

2ND ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE CONSORTIUM OF NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY STUDIES IN ASIA (NTS-ASIA)



10-11 NOVEMBER 2008
BEIJING, CHINA



**S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL
OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

A Graduate School of Nanyang Technological University



2ND ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE CONSORTIUM OF NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY STUDIES IN ASIA (NTS-ASIA)

CONVENTION REPORT

HOSTED BY

INSTITUTE OF ASIA-PACIFIC STUDIES (IAPS)

ACADEMIC DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, CHINESE ACADEMY OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES (CASS)

RSIS CENTRE FOR NTS STUDIES, S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES (RSIS), NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY (NTU), SINGAPORE

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2009

1. Message from the Secretary-General	4
2. Executive Summary	5
3. Opening Session and Overview	7
Opening Remarks (I)	7
Opening Remarks (II)	7
Introductory Remarks	8
Keynote Address	9
4. Panel on Disaster Diplomacy	10
China's Foreign Policy	10
Disaster Diplomacy and the Dilemma of Humanitarian Intervention: The Cases of Myanmar, Indonesia and China	11
Disaster Diplomacy: Sri Lanka Following the Tsunami Devastation	12
Helping Neighbours in Trouble? Disaster Response in Global Governance	13
Disaster Diplomacy in Asia: An Indian Perspective	15
Discussion	17
5. Panel on Food Security	18
China-ASEAN Environmental Cooperation	18
Gender Sustainable Development and Climate Change	19
Interfacing Food and Energy Security: Bangladesh Perspective	20
Food Security: Another Case for Human Security in ASEAN	22
Discussion	23

6. Panel on Energy Security	26
Chinese Energy Structure and Security	26
Canadian Oilsands and Sino-Canadian Energy Cooperation	27
Energy Security: An Indonesian Perspective	28
Russia's Energy Gambit in Northeast Asia: Kovykta's Conundrum	29
Nuclear Renaissance, Human Security and Political Risk	30
Discussion	31
7. Panel on Transnational Crime	32
Fighting the Hydra: The Security Implications of Transnational Crime	32
Regional Responses to Human Trafficking	33
East Asia: Trafficking Small Arms and Light Weapons	34
Different Treatment: Women Trafficking in the Securitisation of Transnational Crimes	35
Discussion	35
8. Network Meeting and Concluding Remarks	36

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,

Our inaugural meeting in January 2007 was a milestone in the development of non-traditional security (NTS) studies and has laid the foundation for us in addressing NTS issues and challenges in Asia. The results of our collaboration clearly show that we have a firm base on which we can build upon to move forward. 2008 was a challenging year for many countries in Asia in addressing NTS issues – man-made or otherwise. Circumstances and responses to circumstances on local, national, regional and global levels have given us much food for thought and discussion. We are now better informed, have shaped or reshaped opinion where relevant, identified gaps and made policy recommendations. As a result, awareness of NTS issues and expertise in this field have grown exponentially in the region. Much of this has been made possible through our links, collaborations and friendships which have been strengthened on various levels.

A key highlight of the year in review is the clinching of a substantial grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation by the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies to advance NTS research. This is testament to the Consortium's success in mainstreaming and advancing the field of NTS studies in Asia.

As a result of our collaboration and funding from the Ford Foundation, we have been able to organise workshops on regional and sub-regional levels. The Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU) of the University of Dhaka, organised a two-day training workshop on Migration and Remittances: Non-Traditional Issues in Asian Security Discourse at BRAC (formerly Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) CDM (Centre for Development Management), Rajendrapur, Dhaka from 22 to 23 August 2008. The RSIS Centre for NTS Studies organised a Regional Workshop on Energy and Non-Traditional Security from 28 to 29 August 2008, at the Grand Copthorne Waterfront Hotel, Singapore. Both workshops were a success and presented opportunities for in-depth presentations, discussions and policy reviews.

The Research Fellowship scheme continues to be a thriving part of the Consortium's activities. We have received 26 proposals this year. This is 11 more than, and double the number of applications we received in our maiden year. This round of applicants come from diverse backgrounds, of which three proposed topics are related to Northeast Asia, nine topics related to Southeast Asia, and 14 related to South Asia. This bodes well for our goal of nurturing young scholars in NTS issues.

Moving forward, we are in the happy position of considering expanding membership as well as intensifying the network of existing members of the Consortium which, given the Consortium's relative infancy, will be carried out incrementally and consultatively. I look forward to further cementing our ties and collaboration in the year ahead.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mely Caballero-Anthony'. The signature is fluid and cursive, written over a light-colored background.

Mely Caballero-Anthony
Secretary-General, NTS-Asia

Executive Summary

In the age of globalisation, NTS issues that transcend national boundaries continue to be pushed to the fore as countries face a growing number of common NTS threats, with some long-standing security issues manifesting new features. These issues include transnational crime, infectious diseases, natural disasters as a result of climate change, internal deficiencies, the vulnerability of global monetary and financial systems, nuclear proliferation and nuclear pollution hazards. Against such a background, the need to share knowledge and expertise on these issues, highlight gaps in policymaking, and formulate comprehensive regional as well as local solutions to these threats becomes even more crucial in helping governments accurately address pressing challenges and problems in the NTS domain.

The NTS-Asia 2nd Annual Convention was organised by the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies to take stock of the Consortium's activities for the year, in addition to examining a range of timely NTS issues affecting the region, such as food security, energy security, disaster diplomacy and transnational crime. The convention's objective was to stimulate thinking on possible approaches to NTS issues that can be adopted in Asia. The convention comprised Consortium members who are leading regional experts in their respective fields who shared their thoughts on the above-mentioned NTS themes, discussed the roles of various societal actors in the formulation of common solutions, and explored prospects for regional cooperation.

The panel on disaster diplomacy focused discussions on the diplomatic efforts made by states and regional organisations with regard to recent natural disasters in Asia. The debate surrounding the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle in dealing with such disasters was lively with participants agreeing that the principle cannot be applied easily to natural disaster situations. The role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Cyclone Nargis was examined with participants differing in their assessments of the significance of the regional body's role in the disaster's aftermath.

In the area of food security, the linkages between energy and food security were examined with particular reference to Bangladesh's energy and food policies. Views on sustainable development from a gender perspective and climate change were also shared. It was noted that ensuring food security was a challenge particularly for high energy-consuming developing countries that are driven to build capacity for economic development. Participants recognised that the definition of food security has evolved beyond demand and supply, to now include the implementation of appropriate policies surrounding the distribution and the availability of access to food with a special focus on those most in need. There was a general consensus that countries should not adopt protectionist policies, and that ASEAN should review its food security strategies, reinforce appropriate existing mechanisms, create conducive regional trade in food and assist countries to fulfil its food security needs where and when required.

The session on energy security was varied in content and geographic perspectives. Presentations made drew participants' attention to China's energy structure and security, Sino-Canadian energy cooperation, Russia's energy ambitions in Northeast Asia and the development of nuclear energy in the region. Despite the recent growing interest in energy security, most studies continue to use conventional approaches. Participants believed that the challenge that lies ahead is to look at developing new ideas and approaches in the study of energy security. The last panel focused on transnational crime with special attention paid to the trafficking of women, arms and drugs. Presentations examined the issues on two levels – the first was from a regional perspective and the second was with country-specific case studies. Participants noted the gap between perceived securitised issues and actual policy responses. For example, in relation to securitising human trafficking, shifting from a state-centric approach to a human security approach is key. Inadequate policy responses thus reveal a broader problem – the marginal position of human security discourse in the region.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The solution to mainstreaming a human security discourse, and by extension, other NTS approaches, is to therefore adopt a NTS framework that could potentially solve the binary dilemma between the state as both predator and protector. Further research on the securitisation gap is needed as many of these issues are seen as threat multipliers.

The discussions and presentations during the conference highlighted the need to identify and address the growing

number of NTS issues affecting peoples and societies in Asia. Key lessons that were taken away from the panel discussions were:

- The need to revisit NTS approaches in general;
- The need to fully utilise current international mechanisms; and
- The need for state and non-state actors to work towards further confidence-building in order to stimulate regional efforts to deal with NTS issues that can be best managed or resolved through cooperation.



Opening Session and Overview

The 2nd Annual NTS-Asia Convention was held in Beijing from 10 to 11 November 2008. The convention was jointly organised by the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (IAPS) and the Academic Division of International Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). The convention proceedings took place in the Conference Room of the CASS headquarters. Prof. Han Feng, Deputy Director of IAPS, began the day's proceedings by introducing the distinguished guests during the opening session of the convention.

Opening Remarks (I)

Dr Zhang Yuyan

Director

Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (IAPS)

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Beijing, People's Republic of China



Dr Zhang Yuyan delivering the Opening Remarks

In his opening remarks, Dr Zhang Yuyan, Director of IAPS, welcomed all to the convention and noted China's increasing experience in dealing with NTS issues over recent years. These issues, he noted can be characterised as being either independent or interwoven, but nevertheless are transnational and often occur suddenly. Therefore novel approaches are needed to address NTS issues, including bilateral, regional and global cooperation. In the case of China, Dr Zhang noted the Chinese government's efforts in cooperation. One such example was the Chinese government's 'Scientific Outlook on Development', with an emphasis on ensuring the needs of people via comprehensive, coordinated and

sustainable development. This he reasoned would be essential in ensuring an environment-friendly and waste-conscious society.

Dr Zhang also commented on the significant role played by CASS, not only as a prime research institute in the humanities and social sciences, but also as an important think-tank or brain trust of the Chinese government. It was also noted that among the eight institutes specialising in international studies in CASS, IAPS stands out as the only institute which has such a holistic field of studies.

Opening Remarks (II)

Mr John Fitzgerald

Country Representative

Ford Foundation

Beijing, People's Republic of China



Mr John Fitzgerald delivering the Second Opening Remarks

Opening remarks were then delivered by Mr John Fitzgerald, Country Representative of the Ford Foundation, China. In his bilingual English and Mandarin speech, Mr Fitzgerald commended the progress of NTS-Asia since its establishment in 2007. He also highlighted the Ford Foundation's continued concern on international security issues, and noted that the Ford Foundation was pleased to support the NTS-Asia Consortium, under the leadership of RSIS, NTU. Mr Fitzgerald also conveyed well-wishes for the success of the convention, on behalf of his predecessor Mr Andrew Watson, who had pioneered the sponsorship of NTS-Asia ventures during his term in office.

Mr Fitzgerald also noted that the convention was a very timely event in view of emerging NTS concerns. According to Mr Fitzgerald, in recent years, international society has strengthened cooperation in this field, thus promoting peaceful world development. In concluding his remarks, Mr Fitzgerald wished participants well in their deliberations over the two days in further understanding the NTS threats faced by Asia, and thus providing constructive recommendations on measures to address these issues.

