



# **Tommy Koh: Background and Major Accomplishments of the “Great Negotiator, 2014”**

**James K. Sebenius  
Laurence A. Green**

**Working Paper**

**14-049**

**February 13, 2014**

Copyright © 2013, 2014 by James K. Sebenius and Laurence A. Green

Working papers are in draft form. This working paper is distributed for purposes of comment and discussion only. It may not be reproduced without permission of the copyright holder. Copies of working papers are available from the author.

# Tommy Koh: Background and Major Accomplishments of the “Great Negotiator, 2014”

JAMES K. SEBENIUS  
LAURENCE A. GREEN

Harvard Business School, February 13, 2014, v5.1

*Abstract: Significant negotiation-related achievements from career of Ambassador Tommy Koh of Singapore are highlighted in brief form along with elements of his background and career. In light of these accomplishments, Koh was selected as the recipient of the 2014 Great Negotiator Award, presented by the Program on Negotiation, an interuniversity consortium of Harvard, MIT, and Tufts that is based at the Harvard Law School. Summaries of several of Koh’s negotiations are presented in order to stimulate further research and analysis. Among numerous other activities, the episodes described include his leadership in forging the United States-Singapore Free Trade Agreement (USSFTA), the development and ratification of a charter for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the resolution of territorial and humanitarian disputes in the Baltics and Asia, and successful chairmanship of two unprecedented global megaconferences: the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea and the U.N. Conference on the Environment and Development, also known as the Earth Summit.*

*Keywords: multiparty negotiations, dispute resolution, conference diplomacy, international relations, free trade agreements environment, Singapore, ASEAN*

Honored by the Program on Negotiation as its 2014 Great Negotiator Awardee, Tommy Koh is a diplomat, professor, and international lawyer currently serving as Ambassador-at-Large for the Government of Singapore. He is a special adviser to the Lee Kuan Yew Institute for Policy Studies Chairman of the Center for International Law at the National University of Singapore and Rector of the Tembusu College of the same University. This paper summarizes elements of Koh’s life and career. This serves as a backdrop to brief descriptions of several of his most significant negotiation-related achievements along with suggestions for in-depth further reading on each major episode.

## Early Life, Education, and Personal Life

Born in Singapore to Chinese parents in 1937, Koh took an early interest in law and diplomacy. As a student in the mid-1950s, Koh authored an article protesting arbitrary arrests under colonial rule. The censorship of this article proved formative for Koh, who enrolled in 1957 at the University of Malaya to study law prior to Singapore’s independence in 1963.<sup>1</sup> He earned a law degree at the University of Singapore in 1961, a Master’s Degree in Law from Harvard University in 1964, and a postgraduate degree in criminology from Cambridge University in 1965.

Koh married Siew Aing in 1967 and the couple has two sons. A lover of culture and arts, he has been an active and creative voice for using cultural activities for social justice and economic advancement. For example, in 2010 he suggested that street hawkers in Singapore should receive cooking courses. He has written that he dreams of Singapore becoming the “Geneva of the East.” He is the founding chairman of SymAsia, a foundation created with Credit Suisse to facilitate charitable giving by wealthy donors in Asia to environmental, humanitarian, educational, and cultural causes in 47 countries.

## Career

After completing his education, Koh became the youngest ambassador ever appointed to the United Nations, serving until 1971 before accepting a position at age 33 as Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Singapore. In 1974, he returned to the United Nations, resuming his role as Singapore’s Permanent Representative. In 1984, Koh became Singapore’s Ambassador to the United States, where served until 1990. He then returned to Singapore to direct the Institute for Policy Studies, a position he held from 1990 to 1997 and again from 2000 to 2004. He was the founding chairman of the Singapore National Arts Council (1991-96) and the National Heritage Board (2002-11). Currently he serves as Ambassador-at-Large for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Special Adviser to the Lee Kuan Yew Institute of Policy Studies, and Chairman of the Center for International Law at the National University of Singapore and Rector of the Tembusu College of the same University

For much of his career, Koh has served and represented both Singapore and the United Nations on complex matters of international law, environmental policy, trade, and dispute resolution. From 1981 to 1982 he served as President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. From 1990 to 1992 he was Chairman of the Preparatory and Main Committees of the UN Conference on Environment and Development (the Rio “Earth Summit”) before serving in 1993 as Special Envoy of the UN Secretary General to the Russian Federation and Estonia Latvia and Lithuania. From 2000 to 2003 he served as Chief Negotiator for Singapore in free trade agreement talks with the United States.

