

## MacArthur Asia Security Initiative Interim Report 2011

# Preface

This interactive report summarises the progress of the Asia Security Initiative project of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies titled **Responding to Internal Crises and Their Cross Border Effects** over the period April 2010 to June 2011. It provides an in-depth discussion of the achievements and outcomes arising from key activities convened under the three research programmes supported by the Asia Security Initiative: the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme; the Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme; and the Energy and Human Security Programme.



As we progress into the final year of the Asia Security Initiative project, we are pleased to report that all activities planned for the three research programmes are well on track to be completed by the end of the grant period in March 2012.

Key activities over the reporting period are as follows:

- Convening of a number of workshops and study groups under the three Asia Security Initiative research programmes, including the following:
  - Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme*
    - » Protection of Civilians in Asia.
    - » The Responsibility to Protect.
    - » Security Sector Governance.
    - » The Dynamics for Resolving Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia.
  - Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme*
    - » Human Security and Climate Change in Southeast Asia: Managing Risk and Resilience.
    - » Climate Change and Food Security: Securing Asia Pacific's Food Futures.
    - » Climate Change, Migration and Human Security.
  - Energy and Human Security Programme*
    - » Nuclear Energy and Human Security: Critical Debates.
    - » Dealing with Energy Vulnerabilities: Case Studies of Cooperation and Collaboration in East Asia.
- Production and dissemination of research output arising from the above activities, such as the Asia Security Initiative Policy Series/Working Papers, conference reports, short articles and op-eds.
- Asia Security Initiative Visiting Fellowship



In this report, we share with you the findings and significant progress we have attained over the review period and trust that you will find it an interesting and stimulating read. We also anticipate that you will enjoy exploring the report's numerous interactive features that offer comprehensive insights into our Centre's ongoing research.

  
**Ambassador BARRY DESKER**  
Dean, RSIS

  
**MELY CABALLERO-ANTHONY**  
Head, Centre for NTS Studies, RSIS

# List of Abbreviations

|         |                                                                                      |
|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ACWC    | ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children |
| AICHR   | ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights                                   |
| APSC    | ASEAN Political-Security Community                                                   |
| ARF     | ASEAN Regional Forum                                                                 |
| APR2P   | Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect                                |
| APEC    | Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation                                                    |
| ASEAN   | Association of Southeast Asian Nations                                               |
| CISS    | Centre for International and Strategic Studies                                       |
| CSCAP   | Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific                                 |
| CSO     | Civil society organisation                                                           |
| DRR     | Disaster risk reduction                                                              |
| EU      | European Union                                                                       |
| FAO     | Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations                              |
| IPCC    | Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change                                            |
| IDP     | Internally displaced person                                                          |
| ICRC    | International Committee of the Red Cross                                             |
| IOM     | International Organization for Migration                                             |
| NGO     | Non-governmental organisation                                                        |
| NTS     | Non-Traditional Security                                                             |
| OECD    | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development                               |
| POC     | Protection of Civilians                                                              |
| RtoP    | Responsibility to Protect                                                            |
| RSIS    | S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies                                        |
| SSG     | Security Sector Governance                                                           |
| SAARC   | South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation                                     |
| UK      | United Kingdom                                                                       |
| UN      | United Nations                                                                       |
| UNICEF  | United Nations Children's Fund                                                       |
| UNDP    | United Nations Development Programme                                                 |
| UNHCR   | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees                                        |
| UK      | United Kingdom                                                                       |
| US      | United States                                                                        |
| WISCOMP | Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace                                     |

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## The Second Asia Security Initiative Annual Meeting, Seoul



Following the success of the Inaugural Asia Security Initiative Grantees' Meeting and Official Launch held in Singapore on 28–29 May 2009, the second Asia Security Initiative Annual Meeting was held in Seoul on 7–9 July 2010. This meeting was organised by the East Asia Institute and brought together over 46 participants from 35 institutions across 9 countries in Asia.

The meeting provided participants with a forum to develop stronger research networks and enabled Asia Security Initiative grantees to share their research findings, exchange ideas and explore areas of potential collaboration. The meeting focused on two themes: (1) Post Crisis Global and Regional Order; and (2) East Asian Community. The sessions on Post Crisis Global and Regional Order touched upon issues such as the blurring of lines between traditional and non-traditional security; the role of institutions and the importance of institutional design; and emerging challenges which include resource scarcity, food security, climate change and environmental degradation. The sessions on East Asian Community discussed issues such as the impact of the economic crises on the balance of power, the rise of China, and the conditions for East Asian regionalism and a sense of community in East Asia.

The meeting concluded that it would be important for Asia to develop a common vision with regard to its contribution towards building a global community, transform the fundamental organising principle from balance of power to networked sovereignty and capitalise on the relevant entry points opened up by emerging global norms.



With regard to the Asia Security Initiative network, participants at the meeting were urged to develop diverse means of cooperation among network institutes, focus on policy-relevant studies and expand the pool of young researchers.

Specifically, the second Asia Security Initiative Annual Meeting provided Cluster 3 institutes with the opportunity to collectively brainstorm and clarify how network members could most effectively continue to function and collaborate with one another. This question is particularly salient given the diversity of the institutes – including the sorts of actors they are working with – contained under the broad umbrella of Cluster 3. There was, however, also recognition that the inter-regional diversity found within the Cluster provided an important avenue for learning lessons and best practices on the gamut of internal challenges that cut across societies and how they might be best addressed. An example given in this instance was the lessons that could be learnt from how various regional organisations, such as the SAARC and ASEAN, manage problems differently. For instance, although the SAARC is often criticised for its relative ineffectiveness, it undoubtedly has important lessons to offer Southeast Asian countries and institutions. The breakout session for Cluster 3 institutes also focused more practically on ways in which the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, as the Lead Institute for the Internal Challenges Cluster, can help its partners under the Cluster identify potential resources and gain access to vehicles for the wider public dissemination of their research.

The third Asia Security Initiative Annual Meeting was held in Beijing on 12 June 2011. It was hosted by the CISS. As a precursor to the Annual

Meeting, there was a CISS/Asia Security Initiative workshop on US-China Relations and World Order on 10–11 June 2011. Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony and Associate Professor Ralf Emmers, respectively Head and Acting Head of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, represented RSIS at the meeting. The next MacArthur Dissemination Meeting for Cluster 3 institutions will be hosted by the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies in Singapore on 21–22 November 2011.

## Project Overview

As the core institution of the Asia Security Initiative Cluster 3 – Internal Challenges, the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies progressed into the third year of its three-year project on *Responding to Internal Crises and Their Cross-Border Effects* by continuing its work on all three thematic areas of research: (1) internal and cross-border conflict; (2) climate change, environmental security and natural disasters; and (3) energy and human security.

The project retained its key objectives of fostering creative and innovative analysis of multilevel governance of cross-border challenges, from the global to the national and the local; strengthening social science research with scientific and empirically based findings; broadening the community of individuals and institutions involved in the shaping of the security architecture; and providing a platform to connect researchers, policy analysts, CSOs, practitioners and even corporate actors.

## Research Activities and Deliverables

The growing range of activities undertaken by the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies since the Asia Security Initiative Interim Report was published in June 2010 has been facilitated by a considerable expansion in the core research staff within each of the three core programmes. In October 2010, Dr J. Jackson Ewing joined the Centre as Asia Security Initiative Post-doctoral Fellow and Lead of the Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme as well as the Food Security Programme, and Dr Jochen Prantl

joined as Visiting Senior Fellow and Co-lead of the Energy and Human Security Programme. Research activities undertaken under the Asia Security Initiative have also served to raise the Centre's profile as a key research institute analysing new internal security challenges and the norms emerging to address them, including the RtoP and the POC. The enhanced standing of the Centre attracted interest from a number of organisations, including the APR2P and the ICRC.

## Vehicles for Knowledge Dissemination

As knowledge exchange and wide dissemination of research are integral to achieving the overall objectives of the Asia Security Initiative project, the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies utilised extensively the Asia Security Initiative Cluster 3 website, resource database and Cluster 3 blog launched early on in the project (2009) as key platforms for partner institutes to disseminate their research products and facilitate knowledge exchange within the Cluster and the online community.

Through the website, Cluster 3 institutes, the broader Asia Security Initiative network and other interested parties have been able to easily access information on the projects of individual institutes, the expertise of the researchers involved as well as keep abreast of the Cluster's progress through publications such as conference reports and policy briefs. Over the current review period, the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies has published 12 working papers under the Asia Security Initiative Policy Series, 15 conference reports based on key activities that have been held, 10 policy briefs, and numerous short articles and opinion pieces that were picked up by regional media. In addition, the website promotes the sharing of knowledge and research material through a resource database that houses more than 1,300 publications on NTS studies and is updated on a weekly basis. In doing so, the Centre aims to broaden the NTS discourse beyond the academic audience to policymakers, the private sector and members of civil society. In relation to this objective, part of the output of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies has included numerous multimedia products aimed at



capturing a wider audience. The In-Conversation With series features interviews with experts on various NTS topics, ranging from climate change, to internal conflict and energy security, and are available as vodcasts through the website.

The Cluster 3 blog draws comment on significant research areas from various positions of interest and expertise. Under the umbrella theme of Internal Challenges, pertinent issues that are covered include, but are not limited to, internal conflicts, natural disasters, climate change, and health and human security. The aim of the blog is to create a serious and lively intellectual space for opinions, shared knowledge, commentary and an exchange of ideas. It also serves as an opportunity for individuals from various backgrounds to engage on issues. Researchers at the RSIS Centre for

NTS Studies began contributing on a scheduled and regular basis to the Asia Security Initiative blog in September 2010. The blog thus serves as a platform for young researchers to share their knowledge and policy-relevant insights on current and key topics with the broader community in an accessible format.

In the following sections, this interactive report will provide thorough descriptions of the three research programmes, including key programme activities for the period April 2010 to June 2011, the public dissemination activities of the three research programmes, key achievements and outcomes, and some upcoming events that will round out the activities for the third year of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies project on Internal Challenges under the Asia Security Initiative grant.

## A) Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme: Bridging Multilevel and Multilateral Approaches to Conflict Prevention and Resolution

Over the preceding year, a number of significant developments in the Asia-Pacific have highlighted the contested nature of both governmental systems and territorial boundaries in the region. The continued interest of the US in the region has highlighted differences of both opinion and approach to key internal challenges to human security. The increased involvement of the US in the Asia-Pacific region, alongside a rising and a similarly more engaged China, means that there are now a diversified range of avenues through which Asian actors can engage with states, international agencies, regional groupings and NGOs. These avenues offer alternative mechanisms for addressing the implications of internal and cross-border conflicts, from legal advances at the national level, and assessments and reporting by international human rights bodies, to institutional developments in regional political security communities and awareness raising activities by community based actors to address human security concerns.

Asian states seem particularly susceptible to various forms of internal conflict and violence, ranging from low-level violent secessionist conflict, to intercommunal and ethnic tensions, urban-rural divides and human rights abuses such as extrajudicial killings. Ultimately, despite

the decline of inter-state conflicts since the end of the Cold War, various manifestations of internal tensions continue to plague both state and human security in the region. Furthermore, in terms of internal tensions, analyses of patterns of internal conflict have also been largely confined to armed insurgencies, secessionism and civil conflicts, while less attention has been given to other forms of internal conflicts such as religious and/or ethnically motivated communal violence, violent political clashes among competing political forces, and political uprisings and mass movements. In recent years, the dimensions of internal conflict have also become more complex as a result of the growing challenges posed by religious radicalism and terrorism. At the same time, a number of states continue to be dogged by various communal tensions, for instance, in Indonesia, increased unrest and human rights abuses in West Papua as well as threats to the state's commitment to religious pluralism remain causes for concern. To be sure, the multiplicity of patterns of internal conflicts in Asia has dramatically increased the human costs of violence and threats to peace and security within states. Yet, analyses of the underlying and systemic causes of violence across Asia-Pacific countries continue to be neglected, a point driven home by the recent upsurges in violent clashes and the use of force in Thailand.

While East Asia and the Pacific has progressed fastest in human well-being since 1970, with China, Indonesia, South Korea, Lao PDR and Nepal notably so, the new Gender Inequality Index in the UNDP 2010 *Human Development Report* still identifies South Asia as the worst-performing region, with reproductive health noted as its greatest challenge. Indeed, while China was identified as a 'big mover' due to economic advances, it nonetheless lagged behind on school enrolment rates and life expectancy, pointing to significant education and health challenges. Across the wider Asian region, an array of human insecurities, encompassing 'multidimensional' poverty and human deprivation (with differences particularly notable between urban and rural communities), gender gaps and rising inequality, were identified in the report as the greatest challenges to address. Alongside these disconcerting trends, there has also been a 70 per cent increase in levels of internal displacement in South and Southeast Asia, from 2.7 million people in 2005 to 4.6 million people in 2010, which compounds – and in turn is compounded

by – worsening human rights abuses, threats of infectious diseases and a host of transnational crime networks/phenomena that reach across all elements of societies.

In Southeast Asia, internal conflicts within individual ASEAN member states have also had actual and potential cross-border implications. The secessionist and insurgency problems in the Philippines, the violence in the Muslim provinces of southern Thailand, continuing ethno-nationalist struggles in Myanmar, religious tensions in Malaysia and numerous restive provinces in Indonesia all threaten to undermine regional security and stability. At the same time, 2011 saw the re-emergence of a decades-old inter-state conflict between Cambodia and Thailand, which caused at least 20 deaths and the displacement of tens of thousands on either side of the border, representing the worst outright violence to involve two member states of ASEAN since its establishment. The violence has also tested the resolve of ASEAN conflict management and resolution mechanisms in bringing an end to the dispute.

Against this backdrop, however, there have also been several notable positive developments that have captured the attention of the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme team over the past year. The academic and policy discourses surrounding the relatively new AICHR and ACWC are simultaneously becoming stronger and more sophisticated/nuanced. The Programme has contributed significantly to this growing discourse, and has aimed to provide valuable insights into these institutions' relevance, ultimately framing them as potential entry points for implementing the human security framework that resonates widely – at least conceptually – in the region, as well as for operationalising (or perhaps localising) 'global' norms of civilian protection and even the RtoP principle within the local socio-political context.