Introductory Remarks

Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony
Head
RSIS Centre for NTS Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Secretary-General of the Consortium of NTS Studies
in Asia (NTS-Asia)
Singapore



Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony delivering the Introductory Remarks

Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony, Secretary-General of NTS-Asia, began her introductory remarks by thanking IAPS for their generous hospitality. For the benefit of

participants from China, she gave a brief introduction of the Consortium's background and objectives. She noted that the financial crisis in the United States (US) has had adverse consequences by threatening the stability and security of many countries worldwide. She added that it would perhaps be an understatement to describe the global economic downturn as the greatest 'economic challenge of a lifetime', as many Asian countries experience economic and security challenges that tend to be magnified many times when compared with challenges faced by societies in the developed world.

Despite this, she expressed optimism that the recent victory of Barack Obama as the President of the US, signals a new dawn in the way the world's superpower would manage its international security concerns, and thus inspires a time for change. Assoc. Prof. Caballero-Anthony reasoned that it is therefore even more pertinent to increase the exchange of ideas on NTS challenges, not only within the Asian region, but also with Western epistemic communities and policymakers. Such an exchange of ideas would thus better inform policies in meeting these emerging security challenges.

Assoc. Prof. Caballero-Anthony noted that as a Consortium, the following could be pursued to further the NTS agenda in Asia. Firstly, building on the issues and comments raised from the NTS Curricular Development meeting in March 2008. Secondly, encouraging greater fieldwork opportunities as well as training activities to provide practitioners and young leaders with the right skills and a more holistic view on security issues. Thirdly, greater networking and collaboration with governments as well as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that are actively working on various NTS themes.

In closing, she thanked the Ford Foundation, whose support has been extremely important in the founding of the Consortium and its activities, and looked forward to fruitful and lively discussions.

Keynote Address

Prof. Zhang Yunling

Director

**Academic Division of
International Studies**

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

Beijing, People's Republic of China



Prof. Zhang Yunling delivering the Keynote Address

In his keynote address, Prof. Zhang Yunling, Director of the CASS Academic Division of International Studies, noted the increasing shift in China's perspective from traditional security to non-traditional security concerns. This is evident in China's experiences of a range of NTS issues,

such as the 1997 Asian financial crisis and the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome epidemic from 2002-2003. These events highlighted shared responsibility by all affected, which in turn reflects a need for international cooperation in addressing the issues.

According to Prof. Zhang China has made considerable progress in addressing NTS issues in many areas. The Wenchuan earthquake in western Sichuan is one such example which reflected the progress of institutional building in developing emergency mechanisms for quick response. Other areas in which there has been progress in NTS issues include the shift in achieving human security as a priority, the openness to international involvement and the increasingly important role played by the media.

Despite this progress, challenges that need to be addressed remain. Firstly, there is a need to rethink the concept of 'modernisation' by reviewing Western industrialisation models, especially in light of the current financial crisis. Secondly, there is a need to evaluate China's new scientific development strategy. Thirdly, it is imperative to review the forms of cooperation needed. Prof. Zhang concluded his address by calling for decisive and future-oriented actions. He also looked forward to two days of engaging and constructive deliberations during the conference.



Participants of the 2nd NTS-Asia Annual Convention 2008

Panel on Disaster Diplomacy



The speakers of the panel on disaster diplomacy. From left to right: Prof. Wang Yizhou, Dr Alain Guillox, Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony, Maj. Gen. Dipankar Banarjee, Dr Miki Honda, Amb. Geetha Da Silva, Prof. Zhang Yunling

Chaired by Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony, this panel examined disaster diplomacy in the areas of China's foreign policy, humanitarian intervention, tsunami devastation, global governance and an Indian perspective on disaster diplomacy in Asia.

China's Foreign Policy

Prof. Wang Yizhou
Deputy Director
Institute of World Economics and Politics
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
Beijing, People's Republic of China

Prof. Wang Yizhou began by stating that his presentation would build on many of the significant points raised by Prof. Zhang Yunling. He noted that Prof. Zhang provided an accurate description of the evolution of Chinese thinking on NTS issues. This evolution has been shaped by an increasing number of disasters that China has experienced in recent years. Discussions on and lessons learnt from these disasters within Chinese circles have ensured better preparation and protection.

Prof. Wang also noted that traditional security and non-traditional security issues in China are often politically transitional in nature. He suggested that while the People's Liberation Army (PLA) has recognised the significance of NTS issues, these issues have posed an enormous challenge to the army's agenda and how it manages this

transition. The political instability in Tibet is one such instance that has resulted in a tough China response, which has led to an unintended international image of the PLA as not understanding the human security needs of Tibetans. Moreover, disagreements between military officers and government bureaucracy further complicate the situation.

Prof. Wang also noted the increasing role of Chinese civil society in NTS issues. Recent years have witnessed increasing discussions regarding the role of volunteers and NGOs. Civil society activities have also been on the rise, especially since the devastating Sichuan earthquake in May 2008. It is likely that civil society will continue to play a greater role in rural emergency events, as they complement the Chinese government's efforts by responding in areas where the PLA lacks an immediate presence. This is therefore an area in which the army would have to establish efficient lines of communication for further emergency responses.

He concluded by highlighting several features that continue to evolve in the dynamics of who should and how to respond to emergencies. Firstly, there is a difficulty in prioritising resources to address these issues whereby some resources are not efficiently utilised. Secondly, there are coordination difficulties between the federal and local or regional bureaux. He noted that while general standard operating procedures are important, there is a need to incorporate local solutions to adapt to local conditions.

Thirdly, there is the growing prominence and role of NGOs and the increasing transparency of the media. Fourthly, given these factors, Prof. Wang noted that China's vast territory and various ethnic groups would continue to be a challenge in coordinating responses to security challenges, and more importantly, defining whose security is being protected.

Disaster Diplomacy and the Dilemma of Humanitarian Intervention: The Cases of Myanmar, Indonesia and China

Dr Miki Honda

Research Fellow

Global-COE Program: Global Institute for Asian Regional Integration (GIARI)

Waseda University

Tokyo, Japan



Dr Miki Honda answering questions during the discussion

In her presentation, Dr Miki Honda compared state responses to two major disasters in Asia in May 2008 - Cyclone Nargis in Myanmar and the Sichuan earthquake in China. The extent of these disasters clearly indicated the need for disaster diplomacy, so as to facilitate the quick and efficient movement of emergency supplies to disaster zones. Dr Honda also highlighted the debates surrounding the R2P principle in dealing with such disasters.

In the case of Cyclone Nargis, Dr Honda stated that while the international community sought to provide help to the cyclone victims, these efforts were blocked by Myanmar's military junta. There were several reasons for this decision. Firstly, the regime had been deeply suspicious of the motives of the international community, in particular the Western powers. Secondly, it perceived humanitarian intervention

as a threat to their sovereignty. Thirdly, the regime's control over its population via state-run media could be loosened with the inflow of foreign media. Lastly, the regime wanted to prevent any distractions that would affect the proposed referendum for a military-backed constitution in Myanmar. The international community denounced the junta's response, with major Western powers such as the US, United Kingdom, France and Australia arguing that the international community should live up to its responsibility to protect and deliver aid without the regime's consent. This only served to harden the Myanmar government's attitude and also aroused antipathy from China, Russia, Indonesia, Vietnam and South Africa.

Fortunately, ASEAN was able to play an active disaster diplomacy role in the crisis. The organisation served to facilitate rescue activities by coordinating with United Nations (UN) bodies to send medical personnel. ASEAN also set up an ASEAN-led task force for redistributing foreign aid via Thailand. Former Thai Prime Minister Samak Sundaravej negotiated on Washington's behalf and persuaded Myanmar's government to open the door to Western aid. In this way, thanks to the efforts of ASEAN and neighbouring countries, Myanmar allowed the delivery of aid supplies from Western countries. Nevertheless, sovereignty remains a sticky issue and needs to be managed delicately.

In contrast, China's response to the Sichuan earthquake was much more pro-active than their counterparts in Myanmar. In a bid to provide victims with necessary aid efficiently, the Chinese government publicly requested international aid, and increased communication with leading Western powers such as the US. China eased media restrictions so as to allow foreign media reporters to effectively report on the actual situation in disaster sites. This won China positive international recognition as it was seen as willing to cooperate with the rest of the world, despite its perceived authoritarian leadership.

Dr Honda then questioned if the R2P principle would be applicable to these disasters. She noted that the debate arose when Western powers criticised Myanmar's refusal of international assistance, thus jeopardising the protection of its people. However, the R2P principle is not easily applicable to natural disaster situations as the principle was developed primarily to protect vulnerable populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing

and crimes against humanity. Moreover, applying the R2P principle would perhaps require the international community to define what a case of overwhelming natural or environmental catastrophes constitutes. It would also require a further definition of the legitimisation of action on the part of the international community when a state concerned is either unwilling or unable to cope or call for assistance, and significant loss of life is occurring or threatened.

In light of this, Dr Honda suggested that it is best to leverage on existing current international mechanisms developed to deal with disaster relief through the expertise and experience of organisations such as the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the International Red Cross, and further enhance the sharing of experiences in managing disasters with other countries. In addition, state and non-state actors should work towards further confidence-building. Dr Honda noted that given the diverse political systems, historical backgrounds and cultures within the Asia-Pacific region, coming to a consensus is often difficult. Nevertheless, addressing and managing disasters, which affect much of the region, is one way of further unifying and building common ground.

Disaster Diplomacy: Sri Lanka Following the Tsunami Devastation

Amb. Geetha De Silva
Associate Director
Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS)
Colombo, Sri Lanka

In her presentation, Amb. Geetha De Silva covered the Sri Lankan experience of the 2004 Asian tsunami and the implications that it had on the conflict between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Sri Lankan military. She began by noting the extent of the destruction caused by the tsunami which affected two-thirds of Sri Lanka's coastline. In addition to the high death toll and damage to infrastructure, there were also adverse economic effects on sources of livelihoods, namely fisheries, farming (due to the incursion of salt water and marine sediment into fields and wells) and tourism.

Similar to other instances of disaster response, the immediate concern was to provide relief to the destitute and attend to the dead. Medium-term responses included repairing social infrastructure and constructing temporary housing and alternative school premises, while more permanent housing and repairs to major social infrastructure would be done in the long term. Three national task forces were created to lead and coordinate the response of the line agencies. The Task Force for Rescue and Relief to attend to immediate relief requirements, the Task Force for Logistics and Law and Order to provide necessary equipment, as well as maintain law and order in restoring normalcy; and the Task Force for Rebuilding the Nation, to attend to long-term requirements.

