The Changing Character of Conflict and
The Challenges for the Contemporary Armed Forces

Without a doubt, military operations are becoming increasingly complex. Changes in how national imperatives are secured necessitate changes in how our armed forces achieve mission success. If demands drive organisational behaviour, structure and capabilities – how must our armed forces evolve to deal with new threats and demands?

The GKS CSC Seminar 2016 aims to provide a platform to discuss these issues, with academics and military professionals alike, to stay ahead of the curve. There will be a focus on the challenges faced by our armed forces; such as the range of strategic and operational options available, the complex legal and ethical implications of operations, the technological angle to national defence, as well as the challenges of coordinating diverse stakeholders - between borders and across boundaries.

Knowing that “the only constant is change”, our armed forces constantly needs to change, innovate and experiment to stay ahead of national and operational demands. In partnership with the Military Studies Programme in RSIS and the SAF-NTU Academy, the GKS CSC Seminar seeks to prepare the military professional today with the tools to achieve their mission.
PROGRAMME

DAY ONE: 6th October 2016 (Thursday)
Venue: Officer Cadet School Auditorium, SAFTI MI

0900 – 0910h  Opening Remarks
RADM Giam Hock Koon
Commandant, SAFTI Military Institute, Singapore Armed Forces

0910 – 1010h  Keynote Address
Mr Peter Ho
Senior Advisor, Centre for Strategic Futures, Singapore

1010 – 1020h  Keynote Speech
Professor Ralf Emmers
Associate Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore

1020 – 1100h  Coffee Break
Venue: Officer Cadets’ Mess, SAFTI MI

Panel 1: The Changing Character of Conflict

Setting the conceptual framework for the Seminar, this panel will examine the current context of conflict and its characteristics. Seen through the lens of Asia-Pacific, the Panel will discuss the challenges and potential for conflict in the region and the implications beyond, against the backdrop of increasing military expenditure in Asia.

Chair: Mr Eddie Lim

1100 – 1230h  The South China Sea and Its Impact on Security in the Asia-Pacific
Dr Collin Koh Swee Lean
Research Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore

The Future Character of War and Its Impact on the Region Considered within the Context of Australia’s Defence White Paper 2016 and the Australian Command and Staff College
Group Captain Dennis Tan
Course Director and Director of Studies Air-Force,
Australian Command and Staff College, Australian Defence Force, Australia

The Southeast Asian Military Modernisation: Past and Future, Evolution and Management
Dr Wu Shang-Su
Research Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore
PROGRAMME

DAY ONE: 6th October 2016 (Thursday)
Venue: Officer Cadet School Auditorium, SAFTI MI

1230 – 1330h  Lunch
Venue: Officer Cadets' Mess, SAFTI MI

Panel 2: Integrating Soft and Hard Power

Smart power strategies play an important role in the contemporary international system. In the area of national security, the effectiveness of smart power strategies and the utilisation of the military as part of smart power are discussed. How can governments conceptualise outcomes in a complex environment?

Chair: Dr Ong Wei Chong

1330 – 1500h  ASEAN in the midst of Sino-US Relations in the Asia-Pacific
Dr Evan Resnick
Assistant Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore

Strategic Narratives: Shaping Public Opinion and Influencing War
COL Yang Si Cheng
Director (Information Directorate)
MINDEF Communications Organisation, Singapore

Designing Design: Planning National Strategies in a Uncertain World
Prof Tomonori Yoshizaki
Director of Policy Simulation, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Japan

1500 – 1530h  Coffee Break
Venue: Officer Cadets' Mess, SAFTI MI

1530 – 1700h  Syndicated Group Discussion 1
(For GKS CSC participants only)
## PROGRAMME

**DAY TWO: 7th October 2016 (Friday)**  
Venue: Officer Cadet School Auditorium, SAFTI MI

### Panel 3: Kinetic and Non-kinetic Means in Operations

This panel examines how war is evolving as a result of new technologies. The key development is undoubtedly the ability to commit acts of war by state and non-state actors, without mobilising troops, occupying territories and conducting vast land operations. The traditional notion of war in the kinetic sense is now made complicated by the non-kinetic means in operations, such as cyber-attacks and the covert use of information operations. This panel seeks to provide a platform to re-define key operational concepts, and the implications for our armed forces.