The above considerations have all contributed to framing the key themes and areas of investigation for the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme throughout 2010 and into 2011. Above all else, the programme aims to generate valuable insights for policymakers in the region as well as for those non-state actors working on the ground to protect civilians from the impact of violence. To this end, the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict project will continue to examine the dynamics of internal conflicts, human security and the potential

for multilevel and multilateral approaches to conflict management and resolution in East and Southeast Asia.

Among the questions we continue to examine are:

- What are the emerging patterns of internal conflicts in the region and what are the cross-border security challenges?
- What are the existing frameworks, if any, for conflict prevention and resolution, and how do we build effective regional and multilateral mechanisms for conflict management?
- How do we navigate between the zealotry of protecting state sovereignty and the compelling need for regional security cooperation?
- What role should subnational entities and civil society play in conflict prevention and management?
- How do we promote multilevel and multilateral engagement for conflict prevention and resolution?

The core research areas examined by the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme include:

- **Analysis of the Dynamics of Internal Conflicts:** The objective of conflict analysis is to provide suitable explanations of the sources of conflict and the actors that drive it. Detailed analysis will allow for stronger and better informed programme designs and interventions by various stakeholders. This will provide the tools with which to develop effective measures to prevent conflict.
- **POC:** Refugees, IDPs, asylum seekers and stateless persons often lose everything – their families, communities, houses, jobs, and their sense of security and belonging. It is important to understand the insecurities they face so that effective policies to mitigate them can be designed.
- **RtoP in Asia:** At the 2005 UN World Summit, 191 heads of state and government representatives unanimously endorsed the RtoP. Since 2005, there have been various responses to the RtoP and so it is important to evaluate the ongoing discussion to map the traction the RtoP has with actors in Asia. This will assist in the dissemination of its principles as laid down in the 2005 Outcome Document.

- **SSG:** The security sector includes the armed and police forces, intelligence agencies as well as institutions that oversee internal and external security. As such, these organisations have a significant role in managing internal conflict. An unprofessional security sector can trigger or exacerbate a conflict. In light of this, an evaluation of SSG in the region and an investigation into possible avenues for reform is needed.

## Programme Activities

### • Project on the RtoP

Within Asia, acceptance of the RtoP norm – which can be partially understood as the culmination of momentum generated by people-centred security concepts such as the human security framework and NTS – is gaining increasing traction among policymaking communities throughout Asia as a response to the numerous conflicts that blight communities in the region. Indeed, precisely due to its susceptibility to intra-state conflict, East Asia provides particularly fertile ground in which to further the normative movement away from the primacy of the traditional conception of state sovereignty towards the idea of sovereignty as responsibility. Recent developments in Asian regionalism, particularly in Southeast Asia, also provide fertile ground – or at the very least, establish an environment conducive to examining potential policy entry points – for advancing such ideas.

With this in mind, the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies launched the Operationalising the Responsibility to Protect in Asia: Mapping Out Differing Voices and Building Constituencies to Advance the RtoP project in 2009 in order to examine and track normative shifts vis-à-vis the nascent RtoP norm within Asian policymaking elites and civil societies. This project was jointly funded by the Asia Security Initiative and the Australian Responsibility to Protect Fund.

Consequently, a Study Group on the RtoP was convened in 2009, with a number of objectives in mind: (1) to examine the thinking and perspectives of Asian governments

and societies on the RtoP norm, particularly in Southeast Asia; (2) to assess current mechanisms and initiatives in Southeast Asia that could represent possible platforms for promoting RtoP principles in the region, for instance, the APSC, the AICHR and the ACWC; (3) to assess the role of the major Asian powers, notably China and Japan, in advancing the RtoP in Asia; and (4) to examine the role of CSOs and social movements in the dynamics of internal conflicts and their precursory contexts and aftermaths, and how they might contribute to operationalising the RtoP in Asia.

A key output of the study group will be a forthcoming special issue in the journal *The Pacific Review*, which, through a selection of the study group participants' papers, will canvass Asian thinking on the RtoP norm and examine the potential for operationalisation, or localisation. The forthcoming issue will incorporate both conceptual and empirical analyses and is expected to incorporate a selection of the following articles:

- » 'Responsibility to Protect in Asia: Issues and Challenges' by Mely Caballero-Anthony.
- » 'Responsibility to Protect and the Regional Order: Ideational versus Material Factors' by David Capie.
- » 'The ASEAN Security Community and Responsibility to Protect' by Rizal Sukma.
- » 'ASEAN Human Rights Commission and the Responsibility to Protect' by Herman Kraft.
- » 'Japan and the Responsibility to Protect' by Jun Honma.
- » 'China and the Responsibility to Protect' by Liu Tiewa.
- » 'Thailand and the Responsibility to Protect' by Keokam Kraisoraphong.
- » 'Indonesian Civil Society and the Responsibility to Protect' by Lina Alexandra.

The study group participants developed their arguments over the course of a number of regional meetings in October 2009 and April 2010, and a Regional Consultation on the RtoP held in Singapore on 8–9 April 2010. Finally, two Dissemination Meetings and

Policy Roundtables were convened in Tokyo and Bangkok on 26 January 2011 and 28 March 2011 respectively, in order to provide a platform for the RtoP study group members to share their research findings on current thinking on the RtoP and insights into possible policy entry points for operationalising the norm in East and Southeast Asian policymaking. Broadly speaking, they provided an avenue for the paper writers to engage with a wider community of state as well as non-state actors, including policymakers, the diplomatic corps, academics, and international organisations and NGOs, and to ultimately promote the multilevel and multilateral implementation of the RtoP.

The first Dissemination Meeting and Policy Roundtable on the RtoP was held in collaboration with the Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute while the second Dissemination Meeting and Policy Roundtable was convened in collaboration with the Institute of Security and International Studies, Thailand; the National Research Council of Thailand; and the Strategic Studies Center of the National Defence Studies Institute, Thailand. They were funded by the MacArthur Foundation's Asia Security Initiative, the Australian Responsibility to Protect Fund and the National Research Council of Thailand.



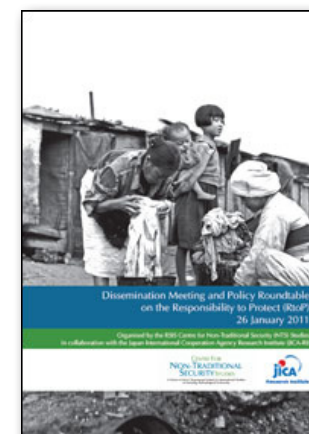
Prominent participants at the Tokyo meeting included keynote speaker Professor Ramesh Thakur, former Senior Vice-Rector of the UN University, Assistant Secretary General of the UN and member of the International Commission on Intervention and State

Sovereignty, and Ambassador Koji Watanabe and Mr Tadashi Yamamoto of the Japan Center for International Exchange.

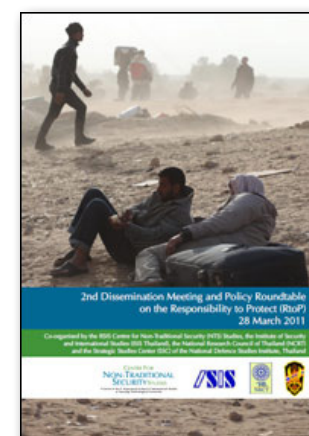
Prominent participants at the Bangkok meeting included the keynote speaker, Vitit Muntarbhorn, former UN Special Rapporteur on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, and on the Situation of Human Rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea); Lieutenant General Prasart Sukkaset, Deputy Commanding General of the National Defence Studies Institute of the Royal Thai Armed Forces; and General Charan Kullavanijaya, former Secretary-General of the National Security Council and Chairman of the National Defence Alumni Think Tank of Thailand. Other participants at the meetings included state and non-state actors such as representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the UNHCR, the ICRC and the IOM.

Several common themes emerged from the dissemination meetings and roundtable discussions. First, Asia and other regions should actively engage in localising the RtoP norm, effectively aiming to build upon the 'lowest common denominator' that has already been established at the UN level. In this vein, according to Professor Ramesh Thakur, the UN would be open to broadening the RtoP norm and the associated structures and mechanisms that may be adopted by ASEAN to that end. Secondly, in order to diffuse the RtoP norm effectively and convince states in Asia of the relevance of RtoP, strong regional champions will be extremely important. A key conclusion of the second dissemination meeting was that due to the constraints on national governments given the strength of prevailing norms of non-intervention and the corollary sensitivities, CSOs may be best placed to serve as RtoP champions in the region, not least because of their proximity to affected communities. Third, the policy community and proponents of the RtoP could gain valuable insights from related areas of studies such as SSG as well as past lessons from cases of internal conflict in Asia. Fourth, it is critical that the added value of the RtoP norm (in relation to existing mechanisms for civilian protection) be articulated clearly so that policymakers understand the value and implications of the acceptance and implementation of the RtoP. This links with the

final point: that Japan's reservations towards the RtoP – given the perceived threat to its diplomatic doctrine of human security – are not necessarily warranted, as the concepts are not necessarily in competition and can be understood as complementary to one another. In this regard, it was suggested that Japan could incorporate RtoP within its peacekeeping commitments and seek to enhance its peacekeeping capacity through the deployment of civilians for state-capacity building.



Click [here](#) for the Summary Report of the first Dissemination Meeting and Policy Roundtable on the RtoP.



Click [here](#) for the Summary Report of the second Dissemination Meeting and Policy Roundtable.

## - Project on the Dynamics for Resolving Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia (in collaboration with the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia)

As a follow-up to the first Study Group Meeting on the Dynamics for Resolving Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia in May 2010, the second Study Group Meeting was held on 17 January 2011 in Bali, Indonesia. The timeliness of this project is indisputable. Within Southeast Asia, the prevalence of internal conflicts has been a persistent challenge that poses a serious test not only to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states but also to wider regional stability. The study group was convened with these broader implications in mind, in order to investigate the specific circumstances that resulted in the relapse, deadlock or success in resolving internal conflicts in four key cases, namely, Indonesia, the Philippines, Myanmar and Thailand.

During the second meeting, the five members of the study group presented their draft papers for discussion and comment. Participants included Dr Rizal Sukma of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia, Professor Herman Kraft of the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, Philippines, and Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, Singapore.

Ongoing questions of interest for the study group included the following: Why did the peace agreements in Aceh (Indonesia), Moro (Philippines), and Myanmar collapse and lead to a relapse of conflict? Why has the conflict in southern Thailand never reached the point of a peace agreement and why have attempts at peacemaking continued to stagnate? What finally brought the Aceh conflict to an end and what has sustained the peace process thus far? Following the feedback from the meeting, the study group members are now finalising their papers for submission in the second half of 2011. The papers are expected to be compiled and published in an edited volume. The five papers envisaged from the project include:

- » 'Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines: A Case of Relapse' by Amado M. Mendoza, Jr.
- » 'The Moro Islamic Liberation Front – Government of the Republic of the Philippines Peace Process' by Herman Kraft.
- » 'Thailand's Malay-Muslim Insurgency' by Thitinan Pongsudhirak.
- » 'Explaining the Rise and Fall of the Aceh Peace Process' by Evan A. Laksmana.
- » 'Ethnic Minorities in Myanmar/Burma' by Tin Maung Maung Than.

Furthermore, each of the papers, encompassing salient policy recommendations, will be published separately under the Asia Security Initiative Policy Series as working papers. A policy brief will also be published by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia.

- **Project on SSG and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia (in collaboration with the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, Philippines)**



On 11 February 2011, the second Study Group Meeting on SSG and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia was convened in Manila, Philippines, as a follow-up to the initial Study Group Meeting held in April 2010. The issue of SSG is particularly salient in the Asian context in light of the significant challenges posed by political transitions and democratisation in the region. Furthermore, given the goal of states

in the region to establish a Political-Security Community by 2015, a comparative study on SSG in Southeast Asia is particularly timely. Instituting SSG and understanding its limitations and the challenges of implementation will be critical to ASEAN if it is to succeed in its goals of promoting regional peace and security.

With these broader implications in mind, the Study Group on SSG and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia was convened with the overarching objective of examining the present state of SSG thinking and practice in Indonesia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia and Thailand, and to analyse how it has influenced conditions of intra-state conflict.

In this second meeting, the five members of the group presented draft papers for discussion and comment. Participants included Dr Rizal Sukma of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia, Professor Carolina Hernandez and Professor Herman Kraft of the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, Philippines, and Dr Tang Siew Mun of the Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia. Following in-depth discussions, the study group members are now in the process of finalising their papers with a view to submitting them in the second half of 2011. The papers are expected to be compiled and published in an edited volume, and include the following:

- » 'Establishing Good Security Sector Governance in Southeast Asia' by Herman Kraft.
- » 'Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia: The Case of Aceh in Indonesia' by Rizal Sukma.
- » 'Security Challenge for Thailand's Security Sector Reform' by Keokam Kraisoraphong.
- » 'Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia: The Case of the Philippines' by Maria Anna Rowena Layador.
- » 'Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Vietnam' by Pham Quoc Tru.
- » 'Security Sector Governance in Malaysia' by Tang Siew Mun.

Furthermore, six papers with policy recommendations are slated for publication under the Asia Security Initiative Policy Series. This includes the working paper by Herman Kraft titled '[Establishing Good Security Sector Governance in Southeast Asia](#)' (May 2011). A policy brief was also produced by the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, Philippines, following the second Study Group Meeting, titled '[Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia](#)'.

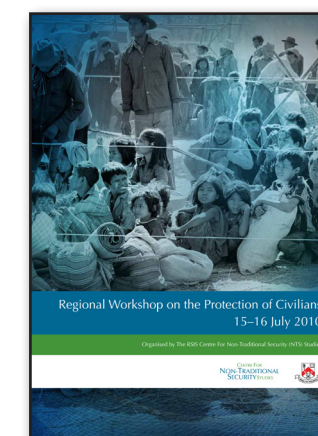
- **Regional Workshop on the Protection of Civilians, 15–16 July 2010, Singapore.**



In recent times, the ASEAN region has faced many forms of emergencies and crisis situations, ranging from internal conflicts to natural disasters. Whether it be the ongoing conflict in southern Thailand, Typhoon Ketsana in the Philippines or post-conflict challenges in Aceh, humanitarian emergencies often share a number of common consequences, including widespread displacement, an increased prevalence of gender based violence, and unpredictable health and security challenges. Hence, it becomes particularly important to question the protection of populations during such periods. However, how well are state and non-state actors equipped to cope with the challenge of protecting civilians not just during peacetime, but also during such humanitarian emergencies?