Regional neighbours India and Pakistan were among the first to offer assistance. Other members of the international community such as the US also played a critical role. US Marines were deployed in the Southern Provinces for clearance and light construction work, the United States Agency for International Development provided food, water, medical care and shelter in these areas. Financial aid for reconstruction projects was provided by the Bush-Clinton Houston Tsunami Fund in May 2005, much of which was for children. UN agencies and other international organisations played a critical role in coordinating disaster relief efforts with the government of Sri Lanka.

Amb. De Silva also noted the significance of visits by international dignitaries to tsunami-hit areas in Sri Lanka. Many country leaders visited Sri Lanka personally as an expression of solidarity and to ascertain for themselves the extent of damage. These visits also gave a boost to Sri Lanka's morale, which had been shattered by the traumatic experience. The government of Sri Lanka also galvanised its diplomatic missions abroad into action to approach their host governments, international organisations, international NGOs in their respective countries of accreditation, as well as the Sri Lankan diaspora. Media in the relevant countries was used extensively by Sri Lankan ambassadors and high commissioners to get their message across, both vertically and horizontally.

A significant feature in the entire tsunami disaster relief process was the divergent roles played by the LTTE (the terrorist group in Sri Lanka fighting for a separate state) and the Sri Lankan government. The eastern province of Sri Lanka, which was the LTTE's stronghold, was the worst affected and therefore had serious adverse implications for the LTTE. As a result, the LTTE cadres were willing to participate in the overall relief work and cooperate with local government officials. This however was short lived as LTTE cadres blamed the government for not sending relief assistance to affected LTTE areas. In response, the government launched a media campaign to dispel the allegations.

The government also signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in June 2005 with the LTTE for the Establishment of a Post Tsunami Operational Management Structure, in a bid for cooperation in providing aid relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and development to rebuild the affected coastal communities in the North and the East. However, a change of government in Sri Lanka resulted in the MoU failing to materialise and thereby stalling progress towards peace.

Amb. De Silva concluded with a comparison between the post-tsunami situation in Sri Lanka with that of Aceh, Indonesia. She noted that Aceh became a success story as the mood was appropriate – the Acehnese rebels were prepared for peace negotiations and ready to lay down their arms. In contrast, the mood conducive for peace talks was not present in Sri Lanka. The LTTE was not ready to lay down their arms or to talk peace. As such, another opportunity to establish peace was lost in Sri Lanka.

Helping Neighbours in Trouble? Disaster Response in Global Governance

Dr Alain Guilloux

Honorary Research Fellow

Centre for Asian Studies (CASS)

The University of Hong Kong (HKU)

Hong Kong SAR, People's Republic of China



Dr Alain Guilloux delivering his presentation

In his presentation, Dr Alain Guilloux first challenged the traditional dichotomy of categorising disasters as 'natural' or 'man-made' – where disasters such as earthquakes and tsunamis belong to the first category, and international conflicts, acts of terror or civil insurgencies belong to the second. The assessment is different if one focuses on the impact of disasters on human lives - i.e. vulnerability - instead of the nature of the event. This includes the implications of man-made factors such as poor construction and maintenance standards and low levels of immunisation. This therefore suggests a difference of degree rather than of nature (natural vs. man-made) when discussing disasters. Moreover, it raises questions as to what extent human casualties are the result of an unpredictable event, inadequate preparedness and capabilities, or insufficient political will.

There is also a lack of distinction between domestic and global crises, in particular when measuring the scale of disasters and governments' capacity to respond to them. The response to natural disasters is co-ordinated by the government of the country in which it occurs, even though other state and non-state actors may be involved and play a significant role in the delivery of emergency assistance. Most disasters that elicit an international response occur in resource-poor countries. This is particularly so in conflict situations, which trigger large-scale population displacements.

Dr Guilloux noted that there has been a broader discourse on humanitarian interventions, and that UN approval for these make up just one dimension of such interventions. Hence it is important to take into account other dimensions of the global security system such as the evolution of that system over the past 20 years – from a bipolar security system to that of a unipolar one – the influence of regional factors and considerations, the growing importance of business interests in shaping national security interests, and increasing subordination of NGOs and humanitarian organisations. Dr Guilloux also highlighted the consequences for governance systems when responding to disasters due to the lack of visibility, lack of accountability, low level of predictability – given the involvement of many actors with little adherence to clear rules and guidelines – and the decreasing level of relevance, if the objective is to provide aid to populations in danger.

It was also noted that hierarchies and degrees of intervention are evolving in the global security system. Dr Guilloux identified three basic configurations: military-humanitarian interventions, civilian relief interventions, and abstention. In the first case, a multi-faceted intervention was devised to get rid of the 'bad guys' or those regarded as such, in countries like Bosnia-Herzegovina, the then-East Timor, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. In the second case, the security interests of major or regional powers were not seen as sufficiently affected by a crisis and its treatment was basically sub-contracted to civilian relief or humanitarian organisations, in the cases of Angola, Sierra Leone and

Sudan. Alternatively, the crisis was taken seriously but no consensus emerged among the major powers involved to support intervention, such as in North Korea. In the third case, no major or regional power thought its interests would be better served by any kind of intervention and abstention would then be the rule, for example in Algeria, Chechnya, Tibet and Colombia.

On regional organisations, Dr Guilloux noted that while the European Union is seen as the implicit model for integration, such a model is not necessarily relevant to other regions. In the absence of integration, regional arrangements may be seen as both complements to and buffers against global governance systems. It is therefore vital to devise regional security systems that help minimise the disrupting effects of global governance systems while building confidence among players in the region, such as ASEAN, the ASEAN Regional Forum and ASEAN+3. Dr Guilloux was of the opinion that ASEAN played an ineffective diplomatic role during the 2004 tsunami and 2008 Cyclone Nargis disasters, as concrete pressure and efforts came from external players such as the US, Australia and the UN. This suggests that ASEAN has attempted to balance the potentially disruptive effect of outside intervention with the potentially disruptive scenario of neighbouring countries taking advantage of a state's weakness in the aftermath of a disaster. Such calculations are associated with state rulers and elites more than with the populations affected by disasters.

In this regard, targeting the best outcomes for the affected populations through a regional approach requires explicit anchoring in civil society. Yet, while various efforts have been made and networks set up – such as the Asian Disaster Reduction & Response Network – Asian humanitarian organisations face several challenges including distrust from governments in the region and weak interactions with regional organisations, resulting in constrained institutional frameworks and insufficient human resources. These challenges compound the difficulties all humanitarian organisations face in adjusting to rapidly evolving global response systems and understanding the complexity of the political situation in areas affected by disasters.

In conclusion, the rapidly evolving global governance systems that seek to respond to disasters represent a challenge for regional organisations. The specific challenge for organisations like ASEAN is twofold. On the one hand, ASEAN has to keep re-adjusting to an ever-more intrusive global security system. On the other hand, their legitimacy is likely to be bound by their effectiveness on the ground and their capacity to involve civil society organisations in more meaningful ways. Recent events like the Indian Ocean tsunami and Cyclone Nargis suggest that there is still a long way to go for ASEAN in both respects.



Prof. Zhang Xizhen among other participants of the convention

Disaster Diplomacy in Asia: An Indian Perspective

Maj. Gen. (Retd) Dipankar Banerjee

Director

Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS)

New Delhi, India

Maj. Gen. Banerjee began his presentation by noting that five major disasters in the Asian region in the last four years were particularly noteworthy and significant, as they have also led to considerable diplomatic activity in matters of relief and aid. These disasters were the Asian tsunami in 2004, the earthquake in Jammu and Kashmir in 2005, Cyclone Sidr in Bangladesh in 2007, the earthquake in Sichuan, China and Cyclone Nargis in Myanmar, both in 2008. While these disasters were all highly devastating, the response to these disasters varied depending on the nature and success of diplomacy in each case. Maj. Gen. Banerjee thus examined India's diplomatic role in providing aid and assistance in the above-mentioned situations.

In the wake of the 2004 Asian tsunami, Maj. Gen. Banerjee noted India's refusal to seek international assistance as it felt it was self-sufficient in resources to fend for itself. This gesture, though magnanimous in its intent, was criticised internationally as it prevented much more speedy relief operations. Even so, India's position was a statement of its emergence as a self-confident nation and a desire to be removed from the perception of being a poor aid recipient country. Instead, India made extensive efforts to provide immediate and substantial humanitarian support to all other countries affected by the tsunami as well as provided comprehensive support to its own people. This then became the official policy of the Indian government in matters of aid in natural disasters – even to countries that were wealthier than India, in particular the US during Hurricane Katrina and China during the Sichuan earthquake in 2008.

India's humanitarian relief capabilities in the wake of the tsunami was recognised by other members of the international community, such as the US, which invited India to join it in a four-nation 'core group' along with Japan and Australia. India was also invited by ASEAN to attend the Jakarta donors' meeting and the UN-sponsored international donors' conference in Geneva in January 2005. In addition to this, India reinforced its friendship with all the affected countries, in particular with Sri Lanka where India's earlier intervention in 1987 by its peacekeeping force had failed to maintain peace in the island.

During the Jammu and Kashmir earthquake in August 2005, much of the damage was inflicted on the Pakistan side of the Line of Control (LoC) of the disputed territory. Even so, India neither requested nor accepted international help and suggested that Pakistan should be the sole aid recipient from the international community. Pakistan was initially reluctant to accept help from India across the LoC, which delayed assistance in areas where it was more difficult for Pakistan to reach. This possibly led to avoidable loss of life which Islamabad was ready to bear in the interest of its perceived sense of security. Moreover, within Pakistan-administered Kashmir, Islamic militant organisations had assumed control of much of the relief effort, particularly in the initial period and provided much of the relief assistance to the affected people.

In the case of Bangladesh, which often experiences weather-related disasters, the state was prepared for Cyclone Sidr thanks to the military which was then in effective power of the country, and thereby better prepared to respond immediately. Efforts at constructing shelters and providing early warning over the preceding years and developing a response mechanism in the country had helped. As a result, the damage and devastation was much less than in previous disasters. Yet, it too needed considerable help from the international community.

In the case of Cyclone Nargis, India's meteorological services had warned the Burmese authorities of the cyclone at least 48 hours in advance, but it is not known as to what precautions were actually taken for evacuation and relief. Myanmar was suffering from a severe food shortage, as orders had been issued by the military junta to the farmers to harvest the paddy crop quickly, thus delaying evacuation. Nevertheless, India's traditional good relations with Myanmar paid off. It launched Operation Sahayata in which Indian navy ships and aircraft supplied the first international relief material to the country. In a separate development, Myanmar denied Indian search-and-rescue teams and media access to critical cyclone-hit areas. India released a statement saying it had requested Myanmar to accept international aid especially that from the US, to which Myanmar ultimately agreed.

