



# CENTRE ON ASIA AND GLOBALISATION

ANNUAL  
REPORT  
2014



## **Centre on Asia and Globalisation**

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## **ANNUAL REPORT 2014**

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# DIRECTOR'S NOTE



2014 was very eventful for the Centre on Asia and Globalisation (CAG). The year started with the Third Regional Security Roundtable between China and India in February 2014. As a major event under our flagship project, China and India: Towards Cooperation between the Giants of Asia, the two-day close-door event gathered fourteen high-level policy-makers, experts and opinion-leaders from China and India in candid discussions over the policy issues of concern for two largest rising powers.

In line with our major project titled Developing Asia-Pacific's Last Frontier: Fostering International Cooperation in the Development of Russia's Far-East, a close-door policy dialogue was held in Moscow in July. The dialogue was a key element of the multi-year collaborative research project undertaken by a consortium of the top think tanks and research institutes from six countries: Russia, China, Japan, South Korea, Norway and Singapore. The objective of the policy dialogue was to foster communication and consultation on strategic thinking and policy approaches of the involved parties in relation to Russia's "go-east" strategy, areas of cooperation in the development of Russia's Siberia and Far East, and how geopolitics and the shift in regional strategic balance and geopolitics affect international cooperations necessary for the development of Russia's Far East and Siberia. This was a timely event given that the unfolding Ukraine crisis has substantially impacted on Russia's relations with the outside world and its incentives in seeking international cooperation for development.

This year, we initiated a new partnership with the Robert Bosch Stiftung to initiate a new project to conduct a systematic and comparative study on how, in the transition toward a multipolar world, the traditional values and culture can impact on a nation's foreign policy as well as its approach in foreign affairs. The inaugural workshop was held in Berlin in October, titled The Impact of National Cultures on Foreign Policy Making in a Multipolar World. Papers presented at the workshop are being reviewed for publication in an edited volume.

Keeping with one of our key themes of security in Asia-Pacific, we co-hosted a roundtable on A New Narrative for the Asian Power Balance with Chatham House in November. This is a part of a larger project that seeks to explore how the shift of balance of power in the region has changed the current discourse over peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. It also focuses on how contemporary trends are likely to affect the distribution of power and its implications in the coming decade. In the very same month, we also convened the Second China-Japan Young Leaders' Forum in Tokyo, with the collaboration of Fujitsu Research Institute. Conceived as a counter-current to the seemingly but prevalent perception of a rival relationship between China and Japan, the forum provided the two countries' young leaders, coming from a diverse range of sectors such as the academia, non-profit organisation, media, and business, with a platform to learn from each other, and to think together how to overcome the existing challenges and achieve a cooperative relationship between the two countries. Participants were outspoken and passionate with their views on how to find ways to not only peacefully co-exist but also promote friendship and cooperation between the two largest Asian powers. Given the success and great potential of the forum, CAG and the Fujitsu Research Institute are committed to continuing the project to advance mutual understanding and confidence through engagement between the young leaders of both countries.

2014 also witnessed a successful expansion of the CAG team and research themes. We welcomed Senior Research Fellows, Dr. Selina Ho and Dr. Tomoo Kikuchi and Research Associate Masutomo Takehiro on board. Selina's expertise lies in studying China, China-India relations, Southeast

Asian security and Water Politics. Tomoo is an economist by training, with expertise in financial policy, market development and regional economic integration. He is now in the process of launching a new research theme Restructuring the Financial System in Asia-Pacific. Our new staff will be given full support from the Centre in their highly promising upcoming projects and we wish them the best in their endeavours!

As promised in our previous report, we published two edited volumes: Environmental Policies in Asia, and Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: Navigating Rough Waters. As you will see in the publication section of this report, our team of researchers have published extensively over a wide range of issues in 2014.

As we have entered 2015, our calendars have already been blocked with several events and publication deadlines. We are hosting an academic workshop titled After the Ukraine Crises: Towards a Post-hegemonic Multipolar World in late February. This will be followed by several major conferences and projects, including the Fourth China-India Security Roundtable in March and an international conference on South China Sea in late April, the second international conference on Development of Russia's Siberia and Far East in Vladivostok and an international conference on Water Politics and Regional Stability in May. All these events will gather established scholars and experts in the fields, with expectations to produce edited volumes with prestigious publishers in 2016.

We at CAG are committed to our goal of providing objective, independent and in-depth researches to academia, policy practitioners and general public on Asia's development and its impact on global peace and prosperity. As an academic medium where issues can be discussed unequivocally and shared with concerned individuals and institutions through monographs, edited volumes, journals and conference reports, CAG is now looking to expand and is committed to enhancing our research excellence and outreach in 2015.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Jing Huang', written in a cursive style.

**Jing HUANG**  
Lee Foundation Professor and Director

# OVERVIEW

The Centre on Asia and Globalisation (CAG), at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, is a leading research institute focusing on producing high-quality academic research relevant to public policy.

Its motto “Objective Research with Impact” reflects the Centre’s commitment to ensuring that its research products provide the academia, general public as well as policy and decision makers with in-depth and objective analysis on the issues of regional and global significance. This takes place through a combination of rigorous academic inquiry, expert collaboration, high level dialogue, public outreach, strategic networks and capacity building and training. The Centre, staffed by an international team of researchers, is uniquely placed to bridge Asia and the world. Its work is both inward and outward looking, concentrating on how the impacts of Asia’s development on globalization and Asia’s increased role in an integrated world. Within this remit the Centre focuses on five main areas (see below). Of these, three areas—Russia’s Reorientation to the East and its Relations with Asian Powers; Water Politics and Regional Stability and Restructuring the Financial System in Asia-Pacific have been newly introduced in 2015.

## China-India Relations

- Strategic drivers in China’s and India’s foreign policymaking in terms of national interests, aspirations, and constraints in the policymaking process
- Implications of the steady increase in resource demand on bilateral relations
- Impact of military and security modernisations on bilateral relations and regional security
- Comparative studies of Chinese and Indian institutions and governance issues

## Developing Asia-Pacific’s Last Frontier

- International cooperation in the development of Russia’s Siberia and Far-East
- Institutional and developmental bottlenecks of Russia’s eastern region
- Development in areas such as energy and environment, infrastructure, food security, and the Northern Sea Route

- Implications of the development of Russia’s Far East and Siberia to East Asia and the world

## Russia’s Reorientation to the East and its Relations with Asian Powers

- Behaviour of states under the conditions of declining unipolarity
- International relations theory with reference to Russia and China
- China-Russia relations
- Russia’s foreign policy

## Water Politics and Regional Stability

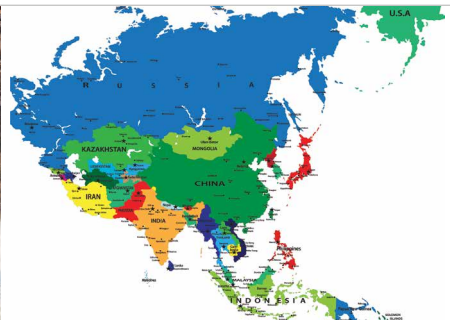
- Comparing Chinese policies towards its international rivers
- Likelihood of conflict from water disputes

## Restructuring the Financial System in Asia-Pacific

- Implications of newly established financial institutions by Emerging Market Economies (EMEs) in Asia-Pacific
- EMEs’ strategies to best align their economic interests
- Redesigning the financial system of Asia-Pacific countries to maximise the growth potential of the region

## Other Research Areas:

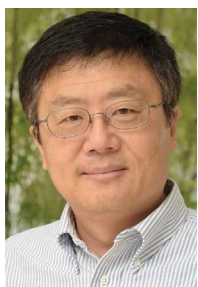
- Sustaining China’s Development and Stability: Challenges and Choices
- A New Type of Relationship or a New Model of Balance: US-China Relations in an Evolving Multipolar World
- China-Japan Relations
- Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea
- Environmental Economy
- National Cultures on Foreign Policy Making in a Multipolar World



# THE TEAM

## Director

### DR. JING HUANG



Dr. Jing HUANG is the Lee Foundation Professor on US-China Relations and Director of CAG. As an internationally recognised expert on Chinese politics, China's foreign relations and security issues in Asia-Pacific, Professor Huang has written three books and numerous journal articles, book chapters, policy papers, and op-eds on Chinese politics, China's foreign policy, the military, US-China relations, and security issues in Asia-Pacific.

