Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies
Year in Review 2010

CENTRE FOR
NON-TRADITIONAL
SECURITY STUDIES

PONDER THE IMPROBABLE

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Contents

PREFACE

Throughout 2010, there were several notable developments which had an impact on non-traditional security (NTS) concerns. These developments informed cooperation between states and societies across the Asia-Pacific at the local, national, regional and international levels.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) made important strides in 2010 with the convening of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR), the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) and the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus Eight (ADMM Plus Eight). The establishment of these institutions reflects ASEAN's focus on the development of responsive regional mechanisms. In order to effectively enhance national institutions as well as the region's capacity to respond to the many NTS challenges, it is important to understand, learn from and share what social resilience

means in the various community and social settings in the region – these institutions can facilitate that process.

NTS challenges in 2010 encompassed issues of human rights and democracy, principles enshrined in the ASEAN Charter. The political crisis in Thailand and the controversial national elections in Myanmar brought these issues to the fore.

It has been continually noted that there are numerous inter-linkages among the policy areas of internal conflict, health, climate change, energy and food covered in this Year in Review. During the year there were several significant international conferences which brought together policymakers, practitioners and academics to address these policy concerns. Through this Year in Review, we bring you highlights of major NTS events and issues which have taken place across the Asia-Pacific in 2010, with particular focus on Southeast Asia.

REALISING AN ASEAN COMMUNITY?

The ASEAN Charter, which came into force in December 2008, entailed significant commitments, some of which were realised during the year. The year 2010 saw the formal convening of the first of the regional commissions to be established under the ASEAN Charter, and the emergence of the second. The AICHR, established in 2009, held its first formal session during the year, while the ACWC was inaugurated in April 2010. When the AICHR and ACWC came into being, civil society expressed significant reservations over the strength of their mandates. However, their establishment was seen as positive steps forward in the implementation of the ASEAN Charter.

ASEAN remained the key regional forum for Southeast Asian states and its regional neighbours to discuss significant traditional and non-traditional security issues. The formation of the ADMM Plus Eight consolidated ASEAN's role as the regional engine for Asia-Pacific cooperation.

In 2010, Vietnam, which held the ASEAN Chair for the year, focused on realising the goals set for 2015. As a result, at the ASEAN Summit in Hanoi on 28–30 October 2010, a Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity was agreed upon along with an ASEAN Infrastructure Fund to financially support the development of better regional infrastructure.

ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR)

AICHR held its first formal session on 28 March – 1 April 2010. It formed its Rules of Procedure, and developed the AICHR secretariat and a Five-Year Work Plan (2010–2015) to provide a comprehensive roadmap of programmes and activities.

Whilst AICHR and its commissioners have been executing the different phases of their agenda, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs) have been anxious to utilise the AICHR to draw attention to human rights violations, women's rights abuses and abuse of migrant worker rights. However, AICHR commissioners did not accept the human rights cases presented to them, due to the lack of procedures in place to handle such cases. AICHR announced that its immediate areas of focus include migration and human rights; the promotion and protection of the rights of victims of trafficking, particularly women and children; the rights of regular and irregular migrant workers; the rights of people seeking protection from fear of persecution or the rights of people coming from war-torn countries; and lastly, corporate social responsibility, which is also the Commission's first thematic focus. AICHR has expressed interest in gathering thematic reports on these issues and others of concern.

At the 43rd ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting on 19–20 July 2010, AICHR's role as the overarching institution for regional cooperation on human rights was affirmed. At AICHR's 3rd Meeting on 20–24 September 2010, discussion revolved around the implementation of priority programmes and activities and the preparation for the drafting of the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration. The Declaration is scheduled to be completed in 2010.

ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC)

The ACWC, an intergovernmental consultative body, was inaugurated in April 2010. The ACWC is an output of the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community's action plan, building

on ASEAN's specific agenda to promote and protect the rights and privileges of women and children as reflected in the Vientiane Action Programme 2004–2010 and the 2008 ASEAN Charter.

ACWC's terms of reference (TOR) were adopted in October 2009. These include promoting the implementation of internationally agreed standards particularly the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

The ACWC is mandated to provide assistance to individual member states in developing their institutional capacity to implement the necessary changes to advance, protect and promote the rights of women and children in the region. Its Five-Year Work Plan 2010–2015 includes the development of indicators for monitoring and evaluating progress, the assessment of challenges encountered and the recommendation of actions to address those challenges. The ACWC will assist, if requested by member states, in the preparation of periodic reports to the UN and the implementation of concluding observations by the UN. At the 43rd ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting, it was expressed that the AICHR and the ACWC should be aligned for effective operation.