It was with these issues in mind that the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies and the ICRC convened the Regional Workshop on the Protection of Civilians. Held from 15 to 16 July in Singapore, the workshop gathered over 50

participants, including scholars, practitioners, members of civil society and representatives of international organisations, to examine both the challenges and sources of protection for particularly vulnerable and marginalised populations in the region, specifically women, children, IDPs, refugees, migrants and the stateless. It was envisioned that a key outcome of this workshop would be a number of salient policy recommendations that specifically addressed the most pressing regional protection concerns, such as trafficking, sexual exploitation and abuse, and domestic violence.



The Report of the Regional Workshop on the Protection of Civilians can be found [here](#).

- **Seminar on Overview of the Recent Developments of Myanmar-China Relations, 15 June 2010.**



*Dr Tharaphi Than, Lector, Department of Southeast Asia, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (left); Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony, Head of RSIS Centre for NTS Studies (right).*

Dr Tharaphi Than's seminar discussed the history of armed groups in Myanmar's civil war and examined how the government's strategy of dealing with them has continued to affect the country's relations with China. Indeed, far from constituting an unwavering or static relationship, she suggested that Myanmar-China relations may largely evolve over time based on the strategies that Naypyidaw applies to dealing with the country's ethnic minorities. The seminar was chaired by Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony, Head of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies.

An audio recording and write-up of the seminar can be found [here](#).

- **Seminar on A Bridge Not Far**, 14 October 2010, Singapore.



Dr Meenakshi Gopinath, Principal of Lady Shri Ram College, and Founder and Honorary Director of WISCOMP.

Conventional military notions of security posit the nation state as the primary protector of societies. Within this conceptualisation of security, the nation state is the primary focus of security concerns. The human security framework, on the other hand, foregrounds people-centred dimensions of security, especially in the area of NTS issues. Gender concerns and their analysis constitute a significant element of the growing NTS discourse. It is within this context of a gendered perspective of human security that Dr Meenakshi Gopinath discussed the challenges and opportunities posed by peacebuilding, drawing on the experiences of the South Asian region. She specifically sought to highlight the

concerns and experiences of women who, as a collective, continue to be disproportionately affected by conflict and displacement.

The seminar was chaired by Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony, Head of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies.

An audio recording and write-up of the seminar can be found [here](#).

- **Seminar on Understanding and Preventing Mass Atrocity Crimes Outside of a Crisis Context**, 12 November 2010, Singapore.



From left to right: Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony, Head of Centre for NTS Studies; Mr Francis Deng, Special Adviser to the UN Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide; Amb. Barry Desker, Dean of RSIS.

As we pass the five-year mark following the commitment of states to the RtoP principle – the embodiment of the notion that states have an obligation to protect their populations from the mass atrocity crimes of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing – it is timely to take stock of the status of the nascent RtoP norm and consider the successes and failures in its continuing implementation. Within the context of a broader strategy to operationalise the RtoP principle, Mr Francis Deng, Special Adviser to the UN Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide, specifically aimed to raise awareness of the root causes of genocide and to plot a way forward for states to prevent its occurrence.

Due to the controversial nature of the term 'genocide', and because, in the midst of crises, debate is often reduced to bargaining over whether a situation can actually be termed 'genocide', Mr Deng's presentation focused on the notion of advancing an agenda for the prevention of genocide outside of a crisis context. He contended that genocide is essentially an extreme form of identity related conflict, often provoked by horizontal inequalities vis-à-vis access to political power and economic and social resources. Hence, Mr Deng advocated a structural approach to prevention, incorporating strategies such as the establishment of good governance, the promotion of respect for democratic values and broad respect for the dignity of the human person, as well as the development of legal norms and the rule of law, including effective judicial systems.

The seminar was chaired by Ambassador Barry Desker, Dean of RSIS.

An audio recording and write-up of the seminar can be found [here](#).

- **Seminar on Recalibrating Norms: Europe, Asia and Non-traditional Security Challenges**, 29 November 2010, Singapore.



Associate Professor Katja Weber, Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology.

The EU, through its conceptualisation of sovereignty in terms of constitutional independence, has made some progress in addressing NTS challenges. However,

in the Asia-Pacific, the non-intervention norm has impeded multilateral, multilevel and multifaceted efforts to identify with and promote human security in the region – and continues to do so.

Taking as her departure point the premise that states have the obligation to improve human rights, Associate Professor Katja Weber argued that there is a need for a careful recalibration of sovereignty-related norms, in particular, those of non-intervention and unanimity which can often be recognised in the normative frameworks and practices of regional institutions, not least in Asia. This can be achieved by empowering various actors, particularly those with a less stringent understanding of non-intervention, by providing them with the necessary tools to address regional problems that threaten human security, in particular, issues with domestic origins. Professor Weber's case for recalibrating these norms draws on her previous work on institution-building and the notion of voluntary curtailment of freedom of action. Her research adopts a comparative approach, focusing on the EU and the ARF, with reference to NTS issues.

The seminar was chaired by Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony, Head of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies.

An audio recording and write-up of the seminar can be found [here](#).

- **Seminar on Non-traditional Security and New Modes of Security Governance in Southeast Asia**, 20 April 2011, Singapore.

In this seminar, Dr Hameiri addressed a dichotomy that currently exists, between the views of those who posit that the state is withering away in the face of globalisation and those who reassert the state's dominant role. In doing so, he proposed a third, alternative approach, one which focuses on the way that states are being *transformed* under contemporary conditions. This perspective allows for the possibility that, while states have largely remained central agents of domestic governance and international politics, they are at the same time undergoing significant



Dr Shahar Hameiri, Australian Research Council Post-doctoral Fellow; and Lecturer in International Politics and Fellow of the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Perth.

transformations which are conditioning how and what they govern, and how regimes of governance are emerging across states.

In order to explore the nature and implications of contemporary state transformation, Dr Hameiri drew on NTS issues and explored the way in which these NTS 'threats' are governed – and how they both feed off and further accelerate the transformation (or disaggregation) of the modern state. In particular, he examined processes of internationalisation, whereby elements of the state apparatus are becoming interlinked across territorial boundaries, representing the rescaling of modes of governance away from the national level. Ultimately, he suggested that new security challenges increasingly involve relocating security from the national level to a range of new spatial and territorial arenas. He argued that this presents a fundamental challenge to the 'methodological nationalism' largely underpinning mainstream security literature but at the same time, reaffirms that states – despite their 'transformed' nature – remain critical to emerging structures of international governance.

The seminar was chaired by Dr Alistair D.B. Cook, Post-doctoral Fellow and Coordinator of the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme. Dr Jochen Prantl, Visiting Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Energy and Human Security Programme served as the discussant.

A write-up of the seminar can be found [here](#).

## • Published Works under the Programme

Mely Caballero-Anthony, 'Responsibility to Protect in Asia: Issues and Challenges', *The Pacific Review*, Special Issue on the Responsibility to Protect in Asia, forthcoming.

Mely Caballero-Anthony, '[Developing a "Protection of Civilians" Agenda for Southeast Asia](#)', *NTS Perspectives*, No. 5, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, January 2011.

Mely Caballero-Anthony, '[Myanmar's 2010 Elections: Boon or Bane for ASEAN's Political and Security Community?](#)', in *Democracy and Discontent: The 2010 Elections in Myanmar*, AIIA Policy Commentary, Deakin: The Australian Institute of International Affairs, 2010.

Mely Caballero-Anthony, 'Non-traditional Security Issues in Asia: Imperatives for Deepening Regional Security Cooperation', in Desmond Ball and Kwa Chong Guan (eds), *Assessing Track 2 Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region: A CSCAP Reader*, Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and the Australian National University, 2010, pp. 202–216.

Mely Caballero-Anthony, 'Political Change and Political Development in Southeast Asia: Transitology Revisited', in Mely Caballero-Anthony (ed.), *Political Change, Democratic Transitions and Security in Southeast Asia*, London and New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 1–16.

Mely Caballero-Anthony (ed.), *Political Change, Democratic Transitions and Security in Southeast Asia*, London and New York: Routledge, 2010.

Mely Caballero-Anthony, 'The New Security Agenda in Asia: Making Spaces for Non-traditional Security Formulations of Emerging Security Challenges', in Sumit Ganguly, Andrew Scobell and Joseph Liow (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Asian Security Studies*, London and New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 311–325.

Mely Caballero-Anthony and Priyanka Bhalla, '[Legislative Efforts, Institutional Challenges and Neglected Concerns on Women's and Children's Rights in Indonesia and the Philippines](#)', *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, June 2010.

Mely Caballero-Anthony and Priyanka Bhalla, '[Reserving the Right Not to Comply: ASEAN Legal Reservations to CRC and CEDAW](#)', *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, June 2010.

Mely Caballero-Anthony and Alistair D.B. Cook, *Non-traditional Security in Asia: Issues, Challenges and Frameworks for Action*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, forthcoming.

Mely Caballero-Anthony and Holly Haywood, '[ASEAN Community Building: Towards a Comprehensive Framework for Civilian Protection in Southeast Asia](#)', NTS Policy Brief No. 7, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, February 2011.

Alistair D.B. Cook, 'The Role of External Actors in Development-induced Displacement in Myanmar', in Amal Jayawardane (ed.), *Ending the Displacement Cycle: Finding Durable Solutions through Return and Resettlement*, Colombo: Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, forthcoming.

Alistair D.B. Cook, 'Positions of Responsibility: A Comparison of ASEAN and EU Approaches towards Myanmar', *International Politics*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2010.

Alistair D.B. Cook, '[Aung San Suu Kyi: Critic or Bridge Builder?](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 154, Singapore: RSIS, 19 November 2010; also published in *The Jakarta Post*, 24 November 2010.

Alistair D.B. Cook, quoted in '[Suu Kyi Release Could Boost Burma's Economy](#)', *Bangkok Post*, 17 November 2010.

Alistair D.B. Cook, '[Myanmar Elections 2010: Civilianising the Military Government?](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 119, Singapore: RSIS, 21 September 2010; also published in *Eurasia Review*, 27 September 2010.

Alistair D.B. Cook, '[Investing in Papua: The Dual Challenges of Governance and Development](#)', *NTS Perspectives*, No. 2, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, August 2010.

Alistair D.B. Cook and Priyanka Bhalla, '[Regional Champions: Examining the Comparative Advantages of AICHR and ACWC](#)', *NTS Insight*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, June 2010.

Alistair D.B. Cook and Priyanka Bhalla, '[Preventing Crimes in SE Asia](#)', *The Brunei Times*, 16 June 2010.

Alistair D.B. Cook and Priyanka Bhalla, '[Preventing Mass Atrocities in Southeast Asia](#)', *The Jakarta Post*, 15 June 2010.

Mark E. delas Alas, '[Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia](#)', NTS Policy Brief No. 10, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, April 2011.

Omar Halim, '[The Responsibility to Protect – A Way Forward](#)', *NTS Insight*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, July 2010.

Pau Khan Khup Hangzo and Manpavan Kaur, '[Pro-government Armed Groups: A Source of Peace or Multipliers of Conflict?](#)', *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, March 2011.

Pau Khan Khup Hangzo and Manpavan Kaur, '[An Agenda for Peace: Curbing the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons](#)', *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, March 2011.

Holly Haywood, Manpavan Kaur and Mely Caballero-Anthony, '[Advancing Protection of Civilians through the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights \(AICHR\)](#)', *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, November 2010.

Lina Gong, Manpavan Kaur and Alistair D.B. Cook, [‘Applying the Ethnic Rebellion Model and Risk Assessment Model to Conflict in Myanmar’](#), *NTS Insight*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, March 2011; also published in *Burma Digest*, 11 March 2011, and *Nanyang Ziliao Yicong (Southeast Asian Studies Quarterly)*, forthcoming in September 2011, in Chinese.

Manpavan Kaur, [“‘Mercenaries’ in Libya: Impact of Legal Impunity”](#), *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 43, Singapore: RSIS, 17 March 2011; also cited in *China Daily*, 23 March 2011, and published in *Eurasia Review*, 22 March 2011.

Manpavan Kaur and Lina Gong, [‘Misdirected Development a Threat to Security – An Analysis of Southeast Asia’](#), *NTS Insight*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, September 2010.

Manpavan Kaur, Holly Haywood and Mely Caballero-Anthony, [‘Advancing ASEAN’s Political-Security Community: The Protection of Civilians Agenda’](#), *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, November 2010.

Herman Kraft, [‘Establishing Good Security Sector Governance in Southeast Asia’](#), Asia Security Initiative Policy Series No. 14, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, May 2011.

Evan A. Laksmana, [‘Indonesia’s National Defence Forces: Recent Strategic Changes and Implications’](#), *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 101, Singapore: RSIS, 26 August 2010; also published as [‘The TNI: Strategic Changes and Implications’](#) in *The Jakarta Post*, 2 September 2010.

Jochen Prantl and Ryoko Nakano, [‘Global Norm Diffusion in East Asia: How China and Japan Implement the Responsibility to Protect’](#), NTS Working Paper No. 5, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, January 2011.

## • Public Dissemination under the Programme



Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony at the Global Consortium on Security Transformation in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in August 2010.

### a. Public Outreach Activities

Mely Caballero-Anthony presented a co-written paper with Holly Haywood on ‘Peacebuilding Roles and Relationships’ at the *Civil Military Interaction Seminar (CMIS) 2010: ‘Advancing Civil-Military Effectiveness in Conflicts and Disasters: From Theory to Practice’*, 7–9 December 2010, Asia Pacific Civil-Military Centre of Excellence, Sydney, Australia.

Mely Caballero-Anthony was a moderator at the *First Dialogue on Democracy and ASEAN Integration*, 4–7 November 2010, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), Tagaytay City, Philippines.

Mely Caballero-Anthony was invited to speak on ‘Revisiting ASEAN’s Peacekeeping Agenda’ at the *Workshop on Peacekeeping Operations: Cooperation in Peacekeeping – A Way Forward for ASEAN*, 19–21 October 2010, Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Mely Caballero-Anthony was a participant at *The Civilian Contribution to Peace Operations: Assessing Progress and Identifying Gaps – Asia Experts Workshop*, 27 September 2010, Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Mely Caballero-Anthony presented a paper on ‘Regional Mechanisms for Preventing Mass Atrocities: Lessons from the Asia-Pacific’ for *The Responsibility to Prevent: Developing Ad Hoc and Systemic Strategies* project, 17–18 September 2010, Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict, University of Oxford, UK.

