3RD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE CONSORTIUM OF NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY STUDIES IN ASIA (NTS-ASIA)

3 – 4 NOVEMBER 2009
SINGAPORE

S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
A Graduate School of Nanyang Technological University

PONDER THE IMPROBABLE

NTS-Asia

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REPORT ON CONVENTION

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

3 – 4 November 2009
SINGAPORE

S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY
2010

This report summarises the proceedings of the conference as interpreted by the assigned rapporteurs and editors of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this report.

This conference adheres to a variation of the Chatham House Rule. Accordingly, beyond the speakers and paper presenters cited, no other attributions have been included in this report.

Message from the Secretary-General

Dear Consortium members,

The 3rd Annual Convention of the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia) organised in November last year was once again a success. The 2009 convention helped reinforce existing Consortium foundations that had been established in previous years. More importantly, new developments, ideas and policy proposals surrounding non-traditional security (NTS) issues have come to the fore. These issues have become more varied and complex in nature with solutions requiring internal and cross-border co-operation. Our growth is a clear reflection of these trends which has increased the scope and nature of collaboration for the Consortium, and which as a consequence, will translate into a stronger Consortium that is better able to address the latest developments in the field of NTS studies.

Like the previous year, 2009 was once again a challenging year for Asia in addressing NTS issues — man-made or otherwise. It was made complicated by the global financial crisis and the uncertainties surrounding the outcome of the Copenhagen Climate Change Summit in December. Without a doubt, these two factors would have a lasting impact on NTS issues in the coming years as they would lead to a further shrinking of the funding distribution pie. It therefore becomes all the more pertinent for regional groupings such as the Consortium to play the lead role in gathering and engaging institutions to take action in addressing NTS issues and identify concrete, workable solutions and policies based on best practices to tackle the challenges that lie ahead.

The sheer number of presentations delivered during last year's convention was a testament to the myriad of issues that had arisen or had been aggravated in the exigent environment of 2009. I was greatly encouraged by the level and volume of exchange that took place during the conference, and I sensed that the Consortium had successfully sustained the same level of enthusiasm that was present upon its establishment. I do not take this for granted, for I believe that it will help drive the Consortium forward in the future and allow us to forge original ideas on NTS issues.

In addition to the annual convention last year, a sub-regional workshop was held in Hong Kong with funding from the Ford Foundation. The Centre of Asian Studies and the Department of Community Medicine in the University of Hong Kong, in conjunction with the Southeast Asian Research Centre at the City University of Hong Kong organised a sub-regional training workshop on *Unhealthy Governance: Security Challenges and Prospects in Asia* from 21 to 22 May 2009. The workshop undertook a systemic review of threat-based responses to infectious diseases in the region and presented an opportunity for in-depth knowledge exchange and policy reviews.

The NTS-Asia Research Fellowship scheme continues to be an important Consortium activity. We hope to emulate the success we had last year in attracting a high number of good quality proposals as it bodes well for our aim to nurture young and passionate NTS scholars.

Moving forward, I am happy to note that associate members were formally accorded membership status in 2009. While we face challenges ahead, it is heartening to know that these challenges will not only be shared with all members, but also, that there is an increasing plurality in addressing NTS issues. I look forward to further strengthening our collaborative ties in the year ahead.

Mely Caballero-Anthony
Secretary-General, Consortium of NTS-Asia

Executive Summary

The 3rd Annual Convention of the Consortium of NTS-Asia, organised by the NTS-Asia Secretariat based in the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies in the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), was an opportunity for Consortium members to meet collectively to take stock of the group's activities for the year and to chart directions for the future. Equally important, members were able to discuss prevailing NTS issues affecting the region; issues that have evolved and become more complex over the course of the year. Indeed, the convention's purpose was to generate discourse and to stimulate thinking on fresh approaches to NTS topics among practitioners, particularly with respect to climate change, natural disasters, conflict and crime, the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP), and various other issues affecting Asia. Participants discussed the root causes of these problems, identified the societal actors best suited to tackle these challenges and put forward possible common solutions. Prospects for cross-border and regional co-operation on these issues were also explored during the sessions.

The panel on Climate Change, Insecurities and Challenges deliberated on various themes — the theme of climate change implications for Bangladesh and the need for state and non-state actors to develop adaptation strategies; the value of mitigation and adaptation strategies in climate change and the need for the formulation of regional and global mechanisms to optimise existing resources; the issue of access to natural resources as part of the adaptation aspect of climate change, i.e. the consideration of issues of equity, justice, rights and power in adaptation strategies; and finally, the positioning of the human security approach in the current climate security debate.

The second panel of the convention focused on Natural Disasters and Humanitarian Emergencies, with presenters deliberating on the social and economic consequences of natural disasters based on country-specific examples. Discussions covered the source of the vulnerabilities experienced by victims of natural disasters and the need for more ground-level research on environmental and human security. Panellists also spoke on the importance of building a common framework to measure the economic costs of natural disasters, as well as discussed the issue of disaster management and its attendant challenges in China, Indonesia and the Philippines. Concerning the latter, there

was a consensus to move towards capacity building in the form of increased co-ordination and collaboration across all sectors and levels of government.

Presentations in the session on Conflicts, Crimes and Human Vulnerabilities looked at the conflict in southern Philippines and the subsequent displacement of Filipino women within the area, as well as the root causes and feasible solutions to tackle corruption in Bangladesh. Due attention was also given to the socio-economic ramifications of governance failures in fisheries, to maritime insecurity as perpetuated by non-state actors in the Indian Ocean and how they affected the security of individuals and communities.

Discussion in the fourth panel focused on the prospects of the RtoP dictum in Asia. Debate was centred on the concept of RtoP, the prospects and challenges of RtoP implementation in Asia, and the extent of its application in Indonesia.

The final two panels on NTS Issues in the Region examined an interesting range of NTS themes. These included radicalisation in Bangladesh and the value of adopting a secular cultural approach to manage the threat; the challenges of multiculturalism in Malaysia; the development of theoretical concepts of frontier security studies and its link to minority communities; the management of risk perception and risk communication in an environment of apocalyptic language; the pattern of Chinese migration in the region as influenced by the policies of source and destination countries; an overview of the human security landscape in Japan; and the prospects of a proposal to establish a Nansha Energy Development Organisation to resolve the Spratly Islands dispute.

The panel discussions led to a dynamic exchange of views, which clearly indicated that NTS insecurities were a primary concern in the region. Key takeaways from these discussions included the need for governments to recognise the severity of NTS challenges and their impact on individuals and communities, the urgent need for state and non-state actors to work towards capacity building to handle NTS threats, and the need to move beyond the local to establish regional and global mechanisms to tackle these insecurities.

Opening Session and Overview

Speakers of the Opening Session. From left to right: Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony, Amb. Barry Desker, Dr Rizal Sukma.

The 3rd Annual Convention of the Consortium of NTS-Asia was held at the Marina Mandarin Hotel in Singapore from 3 to 4 November 2009. Ambassador Barry Desker, Dean of RSIS, began the day's proceedings by framing the context of the convention and extending a warm welcome to all distinguished guests.

Welcome Remarks

Ambassador Barry Desker
Dean
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Ambassador Barry Desker extended a warm welcome to all the participants of the 3rd Annual Convention of the Consortium of NTS-Asia. He noted that there has been a growing awareness of NTS threats over the past ten years; many of which are interlinked and thereby more potent in generating human insecurity. He cited the 2008 food and fuel crisis and the series of pandemics and natural disasters that struck Asia as proof that threats to states and communities are increasingly becoming non-military in nature. Given the emergence of NTS threats, RSIS took the lead to increase the awareness of NTS issues among academics and policymakers in the region. This led to the school's expansion of its

research scope to include the study of NTS issues from an Asia-wide perspective. Besides advancing the debate on the importance of analysing NTS issues, there was an emphasis on promoting a better understanding among policymakers of how the process of securitisation or de-securitisation could help the formulation of more effective and appropriate policies towards NTS issues. The results of these were published in a well-received volume entitled *NTS in Asia: The Dynamics of Securitisation*.

Amb. Desker then provided a brief overview of the evolution of the Consortium of NTS-Asia. The Consortium was established in January 2007 with RSIS functioning as its secretariat. The Consortium is an important Asian network in advancing the study of NTS issues. It acts as a bridge between scholars and practitioners from the Northeast, Southeast and South Asian regions and beyond. The Consortium began as a network of 14 founding research institutes and think-tanks in Asia, which has progressively expanded to include six associate member institutes.

NTS studies in RSIS, according to Amb. Desker, had grown in the past two years, with two major milestones achieved during the period. Firstly, the RSIS NTS programme was upgraded to form the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies in May 2008. The Centre subsequently launched three key programmes: Pandemics and Security, Climate Change and Security, and

Energy and Security. The Centre also conducted a research fellowship scheme for Cambodian scholars with the support of the International Development Research Centre in Canada. Under the scheme, RSIS hosted two Cambodian research fellows in 2008. Secondly, the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies recently clinched funding from the MacArthur Foundation's Asia Security Initiative, which was launched in May 2009, with RSIS chosen as one of three core institutions of the grant.

Opening Remarks

Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony
Secretary-General
Consortium of NTS-Asia and,
Head
Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony, Chairperson of the 3rd Annual Convention of the Consortium of NTS-Asia, opened the session by greeting those present on behalf of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies. She extended a special welcome to new participants, Dr Gerard Hoffstaedter from the Institute for Human Security, La Trobe University, Australia; Ms Sarah Teitt and Ms Annie Pohlman from the Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, University of Queensland, Australia; Major General ANM Muniruzzaman from the Bangladesh Institute for Peace and Security Studies; Dr Keokam Kraisoraphong from the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand; and Professor Amako Satoshi from Waseda University, Japan.

Prof. Caballero-Anthony provided an overview of the early years of the Consortium. She noted that when the Consortium was formed in 2007, members began by defining NTS in a world that was governed by different principles and values compared with today. Specifically, questions raised at that time were: what constituted the NTS discourse in Asia and how its relevance could be highlighted. The overall objective then was to disseminate research findings in ways that were relevant and useful not just to scholars, but also to policymakers, in order for them to make informed decisions that would improve the lives of people globally.

Prof. Caballero-Anthony pointed out that these are exciting times because scholars, governments and people have begun to realise the need to tackle NTS issues at the highest level of government, and the need to involve people across all sectors. This recognition is clearly illustrated in the rapid yet continued establishment of programmes and institutions dedicated to NTS not just in Asia, but across the world. Within the Consortium, the establishment on 19 May 2009 of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security and Ethnic Development in the Frontier Regions at Talimu University, Xinjiang, China, is a clear indication of the advancement the Consortium is making. The Centre will be a strong research partner with the Centre for Non-Traditional Security and Peaceful Development Studies in Zhejiang University, as well as the Centre for Studies of Ethnic Minorities in Lanzhou University in Northwest China. This, according to Prof. Caballero-Anthony, is indicative of Consortium members making progress and taking on new challenges. Moreover, respective Consortium members have also conducted 43 events, workshops, seminars and conferences across 18 areas of study. This is an increase of seven events and six areas of studies over the past year.