*Chair: Dr Graham Gerard Ong-Webb*

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| 0900 – 1030h | **The Center of Gravity in Conventional and Unconventional Hybrid Warfare**  
Dr Ahmed Hashim  
Associate Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore |                                                                                                    |
|             | **Re-defining Armed Forces in Non-Kinetic Operations**  
Dr Steven Metz  
Director of Research, Strategic Studies Institute,  
US Army War College, United States of America |                                                                                                    |
|             | **Social Media in Contemporary Operations (ISIS case study)**  
Dr Shashi Jayakumar  
Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS),  
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore |                                                                                                    |
| 1030 – 1100h | **Coffee Break**  
Venue: Officer Cadets’ Mess, SAFTI MI |                                                                                                    |
# PROGRAMME

**DAY TWO: 7th October 2016 (Friday)**  
Venue: Officer Cadet School Auditorium, SAFTI MI

## Panel 4: Operations involving Multiple Stakeholders

Wither ASEAN? Lessons from defence diplomacy and coalition operations are discussed, including future implications. Future operations seem to be invariably coalition operations in one form or another. This panel aims to re-look at the role of bilateral and multilateral relationships, and in extension, civil-military relations.

*Chair: Dr Daniel Chua*

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<th>Time</th>
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| 1100 – 1230h | **Defence Multilateralism in East Asia: Cases of ADMM and ADMM-Plus**  
Dr Bhubhindar Singh  
Associate Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore  
**Civil-Military Relations: The Arab Spring Experience**  
Dr Ahmed Hashim  
Associate Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore  
**Nepal Earthquake Case-Study**  
COL Lim Kwang Tang  
Former Deputy Chief Guards Officer cum Director of Changi Regional HADR Co-ordination Centre (RHCC), Singapore |
| 1230 – 1330h | **Lunch**  
Venue: Officer Cadets’ Mess, SAFTI MI |
| 1330 – 1500h | **Syndicated Group Discussion 2**  
(For GKS CSC participants only)  
(Tour of SAFTI MI for Overseas Speakers) |
| 1500 – 1530h | **Coffee Break**  
Venue: GKS CSC Auditorium, SAFTI MI |
| 1530 – 1645h | **Plenary Presentation**  
Chair: Mr Eddie Lim  
Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Military Studies Programme,  
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore |
| 1645 – 1700h | **Closing Remarks**  
COL Ng Wai Kit  
Commandant, Goh Keng Swee Command and Staff College  
Deputy Commandant, SAFTI Military Institute, Singapore Armed Forces |

*End of Seminar*
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(in alphabetical order according to given names)

**Dr Ahmed Hashim** is Associate Professor of Strategic Studies and Deputy Coordinator in the Military Studies Programme at RSIS. He received his B.A. in Politics and International Studies from the University of Warwick, Great Britain and his M.Sc and Ph.D from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). He has worked extensively in the fields of Strategy and Policy dealing in particular with irregular war and counter-terrorism for the past 20 years prior to taking up his current position at RSIS in 2011 where he teaches courses on insurgency and counterinsurgency, terrorism, and defense policies at RSIS and SAFTI Military Institute.

**Dr Bhubhindar Singh** is Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Regional Security Architecture Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His research interests include the international relations of Northeast Asia with a special focus on Japan’s security policy. Before joining RSIS, NTU, Bhubhindar was a Lecturer in Japanese Studies at the School of East Asian Studies, University of Sheffield, and Associate Research Fellow at the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Singapore. He has published in the *European Journal of International Relations, International Relations of Asia-Pacific, The Pacific Review, Australian Journal of International Affairs, Asian Survey, Asian Security, Asia Policy, Korean Journal of Defense Analyses, The Round Table, Contemporary Southeast Asia and Issues & Studies*; and his book is entitled *Japanese Security Identity Transformation: From a Peace-State to an International-State* (Routledge 2013). He is presently working on a book-length manuscript examining the impact of military crises on Japanese security policy in the post-Cold War period.

**Dr Collin Koh Swee Lean** is a Research Fellow at the Maritime Security Programme, part of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies which is a constituent unit of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, based in Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He is especially interested in researching on naval affairs in the Indo-Pacific, focusing on Southeast Asia in particular.
BIOGRAPHIES
(in alphabetical order according to given names)

Dr Daniel Chua is Assistant Professor with the Military Studies Programme at the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, RSIS. Prior to his appointment at RSIS, Daniel taught courses in Asian Studies, Strategic Studies and Military History at the Australian National University (ANU), as well as in the Australian Defence Force Academy at UNSW, Canberra. His doctoral research at the ANU focused on the history of foreign relations between the United States and Singapore from 1965 to 1975, traversing fields such as International History, Asian Studies, Cold War Studies and International Relations. Between writing his dissertation and teaching undergraduate courses, Daniel was Program Coordinator (2012-14) at the ANU Korea Institute. He also has a keen interest in research training and the use of technology for writing and research.