Mely Caballero-Anthony spoke on ‘Southeast Asia and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)’ at the Global Consortium on Security Transformation *Second Working Group Meeting on Regional Security from Above and Below*, 16–17 August 2010, Red de Seguridad y Defensa de America Latina, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Mely Caballero-Anthony spoke on the topic of ‘Making the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) Work in the Asia Pacific’ at the *24th Asia-Pacific Roundtable*, 7–9 June 2010, Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Mely Caballero-Anthony was a speaker at the *One Just World Forum*, 20 May 2010, Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia.

Alistair D.B. Cook gave a seminar on ‘Governance, Development, and Security: Assessing Conflict in Southeast Asia’, 18 February 2011, Singapore Management University, Singapore.

Alistair D.B. Cook spoke on the ‘Role of External Actors in Development Induced Displacement: Case Study of Myanmar’ at an *NTS-Asia Sub-regional Workshop on Ending the Displacement Cycle: Finding Durable Solutions through Return and Resettlement*, 28–29 January 2011, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Alistair D.B. Cook presented on ‘Strategic Protection – The Evolution of the Civilian Protection Agenda in Southeast Asia’ at *The International Conference on Strategic Studies*, 1–2 December 2010, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Alistair D.B. Cook presented a paper on ‘Democracy, Development and Security in Southeast Asia: Assessing the Challenges to Conflict Resolution in Mindanao and Papua’ at the *Mindanao Conference on Issues in Development*, 8–9 November 2010, Davao City, Philippines.

Alistair D.B. Cook was a panel participant on *Channel NewsAsia’s ‘Myanmar Election Special’*, 6 November 2010.

Alistair D.B. Cook was invited to speak on ‘The G20 and Non-traditional Security’ to the Government of the Republic of Korea, 27 October 2010, Singapore.

Alistair D.B. Cook was interviewed by the Danish Broadcasting Company on the Myanmar elections, 26 October 2010.

Alistair D.B. Cook was interviewed on *Channel NewsAsia* on the Myanmar elections, 22 October 2010.

Alistair D.B. Cook presented ‘A Blind Leap of Faith: The Institutional Development Affecting the Protection of Civilians in Southeast Asia’ at the *First Conference on Human Rights in Southeast Asia*, 14–15 October 2010, Bangkok, Thailand.

Alistair D.B. Cook was interviewed on *Channel NewsAsia* on the Australian election and non-traditional security, 26 August 2010.

Alistair D.B. Cook was interviewed on *Channel NewsAsia* on World Humanitarian Day, 19 August 2010.

Manpavan Kaur and Pau Khan Khup Hangzo presented on ‘Recasting the Human Trafficking Debate’ at the *4th Annual Convention of the Consortium of Non-traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia)*, 25–26 November 2010, Singapore.

### b. Multimedia: ‘In Conversation With’ Series

The Centre for NTS Studies conducted interviews on the sidelines of the 4th Annual Convention of the Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia on 25–26 November 2010, the Regional Workshop of the Protection of

Civilians on 15–16 July 2010 and the Regional Consultation on the Responsibility to Protect on 7–9 April 2010.



[Alain Aeschlimann, ICRC Head of Operations of East Asia, South East Asia and the Pacific.](#)

[R.A. Ariyaratne, Director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Sri Lanka.](#)

[Rafendi Djamin, Indonesian Commissioner to AICHR.](#)

[Marcela Donadio, Executive Director of Red de Seguridad y Defensa de America Latina.](#)

[Toshiya Hoshino, Professor, Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University.](#)

[Shin-Wha Lee, Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Korea University.](#)

[Liu Tiewa, Assistant Professor, Beijing Foreign Studies University.](#)

[Satish Nambiar, Advisory Board Member of the UN Institute for Training and Research.](#)

[Soliman Santos Jr, South-South Network for Non-state Armed Group Engagement.](#)

[Prince Norodom Sirivudh, Supreme Privy Counsellor to His Majesty the King of Cambodia.](#)

[Rizal Sukma, Executive Director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia.](#)

[Diane M. Swales, East Asia and Pacific Regional Advisor for Child Protection, UNICEF.](#)

### c. **Blog Posts**

Alistair D.B. Cook, [The Politics of Protection – Evaluating Recent Clashes along Thailand-Myanmar Border](#), 28 April 2011.

Pau Khan Khup Hangzo, [Israel's Search for Security through Technology](#), 10 May 2011.

Pau Khan Khup Hangzo, [Will the Southern Sudanese Independence Referendum Provide a Lasting Solution to the Conflict?](#), 23 February 2011.

Lina Gong, [China's 'Paradoxical' Position on the Libyan Crisis](#), 4 April 2011.

Lina Gong, [Post-election Violence and Human Security](#), 6 January 2011.

Lina Gong, [Community Insecurity of Ethnic Minorities in Myanmar](#), 15 November 2010.

Lina Gong, [Hunger Reduction – An Under-performing MDG target in Asia and the Pacific](#), 26 October 2010.

Lina Gong, [Human Security as an End of Solution to Internal Displacement](#), 9 October 2010.

Lina Gong, [Justice Being Done – The Duch Trial](#), 9 September 2010.

Pau Khan Khup Hangzo, [The Real Weapons of Mass Destruction – Part II](#), 8 November 2010.

Pau Khan Khup Hangzo, [ASEAN and the EU: Moving Beyond State Integration](#), 23 September 2010.

Pau Khan Khup Hangzo, [The Limits of the War on Drugs](#), 2 September 2010.

Holly Haywood, [Timor Leste: ASEAN's 11th Member?](#), 12 April 2011.

Holly Haywood, [Reflections on a More Confident and Relevant ASEAN?](#), 17 March 2011.

Holly Haywood, [The Thai-Cambodia Border Dispute and Implications for ASEAN](#), 14 February 2011.

Holly Haywood, [Indonesia's ASEAN Chairmanship: Sustaining the Momentum on Human Rights?](#), 27 January 2011.

Holly Haywood, [Operationalisation of the 'RtoP' in Southeast Asia](#), 10 December 2010.

Holly Haywood, [Reconciliation: People's Justice?](#), 21 September 2010.

Holly Haywood, [Can the 'Lucky Country' Do Better?](#), 7 September 2010.

Manpavan Kaur, [Migration Analysis – A Progressive Anti-trafficking Measure](#), 6 April 2011.

Manpavan Kaur, [Taking Matters into Your Own Hands: 'Mercenaries' in Libya](#), 9 March 2011.

Manpavan Kaur, [UN International World Day of Social Justice: Drawing Attention to the Causal Link between Development and Conflict](#), 8 February 2011.

Manpavan Kaur, [International Labour Conference 2011 – To Be or Not to Be a Significant Milestone for Domestic Workers](#), 5 January 2011.

Manpavan Kaur, [Continuity of Violence against Women from Peacetime into Periods of Intra-state Conflict and Violence](#), 13 December 2010.

Manpavan Kaur, [Child Trafficking in Southeast Asia's Fishing Industries](#), 22 November 2010.

Manpavan Kaur, [Post-conflict Societies – The Role of Gender Analysis](#), 28 October 2010.

Manpavan Kaur, [Human Trafficking – Reflections on a Recent Conference](#), 10 October 2010.

Manpavan Kaur, [Private Business Sector and Security in Conflict-affected and High Risk Areas](#), 6 October 2010.

Manpavan Kaur, [Confidence-building in Peacebuilding – Timor Leste](#), 1 October 2010.

Manpavan Kaur, [Upcoming Myanmar Elections: Irreconcilable Differences?](#), 27 September 2010.

Manpavan Kaur, [Human Trafficking: Accepting a Necessary Evil?](#), 16 September 2010.

Manpavan Kaur, [Gender Empowerment – Simply Relegated](#), 6 September 2010.

### **Core Team**

- **[Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony](#)**  
Principal Investigator/Researcher, Internal Cross-Border Conflict Programme; Head, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies; and Secretary General, [Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia \(NTS-Asia\)](#)
- **[Dr Alistair D.B. Cook](#)**  
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- **Dr Pham Quoc Tru**  
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## B) Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters: Addressing the Growing Challenges

It is increasingly clear that individuals, communities and states within the Asia-Pacific region will face escalating challenges as a result of climatic changes, environmental stress and natural disasters in the coming years. Research at the Centre for NTS Studies focuses on the nature of these challenges and aims to contribute strategies that are geared towards building resilience and adapting to these changing environmental

conditions. For such strategies to be effective, they must respect the unique circumstances that define rural and urban settings as well as target appropriate levels of governance and stakeholder engagement from local to international levels.

In the climate change sector, such an approach necessitates a cognisance of shifting contemporary demographic patterns. In particular, rapid urbanisation and sustained population growth are generating considerable climate adaptation challenges throughout the growing cities of developing countries. It is believed that by the year 2025, half of the world's 30 megacities (cities with a population of more than 10 million) will be in Asia. These trends, coupled with the vulnerability of many cities to weather-related disasters, mean that urban populations, and particularly the urban poor, are increasingly susceptible to shifting climatic conditions. Such realities call for a twofold bottom-up approach to urban governance. First, national and local governments must ensure that future urban planning strategies seriously consider environmental assessment impact reports. Affording greater primacy to urban environmental assessments necessitates balancing economic development objectives with the needs of surrounding environments and particularly the poor communities dependent upon them. Second, CSOs should support local adaptation measures throughout urban communities and encourage governments to incorporate adaptation measures into their development planning.

Rural vulnerabilities to climate change also require attention, and ensuring sustainable economic livelihoods in the rural sector should be a primary facet of community, state and regional climate adaptation strategies. Access to sustainable rural livelihoods relates to the aforementioned urban challenges, as these livelihoods provide incentives for rural-based individuals to remain in rural areas, rather than relocate to cities. While rural adaptation strategies have been put in place throughout Asia, their implementation has often been delayed as a result of limited resources for climate research, a lack of advanced technology and presumed uncertainties regarding climate science. Despite such obstacles, adaptation challenges can be bolstered in the short term through harnessing the innovative capacities of a range of actors, such as local governments, CSOs and private sector institutions. Through cooperative measures, these actors can create effective locally focused and sustainable rural climate adaptation strategies.

In addition to being closely intertwined with notions of sustainable development, climate change adaptation strategies are also relevant to DRR. It is clear that the impact of natural disasters can halt or even reverse the sustainable development process, exacerbating existing challenges and creating a vicious cycle of vulnerability. Building resilience to such vulnerability requires a substantive shift from conventional to more progressive and innovative strategies for responding to climate change. This may be achieved by integrating climate adaptation and DRR into sustainable development processes. The resulting measures could significantly bolster community-level resilience and improve the responses to a wide range of emerging human security concerns.

The Centre pursues a research agenda that attempts to respond to these contemporary challenges. Current projects being undertaken by the Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters team include:

- **The Intersection of Environmental and Food Security Issues:** The environmental and food sectors are inextricably linked in many fundamental ways. Food production requires significant land conversions, large resource inputs and has the capacity to negatively affect natural terrestrial, marine and atmospheric systems. Food production in turn depends upon natural environments that have soil qualities, hydrological cycles and other natural characteristics that allow for effective food production. For these and other reasons, finding ways to reconcile food production with environmental sustainability is essential and will become more pressing as food demand grows and natural ecosystems become increasingly stressed. In response to these realities, the Centre undertakes research projects targeting the intersection between the food and environmental sectors.
- **The Challenge of Urban Climate Vulnerability:** Developing countries throughout the world face a unique set of climate-related urbanisation problems. These countries are home to the bulk of the global urban population while also having the lowest adaptive capacities to deal with a changing climate. The urban poor is one of the groups most vulnerable to the effects of climate change. With urbanisation levels steadily

rising throughout much of Southeast Asia, the challenges of building resilience throughout poor urban communities will become more pronounced in both the near- and long-term. Climate change has the potential to exacerbate many risks that already confront poor urban communities. The Centre therefore has taken up a group of projects that explore a range of urban climate vulnerability issues, with a particular focus on Southeast Asia's three megacities: Jakarta, Manila and Bangkok.

- **The Role of Environmental Stress in Fomenting Conflict:** Multiple Southeast Asian countries continue to face domestic movements that threaten state control over strategically important parts of their territory. These autonomy movements, which include notable groups in Mindanao, Philippines; Pattani, Thailand; and Aceh and West Papua, Indonesia, are all unique in their aims and methods and reflect the distinct circumstances surrounding their situations. These groups possess a wide range of capabilities in the political, diplomatic and military spheres and pose vastly differing threat levels to the states in which they operate. However, despite such intrinsic differences, these significant regional autonomy movements share several characteristics that make them fitting subjects for environmental security enquiry. Mindanao, Pattani, Aceh and West Papua all possess valuable resource endowments. These endowments are highly differentiated, ranging from forests, fish and farmland to minerals, metals and fossil fuels. As such, the exploitation of resources requires varying levels of investment, infrastructure development and time to realise economic gains. Yet parallel dynamics exist in each case in which state-supported economic objectives are pitted against the interests of the rebelling populations. The Centre is conducting ongoing research on these issues, with a particular emphasis on the ways in which fractures in group identity and natural resource exploitation dynamics combine to help foment and perpetuate violent conflict.

## Programme Activities

### • Project on Climate Change, Migration and Human Security in Southeast Asia

In its third year, the Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme will focus on the issue of climate change and migration in the region. The UN has estimated that there could be more than 200 million environmentally displaced people worldwide by 2050. The Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Working Group II has posited that in some parts of the world, climate-related disruptions of human populations are likely to occur both within states and across national borders, leading to sudden sharp spikes in rural to urban migration in some countries, and the exacerbation of shortfalls in food production, rural poverty and urban unrest in others. Given Southeast Asia's high degree of vulnerability to climate change, the nature and extent of climate-change-induced migration is an important environmental, social and political challenge that the region's peoples and governments will have to examine and address.

However, corollary claims about the security implications of climate migration must be revisited both conceptually and empirically. In contrast to the predominant approach which securitises the climate migration issue as an exacerbating factor to traditional security concerns such as conflict and war, the programme seeks to elaborate on a human security approach in analysing and responding to the potential insecurities generated by climate migration. Taking a different approach will necessitate alternative responses that should take into account a number of underlying vulnerabilities associated with the issue of climate change migration such as food, livelihood, poverty, health, and disaster management. This project will look broadly at how adaptation policies may be able to prepare the region to address these challenges.