Prof. Caballero-Anthony acknowledged that the Consortium is entering a crucial phase in its continued expansion. She however cautioned that this has also become a major issue that needs to be addressed collectively. Whether the Consortium continues to survive and thrive as a practical and viable entity depends on three factors: the nature and relevance of programmes undertaken by each member institute, the availability of funds, and the sustainability of research programmes and activities. In view of this, Prof. Caballero-Anthony expressed the need to mature as a Consortium; a goal which can be achieved through increased co-operation among institutes, and through the pooling of resources and expertise. She thus made a call to Consortium members to individually and collectively consider one's strengths and weaknesses and also re-examine the Consortium's goals and objectives so that it can maintain its growth and relevance in an increasingly competitive world.

Prof. Caballero-Anthony then offered the floor to keynote speaker Dr Rizal Sukma. Dr Sukma is one of the top thinkers of the region and the chief architect of ASEAN's vision of an ASEAN Security Community.

Keynote Address

Dr Rizal Sukma
Executive Director
Centre for Strategic and International Studies
Indonesia

Dr Rizal Sukma congratulated RSIS for taking the initiative to draw both the public and policymakers' attention to NTS issues which have become more significant in recent years. The aim of his keynote address, noted Dr Sukma, was to provide his views on NTS issues and to highlight the challenges the Consortium would face in the coming years.

RSIS, according to Dr Sukma, has been at the forefront in highlighting the importance of NTS studies ever since it launched its NTS programme initiative in 1999. Ten years on, this initiative has grown to form the Consortium of NTS-Asia, with the grouping becoming the major rapporteur of knowledge for anyone interested in NTS issues in Asia. He pointed out that important research findings of the Consortium of NTS-Asia have even entered the policy domain within the ASEAN political and security communities. The Consortium, in his words, serves as an excellent platform for regional scholars to pool their diverse expertise and has pushed traditional security analysts like himself to pay closer attention to weaknesses inherent in traditional security studies in order to better understand the diverse and complex nature of present-day security threats.

Dr Sukma then provided a brief overview of the evolution of NTS studies in the region. He pointed out that what are now regarded as NTS issues have been the primary focus of security discourse in Asia for more than five decades. Problems such as poverty, disease, terrorism, drug abuse, human trafficking, piracy and pollution have long formed part of governments' concerns. However, the

need to tackle these issues under the NTS framework has intensified only recently. Under this concept, people, as opposed to states, become the referent object of security. Over time, NTS issues have also become the focal point of co-operation even among government defence establishments, as demonstrated by the February 2009 meeting of ASEAN defence ministers. Despite the progress made, Dr Sukma warned that the place of NTS in security discourse and policy cannot be taken for granted. Attention is increasingly being paid to the viability of current regional security architectures such as the ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN+3 and the East Asia Summit in coping with strategic challenges resulting from major power relations and power alignments taking place in the Asia-Pacific. This brings once more the issues of 'hard' or traditional security and the role of states to the fore. Over time, traditional security concerns may once again overshadow NTS issues as there is no lack of traditional security concerns in Asia.

Against this backdrop, Dr Sukma laid out two formidable challenges facing the Consortium. First, he argued, there is a need to move beyond the securitisation framework as conceived by the Copenhagen School. There is a need, he stressed, to place a premium on assessing the extent to which the policies of securitisation and de-securitisation have contributed to a more effective treatment of NTS issues.

Second, the Consortium must continue the production and dissemination of scholarly works in order to strengthen the position of NTS as a key foundation in the emerging security architecture in the region. Such efforts also require synergy among governments, epistemic communities, civil society organisations, etc. This would in turn lead to the mainstreaming of regional security issues as important elements of co-operation in the region. Dr Sukma expressed his confidence that the Consortium will stand up to these challenges and will strive to ensure that NTS remains on the agenda of governments.

Panel on Climate Change, Insecurities and Challenges

Chaired by Professor Meenakshi Gopinath, Honorary Director of Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace in India, this panel sought to explore different approaches to the issue of climate change and security and ways to respond to it.

The Security Dimension of Climate Change

Major General ANM Muniruzzaman
President
Bangladesh Institute for Peace and Security Studies
Bangladesh

Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman

The first presentation in this panel highlighted the increasing recognition of climate change as a major security issue. Major General ANM Muniruzzaman explored two aspects of the security dimension of climate change: human security and traditional security. The human security dimension discusses the implications of climate change on food security, water security, health security, migration and internally displaced persons, development, poverty and energy security. Traditional security looks at the implications of climate change as a threat multiplier in inter-state conflicts, regional destabilisation, intra-state conflicts, state vulnerability, social fragmentation and the vulnerability of nuclear zones. He defined climate security as the protection of human civilisation from the dangers of and losses incurred due to climate change.

The presentation went further to elaborate on the projected implications of climate change on Bangladesh as it is one of the countries most vulnerable to it. With a history of extreme climatic events, a dominance of floodplains, low elevation from the sea, high population density, high levels of poverty, and an overwhelming dependence on nature and its resources, a change in climatic patterns would exacerbate existing vulnerabilities in the country. Climate change threatens settlements; the number of people displaced from their land due to riverbank erosion, permanent inundation and sea level rise is increasing rapidly every year. Sea level rise, in particular, is projected to increase salinity areas in the coastal and offshore regions of Bangladesh, and spread climate-sensitive diseases such as diarrhoea, skin diseases, malaria, dengue and mental disorders. Climate change is expected to produce 30 to 40 million climate refugees within the country. As a result, government resources, which are often insufficient, are quickly stretched and drained when forced to handle two climate change-induced events occurring at the same time.

Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman concluded his presentation by laying out a number of response mechanisms that needed to be implemented. He called for an expanded global information and an early-warning system; the creation of contingency planning; an exchange of knowledge, information and expertise; and the redefining of the role of the military in the face of climate change. Climate protection, he further argued, has to be integrated as a cross-cutting theme in poverty reduction strategies. State and non-state actors should also develop comprehensive adaptation strategies and build international and regional policy frameworks. With a lack of global mechanisms thus far in dealing with these issues, it is therefore pertinent to build public awareness and political will, promote co-operation, as well as achieve global consensus on climate change.

Climate Insecurities: Global and Regional Responses

Associate Professor Chung Suh-Yong
Ilmin International Research Institute
Korea University
South Korea

Prof. Chung Suh-Yong

As illustrated by the first presentation of this panel, climate change is projected to create a devastating impact on countries. Associate Professor Chung Suh-Yong noted in his presentation that the vulnerability to climate change varies according to geographical location. Asia and Africa are the two most vulnerable regions to climate risks. In addressing these risks, he argued that there have been theoretical obstacles and doubts in relation to whether the use of a traditional security framework in looking at climate change would be sufficient, or if there was a paradigm shift required to look at the multi-dimensional issues of climate insecurities.

The speaker argued that mitigation is the main strategy used to deal with climate insecurities. Prevention and mitigation are seen as ways to limit rising climate change risks, while adaptation is regarded as a way to build a society's capacity to address vulnerabilities arising from climate change implications. Hence, adaptation is considered passive in nature. Prof. Chung argued that hypothetically, should methods of prevention and mitigation be successfully implemented, those of adaptation may not be necessary. It is feared that an increasing focus on adaptation would shift the attention of the international community away from pursuing rigorous mitigation efforts. Yet, in view of the current challenges to both mitigation and adaptation

efforts on the global, regional and state levels, one would observe that mitigation and adaptation have now become equally important.

Prof. Chung stressed that international co-operation is necessary to prevent and mitigate climate risks. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) has served as the main framework in dealing with the matter. However, free riding has emerged as the main obstacle to the full implementation of this approach. He argued that adaptation should be pursued not only through the UNFCCC but also via other means, ultimately beginning by assessing socio-economic conditions, climate risks, adaptive capacity and other factors within different societies.

Prof. Chung went on to state that global mechanisms should be developed as the main vehicle of response to the implications of climate change. Nevertheless, regional responses play an equally important role, given the lack of co-ordination among relevant stakeholders at the global level. He suggested that the application of the principles of common but differentiated responsibilities, as well as historical responsibilities, have failed to mitigate the impacts of climate change. An example was drawn from the market mechanism developed under the Kyoto Protocol where difficulties in maintaining credible levels of transparency and implementation were found to be major obstacles. In addition, limited resources have posed a major challenge in enhancing climate security through adaptation, despite increasing efforts by various international agencies in assisting developing states to build their adaptive capacities.

In Asia, a number of regional initiatives such as the Green Growth Initiative and adaptation funding provided by the United Nations Economic and Social Commissions for Asia and the Pacific have been established in addition to an East Asian Initiative similarly geared towards adaptation funding. However, there is a need to advance adaptation efforts in the region in particular, so as to better secure financial and other resources. For this purpose, the assumption of an effective facilitating role by the relevant regional organisations and increased political will by key regional states should be actively pursued. Existing regional fora could also be used as an avenue to further these efforts.

To conclude, Prof. Chung acknowledged the need to discuss the issue of climate security more thoroughly within the realm of NTS. On a policy level, he argued that to enhance climate security, better co-ordination both at global and regional levels is imperative. This would then allow for the optimisation of existing resources and facilitate the procurement and maximisation of additional resources.

Climate Change and Insecurities: Community Rights and Access to Resources

Dr Keokam Kraisoraphong
Assistant Professor
Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University
Thailand

Dr Keokam Kraisoraphong

This presentation focused on the issue of access to natural resources as part of the adaptation aspect of climate change. Dr Keokam Kraisoraphong recognised that the high dependency of communities in developing countries on natural resources would be one of the factors that hindered their adaptive capacity. This is further compounded by the inequitable access to natural resources. She argued that natural resources and the environment are the fundamental bases for other security components.

It is projected that communities in developing countries would experience the worse impacts of climate change. Climate change would exert additional pressure on vulnerable communities, yet some have feared that effective responses would exceed the capacities and capabilities of their governing states. Dr Kraisoraphong believed that adaptation policies applied at the higher levels of economic, social and political processes would influence grassroots-level adaptive capacity. It is therefore pertinent to develop community-based adaptation strategies.

She further opined that community adaptive capacities touched upon a broad spectrum of economic, social and political structures. Hence, adaptation could not be viewed within the confines of climate change alone. Adaptation would lead to changes that take into account the issues of equity, justice, rights and power. A rights-based analysis would therefore provide insight into the distribution of power with regard to access and issues of control in environmental security. An example of this is the Sustainable Livelihood Analysis, which would be able to determine and prioritise the kinds of rights most important for particular groups at any particular time.

Dr Kraisoraphong also presented her ongoing research project in Thailand, which took a rights-based and livelihoods approach to examine complaints over community rights violations. This is with respect to problems related to the access to natural resources and the identification of its implications when communities concerned dealt with the impact of climate change. It was observed that an expansion of access to rights is important to strengthen the social safety nets of communities. However, it was found that there is a problem of an over-formalisation of rights. Rights documented by law are insufficient to ensure respect and protection.

