



# CENTRE ON ASIA AND GLOBALISATION

ANNUAL  
REPORT  
2015



## **Centre on Asia and Globalisation**

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# DIRECTOR'S NOTE



2015 represented a fruitful year for the Centre on Asia and Globalisation (CAG). The year began with the CAG hosting *After the Ukraine Crisis: Towards a Post-Hegemonic Multipolar World?* Conference in February 2015. The conference coalesced scholars from around the world to analyse the global ramifications stemming from the Ukraine crisis. Some of the key issues that were addressed during the conference included what does the crisis mean in regards to Russia's strategic 'turn-to-the-east' and China's new assertiveness in territorial disputes, and which theoretical frameworks provide clarity in analysing the crisis and its impact. The selected papers presented at the conference will be published in a special issue of *Journal of Strategic Studies* in 2016.

In line with CAG's flagship project, *China and India: Towards Cooperation between the Giants of Asia*, CAG held the *Fourth Regional Security Roundtable between China and India* in March 2015. The two-day closed-door event brought together fourteen distinguished experts, opinion leaders, and high-level policy-makers from China and India for a frank discussion on major policy issues in Sino-India relations and beyond. In addition to hosting the annual roundtable, Kishore Mahubani, Jing Huang and Kanti Bajpai will release their edited volume on the common interests and conflicts between the two rising powers in early 2016.

Keeping with the theme of examining the key security issues in the Asia-Pacific, CAG convened two events on the issues of South and East China Seas in 2015. One is a conference titled *Towards a Peaceful and Stable South China Sea*, which was held in Nanjing, China in April 2015, in collaboration with the Collaborative Innovation Centre of South China Sea Studies at Nanjing University. The conference gathered a range of experts to exchange their views on the disputes and the implications for regional peace and stability. The selected papers presented at the conference will be compiled into an edited volume, which is expected to be published in the summer of 2016. The other is the third *China-Japan Young Leaders' Forum*, which was convened in Beijing in November 2015 in collaboration with the Fujitsu Research Institute. Over two dozens of young leaders from a diverse range of backgrounds – academia, business, public services, media and NGOs – from China and Japan had candid and in-depth exchanges on how the two countries can work together to overcome the challenges in Sino-Japan relations, including territory disputes in the East China Sea, controversies over the history issue, Japan's drive for normalcy, and, above all, the future prospects of the bilateral relationship, given the seemingly opposite trends of lingering political tensions vis-à-vis growing economic exchanges.

As part of our major project, *Developing Asia-Pacific's Last Frontier: Fostering International Cooperation in the Development of Russia's Far-East*, CAG convened the second academic conference in Vladivostok in May 2015. The conference brought together scholars from six participating countries of Russia, China, Japan, Korea, Norway and Singapore for in-depth discussions on major issues in promoting international cooperation in the development of the Russia's Far-East and Siberia, mitigating infrastructure and bureaucratic bottlenecks, and securing maritime development in today's geopolitical and economic environments. Selected papers from the conference will be published in an edited volume titled *Political Economy of Pacific Russia: Regional Developments in East Asia* in 2016.

Furthermore, in collaboration with the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP), CAG convened the second closed-door policy dialogue on *International Cooperation in the Development of Russia's Far East and Siberia* in Seoul in November 2015. Leading experts, business leaders and senior officials from Russia, China, Japan, Germany, Korea, Norway and Singapore discussed the key policy issues including energy cooperation, regional economic integration, maritime security, infrastructure development, the regional financial order, Russia's go-east strategy, China's One Belt One Road initiatives and its implications for Putin's advocacy of the Eurasian Economic Union.

This year witnessed the initiation of several inaugural conferences and workshops. In May 2015 CAG convened the workshop on *Water Politics and Regional Stability*. Chaired by Selina Ho, the workshop gathered leading experts in the field from around the world to exchange their research on why seemingly necessary cooperation among the riparian states is often difficult to achieve. The selected papers from the workshop will be published in a special issue of *Water International* in 2016.

Under CAG's major project, *Restructuring the Financial System in Asia-Pacific*,





CAG hosted the first *Evolving Finance, Trade and Investment in Asia* Conference in September 2015. The conference coalesced academics from the United States, Canada, China, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, India and Germany to present on a wide range of pressing issues facing the financial order in Asia. Selected papers from the conference will be published in a special journal issue in March 2016. Under the same flagship project, CAG collaborated with Hong Kong University of Science and Technology's (HKUST) Institute for Emerging Market Studies (IEMS) and co-hosted a two-day workshop titled *Understanding Financial Inclusion in Asia*. The workshop addressed key issues including the differing initiatives to enhance financial inclusion and participation in the formal credit market, how these measures can reduce poverty, and case studies on India, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. The selected papers from the workshop will be published in an edited volume titled "*Financial Inclusion in Asia: Issues and Policy Concerns*" in 2016.

With important developments in international relations taking place in Asia in 2015, CAG hosted in August 2015 the first East Asia Symposium titled *Shifting Great Power Relations in East Asia* at The Fullerton Hotel, Singapore. The close-door symposium brought together top experts and former senior officials from the US, Japan, China, Southeast Asia and India

for frank and honest exchanges on thorny issues such as territorial disputes in the East and South China Seas, challenges in the US-China-Japan trilateral relationship, regional economic and financial architecture, and the shifting power balance in the Asia-Pacific.

2015 also witnessed the expansion of the CAG team. We welcomed two post-doctoral fellows, Dr. June Park and Dr. Brandon Yoder, two new research associates, Mr. Blake Berger and Mr. Jing Bao-chiun, and a research assistant, Mr. Yin Weiwen. We look forward to the contribution the scholars and young researchers will bring to the Centre, and they will have the full support of CAG.

As we transition into 2016, CAG has already lined up quite a few conferences, workshops, events, and publications. CAG will be hosting the second conference on *Evolving Finance, Trade and Investment in Asia*; a conference on the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and its effects on Vietnam's Textile and Garment Industry; the *Fifth Regional Security Dialogue Between China and India*. As part of the project on *Developing Asia-Pacific's Last Frontier: Fostering International Cooperation in the Development of Russia's Far-East*, CAG will convene an annual academic conference in Shanghai and a close-door policy dialogue in Tokyo. We will also convene a conference in Washington, D.C. on China's rise from

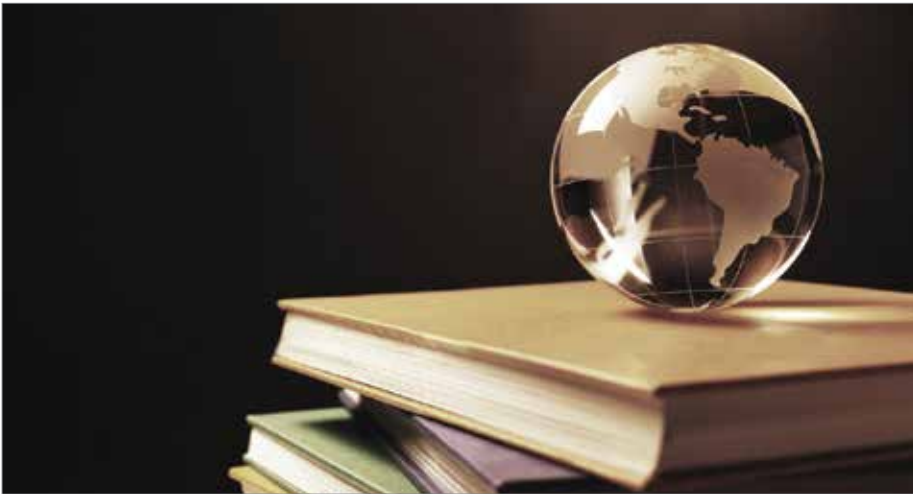
the regional perspectives.

We at CAG are committed to our goal of providing objective, independent and high-quality research for academia, policy practitioners and the general public on the developments in Asia and the implications for the international system. As a track-two organisation and an academic medium, in which the Centre provides an avenue for critical issues to be discussed and explored through edited volumes, journal articles, conference reports, and op-eds, we at CAG are committed to expanding our reach and bolstering our research excellence going into 2016.

**Jing HUANG**  
**Lee Foundation Professor on US-China Relations**  
**Director, Centre on Asia and Globalisation**

# 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.



Our motto “Objective Research with Impact” reflects the Centre’s commitment to ensuring that its research provides academia, policy and decision makers, and the general public 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 dialogues, 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, focusing on how Asia’s development impacts and shapes globalisation, and what this means for Asia’s role in an increasingly integrated region and world. The Centre’s research focuses on six main areas.