Group Captain Dennis Tan, BSc. MA. is currently the Course Director and Director of Studies – Air Force at the Australian Command and Staff College (ACSC) in Canberra, Australia. In 2009, he graduated from ACSC and completed a Masters of Arts in Strategy and Management. GPCAPT Tan joined the RAAF in 1986 as an Officer Cadet at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA) and graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree. He then started his career as an Air Force pilot, accruing 5000 hours flying experience, primarily in roles as a flying instructor and display pilot and holds an Airline Transport Pilots Licence. GPCAPT Tan has held various command and staff roles in Australia and on deployed operations.

Mr Eddie Lim is the Coordinator of the Military Studies Programme (MSP), part of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) in RSIS. The MSP is the primary source of professional military education and training (PMET) for the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) in the military arts and sciences.

Prior to this appointment, Eddie was the Head of Strategic Research at the Centre for Operational Learning (COL), situated within the SAFTI Military Institute (SAFTI MI). In this capacity, he oversaw relevant research at the strategic and operational levels, and contextualised it for educational and doctrinal purposes for the SAF. Prior to COL, Eddie was a Senior Lecturer at the Military Studies Branch (MSB), lecturing the courses which the MSP undertakes today.

After serving his bond with the Public Service Commission, Eddie attended then-IDSS and attained a Master of Science (Strategic Studies). Eddie is still serving as a Lieutenant Colonel in the SAF as an Operationally-Ready NSman, having attended most of the courses at SAFTI MI, culminating in the National Service Command and Staff Course (NSCSC).
Dr Evan Resnick is Assistant Professor, Coordinator of the United States Programme, Coordinator of External Teaching, and Deputy Coordinator of the International Relations Programme at RSIS. His chief academic interests lie at the intersection of international relations theory, international security studies, and U.S. foreign policy. Resnick’s doctoral dissertation, “Ties That Bind or Ties That Blind? Assessing Engagement as an Instrument of U.S. Foreign Policy”, was completed at Columbia University in 2005, and was nominated for the Bancroft Dissertation Award bestowed annually by Columbia’s Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. His published work has appeared in a number of academic journals, including *International Security*, *Security Studies*, and *Journal of Strategic Studies*. He is presently working on a book manuscript that examines the phenomenon of “alliances of convenience” in international relations and explores the United States’ track record in bargaining with such allies since 1945. Dr. Resnick also earned M.Phil. and M.A. degrees from Columbia University and a B.A.(Sp. Hons) from York University in Toronto, Canada. He has previously taught at Yeshiva University in New York City. At RSIS, Dr. Resnick teaches the following M.Sc. classes: “IR6007: The Study of International Relations” and “IR 6028: Current Topics and Controversies in U.S. Foreign Policy.”

Rear Admiral Giam Hock Koon is the Commandant of SAFTI Military Institute. RADM Giam holds a Bachelor of Arts from the National University of Singapore. He also attended the United States of Marine Corps Command and Staff College where he also attained a Masters in Military Studies.

RADM Giam held various command and leadership appointments in his military career, including Commander Maritime Security Task Force, Commander Combined Task Force 151 conducting counter-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden, Commander of the 1st Flotilla, Commander of the 185 Frigate Squadron and Commands of the frigate RSS STEADFAST and missile corvette RSS VENGEANCE. RADM Giam was awarded the Public Administration Medal (Bronze)(Military), the Commendation Medal and the SAF Long Service and Good Conduct Medal (25 years).
Dr Graham Ong-Webb is Research Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. He is part of the Military Studies Programme, a research and educational component of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS). His main research interests include: security and defence issues in the Asia-Pacific (with a focus on the strategic postures of ‘second-tier’ nuclear powers); the political economy of Southeast Asia; and Singapore’s national security strategy and national resilience initiatives against the threat of global terrorism.

A Commonwealth Scholar, Graham completed his PhD at the Centre for Science and Security Studies, Department of War Studies, King’s College London (KCL), in 2010. He also earned his Associate of King’s College (AKC), a three-year qualification in theology, ethics, and philosophy, which he read concurrently with his doctoral studies at KCL, winning the First Leathes Prize in the final examinations.

Graham has published in the Journal of Strategic Studies, Journal of International Studies (Millennium), Jane’s Intelligence Review and World Defence Systems. His commentaries on global and regional security issues have appeared in The Straits Times (Singapore), The Nation (Thailand), The Jakarta Post (Indonesia), The World Today (Chatham House, London), the International Relations and Security Network (ETH Zurich), and The Diplomat.