The access to and control of natural resources were acknowledged as two major security concerns that need to be addressed. She argued that the ability of communities to access natural resources should not be open to policy interpretation; it should be rights-based. The right to livelihood-related opportunities should be acknowledged so that governments would treat these issues as policy priorities, because rights and entitlement to environmental resources would in turn build resilience and the adaptive capacities of communities.

Beyond Climate Conflict: The Role of Human Security in the Climate Security Debate

Associate Professor Lorraine Elliott
Visiting Senior Fellow
Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore, and
Senior Fellow
Department of International Relations
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Australia

Associate Professor Lorraine Elliott

A traditionalist statist approach is said to dominate the climate security debate. There have been a number of reports linking climate change as a threat multiplier to increased tension, unrest and conflict. Such an approach examines the implications of climate change on national security. These linkages can be drawn from looking at the causal pathways of conflict over natural resources.

Associate Professor Lorraine Elliott argued in her presentation that the human security approach to the climate security debate enables us to focus on vulnerability, equity and sustainability. The approach views people as the referent object of security; as those who would ultimately bear the cost of the impact of climate change in the form of poverty, food and water insecurity, disease and the loss of livelihoods. In looking at the causal relationship between climate change and conflict, people themselves would be the source of social tensions and civil unrest as climate change places increased pressure on their existing vulnerabilities.

With the reported high risk of armed conflict in and projected climate risks to East Asia, the human security approach offers a different way of looking at the 'triggers' of climate conflict. Addressing the vulnerabilities of people, rather than treating those issues as mere triggers to increased tension and conflict, would be the focus of the human security approach. It therefore offers a new framework in formulating policy responses to climate change.

Human security responses to climate insecurities focus on building communities' adaptive capacities and increasing societal resilience. Assoc. Prof. Elliott said that mitigation alone was 'too little too late' as it was only one element of the four aspects mentioned in the roadmap established at the 2007 United Nations Climate Change Conference in Bali, Indonesia. Focusing on adaptation could help answer traditional security concerns of conflict, civil unrest, instability and localised violence, and at the same time, serve as a human security response to decrease vulnerability and build social resilience. The human security approach would also pursue a bottom-up decision-making process that would engage the affected peoples and communities. It would demand the forming of an open, inclusive and transparent mechanism in climate security governance.

Discussion

Ms Seema Kakran of the Women in Security, Conflict, Management and Peace posing a question to the panel during the discussion

Bearing in mind the existing literature on the negative implications of climate change, a question was raised regarding the benefits that might result from climate change. It was noted that despite the anticipated competition and increased tensions generated from climate change, the world may witness the re-ordering of state power in the international system; a paradigm shift in economic order resulting from various responses to climate change; improvements in governance systems and the fiscal sector; and bilateral and multilateral co-operation. At the local level in several areas, there may also be new emerging opportunities as a consequence of the changing climate. Yet, it was also stressed that these possible benefits would not override the climate risks.

Comments regarding issues related to communities were also raised, for example, the rights of marginalised groups such as women, the importance of gender issues in climate change, and awareness-building on climate change at the grassroots level.

In terms of the interplay between actors and policy, the panel discussed the need to further assess the role of the military in responding to the effects of climate change without militarising it, mechanisms to address problems arising from climate change at the economic and political levels, agenda-setting by developing countries in the region, resource allocation under socio-economic development, and developing norms and rules to help shape behaviour to address climate change impacts. Looking more closely at the issue of rules and norms, it was mentioned that translating norms and regulations into political action has become a major problem despite having documented norms.

The discussion finally turned to whether different roles should be adopted by the various levels of governance. It was observed that when looking at existing datasets and global adaptation funding in the UNFCCC, it may be more appropriate to pursue rigorous mitigation efforts at the global level, and leave adaptation measures to the regional and national levels. Furthermore, it was noted that climate change should not be addressed independently within the international structure, as it influences economies, ethics and politics.

Panel on Natural Disasters and Humanitarian Emergencies

This session was chaired by Ms Clara Joewono, Vice-Chair and Co-Founder of The Centre for Strategic and International Studies Foundation, Indonesia. The panel focused on a number of natural disasters and their social and economic consequences, using recent examples from India, Vietnam, China, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Natural Disasters and Aspects of Social Vulnerability in Northeast India

Professor Sandhya Goswami
Co-ordinator of the Programme
Political Science Department
Gauhati University
India

Prof. Sandhya Goswami

Professor Sandhya Goswami's presentation focused on the kinds of vulnerability problems that affect individuals after natural disasters and/or local conflicts occurred. She used examples from Northeast India, highlighting the complex variety of natural disasters prevalent in that region. She noted that as the scope of vulnerabilities increases, the problems faced by individuals and societies become more acute.

While natural disasters could be caused by natural forces, Prof. Goswami reminded participants that, to a large extent, these could also be direct consequences of human activities. Prof. Goswami provided a long list of the effects of natural disasters, including the creation of new vulnerabilities;

the increase in existing vulnerabilities; the disruption to livelihoods; the destruction of infrastructure; the demise of life, property and social arrangements; the aggravation of inequities and social injustice; and the cause of conflict. She explained that the degree of vulnerability of a person or group is its capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impacts of a natural disaster.

Prof. Goswami then described the complex issues surrounding Northeast India, which is characterised by high topographical variation, a volatile monsoon system and heavy rainfall. Northeast India experiences frequent seismic activity and numerous earthquakes. Furthermore, it is common for the Brahmaputra river system to flood and for landslides to occur regularly. All of these issues magnify the risks posed to society and the vulnerabilities of the people in the region. Importantly, the effects of these natural hazards, as Prof. Goswami noted, are also aggravated by the complex socio-economic and political processes of rapid population growth, low income levels, high arms expenditure, insurgencies and a fragile local economy, among others.

In conclusion, Prof. Goswami stated that a lack of disaster preparedness and a high prevalence of endemic diseases are the notable root causes of vulnerability in Northeast India. Points to focus on in the future included dynamic processes at appropriate scales, such as the role of local institutions, better integrated hazard management systems, improved risk assessment and vulnerability detection mechanisms, novel institutional policies and even a paradigm change. This would allow for capacity building, better infrastructure and manpower development. Prof. Goswami stressed the urgent need for more ground-level research on environmental security and human security, in order to generate data and evidence which could inform policymaking. Lastly, she noted that the people's participation is essential and this could be increased through the development of skills, education and hazard awareness, so as to improve disaster monitoring and the management of inter-state and trans-boundary hazards.

The Economic Costs of Natural Disasters

Professor Bui Quang Tuan
Professor
Deputy General Director
Vietnam Institute of Economics
Vietnam

Dr Bui Quang Tuan

After thanking the organisers for facilitating his participation in the conference, Professor Bui Quang Tuan introduced his topic, namely the framework for estimating the economic costs of natural disasters. This, Prof. Bui noted, is increasingly important due to the effects of climate change. He also stated that natural disasters impact the world in terms of human and economic costs and that the number of people affected has risen dramatically over the past decade, whilst the economic costs have trebled within the same period. He explained that disasters have serious consequences for every level of a nation's economy, for the community and for individuals.

Prof. Bui stated that there is a need to build a common framework for estimating the economic costs of natural disasters. The framework would provide an opportunity to compile consistent data and a standard method to guide data collection and evaluation. Such a framework would enable comparisons over time and across various regions. Prof. Bui provided some basic principles for the framework, such as using it as a measure of economic costs rather than financial costs. Instead of being concerned with the transfer of payments between business enterprises, economic costs would measure the impact on resources available to society. The second principle Prof. Bui recommended was to compare measures of loss with and without the disaster, rather than before and after a disaster. Prof. Bui claimed that this could potentially be a way to incorporate the long-term trends in the economy into the economic cost estimation. A further important principle would be the avoidance of double-counting the same cost by using the expenditure of one agent and the income of another.

Prof. Bui suggested several methods for classifying the losses that resulted from natural disasters. He noted that the usual method is to divide the losses into two categories: tangible (those with market value) and intangible (those with zero market value). These are then further subdivided into direct and indirect losses. Prof. Bui added that indirect costs are much more difficult to quantify than direct costs, and that the intangible costs of disasters may be much greater than the tangible costs.

This is clear from the example he used — the damage to a bridge as a result of severe flooding — which was directly observable. However, extra travel costs and longer distances enforced on the traveller, as well as the costs of delays, are more difficult to estimate and measure. Furthermore, intangible costs cover issues such as the health effects on individuals and the loss of future contracts for businesses, for example. He added that in the public service, intangible costs could include interruptions of school programmes, environmental loss and damage, etc. This could also consist of the disruption to businesses, networks, public services and households, as well as increased emergency services costs, for example. He stressed that these kinds of costs should not be ignored.

In conclusion, Prof. Bui argued that it is important to see the differences between financial costs and economic costs, and that there should be a consistent framework for gathering data regarding natural disasters. He added that the costs should be understood in different forms, including tangible, intangible, direct and indirect costs, and that it is important to remember that the intangible costs might be much higher than the tangible ones.

Disaster Management in China

Professor Han Feng
Deputy Director
Institute of Asia Pacific Studies
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
China

Prof. Han Feng

Professor Han Feng's presentation focused on disaster management in China and examined five key areas. These areas are:

- A general overview of disasters in the country
- The role of the government in dealing with disasters
- Public involvement
- International co-operation
- Challenges facing disaster management in China

Prof. Han explained that a high proportion of Chinese cities are located in disaster-prone areas. China suffers from a wide range of disasters which varies in scope and, with the exception of volcanic eruptions, the country has recently been experiencing a higher frequency of disasters such as earthquakes, floods and typhoons. Approximately 300 million people are affected annually by natural disasters in the country, with the destruction of about 3 million buildings, more than 9 million people evacuated, and with incurred losses amounting to RMB 200 billion. These figures had been aggravated by vast urbanisation and overcrowding in cities.

According to Prof. Han, the central government has set out a more comprehensive approach to dealing with disasters. The government not long ago introduced more than 30 new rules, laws and regulations for government agencies and departments, outlining the necessary steps to take in the aftermath of a disaster. These measures, Prof. Han explained, were further divided into policy campaigns such as the 'Chinese Agenda for the 21st Century' which focused on disaster reduction and environmental protection at the national level. He described other laws which enabled a reasonable division of labour at various departments and different levels. In general, Prof. Han observed that China has adopted a disaster management and relief system featuring central leadership, with a major part of the responsibility resting on the shoulders of the local authorities.

He argued that both the Chinese government and the public have realised that disaster management in China involved emergencies that have a broad and deep impact on many aspects of society. A multi-pronged approach is hence necessary and relevant, including the increased involvement of social groups, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and volunteers. This, Prof. Han noted, clearly indicated that a more balanced, flexible and dynamic network for disaster management is coming into being in China. For example, a Volunteer Disaster Management system was established during the SARS crisis. He added that businesses could also play an important part in disaster management in China, and that social security assistance is becoming more and more important at all levels.