## Major Power Relations

- Understanding the territorial disputes in the East and South China Seas
- Shaping engagement and mutual understanding between China and Japan
- Mitigating strategic uncertainty arising from current risks

- Examining the role of the United States in East and Southeast Asia
- International relations theory in application to Russia – China relations

## 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 modernisation on bilateral relations and regional security
- Comparative studies of Chinese and Indian institutions and governance

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

- 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

## Restructuring the Financial System in Asia-Pacific

- Implications of newly established financial institutions by Emerging Market Economies (EMEs) in the 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
- Examining the role of financial inclusion in economic development and poverty alleviation

## Water Politics and Regional Stability

- Comparing Chinese policies towards its international rivers
- Likelihood of conflict from water disputes
- Examining international cooperation between riparian states

## Environment and Economic Development

- Environmental sustainability and economic development
- Potential development diversification for resource-rich economies
- Sustainable development policies: co-creation or co-production

## Other Research Areas:

- Sustaining China’s Development and Stability: Challenges and Choices
- National Cultures on Foreign Policy Making in a Multipolar World

# THE TEAM

## Director

### PROFESSOR JING HUANG



Professor 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. PARAG KHANNA



Dr. Parag Khanna is a Senior Research Fellow at CAG. He is presently completing *Mapping the Future: Why Connectivity is Destiny* (Penguin Random House, 2016). He is author of *The Second World:*

*Empires and Influence in the New Global Order* (2008) and *How to Run the World: Charting a Course to the Next Renaissance* (2011), and co-author of *Hybrid Reality: Thriving in the Emerging Human-Technology Civilization* (2012). He has been a Senior Research Fellow at the New America Foundation and Global Governance Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He has been an advisor to the US National Intelligence Council's *Global Trends 2030* program and

in 2007 served in Iraq and Afghanistan as a Senior Geopolitical Advisor to US Special Operations Forces. Dr. Khanna is a Young Global Leader of the World Economic Forum and serves on the WEF Global Agenda Council on Geoeconomics. He holds a PhD from the London School of Economics and Bachelors and Masters degrees from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University.

### 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 Fellows

### DR. ALEXANDER KOROLEV



Dr. Alexander Korolev is a Research Fellow at CAG. 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).

#### DR. SECK TAN

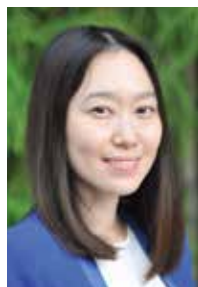


Dr. Seck Tan is a Research Fellow at CAG. Dr. Tan's research interests focus on the issues and challenges in formula-ting sustainable policies for leading Asia economies. He

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.

#### Post Doctoral Fellows

#### DR. JUNE PARK



Dr. June Park is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at CAG specializing in US foreign economic policymaking on export-oriented economies of East Asia. Her research interests include

international trade disputes, bilateral currency conflicts, and intellectual

property enforcement. For her on going dissertation book project entitled 'Trade Wars & Currency Conflict: China, Japan, and South Korea's Response to US Protectionism, 1971-2015', she conducted 3 years of fieldwork in Tokyo, Seoul, Beijing, and Washington, DC. Dr. Park received her BA in Political Science and Journalism, her MA in International Relations with a focus on international security from Korea University, and a PhD in International Relations with a focus on international political economy from Boston University.

#### DR. BRANDON YODER



Dr. Brandon Yoder is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at CAG. He is concurrently Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Studies at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia. His research

interests include international security theory, Chinese foreign policy and political development, US-China relations, game theory, and laboratory experiments. Dr. Yoder has numerous working papers and a book manuscript that examine how countries can credibly communicate their intentions, particularly in the context of a shifting distribution of power. He is now applying these theoretical findings to contemporary US-China relations and East Asian regional dynamics more broadly. He has additional research projects on research methodology, causal inference and the integration of theory and policy, as well as on comparative political development in China and Eastern Europe. Dr. Yoder holds a BS in neurobiology from Cornell University, and a Ph.D. in International Relations from the University of Virginia. He has previously lived and worked in China from 2004-2006, and was a visiting scholar at Tsinghua University in 2010.

#### Research Associates/Assistants

#### MR. JING BAO-CHIUN



Mr. Jing Bao-chiun (Jingbo) is a Research Associate at CAG. His research interests include ASEAN-Taiwan relations, US-China-Taiwan relations, and regional economic integration of the Asia-Pacific.

Mr. Jing is involved in a number of CAG's projects, including water politics and regional stability, China's relations with ASEAN, and China-India comparative studies. Mr. Jing received his M.A. in International Relations in 2012 from the Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), concentrating in International Economics, Southeast Asia Studies, and China Studies, and his B.A. in Political Science and Economics from National Taiwan University in 2009. Prior to joining CAG, Mr. Jing was an Associate Researcher at the Mainland Affairs Council, Executive Yuan in Taiwan. He previously worked in Washington, D.C. as a journalist at the Washington Chinese Daily News, as a consultant for the Graduate School USA, and as a research intern with the Sumitro Chair for Southeast Asia Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

#### MR. BLAKE HARLEY BERGER



Mr. Blake Harley Berger is a Research Associate at CAG. His research interests include The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), regional integration, international

relations theory, political economy, United States foreign policy towards East and Southeast Asia, and international trade policy. Mr. Berger is currently examining the relationship between the state and elite actors in shaping trade and regional integration policy, and his additional duties include providing editorial assistance to the centre. Mr. Berger has an MA in Comparative Politics with a focus on Southeast Asia from American University's School of International Service (2013), and his Bachelors degree in Sociology from the University of Massachusetts,



Boston (2009). Prior to joining CAG, he was a Research Associate at the Asia Competitiveness Institute, a Researcher at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Washington D.C., and a Research Intern at the Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia.

#### 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 and received his BS and MA from Duke University. Mr. Chen is a PhD candidate at the University of Pennsylvania.

#### MR. TAKEHIRO MASUTOMO



Mr. Takehiro Masutomo is a Research Associate at the CAG. His research interests include China-ASEAN relations. He has been researching on financial development in CLMV

and the expansion of Japanese financial institutions to the region as a part of the new flagship project, Restructuring the Financial System in Asia-Pacific. Mr. Masutomo has a MA degree in Pacific International Affairs from IR/PS, UC San Diego (2010) and Bachelors degree in Sociology from Kwansei Gakuin University (2008). He was a researcher specialising in current affairs in Northeast Asia at Caixin Media (2010-2014).

#### 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. YIN WEIWEN



Mr. Yin Weiwen is a Research Assistant at CAG. Before coming to Singapore, Weiwen was studying international politics, public policy and political science in China, Japan and Hungary, respectively.

Mr. Yin's research focuses on energy politics and the causes of terrorism, with Xinjiang as his empirical focus, and has two research papers on Xinjiang under review. Additionally, he is interested in the Japanese economy, and has translated a series of articles on "Abenomics" for the Chinese media and publishers. His current focus is analysing major power relations in East Asia using international relations theory. Mr. Yin can speak Mandarin Chinese, English, Japanese, and Cantonese, and is a fan of Japanese Sengoku history.

#### 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 D.C. 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 formerly Vice-Dean (Research) of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. His areas of interest include international security, Indian foreign policy

and international 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).

### DR. CHEN KANG



Dr. Chen Kang is the 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; Singapore'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 a Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in International Relations at the University of St Andrews, UK (2007-2011). He was also a 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). Dr. 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.

### DR. TIKKI PANG



Dr. 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.

#### DR. TED HOPF



Dr. Ted Hopf has been a Professor of Political Science at Ohio State University, Ohio University and the University of Michigan. His main fields of interest are international relations theory,

qualitative research methods, and identity, with special reference to the Soviet Union and the former Soviet space. In addition to articles published in the *American Political Science Review*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *Review of International Studies*, *International Organization*, and *International Security*, and numerous book chapters, he is the author or editor of five books, including *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999* (Cornell University Press, 2002), which won the 2003 Marshall D. Shulman Award, presented by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies for the best book published that year on the international politics of the former Soviet Union and Central Europe. *Reconstructing the Cold War: The Early Years, 1945-1958*, was published in April 2012 by Oxford University Press. Hopf received his B.A. from Princeton University in 1983 and Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1989. He was a Fulbright Professor in the autumn of 2001 at the European University at St. Petersburg and a former vice-chairperson of the Board of Directors of the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research. His research has been supported by the Mershon Center, the Ford Foundation, the American Council for Learned Societies, and the Olin and Davis Centers at Harvard University.