India's assistance during the Sichuan earthquake in China in that same month was first reflected in its immediate statements of help from its top leadership. These statements were followed with immediate help in the form of relief supplies and financial assistance. The Indian



Participants from Australia

business community in China has also helped to raise funds for the earthquake victims. These generous efforts earned India enormous goodwill and ensured that the ties of friendship developed between the two countries in recent years were strengthened.

In his evaluation of diplomatic efforts in the wake of natural disasters, Maj. Gen. Banerjee noted that it was still unclear whether these disasters would effectively open up opportunities for diplomacy, and thereby address outstanding problems in the region. While common disasters can sometimes help unite people in times of trouble and lead to a process of resolution, situations of long-standing disputes, entrenched positions, strong ethnic or religious barriers and insecurity among regimes, deny the impact of natural disasters from effecting any sort of change and unity. In essence, Maj. Gen. Banerjee noted that the area of disaster diplomacy requires greater attention by the international community to strengthen mechanisms that provide relief and assistance in disaster-stricken areas.

Discussion



Dr Meenakshi Gopinath participating in the discussion

During the discussion, most of the comments dealt with the disaster response during the Sichuan earthquake. While several participants from China commended their government's efforts in responding to the disaster, many felt that more could have been done. For one, there was a need for greater coordination between the central and local governments. This was largely due to the fact that federal assistance was insufficient, thus leaving local constituencies to manage some aspects of disaster relief on their own. Moreover, participants noted that given

the rise of civil society groups involved in disaster relief, there was a need for the Chinese government to increase transparency and communication with these groups so as to ensure greater efficiency in providing assistance to the victims.

Comments were also raised on the relevance of regional mechanisms in addressing disasters. In this respect, participants differed in their opinions on the significance of ASEAN's role during Cyclone Nargis. While some felt the organisation's role was ineffective and took too long to convince the Myanmar junta to accept international assistance in the immediate wake of the disaster, others felt that ASEAN did ultimately play a significant role in facilitating the transfer of relief assistance from the international community during the later stages.

On the issue of disasters being used as a catalyst for action, a comment was made regarding the fear of an epidemic outbreak in the wake of a disaster should there be a lack of water and sanitation. It was suggested that this perception is often over-rated, but is nevertheless useful rhetoric in spurring concrete action from the international community.

Panel on Food Security

Chaired by Prof. Han Feng from the Institute of Asia Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, this panel looked at the issue of environment, climate change and food security.

China-ASEAN Environmental Cooperation

Mr Xia Yingxian

Deputy Director

Division of Regional Environmental Cooperation

Department of International Cooperation

Ministry of Environmental Protection

Beijing, People's Republic of China



Mr Xia Yingxian delivering his presentation

In his presentation, Mr Xia Yingxian noted that since the establishment of the China-ASEAN Dialogue in 1991, cooperation between China and ASEAN in all the fields including the environment has been very fruitful. He noted that China and ASEAN countries – as developing countries – face the common dilemma of pursuing economic development while having obligations to protect the environment.

In reviewing the level of cooperation between China and ASEAN, he noted that cooperation in the environmental sector began in 2004 with a Policy Dialogue on Environmental Cooperation in Hainan. During this session, both sides identified their areas of concern and priorities pertaining to the environment. Progress was

made on ensuring cleaner modes of production, pursuing environmental international agreements and advocating environmental education. This was further enhanced with a greater sense of political will on both sides. These developments culminated during the 11th China-ASEAN Summit, where environmental protection was identified as the eleventh key field for cooperation – thereby signalling a new phase in China-ASEAN environmental cooperation.

Mr Xia also outlined the three transformations in China's drive on environmental protection. First, the transformation from economic growth being a priority over environmental protection to environmental protection concerns being on par with economic growth interests. Second, the change from a situation where environmental protection lagged behind economic development to one where environmental protection efforts paralleled that of economic growth. Finally, the transformation from protecting the environment mainly by administrative means to a comprehensive approach adopting legal, economic, technical and necessary administrative channels to address environmental issues. These transformations have thus culminated in a consensus in March 2008 amongst China's policymakers of the need to institutionalise environmental concerns with the establishment of China's Ministry of Environmental Protection.

Mr Xia also noted China's vigorous efforts in reducing pollution – largely through industrial restructuring, project implementation, improvements in management practices and a series of industrial, fiscal, taxation and pricing policies. Such efforts are reflective of its commitment to reduce by 10 per cent the total discharge of major pollutants as stipulated in China's eleventh 'Five-Year Plan' period. It was also noted that China is adopting a peaceful development approach on environmental issues as this would facilitate greater cooperation with other states in conservation efforts. Such an approach highlights the importance of human existence as well as mutual responsibility amongst all parties to protect and conserve their shared environment.

Mr Xia ended by highlighting three initiatives that have been proposed by Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao. First, jointly developing a China-ASEAN environmental cooperation strategy. Second, establishing a China-ASEAN environmental protection centre in China. Third, convening a meeting of Chinese and ASEAN environment ministers when appropriate. He was optimistic that future negotiations between China and ASEAN would progress and benefit both sides in creating a sustainable and more developed East Asian region.

Gender Sustainable Development and Climate Change

Dr Meenakshi Gopinath

Honorary Director

Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP)

The Foundation for Universal Responsibility of

His Holiness The Dalai Lama

New Delhi, India



Dr Meenakshi Gopinath

In her presentation, Dr Meenakshi Gopinath noted that while climate change has often been erroneously seen as a technical problem requiring technical solutions, there remains several social and political aspects to this complex issue. The issue of justice is an important one that is often overlooked as the poorest regions of the world and the most impoverished social groups will suffer most from the effects of climate change. Ironically, climate change effects and related disasters have occurred mostly in the developing world, while the sources of it have for decades been from the developed world.

She also noted that climate change is not gender-neutral, as it affects women and men in different ways. Moreover, many communities worldwide interact with their physical environment in gender-differentiated ways. About 70 per cent of the world's poor are women and they are especially vulnerable due to cultural, religious and economic factors. According to the Women's Manifesto on Climate Change in the United Kingdom, 85 per cent of people who die from climate induced disasters are women and 75 per cent of environmental refugees are women.

Several instances of such vulnerabilities are found in Asia. During the 1991 cyclone and floods in Bangladesh, for instance, the mortality rate of women was almost five times higher than of men. Some of the reasons cited for this were strongly related to gendered cultural patterns. Warning information was posted in public spaces but did not reach women who were bound to their homes. Most women had not learnt to swim which further reduced their survival chances. This was also the case during the Asian tsunami in 2004, where in Sri Lanka, swimming and tree climbing were taught mainly to boys. In addition to such social prejudice, women are less mobile in disaster situations due to their role as primary care givers. Thus in the case of Aceh during the same tsunami, many women were found dead with babies still clutched in their arms.

Despite these vulnerabilities, women can also provide solutions to the problems. For one, women's networks working in the area of gender and climate change have consistently lobbied for the recognition that women have a strong body of traditional knowledge that can be used in climate change mitigation, disaster reduction and adaptation mechanisms. Proper acknowledgement, protection and financial support should be available to sustain this knowledge. Emphasising that technologies should be adapted where desirable to women's needs, these groups advocate alternatives to market-based approaches to stem the deleterious effects of climate change. They also demand that adaptation and mitigation strategies uphold basic human security and the right to sustainable development.

Regarding the management and use of natural resources and biodiversity, women can also play distinct roles in managing agriculture as they have insights and access to traditional knowledge in many rural communities,

particularly in traditional healthcare needs. It is therefore vital to build up these networks of women as a means of getting them to be more active and vocal on issues of sustainable development, and thereby increase their stakes in rallying for the greater transfer of clean technology.

Hence there needs to be greater consideration of gender aspects in the area of adaptation to climate change. Poverty is a dominant impediment to effective adaptive measures to climate change, and there is a need to address issues of gender inequality that arise due to the feminisation of poverty. Dr Gopinath noted that there are five mechanisms through which gender inequality can arise. First, differences in power; second, differences in income and economic resources; third, division of labour; fourth, cultural patterns or social roles; fifth, biological differences. These differences in vulnerability and also adaptive opportunities therefore need to be more squarely factored into policy.

Interfacing Food and Energy Security: Bangladesh Perspective

Dr Abdur Rob Khan

Research Director

Bangladesh Institute of International and

Strategic Studies

Dhaka, Bangladesh



Dr Abdur Rob Khan delivering his presentation

Dr Abdur Rob Khan noted that the relation between food security and energy security is not clear-cut. On one hand, bioenergy (energy produced from biofuels directly or indirectly from biomass) could create infrastructural and economic opportunities to help rural populations in

many ways, including food security. On the other hand, developing certain types of bioenergy may compromise food security and lead to environmental damage.

There are several reasons for these opposing consequences. The first would be the immediate adverse impact that biofuel has on food security as a result of the rapid development of liquid biofuel for transport. Second, liquid biofuels derived from food crops have different implications for food security than modern bioenergy systems based on ligno-cellulistic or waste materials. Third, competition for more arable land and water resources for biofuel production may lead to higher food prices and countries having to import both food and energy could face serious macro-economic instability.

Fourth, the dependence on energy in developing countries is largely on solid fuel and biomass rather than liquid biofuel converted from food crops. On average, 15 per cent of their total energy comes from plantations and natural or semi-natural forests. However, for poor communities the forests are prime sources of nutrition. According to a study by the Food and Agricultural Organization, for countries with more than a 30 per cent rate of malnutrition, more than 80 per cent of the population depend on natural resources for food and fuel.

Dr Khan noted two levels of interface or tradeoffs. Firstly, there are 'high end' tradeoffs as biofuels have been largely developed out of food grain – such as ethanol from maize. Secondly, there are 'low end' tradeoffs whereby the poor are dependent on food grain – both as a means of food as well as for energy (in the form of biomass). This is particularly true amongst those who do not have access to farmland.

Dr Khan briefly explained the food security situation in Bangladesh. According to the 2008 Global Hunger Index (GHI) by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), Bangladesh is considered one of the 33 countries in the 'risky' category. The IFPRI constructed the GHI for 88 countries based on three dimensions of food security, namely food crisis, malnutrition due to the lack of food, and child mortality. Among the 25 malnutrition-affected Asian countries, Bangladesh is ranked 18th. Food insecurity in the country has resulted in 51 per cent of children being underweight and deficient in vitamin A, zinc and sodium.