## Selected Negotiation-Related Accomplishments

Koh has been instrumental in an array of significant negotiations and international legal disputes throughout his career, especially large-scale diplomatic conferences.<sup>2</sup> He has written about the negotiations and the negotiating processes associated with most of these episodes; he has also produced articles about negotiating in general and about the art of chairing major multiparty negotiations.<sup>3</sup> From among the wide range of Koh’s significant negotiations, eight examples stand out. These eight cases are briefly profiled below, each directly followed by suggestions for more detailed reading (mainly written by Koh and various co-authors).

### *Cambodian Representation in the United Nations (1970-79)*

1978, Vietnam invaded Cambodia and overthrew the brutal Khmer Rouge regime, installing a puppet government in its place; the third time the government of Cambodia was toppled in eight years. Koh was asked to lead the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) delegation in determining whether to recognize the new government.

In a highly contentious 1979 UN gathering, significant support was expressed for recognizing the Vietnamese-installed government, in large part because of the crimes committed against the

Cambodian population by the Khmer Rouge. Koh successfully argued for a position he believed tragic but necessary, rejecting the legitimacy of the puppet government as a foreign intervention and violation of international law.<sup>4</sup>

A staunch supporter of Cambodia, in part given that nation’s support for Singapore’s independence, Koh was committed to three broad, interlocking goals: an end to the Vietnamese-backed government, a transition that would prevent the return of the Khmer Rouge, and an electoral process by which Cambodians would elect their own government. As a member of an ASEAN delegation, Koh took part in a lengthy process that ultimately achieved these goals at the Paris Conference in 1991.<sup>5</sup>

*Further Reading:* Koh, T.T.B. “My Adventure in International Law.” *Colloquium on Singapore and International Law: the Early Years*. 2009. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., “My Adventure with International Law,” pp. 359-71 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

Koh, T.T.B. “My Cambodian Story.” in *Cambodia: Progress and Challenges Since 1991*, eds. P. Sothirak, G. Wade, and M. Hong, pp. 11-17 2012. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., “My Cambodian Story,” pp. 69-76 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

### *The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (1978-82)*

With international ocean law woefully inadequate to handle the sharply increasing range and intensity of ocean uses, the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea (LOS) was convened in 1973 and ran through 1982. This “global megaconference” was tasked with reaching agreement on a convention dealing with *all* uses of the ocean including activities as varied as shipping and fishing; rights to hydrocarbon production on outer continental shelves; boundary, exclusive economic zone, and territorial demarcation; passage through, under, and over waters adjacent to coastlines, straits, islands, and archipelagos; marine environmental protection; and dispute resolution mechanisms for these and other uses. In 1978, Koh was appointed to chair a key negotiating committee of the overall LOS conference that dealt with the financial terms of contracts to mine the resources of the deep seabed and ocean floor. Deep disagreements over the implementation and financing of so-called deep seabed mining stood in the way of the 150+ participant nations reaching agreement on the overall convention whose agenda spanned the full range of ocean uses (beyond deep seabed mining). Among the 1000+ delegates, fundamental divisions had emerged on seabed mining between wealthy and developing nations, capitalist and non-capitalist nations, and maritime and landlocked nations. Developing maritime nations favored significant financing for an international mining authority to administer mining contracts. Developed capitalist countries rejected the authority because of the costs, international bureaucracy, and adverse precedents for global governance. Instead, these latter countries mostly supported a more loosely organized claims registry.