COL Lim Kwang Tang, Former Deputy Chief Guards Officer cum Director of Changi Regional HADR Co-ordination Centre (RHCC), Singapore joined the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) in March 1985 and was commissioned from Officer Cadet School the following year. COL Lim graduated from the National University of Singapore in 1990 with a Bachelor in Business Administration. COL Lim was Deputy Chief Guards Officer cum Director of Changi Regional HADR Co-ordination Centre (RHCC). He previously held several command appointments in the Guards and Infantry including Commander, 5th Singapore Infantry Brigade and Commander of Army Training and Evaluation Centre (ATEC). As part of SAF’s reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan under the ambit of Operation BLUE RIDGE, COL Lim led the deployed forces as National Contingent Commander in 2012. As the first and former Director of Changi RHCC, COL Lim was deployed during the 2015 Nepal Earthquake. COL Lim was invited to share his operational experiences in UN World Humanitarian Summit Global Consultation in Geneva in October 2015.
BIOGRAPHIES
(in alphabetical order according to given names)

COL Ng Wai Kit is the Commandant of Goh Keng Swee Command and Staff College. He is concurrently Deputy Commandant SAFTI MI. Prior to assuming this appointment, COL Ng held various command and staff appointments including Assistant Chief of General Staff (Training) whilst concurrently the Deputy Commander, Army Training and Doctrine Command, Commander 3rd Division Artillery, Branch Head, G6 Army; Commanding Officer, 21st Battalion, Singapore Artillery; Weapon Staff Officer and Section Head in Headquarters, Singapore Artillery. He is also a graduate of the Australian Command and Staff Course, as well as the U.S. Army War College. COL Ng holds a Master of Management (Defence Studies) from University of Canberra, Australia; a Master of Science (Defence Technology) from Cranfield University UK; and a BSc (Honours) (Computer Information System) from Victoria University of Manchester, UK.

Dr Ong Weichong is an Assistant Professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University. He is attached to the Military Studies Programme at the school’s constituent unit, the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS).

He is Course Director of the Campaign and War Studies (CWS) and Operations Other than War (OOTW) modules at the Goh Keng Swee Command and Staff College (GKS CSC), Singapore. He has also taught at the advanced school and officer cadet school levels at SAFTI Military Institute, Singapore. In national service, Weichong is a Functional Specialist Support Staff Officer (Army) with the Singapore Armed Forces.

In addition, he was an Affiliated Researcher with the Department of Leadership and Management, Swedish National Defence College and a Guest Professor at the Ecole Navale, France. Weichong completed his doctoral studies with the Centre for the Study of War, State and Society, University of Exeter, UK in 2010 where he was a recipient of research grants from the University of Exeter and the Royal Historical Society.
Mr Peter Ho is the Senior Advisor to the Centre for Strategic Futures, a Senior Fellow in the Civil Service College, an Adjunct Professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, and a Visiting Fellow at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy.

Peter Ho is Chairman of the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Singapore, Chairman of the Social Science Research Council, and Chairman of the Singapore Centre on Environmental Life Sciences Engineering. He is a member of the National University Board of Trustees, a board member of the Lee Kuan Yew Exchange Fellowship, a member of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies’ Board of Governors, and a council member of the International Institute of Strategic Studies. He is also a member of Statoil’s Strategy Advisory Council, and the McKinsey Center for Government Advisory Council.

When he retired from the Singapore Administrative Service in 2010 after a career in the Public Service stretching more than 34 years, he was Head, Civil Service, concurrent with his other appointments of Permanent Secretary (Foreign Affairs), Permanent Secretary (National Security and Intelligence Coordination), and Permanent Secretary (Special Duties) in the Prime Minister’s Office. Before that, he was Permanent Secretary (Defence).

Dr Ralf Emmers is Professor of International Relations and Associate Dean at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore. He concurrently heads the Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS) at RSIS. Dr Emmers completed his MSc and PhD in the International Relations Department of the London School of Economics (LSE). His research interests cover security studies, the international institutions in the Asia Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. Dr. Emmers is the author and editor of 11 books and monographs. His latest books include Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia (Routledge, 2010) and Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). He has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as The Pacific Review, International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Asian Survey, Australian Journal of International Affairs, Asian Security, Contemporary Southeast Asia and Contemporary Politics as well as numerous book chapters in edited volumes.
Dr Shashi Jayakumar assumed the appointment as Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security on 1 April 2015.