Concerning the availability of food, Bangladesh's food grain requirement is estimated to be about 32 million metric tons. Domestic food grain production has however been much less, with provisional estimates for 2007-2008 being 28.6 metric tons. Bangladesh is therefore a net importer of food, to the point that it even has a shortage of 2 million tons of food. Some of these imports have also been in the form of aid. A shrinking of food aid would therefore worsen the tradeoffs especially at the lower end. The government has nevertheless attempted to address this by subsidising food distribution among selected groups through efforts such as the Vulnerable Group Feeding Programme. Despite these efforts, it must be noted that food security is a much larger concept as it varies amongst different classes and regions. As such, there have been periodic as well as regional food crises in the country. As far as food utilisation is concerned, Bangladesh's score on various health and social indices is not encouraging, given the prevalence of child and maternal malnutrition.

Dr Khan also noted the causes of food insecurity in Bangladesh. Firstly, natural disasters such as floods, cyclones, drought and water-logging have resulted in crop losses of as much as two to three million tons a year. Secondly, the lack of irrigated water and availability of fertilizer and pesticides - which have in part contributed to declining arable lands and crops less resistant to changes in climate - have also caused them to die. There is also the problem of marketing and distributive bottlenecks, which have led to the problem of accessibility, especially for the poorer segments of society.

Bangladesh also lacks security in its energy sector. There is a huge deficit of power and gas as power generation and gas supply is much lower than what is actually demanded. While Bangladesh utilises 43 per cent to 57 per cent of biomass fuel for energy, the demand for natural gas continues to rise, especially for commercial energy use which doubles every year. Moreover, only about 32 per cent and 10 per cent of Bangladeshis have access to power and natural gas respectively. Long-term estimates are not encouraging either, as 25 per cent of Bangladesh's rural population would still not have access to power by the year 2030.

In addressing these issues, Dr Khan concluded that Bangladesh should concentrate on agricultural development - in particular self-sufficiency in food grain production - as well as mitigating and adapting to climate change and pro-poor growth. This included greater ownership and participation of the poor in areas such as improving the management of natural resources or forests. In addition to ensuring that the right solutions are found, there is a need for better calibration of energy sources. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, the use of biofuels in Bangladesh would reduce uncertainty in implementing development budgets and save on half of the country's average annual oil budget, which comprises 15 per cent of the national budget. Secondly, the use of biofuels would assist in mitigating climate change, which has an impact on Bangladesh's agricultural and food production. Thirdly, there should be a concentration on agro-biowaste and crops such as jatropha - which can be grown in less fertile lands - rather than on new food crops for sources of energy.

Food Security: Another Case for Human Security in ASEAN

Ms Irene A. Kuntjoro

Associate Research Fellow

RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

Nanyang Technological University (NTU)

Singapore



Ms Irene A. Kuntjoro delivering her presentation

The year 2008 witnessed a string of incidents around the world which showed the political instability and social unrest arising from exponentially high food prices. Experts suggest that in a worst-case scenario, such dire lack of food security could even result in conflict and war. Ms Irene A. Kuntjoro noted that such unrest was ultimately linked to states' inability to ensure the human security of its people, as much of the debate surrounding food security concentrated on issues of demand and supply, as seen in various ASEAN states. It is therefore vital that food security be linked with broader human security aspects such as poverty, gender, health and environmental concerns.

Ms Kuntjoro noted that the concept of food security itself has evolved over the years. While the definition introduced during the 1974 World Food Summit placed emphasis on the dynamics between demand and supply, it gradually evolved to include implementing the appropriate policies concerning the distribution of food and the availability of access to food to those most in need. The 1994 Human Development Report, for instance, states food security as one of the seven pillars of ensuring human security. It was only in 1996 during the World Food Summit in Rome,

where the definition of food security reflected a truly holistic approach to the problem: 'Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.'

Ms Kuntjoro then elaborated on the repercussions that food insecurity has on other aspects of human security, such as the survival of the poor and marginalised. A major factor contributing to this is that Asia is home to two-thirds of the world's poor, for whom food takes up 30 to 50 per cent of their household budget. As seen in Southeast Asia, the trend towards urbanisation has created wider disparities between urban and rural populations. As small rural farmers and their households became net food consumers rather than producers, they did not benefit from the rise of food prices in 2008. The food crisis of 2008 has only led to further instability as rice hoarders – often impoverished rural communities – run the risk of being charged with economic sabotage, a crime that carries a life sentence.

Food insecurity also has grave implications for public health. In the case of food utility, increases in the price of food are forcing people to consume cheaper foods with lower nutritional value. A lack of nutritional food would give rise to increased incidents of malnutrition, which could exacerbate the spread of infectious diseases – such as diarrhoeal diseases – especially in developing countries. Food insecurity can also destabilise regional security. The policy to curb food exports in order to secure national food supply in one country could have a negative impact on other countries. The restriction on rice exports by Asian rice exporters such as India and Vietnam sparked panic in importing countries in the region and farther afield.

Several initiatives have nevertheless been initiated by individual member states in ASEAN to ameliorate the effects of high food prices. However, national responses alone are hardly enough due to clashes in interests, which would impede development and overall security in the region. Regional mechanisms are therefore vital to ensure that states are aligned towards the same goal without jeopardising the security of their neighbours. ASEAN has implemented its Strategic Plan of Action (SPA) on ASEAN

Cooperation in Food, Agriculture and Forestry (2005–2010), which is a continuation of its SPA from 1999-2004. Food security occupies the first section of the latest SPA and is primarily aimed at strengthening the region's capacity to address food insecurity. This includes establishing a Regional Food Security Information System for ASEAN, a review of the Agreement on the ASEAN Food Security Reserve and a Study on the Long-term Supply and Demand Prospects of Major Food Commodities such as rice, corn, soybean and sugar in ASEAN.

However, many of these plans are developing at a slow pace. Data collection and periodic updating of information for the regional food security information system, for instance, would only be completed in 2010. There is therefore a need for ASEAN to reinforce its existing mechanisms and better strategise its role by assisting countries to strengthen food security and at the same time creating conducive regional trade on food. In concluding, Ms Kuntjoro noted the need for ASEAN to effectively utilise the Agreement on the ASEAN Food Security Reserve as a framework for regional emergency food aid, and more importantly, build on making the ASEAN Community the gateway to further galvanise and synchronise initiatives from various government ministries (such as health, social security, environment, agriculture and trade) to effectively address the issue of food security.

Discussion

A question was raised as to how a win-win situation could be achieved regarding environmental security issues between China and ASEAN. The fact that both consist of developing countries that need to build capacity, would make it difficult to ensure security for all - as seen from the example of Cambodia's food security (based on fish stocks) suffering at the expense of China's construction on the upper Mekong River. In response to this question, Mr Xia noted there is existing dialogue between China and ASEAN countries, especially those within the Greater

Mekong Subregion. What is needed to improve the situation is greater scientific research, i.e. environmental impacts assessments to back up claims of adverse impacts of such projects.

A comment was also made that international cooperation should be the first priority rather than conflating a food crisis. Rather than adopting protectionist policies, there is a need for countries to work together and even pursue free trade agreements. Some participants noted that while ASEAN has created various mechanisms to address food security, much of it has yet to be implemented. Other participants noted that despite the setbacks, ASEAN has made more progress than other regional organisations in Asia – such as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) – which has yet to develop a strong regional identity. Much of the negotiations in SAARC are still seen to work at the bilateral rather than the multilateral level.

Comments were also raised on the varying nature of civil society groups in Asia. It was noted that while Nepal has an active civil society that has been effective in influencing public policy, Bangladesh's civil society has been less successful. Reasons contributing to this included the fact that civil society in Nepal was able to formulate concrete, technically sound proposals. It was also suggested that the lack of effectiveness of Bangladesh's civil society organisations was due to corporatisation. While public-private initiatives are important in sustaining civil society activities – which governments cannot afford to provide – there is the potential for such corporatisation to undermine effective policy advising.

It was also noted that the lack of access to the decision-making process amongst women continues to marginalise them and further impedes the highlighting of issues affecting them. This is also related to issues of division of labour and power distribution, and moreover, to how communities are socialised to understand these power distributions.

Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
 ies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
 International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore





Panel on Energy Security



The panel on energy security. From left to right: Dr Rizal Sukma, Dr Raymond Atje, Assoc. Prof. Rajesh Basrur, Prof. Gao Shixian, Dr Ahn Se Hyun, Dr Xue Li

Chaired by Dr Rizal Sukma from the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia, the topics examined comprised Chinese energy structure and security, Sino-Canadian energy cooperation, an Indonesian perspective on energy security, Russia's energy issues in Northeast Asia, and nuclear renaissance, human security and political risk.

Chinese Energy Structure and Security

Prof. Gao Shixian
Assistant Director
Energy Research Institute
National Development and Reform Commission
Beijing, People's Republic of China

Prof. Gao Shixian began by stating that in 2007, China's total energy consumption was the second-highest in the world after the US. China's total energy consumption reached 2.655 billion metric tonnes coal equivalent that year, which accounted for 16.8 per cent of total global consumption. Coal constituted nearly 70 per cent of China's energy source, followed by oil which constituted 20 per cent.

China has a high overseas oil dependency. This dependency increased dramatically from 7.6 per cent in 1995 to 50.5 per cent in 1997. It imports crude oil from the Middle East, Africa, Europe and Eurasia as well as from the Asia-Pacific.

Looking at the current energy situation in China, Prof. Gao identified the challenges to energy security in China, namely the increase in energy demand, challenges to energy supply and security of the energy supply. He argued that the increase in energy demand is driven by activity level growth, industrialisation and urbanisation, as well as consumption habits in China. Challenges to energy supply include the shortage of high-quality energy resources, long distance energy delivery, the high cost of renewable energy resources utilisation, the high independency rate of overseas energy - especially oil - and China's energy price linkages to the international market. In light of the dependency on overseas oil and the link to international energy markets, China looks at the security of energy supply as an increasingly pertinent matter.

China has developed a set of energy strategies in response to these challenges. There are four objectives: First, is to ensure security of the energy supply by increasing domestic supply, decreasing dependency on external supply sources and diversifying the supply sources of energy. Second, is to diversify the energy structure and increase the proportion of high quality energy. Third, is to aim at energy saving by conducting energy-efficiency improvements. Fourth, is to protect the environment. These energy development strategies include making energy conservation the top priority, adjusting and optimising the energy structure, fully tapping both domestic and overseas resources and markets; enhancing environmental protection as well as striving to reduce

the impact of energy production and consumption on the environment; placing a high degree of importance on energy security; and establishing safeguards for energy development.

