

Transformational Leadership for the 3rd Generation SAF

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“Consider that, while advances in materials and technology have changed the face of battle, the Army continues to rely most heavily on strong leaders at all levels – exceptional leaders who are self-aware, adaptive, and agile; leaders who will hold units together in the midst of tragedy; leaders who will achieve their objectives in the face of concerted opposition and the most overwhelming odds. These are

leaders of indomitable spirit who fulfil their obligations to their assigned mission and to their people.”¹ – US General Eric K. Shinseki (Ret’d)

Even as the SAF embarks on the massive journey towards force transformation, the challenges that remain are multi-faceted, complex and constantly evolving. For the SAF

to continue being innovative and responsive as a credible and capable force for the 21st century, the next generation of leaders must continue to build on transformation efforts and steer the organisation forward in foreboding unknown waters. Rapid advancements in information and communication technologies synergised with improved tactics, techniques and procedures have greatly enhanced the modern military. The introduction of the Integrated Knowledge-based Command and Control (IKC2) framework for the SAF has henceforth transformed Integrated Warfare doctrine by leveraging on these information advances². At the strategic and operational level, increased demands to manage these technological advances and developments will require new-age inspirational military leaders to drive continued performance from our soldiers.

Aside from hardware advances, the continued development of our people’s “heart”-ware is thus equally as paramount. Increasingly we have come to recognise the broader context of the SAF transformation, one that is not solely associated with the latest in information-communications technology, but also tied to the maturing

of our post-Independence nation and the changing nature of the military profession³. “People-centric” issues will be an intricate facet which the SAF will have to increasingly confront as part of its transformation efforts, and these may take unprecedented and previously not experienced emotional, psychological and intellectual forms. In short, to address such metamorphosing challenges, we will need inherently transformational leaders to drive transformation for the 3rd Generation SAF.

Spirit and System: The Current SAF Leadership Doctrine

“Leadership is being able to influence and motivate one’s peers and fellow soldiers – to imbue them with trust and confidence so that they will carry out a mission confidently and to their best ability... The SAF therefore demands the highest standards of leadership at all levels of command and expects them to lead, excel and inspire others to give their best to the nation⁴.” – *The SAF Core Values (1997) p7*

Leadership in the SAF is defined as “a process of influencing people to accomplish the mission, inspiring

Competencies	“Core Competencies” (For Leader Performance)				“Meta-competency” (For Growth / Adaptability)
	Conceptual Thinking	Social	Mission	Developmental	
Skills	Critical Thinking	Communicating to Influence	Planning	Developing People	Self-Awareness
	Creative Thinking	Interpersonal Effectiveness	Decision Making	Developing Team	Self Management
	Ethical Reasoning		Execution	Improving Organisation	Personal Mastery

Figure 1. The SAF Leadership Competency Model (LCM)

their commitment and improving the organisation”⁵; and as one of the SAF Seven Core Values, it has always been considered to be an imperative pillar of the organisation. Currently, the SAF uses a Leadership Competency Model (LCM) to articulate leadership frameworks and paradigms. It consists of five competency domains and fourteen skill sets; four of the competency domains are “core” competencies that directly influence leadership performance, and the fifth is a “personal meta-competency” required for leader adaptability and growth⁶ (See Figure 1 on previous page):

Building on the previous “Knowledge, Abilities & Qualities” (KAQ) Model, the LCM emphasises new behavioural competency domains that go beyond mere people / social and task / mission domains.⁷ The behavioural descriptors highlighted above are meant to “facilitate the assessment, observation, feedback and reflection” on specific leadership competencies and skills at the school and unit level, with increased attention paid to specific skill sets such as decision-making, ethical reasoning, team-building, organisational development and personal mastery.⁸

The SAF Leadership Development (LD) Framework deals with the subject of various leadership styles, which can be loosely interpreted as the approaches one can take in response to various matters or problems. The various core- and meta-competencies deal with the cognitive domain, and can be largely personality-centric in its enforcement and promulgation. In terms of an overarching theme, there is perhaps a lack in articulation of a specific style that transcends the five

competencies and fourteen skill sets. It has been acknowledged that the articulation of the LD Framework is based “heavily on an assumption of leadership in hierarchical rather than flatter, networked organisational arrangements”.⁹ There remains a need to appreciate, project and evaluate the paradigm shifts needed for leadership in a more network-centric and knowledge-empowered SAF for the future. These complications have therefore resulted in various difficulties aligning these various concepts to a particular leadership style and theme.