His book, *Factionalism in Chinese Communist Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), won the prestigious Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize in 2002. Professor Huang also serves as a Senior Overseas Economic Analyst for China's Xinhua News Agency. This appointment has obliged him to provide advice to China's policy-makers on major policy issues.

Before joining the Lee Kuan Yew School, Huang was a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution (2004-2008). He also taught at Harvard University (1993-94), Utah State University (1994-2004) and Stanford University (2002-2003). Professor Huang was a Residential Fellow at the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Centre (2012), and a Richard von Weizsäcker Fellow at Bosch Academy (2014). He received his PhD in Political Science from Harvard University.

## Senior Research Fellows

### DR. SELINA HO



Dr. Selina Ho is a Senior Research Fellow at CAG. Her research focus is on politics and international relations, with an area specialty in China Studies. She is most interested in water as a strategic resource, and has worked on China's municipal water sector and trans-boundary river policies. Dr. Ho is also researching China-India relations and is involved in a variety of projects in this area. She is currently working on a comparative study of public goods provision in China and India, focusing specifically on the municipal water sectors in both countries. Dr. Ho received her PhD from The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, where she also received a Masters in International Public Policy (Honours). She did her undergraduate studies at the National University of Singapore, graduating with a BA in History (Honours). Prior to joining academia, Dr. Ho was a Singapore public servant working on defence and security issues.

### DR. TOMOO KIKUCHI



Dr. Tomoo Kikuchi is a Senior Research Fellow at CAG. He is the Principle Investigator in the research area 'Restructuring the Financial System in Asia-Pacific' and a member of the Japan-China Young Leaders Forum at CAG. He was an Assistant Professor of Economics at the National University of Singapore (2007-2014) and a Visiting Scholar at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Tufts University in 2011. He is a Macroeconomist with research interests in Economic Growth and Development, International Trade and Investment, Asset Price Bubbles, and

Political Economy in East Asia. Dr. Kikuchi studied English Literature at Meiji-Gakuin University in Japan and Economics at University of Tübingen in Germany. He received his BA in International Studies from Meiji-Gakuin University, MSc in Economics from University of Warwick in the UK and PhD in Economics from Bielefeld University in Germany.

## Research Fellow

### DR. ALEXANDER KOROLEV



Dr. Alexander Korolev is a Research Fellow at CAG. He is also an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the School of Asian Studies of the National Research University Higher School of Economics (Moscow).

His research interests include International Relations Theory and Comparative Politics, Russia's Foreign Policy and China-Russia relations, Political Transition in former socialist

countries, Politics of Social Reforms, and Theory and Practice of democracy. Dr. Korolev is working on several projects, among which International Cooperation in the Development of Russia's Far East and Siberia, Russia's Reorientation to the East and Strategic Implications to East Asia and the World, Balancing Behaviour of States under the Conditions of Declining Unipolarity. He received an MA in International Relations from Nankai University, Zhou Enlai School of Government (2009), and PhD in Political Science from the Chinese University of Hong Kong (2012). He has been a visiting researcher at the Political Science Department of Brown University (2011-2012).

## Postdoctoral Fellow

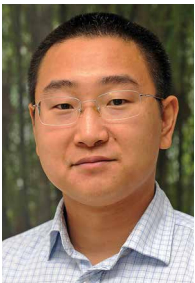
### DR. SECK TAN



Dr. Seck TAN is a Postdoctoral Fellow at CAG. Dr. Tan's research interests focus on the issues and challenges in formulating sustainable policies for leading Asia economies. He obtained his PhD from the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy with a focus on macroeconomics and the environment, and the development of sustainable policies. He has a Masters degree in Commerce from the University of New South Wales, Australia and Bachelors degree in Commerce from the University of Sydney, Australia. Prior to his academic foray, Seck was responsible for spearheading research on evaluating design developments in Singapore at the Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts. He had previously worked in investment banking, consulting, advertising and aviation in Australia and New Zealand.

## Research Associates/Assistants

### MR. CHEN HUAIYUAN



Mr. Chen Huaiyuan is a Research Associate at CAG. His research interests include Chinese state-society relations; revival of the instrumentality of culture and self-cultivation in contemporary China; and the normative dimension of international relations where cultural differences and exchanges impact foreign policy, international conflicts, and confidence-building measures. He is the project coordinator for two key CAG projects: 'Fostering International Cooperation in the Development of Russia's Far-East' and 'Moving Forward with China-Japan Relations: The Co-responsibility for Regional Order'. He was a Research Assistant with the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania (2007-2010) and received his BS and MA from Duke University. He is currently a PhD candidate (ABD) at the University of Pennsylvania.

### MS. SHARINEE JAGTIANI



Ms. Sharinee Jagtiani is a Research Associate at CAG. Her research interests include China and India as rising powers in a Changing World Order, International Relations Theory, China and India in Africa. Ms. Jagtiani has a key editorial role at CAG and carries out this task in several projects which include International Cooperation in the Development of Russia's Far East and Siberia; South China Sea Disputes and Environmental Policies in Asia. She is also on the editorial team for the bimonthly China-India Brief. She has an MSc in International Relations from the University of Bristol (2011), and Bachelors degree in Mass Media (Journalism) from the University of Mumbai (2010). Before CAG, she was a Visiting Research Analyst at the South Asia Programme of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (2011).

### MS. YING PEI



Ms. Ying Pei is a Research Assistant in CAG. Her research interests mainly include in China's reform, Public Opinions, Security Issues in East Asia, as well as China's diplomatic strategies. The Diplomat, the Gateway House, Indian Military Review have published her work on the topics of China's Public Opinions, Tibet Issues, China's technological advancement. She has an MSc in International Relations from the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University specialising the Asia-Pacific region and a Bachelors degree in Public Administration in China University of Political Science and Law (2007-2011). Besides assisting Professor Huang Jing on his research, she is also on the editorial team for the bimonthly China-India Brief. Before joining CAG, she used to work for DNV and security consultancies.

### MS. LI JIE



Ms. Li Jie is a Research Assistant at CAG. Her research interests include domestic perceptions and narratives of national comprehensive power in China, and its impact on the region and the world. She has a double Masters degree of Public Policy from the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore and Graduate School of Public Policy, the University of Tokyo, where she focused on the topic of Japan's political economy and regional economic integration. Ms. Li has worked in China's taxation authority and gained expertise on policy issues surrounding China's socio-economic transition.

### MR. TAKEHIRO MASUTOMO



Mr. Takehiro Masutomo is a Research Associate at CAG. His research interests include competition between China and Japan in Southeast Asia, China-ASEAN relations and Japanese business presence in the region. He has a Masters degree in Pacific International Affairs from IR/PS, UC San Diego (2010) and Bachelors degree in Sociology from Kwansai Gakuin University (2008). He was a researcher specialising in current affairs in Northeast Asia at Caixin Media (2010-2014).

## Administrative Staff

### MS. SERENE TEANG



Serene Teang is the Manager of CAG. She has a BSc (Honours) in Business from University of London and she has more than 10 years of related work experience in the private education industry. Prior to CAG, she was in charge of academic administrative and operation matters in a private commercial school.

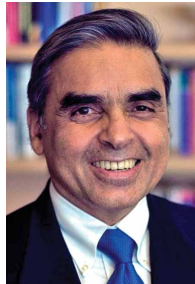
### MS. ESTHER YEOH



Esther Yeoh is the Personal Assistant to Director of CAG to whom she provides administrative support. She had had more than 10 years of administrative experience working both in the private and public sectors.

## Faculty Associates

### PROFESSOR KISHORE MAHBUBANI



Professor Kishore Mahbubani is the Dean and Professor in the Practice of Public Policy at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. A student of philosophy and history, Dean Mahbubani has had the good fortune of enjoying a career in government and, at the same time, in writing on public issues.