To this end, the Centre convened a Study Group on Climate Change, Migration and Human Security, which aims to examine the nature of possible climate-change-induced

migration in the region; to consider whether this is also a security issue (and, if so, for whom); and to investigate how security consequences, particularly human security consequences, can be managed. The specific tasks of the study group meeting on 26 May 2011 included the following:

- » Identifying and analysing current evidence on climate change and displacement of people and communities in Southeast Asia.
- » Identifying likely patterns of migration, their impulses and the likely number of people who will be vulnerable to climate-change-induced migration.
- » Assessing human insecurities caused by climate-change-induced migration including impacts on livelihoods and income, loss of social capital, impact on traditional coping mechanisms and impact on already marginalised groups.
- » Identifying adaptation strategies and policies including options for non-migration.
- » Exploring governance and institutional approaches that can support strategies to anticipate, prevent, and where necessary, manage climate-change-induced migration.

As part of this project, the Centre also hosted a Public Seminar on Climate Change, Migration and Human Security in Southeast Asia on 27 May 2011. This seminar provided an avenue for selected participants from the study group to present the issues that were raised during the preceding meeting to a wider audience.



A key deliverable of the study group will be a monograph based on the papers presented during the study group. The tentative papers for inclusion are:

- » 'Climate Change, Migration and Human Security in Southeast Asia' by Lorraine Elliott.
- » 'Climate Change and Migration: Some Lessons from Existing Knowledge of Migration in Asia' by Graeme Hugo.
- » 'Contextualising Climate as a Cause of Migration in Southeast Asia' by J. Jackson Ewing.
- » 'Agricultural Change, Increasing Salinisation and Migration in the Mekong Delta: Insights for Potential Future Climate Change Impacts?' by Olivia Dunn.
- » 'Public Policy Matters on Climate Change and Migration in Indonesia: The Case of Jakarta City' by Triarko Nurlambang.
- » 'The Smokescreen Effect: Climate Change and Current Discourses on Gender and Migration' by Bernadette P. Resurreccion and Edsel Sajor.
- » 'The Role of NGOs in Responding to Climate Migration' by Sofiah Jamil.
- » 'Asian Development Bank's Role in Addressing Climate Change and Migration' by Robert Dobias.

### • Symposium on Inter-state Water Conflicts in Southern Asia, 18 February 2011, Singapore (in collaboration with the RSIS South Asia Programme).

The motivation for convening this symposium in collaboration with the RSIS South Asia Programme lay in the reality that conflicts over water have increasingly become and are likely to remain a major source of friction between India and its neighbours in Southern Asia – Pakistan, Bangladesh and China. Examples of existing sites of conflict are the Kishenganga and Baglihar dams between India and Pakistan; the Farakka Barrage and India's proposed river-linking project with Bangladesh; and China's reported plans to construct dams and to divert a river originating



in Tibet, thereby impacting northeast India and Bangladesh. A number of factors such as the imperatives of economic development, diminishing water resources and growing demands due to population expansion are likely to exacerbate these problems. The transboundary rivers in the Indus and Ganges-Brahmaputra basins are most likely going to be the source of these tensions. With this in mind, there is an urgent need for the countries concerned to further develop strategies and negotiate new cooperative arrangements.

To this end, the symposium endeavoured to: (1) garner the views of experts and panellists on the status of existing disputes; (2) identify the possible areas of agreements and ways of building bridges with respect to existing disagreements between the concerned parties; and (3) elicit fresh ideas on ways of reducing frictions. In particular, the key question was how structures of cooperation could be built within the existing scenario. Experts from India, Bangladesh, China and Pakistan engaged in a discussion on these and related questions.

Click [here](#) for the Symposium Report.

### • Workshop on the Benefits of Cooperation in the Himalayan River Basin Countries of Bangladesh, China, India and Nepal, 3 December 2010, Singapore (in collaboration with the Strategic Foresight Group).

The Centre for NTS Studies' co-host for this workshop, the Strategic Foresight Group, has defined the emerging water situation as an important driver of Asian security in the 21st



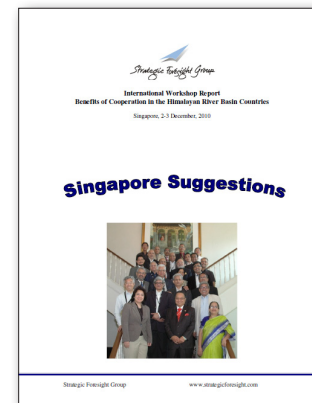
century. Its report, *The Himalayan Challenge*, released in June 2010, has been reviewed by almost 100 newspapers and online publications around the world. The workshop provided participants with the opportunity to discuss transboundary water issues and the possibility for, and potential benefits of, regional cooperation on the issues that affect the Himalayan river basin countries, including those related to NTS threats. This workshop represents part of a larger effort by the Centre for NTS Studies to address these topics under a project funded by the MacArthur Foundation's Asia Security Initiative.

Participants at the workshop in Singapore included former cabinet ministers, senior policy advisors, heads of prominent research institutes and leading media personalities from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, China and Singapore. Mr Tan Gee Paw, Chairman of the Public Utilities Board, Singapore, delivered the inaugural address and shared Singapore's experience in sustainable water management.

This workshop is the third in a series of workshops on water security. The first held in August 2009 in Kathmandu, was a joint effort of the Strategic Foresight Group and the International Union for Conservation of Nature. The second was held in Dhaka



in January 2010, and was the result of a collaboration between the Strategic Foresight Group and the Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies, another institute that falls under Cluster 3 – Internal Challenges of the Asia Security Initiative.



Click [here](#) for the Workshop Report published by the Strategic Foresight Group.

- **Public Forum and Workshop on Securing Food Futures in the Asia Pacific: Evaluating Regional Frameworks for Food Security, 6–8 October 2010, Canberra** (in collaboration with the Australian National University).

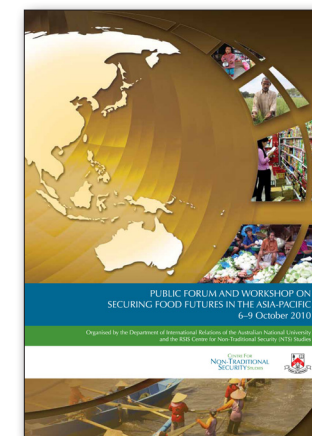


In the programme's second year, the focus was on the issue of climate change and food security. Climate change is predicted to aggravate existing pressures on food security in the Asia-Pacific. The agricultural sector is central to food security in the region and the negative consequences of climate change on agricultural production will in turn affect the availability, access, stability and utilisation of food security. The food crisis in 2007 and



2008 has shown that the security dimensions of food crises are complex, multi-scale and interconnected, and that they range across human security, economic security and national security. This complexity of security concerns has generated demand for strategic policy responses in agricultural productivity, disaster management, social protection and community-based development. Moreover, because such problems are no longer merely local, food security requires effective policy responses that are supported and facilitated by regional cooperation.

While there has been growth in regional activity under ASEAN, ASEAN Plus Three and international bodies such as the FAO, there has nonetheless been little systematic assessment of the coherence or fragmentation of regional responses, best practices, policy gaps, and their contribution to the human and national security dimensions of food scarcity.

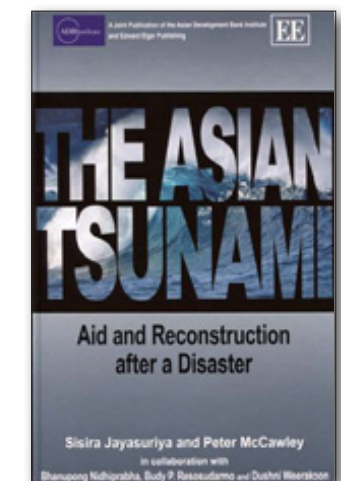


To this end, the Public Forum and Workshop on Securing Food Futures in the Asia Pacific was convened with the aim of evaluating regional food security frameworks in the Asia-Pacific by taking an interdisciplinary and multilateral approach, bringing together regional experts from within the academe, the policy community and CSOs. An edited book will serve as a key outcome of this workshop. The chapters will

cover key issues on both best practices and policy gaps in regional governance strategies for food security in relation to climate change, and provide relevant recommendations for strengthening and enhancing cooperative arrangements. The book will be co-edited by Associate Professors Mely Caballero-Anthony and Lorraine Elliott and is expected to be published by the final quarter of 2011.

Click [here](#) for the Public Forum and Workshop Report on Securing Food Future in the Asia Pacific.

- **ADBI Book Launch: Learning from Tsunami – Aid and Reconstruction after a Disaster, 17 February 2011, Singapore.**



The Centre for NTS Studies organised and hosted the Asian Development Bank Institute's launch of the volume, *Learning from Tsunami – Aid and Reconstruction after a Disaster*, on 17 February 2011. The book is a timely initiative given the increasing occurrence of natural disasters in the region and the need to better manage aid and reconstruction efforts. It also contributes to the mainstreaming of NTS studies and, more importantly, consolidates the perspectives of all stakeholders involved in disaster response. The discussion was helmed by the lead authors, Peter McCawley and Sisira Jayasuriya.

The Centre has had the pleasure of hosting a seminar by Sisira Jayasuriya in 2008. Then, she spoke on the economic aspects of reconstruction in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand in the aftermath of the 2004 tsunami.

This publication is a further development of Sisira Jayasuriya's research in this field.

- **Seminar on Will Arctic Warming Change International Shipping Routes?**, 22 March 2011, Singapore.



Dr Pål Prestrud, Director, Centre for International Climate and Environmental Research in Oslo.

Dr Pål Prestrud noted that the Arctic is warming at a rate that is twice that of global warming. The impacts on the physical environment are clearly visible. Ice, one of the most significant barriers to shipping in the Arctic, is melting at an increasing rate. In the last 30 years, sea ice extent has reduced by 3–4 per cent per decade. The summer minimum extent (observed in September) has decreased much more – by more than 10 per cent in the last decade. The thickness and age of the ice – which includes the hardness – have also decreased. Models project that most of the summer ice will be gone by 2060–2080. The shipping route via the Arctic Ocean between Europe and Japan/China (which is 10–12 days shorter than the conventional route) would then be viable.

In this talk, Dr Pål Prestrud discussed the implications of this situation for international shipping. He argued that, due to the existence of several challenges, it is unlikely that the Northern Sea Route (a term coined by the Russians; this route is also known as the Northeast Passage) will be commercially attractive in the next few decades.

The seminar was chaired by Associate Professor Ralf Emmers, Acting Head of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies.

An audio recording and write-up of the seminar can be found [here](#).

- **Seminar on China and Non-traditional Security: To What End?**, 17 March 2011, Singapore.



Dr Katherine Morton, Senior Fellow of the Department of International Relations, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University.

Dr Katherine Morton argued that in the Asian regional context, it is now difficult to argue against the proposition that NTS matters. The intensification of economic globalisation and its associated political, social and environmental risks, non-state inflicted terrorism, demographic shifts, complex natural disasters and climate change have in combination reinforced the need for an expanded security vision. The more germane question then is whether the securitisation of such threats is likely to lead to more secure outcomes. In practice, does the pursuit of an NTS agenda lead to greater cooperation among states, or is it the case that transnational security threats can also reinforce border security and ultimately exacerbate rather than alleviate instability?

In China, the NTS concept is now widely debated among academics and government officials. Many of these debates have focused on the boundary between non-traditional and traditional security, the relevance of NTS threats to China's domestic stability and the importance of identifying security priorities on the basis of limited resources. Far less attention has been given to China's response to NTS problems in practice.

In the seminar, Dr Morton sought to fill the gap through analysing China's response to a specific NTS threat – the case of climate change and its impacts on water security in the Tibetan-Himalayan region. She sought to highlight that, in this case, sovereignty concerns, development imperatives and pre-existing border disputes severely constrain the potential for cooperative action. Furthermore, she argued that in the absence of institutional mechanisms for responding to the unfolding crisis, it is difficult to envisage a secure water future for the region.

The lesson that she drew from the disputes surrounding resources in the Tibetan-Himalayan region is that, under certain conditions, tackling non-military threats may not necessarily lead to cooperation but instead amplifies pre-existing tensions.

An audio recording and write-up of the seminar can be found [here](#).

#### • **Published Works under the Programme**

Fitrian Ardiansyah and Desak Putu Adhityani Putri, [‘Risk and Resilience in Three Southeast Asian Cross-Border Areas: The Greater Mekong Subregion, the Heart of Borneo and the Coral Triangle’](#), Asia Security Initiative Policy Series No. 11, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, February 2011.

Alvin Chew, [‘Japan Earthquake and Tsunami: End for the Nuclear Industry?’](#), *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 42, Singapore: RSIS, 16 March 2011.

Bill Durodie, [‘Pulp Friction: Southern Environment or Western Agendas?’](#), *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 54, Singapore: RSIS, 27 May 2010; also published as [‘Friction and Vested Interests in Pulp and Palm Oil Production’](#), *The Jakarta Post*, 27 May 2010.

Bill Durodie, [‘Disaster Hacks Should Stick to the Facts’](#), *Today*, 18 March 2011.

Lorraine Elliott, [‘Securitisating Food Futures in the Asia-Pacific: Human Securitisating Regional Frameworks’](#), Asia Security Initiative Policy Series No. 15, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, May 2011.

Lorraine Elliott, [‘Climate Migration: Why It Is a Human Security Issue’](#), *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 28, Singapore: RSIS, 25 February 2011.

Lorraine Elliott, [‘“Human Securitisating” the Climate Security Debate’](#), Asia Security Initiative Policy Series No. 13, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, April 2010.

Lorraine Elliott and Mely Caballero-Anthony (eds), *Human Security and Climate Change in Southeast Asia: Managing Risk and Resilience*, Routledge, forthcoming.

J. Jackson Ewing, *Monograph on Identity, Natural Resources and Separatism in Southeast Asia*, forthcoming.

J. Jackson Ewing, [‘Climate Change and Security: Policy Recommendations from the 4th NTS-Asia Annual Convention 2010’](#), NTS Policy Brief No. 6, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, February 2011.

J. Jackson Ewing, [‘Cancun and Climate Security: New Approaches, Mixed Results’](#), *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, January 2011.

J. Jackson Ewing and Irene A. Kuntjoro, [‘Southeast Asia and the Outcomes of the COP16’](#), NTS Policy Brief No. 3, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, January 2011.