Prof. Gao ended his presentation by presenting some measures to address China's energy security issues. First, is saving energy and controlling any excess increase of energy demand. Reducing the growth of oil demand could be pursued by oil conservation and replacement, and would also decrease the dependency on oil. Second, is steadily improving the domestic energy supply ability. China should continue to increase domestic supply ability on coal, oil, natural gas and electric power. It should also develop oil substitutes. These measures in turn will meet the increasing energy demand and minimise energy dependence. Third, is diversifying oil import sources to abate the dependence on oil from the Middle East. Fourth, is guaranteeing the safety of energy transportation channels, and making sure that the oil and gas transportation channels are safe and unblocked. Fifth, is establishing a strategic oil stockpile to minimise the risk of interrupted oil supply. Sixth, is taking part in global and regional cooperation on energy.

Canadian Oilsands and Sino-Canadian Energy Cooperation

Dr Xue Li

Research Fellow

Institute of World Economics and Politics

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Beijing, People's Republic of China

Dr Xue Li examined the outlook on Canadian energy, the current situation of Sino-Canadian energy cooperation, trends in Canadian energy policy, and the probability and necessity of bilateral energy cooperation. He focused mainly on Alberta province in west Canada because it produces 68 per cent of Canada's crude oil (which mainly comes from oilsands) and 80 per cent of its natural gas. Moreover, Alberta has 80 per cent of Canada's proven reserves.

In terms of production and technology, Alberta produces 3.31 million barrels per day, of which 62 per cent come from oilsands. There are four refineries in Alberta which absorb 437,000 barrels out of 1.36 million barrels of Canada's production per day. Alberta's oil production is similar to that of China's, which amounts to 3.74 million barrels per day and half that of the US, which produces 6.88 million barrels. It was predicted by the International Energy Agency that Alberta will produce up to 3.6 million barrels in 2030. This is supported by a technological breakthrough that could extract oilsands resources deeper than 200 metres and takes 50 per cent to 70 per cent oil in place recovery. This technology is called Steam Assisted Gravity Drainage.

Dr Li argued that the current bilateral energy cooperation between China and Canada is poor. Chinese energy corporations have only limited access to the Canadian energy industry. Moreover, he argued that there a number of Canadian policies need to be changed for several reasons. First, the exploration and manufacture of energy in Canada is controlled by provincial governments. While the provinces in west Canada are rich in oil, the refineries in the east often import crude oil from overseas instead of taking their resources from their western provinces. It seems that Canada lacks a coherent national policy to address this problem. This has created an imbalance between export and import. Second, Canada needs to reduce its risk of depending fully on oil exports to the US, despite the fact that the US is able to absorb 99 per cent of Canada's oil production. This relates to the third reason: there is a growing phenomena where environmental protection forces in the US view Canadian crude oil as dirty oil because it is mainly a product of oilsands, of which processing may result in heavy pollution.

In response to these problems, Canada has adopted two policies - the diversification of exports and the increase in refining capacity. For the first, Canada has opened its market to all oil companies in the world and foreign companies are allowed to transport oil to any destination. It has also built up some pipelines from Alberta to the west coast of Canada and created equity export guarantees. For the second, the Alberta provincial government is

going to publish a regulation and the policy of 'bitumen in kind' will be brought into effect. According to the policy, oil firms must upgrade and refine about 15 per cent of crude oil in Alberta. The proportion would then gradually be increased.

Looking at China's current structure of primary energy consumption, it is highly likely to experience a significant increase of energy consumption. In 2007, China imported 50 per cent of its oil demand. It is predicted that it will increase to 75 per cent by 2050. Therefore, China needs to diversify its sources of energy supply. China should take the opportunity offered by Canada to invest in the oil reserves and refineries without having to expect special support from the central government. For China, Canada is the sole Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development member state which will export oil for a long period of time. Moreover, Canada owns the necessary infrastructure for investment namely sound infrastructure, law and transportation system as well as large reserves. Bilateral energy cooperation will benefit both countries.

Energy Security: An Indonesian Perspective

Dr Raymond Atje
Head, Department of Economics
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Jakarta, Indonesia



Dr Raymond Atje delivering his presentation

Dr Raymond Atje began his discussion on energy security by stating that energy security is an elusive concept which differs from one actor to another. Indonesia itself does not have an official definition of energy security. Furthermore, he pointed out that the issue of energy security has not

achieved sufficient attention from the general public in Indonesia despite the fact that it faces energy shortages from time to time, especially electricity, and that it has abundant potential energy sources.

For the purpose of the paper presented during the convention, Dr Atje defined energy security as ensuring the sufficient energy supply necessary to keep the economy running at full employment. Looking at the trend of energy demand in Indonesia, he argued that in the coming years the increase of energy consumption per worker and the growth in the economy as well as of population will affect the overall increase in energy demand. Up until 2007, Indonesia consumed only one per cent of total global energy consumption. In terms of per capita energy consumption, Indonesia only consumed 0.5 tonnes of the oil equivalent of energy per year. It can be argued that currently Indonesia's total and per capita energy consumption are relatively low compared to other more developed countries. This is why energy security should become a priority concern for Indonesia, due to the rapid growth of energy demand that is not balanced by an adequate supply of energy sources.

Since 2004, Indonesia has been a net oil importer, and domestic oil consumption has increased over the years. To continue relying on oil as the main source of energy would pose a serious problem for Indonesia while it still has natural gas and coal to be developed. Moreover, Indonesia is challenged by electricity shortages in general, as well as a disparity in electricity distribution between Java and the rest of the country. Investment in the electricity sector is highly needed.

He ended by highlighting that Indonesia needs to develop a comprehensive energy policy. In order to tackle the current energy shortage and to meet the growing energy demand, the government should develop an energy roadmap to provide guidelines for the development of an integrated energy system. It should be able to optimise the use of all types of energy sources available at the country's disposal. A national energy policy should be formulated accordingly. Moreover, the Indonesian government should be able to foster a conducive investment climate. Financial resources are needed to develop various segments of the domestic energy sector.

Russia's Energy Gambit in Northeast Asia: Kovykta's Conundrum

Dr Ahn Se-Hyun

Assistant Professor

Department of International Relations

University of Seoul

Republic of Korea



Dr Ahn Se-Hyun delivering his presentation

Dr Ahn Se-Hyun presented on Russia's energy supply strategy in Northeast Asia by looking specifically at the Kovykta natural gas reserve project. The key points elaborated were the Putin and Medvedev foreign policy initiatives and objectives, South Korea's gas demand, the background and significance of the Kovykta project and obstacles as well as prospects of the project.

Dmitry Medvedev and Vladimir Putin, as the president and the prime minister of Russia respectively, had the ambition to elevate Russia's prestige and influence in the region as an energy provider. It materialised with the formulation of two foreign policy goals, which are to set the country's emphasis on economic security by optimising the energy sector, and to create multipolarism in order to isolate the West by diversifying its energy export market to its Northeast Asian counterparts.

Russia's extensive energy production offers significant export potential, not to mention the potential natural gas sources from the Siberian and Sakhalin fields. Having to combine Russia's ambition with its large potential energy sources, it could play a major role in the energy security paradigm in the region. This situation is met by an increasingly high energy demand from its Northeast Asian counterparts, namely China and South Korea. Looking at the trend in primary energy consumption, liquefied natural

gas (LNG) has grown more significantly in the consumption share pattern by from zero per cent in 1981 to 13.8 per cent in 2007. For the first time, it has created mutual national and regional interests.

South Korea is the world's seventh largest natural gas importing country. It imports from eight countries, namely Australia, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Oman, Qatar, Russia and Yemen. With a projected increased demand for gas until at least the year 2020, South Korea is facing a gap in supply and demand. This gap could be filled by supplies from Kovykta in Russia.

Kovykta is one of the largest gas fields in the world, with a reserve that is even larger than the entire gas reserve in Canada. It is estimated to produce an overall two trillion billion cubic metres (bcm) with a 2,000 bcm production over 30 to 40 years. Its original plan was to export 20 bcm per year to China and 10 bcm per year to South Korea.

However, the Kovykta project faces a number of obstacles that are political and economic in nature. Politically there are three challenges. First, there are asset disputes both within and outside Russia. Second, there are problems related to the transit countries such as Mongolia and North Korea. From 1995 to 2007 there have been five major ownership changes in these transit countries; Third, the issue of protectionism of Russia's natural resources. Economically, there are some complexities related to gas investments, such as requirements to develop gas projects that involve confidence, guarantees and more funding. Another complexity is the option to choose between piped natural gas, LNG or a combination of both, as well as the consideration of whether Kovykta is a risky project. One other economic aspect is the issue of demand security and pricing.

Despite these obstacles, Dr Se-Hyun elaborated on the prospects of this project. He argued that in observing the uncertain energy relations between China and Russia, it is timely for South Korea to take the opportunity to be involved in the Kovykta project before 2015. Russia is in the process of reformulating its new energy programmes. Regarding the possible gas pipeline route, the previously discussed China route is being delayed. Therefore with careful planning and investment, having to develop a new trans-Korean route would create a win-win situation for both Russia and South Korea.



The participants from China

Nuclear Renaissance, Human Security and Political Risk

Dr Rajesh M. Basrur

Associate Professor

RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

Nanyang Technological University (NTU)

Singapore



Assoc. Prof. Rajesh Basrur during the discussion

The increased price of oil has reflected the broader problem of a widening gap between the demand and supply of energy; as well as the demand for clean sources of energy due to global warming has resulted in the re-emerging interest in nuclear energy. Dr Rajesh M. Basrur sought to look at associated risks of the rapid expansion of nuclear energy. He focused on the security risk of Nuclear Power Plants (NPPs) from terrorism attack. He discussed the nature of the threat, the potential human security costs, and the measures to lower the risks.

The fact that it never took place should not discount the risk of a possible terrorist attack to NPPs. He named a number of potential threats to NPPs namely attack to the NPP facilities through ground, water-based as well as air-based attack, threats to transports of nuclear materials, and insider threats such as theft of materials, providing support and unauthorised information to outsiders or terrorists, sabotage of facilities and specific processes.

He further argued that when an attack occurred it may affect human security in a number of ways. First, it creates a threat to human lives through its physical impacts both in the form of immediate death or long-term death due to the radioactive reaction; Second, it creates psychological effects ranging from creating fear and panic, various distress responses to mass psychogenic illness to a wide population; Third, it will have an economic impact. It includes the cost of large scale relocation of people, cleaning up, as well as the loss of livelihood of a wide area. The costs might even more severe if the incident happened in a developing country; Fourth, it will also create political effects on both domestic and international levels. Domestically, such incident may exacerbate the existing social-communal tension, induce violence that could be perpetrated both by groups in society or the government and could also de-legitimise the government. At the international level, such incident may create the problem of cross border migration, health and to an extreme extent, war.