The ACWC will seek to apply the millennium development goal indicators in its review of its progress in achieving its mandate. It will also focus on harmonising policies, strategies and operational programmes at the regional and national levels with UN Women; this UN agency which was established in July 2010 merges and builds on the work of the UN Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), the Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) and the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

Each ASEAN member state has two representatives to the ACWC: one to represent on women's rights and the other, children's rights. The TOR of the ACWC mandate that potential commissioners possess competence in the fields of women's and children's rights, and each member state shall conduct, with regard to their respective internal processes, a transparent, open, participatory and inclusive selection process (Article 6.4). Each representative will serve a term of three years and may be consecutively re-appointed for only one additional term. In the interest of continuity, each member state will appoint one of its two representatives to serve an initial term of four and half years.

ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus Eight (ADMM Plus Eight)

On 12 October 2010 the ADMM Plus Eight meeting was held in Hanoi for the first time. The forum included ASEAN defence ministers plus their equivalents from Australia, China, India, Japan, Russia, the Republic of Korea and the US. They met to form the basis for more robust regional cooperation in a range of defence policy areas, spanning traditional security as well as non-traditional security situations such as disaster relief, humanitarian assistance, maritime security and terrorism.

The ADMM Plus Eight offers a new forum through which to encourage cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, one with ASEAN at its core, underlining the leadership role the regional grouping has to play in both the areas of traditional and non-traditional security. The year 2011 will see the first year of the annual meeting realising its central aim of increased cooperation among the various militaries, which may take the form of strengthening response systems to natural disasters and establishing more effective frameworks for the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

Prospects for 2011

The AICHR has identified the rights of migrant workers as its core theme for 2011. The ACWC will convene to design its work plan and define its relationship with the AICHR. Alongside these two Commissions, ADMM Plus Eight will begin its functional defence cooperation. The next section covers some of the significant internal challenges in the region during the year under review, which will without doubt also form some of the most significant questions and challenges for 2011. These challenges will fall under the mandates – in some aspects, if not all – of both the AICHR and the ACWC. As part of the ASEAN Charter, a regional agreement on the rights of migrant workers is due to be finalised in 2010 but the prospect of that happening is remote and negotiations will likely roll over into 2011.

INTERNAL CHALLENGES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Over the past year, there have been significant developments in the Asia-Pacific highlighting the contested nature of government systems and territorial boundaries. The continued interest of the US in the region has highlighted differences of opinion as well as approach to prevalent internal challenges to human security. The increased involvement of the US – alongside that of China – in Southeast Asia and more broadly the Asia-Pacific, has led to multiple avenues being used to engage stakeholders, with regional bodies like ASEAN offering alternative mechanisms through which to address human security concerns. This section highlights some of the internal developments which have commanded the attention of academics and policymakers in the past year.

Thailand's Political Crisis

The most violent and radical political unrest in Thailand's polarising five-year political crisis erupted into large-scale violence on 10 April – 19 May 2010. According to the Public Health Ministry of Thailand, the conflict resulted in the death of 89 people and 1,898 injured. The unrest almost pushed the nation to an undeclared civil war.

Although the recent chapter of Thailand's tumultuous politics ultimately ended in a government crackdown, the conflict between the conservative elites and the allies of a populist politician is far from over. In response to public calls for action, Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva promised on 3 May 2010 to conduct an independent investigation into the April–May violence. While this investigation will answer important questions, the underlying and systemic causes of the violence need to be addressed. The conflict was described as a 'class warfare' pitting the country's vast rural poor against the elite. As a result, 2011 will see various attempts at addressing both the issue of violence and that of socioeconomic tensions.

Myanmar Elections

Throughout 2010 the national elections was the dominant focus of both national and international observers of Myanmar. The build-up to the national elections saw various attempts by the UN, US and ASEAN member states, among others, to push for free, fair and inclusive elections. These calls did not result in any significant changes and saw the reclusive military regime proceed largely without regard for international standards. This poses significant challenges to ASEAN, as its engagement policy toward Myanmar has had little to show in return. Since the 2009 exodus of Kokang refugees into China, there has been increased activity by the Beijing government along the border to mediate between the Myanmar government and ethnic nationalities.

Throughout 2010, there was increased interaction between Myanmar and its neighbours, the US as well as international agencies. This signals that further negotiations can be expected in the future, most notably at the developmental level. Whatever form the new government takes, it will face pressure to address the widespread and extreme poverty in the country. Of particular urgency are issues such as food availability, access to employment and chronic under-investment in social services. Significant progress on human rights issues and economic reform would be required if progress were to be made on these fronts.

Indonesian Communal Tensions

The ongoing consolidation of democracy in Indonesia continued to be faced with significant challenges throughout 2010, one of the most notable being the increasing communal unrest and human rights concerns in Papua. In June, two official Papuan representative bodies announced they were 'handing back' Special Autonomy status to Jakarta, nine years after it was granted, in a symbolic move which illustrates current tensions. The tensions are rooted in the controversy surrounding the 1969 Act of Free Choice; they are the manifestations of the dynamics among the key stakeholders which include the general population in Papua, the Papuan elites, the local, regional and national governments, and the state security apparatus. This situation stems from both economic and political aspirations, with significant differences of opinion among stakeholders.