Carefully introducing outside experts while balancing formal meetings with non-binding gatherings, Koh incrementally built both momentum and consensus for a remarkably creative agreement on seabed mining. In 1980, Koh’s group reached agreement on a text used directly by the convention. His unexpected success led the grateful LOS delegates to elect him to be president of the overall LOS conference, which finally produced a treaty – a “constitution for the oceans” – ultimately ratified by 165 nations and signed by an additional 15 countries.<sup>6</sup>

*Further Reading:* Tommy T. B. Koh & S Jayakumar. “The Negotiating Process of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea,” in the *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea*,

1982, *A Commentary* (Volume 1) edited by Myron H. Nordquist. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1985.

Koh, T.T.B. "Reflections on the Negotiating Process of UNCLOS." Article 4 of the 1982 *Stimson Lectures: Building a New Legal Order for the Ocean*, delivered at Yale University, 1982. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "Reflections on the Negotiating Process of UNCLOS," pp. 301-14 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

Koh, T.T.B. "Commemoration of the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Opening for Signature of the 1982 UNCLOS." Speech delivered on 10 December 2012. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "Commemoration of the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Opening for Signature of the 1982 UNCLOS," pp. 57-63 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

See also Sebenius, James K., and Lance Antrim. "Multilateral Conference Mediation: Tommy Koh and the Law of the Sea." In *Mediation in International Relations: Multiple Approaches to Conflict Management*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, 97-130. London: Macmillan, 1992.

### *Recognition of Singapore by China (1990)*

In 1990, Koh represented Singapore in talks to establish formal diplomatic ties with China for the first time. Singapore's bilateral trade and military agreements with Taiwan were a significant source of tension with the Chinese and an obstacle to Chinese diplomatic relations with Singapore. Koh was able to de-emphasize Singapore's relationship with Taiwan by emphasizing the lack of formal relations between the two countries. In turn, this minimized Chinese pressure on Singapore to alter existing agreements with Taiwan as a pre-condition for normalizing relations. After three rounds of negotiations the two nations established formal diplomatic ties on October 3, 1990.<sup>7</sup>

*Further Reading:* Koh, T.T.B. "My Adventure in International Law." *Colloquium on Singapore and International Law: the Early Years*. 2009. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "My Adventure with International Law," pp. 359-71 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

### *The Earth Summit (Rio Summit) (1990-1992)*

In 1990, Koh became chairman of the committee responsible for creating the framework for the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro—a second global mega-conference. The purpose of the conference was to reach agreement on international environmental policies. In 1992, Koh became chairman of this potentially unwieldy conference, which convened with over 7,000 attendees from 172 nations in the intense glare of global publicity and environmental concern. On almost every matter; climate change, biodiversity, rights of indigenous peoples, energy consumption and beyond, environmental advocates confronted powerful opposition from disparate parties with competing interests. In one instance, the United States attempted to have the phrase "right to social and economic development" removed from the summit declaration. In another, Saudi Arabia advocated against proposed language on climate change. Oil and coal producing countries sought to protect "their" industries while island nations existentially threatened by rising sea waters clashed. Rainforest preservation advocates met equally strong challenges from countries who sought to use rainforest resources for their development.

In spite of the challenges before him, Koh and his colleagues successfully orchestrated the process that ultimately resulted in:

1. The Rio Declaration of Principles—27 principles that articulate, organize, and relate human and environmental rights.
2. Agenda 21—A comprehensive document outlining a 21<sup>st</sup> century action plan for the United Nations, individual nations, non-profit organizations, private industry, individuals, and the environment.
3. The Forest Principles—A compromise document entitled the *Non-Legally Binding Authoritative Statement of Principles for a Global Consensus on the Management, Conservation and Sustainable Development of All Types of Forests*.
4. The Convention on Biological Diversity—A comprehensive treaty relating human activity to biodiversity through principles of sustainable development.
5. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change—A treaty committing signatories to the reduction of greenhouse gases in the environment to levels conducive to long-term environmental sustainability.
6. The United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification—The world’s first treaty related to the collective issues of water resource management, human rights, and drought mitigation.