Measures needs to be undertaken to lower the risk of potential attacks. First is to enhance physical security by creating a careful concentric circle of security access to the power plant and the design basis threat as well as preparing a defence system against attacks from ground, air and water. Trainings should also be conducted to test the security measures; Second is to generate personnel security to avoid insider breach to the security system. An effective personnel reliability programme (PRP) should include regular background checks for criminal and narcotics history, as well as regular stress and personality evaluations; Third is to build a security culture among all employees of a NPP, that includes awareness of the threat, what to do in the event of suspicion, how to respond to a crisis, and encouragement to blow the whistle if lapses occur.

Fourth is to prepare a disaster response that involves counter-terrorist forces, technical teams to trace and contain fallout, and specially trained first responders such as police, fire fighters and medical personnel. The existing disaster response systems that used to deal with natural disasters have to be extended to the threat of radiological disasters; Fifth is to have a robust intelligence assessment on the potential of specific groups going for nuclear/radiological terrorism; Sixth is to prepare the organisational support to ensure the security of NPPs. There needs to be two organisational aspects which relates to the vertical and horizontal links between organisations connected to the security of NPPs, such as the government and private at local, regional, national and international as well as a nodal body at the national level, to assess threats and responses. The other one is to have the NPP and the entire nuclear power infrastructure subjected to independent regulation to prevent excessive secrecy and ensure accountability;

Seventh is to develop a legal framework that imposes controls and metes out deterrent punishment to those who evade or violate controls; Last but not least is to build international cooperation because NPP's vulnerability is potentially transnational, in terms of the sources of threat (terrorist and criminal groups) and the impact of an incident. At both bilateral and multilateral levels, the potential benefits include sharing of best practices, intelligence sharing, legal benefits (such as extradition) and technical equipment and training.

Discussion



The panel in discussion

Having a definition of energy security would help in determining broader policy options regarding the issue. In trying to further understand the issue of energy security,

the discussion covered the nature of and main problem of energy security, and the need for clean energy. In discussing the nature of energy security, it was argued that energy security is a key element of economic security. One of the participants defined energy security as securing reliable and affordable resources which is sufficient to support all aspects of need in a sustainable manner. Moving on to the main problem of energy security, there was a need to determine whether it involved the issue of price, speculation or supply of energy.

The discussion on the need for clean energy touched upon the issue of nuclear renaissance. The re-emergence of interest in nuclear energy in the region was argued to be driven by short-sightedness in energy demand and supply calculation, the search for new sources of energy, and the demand for clean energy due to the challenge of global warming. In developing nuclear energy, cooperation is essential. Yet, it was noted that cooperation on NPPs was difficult to materialise. Therefore, there was a need to identify the main areas of cooperation that could be developed. It was argued by one of the participants that having the themes of clean energy, alternative energy and nuclear safety would provide better avenues for cooperation on nuclear energy. In a wider context, bilateral and multilateral cooperation on energy in the region should also be developed.

In response to the presentation on Northeast Asian cooperation, it was argued that the stagnation and tensions in the Korean peninsula will hamper cooperation in energy security. It was also argued that the problem did not lie with oil cooperation but with gas cooperation; one of the drivers was the failed price negotiations between Russia and China.

Despite the recent growing interest in energy security, it was pointed out that this was not a new issue. Yet most of the studies on energy security are still based on conventional approaches. Therefore, the challenge is to look into new ideas and approaches in the study of energy security. For example, a human security approach could serve as an alternative. Thus, revisiting NTS approaches in general is imperative.

Panel on Transnational Crime

Chaired by Dr Abdur Rob Khan from the Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies, this panel looked at the issue of drug, human as well as small arms and light weapons (SALW) trafficking as transnational crimes that pose challenges to peace and security in the region.

Fighting the Hydra: The Security Implications of Transnational Crime

Mr Herman Joseph S. Kraft

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science

University of the Philippines

Diliman, Quezon City, the Philippines



Mr Herman Kraft delivering his presentation

Mr Herman Kraft argued that transnational crime could be the most extensive and widespread NTS issue. He further argued that in looking at the issue of transnational crime, attention needs to be placed on sources, transit points and destination countries. He took a general look at the issue of trafficking in people, small arms and drugs with the Philippines as the focal point.

For human trafficking, in most cases the persons were forcibly trafficked or did not know they were to be trafficked. Increased demand for manual labour in other countries has led to the phenomena of illegal recruitment of Filipinos abroad, where documents are illegally processed and unlawful travel of the Filipino work force occurs. Moreover, human trafficking in the Philippines also includes smuggling of babies and human organs.

Response mechanisms to address human trafficking have to be developed at both the national and regional levels. At the national level, the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2003, which is also known as Republic Act 9208, is considered one of the most effective frameworks to address the problem. Cooperation between the police, border security and intelligence community has been garnered at the national and local level. Beyond the national level, the Philippines government has established coordination with foreign counterparts to continuously monitor relevant cases as well as to take legal action and possible arraignment for the illegal recruiters.

In the case of small arms, the Philippines serves as the source as it produces firearms for exports, as well as the destination as it is also a net importer of firearms. Mr Kraft argued that the security context lies in the fact that a cycle of violence is created and escalated by a permissive environment that allows the widespread ownership and use of firearms in the Philippines. The cycle of violence is further fed by the prevailing political conditions, especially in the cases of insurgencies and secessionist movements that are challenging the security of the state. Those who support a regulated ownership of firearms in the Philippines have argued that the inability of the state to regulate local production, ownership and use has propagated the proliferation of small arms in the country. Moreover, it reflects the lack of trust in the capacity of the state to provide security to its people.

On the issue of drug trafficking, the Philippines serves as both the source of illegal drug production and as a transit point for drug traffickers. It was noted that the problem of illicit trafficking of drugs is a very complex issue. It concerns the dependency of individuals to drugs that may create spillover effects for the government and the state at large.

In responding to various issues of transnational crime, the Philippines has established a Center for Transnational Crime (PCTC). This centre aims to monitor transnational crime activities and coordinate with relevant agencies. However, the PCTC has a limit on its capability, as it generally reflects the lack of state capacity in addressing

these issues. In responding to a number of transnational crimes in the region, multifaceted approaches and multi-sectoral involvements are imperative. Efforts should include strengthening the capacity of the state to build public awareness of the issues, involving not only government agencies but also NGOs, community groups and potential victims.

Regional Responses to Human Trafficking

Dr Nicholas Thomas

Research Assistant Professor

Centre for Asian Studies

The University of Hong Kong (HKU)

Hong Kong SAR, People's Republic of China



Dr Nicholas Thomas

Dr Nicholas Thomas noted that there is an increase in the irregular flow of human trafficking in the Asia-Pacific region. The linkage of human trafficking to other forms of crime and to the issue of development reflect the complexity of the problem. It in turn requires large resources to tackle the issue whereby states would need partnerships with external actors to bridge the resource and capacity constraints in addressing the issue. Despite the increasing level of multilateral collaboration to address transnational crime in the Asia-Pacific, he argued that bolder initiatives need to be garnered. In the case of Asia Pacific, there may be a gap between the threat, its identification by securitising actors, and the allocation of resources to address the issue.

Dr Thomas discussed three key issues related to human trafficking in the Asia-Pacific. First, he noted that sovereignty is viewed with different perspectives in different regions. Compared to its South Pacific counterparts, Asia is relatively confronted with a higher degree of sovereignty constraints that have characterised regional cooperation, particularly among ASEAN states. The issue of human trafficking has been seen as politically sensitive to the relations between states. In the South Pacific, states are relatively weak so they are more willing to cooperate.

Second, greater attention to the issue of human trafficking in the Asia-Pacific is necessary as the trafficking of persons to economically developed regions has gained better coverage. In contrast, states in this region lack the capacity to address the issue. Moreover, policy approaches in the Asia-Pacific to tackle this are still far from comprehensive.

Third, closer regional cooperation is needed. Capacity gaps between states could be addressed by creating a regional level of governance, whereby a supporting horizontal structure could provide an avenue for states to work together in enhancing their security. It allows states to fill in the nexus between the international and the domestic.

Regional and transnational institutions have developed the mechanism to address trafficking. In the context of the Asia-Pacific, there are initiatives coming from ASEAN, ASEAN+1, the South Pacific as well as trans-regional responses such as the ASEAN Regional Forum and the Asia-Europe Meeting. ASEAN itself has acknowledged the urgency of the human trafficking problem. Nevertheless, further assessment needs to be conducted to see whether regional arrangements to deal with these issues could go beyond state interests or are still limited to reflect these interests, as the focus has stopped short of issuing normative statements and establishing soft mechanisms of cooperation.

He ended by suggesting a number of capacity-building measures that need to be carried out in the region. First, is by engaging in an effective transnational cooperation. Regional initiatives would provide resource sharing in combating human trafficking at the regional level which in turn will enable states to address the issue

domestically. Second, is by building public awareness through educational campaigns involving international and local NGOs. The campaign should not only be targeted at potential victims but also at government agencies such as judicial officers. Third, is by increasing the capacity of the state to fulfil the needs of its citizens. In doing so, the government could collaborate with elements of civil society, for example by working with religious community groups. Fourth, is to enact as well as apply legislations. He argued that more needs to be done in terms of strengthening law enforcement and judiciary cooperation.

East Asia: Trafficking Small Arms and Light Weapons

Dr Zhang Xuegang
Research Fellow
China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, (CICIR)
Beijing, People's Republic of China



Dr Zhang Xuegang during the panel

Dr Zhang Xuegang borrowed the definition of small arms and light weapons (SALW) from the UN General Assembly, 8 December 2005 which stated that:

- *Small arms include arms for individual use such as revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, sub-machine guns, assault rifles and light machine guns.*
- *Light weapons are used by two or three persons serving as a crew such as heavy machine guns, hand-held under-barrel and mounted grenade launchers, portable anti-*

aircraft guns, portable anti-tank guns, recoilless rifles, portable launchers of anti-tank missile and rocket systems, portable launchers of anti-aircraft missile systems, and mortars of a caliber of less than 100 millimeters.

- *SALW is any man-portable lethal weapon that expels or launches bullets or projectiles, or designed to do so, or may be readily converted to do so by the action of an explosive.*

In general, he identified the main features of SALW as being portable, easily transported, cheap, durable, illicit and having to come from various sources.

In the global trafficking of SALW, the UN has estimated that 600 million pieces of SALW exist and have caused 46 out of 49 major conflicts and four million deaths since 1990. 90 per cent of these were civilians, of whom 80 per cent were women and children. In East Asia, Cambodia, Myanmar and Pakistan were identified as sources of SALW trafficking. Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka and India were identified as SALW destination countries. Thailand, Myanmar, India, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the state of Sabah in Malaysia were identified as the transit points or passages for SALW distribution. It somewhat shows the severity of the problem in the region.