#### DR. RAMKISHEN S. RAJAN



Dr. Ramkishen S. Rajan is a Professor of International Economic Policy at the School of Policy, Government and International Affairs (SPGIA), George Mason University (GMU) and has been on the faculty since January 2006. He

is also the Co-director of the Center for Emerging Market Policies (CEMP) at SPGIA, GMU. He is currently a Visiting Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore and an Adjunct Senior Research Fellow at the Asia Competitiveness Institute (ACI), National University of Singapore. He is the Managing Editor of the *Journal of International Commerce, Economics and Policy*, Associate Editor of the *Singapore Economic Review* and sits on the Editorial Board of various other academic journals.

#### DR. SHREEKANT GUPTA



Dr. Shreekant Gupta has worked as a researcher, policymaker and consultant on environment, natural resources, energy and urban issues. His teaching and research interests are in

applied microeconomics and econometrics in these contexts. He has taught at the universities of Delhi, Maryland and at Jawaharlal Nehru University and NUS. In addition, he has been Fulbright Fellow at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Shastri Fellow at Queens University, Canada. Shreekant's policy experience includes Directorship of the National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi (in the rank of Additional Secretary to the Government of India). He has worked at the World Bank at Washington DC, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy and The Policy Group (both at New Delhi). In addition, he has consulted with the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, OECD, UNEP and Resources for the Future. Shreekant has served on several national and international committees on environmental and urban issues including the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) that was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2007.

#### Visiting Research Fellows

##### 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).

##### DR. ANATOLII SAVCHENKO



Dr. Anatolii Savchenko is a Visiting Research Fellow at CAG. He is Senior Fellow in The Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography at Far-Eastern Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences

in Vladivostok (Russia). He received his Ph.D. (Candidate of Science) in History in 2011. His main scientific interests lay in the field of centre-peripheral relation in Russia, regional policy, and the history of development of the Far East. Anatolii's recent publications focus on a new Russian far-eastern policy and especially the specific tools of development of the Far East. He also works on broader issues of comparative regional development. As Visiting Research Fellow, Anatolii conducts research on the development of Russia's Far East and its implications to regional stability as well as Russia's strategic shift to the East and its regional and global implications.



# RESEARCH PROJECTS

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

China and India are the two biggest powers in Asia, and are 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 have become the world's first and fourth largest energy consumers. Both countries together are said to constitute 36% of the 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 the 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 and energy. 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 states arising

out of the growth in their national power, development policies, bilateral and global trade, their rapidly expanding demand for food, water and energy, and their common concern about environmental stress.

### RESEARCH PROJECTS

The three-year research project, titled *China and India: Towards Cooperation Between The Giants of Asia*, commenced in 2012 has been led by Dean Kishore Mahbubani, Professor Kanti Bajpai and Professor Huang Jing, and was 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 is set to produce 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 Daojong 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 by early-2016.

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 are in the process of completing the joint-authored book.



## THE 4TH REGIONAL SECURITY ROUNDTABLE

The 4<sup>th</sup> Regional Security Roundtable took place on March 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015 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 over by Dean Mahbubani and Professors Huang and Bajpai. From

India, attendees included Shyam Saran, C. Raja Mohan, Uday Bhaskar, Latha Reddy, Jayadeva Ranade, Subir Gokarn, and Prमित Pal Chaudhuri. From China, attendees included Zhu Chenghu, Ouyang Wei, Lu Feng, Ruan Zongze, Zha Daojiong, Li Li, and Wang Xu. Discussions were held on how the two countries could move forward with resolution of border

disputes, investment and infrastructure development, reforming global institutions, cyber security, extremism, as well as on ensuring regional stability. The 5<sup>th</sup> Regional Security Roundtable is scheduled to be held in March 2016



*Photo: 4th Regional Security Roundtable*

## CHINA – INDIA BRIEF

The *China-India Brief* is an effort on the part of CAG to provide the general public with a digest of their thoughts 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 on current affairs. The brief aims to provide interested readers with 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 62 *China-India Briefs*, and in 2015 have acquired around 500 new subscribers, thereby

totalling 1,700 scholars, policy makers and students, geographically spread out across China, India, Southeast Asia, Europe and the US among others. Contributors to our *Guest Column* have included prominent China and India experts worldwide.

AUTHORS	AFFILIATIONS
Zhang Hongzhou	Associate Research Fellow with China Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University
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# Enhancing ASEAN – India Cooperation and Connectivity: Utilising Trade Facilitation and Infrastructure Development



This column was published in the *China-India Brief* #60

BY BLAKE HARLEY BERGER

In examining ties between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and India, 2015 has witnessed an invigoration and strengthening of the relationship at an extremely opportune time for both the organisation and India. ASEAN is embarking on the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) at the end of 2015, and India is in the process of implementing its 'Look East' and 'Act East' policies, and Make In India campaign; as a result, bolstering relations has become extremely salient for all actors involved. One of the common critiques of the relationship was not the lack of ideas on how to strengthen ties, but that implementation of initiatives was lacking. Additionally, while trade relations have expanded significantly from \$68.4 billion USD in 2011 to roughly \$80 billion USD in 2014, one of the main impediments in upgrading the economic engagement has been poor connectivity between India and ASEAN. However, the relationship is poised to change with recent developments, especially in the economic and connectivity realms, that will help further cement ties between India and ASEAN. While India and ASEAN are currently negotiating the multilateral Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) agreement, it is critical that India simultaneously pursue additional initiatives to strengthen its own relationship with the organisation.

Prime Minister Modi's government has made a concerted effort to enhance cooperation with ASEAN. In bolstering the diplomatic ties between India and the organisation, India established a diplomatic mission to ASEAN in April 2015. While this is an important development, it is the actionable economic and infrastructure initiatives that have fundamentally strengthened ties. Specifically three key developments have taken place that will have tremendous regional benefits; first, the signing of the investment and services agreement; second, the launching of India's investment initiative in ASEAN; and third, the completion several infrastructure projects.

Critical in paving the way towards a more robust economic engagement between ASEAN and India was concluding the negotiations of the ASEAN – India Free Trade Agreement (AIFTA). While AIFTA was signed in 2009 and has been operational for some time, the investment and services agreement was unable to be concluded in its initial passage, which resulted in trade comprising mainly of merchandise goods. Even though the agreement help lay the groundwork for enhancing economic ties, AIFTA ultimately did not provide the expected gains as tariffs on goods were already low in the region. However in September 2014, the agreement on investment and services was signed, and finally went into operation in July 2015. As a result, not only are expectations high on the gains of a completed agreement with officials aiming to increase trade to \$100 billion in 2015, and to further boost trade to \$200 billion by 2020, but also provides an avenue for India to increase investment opportunities in Southeast Asia.

Directly highlighting India's commitment to expanding opportunities in ASEAN is the government's newly proposed Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) for attracting Indian investment into ASEAN, specifically Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam (CLMV). The Indian government acting as the catalyst for this investment project and taking lead in directing foreign direct investment (FDI) has committed \$100 million USD fund to assist Indian investors seeking invest and develop businesses in ASEAN. Part of the SPV scheme is to help set up industrial zones in Southeast Asia to entice Indian businesses, specifically small-to-medium enterprises, to set up manufacturing facilities. Not only would this benefit the local economies of Southeast Asia, but would also facilitate Indian companies further participation in the region's production networks and taking advantage of the coming AEC.

In addition to bolstering the trade relationship, Prime Minister Modi in addressing the infrastructure deficit, one of the inhibiting factors facing increased

regional ties, has prioritised regional infrastructure development. One of the projects that will have a tremendous impact on facilitating trade and people-to-people movement is the completion of the India – Myanmar – Thailand (IMT) Trilateral Highway network scheduled for November 2015, which will span 3,200km, and connect New Delhi to Bangkok. The completion of the Trilateral Highway is just the beginning of India's connectivity plans for Southeast Asia, as the highway will not only form a critical part of the ASEAN Highway Network (AHN), but is also part of the foundation for the expansion of the highway to Laos and Cambodia, and the eventual development of the Mekong-India Economic Corridor. Supplementing the land-based transport projects, India completed part of its Kaladan Multi-modal Transit Transport Project with Myanmar in reconstructing the Sittwe Port in May 2015, which will bolster sea-trade between India's Northeast provinces and ASEAN. While these are significant steps in developing a sustainable framework for the relationship going forward, these initiatives need to be supported by political will in order to see them fully implemented. This predicament is highlighted by the stalled road section of the Kaladan Multi-modal Transport Project, which as of February 2015 has yet to advance to the disbursement of contracts.