The SAF’s Centre for Leadership Development (CLD) has articulated that the future ahead for leadership development must rest on synergising the *Spirit and System*¹⁰, where systems refer to the doctrines, curriculum and tools driving the thinking behind leadership, and spirit refers to the ethos and motivation of SAF Leaders driving their daily work and actions. Hype over transformation efforts has so far centered on the hardware; there is a pressing need now to enhance and promulgate the leadership to drive this gargantuan task of transformation. To internalise the SAF LCM, we must educate, empower and enthuse our people to apply the rubrics of this coherent framework. We must strive to create leaders who are “cool in the head, warm in the heart and hot in the hands”.

Thus, beyond just developing leaders adept at transformation, what is perhaps more imperative is *developing transformational leaders who are adept* for the organisation. At the risk of sounding pedantic, this paper seeks to identify and examine the tenets and benefits

behind transformational leadership for the 3rd Generation SAF, and to expound on transformational leadership as a style / theme in relation to the existing LD framework for application to all levels of command within the SAF.

Transformational Leadership Leadership for the New Frontier

Throughout the ages, military forces have relied on organisational forms and practices that are systematic, but often rigid and inflexible, to develop standard operating procedures in an effort to eliminate uncertainties and confusion in combat. This tension of “flexibility versus discipline, empowerment versus control, and centralisation versus decentralisation in the organisation” is thus something that military leaders often have to grapple with.¹¹ Often, military leaders rely on traditional “carrot-and-stick” measures to enforce conformance to established norms; engaging in forms of “transactional” leadership to ensure tasks are accomplished.

In a new era of “Fourth Generation Warfare”, the rapidly evolving ‘backdrop’ of military tactics and strategy demands that modern militaries now be able to rapidly adapt to changing circumstances and conditions, and not merely follow previously established norms which may already be antiquated and obsolete. At the tactical level, the increasing prominence of the “strategic corporal” further demands the transfer of appropriate skills and the empowerment of leadership to levels further and further down the chain of command. This flexibility and adaptability required therefore demands a new form of leadership in this age of

warfare transformation – an altogether transformational leadership.

Transformational vs. Transactional Leadership

As mentioned, transactional leadership emphasises the transaction or exchange that takes place among leaders, colleagues, and followers. This exchange is based on the leader discussing with others what is required and specifying the conditions and rewards (economic or political or psychological) if they fulfil those requirements.¹² Depending on the adequacy of the follower’s performance, the leader rewards or disciplines the follower accordingly.

Transformational leadership however, raises the bar – it certainly does more than just set up simple exchanges or agreements. Transformational leadership involves inspiring followers to commit to a shared vision and goals for an organisation or unit, challenging them to be innovative problem solvers, and developing followers’ leadership capacity via coaching, mentoring,



Transformational leadership involves inspiring followers to commit to a shared vision and goals for an organisation or unit, challenging them to be innovative problem solvers, and developing followers’ leadership capacity via coaching, mentoring, and provision of both challenge and support.

and provision of both challenge and support.¹³ In relation to the SAF LCM, tenets of transformational leadership are manifested most in the “Self” and “Developmental” competencies, which entail more cognitive and meta-psychological skills.

What’s in a Transformational Leader?

Transformational leaders motivate others to do more than they originally intended and often even more than they thought possible. They set challenging expectations and typically achieve higher performances. Transformational leaders also tend to have more committed and satisfied followers. Transformational leadership is a “process that changes and transforms individuals, and is primarily concerned with values, ethics, standards and long-term goals”.¹⁴

Conceptually, in summary, a transformational leader is charismatic, and followers seek to identify with the leader so as to emulate him or her. The leadership inspires followers, providing both meaning and understanding. The leadership is intellectually stimulating, and seeks to expand followers’ use of their abilities. The leadership is individually tailored, providing the follower with support, mentoring and coaching. Academically, there are 4 recognised components for transformational leadership to be effective¹⁵: (1) *Idealised Influence*, (2) *Inspirational Motivation*, (3) *Intellectual Stimulation* and (4) *Individualised Consideration*. We will look at each component in turn.

A transformational leader who manifests traits of “Idealised Influence” behaves in ways that allow them to

serve as role models who are admired, respected and trusted. Leaders who have a great deal of idealised influence are willing to take risks and are consistent rather than arbitrary.¹⁶ There is confidence in a shared vision, and an emphasis on the importance of purpose, commitment and the ethical consequences of various decisions.