Dr Jayakumar was educated at Oxford University where he studied History (BA 1997, D.Phil, 2001). He has published in various peer-reviewed journals and edited volumes on topics relating to medieval history (the focus of his doctorate). He has been a member of the Singapore Administrative Service since 2002. During this time, he was posted to various Ministries, including the Ministries of Defence, Manpower, Information and the Arts, and Community Development, Youth and Sports. He was a Senior Visiting Research Fellow at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy from August 2011–July 2014. The main focus of his research and writing there has been on local society and politics.

He is currently working on two book projects relating to local politics (forthcoming, 2016). His other interests include extremism, social resilience, and homeland defence.

Dr Steven Metz is Director of Research at the Strategic Studies Institute. He holds a Ph.D. from the John Hopkins University, and an MA and BA from the University of South Carolina. Dr. Metz has been on the faculty of the Air War College, the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and several universities. He has also been an advisor to political campaigns and elements of the intelligence community; served on national security policy task forces; testified in both houses of Congress; and spoken on military and security issues around the world. Dr. Metz is also the author of Iraq and the Evolution of American Strategy and several hundred articles, essays, monographs, reports, and book chapters. His research has taken him to 30 countries, including Iraq immediately after the collapse of the Hussein regime.
**BIOGRAPHIES**

(in alphabetical order according to given names)

**Prof. Tomonori Yoshizaki** is Director of Policy Simulation at the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) in Japan, where he is in charge of directing research projects and military education on strategic issues. After earning his MA in Law from Keio University, Tokyo, he joined NIDS in 1987. He is currently an advisor to International Peace Cooperation Activities Training Unit, Central Readiness Force of Ground Self-Defense Forces; lecturer at Self-Defense Forces Staff Colleges; visiting professor at Tokyo University for Foreign Studies and Tsukuba University. He was previously an assistant director of Office of Strategic Studies of MoD in 1998/9, a visiting scholar at Kings College London in 1993/4 and Hudson Institute in 1999. His areas of expertise include alliance management, European security and NATO, Japan’s Peace Operations, Conflict Resolution, peace building, and civil-military cooperation. He has also edited several NIDS monographs on strategy including *Beyond the Hub and Spokes: Australia-Japan Security Cooperation*, co-edited with William Tow (Tokyo: NIDS, March 2014); *Strategic Management of Defense Capabilities, The Proceeding of 2012 NIDS Symposium on International Security* (Tokyo: NIDS, November 2013); “The Military’s Role in Disaster Relief Operations”; “The Role of the Military in Peace-Building: A Japanese Perspective” in *The Proceedings of NIDS Symposium on International Security (2011 and 2012)*.

**Dr Wu Shang-Su** is a research fellow in the Military Studies Programme of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. After obtaining his PhD from the University of New South Wales in Australia, he had worked at the Legislative Yuan and National Defense University in Taiwan. He is the author of *The Defence Capabilities of Small States: Singapore and Taiwan’s Responses to Strategic Desperation*. His research interests include defence modernisation, the Taiwan issue, deterrence and international relations. In his other research interests, he studies the eclectic and complex relationship between railways and national development, and whether there is an anecdotal correlation to the state of security and defence capabilities of nations.
COL Yang Si Cheng joined the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) in 1993, before earning his commission from the Officer Cadet School at SAFTI Military Institute as an Infantry Officer in 1994. Under the SAF Merit Scholarship and the SAF Postgraduate Scholarship, COL Yang attained the Master of Mechanical Engineering from Imperial College, London and the Master of Business Administration from the Nanyang Technological University (NTU) in 1998 and 2012 respectively. He also attended the Command and General Staff Course in Japan in 2005.

COL Yang’s military career includes Branch Head of Joint Manpower Department, Head, Army Information Centre, Brigade Commander of a Singapore Artillery Brigade and Head, National Service Affairs Department. He was the Show Chairman responsible for the 28th South East Asian Games Opening and Closing Ceremony Show in 2015. COL Yang is currently the Director of MINDEF Communications Organisation’s Information Directorate. As Director, COL Yang is responsible for the policy and strategy aspect of MINDEF’s Strategic Communications efforts.