In light of the recent developments reinforcing the political, trade, and connectivity relationship between India and ASEAN, the previous critique regarding lack of implementation is being addressed with the prioritisation of ASEAN – India relations under Prime Minister Modi. Although these developments signal the further progression of a sustainable engagement strategy between India and ASEAN, it requires the political will of all actors involved to support its expansion. Regardless of the status of the RCEP negotiations, which hopefully will be concluded soon, India has begun to construct a strong framework to ensure that ASEAN – India relations can continue to prosper in the future.

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

With general funding from Norway and Singapore, CAG partnered with the 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, and 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 third year of this project. Russia's comprehensive turn to Asia is on going. The protracted crisis in Russia-West relations in the wake of Ukraine Crisis gives it an additional powerful push. There is a growing recognition among the intellectual and policy-making elites in Russia that the country's integration into the Asia-Pacific economic space through developing its Far East and Siberia is essential for diversifying Russia's economy and improving its geopolitical standing.

As Russia's shifts towards the Asia-

Pacific moves from rhetoric to practical realisation, a range of new challenges and problems comes to surface that require a better understanding by academics and policy makers. Thus, in May 2015, we held the second international conference on International Cooperation in the Development of Pacific Russia, which included contributions by international recognised experts from Russia, China, South Korea, Japan, Norway, and Singapore. Selected papers are now being published in the form of an edited volume with Palgrave Macmillan, which is expected to be on shelves by the end of 2015. In November 2015, we held a closed-door high-level policy dialogue in Seoul.

## 2ND DEVELOPING ASIA PACIFIC'S LAST FRONTIER CONFERENCE: FOSTERING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIA'S SIBERIA AND FAR EAST – VLADIVOSTOK, RUSSIA

This is the second academic conference, which is a part of a multi-year project organised by a consortium of six leading think tanks and research institutions from Japan, China, Republic of Korea, Norway, Russia, and Singapore. The aim of the project is to address the various dimensions of international cooperation in the development of Russia's Far East and Siberia including geo-economics and geopolitics, developmental bottlenecks in Russia's eastern territories, maritime development, energy security, environment, transportation, and other issues. In partnership with the consortium institutions and the Valdai International Discussion Club, the second conference was held on May 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> in Vladivostok at the Institute of Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Peoples of the Far-East.

Russia's turn to Asia is already in process, has gone beyond political rhetoric and recently gained more substance. The crisis in Russia-West relations gives it an additional powerful push, and Russian

elites have now fewer objections to Russia's integration into the Asia-Pacific Region (APR) through the accelerated development of Russia's Far East and Siberia. The main problem at the current stage, however, is that Russia's turn to Asia is still inconsistent and characterised by insufficient understanding of effective mechanisms of international cooperation in the region. At the same time, it is

happening in the complex geopolitical context of Eurasia and is now related to such megaprojects as integration of China's "New Silk Road" agenda and Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) that is likely to shape the Eurasian geostrategic configuration. The impact of plummeting energy prices also adds to the complexity of issue.



Photo: Vladivostok Developing Russia's Far East and Siberia Conference



While important global, regional, and domestic Russian circumstances favour the state's substantive socio-economic and political turn to Asia, the conditions are ripe for making the change feasible, and there are still considerable challenges Russia will have to deal with to promote multilateral cooperation in the development of its eastern territories. One problem is related to the need to jump out of the resource trap and diversify economic cooperation with the Asia-Pacific countries. Another related problem is how to make the development of Siberia and Far East truly international and multilateral, which will help not only diversify the sources of

investments, labour, and technology, but also deepen Russia's integration into the global economy. Still another problem is the complex politics of relations between Moscow and local authorities that often hinder the smooth process of regional development.

A number of important questions emerge in this regard: what are the chances for Russia to fully catch the momentum and hitch itself to the locomotive that is the Asian-Pacific economies by developing its Far East and Siberia? Will it be able to reinvent itself as a modern Eurasian global power and, by doing so, reshape the

geostrategic architecture in the region? Can Russia generate the kind of leadership that is necessary for playing a leading role in the economic and political processes in the region?

Leading experts from eight countries gathered in May in Vladivostok – the heart of Russia's eastern policies – to explore and provide answers to these and other questions. The perspectives of major players such as China, Japan, Korea, Singapore, Norway, Russia, and Germany were presented. Areas of cooperation such as energy, capital, labour, market and technical know-how were discussed.

## 2ND POLICY DIALOGUE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIA'S SIBERIA AND FAR EAST — SEOUL, KOREA

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Policy Dialogue on the Development of Russia's Siberia and Far East took place in Seoul, Korea from November 25-27, 2015. The policy dialogue was aimed at fostering communication, confidence, and consultation over the major policy issues facing international cooperation in the development of Russia's Far East and Siberia (Pacific Russia). The dialogue drew participation of three to five high-level experts and (former) policy practitioners from each of the seven participating countries: Russia, China, Japan, Germany,

South Korea, Norway, and Singapore. A total of 41 local and overseas high-level participants attended the dialogue.

Russia's turn to Asia is already in process. The crisis in Russia-Western relations have given it an additional powerful push, and Russian elites have now fewer objections to Russia's integration in APR through the accelerated development of its Far East and Siberia. However, Russia's eastward turn is still inconsistent and lacks understanding

of effective mechanisms. At the same time, it is related to such megaprojects as integration into China's "New Silk Road" agenda and Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) that is likely to shape the Eurasian geostrategic configuration. The impact of plummeting energy prices also increases the complexity of the issue. The goal of this the policy dialogue was to discuss opportunities and challenges facing international cooperation in the development of Pacific Russia.



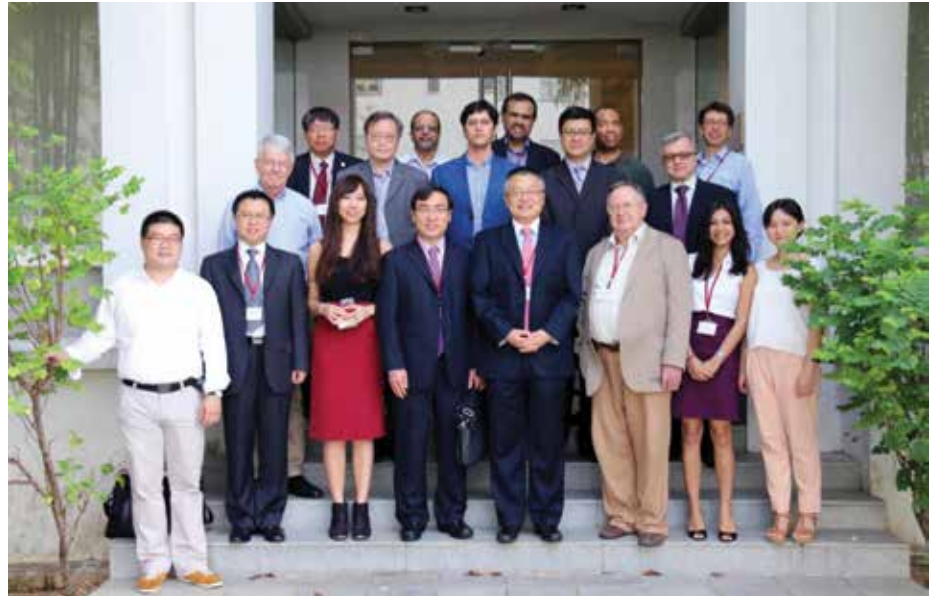
2nd Policy Dialogue on the Development of Russia's Siberia and Far East

# After the Ukraine Crisis: Toward A Post-Hegemonic Multipolar World? Conference

The Ukraine crisis, with its substantial implications to international politics, has had significant global ramifications that beg for deeper comprehension and objective interpretation by international relations scholars.

Occurring against the backdrop of the US rebalance in Asia-Pacific and the rise of the emerging powers such as China and Russia, the crisis and the way the other major powers respond to it are indicative of the important changes in global geopolitics and strategic balance, the explanation and comprehension of which require systematic application, and probably revision, of the existing international relations and foreign policy theories.