J. Jackson Ewing and Irene A. Kuntjoro, [‘COP16 Cancun: Shifting Goals of Climate Negotiations’](#), *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 175, Singapore: RSIS, 20 December 2010; also published in *The Jakarta Post*, 27 December 2010 and the *Eurasia Review*, 24 December 2010.

Yang Razali Kassim, [‘After Japan: Waiting for Asia's Next Big One’](#), *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 57, Singapore: RSIS, 12 April 2011.

Yang Razali Kassim, '[Tunisia and Climate Change: What It Means for Southeast Asia](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 8, Singapore: RSIS, 28 January 2011.

Yang Razali Kassim, '[Indonesia's Twin Disasters: Will the Next Big One Reach Singapore?](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 140, Singapore: RSIS, 2 November 2010.

Yang Razali Kassim, '[Australia and Climate Change: The Changing Weather in Climate Politics](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 81, Singapore: RSIS, 20 July 2010.

Enrique Ibarra Gene and Arif Aliadi, '[REDD \(Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation\): Mitigation, Adaptation and the Resilience of Local Livelihoods](#)', Asia Security Initiative Policy Series No. 8, November 2010.

Sofiah Jamil, '[Up in Smoke: Peatland Fires in Russia and Indonesia](#)', *RSIS Commentaries* No. 95, Singapore: RSIS, 19 August 2010; also published in the *Eurasia Review*, 24 August 2010, *Asia News Network*, 24 August 2010 and *The Jakarta Post*, 24 August 2010.

Sofiah Jamil and Mely Caballero-Anthony, '[Japan in Disaster: Managing Energy Vulnerabilities](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 41, Singapore: RSIS, 15 March 2011.

Sofiah Jamil and Devin Maeztri, '[Visible Value? ENGOs and the UNFCCC Process](#)', *NTS Insight*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, January 2011.

Sofiah Jamil and Devin Maeztri, '[Mudflow Management: Lessons for Southeast Asia](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 170, Singapore: RSIS, 13 December 2010; also published in *The Straits Times*, 16 December 2010, and *Eurasia Review*, 20 December 2010.

Sofiah Jamil and Devin Maeztri, '[COP16: Can Cancun Salvage Copenhagen?](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 156, Singapore: RSIS, 24 November 2010; also published in *The Jakarta Post*, 27 November 2010, *The Straits Times*, 30 November 2010 and *Eurasia Review*, 29 November 2010.

Sofiah Jamil, Jochen Prantl and Mely Caballero-Anthony, '[Overcoming Energy Vulnerabilities in East Asia: Ways Forward](#)', NTS Policy Brief No. 5, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, February 2011.

Irene A. Kuntjoro, '[Pakistan's Floods: How Not to Be Caught Off Guard](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 98, Singapore: RSIS, 23 August 2010; also published in *World Affairs Journal*, August 2010, *Eurasia Review*, 26 August 2010 and *The Jakarta Post*, 28 August 2010.

Irene A. Kuntjoro and Mely Caballero-Anthony, '[Cancun Agreement: Implications for Southeast Asia](#)', *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, January 2011.

Irene A. Kuntjoro and Mely Caballero-Anthony, '[The Implementation of a Disaster Management Agreement in Asean: Towards Regional Preparedness?](#)', *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, September 2010.

Irene A. Kuntjoro and Mely Caballero-Anthony, '[Disaster Risk Reduction \(DRR\): Reducing Human Vulnerabilities to Natural Disasters](#)', *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, September 2010.

Irene A. Kuntjoro and Sofiah Jamil, '[Triple Trouble in Indonesia: Strengthening Jakarta's Disaster Preparedness](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 138, Singapore: RSIS, 1 November 2010; also published in *PreventionWeb*, 4 November 2010, *The Jakarta Post*, 4 November 2010, and *Eurasia Review*, 4 November 2010.

Irene A. Kuntjoro and Sofiah Jamil, '[Changing Cityscapes: Signs of Development or Disaster?](#)', *NTS Perspectives*, No. 1, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, May 2010.

Evan A. Laksmana, '[Climate Insecurities: Exploring the Strategic Implications for Asia-Pacific Armed Force](#)', Asia Security Initiative Policy Series No. 13, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, April 2011.

Evan A. Laksmana, '[Climate Change and Regional Defence Forces: Is There a Connection?](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 169, Singapore: RSIS, 14 December 2010; also published in the *Eurasia Review*, 20 December 2010.

Evan A. Laksmana, '[The Indonesian Defence Forces and Disaster Relief: Potential Pitfalls and Challenges](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 160, Singapore: RSIS, 29 November 2010.

Nah Liang Tuang, '[Urban Search and Rescue: Boosting Intra-ASEAN Self Help](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 52, Singapore: RSIS, 4 April 2011.

Sania Nishtar, '[Pakistan's Flood Disaster: An Unprecedented Humanitarian Crisis](#)', *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 108, 6 September 2010.

Bernadette P. Resurreccion, '[The Gender and Climate Debate: More of the Same or New Pathways of Thinking and Doing?](#)', Asia Security Initiative Policy Series No. 10, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, January 2011.

Sadhavi Sharma, '[Integrating Adaptation into Development Policy in Southeast Asia](#)', *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, April 2010.

Sadhavi Sharma, '[Positioning Adaptation in the Climate Change Debate](#)', *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, April 2010.

Juzhong Zhuang, Suphachol Suphachalasai and Jindra Nuella Samson, '[The Economics of Climate Change in Southeast Asia](#)', Asia Security Initiative Policy Series No. 9, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, December 2010.

## • Public Dissemination under the Programme

### a. Public Outreach Activities

Mely Caballero-Anthony was a participant at the *ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) Seminar on International Security Implications of Climate Change*, 18–19 November 2010, Council of the European Union, Brussels, Belgium.

J. Jackson Ewing delivered a presentation on 'Seeking Resilience in the Face of Non-traditional Security Threats' at the *Asia Pacific Programme for Senior National Security Officers – Local Session*, 19 April 2011, Singapore.

J. Jackson Ewing chaired a session on 'Crisis Resilience: The Roles of Hindsight and Foresight' at the *Asia Pacific Programme for Senior National Security Officers*, 14 April 2011, Singapore.

J. Jackson Ewing participated in a panel discussion on Disaster Response in Japan, *Channel NewsAsia*, Evening News, 18 March 2011.

J. Jackson Ewing delivered a presentation on 'ASEAN and Disaster Management: Lessons from Cyclone Nargis' at the *ADB/ADB/RSIS/MFA Regional Policy Workshop on Regional Economic Integration*, 15–18 February 2011, Singapore.

J. Jackson Ewing delivered a presentation on 'Shifting Tides, How Climate Change and Environmental Stresses Are Affecting the Security Landscape in Asia', *Capacity Building for Counter-terrorism*, 6–10 February 2011, Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

J. Jackson Ewing was interviewed on a programme on Disaster Management, *MediaCorp Channel 8*, 15 December 2010.

J. Jackson Ewing delivered a presentation on 'Lessons from the Southern Philippines: Assessing the Longstanding Environmental Causes and Immediate Implications of Complex Emergencies in Mindanao' at a

Conference on the Management of Complex Emergency, 13–14 December 2010, Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies, Dhaka, Bangladesh.



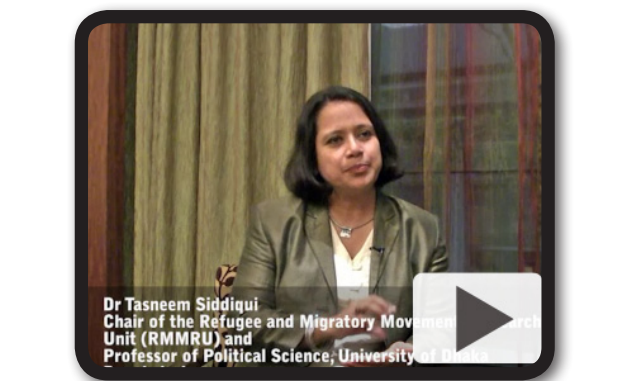
Sofiah Jamil was featured in *Berita Harian*, [‘More Muslim Researchers in RSIS’](#) (in Malay, see article above), 13 May 2011.

Sofiah Jamil delivered a presentation on ‘ASEAN’s Responses to Climate Change’ at a *Conference on the Security Implications of Climate Change in the Asia Pacific*, 8 April 2011, Seoul. The event was co-organised by the IImin International Relations Institute and the Global Green Growth Institute and was supported by the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia.

Sofiah Jamil was featured in *Berita Harian*, [‘50 Malay/Muslim Individuals to Influence 2011’](#) (in Malay), 25 December 2010.

Sofiah Jamil delivered a presentation on ‘Curbing a Culture of Careless Consumption’ at the *Young Leaders Forum*, 6th World Islamic Economic Forum, 18 May 2010, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Sofiah Jamil and Sadhavi Sharma delivered a joint presentation on ‘Regional Perspectives on Sustainable Urbanisation and Energy Efficiency’ at a *Seminar on EU and Asian Policy Responses to Climate Change and Energy Security Post-Copenhagen*, 26–27 July 2010, Singapore.



## b. Multimedia: ‘In Conversation With’ Series

The Centre for NTS Studies conducted interviews on the sidelines of the 4th Annual Convention of the Consortium of NTS-Asia on 25–26 November 2010 and during the Workshop on the Benefits of Cooperation in the Himalayan River Basin Countries of Bangladesh, China, India and Nepal on 3 December 2010.

[Tasneem Siddiqui, Chairman, Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit.](#)

[Bishnu Bhandari, Wetlands Specialist, Centre for Integrated Mountain Development, Nepal.](#)

## c. Blog Posts

Zbigniew Dumienksi, [Shaking the Myth of Post-disaster Looters](#), 30 March 2011.

Pau Khan Khup Hangzo, [Managing Transboundary Rivers](#), 11 January 2011.

Pau Khan Khup Hangzo, [Malaysia: A Test Case for Water Reform](#), 9 December 2010.

Pau Khan Khup Hangzo, [The Real Weapons of Mass Destruction – Part 1](#), 27 October 2010.

Pau Khan Khup Hangzo, [Disaster Relief Aid: Cash or Food?](#), 9 September 2010.

Li Hongyan, [Issues on the Prevalence of Global AIDS – Part 2: Beyond ARVs: Examining Other Causes and Solutions to HIV/AIDS](#), 18 November 2010.

Sofiah Jamil, [Japan in Jeopardy? Managing Energy Vulnerabilities Amidst Disaster Response](#), 15 March 2011.

Sofiah Jamil, [Gaps in Greening the Economy](#), 3 March 2011.

Sofiah Jamil, [A Practitioner’s Thoughts on Cancun](#), 10 February 2011.

Sofiah Jamil, [Friedman: The World Needs a Green Revolution](#), 2 February 2011.

Sofiah Jamil, [Disasters’ Damage on Development](#), 19 January 2011.

Sofiah Jamil, [Costs and Communication: Stumbling Blocks in Addressing Climate Change](#), 7 October 2010.

Sofiah Jamil, [Re-creating Oil: Technological Advances in Recycling Plastic](#), 1 September 2010.

Irene A. Kuntjoro, [Indonesia Going Carbon Positive?](#), 17 September 2010.

Devin Maeztri, [Many Questions, Difficult Answers on Forest Governance](#), 10 May 2011.

Devin Maeztri, [Resilient Cities in a Hazard Sensitive World](#), 21 March 2011.

Devin Maeztri, [REDD: Beyond Carbon](#), 6 December 2010.

Devin Maeztri, [A Climate for Change](#), 29 November 2010.

Devin Maeztri, [Ways towards Achieving Real Benefit of Clean Development Mechanism](#), 1 November 2010.

Devin Maeztri, [Seeking Opportunity 1: Singapore Farmer’s Market](#), 4 October 2010.

Ong Suan Ee, [Health Security Post-Japanese Quake and Tsunami](#), 24 March 2011.

Ong Suan Ee, [Health Dimensions of Natural Disasters: Indonesia’s Mount Merapi Eruptions](#), 10 November 2010.

## Core Team

- » [Professor Lorraine Elliott](#)  
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- » [Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony](#)  
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- » [Dr J. Jackson Ewing](#)  
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Associate Research Fellow  
RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

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- » [Dr Henri Bastaman](#)  
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- » [Dr Beverly Goh](#)  
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- » [Dr Herminia A. Francisco](#)  
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- » **Dr Enrique Ibarra Gené**  
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Asian Institute of Technology  
Thailand
- » **[Professor Emil Salim](#)**  
Member  
The Advisory Council on Environment and  
Economy to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono,  
the President of the Republic of Indonesia  
(serving as advisor for environment and  
sustainable development issues)
- » **[Professor Tasneem Siddiqui](#)**  
Chairman  
Refugee and Migratory Movements  
Research Unit  
University of Dhaka  
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- » **[Professor Richard Tanter](#)**  
Director  
Nautilus Institute  
RMIT University, Melbourne  
Australia
- » **[Dr Arief Anshory Yusuf](#)**  
Senior Economist  
Economy and Environment Programme  
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## C) Energy and Human Security Programme

The world's appetite for energy resources is insatiable. According to the *World Energy Outlook 2010*, global energy use will grow by an estimated 36 per cent between 2008 and 2035, with non-OECD countries – led by China, where demand will surge by 75 per cent – accounting for almost all of the increase. This rising demand for energy has implications for various dimensions of NTS. Traditionally, energy discussions have focused on securing the supply of energy resources; the NTS perspective highlights other aspects such as the sustainability of and access to these energy sources. These NTS concerns are further heightened given the difficulties in balancing economic growth and development, and healthy socio-environmental conditions.

The increased demand for oil and coal in various Asian countries has been fuelled by the increasing energy needs for power generation and transport. This is particularly salient in contexts where economic growth is afforded utmost priority, and especially so in times of economic downturn. For instance, in China, one of the implications of the stimulus plan put in place to recover from the 2008 financial crisis was greater levels of electricity use. In the first quarter of 2010, China's energy consumption rose 24.2 per cent compared to the same period the previous year, and engines of China's economy such as the steel, non-ferrous metals and petrochemicals industries recorded new highs in electricity use. In the process, social and environmental concerns are often relegated to the backburner.

Within this context, the work of the Centre for NTS Studies' Energy and Human Security Programme is timely and of great relevance to the evolving security discourse within the international community. The programme's work can essentially be categorised in relation to two development trends in the energy sector, that is, Vulnerabilities and Viabilities.