He believes that SALW trafficking may impact the region in amplifying regional separatism, crime, drug trafficking and piracy, destruction of social structures, creating barriers for economic development, and serving as catalysts for further corruption. This problem requires extensive counter-measures which were launched with the issuance of a number of legal and political instruments such as the politically-binding Program of Action (2001), the legally-binding Protocol Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition (2005), the politically-binding International Instrument to Enable States to Identify and Trace, in a Timely and Reliable Manner, Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (2005), and the Coordinating Action on Small Arms (CASA) Mechanism. He argued that nevertheless, further approaches should be developed for the international community, origin countries and exporters.

Different Treatment: Women Trafficking in the Securitisation of Transnational Crimes

Dr Rizal Sukma
Deputy Executive Director
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Jakarta, Indonesia



Dr Rizal Sukma during a discussion

Dr Rizal Sukma highlighted a gap between the perceived securitised issue and the actual policy response. Within the scope of ASEAN, he argued that despite the fact that ASEAN has undergone a securitising process for human trafficking in 2004, there has been little progress made. ASEAN has framed human trafficking as a regional problem through a number of its declarations. Nevertheless, it remains limited to the area of information exchange, training among the relevant officials and law enforcement agencies, and workshops. Human trafficking is not seen as a security problem that poses an existential threat to ASEAN states. Thus, it hampers the need to resort to extraordinary measures.

Looking at Indonesia as the source, transit point and destination of women trafficking, he noted that there is inadequate attention paid to this, as reflected by limited resources allocated to address the problem. This condition has occurred due to several reasons. First, is the dominance of state-centric perspectives in most countries when looking at the issue of security. Second, the sense of urgency in addressing the issue comes from external pressure instead of internal need. Third, cultural factors that tend to deny the problem in order to avoid disgrace or embarrassment. Fourth, inadequate securitisation language has been used. Fifth, there is a problem in obtaining reliable data on women trafficking.

It was further noted that in securitising human trafficking, shifting from a state-centric to a human security approach is imperative. He argued that the problem of inadequate policy responses reflects the broader problem of the marginal position of a human security discourse in Indonesia. By employing a human security perspective, policies in addressing human trafficking would balance their focus on the protection of the victims and not merely criminalising the act of trafficking itself. A human security framework offers a comprehensive approach in analysing the problem of human trafficking. A human security approach not only undertakes the elements of protection and prosecution, it also focuses on the prevention of human trafficking by seeking to tackle the root causes that give rise to the problem in the first place.

Discussion

On a more general note, a participant argued that the NTS approach could offer a way to solve the binary dilemma between the state as predator or protector. It was also mentioned in the discussion that to a larger extent, further research on the securitisation gap is needed as many of these issues are seen as threat multipliers. However, it is noteworthy to carefully examine whether securitisation provides a safeguard to cover the inability of states in addressing these issues, despite the fact that the securitising act is necessary to put the state back at the centre as the actor responsible in addressing these issues. Concerning the capacity of states, the role of traditional actors such as the military should be determined in dealing with these issues.

It was also noted that public education - in particular with regard to human trafficking - should be able to remove the stereotyping of these victims which have caused a lack of willingness from the surrounding communities to address the problem. In dealing with this issue, public education should aim to have society looking at other people and other communities as equal.

With regard to the spread of SALW in the region, a participant pondered whether attention needs to be placed on the North-eastern part of India. It was also discussed that different sources of SALW can be from Pakistan or Afghanistan with some even predicting the funding coming from the West.

Network Meeting and Concluding Remarks



NTS-Asia Network Meeting

Following a short tea break, network members gathered to discuss matters relating to the Consortium.

In concluding the convention, Prof. Zhang Yunling and Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony expressed gratitude for the ideas generated during the convention and

thanked network members for their insights in sustaining the Consortium's activities. Prof. Zhang also expressed his best wishes to the Consortium in further strengthening its capacities by tapping on the various sub-regional and national networks, such as in China.

Assoc. Prof. Caballero-Anthony thanked the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences for their generous hospitality in hosting the convention, and also extended her thanks to the Chinese participants, in providing greater insights into NTS issues in China, as well as providing Consortium members the opportunity for the greater sharing of ideas amongst Asian scholars.

The next annual convention would tentatively be held in early November 2009 in Bali, Indonesia, to be hosted by CSIS, Jakarta. Singapore would be a back-up venue.

Programme

10 November (Monday)

09:00 – 10:00 **Opening Session and Overview**

Chairperson
Prof. Han Feng
Professor and Deputy Director
Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies
Chinese Academy of Social
Sciences (CASS)

Opening Remarks (I)

Dr Zhang Yuyan
Director
Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies
Chinese Academy of Social
Sciences (CASS)

Opening Remarks (II)

Mr John Fitzgerald
Country Representative
Ford Foundation, China

Introductory Remarks

Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony
Secretary-General, NTS-Asia and
Head, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of
International Studies
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)

Keynote Address

NTS: Changing Perspectives in China

Prof. Zhang Yunling
Director
Academic Division of
International Studies
Chinese Academy of Social
Sciences (CASS)

10:30 – 12:30 **Panel on Disaster Diplomacy**

Chairperson
Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony
Secretary-General, NTS-Asia and
Head, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of
International Studies
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)

China Foreign Policy

Prof. Wang Yizhou
Deputy Director
Institute of World Economics and
Politics (IWEP)
Chinese Academy of Social
Sciences (CASS)

Disaster Diplomacy and the Dilemma of Humanitarian Intervention: The Cases of Myanmar, Indonesia and China

Dr Miki Honda
Research Fellow
Global-COE: GIARI
Waseda University

Disaster Diplomacy: Sri Lanka Following the Tsunami Devastation

Amb. Geetha de Silva
Associate Director
Regional Centre for Strategic Studies

Helping Neighbours in Trouble? Disaster Response in Global Governance

Dr Alain Guilloux
Honorary Research Fellow
Centre for Asian Studies
The University of Hong Kong

Disaster Diplomacy in Asia: An Indian Perspective

Maj. Gen. Dipankar Banerjee (Retd)
Director
Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies

14:00 – 16:00 **Panel on Food Security**

Chairperson
Prof. Han Feng
Deputy Director
Institute of Asia Pacific Studies
Chinese Academy of Social
Sciences (CASS)

**China-ASEAN Environmental
Cooperation**

Mr Xia Yingxian
Deputy Director
Division of Regional Environmental
Cooperation
Department of International Cooperation
Ministry of Environmental Protection
People's Republic of China

**Gender Sustainable Development and
Climate Change**

Dr Meenakshi Gopinath
Honorary Director
Women in Security, Conflict Management
and Peace (WISCOMP)

**Interfacing Food and Energy Security:
Bangladesh Perspective**

Dr Abdur Rob Khan
Research Director
Bangladesh Institute of International and
Strategic Studies

**Food Security: Another Case for
Human Security in ASEAN**

Ms Irene A. Kuntjoro
Associate Research Fellow
RSIS Centre for NTS Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of
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Nanyang Technological University (NTU)

16:30 – 18:30 **Panel on Energy Security**

Chairperson
Dr Rizal Sukma
Deputy Executive Director
Centre for Strategic and
International Studies

Chinese Energy Structure and Security

Prof. Gao Shixian
Assistant Director
Energy Research Institute
National Development and
Reform Commission
People's Republic of China

**Canadian Oilsands and Sino-Canadian
Energy Cooperation**

Dr Xue Li
Assistant Professor
Institute of World Economics and Politics
Chinese Academy of Social
Sciences (CASS)

**Energy Security: An Indonesian
Perspective**

Dr Raymond Atje
Head, Department of Economics
Centre for Strategic and
International Studies

**Russia's Energy Gambit in Northeast
Asia: Kovykta's Conundrum**

Dr Ahn Se-Hyun
Assistant Professor
Dept of International Relations
University of Seoul

Nuclear Renaissance and Political Risk

Dr Rajesh Manohar Basrur
Associate Professor
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Nanyang Technological University (NTU)

11 November (Tuesday)**09:00 – 11:00 Panel on Transnational Crime**

Chairperson

Dr Abdur Rob Khan

Research Director

Bangladesh Institute of International and
Strategic Studies**Fighting the Hydra: The Security
Implications of Transnational Crime**

Mr Herman Kraft

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science

University of the Philippines

**Regional Responses to Human
Trafficking**

Dr Nicholas Thomas

China-ASEAN Project

Centre for Asian Studies

The University of Hong Kong

**East Asia: Trafficking Small Arms and
Light Weapons (SALW)**

Dr Zhang Xuegang

Research Fellow

China Institutes of Contemporary
International Relations**Different Treatment: Women
Trafficking in the Securitisation of
Transnational Crimes**

Dr Rizal Sukma

Deputy Executive Director

Centre for Strategic and International
Studies (CSIS)

Jakarta

List of Participants

(in alphabetical order)

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3. **Maj. Gen. (Retd) Dipankar Banerjee**
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Institute for Conflict and Peace Studies, India
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5. **Dr Mely Caballero-Anthony**
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Secretary-General, NTS-Asia
6. **Mr John Fitzgerald**
Country Representative
Ford Foundation
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7. **Prof. Gao Shixian**
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8. **Dr Meenakshi Gopinath**
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13. **Dr Abdur Rob Khan**
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14. **Mr Herman Kraft**
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15. **Amb. Geetha de Silva**
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16. **Dr Rizal Sukma**
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17. **Dr Nicholas Thomas**
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22. Dr Zhang Yuyan

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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 14 research institutes and think-tanks representing the three sub-regions across Asia: Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia and South Asia:

1. Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Indonesia
2. Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), India
3. Centre of Asian Studies (CAS), University of Hong Kong
4. Ilmin International Relations Institute (IIRI) Korea University
5. Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), Philippines
6. Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (IAPS), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), China
7. Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China
8. Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Vietnam
9. Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU), University of Dhaka, Bangladesh
10. Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Sri Lanka
11. S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
12. The Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BISS)
13. The WorldFish Center, Malaysia
14. Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP), Foundation for Universal Responsibility, India

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 males and females 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 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 policy-makers 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 policy-makers on the importance of NTS in guiding political responses to NTS emergencies and develop strategies to mitigate the risks to state and human security; and
- 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 (R2P) 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.

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

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, policy-makers and NGOs.

Networking and Outreach

The Centre serves as a networking hub for researchers, policy analysts, policy-makers, 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 14 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.



S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

A Graduate School of Nanyang Technological University