How have the crisis and its aftermath, in the context of Russia's high-profile "turn-to-east" strategy, China's rise with "new assertiveness" in territory disputes, the US rebalance, and Japan's normalcy drive, changed the strategic landscape surrounding the major powers in Asia Pacific, namely the US, China, Japan, and India? Given the shift of strategic balance and the alignments of the major powers in the crisis, what are the logic



*Photo: After the Ukraine Crisis: Toward a Post-Hegemonic Multipolar World? Conference*

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 and US-EU-Japan? What dilemmas and challenges have the Asia-Pacific powers faced during and after the crisis? How should we capture these events and its implications with the established

theoretical framework – realism, neo-liberal institutionalism, constructivism, geopolitics or other? In February 2015, the CAG brought together leading scholars from China, Russia, the US, Canada, India, and Singapore to share their analyses and expertise on the abovementioned issues. Selected papers are now being published in a journal special issue, which is expected to come out by spring of 2016.

# The Third China-Japan Young Leaders Forum

2015 marks the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of World War II, and also represents a new set of emerging challenges for China and Japan. China has entered a critical transition into a stage of “new normal” where economic policy turns to promoting quality and sustainable growth.

Its foreign policy has also entered a new level of activism to match growing interest overseas and the need for further integration in the world economy. Japan is also witnessing the deepening of its own economic reform in concordance with fiscal and monetary stimulus, and its foreign policy also faces the reality of a rising neighbour and emerging Asia at large. Looking globally, Europe continues to be absorbed by its internal problems, while the challenge of great power relations under China’s approach toward its neighbours and Japan’s position vis-à-vis the US-led security alliance while tense is controlled due to competing territorial sovereignty claims. As the global structure of trade and investment continues to adjust to new patterns of growth, national economies are also adjusting to local socio-demographic trends, which are going to have a tremendous impact on both China and Japan.

In light of these emerging challenges, how do young leaders perceive the link between domestic developments and

the international environment? What is the changing world as they see it and how are the bilateral relations affected their views? In light of these interlinking issues and in the spirit of this symbolic year of reconciliation, the China-Japan Young Leaders Forum continues to host a dialogue between the young leaders from major think tanks, academic institutions, NGOs, and private sectors in both countries. This year, the forum continues to facilitate discussions on the prospect of bilateral relations from political, economic, and social perspectives including topics such as major power relations in the region, regional trade and investment integration, domestic

challenges to sustaining economic growth, and the problem of reconciliation on historical issues. CAG has also expanded its base of cooperation on the forum with leading think tanks in both China and Japan including the China Institute of International Studies, the Japan Institute of International Affairs, and the Fujitsu Research Institute. Over the past three years, CAG has built a network of more than 50 young leaders from the two countries through the forum. While providing a common base of trust-building between the young leaders, the forum also seeks sustainable cooperation on sparking new ideas on addressing tough questions in the bilateral relations.



*Photo: China – Japan Young Leaders Forum*

# Towards a Peaceful and Stable South China Sea Conference

On April 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup>, 2015, in collaboration with the Collaborative Innovation Centre of South China Sea Studies at Nanjing University, CAG organised the conference "Towards a Peaceful and Stable South China Sea" in Nanjing, China.

The conference, co-chaired by Professor Huang Jing and Professor Zhu Feng, drew experts from National University of Singapore, Institute of China State Maritime Bureau, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), National Institute for South China Sea Studies (NISCSS), East Asian Institute (EAI), Peking University, Miriam College of Philippines, John Hopkins University Nanjing Centre, Nanyang Technological University, and some other leading research centres and institutes on South China Sea in the region. Participants presented and discussed their views on a range of issues related to the dispute perspectives, and impact of South China Sea issues.

The conference mainly examined the South China Sea from six angles: historical origins, country-perspectives, impact on regional peace and security, impact on regional economic development and integration, role of international regimes and governance, and the management of disputes. The discussion covered heated topics such as Arbitration 101: Philippines v. China, HYSY-981 standoff, "One Belt, One



Photo: Towards a Peaceful and Stable South China Sea

Road" initiative, building work on dispute islands, joint development in the South China Sea, and institutional work within ASEAN.

The papers presented at the conference have been carefully reviewed and selected for publication as an edited volume forthcoming in the summer of 2016, which covers four parts:

- Part I: Does China Have a Case?: The Origin of the U-Shaped Line
- Part II: Views from the Claimant Countries of the South China Sea

- Part III: The South China Sea: The implications to Regional Security and Peace
- Part IV: The Management of South China Sea Disputes: Towards a Legal Solution?

With the objective of securing peace and improve stability in the South China Sea, this conference also marks the beginning of a long-term cooperation between CAG and the Collaborative Innovation Centre of South China Sea Studies that provides sustained joint research on the South China Sea.



# Water Politics and Regional Stability

Cooperation and conflict are both features of the relationship among riparians. Conflicts among riparians, however, tend to grab the attention of policy-makers, academics, and the media, more than cooperation, because the issue of water touches on the primordial concerns of survival and basic sustenance.

In international politics, the competition for water is a transnational non-traditional security issue that has serious repercussions on regional stability. Rivers are particularly contentious, as they meander across political boundaries, and hence, are subject to competing interests. Nation states, in particular, see themselves as sole proprietors of the portion of the river that flows through their territory; rivers are regarded as a national resource that states have sovereign rights to utilise as they deem appropriate for their self-interests. Water diversions and dam constructions by one riparian, because they could potentially reduce water resources available to another riparian, often provoke great emotions among those negatively affected by such

activities. Tensions and conflict often ensue. A potential ultimate outcome could be war. Cutting off the water supply of a country, for instance, is often regarded as a *casus belli*.

Collective action or joint management of shared river basins around the world has been difficult. In areas where the relations among riparians are historically conflictive and where water resources are scarce, for example in the Jordan River area, management of water resources is even more contentious. Collective action is also difficult when large numbers of domestic actors with differing interests are involved in decision-making. Local governments, businesses, non-governmental groups, civil society, and private individuals can influence the management of rivers in multiple ways.

However, despite the difficulties of collective action and headline-grabbing cries of “water wars,” armed violence is rare in transboundary river basins – “there has never been a single war fought over water” (Wolf, 1998). In the limited incidents

of wars between states where water is involved, the underlying or primary cause was not water. In these incidents of armed conflict, hostile relations already existed, and water either acted as a catalyst or became embroiled in the conflict.

Despite the conflictive nature of transboundary waters and the difficulties of collective action, however, studies have shown high incidences of cooperation among riparians. In the largest quantitative study of water conflict and cooperation to date, an Oregon State University-UN study found that the instances of cooperation among riparian states outnumbered the number of conflicts; since 1948, there have been 37 incidents of acute violent conflicts over water (30 of these between Israel and its neighbours), while during the same period, about 295 international water agreements were negotiated and signed (Atlas of International Freshwater Agreements).

Papers from this workshop, held in Singapore from 21-23 May 2015, are carefully selected for a special issue with *Water International*. The purpose of this special issue is to explain the puzzle of why riparian states will cooperate with each other even though cooperation is often difficult to achieve. While studies have focused on why water is a source of conflict among states, there are few studies explaining why riparians would cooperate. The essays seek to answer two related questions: under what conditions would riparian countries cooperate in transboundary waters and how do various actors/stakeholders facilitate or hinder cooperation? The essays use a range of theories to explain the conditions that promote cooperation, including rationalist, constructivist, realist, and the two-level game perspectives.



Photo: Water Politics and Regional Stability Workshop

# Restructuring the Financial System in Asia-Pacific

The multi-year research project "Restructuring the Financial System in Asia-Pacific" led by Dr. Tomoo Kikuchi aims to investigate the various dimensions of the evolving financial system in the region including the reform of development

finance, the growth of equity and bond markets, the internationalisation of Renminbi, financial inclusion, and trade architecture. Related to this project CAG held an inaugural conference on "Evolving Finance, Trade and Investment

in Asia" in Singapore and a workshop on "Understanding Financial Inclusion in Asia" in Hong Kong in 2015.

## CAG-HKUST IEMS WORKSHOP: UNDERSTANDING FINANCIAL INCLUSION IN ASIA

An integral component of financial sector development in Asia relates to the issue of financial inclusion. Several emerging market economies in the region have put in place a plethora of initiatives to expand the provision of financial services to firms and households through allowing greater access to the formal credit market.