A 1992 *New York Times* profile cited Koh’s exceptional parliamentary skills in the face of opposition, in one instance, “clear[ing] 100 financial provisions with one [gavel] blow.” Ultimately the documents and agreements produced at the Rio Summit articulated fundamental and unprecedented language, norms, and obligations for international environmental policy.<sup>8</sup>

*Further Reading:* Koh, T.T.B. “The Earth Summit’s Negotiating Process: Some Reflections on the Art and Science of Negotiation.” The Seventh Singapore Law Review Lecture. delivered to the Faculty of Law, National University of Singapore, 15 December 1992. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., “The Earth Summit’s Negotiating Process: Some Reflections on the Art and Science of Negotiation,” pp. 483-93 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

See also Koh, Tommy. “A Process of Negotiation.” *UN Chronicle* 46 (2) (June): 47–48. And Koh, Tommy. 1997b. “Five Years After Rio.” *UN Chronicle* 46 (2) (June): 44–46. 1997a.

### *Dispute Between Baltic Nations and the Russian Federation (1993)*

The dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the end of the Cold War led to the independence of the Baltic nations in 1991, including Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Over 23,000 Russian military personnel and over 70,000 veterans and Russian pension recipients remained in the three Baltic nations. Talks were held between the countries into 1993, but collapsed due to disagreements over the timeline for the withdrawal of active troops, the closure of Russian military facilities in Latvia and Estonia, and the resolution of citizenship status and pension obligations for Russian expat retirees. In 1993, the Baltic countries filed a grievance with the United Nations. With tensions escalating, Tommy Koh was appointed the U.N. Secretary General’s Special Envoy, ultimately playing a key role in resolving the dispute.

A lengthy history of domination, distrust, long-time human rights grievances, as well as significant financial and political instability contributed to the impasse. Russia resisted a rapid withdrawal of troops and was reluctant to honor obligations to Russian pensioners living in the Baltics. In a matter of months, Koh gathered support of outside nations, travelled among the four countries, and made progress on each of the grievances, leading to an unforeseen degree of normalization of relations between the former Soviet states.<sup>9</sup>

*Further Reading:* Koh, Tommy. “International Mediation: the Experience of a UN Special Envoy.” *The Singapore Mediation Centre* (August 17): 1-5. 2007.

Koh, T.T.B., “Making Peace Between Russia and the Baltics,” pp. 61-8 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

### *Formation, Ratification, and Implementation of the ASEAN Charter (2005-07)*

An alliance of ten voting nations—Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam—the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was first formed in 1967. With the dramatic rise in economic importance of the member countries, ASEAN became an increasingly important economic, political, and diplomatic force both in the region and globally. In 2006, the member states formed a committee to draft a formal charter in time for the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the organization. Koh represented Singapore and was chosen to serve as chair of the commission in late 2007.

Two camps emerged among the diverse members, with disagreement over matters of sovereignty, international law, human rights, and mechanisms for dispute resolution. Koh later wrote, “I had to reconcile the competing interests of the ten countries, the strongly held beliefs of some and the highly restrictive mandates of others.” Koh’s leadership led to consensus and the ratification of a robust ASEAN charter in November 2007.<sup>10</sup>

*Further Reading:* Koh, Tommy Thong Bee, Rosario G Manalo, and Walter C. M. Woon. “The Negotiating Process.” In *The Making of the ASEAN Charter*, 214. World Scientific. 2009. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., “The Negotiating Process of the ASEAN Charter,” pp. 372-89 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

### *Negotiation and Ratification of the Singapore – U.S. Free Trade Agreement (USSFTA) (2000-03)*

As early as November 2000, Koh and his colleagues began to envision and take steps toward setting up negotiations over a free trade agreement (FTA) between Singapore and the United States. Both countries saw benefits in an FTA, but the transition to a new presidential administration in the United States, the difficulty of negotiating trade agreements with the United States, and concerns about the impact of an agreement by ASEAN nations presented challenges as Koh took leadership over the Singaporean delegation as Chief Negotiator. Koh faced the difficult task of crafting the agreement with American executive branch officials, while also building support among legislators for ratification, and ensuring and maintaining the backing of American business leaders along with labor, environmental, and other stakeholders. Three-years of negotiations led to the ratification of the USSFTA by the U.S. Congress in July 2003.<sup>11</sup>

*Further Reading:* Koh, Tommy Thong Bee, and Li Lin Chang. “The USSFTA: a Personal Perspective.” In *The United States Singapore Free Trade Agreement: Highlights and Insights*, 293. World Scientific. 2004.