Transformational leaders are those who can also provide “Inspirational Motivation” for their followers, by providing meaning and challenge for them. Emphasis is placed on team spirit, and the encouragement of enthusiastic and optimistic outlooks. There is a lucid articulation of a promising future toward which the transformational leader encourages and motivates his followers to strive for.

Transformational leadership also entails a process of “Intellectual Stimulation” for those under one’s charge – to harness their cumulative innovation and creativity by probing for questions and modified assumptions, re-framing problems and approaching old situations in new ways.¹⁷ There is an emphasis placed on soliciting new ideas and creative solutions to existing / emerging problems and challenges. Re-framing existing paradigms and possessing a versatile capacity to change¹⁸ are all instrumental in encouraging this intellectual stimulation.

“Individualised Consideration” is also an important hallmark trait of a transformational leader. In this respect, there is special attention paid to each individual follower’s needs for growth and achievement through active coaching and mentoring.¹⁹ With proper

identification and acknowledgement of the individual's capabilities and limitations, a suitable level of empowerment is then accorded to the individual to carry out assigned tasks and responsibilities.

Given this background, the pertinent question is: How does transformational leadership augment and enhance the modern military's capability to deal with a new age of challenges? Let us examine this in greater detail.

Transformational Military Leaders Engendering Greater Commitment to Defence

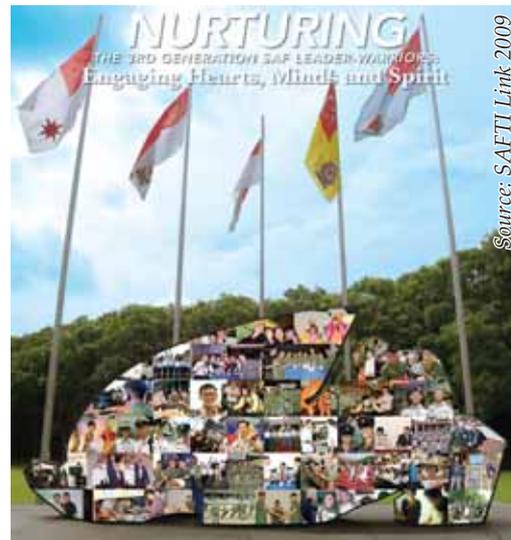
Leaders play an important role in raising followers' levels of commitment by fostering and augmenting their dedication to the team, to the leader, and finally to the organisation. Research has highlighted that transformational leaders are able to influence the followers' commitment and identification with the leader, and also positively influence their social identification with the group or organisation.²⁰

For the military, the idea of commitment and dedication to a cause is all the more imperative. Commitment should be the central focus in soldier motivation over and above compliance through obedience; for without commitment, there may be a deficiency in the will to fight.²¹ For the individual soldier, the ultimate test of commitment is up to the point of death – the “unlimited liability” clause that each military member sacredly carries.²² Commitment is thus certainly the “backbone of the military profession”²³,

especially when we consider the high risk, extremely demanding and severely stressful nature of military activities.

To engender such commitment, transformational leadership is needed at all levels, especially considering how significantly the new-age soldiers' demographic composition has changed. More likely than not, they are knowledge workers – “informed, enlightened, and often knowing more than the leader about how to get the task done”.²⁴ They are an increasingly diverse group with more varied and more numerous needs; one leadership style may not be sufficient in dealing with them. Furthermore, they are the leaders of the future, and must thus be equally well-developed and empowered. For today's soldier, a transformational adaptive leader needs to remain cognisant of these requirements whilst still remaining stimulating and inspirational.

Nurturing and Engaging a First Class People



Nurturing and Engaging a First Class People

A key component of transformational leadership centres on intellectual stimulation, i.e. intellectually engaging one's subordinates to elicit creative solutions to joint problems and challenges. This intellectual engagement can facilitate the unprecedented development of breakthrough products and resolve previously-embroiled conundrums. The development of Scotch Tape and Post-It Notes were made possible because renowned 3M Chief Executive William McKnight encouraged engineers to spend up to 15% of their time pursuing whatever projects they liked.²⁵ In World War II, a US Army non-commissioned officer provided a novel solution to overcome the Normandy hedgerows when he conceptualised the modification of tanks into bulldozers.²⁶ Intellectual stimulation is certainly important to encourage one's subordinates to overcome existing boundaries to break new ground.