While financial inclusion and financial deepening can promote economic growth and contribute significantly to reducing poverty and inequality that is rampant in the region, there are also concerns that it could aggravate systemic risk and financial instability.

To explore these issues, CAG and the Institute for Emerging Market Studies (IEMS) at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST) co-organised a workshop on May 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015. The workshop brought together 15 financial experts and policy makers from Asia, Europe and the US.

The workshop opened with presentations on the measurement and determinants of financial inclusion, and followed by case studies of India, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. Scholars also exchanged viewpoints on financial literacy, credit constraints, distributive impacts, and monetary policy.

Selected papers will be published in an edited volume by Palgrave Macmillan, titled *Financial Inclusion in Asia: Issues and Policy Concerns* and co-edited by Dr. Tomoo Kikuchi and Dr. Sadidaran Gopalan in 2016.



Photo: Understanding Financial Inclusion In Asia

# THE INAUGURAL EVOLVING FINANCE, TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN ASIA CONFERENCE

The swift and impressive recovery of the Asian region from the global financial meltdown has reiterated the region's role as a source of global economic dynamism.

The region is also taking concrete steps to strengthen regional trade and financial integration, which appears to be gradually reshaping the global financial and trade architecture. Although a reoccurrence of an Asian financial crisis seems unlikely, the crisis prevention mechanisms in the region are far from being complete. In 2015, we witnessed the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), which is seen as a challenge to the Bretton Woods system, while the US-backed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the world's biggest free-trade bloc has reached an agreement by the 12 member countries.

Facing this rapidly changing economic and financial landscape, CAG organised an inaugural International conference on Evolving Finance, Trade and Investment in Asia on September 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>, 2015. Takehiko Nakao, President of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) gave the opening speech on "Asian Economic Outlook and the Role of ADB." In the following panel discussion, Dr. Leslie Teo from CIG Private Limited moderated the dialogue between John-Wha Lee, Subir Gokarn, Yuqing Xing,



*Photo: The Inaugural Evolving Finance, Trade and Investment in Asia Conference*

and President Takehiko Nakao on how Asia should strengthen its regional financial architecture to shield countries from global shocks and maximise its growth potential. Following the policy dialog, an academic conference was held with 15 experts from China, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, India, the US, Canada, and Germany presenting a wide spectrum of pressing economic agendas in Asia including financial integration, capital flows and

controls, production networks, free trade agreements as well as production chains. Based on the selected papers, Dr. Tomoo Kikuchi will edit a special issue in International Economic Journal, titled Evolving Finance, Trade and Investment in Asia scheduled to be published in March 2016.

# East Asia Symposium

The greatest shifts in power are taking place in East Asia. In 1980, according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) statistics, in Purchase Power Parity (PPP) terms, China's share of the global economy was only 2.2% while that of the US was over ten times larger. Yet, by 2014, China's share had become larger.

Similarly, there have been equally significant shifts taking place among the three great Asian powers of China, India, and Japan. As their relative weights shift, adjustments have to be made and will be made.

China has sought to assuage concerns over its rising power. The US, 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 US, 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?

To address the issues, the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy and CAG held the inaugural East Asia Symposium, "Shifting Great Power Relations in East Asia," on the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> August 2015 at The Fullerton Hotel, Singapore. The symposium assembled a team of leading scholars and experts from China, Japan, India, Singapore, Southeast Asia, and the US. It examined a wide range of issues, including the shifting power balance between the US, China, and Japan, territorial issues in the East and South China Seas, as well as the regional economic and financial architecture in the Asia-Pacific. As the centre of economic power shifts towards the Asia-Pacific with the concomitant

rise of both China and India, and the US pivot to Asia, the symposium sought to provide a clearer understanding of the emerging trends and changing dynamics in the region. The symposium comprises six panels, with the first panel opened to the public while the other panels were closed-door. There was a frank exchange of views, with the panellists raising and debating contentious issues that reflect different country perspectives. The participants agreed that the dialogue and exchange were useful for promoting deeper understanding among the different countries represented, and supported convening the symposium on an annual basis.



Photo: East Asia Symposium



# CAG OUTREACH

## Taiwan Research Trip

From May 3<sup>rd</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup>, 2015, representatives from CAG consisting of Professor Huang Jing, Dr. Selina Ho, Dr. Tomoo Kikuchi, Mr. Takehiro Masutomo and Ms. Jenny Li Jie, visited Taiwan.

We had meaningful exchanges with the primary research institutes and top think tanks from both Kuomintang (KMT) and Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) on the issues of shared interests in three cities: Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung. This was a very interesting time to visit Taiwan as the ruling KMT just suffered a humiliating setback in the mid-term election, which helped the DPP gain momentum in the upcoming presidential campaign under the leadership of Madam Tsai Ing-Wen. Such a situation has stirred up a good number of concerns from both sides of the Taiwan Strait as well as the US and Japan.

We had the honour to meet a group of scholars, experts and policymakers, including Dr. Arthur Ding and his colleagues from the Institute of International Studies at the National Chengchi University, former Secretary-General of the National Security Council Dr. Su Chi, officials of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, First Deputy Minister of the Mainland Affairs Council Dr. Lin Chu-Chia, KMT-sponsored Prospect Foundation and the DPP-sponsored New Frontier Foundation, Economic Development Bureau of Taichung City Government, former Defence Minister Michael Tsai and Professor Tsai Ming-Yen from National Chung-Hsing University, the Centre for Japanese Studies at the National Sun Yat-sen University, former Vice Mayor of Kaohsiung City Dr. Liu Shyh-Fang, and so forth.



*Photo: Taiwan Research Trip*

The discussions primarily focused on the following areas: Cross-Strait relations; US-China relations and its impact on the relations across the Taiwan Strait; China-Japan relations, the tensions between the two countries and its impact on the Taiwan issue; the prospect of US-Japan alliance and the implications for Cross-Strait relations; internal politics in Mainland China and Taiwan, and the implication on Cross-Strait relations, and regional peace and stability.

During our exchanges, we realised that while the KMT and the DPP are geared up for the presidential campaign, the differences between the two seem irreconcilable. In addition to the fundamental differences between two competing political parties in Taiwan, the US position is another factor that generates uncertainty in the region as it remains strategically ambiguous. Such ambiguity implies more uncertainty given the upcoming US presidential campaign in

which the China issue will surely surface as a focus of debate. As such, the Taiwan issue will become more sensitive, not only in the debate of US internal politics, but also to US-China relations.

The Taiwan issue is highly involved in the interactions among the major powers, and is part of our research focus. CAG's trip to Taiwan has helped us better understand the Taiwan issue and its implications not just for Cross-Strait relations but also in regards to regional peace and stability. This trip was meaningful and fruitful, as it not only enhanced our awareness and understanding of the problems relevant to the Taiwan issue, but also helped us build a solid relationship with a range of think tanks and research institutes in Taiwan. This research trip will surely be very beneficial to our research as well as outreach activities towards Taiwan down in the future.

# CAG OUTPUT

## CO-AUTHORED BOOKS

Huang, Jing, and Bajpai, Kanti. (2016). *China and India: Towards Strategic Cooperation*. Cambridge University Press. Forthcoming.

### BOOK SYNOPSIS

China and India are the two biggest rising powers in the international system. Their bilateral relationship will therefore be pivotal to the prospects of stability in Asia and the world at large. While globalisation offers the prospect of greater engagement and convergence between China and India, there are signs of conflict and competition in newer areas. Both countries have taken advantage of globalization to achieve high rates of economic growth. With sustained economic growth, both states are building military power and want greater status and say in international society including in international and regional economic institutions. Economic prosperity has also increased their demand for energy, water, and other scarce resources. Finally, China is the biggest emitter of carbon and India is the third largest emitter after the United States. They are therefore key players in climate change negotiations.

Our book examines the state of the relationship in terms of the older disputes between the two powers – the border, Tibet, and Pakistan – and assesses the prospects of conflict and cooperation. It asks how the asymmetry in power between them affects their bilateral ties and their relations with key powers (the US, Japan, and Russia in particular). In addition, we analyse their interests and policies in nearby regions (South Asia, Southeast and East Asia, Central Asia, the Indian Ocean region, and the Gulf. Throughout the book we attempt to take stock of the balance between conflict and cooperation between the two giants of Asia to show that conflict can be (and is being) managed and cooperation can be (and is being) achieved. We conclude with a discussion of what might derail them from a path of conflict management and cooperation.