*Settlement of a Territorial Disputes with Malaysia (1979-2007)*

Beginning in 1979, Malaysia challenged Singapore's ownership of the small islands of Pedra Branca, Middle Rocks, and South Ledge, as well as Singapore's physical territorial expansion through land-sea reclamation efforts. As these territorial disputes escalated, Malaysia invoked UNCLOS in 2003 and called for arbitration over Singapore's land reclamation. In 2007, the International Court of Justice heard testimony over the three disputed islands. In both cases, Koh represented Singapore, successfully re-claiming Pedra Branca and rebutting Malaysia's claims regarding the impact of the land reclamation process. Both cases led to the clarification and strengthening of international law regarding territorial disputes.<sup>12</sup>

*Further Reading:* Koh, T.T.B. "My Adventure in International Law." *Colloquium on Singapore and International Law: the Early Years*. 2009. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "My Adventure with International Law," pp. 359-71 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

Jayakumar, S., and Tommy Thong Bee Koh., "Negotiating the Special Agreement," pp. 35-41 In *Pedra Branca: the Road to the World Court*. Singapore: NUS Press. 2009.



## References

- Bank, World. *The Little Data*, World Bank Publications, 2013. doi:10.1596/978-0-8213-9812-8.
- Jayakumar, S, and Tommy Thong Bee Koh. "Negotiating the Special Agreement." In *Pedra Branca: the Road to the World Court*, Singapore: NUS Press, 2009.
- Justice, International Court of. *Case Concerning Sovereignty Over Pedra Branca/Pulau Batu Puteh, Middle Rocks and South Ledge; Order of 1 September 2003*, United Nations Publications, 2004.
- Koh, Tommy. "A Process of Negotiation." *UN Chronicle* 46, no. 2 (June 1, 1997): 47-48.
- Koh, T.T.B. "Commemoration of the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Opening for Signature of the 1982 UNCLOS." Speech delivered on 10 December 2012. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "Commemoration of the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Opening for Signature of the 1982 UNCLOS," pp. 57-63 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.
- Koh, T.T.B. "The Earth Summit's Negotiating Process: Some Reflections on the Art and Science of Negotiation." The Seventh Singapore Law Review Lecture. delivered to the Faculty of Law, National University of Singapore, 15 December 1992. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "The Earth Summit's Negotiating Process: Some Reflections on the Art and Science of Negotiation," pp. 483-93 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.
- Koh, Tommy. "Five Years After Rio." *UN Chronicle* 46, no. 2 (June 1, 1997): 44-46.
- Koh, Tommy. "International Mediation: the Experience of a UN Special Envoy." *The Singapore Mediation Centre* (August 17, 2007): 1-5.
- Koh, T.T.B., "Making Peace Between Russia and the Baltics," pp. 61-8 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.
- Koh, T.T.B. "My Cambodian Story." in *Cambodia: Progress and Challenges Since 1991*, eds. P. Sothirak, G. Wade, and M. Hong, pp. 11-17 2012. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "My Cambodian Story," pp. 69-76 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.
- Koh, Tommy Thong Bee, Rosario G Manalo, and Walter C. M. Woon. "The Negotiating Process." In *The Making of the ASEAN Charter*, 214. World Scientific. 2009. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "The Negotiating Process of the ASEAN Charter," pp. 372-89 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.
- Koh, T.T.B. "Reflections on the Negotiating Process of UNCLOS." Article 4 of the 1982 *Stimson Lectures: Building a New Legal Order for the Ocean*, delivered at Yale University, 1982. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "Reflections on the Negotiating Process of UNCLOS," pp. 301-14 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.
- Koh, T.T.B. *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.
- Koh, Tommy Thong Bee, and Li Lin Chang. "The USSFTA: a Personal Perspective." In *The United States Singapore Free Trade Agreement: Highlights and Insights*, 293, World Scientific, 2004.