With the Singapore Foreign Service (1971-2004), he had postings in Cambodia (where he served during the war in 1973-74), Malaysia, Washington DC and New York, where he served two stints as Singapore's Ambassador to the UN and as President of the UN Security Council in January 2001 and May 2002. He was Permanent Secretary at the Foreign Ministry (1993-1998).

Dean Mahbubani currently continues to serve in Boards and Councils of several institutions in Singapore, Europe and North America, including the Yale President's Council on International Activities (PCIA), Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs, Indian Prime Minister's Global Advisory Council, University of Bocconi International Advisory Committee, World Economic Forum - Global Agenda Council on China and Chairman of the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize Nominating Committee.

### DR. KANTI PRASAD BAJPAI



Dr. Kanti Prasad Bajpai is Professor and Vice-Dean (Research) of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. His areas of interest include international security, Indian foreign policy and national security. He is currently working on a book on China-India Relations. Before joining the Lee Kuan Yew School, he was Professor of International Politics, Jawaharlal Nehru University and Professor in the Politics and International Relations of South Asia, Oxford University. Professor Bajpai was Headmaster of The Doon School, India (2003-2009). He taught at the Maharajah Sayajirao University of Baroda, and has held visiting appointments at Wesleyan University, Columbia University, and the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. He has also held visiting appointments at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace, Notre Dame University, the Brookings Institution, and the Australian Defence Force Academy. Most recently, he was Distinguished Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. Professor Bajpai writes a regular column for the Times of India (New Delhi).



## PROFESSOR CHEN KANG



Professor Chen Kang is Director of the Master in Public Administration and Management Programme and Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. He is also the Wang Yanan Chair Professor

of Economics at Xiamen University. Professor Chen currently serves on the editorial board of the European Journal of Political Economy, and the advisory board of China Economic Quarterly. He also served as a consultant to Asian Development Bank, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Ministry of Finance, and several other government ministries, statutory boards and multinational corporations. He has published widely on issues relating to macroeconomic policy, economic reform and development, and the economic role of government in professional journals. Professor Chen served as Vice President of the Economic Society of Singapore and director of the East Asian Economic Association. His research areas include agent based models, collective choice, and China's economic reform. He received his PhD in Economics and Applied Mathematics from the University of Maryland. He worked at the World Bank's Socialist Economies Reform Unit and subsequently taught at the National University of Singapore and Nanyang Technological University (NTU). He was Head of the Economics Division at NTU (1999-2005).

## DR. HENG YEE KUANG



Dr. Heng Yee Kuang is an Associate Professor and Assistant Dean (Research) at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. His research interests include security risks in the age of globalisation; Singa-

pore's experience of managing global risks as a global city; 'soft' power strategies in the Asia-Pacific, especially Japan and Singapore; Great Power Politics; strategic studies and the evolution of strategic cultures. He holds a PhD in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science where he also taught from 2002-2003. Before joining the Lee Kuan Yew School, he was Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in International Relations at the University of St Andrews, UK (2007-2011). He was also Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in Political Science at Trinity College Dublin, Ireland (2004-2007). He is an elected Member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London, UK (2012). He has held visiting positions as a Visiting Scholar at Waseda University, Japan (2010) as well as Visiting Senior Fellow at LKYSPP (2010). Heng also served on the National Committee for the Study of International Affairs at the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, Ireland (2005-2007). He has also been a guest lecturer on the Staff Officers Course at the National Defence University, Helsinki, Finland and Aoyama Gakuin University in Tokyo, Japan. From February-July 2015, Dr. Heng will be based at the University of Tokyo as a Visiting Project Associate Professor.

## PROFESSOR TIKKI PANG



Professor Tikki Pang is a Visiting Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. His major research interests lie in infectious diseases, biotechnology and global health. He was Director of Research

Policy & Cooperation at the World Health Organisation, Geneva, Switzerland (1999-2012) and Professor of Biomedical Sciences, Institute of Postgraduate Studies and Research, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur Malaysia (1989-1999). He received his BSc (Honours) and PhD from the Australian National University.

### Visiting Research Fellow

## DR. FUZUO WU



Dr. Fuzuo Wu is a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at CAG. She is now working on a book project related to Sino-Indian energy security and climate change issues. She received her PhD

in International Relations from Fudan University. She was an Oxford-Princeton Global Leaders Fellow (2012-14), a postdoc at International Security Studies at Yale University (2010-11) and worked as a Research Fellow at Sichuan University (2001-2004) and Fudan University (2007-2014).

# FUNDING

TYPES OF FUNDING	DESCRIPTION OF FUNDING	AMOUNT IN SGD
Tote Board Funding	CAG Manpower and Operating Budget	\$1,461,955.00
Endowed Donations*	S.T.Lee Distinguished Annual Lecture	\$75,407.11
	Hong Siew Ching Speaker Series	\$46,834.76
	CAG Wilmar International	\$126,208.98
	CAG OSIM International-EXP	\$16,456.86
Non-endowed Donations	S.T.Lee Global Governance Project	\$220,000.00
	Developing Russia Far East	\$500,000.00
<b>Total</b>		<b>\$2,446,862.71</b>

\*This is the investment income that can be spent for this year. Based on financial year from 1 April 2014 to 31 March 2015

# RESEARCH PROJECTS

## China-India: Towards Cooperation between the Giants of Asia

China and India are the two biggest powers in Asia, set to impact regional and global development. As the giants of Asia, China and India are the second and fifth largest economies globally. China is projected to overtake the US as the world largest economy by 2020, and some analysts believe India would overtake China by 2050. By 2011, China and India are became the world's first and fourth largest energy consumers. Both countries together constitute 36% of world's population. Given these patterns, the research project seeks to explore how China and India can avoid or limit conflict and increase cooperation given three fundamental developments confronting them.

Both states are en route to sustained economic growth and as a result will see steady and dramatic increases in their comprehensive national power and ambitions. As China and India continue to grow economically, there will be a substantial increase in their demand for vital limited resources, most importantly,

food, water, energy, and strategic metals. With an increase in production and consumption, both countries will strain the environment, nationally and globally, and will face domestic and international calls to deal with environmental challenges including climate change.

These changes will result either in conflict or cooperation. Scholarship on China-India relations has largely focused on conflict between them – past, present, and future. The projects undertaken by CAG however focuses on the possibility of long-term cooperation between the two countries arising out of the growth in their national power, their rapidly expanding demand for food, water, energy, and strategic metals, and their common concern about environmental stress including climate change.

### RESEARCH PROJECTS

The three-year research project, titled China and India: Towards Cooperation

Between The Giants of Asia, and ongoing from 2012 up to 2015, is led by Dean Kishore Mahbubani, Professor Kanti Bajpai and Professor Huang Jing, and is funded by the Ministry of Education (MoE), Government of Singapore. The project aims to study the potential for bilateral cooperation between China and India, by conducting an in-depth and systematic examination of China-India relations within the fields of development policies, bilateral and global trade and finance, energy, environmental sustainability, and water-sharing.

The project aims to bring out a volume, edited by Dean Mahbubani and Professors Bajpai and Huang. The various chapters within this edited volume make an assessment of the conflicting and common interests of the two countries in relation to development policy, bilateral and global cooperation on financial issues, bilateral and global trade, ecology and in particular climate change, energy and other resources, and shared river waters. The authors – comprising of experts from China, India and Singapore –



include Prem Shankar Jha, Sanjaya Baru, Arabinda Mishra, Arunabha Ghosh and Uttam Sinha from India; Zhao Gancheng, Hu Shisheng, Pan Jiahua and Zha Daojiong from China; and Selina Ho, Senior Research Fellow at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, Singapore. The chapters link their assessments of the past and present to prescriptions for the future. An underlying theme of the volume is that China and India can cooperate on these issues. This edited volume is expected to be published in 2015.

In 2014, as part of the project, Professors Kanti Bajpai and Huang Jing, along with accompanying Research Associates, conducted field trips to India (Mumbai and Chennai) and China (Chengdu and Kunming), visiting leading think tanks and key policy makers in March and May 2014 respectively. The Professors were invited to, and have spoken at several seminars on aspects of China-India relations at eminent institutions such as the Nehru Centre and Gateway House in Mumbai; the Chennai Centre for China Studies and the IIT Madras China Studies Centre in Chennai; the Institute of South Asian Studies, Yunnan Academy of Social Science in Kunming; the Marxism School of Political Science and the Institute of South Asian Studies, both affiliated to Sichuan University in Chengdu.