## EDITED BOOKS

Bajpai, Kanti, Huang, Jing, and Mahbubani, Kishore. (2016). *China and India Relations: Cooperation and Conflict*. Abington: Routledge.

### BOOK SYNOPSIS

The question of whether China and India can cooperate is at the core of global geopolitics. As the two countries grow their economies, the potential for conflict is no longer simply a geopolitical one based on relative power, influence and traditional quarrels over land boundaries.

This book assesses the varying interests of China and India in economics, environment, energy, and water and addresses the possibility of cooperation in these domains. Containing analyses by leading authorities on China and India, it analyses the nature of existing and emerging conflict, describes the extent of cooperation, and suggests possibilities for collaboration in the future. While it is often suggested that conflict between the giants of Asia is the norm, there are a number of opportunities for cooperation in trade, international and regional financial institutions, renewable energy development and climate change, and shared rivers.

This book will be of interest to researchers in the fields of Asian Studies, International Relations, and Asian Politics.

Huang, Jing, and Korolev, Alexander. (2015). *International Cooperation in the Development of Russia's Far East and Siberia*. Palgrave Macmillan.

### BOOK SYNOPSIS

Russia's new 'pivot to Asia' increases the global significance of Russia's Siberia and Far East. Moscow's eastward turn is motivated by the growth of economic, strategic, and political dynamism of Asia-Pacific as well as by Russia's more general withdrawal of its historic

attraction to the West in the wake of the global financial crisis and relative decline of the West's economic attractiveness. Given the current crisis in Ukraine, which has shed light upon the implications of a resurgent Russia and reshaped its relations with the Asia-Pacific, there has been growing interest amongst countries from the Asia-Pacific region to develop Russia's Siberia Far East. This volume is an edited collection of papers written by internationally recognised experts from Russia, China, South Korea, Japan, Norway, and Singapore; the authors provide perspectives and prospects on cooperation in the development of Russia's Far East and Siberia, including analysing political, economic, social, and geostrategic roadblocks, and offers directions for further development. Among the issues covered are international cooperation in the exploration of Pacific Russia's energy resources, cooperation between adjacent regions of China and Russia, economic relations between Japan and the Russian Far East, South Korea-Russia cooperation, the re-emergence of the Northern Sea Route through the Arctic and its impact on regional cooperation, and Singapore's and Norway's interests in Russia's Far East.

Huang, Jing, and Korolev, Alexander. (2016) *Political Economy of Pacific Russia: Regional Developments in East Asia*. Palgrave MacMillan. Forthcoming.

### BOOK SYNOPSIS

Russia's turn to Asia is already in process. Crisis in Russia-West relations gives it an additional powerful push by eliminating Russian elites' objections to Russia's integration into Asia Pacific via accelerated development of its Eastern territories. As Russia's pivot to Asia further unfolds, more practical issues of the actual realisation of such a pivot inevitably come to surface inviting more detailed analysis taking into account multiple global and regional factors. How to better position Russia's

Far East and Siberia in the international political economy to transform its role from that of a remote resource periphery to an important integral part of the new processes that shape up the economic and political reality of Eurasia and beyond? What are the best mechanisms and strategies of integrating Pacific Russia into Asia Pacific? What are the factors of development that can foster economic cooperation in the development of Pacific Russia? This book goes into great depth in addressing these questions. It explores the geo-economic and geopolitical standing of Pacific Russia – a new geographic concept suggested in the book, outlines the factors of Pacific Russia's integration into Asia, and suggests actual mechanisms of such integration. The discussion in the book is focused and concrete. It repositions Pacific Russia in the modern trends unfolding in the region and provides an in-depth analysis of international cooperation in the spheres of energy, infrastructure, sustainable development, and disaster management that represent the main factors of Russia's integration into Asia.

Kikuchi, Tomoo, and Gopalan, Sasidaran. (2016). *Financial Inclusion in Asia: Issues and Policy Concerns*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Forthcoming.

#### BOOK SYNOPSIS

This book brings together a set of analytical and empirical essays aimed at understanding financial inclusion in emerging markets with a focus on the Asian region. Despite the significant policy interest in the issue of financial inclusion, there is a dearth of academic literature on the topic. This book aims to fill the gap by being the first of its kind to address the relevant issues and policy concerns relating to financial inclusion. The book is informed by data and policy analysis that will be useful for both academics and policy makers.

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Huang, Jing. “Development Along the Silk Road,” Shanghai University of Political Science and Law, International Exchange

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Huang, Jing. “Silk Road and China’s Peaceful Development Strategy,” Inaugural conference on the ‘Silk Road Economic Belt’, Collaborative Innovation Center of Silk Road Economic Belt Research (CIC SREBR) Xi’an Jiaotong University, Shaanxi Province, and Ministry of Commerce of People’s Republic of China, January 22, 2015.

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Huang, Jing. “Border Defence Cooperation Agreement one Year on,” at the 1<sup>st</sup> IISS India-China Land Border Crisis Management Workshop, January 28, 2015.

Huang, Jing. “The Transformation of Chinese Foreign Policy in the Years Ahead,” at the Stars Singapore Symposium opening reception at the Swiss Ambassador’s Residence, February 7, 2015.

Huang, Jing. “China and the New Global Context,” at the Stars Singapore Symposium, February 9, 2015.

Huang, Jing. “2030 – Challenges and Choices,” at the Stars Singapore Symposium, February 11, 2015.

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Huang, Jing. “Silk Road Development and Security Co-operation,” at the Shanghai Forum 2015 “Economic Globalisation and the Choice of Asia — Asia’s Responsibility: Exploring New Approaches to Cooperation” organised by Fudan University, May 24, 2015.

Huang, Jing. “The Challenges and Choices in the Security Cooperation in the Development of the Silk Road,” at the National Centre for International Cooperation on Law Enforcement, Shanghai University of Political Science and Law SHUPL, May 26, 2015.

Huang, Jing. “Mapping One Belt, One Road,” at the IISS-Chunqiu Institute discussion ‘Charting the New Silk Road: China’s Strategic Goals and International Impact’, Shangri-la Dialogue, Singapore, May 29, 2015.

Huang, Jing. “Political Development and Reform Implementation in China: Risks, Challenges and Opportunities,” Government of Singapore Investment Corporation GIC Singapore, June 2, 2015.

Huang, Jing. “China’s Overseas Interests: Definition, Challenges and Choices,” 4<sup>th</sup> International Seminar on Strategy of National Security and Development of Science and Technology ISST (The 4<sup>th</sup> ISST), organised by the National University of Defence Technology NUDT, June 8, 2015.

Huang, Jing. “Presidents Xi’s Approach to the Outside World, Including the South China Sea,” at the Australia-China Relations Institute (ACRI), University of Technology, Sydney, Public Lecture, July 2, 2015.

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Huang, Jing. "Global Risks," 2015 Milken Institute Asia Summit, Singapore, September 18, 2015.

Huang, Jing. "Views of the East Asian Region," Chatham House workshop on 'Relationships across the Atlantic: Converging or Diverging? The Case of Conflict in Asia, London, November 2, 2015.

Huang, Jing. "G2: Can the US and China Get Along?" UBS Investors Circle, Zurich, November 3, 2015.

Huang, Jing. "G2: Can the US and China Get Along?" stars alumni chapter Switzerland, Zurich, November 4, 2015.

Huang, Jing. "A Chinese Perspective," and "Challenges and Opportunities for Business Leaders and Investors (panel discussion with Volker Perthes and James B. Steinberg)," Wolfsberg Conference «The World in Turmoil – Challenges and Opportunities for Business Leaders and Investors», Zurich, November 5, 2015.

Huang, Jing. "China's New Geography of Power," UBS CFO Conference, Zurich, November 6, 2015.

Huang, Jing. "Germany's Role and Responsibility in the World (moderated discussion)," Robert Bosch Stiftung's Richard von Weizsäcker Forum, Berlin, November 11, 2015.

Huang, Jing. "The New China: Slowing Growth, Questions of Political Stability and

a New Strategic Assertiveness," at the Straits Times Global Outlook Forum 2015, November 20, 2015.

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "Economic Integration and Architecture (TPP, RCEP, etc.): a Base for Stability or a New Round of Competition?," (Panelist) East Asia Symposium, Fullerton Hotel, Singapore, August 12, 2015.