The internationalisation of the conflict continues with political groupings being formed, such as the International Parliamentarians for West Papua being launched in the Scottish Parliament, and public statements being made across the world about the ongoing situation and in response to reported human rights abuses in Papua. Indeed, within Indonesia, there is an active civil society, and many of its members are calling for action to be taken over the economic, human rights and governance issues in Papua. In the face of increasing pressure over the situation in Papua, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono announced a review of the Special Autonomy status of Papua and an investigation into the reported human rights abuses by military personnel.

Another challenge faced by Indonesia is over the capacity of government institutions at the local, national and regional levels to adequately respond to issues such as natural disasters, the haze issue affecting its neighbours and communal tensions. As Indonesia prepares to assume the Chair of ASEAN in 2011, there will be many national as well as Southeast Asian concerns to address over the next year.

Prospects for 2011

There are several notable projections regarding internal challenges and human rights in the Asia-Pacific. The ongoing political crisis in Thailand will cross over into 2011, in particular, the issues of the position of the monarchy, the status of the emergency decree and of political prisoners, the development of the 'red shirt' movement, the emergence of an armed guerrilla force in northern Thailand, the scheduled national election and also prospects for an enquiry into the 2010 violence. These all pose significant challenges to the peaceful resolution of the political crisis in 2011.

In neighbouring Myanmar, the year 2011 will see the aftermath of the disputed November 2010 elections and the development of local, regional and international responses to the new political situation in the country, with approaches likely to be divided over supporters of incremental change and supporters of root-and-branch democratic reform. With the prospect of internationally recognised democratic elections remote and the marginalisation of ethnic nationalities, the likelihood of continued inter-ethnic violence remains high. In 2011, the Indonesian Chair of ASEAN will have the opportunity to develop a clearer regional strategy on the issue of Myanmar. Meanwhile, the internal dynamics in Myanmar looks set to pose ongoing challenges to peace and stability, a concern for both China and India.

Likewise, communal tensions in Papua, Indonesia are likely to remain, unless there is a concerted effort to involve the local community in dealing with the multiple economic and political challenges there. With Indonesia holding the ASEAN Chair, there will be increased international focus on its internal dynamics, and this may spur attempts to take on such issues. As ASEAN Chair, Indonesia is well placed to draw on its own experiences to assist fellow member states to do the same. The year 2011 may see a more pro-active ASEAN willing to take the lead in addressing the region's most pressing issues.

HEALTH AND HUMAN SECURITY

The past decade has been challenging for health security in Southeast Asia. The region has seen the onset of three pandemics – severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), H5N1 (avian influenza) and H1N1 (swine flu); a resurgence of infectious diseases such as dengue and malaria; and a rise in chronic diseases such as diabetes, cardiovascular diseases and cancer due to a growing middle-class population. It is no wonder then that health and human security is continually rising in prominence in local, regional and international policymaking.

The year kicked off with the World Health Organization (WHO) Executive Board's 126th session in Geneva on 18–23 January 2010. The Board's 34 health experts discussed 6 international health issues: pandemic influenza, the eradication of measles, the prevention and control of non-communicable diseases, strategies for the reduction of the harmful use of alcohol, the drafting of a global code of practice on the international recruitment of health personnel, and the proposed revision of WHO guidelines on psychoactive substances which are subject to international control. WHO Director-General Dr Margaret Chan stated in her report after the session that although progress was visible in areas such as reduction in the incidence of tuberculosis worldwide, increased health aid development, and better national coordination and international cooperation in handling the H1N1 outbreak, it was important to remember that there remained many obstacles to progress in international health. She cited a lack of fundamental laboratory and diagnostic capacity in developing nations, a lack of support from national regulatory and enforcement bodies and continually high medical costs as examples of such obstacles. These obstacles are particularly pertinent in the context of pandemic preparedness and outbreak management.

Pandemic Preparedness and Outbreak Management

Following the multiple pandemic outbreaks in the past decade – SARS in 2003, H5N1 in 2005 and most recently H1N1 in 2009 – it is vital for national and global pandemic preparedness and outbreak management systems to be able to effectively deal with potential outbreaks in the future. The current focus of the international community is on how to best prepare for an outbreak with minimal human and economic costs.

Although H1N1 ultimately proved to be a mild virus – a vaccine was developed to counter its effects and its impact was not as severe as initially predicted – health experts warned against complacency, stressing that pandemics could occur without warning. The contrast within the plethora of information being disseminated to the public – on the one hand, that H1N1 was not as severe a threat as perceived at the outset; on the other hand, that the public should still be wary of another influenza pandemic that could not be predicted or controlled – created conflicting, and often confused, perceptions of health security and vulnerability. While viewing the next pandemic outbreak through worst-case scenario lenses may produce unnecessary panic and a lack of flexibility in adapting to the evolving nature of disease, not taking steps to minimise the risks associated with a potential outbreak could compromise the ability to effectively manage and control it.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

Three of the eight UN MDGs are commitments to health causes: the improvement of child health, the improvement of maternal health, and the combating of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases. These MDGs aspire to reduce

the mortality rate for children under the age of 5 by two-thirds and slash maternal mortality ratio by three-quarters from their 1990 figures, as well as to halt or have begun to reverse the incidence of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases by 2015.