In terms of vulnerabilities, the processes involved in energy resource extraction and development have been explored. The Deepwater Horizon oil spill off the Gulf of Mexico in 2010 was a case in point, reflecting a case whereby the adoption of lax safety measures equated to a failure to ensure the primary security of individuals. The lack of consideration for the security of communities is also prevalent in the coal mining industry, which is not only related to a trend of poor quality of economic livelihoods but also adverse effects on individuals and communities' health and the environment. In addition to this, Asian countries continue to be particularly vulnerable to market forces such as changes in oil prices, which can and have had knock-on effects on other sectors such as food supply and distribution, leading to food insecurities. In spite of these concerns, the continuing expansion of such energy exploration and development projects demonstrates countries' strong dependencies on traditional energy sources in spite of the adverse implications that they often generate for individuals and communities.

As for the second development trend, exploring the viability of alternative energy sources is not only a means of conforming to global pressures for adopting low-carbon growth models, but also represents an avenue for addressing growing demands for energy. Nevertheless, establishing and ensuring the viability of alternative sources of energy continues to be a challenging prospect. Just as issues of greater access to and affordability of renewable energy technology remains problematic, many countries have explored the civil use of nuclear energy as a transitional source while diversifying their energy mix. Technological advancements and the carbon-free nature of nuclear energy has made the civil use of nuclear energy a viable option. However, the recent nuclear crisis in Japan following the devastating earthquake and tsunami in March 2011 has prompted even the traditionally heavily nuclear-reliant Japanese government to rethink its use of nuclear energy. In Asia, where the demand for energy sources is increasingly insatiable, it is

likely that governments in the region would still consider the nuclear option (by delaying nuclear energy plans), while keeping a close watch on the situation in Japan. Nuclear energy is included in Malaysia's Economic Transformation Programme, and the country plans to build a regional nuclear monitoring facility by 2014. Vietnam seeks to build two nuclear power plants along its southern coastal province of Ninh Thuan as early as 2014 while Thailand still requires government approval to build a plant by 2020.

Ultimately, in these two areas of development – in terms of both vulnerabilities and viabilities – it is clear that more effective multi-stakeholder consultation, cooperation and collaboration is needed to ensure energy security in its entirety. Those objectives are reflected in the activities of the Energy and Human Security Programme, which are further substantiated in the following section.

## Programme Activities

### • Project on Nuclear Energy and Human Security: Critical Debates

The Centre for NTS Studies' project on Nuclear Energy and Human Security: Critical Debates seeks to understand the feasibility of, and the challenges facing, the civil use of nuclear energy, which is seen to have increasing potential in the Asian region. However, the road to nuclear energy development in the region will not be without its challenges. Pertinent issues related to environmental, economic and security implications/risks continue to dominate the nuclear debate.

As a follow-up to a Regional Workshop on Nuclear Energy and Human Security: Critical Debates that was convened on 23 April 2010, workshop participants refined their presentations. The resulting papers are currently undergoing review by Routledge for its Security in Asia Pacific series. The proposed volume, *Nuclear Power and Energy Security in Asia: Critical Debates*, is edited by Professors Leszek Buszynski (International University of Japan) and William Tow (Australian National University) and co-edited by Associate Professor Rajesh Basrur and Mr Collin Koh, both of RSIS.

The proposed book chapters are:

- » 'Nuclear Power and the Environment: Facts vs Fiction' by Gopi Rethinaraj.
- » 'Critical Environmental Questions: Nuclear Energy and Human Security in Asia' by Simon Tay.
- » 'Nuclear Energy and Economic Costs' by Kazuaki Matsui.
- » 'Economics of Nuclear and Renewable Electricity' by Mark Diesendorf.
- » 'Nuclear Energy and Security Risks: Is the Expansion of Nuclear Power Compatible with Global Peace and Security?' by Jor-Shan Choi.
- » 'Security Aspects of the Growth of Nuclear Power' by Miles A. Pomper and Cole Harvey.
- » 'Civil Society Organisations and Nuclear Energy in Southeast Asia: Cases of Engagement from Indonesia and the Philippines' by Mely Caballero-Anthony, Kevin Punzalan and Lina Alexandra.



– particularly in the area of energy demand and supply given the continuing high levels of growth in the region – it would be a useful exercise to simultaneously review case studies of how countries in East Asia have managed to overcome their respective vulnerabilities and thus meet their energy needs through cooperative arrangements. Such knowledge can in turn contribute to the exploration – and expansion – of cooperation-based solutions for addressing energy security in the region.

With this in mind, the Regional Workshop that was held in Singapore on 9–10 December 2010 aimed to examine East Asian energy cooperation and collaboration against the backdrop of conventional research projects that predominantly posit geopolitical uncertainties and tensions as the central focus of inquiry. The workshop marked the second phase of the project on Dealing with Energy Vulnerabilities, providing commissioned writers involved in the Energy Study Group Inception Meeting in June 2010 with the opportunity to present their research findings.

The papers presented during the workshop sought to fill the research and knowledge gaps attributed to the general tendency to relate energy security to power politics while undervaluing the extent of interdependence in the chain of energy and energy-product trade among nation states in East Asia and the wider Asia-Pacific. It is hoped that their findings will stimulate more nuanced/sophisticated debates on energy policymaking and institutionalisation in the region. A key assumption underpinning this project is that shortages in and uncertainties over energy supplies – that is, energy vulnerabilities –

constitute a normative part for the countries under examination.

### ***Summaries of Papers Presented***

A total of seven papers were presented covering a range of issues which included: (1) stock-taking of trade in fossil fuels among East Asian states; (2) the 'Asian premium' phenomenon; (3) developmental institutions and energy in East Asia; and (4) energy vulnerabilities unique to East Asian societies.



*From left to right: Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony, Professor Zha Daojiong and Mr Kensuke Kanekiyo.*

### **Energy Outlook of East Asia and Challenges for Sustainable Development**

Mr Kensuke Kanekiyo  
Former Managing Director and Research Advisor  
The Institute of Energy Economics, Japan  
Japan

This session provided an overview of the energy landscape in East Asia and the challenges faced by the region in ensuring sustainable development in the face of energy vulnerabilities. It suggests that the two main threats to energy security and sustainable development are the lack of adequate and secure supplies of energy at affordable prices, and environmental harm caused by excessive energy consumption at the regional and global levels.

### **The 'Asian Premium' Phenomenon**

Dr Tilak K. Doshi  
Principal Fellow  
Energy Studies Institute  
National University of Singapore  
Singapore

and

Mr Adi Imsirovic  
Director  
Singapore Representative Office  
Petraco Oil Company Ltd  
Singapore

This session presented perspectives on the Asian premium phenomenon, wherein Asian countries pay a premium for oil from the Middle East. Some observers have suggested that, as the Middle East crude oil supplied to Asia is priced substantially higher than oil bound for the US and Europe, the Asian premium could be perceived as a discriminatory practice. The paper examines the reasons for the introduction of the Asian premium, its implications as well as possible alternatives.

### **Energy in a Seamless Asia**

Dr Chang Youngho  
Assistant Professor  
Division of Economics  
School of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Nanyang Technological University  
Singapore  
and  
Senior Fellow, Energy Studies Institute  
National University of Singapore  
Singapore

and



*From left to right: Ms Yao Lixia, Dr Chang Youngho and Dr Tilak Doshi.*

Ms Yao Lixia  
PhD Candidate  
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies  
Nanyang Technological University  
Singapore

This session began with the assertion that increased cooperation and collaboration through the formation of an integrated energy market in East Asia would reduce energy vulnerabilities. Based on the concept of energy security, energy integration would enhance the availability of energy resources for countries in the region and contribute to mitigating the negative impacts of energy use on the environment.

#### NEAT Working Group on Energy Security Cooperation

Mr Lye Liang Fook  
Research Fellow  
East Asian Institute  
National University of Singapore  
Singapore

This session focused on the Network of East Asian Think-Tanks Working Group (NEAT WG) on Energy Security Cooperation in East Asia, one of the working groups established by NEAT, a Track II body sanctioned by the ASEAN Plus Three leaders to enhance cooperation among the 13 countries. The NEAT WG on Energy Security Cooperation in East Asia had met over a three-year period from 2005 to 2007, to brainstorm and provide recommendations related to energy and energy-related issues for the consideration of senior government officials (at the ASEAN Plus Three level).

#### Enhancing Regional Cooperation in Fighting Piracy and Robbery against Ships in Asia



Mr Lye Liang Fook (left) and Ms Lee Yin Mui (right).

Ms Lee Yin Mui  
Assistant Director (Research)  
Information Sharing Centre  
Regional Cooperation Agreement on  
Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery  
against Ships in Asia  
Singapore

This session discussed the importance of regional cooperation in addressing energy vulnerabilities, specifically with reference to the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia.

#### Is Bigger Always Better? The Challenges Facing Transnational Asian Energy Megaprojects

Dr Benjamin K. Sovacool  
Assistant Professor  
Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy  
National University of Singapore  
Singapore

This session discussed the challenges facing large, capital intensive, multi-billion dollar regional megaprojects. It argues that, due to their scale, size and complexity, such projects face a unique range of challenges distinct from those confronting energy infrastructures at smaller scales and within national borders.

#### Renewable Energy in the Philippines: Challenges and Opportunities

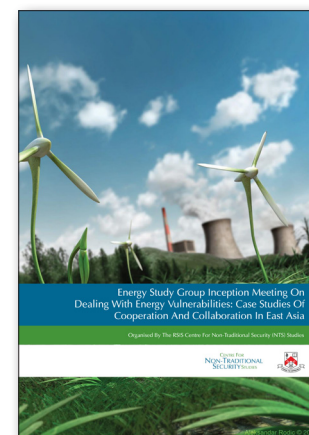
Mr Kevin Punzalan  
International Studies Department  
De La Salle University  
Manila  
Philippines



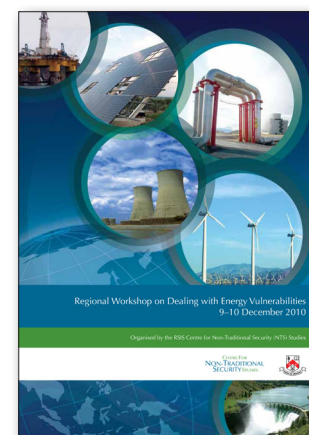
Dr Benjamin Sovacool (left) and Mr Kevin Punzalan (right).

This session examined the ways in which the Philippines has sought to address its energy vulnerabilities. The Philippines is an interesting case as it is both a laggard and a leader in terms of energy policy. While it is a laggard in terms of its ability to guarantee stable supplies of electricity and the competitiveness of its energy prices, it is a leader in terms of exploring alternative energy options and in privatising its energy market. As such, the experience of the Philippines with privatisation and developing alternative energy sources provides lessons for addressing energy vulnerabilities, in terms of which policies work, and which do not.

Comments and discussions from the regional workshop are to be taken into consideration by commissioned writers as they finalise their research papers for inclusion in an edited book volume to be published by the third quarter of 2011.



Click [here](#) for the Inception Meeting Report.



Click [here](#) for the Report of the Regional Workshop.

#### • **(UPCOMING ACTIVITY) Pilot Workshop on Governing Geoengineering in the 21st Century: Asian Perspectives, 18–19 July 2011, Singapore.**

This pilot workshop is organised by the Centre for NTS Studies in cooperation with the multi-disciplinary Oxford Geoengineering Programme, an initiative of the Oxford Martin School at the University of Oxford, UK; and the Solar Radiation Management Governance Initiative, an international NGO project co-convened by The Royal Society, UK; Environmental Defense Fund, US; and TWAS, the academy of sciences for the developing world. It seeks to open up the geoengineering discourse which thus far, has been very much driven by scholarly communities in Europe and the US. Any potential new global governance framework will likely require broad legitimacy and support by a critical mass of stakeholders. This event therefore aims at engaging key representatives from the academic and policy communities, and civil society in East, Southeast and South Asia. It examines the threats and opportunities of geoengineering as a new set of emerging technologies to address climate change and the pressing demands of a low-carbon economy.

#### • **Published Works under the Programme**

Leszek Buszynski and William Tow (eds) and Rajesh Basrur and Collin Koh (co-editors), *Nuclear Power and Energy Security in Asia: Critical Debates*, Routledge, forthcoming.

Chang Youngho and Nur Azha Putra, [‘Powering Growth: The Non-traditional Security \(NTS\) Perspective on the Energy Security Policies in Singapore’](#), Asia Security Initiative Policy Series No. 4, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, June 2010.

Alvin Chew, [‘Japan Earthquake and Tsunami: End for the Nuclear Industry?’](#), RSIS Commentaries, No. 42, Singapore: RSIS, 16 March 2011.

Alvin Chew, [‘Nuclear Energy in Southeast Asia: Competition or Cooperation?’](#), *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 166, Singapore: RSIS, 7 December 2010.

Ryan Clarke, Collin Koh and Kevin Punzalan, [Enhancing Energy Security, Underpinning Development: The Future of Nuclear Energy in ASEAN](#), *NTS Insight*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, May 2010.

Zha Daojiong (ed.), *Dealing with Energy Vulnerabilities: Case Studies of Cooperation and Collaboration*, forthcoming.

Barry Desker, [Nuclear Power after Fukushima](#), *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 53, Singapore: RSIS, 6 April 2011.

Sofiah Jamil and Mely Caballero-Anthony [‘Japan in Disaster: Managing Energy Vulnerabilities’](#), *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 41, Singapore, RSIS, 15 March 2011; also published as [‘Reality Check for the Region’](#), *The Straits Times*, 17 March 2011.

Sofiah Jamil and Lina Gong, [‘Cheap but Costly: Constraints of Economic Development in the Coal Mining Industry’](#), *NTS Insight*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, November 2010.

Sofiah Jamil and Lina Gong, [“Crying Over Spilt Milk”: Responses to Oil Spills in East Asia](#), *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, October 2010.

Sofiah Jamil and Lina Gong, [‘Dependency and Complacency in the Energy Sector: Implications for Human Security’](#), *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, October 2010.

Sofiah Jamil, Jochen Prantl and Mely Caballero-Anthony, [‘Overcoming Energy Vulnerabilities in East Asia: Ways Forward’](#), *NTS Policy Brief* No. 5, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, February 2011.

Sofiah Jamil, Jochen Prantl and Mely Caballero-Anthony, [‘The Hidden Costs and Risks of Nuclear Energy: The Way Forward’](#), *NTS Policy Brief* No. 4, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, January 2011.