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "The Outlook of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)-Potential 2<sup>nd</sup> Round Members," (Speaker) Taiwan-US-Japan Trilateral Security Dialogue, Shangri-La's Far Eastern Plaza Hotel, Taipei, August 25, 2015.

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "Financing the infrastructure needs of the emerging economies of the Indo-Pacific," (Panelist) Funding the Next Phase of Infrastructure Development in the Indo-Pacific, Ocean Financial Centre, Singapore, October 26, 2015.

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "Japan-Asia Cooperation in the Future: Overcoming the China Risk," (Panelist) Tokyo, November 20, 2015.

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "Restructuring the Regional Financial Order: AIIB, ADB, Silk Road Fund, and BRIKS Development Bank," (Panelist) Second Policy Dialogue on International Cooperation in the Development of Russia's Siberia and Far East, Seoul, November 26, 2015.

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "China and Japan on Economic Integration - Regional Trade and Investment Architecture," (Panelist) China-Japan Young Leaders Forum, Beijing, November 28, 2015.

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "The Strategic and Geopolitical Outlook – Practical Implications and Challenges for Public Sector Investment Management," (Panelist) Asset and Risk Management for Global Public Investors: Trends and Expectations for 2016 and Beyond, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy Singapore, December 1, 2015.

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "Shifting Global Structures: Towards a Sino-centric World Order?," (Speaker) Rethinking the Silk Road: European and Asian Perspectives on China's Global Network Vision, Tongji University, Shanghai, December 4, 2015.

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "Launching of the Asian Economic Integration Report 2015- An Annual Report of the Asian Development Bank," (Panelist), Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, Singapore, December 8, 2015.

Kikuchi, Tomoo. "Japan-US cooperation vis-à-vis China to 2030," (Panelist) Japan-US Kanazawa Conference, Shiinoki Cultural Complex, Kanazawa, December 13, 2015.

Korolev, Alexander, "Russia's Reorientation to the East: Causes and Strategic Implications to East Asia and the World," presented at the Sixth Annual Conference of The Five University Collaboration on East Asia Security Conflict & Cooperation, Princeton University, December 11-13, 2014.

Korolev, Alexander, "Systemic Balancing and Regional Hedging: The Two-Level Nature of China-Russia Strategic Partnership," presented at the "Geo-politics vs. Geo-economics in the Asia-Pacific: Choosing between China and the US?" conference, Beijing Foreign Affairs University, China, May 15, 2015.

Korolev, Alexander, "China-Russia Strategic Partnership in the Context of Russia's "Pivot to Asia": Myths and Reality," public lecture at East Asia Institute, National University of Singapore, June 15, 2015.

Korolev, Alexander, "On the Verge of Alliance: Defining and Explaining Contemporary China-Russia Relations," public lecture at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, December 10, 2015.

Korolev, Alexander, "China-Russia Strategic Partnership in the Context of Russia's New "Pivot to Asia"" , public lecture at the University Service Centre, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, December 22, 2015.

Park, June. "The US-China Divide in Intellectual Property and the TPP," Young Leaders Programme Singapore of the Pacific Forum CSIS, Singapore, November 18, 2015.

# SEMINARS

Lunchtime Talk, "Economic Transformation with High Speed Rail Structuring" Speaker: Torkel Patterson, January 26, 2015.

ST Lee Distinguished Speaker Series on "Political Order and Political Decay: China and the United States" Speaker: Francis Fukuyama, January 28, 2015.

Evening Talk, "Structuring PPP (Public-Private Partnership) Projects - Identification and Mitigation of Project Risks" Speaker: Ryuichi Kaga, January 30, 2015.

ST Lee Distinguished Speaker Series on "Nationalism and the Evolution of the Putin Regime in Russia" Speaker: Timothy Colton, February 27, 2015.

Book Launch, "Defect or Defend: Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia" Speaker: Terence Lee, March 10, 2015.

Lunchtime Talk, "Sino-India Climate Diplomacy: Implications for Global Climate Governance" Speaker: Fuzuo Wu, March 30, 2015.

Lunchtime Talk, "The Comprehensive Asia Development Plan 2.0" Speaker: Fukunari Kimura, April 10, 2015.



ST Lee Distinguished Speaker Series with Dr. Francis Fukuyama

Hong Siew Ching Speaker Series on "Development of Macroeconomic Surveillance in ASEAN+3 (China, Japan and Korea) Framework: Lessons the Region has Learnt from Financial Crises" Speaker: Yoichi Nemoto, April 17, 2015.

Hong Siew Ching Speaker Series on "Getting to and Sustaining Collective Action" Speaker: John Waterbury, May 22, 2015.

Lunchtime Talk, "Xi's China and Asian Regional Integration" Speaker: Ren Xiao, May 28, 2015.

Lunchtime Talk, "The Way Ahead: Cyber Relations between China and the US" Speaker: Zhu Qichao, July 23, 2015.

Hong Siew Ching Speaker Series on "Cross-Strait Relations: Past and Present" Speaker: Su Chi, August 20, 2015.

Lunchtime Talk, "Sino-Indian Puzzling Energy Diplomacy Towards Iran" Speaker: Wu Fuzuo, August 26, 2015.

Lunchtime Talk, "Global Value Chains and China's Exports to High Income Countries" Speaker: Xing Yuqing, September 9, 2015.



Hong Siew Ching Speaker Series with Asia Development Bank President, Mr. Takehiko Nakao

Hong Siew Ching Speaker Series on "Asian Economic Outlook and the role of ADB" Speaker: Takehiko Nakao, September 16, 2015.

Lunchtime talk, "Japanese Foreign Policy and Current Relations with Neighbour Countries" Speaker: Katsuyuki Yakushiji, October 2, 2015.

# 2015 DONATIONS

DONATION	DESCRIPTION OF DONATIONS	AMOUNT
Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Developing Asia Pacific's Last Frontier: Fostering International Cooperation in the Developing of Russia's Far East	NOK 2,250,000
Robert Bosch Stiftung		EURO 35,000
Itochu Singapore Pte Ltd	East Asia Symposium, Fullerton Hotel, 11-12 August 2015	SGD 20,000
Marubeni Asean Pte Ltd		SGD 20,000
Mitsubishi Corporation		SGD 20,000
Sojitz Corporation		SGD 20,000
Far East Organisation		Sponsored hotel stays and refreshments

# WORKSHOPS IN 2016

## THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EVOLVING FINANCE, TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN ASIA

Following the successful format of the inaugural conference in 2015 we will host a half-day policy dialogue followed by a one and a half day academic conference at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. The aim is to facilitate exchanges between research and practice by bringing together academics, policy-makers and business and financial representatives from Asia and other parts of the world. We will publish the proceedings in a special issue of an international peer-reviewed journal.

## TPP AND ITS EFFECTS ON VIETNAM'S TEXTILE AND GARMENT INDUSTRY

The conference will be organized in collaboration with the Center for

Vietnamese and Southeast Asian Studies, Vietnam National University – University of Humanities and Social Sciences and takes place in Ho Chi Minh City. It will bring together academics, policy-makers and business representative to discuss the opportunities and challenges that TPP brings to Vietnam. We will publish the proceedings as an edited book volume.

## FOSTERING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PACIFIC RUSSIA

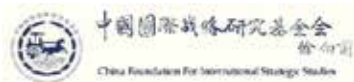
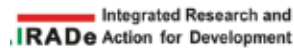
CAG and its partner think tanks are going to be holding the third international conference within the broader multi-year project 'Developing Asia Pacific Last Frontier: Fostering International Cooperation in the Development of Russia's Siberia and Far East.' The conference will take place in Beijing in 2016 and include participants from China, Russia, Japan,

South Korea, Singapore, Norway, Germany, and other countries. Some of the key issues that will be addressed include: What are Russia's chances of being able to transition itself toward the Asia-Pacific and reap the benefits of the region's impressive economic growth? Will it be able to truly redefine itself as a Eurasian power? What roles will Siberia and Far East play in this new geopolitical and geo-economic calculus, and what policies can be implemented to ensure the development of these regions? What does this mean for the political economy of the Asia-Pacific? These issues will constitute the core of the conference agenda. Based on the papers presented, an edited volume or journal special issue will be published.



# INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIONS

Asia (24)



# INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIONS

## Europe (12)



**The European House  
Ambrosetti**



## North America (13)





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