To supplement the maternal and child health MDGs, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon launched the Global Strategy for Women's and Children's Health at the UN Global Summit on the Millennium Development Goals on 22 September 2010. More than USD40 billion has been pledged toward the Global Strategy over the next five years. However, monetary investment is only one aspect of the battle. UN Population Fund (UNFPA) Executive Director Thoraya Ahmed Obaid noted that women's and children's health also depends on planning and investment across various non-health sectors, including education, nutrition, gender equality and infrastructure.

At the same summit, over USD11.5 billion was pledged in new funding over the next three years for a global partnership to counter critical diseases via the UN-coordinated Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis (TB) and Malaria. Programmes supported by the Global Fund have saved an estimated 5.7 million lives, provided AIDS treatment for 2.8 million people and TB treatment for 7 million people, and distributed 122 million bed nets to prevent malaria. However, in spite of this large investment, the head of the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), Michael Sidibe, still stressed that, although the pledges came at a critical time in the fight against the three diseases, public and private donors need to continually mobilise resources in order to secure future progress.

Natural Disasters and Climate Change
Another key issue that emerged this year is the link between health and human security, and environment and climate change. This is particularly evident in the responses to natural disasters. The last two years have seen a series of devastating disasters in Asia, including Typhoon Ketsana, the West Javanese earthquake and the

Chinese and Pakistani floods. In addition, the Asia-Pacific region is especially vulnerable to natural disasters due to its geographical position on the Pacific 'Ring of Fire'. Consequently it is essential to examine the strengths and limitations of the WHO, national governments, regional groupings such as ASEAN, and international medical NGOs such as *Médecins sans Frontières* (Doctors without Borders, also known as MSF) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in providing essential health assistance and treatment. Additionally, the WHO has recognised that climate change threatens to increase the disease burden of poor populations, as the existing high burden of climate-sensitive health problems such as malnutrition and vector-borne diseases, coupled with weak public health systems and limited access to primary healthcare, threatens the health security of these groups.

Prospects for 2011
Potential developments in health and human security in 2011 will be characterised by evolving priorities on the global health landscape. One of the main issues is the push to achieve universal health coverage. In November 2010, the *World Health Report 2010 – Health Systems Financing: The Path to Universal Coverage* was published. In it, the WHO outlines its aim of developing member states' health financing systems to ensure equitable access to and use of health services while being protected against the financial burden of high medical costs, and details policy recommendations to meet these goals.

Another key issue that is likely to develop throughout 2011 is the continued implementation of the International Health Regulations (IHR) 2005. The Second IHR Implementation Course, aimed at training health professionals to set up and manage systems for securing global public health and develop communication capacities for efficient international collaboration, ends in February 2011. It is therefore important in the coming year to monitor the gradual implementation of the IHR by member states, as well as any other steps taken to ensure the improvement of the capacity of member states to respond to and manage international public health crises.

CLIMATE ADAPTATION, SUSTAINABILITY AND DISASTER RISK REDUCTION: A NEXUS

Throughout much of 2010, global efforts to address climate change have been mired in pessimism. The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) meeting in Copenhagen in late 2009 (COP15) was seen by many to be a failure, as the goal of formulating a legally binding agreement on the reduction of carbon emissions was not met. This fundamental shortcoming of the Copenhagen negotiations reveals the inherent difficulties in reaching a global consensus on climate change mitigation. Debates over appropriate strategies, along with disagreements over differentiated levels of responsibility and capacity, continue to define the climate mitigation discourse among both developed and developing countries.

The sphere of climate adaptation, however, is not so exhaustively immersed in protracted debate. Preparing for shifting climatic conditions, along with their attendant environmental and social ramifications, remains an important and potentially unifying goal of global climate negotiations. As it applies to Southeast Asia, this goal leads to two primary strategic approaches: the reduction of community-level vulnerabilities through mainstreaming climate adaptation strategies, and the establishment and strengthening of valuable regional adaptation initiatives.

Reducing Community-Level Vulnerabilities through Climate Adaptation

Emphasising community-level strategies for addressing vulnerability is consistent with the UN goal of 'formulating people-centred climate change adaptation'. Such adaptation strategies should go beyond technocratic top-down solutions, to embrace local knowledge and engage with community stakeholders, all while continuing to bring the expertise and capacities of international agencies to the fore. The

resulting dual-track approaches have the benefit of utilising the strengths of groups at both ends of the climate adaptation spectrum.