In addition, Professors Huang Jing and Kanti Bajpai are also working on a study, funded through the NUS Start-Up Grant, which explores various aspects of China-India relations, and particularly on how the two countries can avoid or limit conflict and increase cooperation. The Professors have completed the jointly-authored book manuscript's first draft and are editing each other's chapters. They expect to produce a final draft of their chapters by mid-2015.

### CHINA-INDIA BRIEF

The China-India Brief is an effort on the part of CAG to provide interested readers with a digest of materials published in English on the most recent events affecting the changing relationship between Asia's two biggest powers.

The China-India Brief, published twice every month, focuses on such interactions of Asia's two biggest powers and their global impact with a focus on current affairs. The brief aims to provide interested readers with a key digest of current news reports, analyses, commentaries, and journal

articles on China and India. The brief also features a Guest Column by noted Chinese and Indian scholars weighing in on current topics.

We have thus far published 42 China-India Briefs, and in 2014 have acquired 430 new subscribers, thereby totalling 1,270 scholars, policy makers and students, geographically spread out across China, India, Southeast Asia, and the United States among others. Contributors to our Guest Column have included prominent China and India experts worldwide.

### STRATEGIC DIALOGUES

The 3rd Regional Security Roundtable took place on February 28 and March 1, 2014 at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. This closed-door Roundtable featured discussions on the future of China-India relations by high-level policy makers and scholars from China and India, and was presided by Dean Mahbubani and Professors Huang and Bajpai. From India, attendees include Shyam Saran, Alka Acharya, Raja Mohan, Ajai Shukla, Partha Mukhopadhyay, Sanjaya Baru and Jayant Prasad; attendees from China include Qu Xing, Ouyang Wei, Zhu Chenghu, Zhang Tuosheng and Zhang Haibin; and Chen Kang from the Lee Kuan Yew School. The 4th Regional Security Roundtable is scheduled to be held on March 6-7, 2015.

**TABLE 1: CONTRIBUTORS TO GUEST COLUMN, CHINA-INDIA BRIEF, IN 2014**

Kanti Bajpai, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (LKYSPP), Singapore	Shai Venkatraman and Dev Lewis, Gateway House, India
Danielle Rajendram, Lowy Institute for International Policy, Australia	Harsh V. Pant, King's College London, UK
Nishant Dixit, American University (grad. 2013), USA	David Scott, Brunel University, UK
Jabin T. Jacob, Institute of Chinese Studies, India	Hu Shisheng, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, China
Rajesh Basrur, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore	Zhu Feng, Nanjing University
Rup Narayan Das, Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, India	Ajai Shukla, Journalist/ Blogger, India
Rohan Gunaratna, RSIS, Singapore	P S Suryanarayana, National University of Singapore, Singapore
Cecilia Tortajada, LKYSPP, Singapore	Richard A. Bitzinger, RSIS, Singapore
Toshi Yoshihara, U.S. Naval War College, USA	S. Mahmud Ali, LSE IDEAS, UK
Vijay Sakhujia, National Maritime Foundation, India	Rajeswari Rajagopalan, Observer Research Foundation, India
Ji Xianbai, RSIS, Singapore	

# China-India Relations...if Narendra Modi Wins the Indian Elections



This column has been published in the China-India Brief Issue No. 27

**WRITTEN BY KANTI BAJPAI**

By all accounts, Narendra Modi, of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), is poised to win power in the Indian general elections which will end on May 12. By May 16, the results of the elections will be known. Almost every poll suggests that Modi will win somewhere between 230-250 seats, just short of the majority of 272. If we go by the size of the crowds at his election rallies, he could do much better than that and win a majority without any coalition partners. If so, he will be the first person to do this since Rajiv Gandhi did it in 1984 shortly after his mother, Indira Gandhi, was assassinated.

What are the possible implications of a Modi victory for China-India relations?

First of all, Modi's general stance on foreign policy is important. While there is great partisanship and criticism of domestic politics in India, on foreign policy there is much greater consensus, and there is a tendency not to embarrass the government of the day on external issues or to overturn the policies of the predecessor government. Therefore, Modi is not likely to depart enormously from the general lines of Indian foreign policy over the past several governments including the Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh governments. This will be the case for China-India relations as well.

Secondly, having said this, BJP governments have a somewhat different style and approach. They certainly talk tougher and while they are committed to using diplomacy and negotiations to advance India's interests, they like to do so from a position of strength – velvet hand in iron glove. In addition, BJP governments are much more likely to walk away from negotiations. The Congress is less likely to be concerned about both things. It does not necessarily talk tough or wait till it is in a position of relative strength; nor does it tend to walk away from negotiations. The Vajpayee government first tested nuclear weapons and then reached out to Pakistan, China, and the United States. After the attack on India's parliament in 2001, Vajpayee mobilised the entire Indian Army, for six months. When Mumbai was attacked,



the Manmohan government preferred to resort far more to diplomacy. In a recent interview with Times Now in India, Modi hinted at just such an approach as a touchstone of his policy orientation. So also, the BJP in the end walked away from the nuclear talks with the United States in the aftermath of the 1998 tests while the Congress stuck doggedly to talks and finally produced a nuclear deal with Washington. Modi might well do the same if he does not fairly quickly get what he wants.

Thirdly, BJP governments seem to be more attentive to trade and economic aspects of India's external policy. They do have their economic nationalists, especially those from the RSS, but they are sensitive in general to the needs of the private sector. Trade and investment is important for India's growth. Modi pays great attention to the private sector and cultivates big business – some have said he does far too much of this. At any rate, Indian business and foreign multinationals have good relations with him and many are backing him in the election campaign. Given that China-India trade is now around the US\$60 billion mark and more, Modi will want to encourage trade. He will, as previous governments have done, ask China to do something to reduce the trade deficit which is running to US\$20 billion. Modi will also encourage Chinese investment in India, a move that the UPA government had begun, especially in infrastructure which he considers to be vital for sustained economic growth. His emphasis in Gujarat in providing reliable electricity supplies and in building a good road network as well as port facilities indicates that infrastructure is high on his list.

Thirdly, as for China specifically, Modi has built up an economic and political relationship with Beijing. Gujarat under Modi has hosted several Chinese delegations and has sent delegations to China. Modi himself has been to China four times. He has noted that India has much to learn from China; but he has also said that China can learn things from the so-called Gujarat model of development. China identified Modi quite early on as someone it could cultivate – one reason for this is the fact that the United States refused to give Modi a visa and Beijing saw an opportunity to get closer to him as a result. Modi will probably also want to build a social relationship with China, that is, to encourage greater interaction between the two societies. He is very supportive of tourism, and he may well try to loosen visa regulations for Chinese businessmen, technicians, and visitors more generally.

Fourthly, we must pay attention to Modi the man and his general approach and psychology. Modi wants to be Prime Minister and to lead India more than anyone in the country. It is his greatest ambition. He would like to be Prime Minister for a very long time. That cannot be said of any other Indian politician, and certainly not anyone from the Congress Party. He enjoys the exercise of power and he loves the reputation of being a tough administrator,

decisive, and someone who is constantly looking for ideas by which to improve governance. He is an excellent orator. He speaks mostly in Gujarati and Hindi but understands English and can speak the language. Although he grew up in the Hindu organisation, the RSS, he is not particularly ideological in day-to-day governance. He is pragmatic, gets to the core of issues, and likes to get on with things. Modi is also arrogant. He refers constantly to his accomplishments and what he has done for Gujarat, leaving no one in any doubt that the state's progress is due to his presence and policies.

What does this mean for his foreign policy and China policy in particular? He will want to appear to stand tough on China issues – some of his rhetoric during the campaign in northeastern India near the border indicated this. However, he will also be pragmatic. He has been to China and he knows just how far ahead of India it is. He will not risk provoking China beyond a point. He will listen to his foreign policy and security bureaucracy, but since he has his own China experience and since at the end of the day he relies on his own judgment, he will not leave it to them to make China policy. He will want to put his own stamp on the policy. It is quite possible that one of his first trips abroad will be to China to make clear to the United States and other Western countries that he remembers China's courtesy to him. That said, he has made clear that he is prepared to do business with the West.

