish A. Noor
243. Role of Intelligence in International Crisis Management (2012)
Kwa Chong Guan
244. Malaysia's China Policy in the Post-Mahathir Era: A Neoclassical Realist Explanation (2012)
KUIK Cheng-Chwee
245. Dividing the Korean Peninsula: The Rhetoric of the George W. Bush Administration (2012)
Sarah Teo
246. China's Evolving Fishing Industry: Implications for Regional and Global Maritime Security (2012)
Zhang Hongzhou
247. By Invitation, Mostly: the International Politics of the US Security Presence, China, and the South China Sea (2012)
Christopher Freise
248. Governing for the Future: What Governments can do (2012)
Peter Ho
249. ASEAN's centrality in a rising Asia (2012)
Benjamin Ho
250. Malaysia's U.S. Policy under Najib: Ambivalence no more? (2012)
KUIK Cheng-Chwee
251. Securing the State: National Security in Contemporary times (2012)
Sir David Omand GCB

252. Bangladesh-India Relations: Sheikh Hasina's India-positive policy approach (2012)
Bhumitra Chakma
253. Strengthening Economic Linkages between South Asia and East Asia: (2013)
The Case for a Second Round of "Look East" Policies
Pradumna B Rana and Chia Wai-Mun
254. The Eurozone Crisis and Its Impact on Asia (2013)
Pradumna B Rana and Michael Blomenhofer
255. Security Identity, Policymaking Regime and Japanese Security Policy Development (2013)
Bhubhindar Singh
256. The Rising Chorus of Chinese Exceptionalism (2013)
Benjamin Ho Tze Ern
257. Iran How Intelligence and Policy Intersect (2013)
Robert Jervis
258. Enhancing Global and Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Management and Resolution (2013)
Ibrahim A. Gambari