COL Yang was awarded the SAF Overseas Service (Enhanced) and the NATO (ISAF) Medals for his contributions as part of the SAF National Command Element and as a Staff Officer in HQ ISAF Joint Command, Afghanistan in 2011, and the State Medal: Public Administration Medal (Bronze) (Military) in 2014.
Panel 1: The Changing Character of Conflict

The South China Sea and Its Impact on Security in the Asia-Pacific
Dr Collin Koh Swee Lean

Following the recent announcement of the arbitral ruling on the South China Sea (SCS) dispute filed by the Philippines, there had been rising concerns about greater risk of armed conflict in the disputed waters as a result of continued buildup of military and coastguard forces by the concerned parties – in the context of limitations faced by regional confidence-building mechanisms. This presentation argues that such fears could be premature. While claimants and extra-regional stakeholders may persist with their own activities - some of which could be deemed as militarisation - the situation in the foreseeable future would remain stable though troubled. Regular military forces would maintain more or less a passive, "recessed deterrence" type of posture in the SCS, with the exception of persistent activities concerning high-end intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance in all domains - air, surface and subsurface. The frontline of the SCS disputes will remain the province of civilian maritime law enforcement agencies and the lurking presence of "patriotic fishermen" irregular forces operating in the waters. Their presence and behavior in the SCS thus far might have raised tensions but there was no evidence to show a greater tendency towards armed conflict. In part this could be attributed to an exercise of unilateral self-restraint towards the threat or use of force, which could be described as calibrated with the intent of managing escalation.

The Future Character of War and Its Impact on the Region Considered within the Context of Australia’s Defence White Paper 2016 and the Australian Command and Staff College
Group Captain Dennis Tan

If one was required to say something simple and certain about the future of conflict within our region it would be that it would be both complex and uncertain. In good Staff College style, this paper will begin by defining some key terms in the topic being discussed but by doing so will provide a great deal of meaning to the very issue: firstly, what is meant by the ‘region’ and why it is important to define it? Why have Australia’s past two Defence White Papers shifted our focus to the Indo-Pacific region rather than the Asia-Pacific?; secondly, what is meant by ‘war’ and, reasoning that it has an enduring nature, what is the changing character of war and why does it change? The paper will then posit that complexity in war is a constant and all wars, past, present and future have been and will be complex.

Finally, I would like to discuss what is being done from a practitioner’s perspective within strategic education at the Australian Command and Staff College. Recognising the uncertainty and complexity of future conflict, I am confident that we will be increasingly required to work as a joint force, in coalition and in an interagency and whole-of-government effort. What are we doing in the Australian Defence Force to educate and prepare our future leaders for this scenario?
Panel 1: The Changing Character of Conflict

The Southeast Asian Military Modernisation: Past and Future, Evolution and Management
Dr Wu Shang-Su

The military modernisation in Southeast Asia can be historically divided into three periods, from 1945 to 1975, from 1975 to 1990, and from 1990 until now, respectively marked with the Vietnamese unification and the end of the Cold War. The three periods are marked with different characteristics of military build-ups and form the regional countries’ current arsenals. How these arsenals are transformed into their military capabilities dependent on extent of obsolescence and geostrategic circumstances, since other critical factors such as training and integration are usually unavailable on public sources. Despite lack of universal definition of obsolescence, service time, upgrade records, comparison of foreign counterparts, technological characteristics, and overall military structure present a synthetic framework to review. Sea areas, land terrain, size of territory, and locations determine the effectiveness of military capability and provide some grounds for future defence investment. Generally, the regional military modernisation is unlikely to be used for offence, but it also means their limited capacity to respond external challenges.
Panel 2: Integrating Soft and Hard Power

ASEAN in the midst of Sino-US Relations in the Asia-Pacific
Dr Evan Resnick

In recent years, ASEAN has been buffeted by intensifying great power security competition between the hegemonic United States and a rising China. This dynamic is not well captured by the leading theoretical approaches in International Relations (IR), because there is little in the way of historical precedent for situations in which rival great powers, that are not members of a given international institution, attempt to influence its behaviour, and are in turn influenced by its behaviour. The closest analogy would be the European Community during the Cold War, but there are several important differences between the Cold War EC and contemporary ASEAN cases that attenuate the comparison. Even if ASEAN (likely) fails to evolve into a cohesive and independent security and economic community capable of aiding the U.S. to “hard balance” China, however, it will still remain useful in its present manifestation as a mechanism to “soft balance” the People’s Republic.

Strategic Narratives: Shaping Public Opinion and Influencing War
COL Yang Si Cheng

The nature of conflict is constantly evolving, and wars are increasingly not fought in traditional battlefields. While the use of non-military methods is not new, advanced technological ability and a porous social media landscape give aggressors the means to better combine conventional and non-conventional methods to engage in “Hybrid Warfare”. The battle in the information space and the fight over influencing people’s perceptions and behaviour has become an integral part of modern conflicts. Potential aggressors will attempt to create ambiguity, confusion and discord in societies, and new media platforms coupled with the use of compelling narratives will give them a chance at succeeding.