Will Modi be India's Richard Nixon and from a right-wing position and from a position of political strength in India after winning the elections, will he try to do something more dramatic than merely increasing economic interactions with China and managing the security relationship? This will of course depend on larger geopolitical and political calculations, including the attitude and willingness of Xi Jinping and the Chinese leadership. Over the past decade, Beijing has repeatedly made clear that it does not think that a dramatic breakthrough is achievable with India no the border quarrel. There are signs that Xi Jinping wants to move more quickly, but just how quickly is unclear. Would it be better for Modi to try for a breakthrough earlier rather than later? A lot depends on how his government does domestically. There is a good chance



that Modi will be at least a two-term prime minister, with a ten-year stint. After Congress's disastrous second term, the Indian electorate may turn decisively to Modi. If he does a reasonable job in his first term, he is likely to get a second. With two terms ahead of him, he may want to leave a breakthrough on China to the second term.

It would be safe to predict that Modi will more or less stick to the fundamentals of Indian foreign policy and China policy in particular; but given his China interactions and his desire constantly to appear strong, decisive, and effective, he has an incentive to try to break out of the mould.

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<http://lkyspp.nus.edu.sg/cag/publication/china-india-brief>



# Fostering International Cooperation in the Development of Russia's Siberia and Far-East

With generous funding from Norway and Singapore, CAG partnered with Valdai Club (Russia) to launch this multi-year project which is a consortium of the six collaborating institutions, including the Japan Institute of International Affairs, the School of Advanced International and Area Studies in East China Normal University, the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and the National Research University – Higher School of Economics in Russia. The project was motivated by Moscow's eastward turn to the Asia-Pacific, since 2010.

The project aims to address the various dimensions related to Russia's eastern development including economics, trade, geopolitics, maritime security, energy security and the environment.

We are in the second year of this project. In 2013, we held an inaugural conference of this project. Selected papers are now being published in the form of an edited volume with Palgrave Macmillan, which is expected to be on shelves by June 2015. In July of 2014, we held a closed-door policy dialogue in Moscow and are holding another academic conference in Vladivostok in May 2015.



## CAG-VALDAI POLICY DIALOGUE

# International Cooperation for the Development of Siberia and the Far-East

CAG and the Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs at the Higher School of Economics co-organised a closed-door policy dialogue on 'International Cooperation for the Development of Siberia and Russia's Far East' in Moscow from July 7-9, 2014. The policy dialogue is a part of a multi-year collaborative research project undertaken by a consortium of six countries' top think tanks and research institutes. The objective of the policy

dialogue was to bring together top experts and policy makers from Russia, China, Japan, Korea, Norway, and Singapore to discuss multilateral international cooperation in the development of Russia's Siberia and Far East (RFE).

The dialogue opened with an informative presentation on the 'pillars of development' by the Minister of the Development of the Russian Far East Alexander Galushka, and Deputy Minister Maxim Sherekin. The

policy outlook detailed by the ministers was well received by the participants. The ministers elaborated on various aspects of his development strategy that included development of special economic zones, logistics, revival of the northern sea route, human capital management and a business-oriented approach. Policy discussions focused on key developmental areas: energy cooperation between Russia and Asian countries; economic potential and business interests on the northern sea route; cooperation in natural disaster response; knowledge sharing between Russia and East Asia; human capital and Russian Far East; and research and development in high-tech industries. In addition to development issues, the policy dialogue also addressed the geopolitical contexts of Russia's pivot to Asia under conditions of the crisis in Russian relations with the West. It was discussed that the main priorities of Russia's East Asia Strategy included: Optimising its relations with China; Compensation of adverse effects of western sanctions;

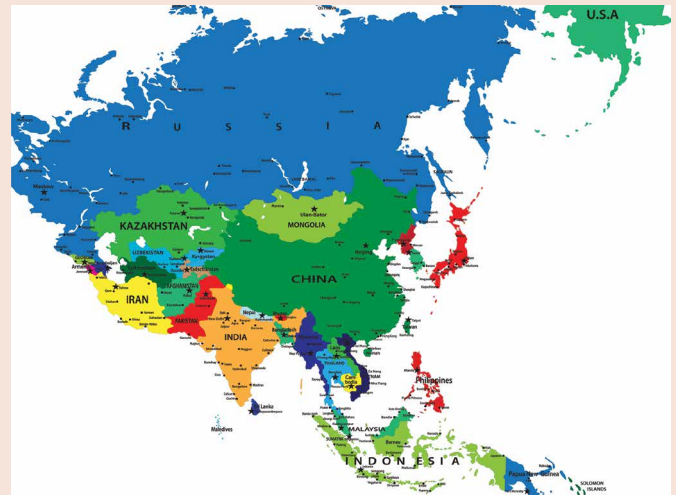
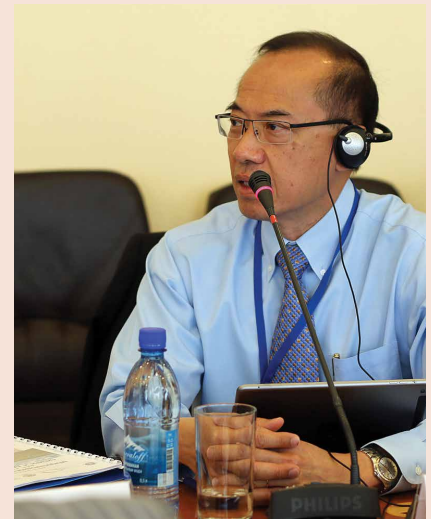


Comprehensive approach towards regional integration and Enhancing the diplomatic dimension of Russia's turn to Asia.

By the end of the two day discussion, participants from each country summarised their views of the discussions and presentations at the dialogue. The Norwegian view stressed the huge potential for cooperation with Russia over energy and fishery, and that Russia's pivot to Asia is an open process to Europe and the United States. The Korean view applauded the clustering approach that begins with Russia's Far East region. It was argued that once the Far East is developed, the development of Siberia will become easier and favoured stronger transportation networks that would facilitate the process of development. The view from Japan stated that its pivot to Russia was inevitable after the Fukushima disaster, which demanded alternative sources of energy. Furthermore, it was held that Japan seeks cooperation not only at bilateral

levels but also through the Six Party Talks. The view from China emphasised that the development of Siberia and Russia's Far East is related to Chinese priorities. It further recommended that Russia should consider connecting the region with the open domestic market in China. Lastly, the view from Singapore concluded that Russia needs to provide greater momentum for the development of Russia's Siberia and Far East if it were to attract substantial interests from abroad. Singapore welcomes Russia's interest in the region. Plans need to be harnessed into organic processes of growth. The success of the dialogue was acknowledged by all consortium members paving the way for future academic conference and policy dialogue on the topic in 2015.

A detailed report has been prepared and published on our website. Visit [http://lkyspp.nus.edu.sg/cag/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2013/09/POLICY-DIALOGUE\\_Report.pdf](http://lkyspp.nus.edu.sg/cag/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2013/09/POLICY-DIALOGUE_Report.pdf)



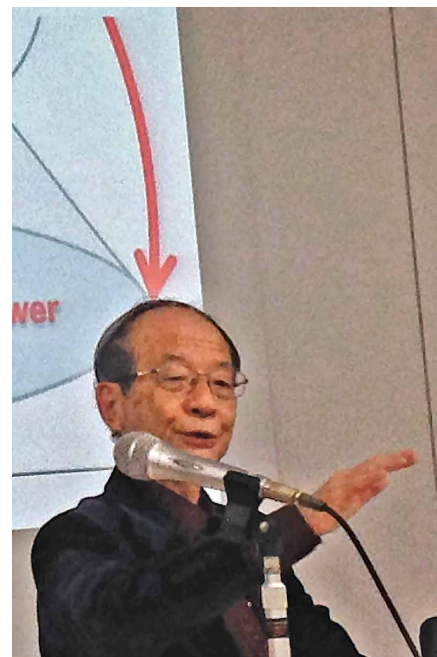
# China and Japan: an important bilateral relationship for Southeast Asia

In the past 40 years, Japan and China have been playing important roles in the stable and vibrant development of East and Southeast Asia. Today, with the readjustment of advanced economies around the globe, particularly, in North America and Europe, intra-regional economic interdependence and integration becomes a strategic basis for maintaining growth. This is a strategy that is important for an area that accounts for much of the world's population and emerging markets. It is no doubt that Japan and China, two of Asia's largest economies, will play key roles in strengthening and broadening the region's interdependence, as Asia rises as a whole.