Reducing community-level climate vulnerabilities also necessitates recognising shifting contemporary demographic patterns. Rapid urbanisation and sustained population growth are creating climate adaptation challenges throughout the growing cities of developing countries. Half of the world's 30 megacities (cities with a population of more than 10 million) will be in Asia by the year 2025. 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 two-fold bottom-up approach to urban governance. Firstly, national and local governments must ensure that future urban planning strategies seriously consider environmental assessment impact reports. Giving greater primacy to urban environmental assessments necessitates balancing economic development objectives with the needs of surrounding environments and poor communities dependent upon them. Secondly, 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 efforts 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 sustainable development, climate change adaptation strategies are also relevant to disaster risk reduction (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 substantial 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 Development of Regional Initiatives

Looking beyond community-level action, regional cooperation will be essential for effective climate adaptation in Southeast Asia. In pursuit of such cooperation, ASEAN leaders issued a Statement on Joint Response to Climate Change in April 2010 which recognises the importance of regional community resilience to climate change, and calls upon member states to collaborate on adaptation strategies. However, the regional adaptation mechanisms currently in place are in a fledgling state and more concrete efforts are needed. The ASEAN Climate Change Initiative (ACCI) provides one avenue for developing a more integrated regional strategy on climate change mitigation and adaptation. The ACCI was established as a consultative platform for promoting collaboration in the areas of policy and strategy formulation, information sharing, capacity building and technology transfers. It creates a foundation for regional climate change strategies. However, there remains a need to examine ways in which existing regional environmental efforts, such as those targeting forestry and water management, can be integrated into adaptation initiatives.

Regional frameworks and initiatives are more developed in the adaptation related sector of disaster management. As a follow-up to the ratification of the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER)

at the end of 2009, ASEAN is attempting to operationalise the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance (AHA Centre) and finalise the Standard Operating Procedure for Regional Standby Arrangements and Coordination of Joint Disaster Relief and Emergency Response Operations (SASOP). The regional grouping has also conducted its annual ASEAN Regional Disaster Emergency Response Simulation Exercises (ARDEX) since 2005. Further notable progress include the implementation of the ASEAN Regional Programme on Disaster Management (ARPDM) 2004–2010, which has contributed disaster management strategies that will be amalgamated into the AADMER Work Programme (AADMER WP) 2010–2015. The AADMER WP aims to integrate DRR into national and sub-national development plans, and to develop a more effective and timely relief, response and recovery strategy. As a warming climate has the potential to affect the frequency, timing and power of extreme weather events in Southeast Asia, these DRR programmes are integral parts of regional adaptation strategies.

Prospects for 2011

The integration of climate adaptation, DRR and sustainable development will result in the continued development of a people-centred ASEAN which focuses on the three pillars of political and security cooperation, economic integration and socio-cultural connections. It is imperative for ASEAN to take a holistic approach to adaptation, DRR and sustainable development, one that respects the dynamics within each of these three sectors. Indonesia should take the opportunity as ASEAN Chair for 2011 to review existing ASEAN strategies in these areas and review points of convergence among them. It should also promote the active involvement of CSOs within ASEAN member states in the implementation of regional projects, and attempt to harmonise efforts among regional groupings such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the East Asia Summit (EAS). Such harmonisation efforts are key to ensuring that initiatives complement – and not duplicate – one another.

While many are sceptical about the potential outcomes of the UNFCCC COP16 meetings in December 2010, recent developments in Southeast Asia demonstrate that climate change can be addressed at local and regional levels even without significant movements in the larger international community. Moving forward, resources should be geared towards creating practical and robust responses to climate change and stimulating genuine and symbiotic cooperation among a wide range of stakeholders. Moreover, such cooperation at the regional level could have the welcome effect of creating momentum within the global climate forum, and help future international negotiations avoid pessimism and fatigue.

THE ENERGY SECTOR: VULNERABILITIES AND PROSPECTS

The past year has witnessed two primary strands of development in the energy sector. Firstly, explorations into the viability of renewable sources of energy have continued to progress. Such explorations reflect not only the global emphasis on adopting low-carbon growth modes, but also represent an increasingly relevant avenue for addressing growing energy demands. Secondly, exposure to dangers related to fossil fuel extraction, the most spectacular of which was the Deepwater Horizon oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, has given increased attention to the potential vulnerabilities associated with fossil fuel procurement. These two strands are predicated upon society's strong dependency on energy resources, a dependency which is set to continue to grow. In East and Southeast Asia, the future of energy security depends largely upon the ways that this dependency is addressed.

Fossil Fuel Vulnerability

Despite their limited availability and high contribution to carbon emissions, fossil fuels will continue to be in high demand for at least the short to medium-term. The severity and frequency of energy exploration accidents in the first nine months of 2010, such as the Deepwater Horizon oil spill and the Chilean mining crisis, have further exposed challenges accompanying this prevalent demand. Cases in Asia are also illuminating, and China's State Administration of Work Safety reported a series of mining-related deaths throughout 2010. Such energy resource procurement accidents clearly threaten the human security of those directly affected, and highlight the need for improving safety and emergency response procedures.