According to Prof. Han's presentation, there has been a great change in China's policies over time, as it previously treated national security as a top priority issue and refused international assistance when dealing with disasters. Even during the SARS outbreak, local governments were reluctant to reveal to the international community the actual extent of the difficulties it faced. However, China has since made the important decision to cooperate with the international community, especially at the regional level with ASEAN, for example.

However, several problems still persist. This include the difference in priorities and interests of the central and local governments, gaps in public consciousness on disaster management, an imbalance between the government and the public, and weak co-ordination between social institutions. He stressed on the need for an increased focus on science and research. In conclusion, Prof. Han stated that China is facing more complex situations in disaster management and is now focusing increasingly on capacity

building. The multi-pronged approach he presented reflects the recognition of the importance of the need for increased participation in disaster management from all levels.

Managing Double Trouble: Indonesia's Earthquakes and the Philippines' Typhoons

Ms Sofiah Jamil
Research Analyst
Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Ms Sofiah Jamil

Ms Sofiah Jamil in her presentation focused on the recent disasters in Indonesia and the Philippines, including the earthquakes in Tasikmalaya, Padang, Maluku and West Papua in Indonesia, and the typhoons and floods in both the urban and rural areas of the Philippines. She examined the state of preparedness in Indonesia and the Philippines and presented the gaps in their respective disaster preparedness plans. She later went on to evaluate the prospects for regional disaster preparedness.

In the Philippines, as Ms Jamil noted, typhoons Ketsana and Parma, and the landslides they generated, together affected more than 7.4 million people, and rendered approximately 95,000 victims homeless and living in temporary shelters.

Ms Jamil reminded the participants that Indonesia lay on the Pacific Ring of Fire, that there are frequent tropical storms in the Philippines, and that climate change would further exacerbate these issues. Most new reports state that the situation is deteriorating, with many more natural disasters expected to occur. She cited experts from the Earth Observatory of Singapore who predicted that the rate and severity of earthquakes would grow over the next 30 years. While earthquakes only constitute a small number of disasters in Indonesia, the intensity of the insecurities they give rise to — such as the destruction of infrastructure and livelihoods — are nevertheless severe.

However, Ms Jamil stressed that the problems not only include earthquakes but also climate-related disasters. She explained that in Indonesia there has been an increase in climate or weather-related disasters over the past years. Overall, between 2003 and 2005, climate-related disasters made up about half of all disasters, while between 2007 and 2008, the figure was over 80 per cent. This has created a very complex picture for disaster management and relief, and increased the cost of such processes. Natural disasters threaten economic, water and health security, among others. Education, for example, suffers as schools are converted into temporary shelters during such events.

Ms Jamil argued that there is a need to go beyond emergency relief and to incorporate long-term elements into disaster management and relief. This involves strengthening capacities in order to mobilise local resources in times of need, thereby reducing a reliance on international aid. She explored the lessons learned from past disasters, including the importance of legislation and institutionalisation, as well as co-ordination and increased collaboration among the various sectors and across different levels of government. Important questions, however, remain, including the question of how to mainstream disaster risk reduction into current development policies. Ms Jamil cited the 'deadly trio' of poor urban governance, unstable rural livelihoods and ecosystem decline, together with a lack of institutional memory, a dearth of manpower for aid distribution, and a lack of co-ordination and communication between sectors, as factors that compound the difficulties of establishing disaster preparedness initiatives. She summarised her presentation by stating that there is a tendency for action to be initiated only after disasters strike, as witnessed in Indonesia after the Aceh Tsunami. Pre-emptive preparedness is therefore the key.

Discussion

The discussion focused on issues of vulnerability in post-disaster situations, particularly whether vulnerable groups, based on ethnicity, caste, age and gender, are left out of disaster preparedness and responses. It was noted that in India, communities comprised people from diverse backgrounds, including tribal populations. These communities' strong belief in traditional value systems has helped them to prepare for disasters such as floods. On the other hand, education and health have taken a toll due to a lack of strong institutions and a strong civil society.

The discussion then turned to issues of incomplete data and a lack of a common framework for data collection and analysis, as well as the training of individuals for the collection of national census data. It is understood that Vietnam currently has a poor data collection system, with a divide existing between theoretical and practical levels.

Amb. Geetha de Silva of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies posing a question to the panel during the discussion

However, local departments in the provinces gather data, which is then summarised and reported to the upper rungs of government. This informs the national data estimates at the central government level. Unfortunately, this system may include data errors.

Panel on Conflicts, Crimes and Human Vulnerabilities

Chaired by Mr Kwa Chong Guan, Head of External Programmes at RSIS, the panel on Conflicts, Crimes and Human Vulnerabilities looked at how the security of individuals and communities are affected by conflicts, displacement, corruption, governance failure in fisheries and maritime terrorism.

Conflict and Displacement: Implications for the Protection of Women's Rights

Professor Ruth Lusterio-Rico
Graduate Programme Coordinator
Department of Political Science
University of the Philippines
The Philippines

Prof. Ruth Lusterio-Rico

Professor Ruth Lusterio-Rico began by outlining the scope of her presentation, which was three-fold: to identify the consequences of displacement, to discuss the impact of displacement on women, and to argue for the protection of the rights of displaced women. Displacement is a result of natural disasters, the introduction in a local community of a development project such as dam construction or a mining project, as well as armed conflict. Regarding its long-term impact, displacement has an undermining influence on the social bonds and cultural roots of the entire community, with devastating and disruptive effects on the lives of women living at subsistence levels. Prof. Lusterio-Rico then identified the overall consequences of displacement,

which included homelessness, the loss of livelihoods, marginalisation, food insecurity, the deterioration of health and the onset of illnesses, psychological trauma, mental stress and pressure, and social and cultural risks as people are uprooted from their communities.

In the Philippines, displacement occurs primarily in the southern island of Mindanao as a result of many years of armed conflict. This has resulted in the displacement of close to one million people since August 2008, due to the breakdown of a peace agreement between the Philippine government and the secessionist group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. Displaced people have little choice but to live in evacuation centres where conditions are poor. Women and children suffer from poor sanitation, lack of access to clean water and malnutrition. As homes and livelihoods are lost, women are required to provide for their families' needs, particularly their children's. However, food and other essential items donated by NGOs and state agencies are often barely enough to meet the nutritional requirements of the affected women and children.

Prof. Lusterio-Rico specifically highlighted the impact of displacement on the health of women. Even in displacement, she elaborated, women are expected to look after the needs of their families and sometimes the needs of an entire clan. Women, it seems, play an important role in rebuilding the lives of not only the people within the household, but those of an entire community. This requires good physical and mental health. However, the poor living and sanitary conditions in evacuation or relocation areas adversely affected the health of women. These factors have been identified as the primary causes of illnesses and diseases among women and children. Also, women and children are often severely traumatised by conflicts and this negatively affects their overall well-being. As such, it is important that the health of women and children be given top priority. It is by improving the physical and mental health of women that the chances of livelihood regeneration can be increased.

As a way forward, Prof. Lusterio-Rico proposed the documentation of the initiatives of civil society groups and donor agencies and to urge them to protect and promote the rights of women. More specifically, she noted that it is important to study how the health and well-being of women are affected by conditions brought on by conflict. In addition, collaborative research should be conducted to gain knowledge about the experience of different countries as well as to identify measures that could be undertaken at regional and international levels.

Corruption and Human Insecurities in Bangladesh

Dr Iftekharuzzaman
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Advisory Body of the Non-Traditional Security Body
Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit
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Dr Iftekharuzzaman

Dr Iftekharuzzaman began his presentation by defining corruption as the abuse of office whether in government, administration or business. Corruption, according to him, involves giving and receiving favours, buying political influence, bribing officials, taking kickbacks, subverting the public good for private gain, etc. It also includes such acts as embezzlement, fraud, nepotism and extortion. He further observed that corruption is a major impediment to development and democratic governance because

it weakens key institutions of the national integrity system, prevents the rule of law, erodes public trust in government, breeds injustice, distorts political and economic structures and above all, weakens the social fabric.

Dr Iftekharuzzaman then turned to Bangladesh, where corruption occupies a prominent place in public discourse. The Corruption Perception Index (CPI), published annually by Transparency International, ranks Bangladesh consistently in the bottom of the list. Bangladesh occupied the third, seventh and tenth position from the bottom in 2006, 2007 and 2008 respectively, which indicates that corruption is pervasive in the country. To support this argument, he provided data to illustrate the extent of corruption in Bangladesh. The data, based on the *National Household Survey 2007*, showed that 25.9 per cent of all students enrolled in educational institutions had to make unauthorised payments for admissions. These included 26.4 per cent in primary schools, 31 per cent in secondary schools and 20.3 per cent in higher secondary schools. Moreover, 22 per cent of those students entitled to stipends were forced to make unauthorised payments when collecting the stipend amount. In the health sector, 26.7 per cent of the surveyed households that received hospitalisation or outpatient services in public hospitals were victims of corruption, with 30.8 per cent of those who underwent pathological tests made victims as well. If corruption in the education sector was not enough, 41.7 per cent of households that interacted with the judiciary had to pay bribes, the proportion being higher in rural areas (48.3 per cent) than in urban areas (37.3 per cent). In terms of the outflow of household expenditure to corruption, the survey revealed that 3.84 per cent of household income was lost to corruption in the six sectors of education, health, land administration, police, justice and income tax.

Despite its pervasive nature, there have been concerted efforts made to root out corruption in Bangladesh. According to Dr Iftekharuzzaman, the most important element in an effective anti-corruption strategy is political will at all levels. To this end, the December 2009 election saw the emergence of an election campaign based on an anti-corruption platform led by the ruling coalition, the Awami League. This was widely acknowledged to be a positive step in the fight against corruption. Besides political will, the next important step in any anti-corruption strategy is to make corruption punishable. This requires the establishment of the rule of law. The other important element is to engage the citizenry so as to initiate an anti-corruption movement in their midst.

Fishy Crimes: The Societal Costs of Poorly Governed Fisheries

Dr Edward Allison
Director
Policy, Economics and Social Science
Worldfish Center
Malaysia

Dr Edward Allison

Fishing crime, according to Dr Edward Allison, is the violation of economic and social life and constitutes the largest crime committed against humanity on a daily basis. This is the result of a government's failure to govern fisheries effectively, which in turn produces a series of problems ranging from piracy and human smuggling to narcotics trafficking and other crimes. In short, the failure of governance in one sector, i.e. fisheries, affects other sectors in many ways.

Dr Allison provided an overview of the lost economic benefits from marine fisheries as a result of the failure of governance. Drawing insights from a 2008 World Bank report titled *The Sunken Billions: The Economic Justification for Fisheries Reform*, he noted that marine capture fisheries are an underperforming global asset. The lost economic benefits from them are estimated to reach approximately US$ 50 billion annually. Over the past three decades, this cumulative global loss of potential economic benefits was in the order of US$ 2 trillion. These losses represent the difference between the potential and actual net economic benefits from global marine fisheries. By the improved governance of marine fisheries, society could re-capture a substantial part of this US$ 50 billion annual economic loss. What this data reveals is that through comprehensive reform, the fisheries sector can be a basis for economic growth and provide for the creation of alternative livelihoods in many countries. Alternatively, the failure to improve the governance of marine fisheries would have devastating socio-economic impacts.