While both countries will undoubtedly continue to play a positive role in the region, recent relations have been anything but calm. By the end of 2003, gestures emanating from both countries suggested a potential military conflict, given that tensions had escalated to point that has, arguably, been more dangerous since 1945.

Even more alarming, are emerging signs that may indicate a trend towards 'cold economic relations'. When both political and economic relations become 'cold', trust may become harder to obtain, making issues of contention more difficult to solve, hence adding risks of instability to what is already a world of increasing complexity, interdependence, and uncertainty. Moreover, given the surge in China's economic, military, and political power and Japan's push to revive its national economy and achieve greater presence in world politics, it becomes crucial to enlarge a common base of strategic trust between the government and people of the two neighbouring countries. The task of trust building holds significance not only for Japan and China but also among the countries in the region and the world.

With this in mind, we have held successful Forums in 2013 and 2014 with young leaders (under 42 years old age) selected from major think tanks, academic institutions, NGOs, public press, and private sectors in both



countries. The inaugural forum in Singapore produced a rare joint-statement voicing the consensual opinion of future generation leaders on contentious issues such as territorial dispute and historical memory. This was largely possible due to the candid and frank atmosphere generated by the forum and the strong collaboration between CAG and the Fujitsu Research Institute. The forum took a practical prognostic approach to trust-building. It was aimed at promoting cooperation and policy solutions to address tough questions in bilateral relations by promoting understanding on the underlying motivations of policy makers and societal actors in their contexts, hence generating confidence among the participants that cooperation is possible between the two countries. It further provides as a platform for generating new and realistic ideas of cooperation in the area of security, trade, media, business, non-profit and public goods sectors of both countries.





# National Cultures on Foreign Policy Making in a Multipolar World

National values and cultures play an essential role in foreign policy making and implementation. Yet there is little systematic and comparative study on how, and to what extent, a culture and value system can impact on a nation's view, strategy and approach towards the outside world.

This question becomes more relevant and indeed imperative in view of the irrevocable evolution towards a multipolar world. It is increasingly evident that the established International Relations theories, based on 'western values', can hardly capture the reality in international affairs. In practice, the promotion of the 'Washington consensus' has met with not only empirical obstacles but also normative rejections. Rising powers with ancient historical civilisations such as China and India will play increasingly important roles in international governance, it becomes relevant to understand the influence

of traditional values on foreign policy perspectives and approaches. Moreover, given the need of international cooperation on many security and economic issues, it is imperative to understand the strategic cultures of national traditions as a basis for understanding their extra and intra international relations.

Moreover, as the rising powers are also being seen through the reflection of 'western' power's self-image, this project asks, what might be the values coming from the 'East' to guide their rise? To address questions on how a national culture and value system impact on the nation's foreign policy and how the constitutive nature of visions of world order should be defined (and therefore understood), the international workshop on 'The Impact of National Cultures on Foreign Policy Making in a Multipolar World' was held on October 4 at the Robert Bosch Stiftung in Berlin. Co-chaired by Professor Huang

Jing from National University of Singapore and Professor Daniel Bell from Tsinghua University, this workshop invited leading scholars of international relations from the United States, China, Russia, Germany, India, Japan, the United Kingdom, France, and Iran to analyse a number of country case studies. These case studies will then be assembled in an edited volume, with a lead chapter that would discuss national political culture in comparative perspectives, and a concluding chapter that would draw implications for foreign policy and international cooperation on shared goals. This workshop has piloted a larger-scale, long-term project for a systematic and comparative study on how, in a multipolar world, traditional values and cultures can impact on a nation's foreign policy as well as its approach towards global issues.



# CAG OUTPUT

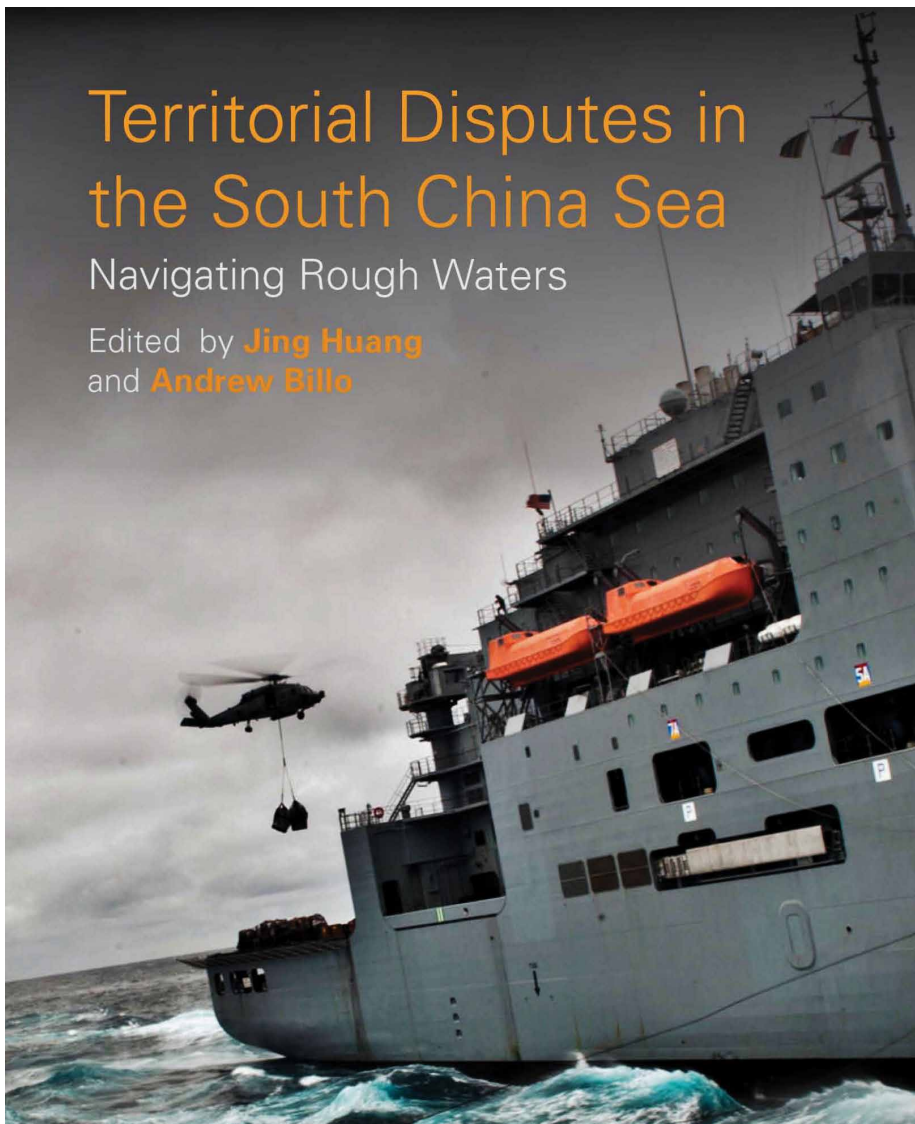
## EDITED VOLUMES

### Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: Navigating Rough Waters

EDITED BY JING HUANG, ANDREW BILLO  
PUBLISHER: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

This volume provides in-depth analysis of the complexities of on-going territorial dispute in the South China Sea region through a multitude of perspectives of the involved stakeholders. Convening perspectives from seven countries, the contributors are renowned scholars on both sides of the Pacific. In the light of current