The environmental fallout of energy resource procurement accidents can also have wide-ranging human security implications. The Xingang oil spill in Dalian, China, for example, has seriously impacted local environments. The leaked oil poisoned seafood in nearby farms, threatening the economic security of local sea-farming communities. In addition to these direct human security threats, resource extraction activities can also threaten the social fabric of communities where local and indigenous peoples see the projects as impinging upon their traditional ways of life. For instance, Indonesia's coal mining ventures in Kalimantan have been vociferously opposed by members of the Dayak community. These indigenous inhabitants fear that their way of life is gradually being eroded by business initiatives and state policies that compel them to abandon both their lands and their traditional forms of livelihood. Such dynamics are not confined to Dalian and Kalimantan, but are relevant throughout much of East and Southeast Asia.

The inherent vulnerabilities in traditional energy resource procurement are especially important to future security, given that fossil fuel will likely remain the world's predominant source of energy in the coming decades. Oil continues to be the single largest source of fuel, and three-quarters of the overall increase in energy demands until 2030 will likely be met by fossil fuels. Coal is also a foundational fuel for power generation, and dominates energy production throughout much of Asia. Moreover, energy production represents a primary source of revenue for many regions. In China's leading coal producing province of Shanxi, for example, nearly half of the tax revenues come from the coal mining industry. Hence, proper transitional measures need to be put in place to ameliorate the negative impacts of future shifts away from fossil fuels throughout relevant sectors and regions. In the short- and medium-term, improvements in energy efficiency can help with such transitions. China, on its part, has recognised the need for greater efficiency and has

committed to updating its traditional power production by increasing the conversion rate of energy in coal into electricity. These and other efficiency measures throughout the region reflect state-level emphases on reducing energy vulnerabilities and ensuring secure access to adequate energy resources.

The Viability of Renewable Energy

Given the primacy of traditional sources of energy, the shift in energy consumption to renewable sources will be a gradual but progressive process. Growing energy demands, along with global pressures to mitigate climate change, mean that developing renewable energy sources will become increasingly important in the longer-term. Several East and Southeast Asian governments have adopted policies to promote the use of renewable energy, leading to an overall 'renewables renaissance' in the region. The Thai and Indonesian governments, for example, are committed to gradually increasing the share of renewable energy sources in the total power generation mix to 17 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. China has similarly formulated a three-step strategy aimed at significantly boosting the consumption of renewable energy as a portion of its total energy needs. These and other steps taken in East Asian states reveal that a steady, if gradual, shift to renewable sources of energy will partially define regional energy policies in the coming decades.

In spite of the commitment demonstrated by some East and Southeast Asian governments, solutions are still needed to address problems that hamper the application of renewable energy sources in the region. Firstly, as national power grids in many countries are built to transmit electricity generated by traditional energy sources, the utilisation of renewable energy in such locations requires altering existing infrastructure. As a result, the initial investment required for renewable energy facilities is often higher than for traditional energy generation facilities. These costs hamper the development of renewable energy sources throughout the region's developing states. Such investment shortcomings are already evident in troubled renewable energy projects in China, Indonesia, Vietnam and the Philippines.

Secondly, because the facilities for renewable energy are often large in size, renewable energy projects in many countries are constrained by the available territorial areas.

While geographical limitations are difficult and at times impossible to circumvent, foreign assistance and aid can play a role in getting renewable energy projects off the ground. In an illuminating case of the potentially positive role of foreign capital, the Danish government in February 2010 provided official development aid to Vietnam for a wind power project, showing that with the necessary support Southeast Asian countries can overcome some impediments to renewable energy development.

Beyond traditional and renewable resources, nuclear energy offers East Asian countries a third path for energy generation. After coal and hydropower, nuclear energy is the leading source of energy for power generation in China. Vietnam called for the increased use of nuclear power in ASEAN member countries during its tenure as chair of the regional body in 2010, and Cambodia and Thailand have also expressed interest in developing nuclear energy capacity. Nuclear energy is cleaner and more efficient than fossil fuels, and nuclear technology is in some respects more mature than renewable energy technology. However, safety risks related to the operation of nuclear facilities and proper nuclear waste disposal have long been of concern to a variety of stakeholders, ranging from government and industry to civil society and other actors. Additionally, and to an even greater extent than most renewable energy sources, nuclear energy requires large early-stage project investments. These costs could deter many Southeast Asian states from pursing nuclear power in earnest. These issues ensure that the role of nuclear power in regional energy calculations will continue to be debated.

Prospects for 2011

The primary lesson of 2010 is that, no matter the source of energy being pursued, the human and environmental impacts of the exploration, extraction and use of energy resources must take primacy in state-level and regional energy strategies. Looking forward, resource exploration and extraction activities must at the very least ensure the health, safety and overall human security of on-site workers as well as those in the surrounding environment. Environmental impact assessments therefore should be a priority in the energy sector, and forward-thinking policies need to be implemented to ensure that future shifts in the energy sector proceed with minimal disruptions to communities throughout East and Southeast Asia.