Another key component of transformational leadership rests on individualised consideration, where followers feel like their own personal needs are being met. The coaching and mentoring provided empowers them with a sense of increased competence to fulfil existing tasks and requirements. There has been evidence to suggest that greater perceived fulfillment of training goals indirectly raises military commitment and performance, as well as levels of motivation and self-efficacy.²⁷ Transformational leadership is thus clearly important for nurturing and engaging a first class people for a world class organisation.

Conceptualisations of transformational leadership and notions of nurturing and engagement can be easily misconstrued to be too soft and all 'smoke and mirrors'²⁸; i.e. a feel-good factor that does not raise the bar for performance and results. However, it has been proven that such concepts are imperative in raising group performance, be it measured by normative or objective means. It is often overlooked how such factors influence followers to collectively raise the quality of the overall effort – which is more creative, more dynamic and resistant, more adaptable to change, and on the whole, self-propagating for even more success.

Ready, Relevant, Decisive

In combat, the presence of visible inspirational leadership is the key definer of a successful operation. As Montesquieu once famously remarked, "A rational army would run away". His words still ring much truth in our modern day context. A transformational leader makes the tipping point between a rout and a rally. Repeated studies have suggested that the disruption of leadership during combat is one of the key factors responsible for psychiatric breakdowns in battle, along with other transformational leadership aspects such as group identification and group cohesiveness.²⁹ General Eric Shinseki elucidates this point aptly: "Leadership matters. It matters in the life and death situations in which a lack of trust, teamwork, clear focus, confidence and motivation could spell disaster... Leadership matters also

when preparing soldiers for the rigours of combat in realistic training scenarios that simulate combat with inherently dangerous equipment and munitions. And leadership matters during the down time, as well, when soldiers prepare for future missions, plan training, repair and maintain equipment, and spend time with their families”.³⁰ For the SAF, this is certainly a critical component we must not neglect in our quest to remain ready, relevant and decisive.



The SAF being Ready, Relevant and Decisive

The concept of a “fog of war” was first articulated by the prescient Carl von Clausewitz when he asserted that war never remained a constant; “friction” in war thus demands a need to be fluid and dynamic. “Every war is rich in unique episodes. Each is an uncharted sea full of reefs. The commander may suspect the reef’s existence without ever having seen them; now he has to steer past them in the dark.”³¹ In this age, this still remains relevant. Asymmetric and complex irregular

warfare will increasingly dominate the future of warfare; one where war will be “custom-designed” by hybrid adversaries that will avoid predictability or linear operations. A sole reliance on technological advancements alone is unlikely to prove efficacious; what is needed is strong transformational leadership to steer the course in these unnerving and uncertain times.

Transformational military leaders will also be increasingly challenged to embrace cultural and anthropological foundations of traditional peoples and societies in future military campaigns. A new approach is needed – one that is anchored in historical, anthropological and traditional cultural narratives. Given this widening new spectrum of operations, it comes as no surprise that the honing of cultural intelligence (CQ) has become one of the key competencies identified for the military. The next generation of transformational leaders will need to develop cross-cultural leader competencies and awareness to maintain a cultural sensitivity.³²

At the organisational level, transformational leadership also plays an imperative role, particularly in improving the organisation’s “image, recruitment, selection, promotion, management of diversity, teamwork, training, development and ability to innovate”.³³ The influence of the organisation’s norms, values and culture also has significant impact for her strategic planning, design of jobs and overall structure. From an organisational policy perspective, transformational leadership is thus necessary to retain the overall level of competitiveness, relevance and development.

Imbuing Resilience

Repeated studies have suggested that the transformational components of “charisma, inspirational leadership, intellectual stimulation, and individualised consideration”³⁴ are all key components of effective leadership under stress / duress. Across the board, charismatic transformational leaders were able to maintain stability under stress, and were not easily disconcerted or discomposed when faced with adversity or crisis. In comparing Israeli medal winners in the Yom Kippur war with ordinary soldiers, the medal winners were noted to be more emotionally stable, exhibiting strong transformational leadership traits – perseverance under stress, decisiveness and devotion to duty.³⁵ The presence of transformational leadership is thus a critical component in imbuing an underlying base of resilience and tenacity.