Sebenius, James K., and Lance Antrim. "Multilateral Conference Mediation: Tommy Koh and the Law of the Sea." In *Mediation in International Relations: Multiple Approaches to Conflict Management*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, 97-130. London: Macmillan, 1992.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The Republic of Singapore is a small, religiously and ethnically diverse Southeast Asian island nation of over 5.3 million people. A former British colony, Singapore was founded in 1819 and declared independence from Britain in 1963, allying itself with other newly independent states to form Malaysia. After a contentious relationship with the Malaysian government, Singapore became an independent nation in 1965, headed by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew.

Lee Kuan Yew was instrumental in Singapore's rapid rise in the economic, military, diplomatic, and technological spheres. Born in Singapore and educated in the United Kingdom, he became active in politics in the late 1950s. After leading the independence movement, he joined four other nations in the formation in 1967 of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). In 1970, he led Singapore's entrance into the Non-Aligned Movement. Lee Kuan Yew was succeeded in 1990 by Goh Chok Tong, who served until 2004, when Lee Kuan Yew's eldest son, Lee Hsien Loong, became and currently serves as Prime Minister.

A center for trade in Southeast Asia, Singapore has built a successful economy, specializing in financial services, energy, hi-tech manufacturing, biotechnology, and shipping. Hi-tech products comprised 45% of all manufactured exports in 2011, and oil-related sectors currently comprise 5% of GDP. Singapore's per capita income was \$42,930 in 2011, putting it in the top 10% of 190 economies ranked by the World Bank. With a GDP close to \$240 billion in 2011 (Bank 2013), its economy is comparable in size to Denmark and Hong Kong. Comprised of 59 islands south of Malaysia and north of Indonesia, the nation's foreign and domestic policies often focus on environmental issues.

<sup>2</sup> A much fuller account of Koh's career in international negotiation and law through 2009 is contained in Koh, T.T.B. "My Adventure in International Law." *Colloquium on Singapore and International Law: the Early Years*. 2009. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "My Adventure with International Law," pp. 359-71 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Koh, T.T.B. and Chang Li Lin, "Eight Lessons on Negotiations." pp. 195-205 in *The Little Red Dot: Reflections by Singapore's Diplomats*. World Scientific. 2005. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "My Adventure with International Law," pp. 232-37 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013; and Koh, T.T.B., "The Art of Chairing Conferences: Lessons Learns," pp. 238-44 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Koh, T.T.B. "My Adventure in International Law." *Colloquium on Singapore and International Law: the Early Years*. 2009. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "My Adventure with International Law," pp. 359-71 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Koh, T.T.B.. *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*; Tommy Koh, "A Process of Negotiation," *UN Chronicle* 46, no. 2 (June 1, 1997): 47-48; Tommy Koh, "Five Years After Rio," *UN Chronicle* 46, no. 2 (June 1, 1997): 44-46.

<sup>9</sup> Tommy Koh, "International Mediation: the Experience of a UN Special Envoy," *The Singapore Mediation Centre* (August 17, 2007): 1-5.

---

<sup>10</sup> Tommy Thong Bee Koh, Rosario G Manalo, and Walter C M Woon, "The Negotiating Process," in *The Making of the ASEAN Charter*. World Scientific. 2009. 214. reprinted in Koh, T.T.B., "The Negotiating Process of the ASEAN Charter," pp. 372-89 of *The Tommy Koh Reader: Favourite Essays and Lectures*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing. 2013.

<sup>11</sup> Koh, "My Adventure in International Law.,"; Tommy Thong Bee Koh and Li Lin Chang, "The USSFTA: a Personal Perspective," in *The United States Singapore Free Trade Agreement: Highlights and Insights*, (World Scientific, 2004), 293.

<sup>12</sup> Koh, "My Adventure in International Law.,"; International Court of Justice, *Case Concerning Sovereignty Over Pedra Branca/Pulau Batu Puteh, Middle Rocks and South Ledge; Order of 1 September 2003*, (United Nations Publications, 2004).; S Jayakumar and Tommy Thong Bee Koh, "Negotiating the Special Agreement," in *Pedra Branca: the Road to the World Court*, (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009).