Jochen Prantl, [‘Crafting Energy Security Cooperation in East Asia’](#), *NTS Policy Brief* No. 9, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, April 2011.

Jochen Prantl, [‘Debating Geoengineering Governance: How It Matters to the Asia-Pacific Region’](#), *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, April 2011.

Jochen Prantl, [‘Why We Need a Debate about Geoengineering Governance ... Now’](#), *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, April 2011.

Kevin Punzalan, [‘Aquino’s Challenge: Energy Security in the Philippines’](#), *RSIS Commentaries*, No. 52, Singapore: RSIS, 24 May 2010.

Kevin Punzalan, [‘Renewable Energy in East Asia’](#), *The Business Times*, 24 August 2010; adapted from Mely Caballero-Anthony, Collin Koh and Kevin Punzalan, [‘East Asian Energy Renaissance: Nuclear or Renewables?’](#), *NTS Alert*, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, March 2010.

## • Public Dissemination under the Programme

### a. Public Outreach Activities

Alvin Chew was interviewed on Japan Quake and Its Aftermath, *Channel NewsAsia*, Evening News, 17 March 2011.

Jochen Prantl presented a paper entitled ‘Explaining Cooperation under Order Transition’ at the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association held in Montreal, Canada, from 16–19 March 2011. His presentation formed part of a special panel themed ‘Challenged Institutions in Global Governance’ organised by the Global Economic Governance Programme of the University of Oxford, UK. The two discussants were Oran R. Young of the University of California at Santa Barbara and Duncan Snidal of the University of Oxford, UK.

### b. Multimedia: ‘In Conversation With’ Series

Interviews were conducted on the sidelines of the NTS Workshop on Nuclear Energy and Human Security in April 2010. Interviewees, who were participants from the above mentioned workshop, were asked for their views pertaining to the prospects and challenges in pursuing the civil use of nuclear energy.



[Jor-Shan Choi, Professor, Global Center of Excellence Program, University of Tokyo.](#)

[Michael Quah, Principal Fellow, Energy Studies Institute, National University of Singapore.](#)

[Mark Diesendorf, Deputy Director, Institute of Environmental Studies, University of New South Wales.](#)

### c. Blog Posts

- » Lina Gong, [Energy Security and Foreign Policy](#), 14 December 2010.
- » Sofiah Jamil, [Cooperation rather than Competition \(I\): Renewable Energy for Whom?](#), 27 April 2011.
- » Sofiah Jamil, [Japan in Jeopardy? Managing Energy Vulnerabilities Amidst Disaster Response](#), 15 March 2011.
- » Sofiah Jamil, [Gaps in Greening the Economy](#), 3 March 2011.
- » Sofiah Jamil, [Friedman: The World Needs a Green Revolution](#), 2 February 2011.
- » Sofiah Jamil, [The Hidden Costs and Risks of Nuclear Energy](#), 13 January 2011.
- » Sofiah Jamil, [Energy for Whom? The Case of Coal](#), 4 January 2011.

- » Sofiah Jamil, [Re-creating Oil: Technological Advances in Recycling Plastic](#), 1 September 2010.
- » Tuomo Kuosa, [Energy Security: The Risk of Global Breakdown](#), 25 August 2010.
- » Ong Suan Ee, [Health Security Post-Japanese Quake and Tsunami](#), 24 March 2011.

## Research Team

- » [Associate Professor Rajesh M. Basrur](#)  
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- » [Zbigniew Dumienksi](#)  
Research Analyst  
RSIS Centre for NTS Studies
- » [Lina Gong](#)  
Research Analyst  
RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

- **Professor Shaun Breslin, Visiting Senior Fellow, University of Warwick, UK**



Shaun Breslin is Professor of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick, UK. His research focuses on the political economy of contemporary China and studies of comparative regionalism. His recent publications include a Special Issue of *Contemporary Politics* on Asia and the Global Crisis (as Guest Editor), 'East Asia and the Global/Transatlantic/Western Crisis' and 'China and the Crisis: Global Power, Domestic Caution and Local Initiative' (all in 2011). His forthcoming publications include a working paper under the Asia Security Initiative Policy Series titled 'Reconciling Non-traditional Security

Studies and IPE: International Security, Westphalia, the "West" and the Long Shadow of 1944'. He will also publish a paper on 'The China Model and the Global Crisis: From Friedrich List to a Chinese Mode of Governance?' based on a seminar [The Chinese Model and the Global Crisis](#) that he held at the Centre for NTS Studies in April 2011. Other forthcoming publications include an introductory chapter on 'Researching Regional Security Governance: Dimensions, Debates and Discourses' for an edited volume with Stuart Croft titled *Comparative Regional Security Governance*, as well as a chapter with Mark Beeson on 'Regional and Global Forces in East Asia's Economic Management with International Society' for a book on *International Security in East Asia* edited by Barry Buzan and Zhang Yongjin.

- **Associate Professor Lorraine Elliott, Visiting Senior Fellow, Australian National University, Australia**



Lorraine Elliott is Associate Professor and Senior Fellow in International Relations at the Australian National University, Canberra. She also holds a Visiting Senior Fellowship at the Centre for NTS Studies, where she is Lead Researcher on the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative project on climate security. She is a member of the CSCAP, the governance board of the Australian National University Climate Change Institute, and the International Human Dimensions Programme Advisory Group on Global Environmental Change and Human Health. Dr Elliott has published two working papers under the Asia Security

Initiative Policy Series titled '[Securitising Food Futures in the Asia-Pacific: Human Securitising Regional Frameworks](#)' and '[Human Securitising the Climate Security Debate](#)'. She has also co-edited a forthcoming book with Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony titled *Human Security and Climate Change in Southeast Asia: Managing Risk and Resilience*. On 26–27 May 2011, she convened a study group meeting and public seminar at the Centre for NTS Studies that explored the linkages between climate change, migration and human security.

- **Dr Meenakshi Gopinath, Visiting Senior Fellow, WISCOMP, India**



Meenakshi Gopinath (Founder and Honorary Director of WISCOMP) serves as Principal, Lady Shri Ram College for Women, New Delhi, and was the first woman member on India's National Security Advisory Board. Dr Gopinath serves on several boards including as co-chair of the Academic Council of the UN University of Peace, Costa Rica; Governing Board of Coexistence International, US; Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi; The Shri Ram School, New Delhi; Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Sri Lanka; and the Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution, New Delhi. She is a member of multi-

track peace initiatives in Kashmir and between India and Pakistan including the Neemrana Peace Initiative, Dostaana e' Kashmir and the Pakistan India Peoples' Forum for Peace and Democracy. In recognition of her contribution to the field of women's education and empowerment, she has received several awards including the Indira Gandhi Priyadarshini Award, the Rajiv Gandhi Award for Excellence in Education, the Mahila Shiromani Award and the Delhi Citizen Forum Award. In 2007, she was awarded the Padma Shri by the President of India for her distinguished contribution to the field of literature and education in India. During her fellowship visit with the Centre for NTS Studies, Dr Gopinath worked on gender and NTS, and gender, sustainable development and climate change.

- **Dr Jochen Prantl, Visiting Senior Fellow, University of Oxford, UK**



Jochen Prantl is Visiting Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Energy and Human Security Programme at the Centre for NTS Studies. He is Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford. His research is focused on developing key concepts of global security governance that can be used more widely. Supported by the UK Economic and Social Research Council, the British Academy and other funding authorities, he directed a multi-year research programme (2007–2010) that looked in particular into cross-institutional and cross-

regional comparisons of the dynamic relationship between formal and informal institutions in the management of risk and the resolution of conflict. In 2007, Dr Prantl was chosen to be the inaugural recipient of the Zvi Meitar/Vice-Chancellor Oxford University Research Prize in the social sciences, and in 2008, he was selected as Oxford University's nominee for the AXA Prize for Innovative Research. The findings of his collaborative research under the Vice-Chancellor Research Prize will be disseminated through an edited volume, *Effective Multilateralism: Through the Looking Glass of East Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). The editors of the academic journal, *Global Governance*, have invited Dr Prantl to edit a special focus (50,000 words) on *Multilateralism in East Asia*, which is slated for 2012. Dr Prantl was a Visiting Fellow in the UN Studies Programme at Yale University, an International Fellow in the 21st Century Center of Excellence Program at Waseda University in Tokyo, and a Visiting Fellow at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre of the Australian National University, Canberra. He also served in the Policy Planning Unit of the UN Department of Political Affairs and the Delegation of the European Commission to the UN in New York. While with the Centre for NTS Studies, Dr Prantl's work has included a working paper with Ryoko Nakano titled

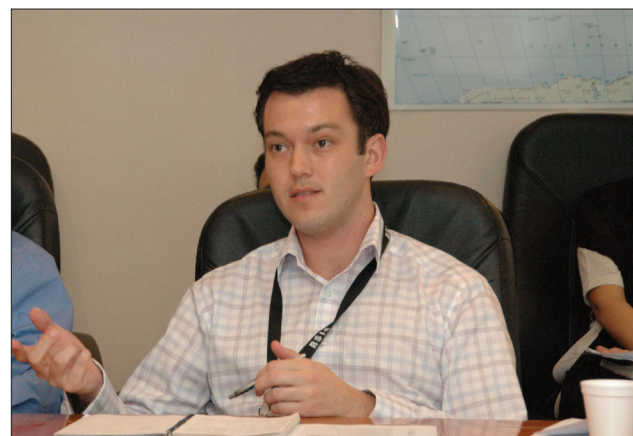
[‘Global Norm Diffusion in East Asia: How China and Japan Implement the Responsibility to Protect’](#), as well as a number of policy briefs addressing the viability and vulnerabilities of nuclear energy, and prospects for energy security cooperation, in East Asia.

- **Professor Zha Daojiong, Visiting Senior Fellow, Peking University, Beijing, China**



Zha Daojiong is Professor of International Political Economy in the School of International Studies, Peking University. He specialises in issues such as energy, food and water, with particular focus on how these pertain to China, as well as political-economic relations between China and its neighbours. As Advisor to the Energy and Human Security Programme, he has published a working paper under the Asia Security Initiative Policy Series titled [‘Oiling the Wheels of Foreign Policy? Energy Security and China’s International Relations’](#).

- **Dr Alistair D.B. Cook, Post-doctoral Fellow, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, Singapore**



Alistair D.B. Cook is Post-doctoral Fellow at the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies. He is Programme Lead for the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme and also coordinates the Centre’s NTS-Plus Programme on emerging security threats such as transnational crime and water security. Dr Cook holds an honorary fellowship at the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne, Australia. His research and publications focus on issues of conflict management and resolution, international law, governance and NTS. His recent work includes [‘Investing in Papua: The Dual Challenges of](#)

[Governance and Development’](#). He has a forthcoming co-edited book with Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony titled *Non-traditional Security in Asia: Issues, Challenges and Frameworks for Action*. Dr Cook presented a paper on the role of external actors in development-induced displacement in Myanmar at an NTS-Asia sub-regional workshop organised by the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in January 2011, which will be published as part of an edited book. His current research activities include an investigation into the complex interactions between China and Myanmar in the form of an article on ‘Myanmar’s China Policy: Agendas, Strategies and Challenges’, a book project on displacement in the Asia-Pacific and the development of a project on international humanitarian law and cyber warfare.

- **Dr J. Jackson Ewing, Post-doctoral Fellow, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, Singapore**



J. Jackson Ewing is Post-doctoral Fellow at the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, where he is Programme Lead of the Climate Change, Environment Security and Natural Disasters Programme and the Food Security Programme. His research interests include both traditional and non-traditional security issues throughout East Asia, and his past work has focused on the capacity for environmental factors and processes to contribute to the causes of instability and civil conflict in Southeast Asia. During his time as a PhD candidate, Dr Ewing published multiple chapters in the first, second, and third editions of *The Globalization of World Politics: Case*

*Studies from Australia, New Zealand and the Asia-Pacific*, and addressed the theoretical foundations of environmental security with the article, ‘A Way in the Wilderness: Using Critical Realism to Navigate Environmental Security’s Methodological Terrain’, which was published in the fifth volume of the *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences*. Dr Ewing has also presented and published multiple works on environmental and climate security in the Philippines. He participated, alongside researchers, government officials and members of the private sector, in a Workshop on Maritime Security in the Southern Philippines in September 2010. His contributions to this workshop, along with those of other selected participants, will be published in a forthcoming edited book in 2011.

- **Evan A. Laksmana, Visiting Associate Fellow, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, Indonesia**



Evan A. Laksmana is a researcher with the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia, and was a Visiting Associate Fellow at the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies. Previously, he was Advanced Security Cooperation Fellow at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu and an analyst with the RSIS Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies. He is also affiliated with the Young Leaders Program of the Pacific Forum and the Harvard Project for Asian and International Relations. His current research interests and ongoing projects deal with military organisations, defence reform and regional security. He has written papers, articles and chapters for the Singapore Armed Forces, Korean National Defense University, Brookings Institution, Institute of Security and International Studies in Thailand, ASEAN Institutes for Strategic and International Studies, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and Nanyang Technological

University. His shorter articles have also appeared in the *Asia Pacific Defence Reporter*, *Asia Pacific Bulletin*, *Foreign Policy*, *World Politics Review*, *The Jakarta Post*, *The Straits Times*, *The Brunei Times*, *RSIS Commentaries*, *Today Online* and *The China Post*. He recently contributed a working paper under the Asia Security Initiative Policy Series titled [‘Climate Insecurities: Exploring the Strategic Implications for Asia-Pacific Armed Forces’](#).

### About the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies

The Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies was inaugurated by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Secretary-General Dr Surin Pitsuwan in May 2008. The Centre maintains research in the fields of Food Security, Climate Change, Energy Security, Health Security as well as Internal and Cross-Border Conflict. It produces policy-relevant analyses aimed at furthering awareness and building capacity to address NTS issues and challenges in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond. The Centre also provides a platform for scholars and policymakers within and outside Asia to discuss and analyse NTS issues in the region.

In 2009, the Centre was chosen by the MacArthur Foundation as a lead institution for the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative, to develop policy research capacity and recommend policies on the critical security challenges facing the Asia-Pacific.

The Centre is also a founding member and the Secretariat for the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia). More information on the Centre can be found at [www.rsis.edu.sg/nts](http://www.rsis.edu.sg/nts).

Please email us at [NTS\\_Centre@ntu.edu.sg](mailto:NTS_Centre@ntu.edu.sg) to subscribe to the centre's e-publications.