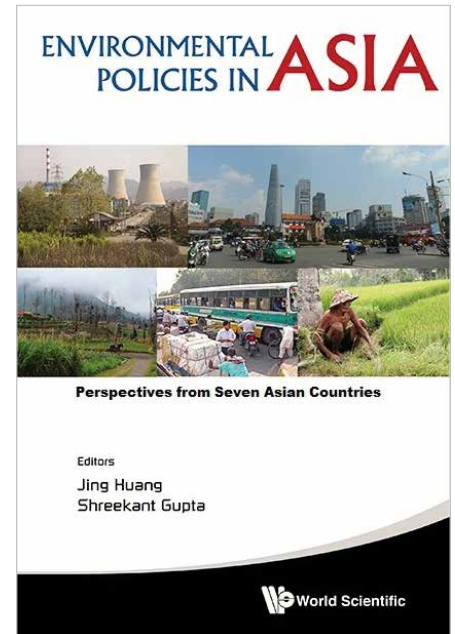
events, it recognises that the dispute has the potential to destabilise East and Southeast Asia and even the entire Asia-Pacific if it is left unattended. The collection seeks to disentangle the historical, legal and political aspects of the dispute to facilitate a more practical and nuanced understanding of its complexities with individual chapters examining opportunities to find a way forward, while also taking into account the difference in viewpoint. Editors Huang Jing and Andrew Billo, both experts in the politics of the region, tie these pieces together through a comprehensive and succinct introduction and conclusion respectively, arguing that the focus should be on effective management of the dispute to prevent dangerous and potentially destabilising incidents at sea.



## Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea

Navigating Rough Waters

Edited by **Jing Huang**  
and **Andrew Billo**



## ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES IN ASIA

Perspectives from Seven Asian Countries

Editors  
Jing Huang  
Shreekant Gupta

World Scientific

### Environmental Policies in Asia: Perspectives from Seven Asian Countries

EDITED BY: JING HUANG, SHREEKANT GUPTA  
PUBLISHER: WORLD SCIENTIFIC

Environmental Policies in Asia highlights the environmental challenges Asian planners and policymakers face as the continent undergoes rapid economic growth in the 21st Century. Edited by Jing Huang and Shreekant Gupta, with contributions from leading Asian scholar practitioners, this timely and unique volume is the first of its kind to look at environmental policies and governance from the perspective of seven dynamic Asian countries. These include developed economies of Japan and Singapore, emerging giants such as China and India and rapidly developing nations such as Vietnam, Indonesia and Malaysia. The volume discusses environmental challenges that stem from issues as local as poor recycling practices, to ones that are as vast and complex as global climate change. Engaging, accessible, and pan-Asian in scope, the essays also present creative ways in which these challenges are being addressed. This book is valuable to anyone who is keen on understanding Asia, its growth, and whether its rise is environmentally sustainable.

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Huang, Jing. "Maritime Issues in Asia-Pacific," Brainstorming Roundtable of the China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies CFISS Beijing, December 10, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "Distribution of Power in the Asia-Pacific Region: New Narratives," CAG-Chatham House Roundtable, LKY School Singapore, November 23-25, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "Statoil Strategy Advisory Council Meeting," Shangri-La Singapore, November 20, 2014

Huang, Jing. "和平发展战略与新兴大国关系: 挑战与选择 Peaceful Development Strategy and the Development of the New Type Major Power Relations: Challenges and Choices," China Executive Leadership Academy, Pudong (CELAP) 中国浦东干部学院, Department of International Exchange & Program Development 对外交流与培训开发部, Programme to Chinese ministers and provincial governors on "Developing Global Perspective and Deepening Reform and Opening-up," Shanghai, November 7, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "Developments and Outlook on the Rise of China," Civil Service College 10th Leaders in Administration Programme, Singapore, November 4, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "Building Trans-Pacific Security Cooperation Architecture: Feasibilities and Approaches," China Institute of Contemporary International Relations CICIR Symposium on Trans-Pacific Security Cooperation Architecture 北京参会, Beijing, October 29, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "China in South and East China Seas: What is Next & China and Other Big Powers in the New Century?," Central Compilation & Translation Bureau CCTB 中央编译局, Beijing, October 8, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "The Rise and Fall of States: Who's Who in the 21st Century?," 11th Annual Meeting of the Valdai Discussion Club "The World Order: New Rules or No Rules?," Sochi October 23, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "The Impact of National Cultures on Foreign Policy Making in a Multipolar World," CAG-Robert Bosch Stiftung Foundation International Workshop, Berlin, October 3-4, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "Order in a Post-Western World: Citizen Movements, New Democracies and Conflicts around the Globe," Robert Bosch Stiftung Official Inauguration, Berlin, June 21, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "Northeast Asia Issues and the U.S.'s Rebalancing Strategy," at the China International Culture Exchange Center CICEC Workshop on "Strategic Structure in East Asia, Beijing, June 16, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "Obama's trip to Asia and its implication," Government of Singapore Investment Cooperation Closed-door Talk, Singapore, June 4, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "Obama's Trip to Asia and its Implication for Regional Stability 奥巴马的亚洲之行及其对区域稳定的影响," Shanghai University of Political Science and Law, Academic Exchange, Shanghai, May 16, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "New Type of Great Power Relations and How to Build up National Image 新型大国关系与国家形象建设," China Executive Leadership Academy, Pudong CELAP, Program for Young Senior Leaders from Qinghai Province (青海中青班), Shanghai, May 15, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "China's 'Peaceful Development' towards a Sinocentric Asia?," Lunchtime Talk at Maxwell School, Syracuse University, May 2, 2014.

Huang, Jing, "China's 'Peaceful Development' towards a Sinocentric Asia?," Chicago Council on Global Affairs Roundtable, Chicago, April 30, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "China's Economic Outlook: The View from Asia," at the Milken Institute Global Conference Los Angeles, April 29, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "China's Relations In and Outside of its Neighborhood," German Marshall Fund U.S./Robert Bosch Foundation Roundtable in Mumbai, April 16, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "The Ukraine Crisis: Asia's Reactions?" LKY School Dean's Lecture Series, March 20, 2014

Huang, Jing. "Regional Risks, Respective and Potential Positioning in the Region" and "The impact of Nanjing," Deepening Cross-straits relations in a more difficult regional context, Asia Centre Paris Seminar in Jakarta, March 6, 2014.

Huang, Jing. Moderator on "The China-India Border Conflict: What are the next steps", "How Does China's and India's Military Build-up Affect Asian and Global Stability", "Can China and India Cooperate on Energy and Climate Change", "Afghanistan: Do China and India have a role in Ensuring Stability and Development after the U.S. Withdrawal," Third Regional Security Roundtable, CAG-LKY School, February 28, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "China's reform program and Geo-Political outlook in Asia-Pacific," Sembawang Corporation Industries Board Dinner, February 25, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "Political and Economic Challenges – China," STARS Singapore Symposium 2014, February 17, 2014.

Huang, Jing. "Reform plan of the Third Plenum of China's 18th Party Congress," Pyramid Club New Year Dinner, February 6, 2014.

Tan, Seck. "Challenges and Issues of Sustainable Development Policies", Green Economy, Gulf Research Meeting (GRM) 2014, Cambridge, United Kingdom, August 2014.

## BOOK MANUSCRIPTS

*(Work in progress)*

Ho, Selina. *Between the Ruler and the Ruled: The Puzzle of Public Goods Provision in China and India.*

Huang, Jing. *China and India: Towards Strategic Cooperation*, (with Kanti. Bajpai).

Huang, Jing. *Sustaining China's Development: Challenges and Choices.*

## ARTICLES

*(Work in progress)*

Ho, Selina. "Rising Powers in Third Countries: China's and India's Investment Strategies in Africa." Under review.

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "Negative Discounting: Theory and Applications" (with K. Nishimura and J. Stachurski).

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "Global Public Goods and the Hegemonic Structure" (with H. Huynh).

Korolev, Alexander. "Regime Responsiveness to Basic Needs: A Dimensional Approach"

# SEMINARS

Hong Siew Ching Distinguished Speaker Series, Global Financial Crisis - What have we learnt for the future?, Speaker: Duvvuri Subbarao, 24 February, 2014.

ST Lee Distinguished Speaker Series on 'Censure & Censorship: Academic Freedom and Public Comment', Speaker: Michael Spence, 10 March, 2014.