FOOD SECURITY

Food security has gained momentum as a crucial global issue in recent years. Food pricing shocks in 2007 and 2008 led to rioting in various regions around the world, and exposed underlying vulnerabilities in the global food system. These events showed that food insecurity disproportionately affected the urban poor, whose purchasing power declined sharply as a result of price increases. The urban poor are largely unable to produce their own food, a reality which leads to inelastic demand dynamics and attendant acute vulnerabilities. Therefore, despite the generally positive world food availability, the urban poor often face difficulties in gaining access to existing food supplies. Due to such urban food insecurity being inextricably linked to rural food production dynamics, the interplay between rural supply and urban demand has largely defined contemporary food security challenges.

Urbanisation and Access to Food

According to UN-HABITAT, the UN agency for human settlements, the 21st century will be the century of urbanisation. By 2050, 70 per cent of the world's population are expected to live in urban areas, thus ensuring that the provision of food to urban inhabitants will become an even greater challenge. As cities grow, the production of food will be displaced and moved further away, which means that costs of production, supply and distribution will likely increase. These food production and distribution processes compound dilemmas in countries where existing infrastructure is already strained, and create the need for investments in new infrastructure developments. Furthermore, as rural populations decline, fewer agricultural producers in the countryside will have to produce more food for swelling urban populations. In order to mitigate the pressures of rising urban populations, it is necessary for food security to be addressed throughout the entire production, distribution and consumption process. It is only through such comprehensive approaches that access to food by both rural and urban populations can be assured.

Information Systems

Food security information systems have been recognised as integral tools for ensuring food security. The availability and access to accurate, timely, verifiable and accountable information on food production, distribution, projected outputs and consumption rates all promote food security by increasing state, regional and international capacity to act on possible problems quickly and effectively.

ASEAN and its Plus Three members (China, Japan and South Korea) are all party to a comprehensive regional food security information system called the ASEAN Food Security Information System (AFSIS). AFSIS is currently in its second project phase (2008–2012). Its aim is to increase the technical capabilities and capacities of member states. To this end, AFSIS endeavours to increase the availability of meaningful information for policy planning purposes, enhance cooperation on food security issues among member states and encourage policy support for government programmes aimed at combating food insecurity.

AFSIS provides a foundation, but ASEAN's current food security information systems must be further developed, strengthened and regionally integrated to ensure more efficient and reliable information dissemination. The bridging of existing gaps in data collection, the

development of databases, as well as the promotion of information exchange and the dissemination of technology can help ensure that food security information sharing efforts continue to progress. These efforts would in turn encourage the development of sound policies for addressing food security challenges throughout the region.

Local and Regional Initiatives

Despite being the region with the richest source of food in the world, Asia is also home to many of the world's poor and hungry. These marginalised segments of society are the most vulnerable to food insecurity and studies suggest that regional stability is strongly affected by Southeast Asia's food security challenges. Therefore, strategic responses to secure food security in Asia should be put in place to facilitate actions at local and regional levels. Most importantly, responses should be derived from existing regional initiatives on food security. There should also be continued efforts to strengthen regional governance arrangements. Such regional arrangements would do well to emphasise the four traditional pillars of food security, which consist of, first, information and knowledge; second, assessments, predictions and early warning systems; third, emergency response plans; and fourth, investments to reduce poverty and hunger, and promote food safety.

In addition to the four pillars, several other issues which are relevant to the future of food security in the region must be recognised. First among these issues is the importance of community rights to livelihood and food security. Regional frameworks must be flexible enough to benefit a range of local communities, each of which has its specific food security needs. A second emerging food security issue in Southeast Asia is farmland acquisition. Several countries in the region, namely Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Lao PDR, are receptive to foreign countries acquiring land within their borders. However, whether such procurements marginalise those whose lives depend on the land remains to be seen. Thirdly, the incorporation of environmentally sustainable practices into large-scale agricultural initiatives, while potentially generating economic growth and opportunities for local communities, remains a challenge for the region at large. Addressing these complex issues effectively is of paramount importance not just for regional food security, but also for maintaining stability and strengthening the social fabric of communities throughout Southeast Asia.

Prospects for 2011

Two contemporary issues will likely compound regional food security challenges in years to come. The first of these issues stems from dynamics within the financial sector, where increased speculation leading to the hyperinflation of prices of basic food staples has occurred as a result of the greater role of hedge funds, index funds and sovereign wealth funds in agricultural commodity markets. These speculative trends recently put upward price pressure on food and energy commodities, giving rise to extreme price volatility. For example, wheat prices increased by 46 per cent between January and February 2008, after which they fell, decreasing 46 per cent by May the same year, before increasing in June and crashing again in August. Such volatility is problematic for strategies aiming to ensure consistent access to food for vulnerable populations.