In this age, notions of “strategic depth” become inconsequential when no nation can now depend on secure territorial borders to tackle an amorphous adversary. Today, responding to any unforeseen scenario may almost be as important as trying to deter one. As a case in point, in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the transformational leadership displayed by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and his administration proved critical in ameliorating much of the community’s panic. The advance emergency preparations and structured readiness for such an event was enforced in the preceding years, and this foresight allowed the community to be well prepared for the recovery process because resources were well organised and coordinated.³⁶ Giuliani

recognised the importance to keep the public well-informed of the situation at hand and conveyed a sturdy message that the government was fully in control of the situation. His example clearly demonstrates that beyond the underlying hardware needed to rally confidence, the underlying “heartware” must be equally as strong. In times of crisis, existing local civil defence agencies are critical human resources whose effective management will prove paramount. The effective leadership of these resources in such exigencies thus determines the effectiveness of the organised response to disaster.

Transformational Leadership for the 3rd Generation SAF

As espoused in the above discussion, it is apparent that a transformational leadership style has immense benefits for the next generation of military leaders. CLD has acknowledged that there is a “need to research on the level of leadership for which change-oriented, transformational leadership development is most relevant”.³⁷ In some cases (particularly at junior levels), transactional leadership may be more appropriate for task-oriented operations. However, there is evidence suggesting that transformational leadership as a style will prove more efficacious in achieving longer term intents and goals. The current SAF LCM is a strident move toward formulating the domain of styles required at different levels of leadership. To be fully assimilated as part of the organisational culture however, transformational leadership as a central overarching theme / style can be promoted to further enhance the SAF LD framework.

In the Army's latest TV commercial, the central theme rests on the "strength of character in our people".³⁸ In similar fashion, the importance of strong leadership for the organisation has been clearly underscored. Buy-in for the SAF's envisioned future and culture however, must be emphasised at **all** levels of leadership. Training schools and ground units must take the initiative to ensure that the correct messages are being proliferated on the ground. There is certainly much that can be done to propagate the principles of "idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration". Beyond mere ownership, this vision must also be communicated and understood in a way that empowers subordinates and followers to seek to achieve it.³⁹ The challenge for our transformation journey is to bridge discontinuity while continuing to operate in today's context. Transformation is not simply to accommodate discontinuities or to keep pace with changes benchmarked by others; it is leaping into the future and creating new standards⁴⁰; this cannot be accomplished via a top-down approach – it requires all hands-on-deck.

Transformational leadership emphasises a capacity to translate a vision into reality. It emphasises the empowerment of authority and command from a "whole person" paradigm, which is certainly resonant with the ONE SAF vision. Efforts have been made to address the "hearts and minds" of our people through various initiatives such as the Human Capital Development Framework (HCDF) and the overarching Nurturing & Engagement (N & E) thrust; yet in

the midst of all these efforts, we may not have quite addressed the "spirit & soul" of our people. The fostering of a culture centred on transformational leadership may provide alternate kaleidoscopic perspectives required for our transformation efforts. A transformational leadership ethos demands the elimination of divergences between an espoused vision and the expressed behaviour on the ground. It entails the development of true robust measures to crystallise learning and knowledge management. It promotes synergistic interdependent competition vis-à-vis individualistic independent competition. All of these may prove essential in promulgating a truly organisational learning climate desired within the ONE SAF.

Transforming Transformational Leadership

*"A small group of men who are employed full-time as professionals to run this machine must be men of great quality. By that I don't just mean qualities of the mind. For this job, it is the character, the mettle in a person which determines whether the men you lead have that élan, the confidence, the verve which is possible only given dedicated and inspired leadership"*⁴¹ – Excerpt from PM Lee Kuan Yew, now MM, at the opening of the 1st Officers' Course at SAFTI on 19 Dec 1966

No matter how high-tech warfighting becomes, war is about the people and the military; it is thus not enough to dominate the technological domain alone.⁴² The variegated battlefield of the future will challenge the military to grapple with multi-faceted cultural

and social paradigms, and can be considered akin to a “Herculean” battle against a multi-headed Hydra.⁴³ It must be recognised that military operations, though paramount on their own, must be carefully calibrated according to political, social and economic imperatives. And at the forefront, strong stewardship and transformational leadership must be instilled to charter new frontiers and expound new boundaries.