ST Lee Distinguished Speaker Series on 'The International Monetary System: Contagion and Spillovers', Speaker: Paul Tucker, 17 March, 2014.

CAG Lunchtime Talk, Will the "Demographic dividend" help India Emerge a Superpower?, Speaker: Jayan Thomas, 21 May, 2014.

ST Lee Distinguished Speaker Series on "The Old Normal for the World Economy," Speaker: Adam Posen, 06 August, 2014.

Hong Siew Ching Distinguished Speaker Series, 'Resolving Tibet: Crucial for China's Stability', Speaker: Lodi Gyaltzen Gyari, 12 August, 2014

CAG Evening Talk, Japanese Vision of regional order in the 21st century Asia-Pacific, Speaker: Kiichi Fujiwara, 2 September, 2014.

ST Lee Distinguished Speaker Series on "How Asia Works: Success and failure in the World's Most Dynamic Region," Speaker: Joe Studwell, 15 October, 2014.

Lunchtime Talk, China and India: Proactive and Reactive State Actors in the International System, Speaker: Wu Fuzuo, 4 December, 2014.

# WORKSHOPS & PROJECTS IN 2015

## AFTER THE UKRAINE CRISIS: TOWARDS A POST-HEGEMONIC MULTIPOLAR WORLD?

The Ukraine crisis and subsequent international developments have had substantial implications for international politics that still wait for deeper comprehension and objective interpretation by scholars of international relations. It is becoming clearer that the post-Cold War unipolar world order is changing into a multipolar one. In order to study these dynamics CAG will host a conference from 25-26 February 2015, at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy.

In the context of Russia's high-profile 'turn to the East' strategy, China's rise with 'new assertiveness' in territorial disputes, the United States' rebalance and Japan's normalcy drive, how have the crisis and its aftermath changed the strategic landscape surrounding the major powers in Asia-Pacific and the world? Given the shift of strategic balance and the alignments of the major powers, what are the logic and mechanisms of balancing under

the conditions of declining unipolarity? Will, under these conditions, the efforts of balancing/rebalancing among major powers lead to the emergence of a new cold war, this time between Russia-China, on the one hand, and US-EU-Japan, on the other? What dilemmas and challenges have Asia-Pacific powers faced during and after the crisis? The explanation of these changes requires systemic application, and probably revision, of the existing International Relations theories. How should we capture these trends with the established theoretical frameworks, such as Realism and its branches, Neo-liberal institutionalism, Constructivism, Geopolitics or other? This conference brings together leading scholars from China, Russia, the United States, Canada, India and Singapore to share their analyses and expertise on the abovementioned issues.

The conference papers will then undergo a rigorous review process for publication as an edited volume, hoped to be published by mid-2016.

## THE FOURTH REGIONAL SECURITY ROUNDTABLE BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA

The 4th Regional Security Roundtable is scheduled to be held on March 6-7, 2015. This edition of the Security Roundtable would once again feature discussions on China-India relations, particularly in the current era under the leadership of President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Narendra Modi. From China, attendees include Zhu Chenghu, Ouyang Wei, Feng Lu, Ruan Zongze, Zha Daojiong and Wang Xu; attendees from India include Shyam Saran, Jayadeva Ranade, Subir Gokarn, Prमित Pal Chaudhury, Latha Reddy and Raja Mohan.

## SOUTH CHINA SEA CONFERENCE

The conference is organised in collaboration with the Collaborative Innovation Centre for South China Sea Studies at Nanjing University. It will convene on 24-25 April, 2015 in Nanjing, China. With the objective of securing peace and improving stability in the South China Sea, this conference marks

the beginning of a long-term cooperation between the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy and Nanjing University to provide sustained joint research on South China Sea issues. Approximately 20 experts and leading scholars from China and Southeast Asian countries have been invited to present and discuss a range of issues. The panels include historical origins of the South China Sea disputes; country perspectives of South China Sea claimants; impact of the South China Sea issue on regional

peace and security; impact of the South China Sea issue on regional economic development and integration; role of international regimes and governance; and ASEAN and the Management of the South China Sea issue. An edited volume will be published from the proceedings of the conference.

### RESTRUCTURING THE FINANCIAL SYSTEM IN ASIA-PACIFIC

CAG will organise 3 workshops closely related to this project in 2015. The workshops bring together academics, policy-makers and business and financial representatives from Asia and other parts of the world. The aim is to facilitate exchanges between research and practise and build a network of stakeholders in the region. We will publish the proceedings as an edited book volume or in a special issue of an international peer-reviewed journal.

- Understanding Financial Inclusion in Asia, May 21-22, 2015, Hong Kong Hosted by the Institute for Emerging Market Studies at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology and co-sponsored by CAG and the Center for Emerging Market Policies, George Mason University.
- Third OMFIF-LKY School Asian Forum, Date (TBA), Singapore Hosted by CAG and sponsored by Official Monetary and Financial Institutions Forum.
- Evolving Trade and Investment in Asia, Date (TBA), Singapore Hosted and sponsored by CAG.

### WATER POLITICS AND REGIONAL STABILITY

The competition for water is a transnational security issue that has serious repercussions on regional stability. As

rivers meander across political boundaries, they are often subject to competing local and national interests. In the worst case scenario, war, although there have been few, is a possibility. At the minimum, disagreements over the usage of water resources are often a by-product of broader contentious politics among riparians. This workshop aims to stimulate an in-depth scholarly discussion on how water politics impacts stability in different regions of the world and how cooperation can be enhanced to reduce conflict. It will convene on 21-23 May, 2015 at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy.

Competition for water among water-scarce countries can also be a trigger that sours bilateral/multilateral relations. Without effective mechanisms for joint management or sharing, Transboundary Rivers can substantially impact regional stability. Despite the salience and relevance of hydropolitics, there are few systematic and comparative studies of how the competition for water affects the relationship between riparian states and the consequent implications on stability in different geographical regions of the world. With these ideas in mind, CAG brings together a team of leading scholars from all over the world who are experts on the politics and management of international river basins across Asia, the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. The papers from the workshop will be subject to a rigorous review process to for publication.

### EAST ASIA SYMPOSIUM

The geostrategic dynamics in East Asia have undergone major shifts in the past few years. Since 2008, experts around the world have spoken of new challenges in the East China Sea and South China Sea. The great powers are active in the region. China has sought to assuage concerns over its rising power with its promotion of 'peripheral diplomacy' and 'maritime silk road.' The United States, prompted by concerns over the impact of China's long-term ambitions on its strategic weight as well as those of its allies in the region, has announced a 'pivot' or rebalance towards the Asia-Pacific region.

Japan is also undergoing a period of soul-searching in its domestic and foreign policies as it seeks to deal with the changing geopolitical landscape. India, which is traditionally not a major player in the East Asian region, is now becoming a significant

player as a result of its warming ties with the United States, Japan, and ASEAN. A security and economic community, ASEAN plays a significant role in shaping and influencing the regional architecture. What do these changes in the strategic and policy postures of major powers in the region entail for the stability and prosperity of the region?

The rapidly evolving strategic, political, and economic landscape in East Asia is a topic of deep interest among policy-makers, scholars, and business leaders alike as it has far-reaching consequences for all of us in the region. It is imperative as an expert community that we devise wise policy options for managing the opportunities and risks that arise from shifts in major power dynamics in East Asia.

With this objective in mind, the symposium will bring together academics, policy-makers, government officials, and business leaders from the United States, Japan, China, India, and ASEAN countries. It will consist of keynote speeches by prominent leaders and a series of expert panels to discuss a variety of geopolitical and economic issues pertaining to the East Asian region in the twenty-first century. Following the symposium, we a series of activities in line with the aim of enhancing relations among the major powers will be held. The symposium will be held from 11-12 August, 2015 at the Fullerton Hotel.

# INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIONS

## Asia (22)



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国务院发展研究中心  
DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTER OF THE STATE COUNCIL



中國人民大學 國際關係學院  
RENMIN UNIVERSITY OF CHINA SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



上海國際問題研究院  
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Economic Policy



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中國國際問題研究所  
CHINA INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES





# INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIONS

## Europe (11)



# INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIONS

## North America (13)



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