The implications to government and security agencies are large. Faced with complex threats from extremist groups and a contested new information environment, countries feel a heightened need to communicate their messages effectively in the battle for hearts and minds.

In his talk, COL Yang will share examples on the strategies and tools information players use to persuade and gain support from their audience, as well as how Strategic Communications can be employed to strengthen Singaporeans’ commitment to defence and nation.
Panel 2: Integrating Soft and Hard Power

Designing Design: Planning National Strategies in a Uncertain World
Prof Tomonori Yoshizaki

Designing a future vision is always a challenge; in a time of austerity we need to prioritize policy options to maximize our impact; in a time of complexity, however, we also need to think about Wildcards or Black Swans. The question is how to make it happen? From a policy simulation perspective, the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011 was a black swan. The triple disaster, which consisted of earthquake, tsunami, and Fukushima nuclear accident, required a response that went beyond the conventional framework of the disaster relief mission of the Japan Self-Defense Forces (SDF). In this unprecedented national crisis, Japan has set up a Joint Task Force Command (headed by Defence Minister) for the first time in its history. It could manage to mobilise some 100,000 personnel, which is approximately 40% of SDFs in three days. Critical support was provided by the US through Operation Tomodachi, which included a dispatch of the USS Ronald Reagan to the affected area.

Hence, in preparing for the unthinkable, the dynamic transformation from peacetime to emergency is important. The presenter attempts to describe a three-pronged strategic management of dynamic capabilities model, the stages being 1) sensing the unexpected, 2) seizing opportunity and 3) transformation for the future, whereby the objective is to adapt organisations in line with potential challenges. The risks one can encounter are false sensing and seizing, and low transforming (i.e. underestimation), remaining a static posture, leading to failure to adapt to challenges, or sticking to the past. Nevertheless, a strategic management of dynamic capabilities that requires sensing the unexpected, seizing opportunities to impose asymmetric costs on wrongdoing, and transforming organisations such as military education for innovation, is still useful.
Panel 3: Kinetic and Non-kinetic Means in Operations

The Center of Gravity in Conventional and Unconventional Hybrid Warfare
Dr Ahmed Hashim

The concept of hybrid warfare, which has been in existence since 2007, is very much in vogue these days for a wide range of reasons. The war between Israel and Hamas in 2014 highlighted the complexities of warfare between a strong state and a weak non-state actor. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which did not conform to traditional Western notions of inter-state conflict and war, highlighted the use of non-military as well as military means by Russia. Russia’s paramount goal was to achieve its aims while ensuring that the conflict does not descend into open conventional war between Russia and Ukraine. The Russian Chief of the Armed Forces, Valery Gerasimov, explained Russia’s version of hybrid war in a January 2013 speech in which he articulated an approach to war that included the use of non-military and military means in parallel to achieve strategic and policy goals. The wars in Syria and Iraq focused attention on the strategic methods, operational art and tactics of the various actors – both state and non-state – involved in the war, particularly of the so-called Islamic State or caliphate, which has been seen as a new model of a hybrid adversary. While the term hybrid warfare is controversial, the purpose of this paper is to trace the evolution of the term hybrid warfare, describe the purported characteristics of hybrid warfare, and address the center of gravity in both conventional (state versus state) and unconventional (state versus non-state actor) hybrid warfare in the early 21st century.

Re-defining Armed Forces in Non-Kinetic Operations
Dr Steven Metz

The basic conceptualisation of professional armed forces used by all nations can be traced to the beginning of the gunpowder age. Its organisational structure is based on hierarchy, a distinct bottom-to-top career track and the separation of the military from civilian society. Its organisational culture is based on the war-fighter ethos and a distinct notion of professionalism. This organisational structure and culture made sense during the time in history when war primarily involved nation states and organisations which emulated nation states, and when war was episodic. It makes less sense in today’s security environment when security is more complex and broader than simply war-fighting; the world is characterised by intense connectivity; psychological effects are paramount in the security domain; and artificial intelligence and autonomous systems are proliferating and playing an increasing role in human life. This suggests that the armed forces of the future will need to be optimised for a different skill set than those of the past, specifically; psychological acuity; cross cultural empathy; mental adaptability; and risk tolerance. The challenge for the architects of future armed forces is to develop a new model of professionalism that stresses these characteristics.