At its core, transformational leadership is “about issues around the processes of transformation and change”.⁴⁴ The notion of a 3rd Generation transformation has indeed stirred much enthusiasm when we consider the technological imperatives, but it is equally important that we do not lose this alacrity when it comes to thinking about people imperatives. The idea of a “Technological” Revolution in Military Affairs per se should not be taken as a *fait accompli*. There is certainly a softer aspect which drives the monstrous machine of change. For the SAF, it is thus immensely important that we instil not just a capability, but an enduring capacity – come what may. 🙏

(Ed note: This essay is the third prize winner of the 2008 CDF Essay Competition)

Endnotes

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⁵ Extracted from the SAF LD Doctrine Directive 2 | 2004 dated 26 July 2004.
⁶ Chan, Singh, Ramaya, Lim, *Spirit & System*, p69.
⁷ *Ibid.*, p73.
⁸ *Ibid.*, pp69-73.
⁹ *Ibid.*, p19.
¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p35.
¹¹ *Ibid.*, p2.
¹² James Burns, *Leadership*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), p4.
¹³ Bernard M. Bass & Ronald E. Riggio, *Transformational Leadership*, (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2006), p4.
¹⁴ Paul Northouse, *Leadership: Theory and Practice*, (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2001), p131.
¹⁵ MAJ Thomas D. Huse, “Transformational Leadership in the Era of Change”, <http://www.ntis.gov.sg>, 22 May 03, pp11-13.
¹⁶ Bass & Riggio, *Transformational Leadership*, p6.
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¹⁸ Choy Dawen, Kwek Ju-Hon, Lai Chung Han, Lee Seow Hiang, Joseph Leong, Roland Ng, Frederick Teo, *Creating the Capacity to Change – Defence Entrepreneurship for the 21st Century*, *POINTER Monograph No. 1*, Journal of the Singapore Armed Forces, Future Systems Directorate (2003).
¹⁹ Bass & Riggio, *Transformational Leadership*, p7.
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²¹ Bass & Riggio, *Transformational Leadership*, p35.
²² *Ibid.*, p35.
²³ *Ibid.*, p35.
²⁴ *Ibid.*, p225.
²⁵ *Ibid.*, p37.
²⁶ *Ibid.*, p37.
²⁷ Tennenbaum, Mathieu, Salas & Cannon-Bowers, “Meeting trainees’ expectations: The influence of training fulfillment on the development of commitment, self-efficacy and motivation”, *Journal of Applied Psychology* (1991), pp759–769.
²⁸ Bass & Riggio, *Transformational Leadership*, p56.
²⁹ *Ibid.*, p68.
³⁰ Leader to Leader Institute, *Be Know Do – Leadership the Army Way*, (San Francisco, California: Josey Bass Publishing, 2004), pIntroduction.
³¹ Michael Howard and Peter Paret, *Carl von Clausewitz – On War*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976), p120.
³² See Kok Yee, Ng, Ramaya Regena, Teo Tony M.S and Siok Fun, Wong, “Cultural

Intelligence: Its Potential for Military Leadership Development”, Presented at the 47th International Military Testing Association, Singapore, 8-10 Nov 2005, where Cultural Competence can be defined as “a set of cultural behaviours and attitudes integrated into the practice methods of a system, agency or its professionals that enables them to work effectively in cross-cultural situations”.

³³ Bass & Riggio, *Transformational Leadership*, pp127 -128.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p67.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p67.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p67.

³⁷ Chan, Singh, Ramaya, Lim, *Spirit & System*, p19.

³⁸ Excerpted from COL Tan Chong Lee’s comments on the Army’s latest TV commercial, featured in *Army News*, Issue No. 159, p12 – “In moving beyond just showcasing our latest technology, we wanted the public to appreciate the strength of character in our people. Good leadership is the key to unleashing our people’s potential and we

want to show that we look for leaders who have the mettle of steel, are steadfast in their values and possess determination to carry out their mission resolutely. Ultimately, we wanted a fresh approach to the commercial which still ensured that the character of our Army continues to be displayed to the public”.

³⁹ Gordon R Sullivan and Michael V. Harper, *Hope is Not a Method*, (Broadway, New York: Broadway Books, 1996), p91.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p157.

⁴¹ Extracted from the SAF Leadership Video featuring PM Lee Kuan Yew’s Opening Address at Opening of 1st Officers’ Course at SAFTI, 19 Dec 1966.

⁴² Wilson, Sullivan and Kempfer, *4GW: Tactics of the Weak confound the strong*, http://www.military.com/NewContent?file=Wilson_090903, Sept 8 2003.

⁴³ Scott Atran, “A Leaner, Meaner Jihad”, *New York Times* (Mar 2004), p2.

⁴⁴ Bass & Riggio, *Transformational Leadership*, p225.



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