Dr Allison then turned to the stakes involved in fisheries. Fish provides 50 per cent of animal protein for 2.9 billion people. 520 million people, or 8 per cent of the world's population, are engaged in aquaculture and fishery, of which 84 per cent are in Asia. Moreover, global trade was worth US$ 85.9 billion in 2006, with the export of 37 per cent of all fish production. This important resource has been declining primarily due to poor governance. As a result, 75 per cent of the world's fish stocks have been fully or over-exploited, and populations of large fish have been reduced by 95 per cent over the last 50 years.

Governance failure in fisheries has affected society through poverty, declining incomes, food insecurity and social exclusion. It has also affected the environment through the degradation of marine resources, the loss of biodiversity, the loss of ecosystem resilience, etc. This failure has also adversely affected the health of fishing communities. For example, the HIV prevalence rate among the fishing communities of Sihanoukville in Cambodia reached a high of 15 to 20 per cent in 2000. One of the main reasons for such high HIV prevalence rates among fishing communities is the lack of medical facilities. Without adequate medical attention, this has the potential to become a wider societal threat. The failure of governance in fisheries also leads to increased crime; the escalating incidences of pirate attacks off the coast in Somalia from 2008 to 2009 being a good example.

One way to improve governance in fisheries, according to Dr Allison, is to democratise fishery management by involving fisherfolk in the entire decision-making process. The crisis in the world's marine fisheries can no longer be considered a problem confined to the fishery sector. Rather, the problem has to be considered within the broad framework of political economic reform. Within this context, fisheries reform demands a broad-based political will founded on social consensus. Building such a consensus would take time and may require forging a common vision that withstands changes in governments.

Terrorism at Sea: Maritime Security Challenges in South Asia

Professor Amal Jayawardane
Executive Director
Regional Centre for Strategic Studies
Sri Lanka

Prof. Amal Jayawardane

The aim of Professor Amal Jayawardane's presentation, was to analyse the nature of security challenges posed by asymmetric non-state actors with a special focus on South Asia. The presentation started with a brief overview of the Indian Ocean. Being the world's third largest ocean, the Indian Ocean is of great strategic importance as it connects the Atlantic Ocean with the Pacific Ocean, thereby serving as a major channel for sea-borne trade with 40 per cent of all global trade transiting through its waters annually. However, the Indian Ocean region is increasingly becoming insecure as a result of the emergence of new security threats that are multi-dimensional in nature. These include, among others, threats such as piracy, maritime terrorism, arms and narcotics smuggling, human trafficking and pollution. These threats have the potential to disrupt international trade, upon which modern states depend.

Prof. Jayawardane proceeded to offer the historical evolution of the nature of threats in the Indian Ocean region. The maritime security dynamics gradually changed in the latter part of the 19th century with the emergence of non-state actors as a source of maritime insecurity worldwide. The recent incidents of pirate attacks on commercial shipping lanes in the Gulf of Aden and in the Malacca Straits reflect the changing dynamics of maritime (in)security. In the case of South Asia, Prof. Jayawardane specifically highlighted the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) as evidence of the changed maritime security dynamics. The LTTE had long been recognised as the world's most militarily and technologically advanced terrorist group and was one of the few terrorist organisations to have acquired maritime capabilities. The 'Sea Tigers', as the LTTE's maritime wing was called, targeted both military and non-military targets with devastating effect. A special squad called the 'Black Sea Tigers' was subsequently formed in 1990 to carry out maritime suicide attacks against the Sri Lankan Navy. In response, the Sri Lankan Navy adopted a new strategy called 'Small Boats Concept'. Under this strategy, the Navy developed three categories of small crafts that were better suited to counter the 'wolf-pack' style suicide missions of the Sea Tigers. Using the same tactics as those deployed by the Sea Tigers, the Sri Lankan Navy was able to effectively counter the threat posed. So successful was the Sri Lankan Navy that, between 2006 and 2008, it destroyed eight large ships carrying war materials. The destruction of these 'floating warehouses' choked the LTTE of vital supplies and this contributed to their eventual defeat.

Citing examples of the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks and other attacks in the Maldives, Prof. Jayawardane clarified that Sri Lanka is not the only country facing asymmetric maritime threats. Nor was the LTTE the only non-state actor capable of launching maritime attacks.

As a way forward, Prof. Jayawardane noted that eliminating maritime threats in the Indian Ocean requires treatment of the root causes. The recent defeat of the LTTE has considerably reduced maritime security threats in South Asia. However, the possibility of a re-emergence of such terrorist organisations cannot be ruled out unless a satisfactory political solution is found. It is also vital that the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) plays an important role in facilitating regional co-operation in dealing with maritime security threats. It would be useful for SAARC to also seek the support of other regional organisations like ASEAN, which has conducted joint maritime operations among its members and has extensive experience in tackling maritime security issues like piracy.

Discussion

The panel listening to questions posed by the audience during the discussion

Dr Iftekharuzzaman's presentation on corruption in Bangladesh elicited a strong response from participants. One participant pointed out that Bangladesh's determination to fight corruption gives hope to other countries mired in the same problems. The overarching theme that emerged from the discussion was sustainability. Dr Iftekharuzzaman conceded from the outset that sustaining the various anti-corruption initiatives undertaken by the government is a daunting challenge. To make them sustainable, one must find ways to actively engage the public at all levels. One effective strategy is to make readings on corruption compulsory in schools in order to educate young school children on the issue. The most important strategy, however, is to make corruption punishable so as to deter people from committing such crimes. Dr Iftekharuzzaman emphasised this last point because this demands a high level of commitment from the government and society. Without making corruption punishable, all anti-corruption initiatives would fail.

On Prof. Lusterio-Rico's presentation on the impact of conflict and displacement on women's rights, one participant asked whether the issue of property and inheritance rights of women is being taken into serious consideration by policymakers in Mindanao, because women in many developing countries do not have the right to inherit property. This is even more important for those women whose husbands are victims of internal conflicts and natural disasters. The right to inherit property would do great service to women and their remaining family members, and would help them regenerate their livelihoods when they return home. Prof. Lusterio-Rico responded by noting that the rights of the indigenous people of Mindanao are protected by law. However, it is unclear whether the law specifically mentions the inheritance rights of women. Participants concurred that this is an important issue worthy of further study.

The relationship between the failure of governments to regulate fisheries on the one hand and maritime security on the other attracted intense discussion. Dr Allison pointed out that declining fish stocks, the loss of income, increasing livelihood insecurity, etc. pushes fishing communities to explore other ways of earning incomes. This at times leads them to commit crimes at sea, as demonstrated by events off the coast of Somalia. The solution to these problems is to first address the root causes found inland. This requires the adoption of a comprehensive framework, which takes into account all possible factors such as governance, the environment, human rights and development.

Panel on the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) Prospects in Asia

Chaired by Professor Carolina Hernandez, Founding President and Chair of the Board of Directors at the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, the Philippines, this panel examined the concept of RtoP and its prospects for implementation in Asia. It focused on the role of regional arrangements, the views of governments in the Asia-Pacific and the role of civil society in Indonesia.

Implementing the Responsibility to Protect: Understanding the Principle and the Role of Regional Arrangements

Ms Sarah Teitt
Outreach Director
Programme Leader — China
Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect
The University of Queensland
Australia

Ms Sarah Teitt

Ms Sarah Teitt observed that the international community's response to the failure to protect populations from widespread brutality such as the killing fields of Cambodia and the genocide in Rwanda had been multifaceted, with an important part of that response being the unanimous agreement to affirm the RtoP concept at the 2005 World Summit. The RtoP concept rests on three equally important and non-sequential pillars.

The first pillar is the responsibility of the state to protect its population from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, and from their incitement. The primary responsibility to protect rests with the state, applies to all populations under a state's care and not just citizens, and includes the responsibility to prevent the commission of the four crimes and their incitement. The state's role in protecting its own population is the conceptual centre of the RtoP concept.

The second pillar, noted Ms Teitt, is the international community's responsibility to assist the state to fulfil its RtoP obligations through a combination of persuasion and partnership. This can involve encouraging states to meet their responsibilities under Pillar One, helping them to exercise this responsibility and to build their capacity to protect, and assisting states under stress before crises and conflicts break out. This pillar seeks to galvanise the international community into assisting states to build and maintain the capacity necessary to address potential problems, well before these manifest in the commission of mass atrocities.

Measures to be undertaken would entail the express consent of the state involved, usually in the form of a specific invitation, and consist of:

- The provision of technical and financial support to states that are enacting preventive measures
- The use of education on human rights to prevent future crimes
- Assistance with combating sexual violence
- A special emphasis on women and children in conflict
- A focus on building learning processes between regional organisations and the UN
- Building civilian capacities to prevent the four crimes
- The provision of military assistance to states when necessary

- Assistance with establishing impartial and effective security and judicial systems within states
- Targeted development assistance
- Support for the establishment of safe and secure dialogue within states
- Post-conflict peacebuilding measures to prevent future crimes

The third pillar applies in situations where a state manifestly fails to protect its population from the four crimes, and it becomes the international community's responsibility to take timely and decisive action through peaceful diplomatic and humanitarian means. If that fails, other more forceful means — in a manner consistent with Chapters VI (pacific measures), VII (enforcement measures) and VIII (regional arrangements) of the UN Charter — of action will have to be enforced.

She also highlighted that the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document specified seven distinct roles for regional arrangements. They should:

- Encourage and help states to fulfil their primary responsibility to protect
- Support the UN in establishing an early warning capability
- Help states build the capacity to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity

- Assist states under stress before crises break out
- Support the mission of the Special Advisor of the UN Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide
- Utilise peaceful measures under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter to respond to crises involving the four crimes
- Co-operate with the Security Council in the application of measures, including Chapter VII measures, when peaceful means are inadequate and national authorities are manifestly failing to protect their populations

While regional arrangements have to determine precisely how they would fulfil the roles outlined above, taking into consideration relevant regional needs, capacities, and norms of behaviour, Ms Teitt noted that it may be worthwhile thinking about three modes of behaviour in which they can operate:

- As actors within their region: regional arrangements can assist their member states and can adopt appropriate peaceful measures
- Through horizontal co-operation: regional arrangements can work together to learn lessons and build capacity
- Through vertical co-operation: regional arrangements can 'add value' to efforts spearheaded and authorised by the UN

The Responsibility to Protect in the Asia-Pacific Region: Consensus and the Challenges of Implementation in the Asia-Pacific

Ms Annie Pohlman
Programme Director for Southeast Asia
Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect
The University of Queensland
Australia

Ms Annie Pohlman

Ms Annie Pohlman began her presentation by highlighting a significant event that took place in the course of implementing RtoP in Asia. In July 2009, the UN General Assembly held an Interactive Informal Dialogue and plenary session on RtoP. With the exception of North Korea, Asia-Pacific governments endorsed RtoP and the efforts to implement it. Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, Singapore, Japan, China, Myanmar and the Solomon Islands noted strongly that the challenge was not to re-negotiate RtoP but to identify ways of implementing the principle.