In addition to market speculation, growing global biofuel production has increased the demand for coarse grains. Biofuel production, and its attendant effects upon grain stocks, land use, speculative activity and export bans, is likely responsible for a 70 to 75 per cent increase in food prices in recent years. Biofuel production has received a further boost through generous policy support from governments in the form of subsidies and tariffs. It has been predicted that this continued expansion of biofuel output will create additional demand for wheat, coarse grains, vegetable oils and sugar in future years, further affecting Southeast Asia's food security calculus.

In combination, growing food demand and a burgeoning biofuel industry have the potential to significantly alter food markets in the coming years. An annual joint report published in June 2010 by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimates that global food prices are set to rise as much as 40 per cent over the coming decade, and that this rise will be primarily due to growing food demand from emerging markets in developing countries, especially in Asia, and from increasing biofuel production. The report also finds that farm commodity prices have fallen from their record peaks of two years ago but are set to pick up again and are unlikely to drop back to the average levels of the past decade. From these, it can be argued that the era of cheap food is coming to a close and food commodity prices will continue to increase, in varying degrees, well into the future. In light of these changes, it is imperative that food security policies – both regionally and internationally – be revised and restructured in order to respond to emerging challenges.

ABOUT THE RSIS CENTRE FOR NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY (NTS) STUDIES

The **RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies** conducts research and produces policy-relevant analyses aimed at furthering awareness and building capacity to address NTS issues and challenges in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond.

To fulfil this mission, the Centre aims to:
- Advance the understanding of NTS issues and challenges in the Asia-Pacific by highlighting gaps in knowledge and policy, and identifying best practices among state and non-state actors in responding to these challenges

- Provide a platform for scholars and policymakers within and outside Asia to discuss and analyse NTS issues in the region

- Network with institutions and organisations worldwide to exchange information, insights and experiences in the area of NTS

- Engage policymakers on the importance of NTS in guiding political responses to NTS emergencies and develop strategies to mitigate the risks to state and human security

- Contribute to building the institutional capacity of governments, and regional and international organisations to respond to NTS challenges

Our Research

The key programmes at the **RSIS Centre for NTS Studies** include:

1) Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme
   - Dynamics of Internal Conflicts
   - Multi-level and Multilateral Approaches to Internal Conflict
   - Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) in Asia
   - Peacebuilding

2) Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme
   - Mitigation and Adaptation Policy Studies
   - The Politics and Diplomacy of Climate Change

3) Energy and Human Security Programme
   - Security and Safety of Energy Infrastructure
   - Stability of Energy Markets
   - Energy Sustainability
   - Nuclear Energy and Security

4) Food Security Programme
   - Regional Cooperation
   - Food Security Indicators
   - Food Production and Human Security

5) Health and Human Security Programme
   - Health and Human Security
   - Global Health Governance
   - Pandemic Preparedness and Global Response Networks

The first three programmes received a boost from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation when the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies was selected as one of three core institutions leading the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative* in 2009.

Our Output

Policy Relevant Publications

The **RSIS Centre for NTS Studies** produces a range of output such as research reports, books, monographs, policy briefs and conference proceedings.

Training

Based in RSIS, which has an excellent record of post-graduate teaching, an international faculty, and an extensive network of policy institutes worldwide, the Centre is well-placed to develop robust research capabilities, conduct training courses and facilitate advanced education on NTS. These are aimed at, but not limited to, academics, analysts, policymakers and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Networking and Outreach

The Centre serves as a networking hub for researchers, policy analysts, policymakers, NGOs and media from across Asia and farther afield interested in NTS issues and challenges.

The **RSIS Centre for NTS Studies** is also the Secretariat of the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia), which brings together 20 research institutes and think tanks from across Asia, and strives to develop the process of networking, consolidate existing research on NTS-related issues, and mainstream NTS studies in Asia.

More information on our Centre is available at www.rsis.edu.sg/nts

* The Asia Security Initiative was launched by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation in January 2009, through which approximately US$68 million in grants will be made to policy research institutions over seven years to help raise the effectiveness of international cooperation in preventing conflict and promoting peace and security in Asia.

ABOUT THE S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

The **S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)** was inaugurated on 1 January 2007 as an autonomous School within the **Nanyang Technological University (NTU)**, upgraded from its previous incarnation as the **Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS)**, which was established in 1996.

The School exists to develop a community of scholars and policy analysts at the forefront of Asia-Pacific security studies and international affairs. Its three core functions are research, graduate teaching and networking activities in the Asia-Pacific region. It produces cutting-edge security related research in Asia-Pacific Security, Conflict and Non-Traditional Security, International Political Economy, and Country and Area Studies.

The School's activities are aimed at assisting policymakers to develop comprehensive approaches to strategic thinking on issues related to security and stability in the Asia-Pacific and their implications for Singapore.

For more information about RSIS, please visit www.rsis.edu.sg