Social Media in Contemporary Operations (ISIS case study)
Dr Shashi Jayakumar

The presentation will discuss some aspects of information operations by the so-called Islamic State (IS). Besides addressing questions pertaining to IS propaganda, the presentation will make observations on why precisely IS online efforts have been so successful in luring recruits, and why official counter-narrative and counter-messaging efforts thus far seem to have fallen short. The presentation will also touch on what this means for Southeast Asia and Singapore.
Panel 4: Operations Involving Multiple Stakeholders

Defence Multilateralism in East Asia: Cases of ADMM and ADMM-Plus
Dr Bhubhindar Singh

Defence multilateralism has become an important feature of the East Asia security landscape in the post-Cold War period. This has coincided with the increasing importance of defence diplomacy activities, alongside diplomatic activities conducted by officials from the foreign ministries, in contributing to regional peace and stability. The interesting point about this development is that this is happening in East Asia - a region that has traditionally been wary of addressing traditional security issues and even utilizing the militaries to perform diplomatic activities. The evidence for this important development is manifested in the rising profiles of the ADMM and ADMM-Plus meetings in the East Asian multilateral structure. Despite the sensitivities surrounding defence diplomacy in East Asia and the relative 'new-ness' of these meetings, the ADMM and ADMM-Plus meetings have experienced gradual success in the areas of dialogue and building practical cooperation. This presentation will briefly introduce the concept of defence diplomacy, and discuss the successes, challenges and future of the ADMM and ADMM-Plus meetings.

Civil-Military Relations: The Arab Spring Experience
Dr Ahmed Hashim

The upheavals that have occurred in six Arab countries since 2011 highlighted the salience of civil-military relations in the political systems of the Arab world. Between the early 1990s and the first decade of 21st century, the military in the Arab world seemed to have receded in importance in the political systems of the various Arab countries from Morocco to Iraq. This was in contrast to the period between 1945 and the 1980s when militaries intervened in the political processes and overthrew governments with depressing regularity. From the 1990s onwards, Arab countries spent considerable resources building up what has been referred to as the national security state, which refers to an entity that relied on the intelligence services and security forces other than the military to maintain domestic order and control. Furthermore, many of these security forces kept tabs on the formal military establishments to ensure that they would not intervene in the political processes.

The upheavals of 2011 brought the military back into the political processes of the five Arab countries that had witnessed uprisings, revolutions and civil war, namely Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Bahrain, and Yemen. What these key examples show is that if the incumbent regime has the military on its side, it will not fall and the revolution can be defeated, as in Bahrain. If, however, the revolutionaries are determined to overthrow the incumbent but the military remains more or less intact, the result is civil war as in Syria. If the military fractures into pro-regime and anti-regime factions, the result is likely to lead to the collapse of the incumbent but no real victors and an erosion of state power leading to state failure, as in Libya and Yemen. If the military remains cohesive but abandons the incumbent regime, the ruling elite will fall from power as in Tunisia and Egypt.
Nepal Earthquake Case-Study
COL Lim Kwang Tang

On 25 April 2015, a Richter scale of 8.1 earthquake struck Nepal. The government of Nepal sent out an international appeal for assistance. Singapore responded with a composite Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) team comprising 170 personnel from the SAF, SCDF, Police and MOH, under the ambit of Operations SWIFT LION 2/15. Together with a military medical team from Brunei Darussalam, the composite team rendered assistance to the Nepalese from 26 April 2015 to 11 May 2015.

In theatre, a total of 39 countries responded to the Nepalese government appealed for assistance. In addition, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) deployed a regional Humanitarian-Military Operations Coordination Centre (HuMOCC) on site to co-ordinate the International Organisation (IOs) and NGOs relief efforts. In a multi-lateral, multi-agencies disaster relief operation, like Nepal earthquake, how does a small country like Singapore with very limited resource contribute meaningfully and significantly?

In his presentation, COL Lim will share his operational experiences and the key takeaways as the National Contingent Commander for the disaster relief effort. The key takeaways include: adopting the whole of government approach, exploiting Singapore/SAF niche capabilities and people as the key for mission success.
SYNDICATED GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

DAY ONE: 6th October 2016 (Thursday)
Syndicated Group Discussion 1 (For GKS CSC participants only)

a. How can the conventional armed forces of the Asia-Pacific region respond to the challenges of the complex security landscape?

b. What are some of the smart power strategies that armed forces can utilise to deal with the demands of the contemporary international system?

DAY TWO: 7th October 2016 (Friday)
Syndicated Group Discussion 2 (For GKS CSC participants only)

a. How can armed forces better prepare or deal with increasing non-kinetic operations? What are the skill-sets needed?

b. What are the challenges for defence diplomacy and practical cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region? As coalition operations are becoming an increasingly important element of military operations, what are the advantages and challenges for the modern armed forces?