Five key points were stressed by regional governments regarding the nature and scope of RtoP:

- RtoP should be understood as an ally of sovereignty and should not contravene the principle of non-interference
- Emphasis should be placed on peaceful measures

- RtoP should only apply to the four specified crimes and their prevention
- RtoP must be implemented and exercised in adherence to international law and the UN Charter
- RtoP is a universal principle that should be applied equally and fairly in a non-selective manner

The Asia Pacific governments also identified seven challenges of implementing RtoP:

- To develop an early warning mechanism that is reliable, neutral and uses only high quality information, and establishing a UN joint office to ensure fair and transparent assessments
- To strengthen the role of regional arrangements in order to establish peer review mechanisms, to assist states in identifying Pillar One responsibilities and to provide assistance for capacity building
- To clarify the role of the UN's principal organs and the Security Council, particularly the nature of the Council's responsibility and the procedures for determining the action to be taken in response to emergencies characterised by the four crimes
- To clarify the relationship between RtoP and economic development, and develop a tangible strategy to understand and address the relationship between RtoP, the prevention of genocide and mass atrocities, and economic development
- To clarify the scope, nature and delivery mode of capacity building, with some countries suggesting good governance and institution building, the rule of law and support for the judicial sector, peacebuilding and conflict prevention as suitable areas of focus
- To clarify the measures that may be taken by states to fulfil their Pillar One responsibilities. Possible measures include establishing mechanisms for the periodic review of Pillar One implementation, ensuring effective mechanisms for handling domestic disputes, and accession to relevant instruments on human rights law, international humanitarian law, refugee law and the International Criminal Court

Mainstreaming the Principle of the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) in Indonesia

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Department of International Relations
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Indonesia

Ms Lina Alexandra

Ms Lina Alexandra in her presentation noted that despite the endorsement of RtoP by UN member states, countries in Southeast Asia had hesitated to put words into deeds, and were against the attempts by France to invoke RtoP on Myanmar in the aftermath of Cyclone Nargis. Indonesia, the largest country in ASEAN and a strong advocate of human rights in the region, had rejected the association of humanitarian aid with RtoP. Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono had also underlined the use of force as a last resort and the importance of implementing the RtoP concept with extreme care, taking into account mutual respect and understanding amongst states.

However, Ms Alexandra observed that the views of Indonesian civil society organisations on RtoP are unclear, as organisations are focused mostly on providing input to the government on domestic issues such as religious pluralism and human rights. Regardless of the domestic focus, it was noted that these civil society organisations are engaged in Pillar One of the RtoP as they monitor the government's responsibility to protect its citizens.

In light of this, a research project conducted by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta would investigate how civil society organisations in Indonesia perceive Pillars Two and Three of RtoP, as these pillars involve the element of 'justified' intervention by external actors to assist states in fulfilling their responsibility to protect, with the use of force as a possible last resort. Ultimately, the project aims to identify gaps in the understanding of RtoP between civil society and government officials, and provide a platform for interaction to discuss possible ways of implementation.

Participants of the 3rd NTS-Asia Annual Convention 2009
From left to right, front to back:
First row: Dr Meenakshi Gopinath, Amb. Geetha de Silva, Prof. Chung Sub-Yong, Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony, Dr Rizal Sukma, Ms Clara Joewono, Maj. Gen. ANM Muniruzzaman, Ms Sarah Teitt,
Ms Lina Alexandra, Maj. Gen. Muhammed Firdaus Mian, Dr James Chin, Prof. Sandhya Goswami.
Second row: Dr Iftekharuzzaman, Assoc. Prof. Lorraine Elliott, Prof. Amal Jayawardane, Prof. Carolina Hernandez, Dr Maripaz Perez, Ms Amie Pohlman, Prof. Amako Satoshi, Dr Chyungly Lee,
Ms Seema Kakran, Dr B.S. Padmavathi.
Third row: Dr Bui Quang Tuan, Prof. Herman Kraft, Mr Kwa Chong Guan, Dr Gerhard Hoffstaedter, Mr Michele Acuto, Dr Edward Allison, Prof. Yu Xiaofeng, Dr Xue Li, Prof. Han Feng, Prof. James Tang,

Discussion

A number of participants pointed out the perceived rigidity of the RtoP principle in its strict application to the four crimes and raised possibilities of expanding the principle, in particular, taking into consideration different understandings of crimes against humanity. For instance, a participant who studies climate change pointed out that the International Committee of the Red Cross is of the view that the destruction of the environment can be included in the Rome Statute as a crime against humanity, while another participant remarked that a South Asian state has failed to respond adequately to protect its citizens from floods, and that RtoP failed to address the problem. In response, Ms Teitt agreed that climate insecurities could arguably be a crime against humanity but that governments may not agree to expand RtoP; hence it would be best to focus on a narrow agenda for RtoP and pursue other avenues of action for climate insecurities. Further, she noted that states' responses to emergencies could be improved through constituency building and multi-level governance.

Questions were raised on whether there exist any concrete standards to determine the invocation of RtoP and the difficulty of implementation due to the weak foundation of security and political co-operation in Asia. In response, Ms Teitt said the definition of 'manifest failure' is not a matter of body count but a political decision by the UN Security Council based on political dialogue.

At this point, the discussion turned to how RtoP would apply to Afghanistan where major powers are players, and the implications RtoP would have on the ethnic groups in the country. In reply, Ms Teitt noted that RtoP is not a band-aid for a major security crisis. She added that Afghanistan contains a different security situation that requires capacity building, for instance in the form of domestic law reform, to address the pervasive security threats.

One of the participants sought the panel's views on the initiative for a UN emergency peace service being explored by the University of Sydney and the relevance of the peacebuilding agenda for RtoP. In response, Ms Alexandra explained briefly that the emergency peace service aims to provide humanitarian aid and would not act solely as a peacekeeping force. Ms Teitt added that the initiative is relevant because post-conflict reconstruction is not solely about state-building but should engage the locals to better understand the people's needs.

Panel on NTS Issues in the Region: Part 1

This panel was chaired by Professor James Tang, Professor in the Department of Politics and Public Administration, and Chairman of the Contemporary China Studies Seminar Programme in the Centre of Asian Studies in the University of Hong Kong. The panel discussed a number of NTS issues such as radicalisation, multiculturalism, frontier security studies and risk perceptions, and analysed its impact on human security.

A Secular Cultural Approach to De-radicalisation: Bangladesh Perspective

Major General Muhammed Firdaus Mian, PSC
Chairman
Bangladesh Institute for International and Security Studies
Bangladesh

and

Dr Mohammed Jashim Uddin
Senior Research Fellow
Bangladesh Institute for International and Security Studies
Bangladesh

Maj. Gen. Muhammed Firdaus Mian

Major General Muhammed Firdaus Mian began by stating that radicalisation was a recently-coined term and that its reality has caused the loss of many lives. It has been a widely discussed subject and has emerged in the present era as one of the most dangerous threats to peace, development,

security and civilisation. Radicalisation can be found in both the developing and developed worlds. It has been suggested that a large segment of societies in South Asia has been radicalised and are involved in radical Islamic movements, which have led to a rise in terrorist activities that attempt to establish Islamic rule. Radicalisation has also occurred in and is a concern for large secular states such as India. Bangladesh, a Muslim-majority country, is also not spared from the menace of radicalisation. However, it should be noted that radicalisation has not been as severe in Bangladesh compared to other parts of the region. The country exercises zero tolerance for radicalisation and has adopted a single sector approach to tackle the problem. However, the issue of de-radicalisation and the root causes of radicalisation have not been addressed, and Maj. Gen. Muhammed Firdaus Mian said that it is to that end that the presentation would attempt to identify the root causes behind the rise of radicalisation in Bangladesh, and that his colleague Dr Mohammed Jashim Uddin would later argue that a secular cultural approach is vital in de-radicalisation.

Dr Uddin observed that there is no clear definition of radicalisation and that it has not been systematically developed into a conceptual tool. However, he conceptualised that a radical is a person who favours fundamental and sudden changes in existing institutions due to their perceptions of the situations of injustice worldwide. They believe that only by adopting an uncompromising hardline stance would such injustices be eradicated. In other words, a radicalised person is someone who has zero tolerance for other religions and cultures, and who is intent on imposing his own beliefs and philosophy on others and who would pursue the violent path in achieving his goals. Therefore, radicals facilitate terrorism and encourage others to become terrorists. Among others, the causes of terrorism are the conditions of poverty, unemployment and literacy; the teaching of hatred and intolerance towards other religions and values; and political and economic instability. Dr Uddin said that the point to note, however, is that these causes vary from one country to another.

Secular culture is therefore vital in de-radicalisation. It provides equal treatment to all religions and cultures. Secularism nurtures a culture of tolerance and communal harmony among communities and an environment where people do not subscribe to radical ideologies. A secular culture does not favour any religion in the state and in its social affairs, and it stresses equity and humility in education. A secular education would emphasise inter-faith dialogue and cross-cultural education, for instance.

Dr Mohammed Jashim Uddin

Dr Uddin highlighted the two kinds of radicalisation in Bangladesh. They are leftist radicalisation, which has existed since the time of East Pakistan; and religious radicalisation in the name of Islam, which is a recent phenomenon. The genesis of religious radicalisation started from the period of the 'Liberation War' in 1971, which at the time termed the break from Pakistan as the battle for Islam. Nevertheless, poverty and unemployment are other factors for radicalisation. A secular cultural approach, explained Dr Uddin, would include public holidays for the major religions in Bangladesh, thus enabling everyone to enjoy and appreciate the different religious festivities. It was also worth noting, said Dr Uddin, that religion-based political parties failed to secure a sizeable number of seats in the last national election, indicating a general embracement of secularism by Bangladeshis.

Multiculturalism as a Human Security Issue

Dr Gerhard Hoffstaedter
Research Fellow
Institute for Human Security
La Trobe University
Australia

Dr Gerhard Hoffstaedter

Dr Gerhard Hoffstaedter used Malaysia as a case study in his presentation on multiculturalism. He observed that in Malaysia, multiculturalism is a reality that has caused much tension and rifts despite the country having multicultural policies in place. One major issue is that the 'difference' and 'otherness' of religious, cultural and ethnic groups in multicultural societies are often exacerbated by the state or the government and its organs, rather than efforts being focused on ameliorating relations. He attempted to examine 'on the ground' practices that have been actually effective, but are often hindered by the state.

One of the central issues for post-colonial multicultural states is nationalism. Often, as in the case of Malaysia, the state inherits a post-colonial idea of nationhood, with only a brief history of nationhood from the time of de-colonisation. The country then launches large-scale projects to foster nation building. This inadvertently gives rise to competing narratives within different communities based on their varying experiences, thereby creating conflict and tension.

These tensions surfaced during a 2006 roadshow organised by several civil rights and civil society organisations on Article 11 of the Malaysian constitution. This Article discussed religion as a constitutional right, which is subject to Article 160 of the constitution, defining a Malay as a Muslim simultaneously. From these two Articles, it appears that Malays do not have the freedom of religion in Malaysia. The civil rights groups organised the roadshows as a way to educate the public and raise awareness about this issue.

The first roadshows were held in Petaling Jaya, Penang and Johore. By the time it reached Penang and Johore, considerable resistance had built up among reactionary Muslims and Malay groups unhappy about the roadshows because they saw the discussion on Article 11 as an affront to their rights as Malays in Malaysia. Conflict and tension thus arose from opposing perspectives on the issues of 'who we are', 'what we should be' and 'what the nation should be'. In terms of human security, both groups felt insecure about their religious freedoms and were unsure about the role of religion in their country. Dr Hoffstaedter opined that there is no right or wrong in this situation as it was simply two competing 'imaginations' and 'fantasies' of what the nation should be. In response to these competing 'fantasies', the state put a halt to the roadshows, which worked to the state's advantage as it reinforced its position as the arbiter of the people's affairs.

In his concluding remarks, Dr Hoffstaedter proposed negotiation rather than arbitration as the way forward in dealing with competing demands, as negotiation, in contrast to arbitration, begins from the premise that everyone is equal. This, in his opinion, is the prerequisite for a 'post-ethnic' future, which will allow countries to move forward in a real way.

Frontier Security Studies and Rethinking China's Approach to NTS for Frontier Ethnic Regions

Professor Yu Xiaofeng
Director
Centre for Non-Traditional Security and Peaceful
Development Research
Zhejiang University
China

Prof. Yu Xiaofeng

In his presentation, Professor Yu Xiaofeng explained that there are no concepts of fixed boundaries in traditional historical texts, especially when one refers to past dynasties in China, even though frontier issues have always been of strategic concern. Currently, the Chinese government is increasingly emphasising the importance of maintaining border security, although an NTS discourse would perhaps focus more on soft-border issues such as cultural borders, interest borders, strategic borders and information borders. Emerging NTS issues such as deprivation, ecological degradation and identity crisis would help inform frontier security studies. Three important concepts can be used to frame this.

The first concept is inter-subjectivity. Insecurity originates from objective fear, subjective fear and inter-subjectivity — which comprise the speech act and securitisation. The second concept is superior co-existence. Traditional security defines security as a zero-sum game whereby the price of one's security is achieved at the expense of another's insecurities and vice-versa. However, superior co-existence in non-traditional security suggests that one's security is mutually interdependent, i.e. 'your security equates to our security'. This is an important concept that can be applied when dealing with new or emerging threats between two countries. The third concept is 'peace-co-operation' which comprises four core values, namely shared resources for all, the protection of rights of every individual and not just that of a certain nationality or minority group, the maintenance of peaceful co-existence, and collective or shared contributions towards society's well-being.

Prof. Yu concluded that issues relating to minority communities are closely tied to that of frontier security studies and are in fact, inter-related in many ways. This implies that frontier security issues do not simply focus on border issues. Looking ahead, he opined that the concept of 'peaceful co-existence' would be extremely important as China enters an era of 'citizen society' and 'harmonious society' where minority and majority ethnic groups would have to exist peacefully alongside one another. The notion of a 'citizen society' is therefore important because it provides the tool to manage conflicts between minority groups and the state. In view of future developments, Prof. Yu concluded that it is necessary to further develop the theoretical aspects of frontier security studies, which would then improve approaches to frontier security governance.

Risk Perception and Risk Communication

Dr Bill Durodié
Senior Fellow
Co-ordinator of the Homeland Defence Research
Programme
Centre of Excellence for National Security
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Dr Bill Durodié

Dr Bill Durodié examined how societies perceive risks and, in particular, how experts communicate risks with respect to certain crises and disasters in Southeast Asia. He felt that there is a problem in how risks are communicated, as evident from the public perceptions of threat. In view of the recent occurrences of natural disasters and pandemics in the region, Dr Durodié observed that the idea of 'disaster' is in fact contestable, contested and entirely contextually dependent. For instance, although the occurrence of earthquakes is natural, its impact is mediated through human development, human action and even human interpretation. The understanding of an event and its response are not entirely determined by the financial costs and number of deaths, but rather by the meaning humans attribute to them. Culture and the way the event is communicated, as well as the language used, play a determining role in forming our perception of what a

disaster or crisis is. On the contrary, the inability to make sense of or draw conclusions from a particular threat is problematic because it determines whether society's focus is on the future, with the goals of reconstruction or re-designing resilience, or whether it has a more negative focus on the past as a source of vulnerability. Therefore, how experts and elites frame incidence is a determining factor in the outcome, as this shapes public perceptions.

Dr Durodié noted that there is a tendency among experts in certain areas to use apocalyptic language to describe emergencies, and wondered how effective this has been. For instance, references are often made to highlight insecurities rather than human resilience in times of disasters. This has led many to believe situations have in general deteriorated. Human beings themselves are often to blame for this condition, which leads to negative views of humanity as agents of self-destruction, thereby diminishing the human agency to a certain extent. Dr Durodié questioned the impact of apocalyptic language on human resilience. Citing the example of Typhoon Ketsana in the Philippines, he observed that rather than demanding improved public infrastructure, the general post-disaster mood was one of resignation. Furthermore, events are increasingly reported in ways which highlight damages and loss in very technical ways that further magnifies the devastation. However, Dr Durodié observed that paradoxically, in situations of natural disasters, people have actually displayed a certain level of resilience, and acts of courage from ordinary people in dealing with the situation are not uncommon. Thus, he believed that while disasters destroy economic capital, they actually enhance social capital. He related certain accounts from the United States that showed how some communities have become better off after experiencing natural disasters. In conclusion, Dr Durodié called for a return to balance and moderation in times of natural disasters. This would require a move away from using the language of doom.

Discussion

In his reply to questions on the framing of threats in security discourse, Dr Durodié explained that in articulating risks and threats in the NTS discourse, one would have to be careful and approach both the objective and subjective aspects of insecurity. One participant studying climate change issues pointed out that it is actually the traditional security specialists who use apocalyptic language to articulate issues in her field of research, and that NTS specialists adopt a more scientific approach and use more thoughtful language when dealing with the subject matter.

On the issue of equality in Malaysia, Dr Hoffstaedter stated that negotiations in multicultural societies have to begin from the premise that all stakeholders involved are equal. Failure to recognise this would lead to a breakdown in negotiations since the agenda and discussion would be dominated by a single party.

In his response to one participant's question on the issue of the changing notions of 'radicals', Maj. Gen. Muhammed Firdaus Mian explained that it is important to contextualise one's understanding of 'radicalisation' before formulating the appropriate strategies. Therefore, the socio-cultural approach of 'de-radicalisation' involves primarily addressing the impact of 'radicalisation' on a specific community, as opposed to the more universal understanding of it which is devoid of context. As for the question of whether there is a way of measuring the success of the secular cultural approach in Bangladesh, he observed that there has not been any communal violence in Bangladesh in the last two decades.

Panel on NTS Issues in the Region: Part 2

The last panel of the convention discussed other NTS issues in the region, including migration, debates on human security, and the resolution of traditional territorial conflicts in the South China Sea using co-operative mechanisms. This session was chaired by Professor Amal Jayawardane, Executive Director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Sri Lanka.

Chinese Transnational Migration in the Region: An Update

Dr James Chin
Research Assistant Professor, Honorary Lecturer
Centre of Asian Studies
University of Hong Kong
Hong Kong

Dr James Chin

The panel began with Dr James Chin's presentation on Chinese transnational migration. Emigration from China greatly expanded after the lifting of a 40-year-old ban in the late 1970s, with over 20 million leaving the country since then. However, the surge in transnational migration was not only spurred by the lifting of Beijing's ban on emigration, but also by external and internal economic factors. Moreover, remote provinces had also begun to send their people abroad, as the migration phenomenon began to 'snowball'. Dr Chin identified the West's reform

of immigration policies to allow skilled workers into their countries, family chain-migration, and economic push-pull factors as causes of the surge.

Dr Chin divided modern Chinese migrants into three categories: student migrants and academic staff; business migrants, unskilled labour migrants and farmers; and contract workers. Many of those who belong to the first category never return to China. The second category consists of transients, including investors, commercial representatives and traders. The final category has the largest population, with an estimated 3.5 million workers abroad.

Aside from the surge, destination countries changed for migrants after the 1970s as well. Traditionally, Chinese immigrants left for Southeast Asia. Now, they target North America and Europe. As the economic power of China grows, South America, the Middle East, South Africa, and Northeast Asia become migrant destinations.

Dr Chin observed that Chinese migration in Southeast Asia took place in three waves from 1978. The first wave was characterised by illegal immigration to Thailand and the Philippines. In the case of the latter, many *Hokkiens* (a Chinese dialect group) illegally overstayed, using counterfeit identification cards to elude authorities. The second migration wave in the 1990s was characterised by legal emigration enabled by receptive states. Singapore invited Chinese secondary school students on scholarships to settle in the country as part of its efforts to help arrest the rapid decline of the ethnic Chinese population in the city-state. The Philippines also offered incentives for wealthy Chinese to migrate to the country in exchange for investments. Contract workers also migrated to Singapore and Malaysia. The final wave brought Chinese migrants to mainland Southeast Asia to work in Chinese businesses abroad in countries including Myanmar, Laos and Cambodia.

Human Security in Asia and the Current Situation in Japan

Professor Amako Satoshi
Faculty of International Research and Education
Waseda University
Japan

Prof. Amako Satoshi

Professor Amako Satoshi introduced Japan's contributions to the field of human security in Asia and its prospects in Japan. Examples of its contributions to the development of human security include support for the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol through technology transfers, and the creation of a Human Security Commission in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Various actors within Japan, including the Japan Centre for International Exchange and the government have contributed to discussions on human security on issues such as the destruction of the environment; regional conflict and terrorism; the widening of economic disparities and the emergence of a new poor as a result of rural economic collapse; and the spread of infectious diseases such as SARS, AIDS and avian influenza.

Prof. Amako pointed out the importance of discussing human security in Asia given the region's civil, political and environmental disruptions. As the region's economy booms, environmental degradation in the region escalates. Growing rural-urban migration also increases economic disparities and weakens rural economies. Finally, the domestication of fowl for food and their proximity to human habitation, especially in China, compounds the risk of emerging infectious diseases in the Asian region.

Furthermore, the lack of proactive intervention in the regional protection of human rights further justifies the need to expand awareness of human security. Prof. Amako recommended that Asia look to Western cases of international co-operation for collectively protecting human rights.

In concluding his presentation, the professor remained pessimistic on the prospects of citizen-based contributions to human security. Instead, he recommended the establishment of an 'Asian Community' with 'active intellectuals' taking a central role, and for governments to engage civil society. However, he also cautioned that current initiatives in this direction should avoid emphasising market liberalisation over human security. Finally, Prof. Amako advocated greater 'Track 2.5' activity to generate proposals and prospects for solutions to specific issues.

NEDO: A Recipe for Managing South China Sea Disputes

Dr Xue Li
Director — Research Division
Institute for World Economics and Politics
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
China

Dr Xue Li

Dr Xue Li shifted the discussion to more traditional security concerns. In discussing a possible solution to resolve the territorial dispute in the Spratly Islands, he argued that the creation of a 'Nansha Energy Development Organisation' (NEDO) is the ideal way of bringing the different nations together to discuss common interests. So far, different

agreements have been forged by several of the parties to the dispute to enable peaceful settlement. These include: The ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN+3, the Treaty of Amity and Co-operation in Southeast Asia, the Declaration on the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea, and the Cebu Declaration on East Asian Security.

Aside from these regional mechanisms, Dr Xue put forward the possibility of using UN arbitration mechanisms to resolve the Spratly problem. However, China's declaration that it would not accept international arbitration over maritime disputes made this unlikely. He also floated the idea of ASEAN nations signing bilateral deals with China, but acknowledged that the Declaration on the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea prevented this.

His proposal of NEDO provided for a composition of six states and seven parties, further joint geographical surveys to determine the potential energy reserves of the area, a review of proposals to exploit the resources of the Spratlys, and the designation of small areas within the Spratlys for Greenfield joint-venture oil and gas development. By proposing this framework, Dr Xue argued that there is a need for the disputing countries to look beyond their traditional concerns and to look towards a 'win-win' solution.

Discussion

A number of participants raised questions and comments in response to Dr Xue's presentation, mostly concerning the feasibility of applying an NTS framework to a traditional security problem. Addressing the audience, one participant asked how territorial disputes could be examined within an NTS framework, as these historically fall within the domain of traditional security. Another participant asked whether the concept of 'traditional territory' (used to justify China's claim in the Spratlys) exists in international law. A third participant opined that NEDO is a 'non-starter' due to the fact that the Spratlys have overlapping claims with multiple parties, making compromise difficult. Another participant suggested a possible alternative by inquiring on the possibility of collective ownership of the Spratlys.

Dr Xue was also asked if the Chinese government is aware of and is able to implement an NTS approach to the Spratlys problem. Dr Xue responded only to this last question due to time constraints, saying that the Chinese government has accepted the NTS concept, to the extent that even the state-run English paper the *China Daily* has adopted the use of the term.

Replying to a question about China's response to the phenomenon of Chinese legally migrating overseas, Dr Chin clarified that many of these migrants enter other countries legally, but overstay and become illegal immigrants. This thus makes it difficult for the Chinese government to control its emigrants.

Programme

Conference Day 1
3 November 2009 (Tuesday)

08:00 – 08:30 **Registration**

08:30 – 09:05 **Opening Session and Overview**

Welcome Remarks
Amb. Barry Desker
Dean
S. Rajaratnam School of
International Studies
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Opening Remarks
Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony
Secretary-General, NTS-Asia and
Head, Centre for Non-Traditional
Security Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of
International Studies
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Keynote Address
Dr Rizal Sukma
Executive Director
Centre for Strategic and
International Studies
Indonesia

09:05 – 10:35 **Panel 1: Climate Change,**
Insecurities and Challenges

Chairperson:
Prof. Meenakshi Gopinath
Honorary Director
Women in Security,
Conflict Management and Peace
India

Speakers:

The Security Dimensions of
Climate Change
Maj. Gen. ANM Muniruzzaman
Bangladesh Institute for Peace and
Security Studies
Bangladesh

Climate Insecurities:
Global and Regional Responses
Assoc. Prof. Chung Suh-Yong
Ilmin International Research Institute
Korea University
South Korea

Climate Change and Insecurities:
Community Rights and
Access to Resources
Dr Keokam Kraisoraphong
Assistant Professor
Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University
Thailand

Beyond Climate Conflict:
The Role of Human Security
in the Climate Security Debate
Assoc. Prof. Lorraine Elliott
Visiting Senior Fellow
Centre for Non-Traditional
Security Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of
International Studies
Nanyang Technological University,
Singapore and
Senior Fellow, Department of
International Relations
Research School of Pacific and
Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Australia

Q and A session

10:35 – 10:50 **Break**

10:50 – 12:20 **Panel 2: Natural Disasters and Humanitarian Emergencies**

Chairperson:
Ms Clara Joewono
Vice-Chair and Co-Founder
The Centre for Strategic and
International Studies Foundation
Indonesia

Speakers:

Natural Disasters and Aspects of Social Vulnerability in Northeast India
Prof. Sandhya Goswami
Co-ordinator of the Programme
Political Science Department
Gauhati University
India

The Economic Costs of Natural Disasters
Prof. Bui Quang Tuan
Deputy General Director
Vietnam Institute of Economics
Vietnam

Disaster Management in China
Prof. Han Feng
Deputy Director
Institute of Asia Pacific Studies
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
China

Managing Double Trouble: Indonesia's Earthquakes and the Philippines' Typhoons
Ms Sofiah Jamil
Research Analyst
Centre for Non-Traditional
Security Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of
International Studies
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Q and A session

12:20 – 14:00 **Lunch /Official Launch of NTU-Warwick Double Masters Programme**

14:00 – 14:10 **Photo Taking**

14:10 – 15:40 **Panel 3: Conflicts, Crimes and Human Vulnerabilities**

Chairperson:
Mr Kwa Chong Guan
Head of External Programmes
S. Rajaratnam School of
International Studies
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Speakers:

Conflict and Displacement: Implications for the Protection of Women's Rights
Assoc. Prof. Ruth Lusterio-Rico
Institute for Strategic and
Development Studies
The Philippines

Corruption and Human Insecurity in Bangladesh
Dr Iftekharuzzaman
Advisor
Advisory Body of the Non-Traditional
Security Body
Refugee and Migratory Movements
Research Unit
Bangladesh

Fishy Crimes: The Societal Costs of Poorly Governed Fisheries
Dr Edward Allison
Director — Policy, Economics and
Social Science
Worldfish Center
Malaysia

Terrorism at Sea: Maritime Security Challenges in South Asia
Prof. Amal Jayawardane
Executive Director
Regional Centre for Strategic Studies
Sri Lanka

Q and A session

15:40 – 15:55 **Break**

15:55 – 17:10 **Panel 4: The Responsibility to Protect Prospects in Asia**

Chairperson:
Prof. Carolina Hernandez
Founding President and Chair,
Board of Directors
Institute for Strategic and
Development Studies
The Philippines

Implementing the Responsibility to Protect: Understanding the Principle and the Role of Regional Arrangements
Ms Sarah Teitt
Outreach Director
Programme Leader — China
Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility
to Protect
School of Political Science and
International Studies
The University of Queensland
Australia

The Responsibility to Protect in the Asia-Pacific Region: Consensus and the Challenges of Implementation
Ms Annie Pohlman
Programme Director for Southeast Asia
Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility
to Protect
School of Political Science and
International Studies
The University of Queensland
Australia

Mainstreaming the Principle of the Responsibility to Protect in Indonesia
Ms Lina Alexandra
Researcher
Department of International Relations
Centre for Strategic and
International Studies
Indonesia

Q and A Session

Conference Day 2
4 November 2009 (Wednesday)

09:00 – 10:30 **Panel 5: NTS Issues in the Region — Part 1**

Chairperson:
Prof. James Tang
Department of Politics and Public
Administration and Chairman of the
Contemporary China Studies
Seminar Programme
Centre of Asian Studies
University of Hong Kong
Hong Kong

Speakers:

A Secular Cultural Approach to Deradicalisation: Bangladesh Perspective
Maj. Gen. Muhammed Firdaus Mian (PSC)
Chairman
Bangladesh Institute for International
and Security Studies
Bangladesh

and

Dr Mohammed Jashim Uddin
Senior Research Fellow
Bangladesh Institute for International
and Security Studies
Bangladesh

Multiculturalism as a Human Security Issue
Dr Gerhard Hoffstaedter
Research Fellow
Institute for Human Security
Latrobe University
Australia

Frontier Security Studies and Rethinking China's Approach to NTS for Frontier Ethnic Regions
Prof. Yu Xiaofeng
Director
Centre for Non-Traditional Security and Peaceful Development Research
Zhejiang University
China

Risk Perception and Risk Communication
Dr Bill Durodié
Senior Fellow
Co-ordinator of the Homeland Defence Research Programme
Centre of Excellence for National Security
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Q and A Session

10:30 – 10:45 **Break**

10:45 – 12:00 **Panel 6: NTS Issues in the Region — Part 2**

Chairperson:
Prof. Amal Jayawardane
Executive Director
Regional Centre for Strategic Studies
Sri Lanka

Chinese Transnational Migration in the Region: An Update
Dr James Chin
Research Assistant Professor,
Honorary Lecturer
Centre of Asian Studies
University of Hong Kong
Hong Kong

Human Security in Asia and the Current Situation in Japan
Prof. Amako Satoshi
Faculty of International Research and Education
Waseda University
Japan

NEDO: A Recipe for Managing South China Sea Disputes
Dr Xue Li
Director
Research Division
Institute for World Economics and Politics
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
China

Q and A Session

12:00 – 13:30 **Lunch**

13:30 – 15:00 **Discussion on NTS-Asia Matters and Closing Remarks**

Chairperson:
Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero Anthony
Secretary-General, NTS-Asia and
Head, Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
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About the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia)

The Consortium of Non-Traditional Security in Asia (NTS-Asia) was launched in January 2007. Its primary objectives are to develop further the process of networking among scholars and analysts working on NTS issues in the region, to build long-term and sustainable regional capacity for research on NTS issues, as well as to mainstream and advance the field of NTS studies in Asia. The RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore, is the secretariat for NTS-Asia. NTS-Asia brings together 20 research institutes and think tanks representing the three sub-regions across Asia: Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia and South Asia:

1. Asia Pacific Centre for Responsibility to Protect (APCR2P), University of Queensland, Australia.
2. Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS), Bangladesh.
3. Centre for International Security Studies (CISS), University of Sydney, Australia.
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The Consortium conducts a number of activities for its members and associates. These include:

1. Annual Conventions, Sub-Regional Workshops and Dissemination Seminars

• Raise awareness of emerging NTS issues and challenges in the Asian region and beyond
• Undertake periodic studies to assess the impact of NTS on states and societies in the region
• Facilitate the exchange of information and experiences in responding to NTS threats through comparative policy studies, both at the national and regional level
• Build regional capacity and regional expertise on the broad field of non-traditional security

2. Research Fellowship Programme

• Build capacity for research and policy studies on NTS issues
• Provide opportunities for exchange of scholars from various institutions attached, but not limited to, the members of the Consortium
• Give equal opportunities to men and women in the fellowship selection

3. Books, Newsletters, Reports, NTS Website and Curriculum Development

• Contribute to the mainstreaming of NTS in security studies and practice in Asia
• Facilitate the flow of information by providing a database on NTS for policymakers, scholars, and opinion-makers working on NTS in Asia
• Explore possible solutions to transnational dangers in Asia through seminars, conferences, policy studies and training programmes
• Provide gender-sensitive perspectives on NTS and human security issues

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

The RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies conducts research and produce 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:

• 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

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

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

• 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 to facilitate advanced education on NTS. These are aimed at, but not limited to, academics, analysts, policymakers and 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

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 http://www.rsis.edu.sg.

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