



Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies  
**YEAR IN REVIEW 2011**

CENTRE FOR  
**NON-TRADITIONAL  
SECURITY STUDIES**





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*YEAR IN REVIEW 2011*

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# Key NTS Events 2011

Global food prices reached a new historic peak, with the FAO Food Price Index rising to 238 points. [\[p.18\]](#)

For the first time in a decade, there was an armed clash between the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) and the Myanmar military, illustrating the escalation of post-election border tensions. [\[p.27\]](#)

The Fourth ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) Meeting adopted the Guidelines on the Operations of the AICHR.



tiltwe / flickr

In an unusually decisive move in the wake of Fukushima, Germany's coalition government passed legislation to shut down its nuclear programme by 2022. [\[p.08\]](#)

Osama Bin Laden, leader of the al-Qaeda terrorist network, was killed by US Special Forces in Pakistan nearly a decade to the day after the September 11 attacks in 2001.

JAN

FEB

MAR

APR

MAY

JUN

The dual natural disasters in Japan sparked the Fukushima nuclear crisis, prompting debates about the prudence of nuclear energy. [\[p.07\]](#)

In Myanmar, a nominally civilian government was sworn in. Early signs suggest that the elections, initially decried by many as farcical, may be an important step towards open social, political and economic systems.

Timor-Leste officially applied to join ASEAN.



Ed Hawkesworth / DFID

A WHO review committee found no evidence that commercial interests influenced WHO decisions during the 2009 H1N1 pandemic. [\[p.22\]](#)

Massive flooding in central and southwest China displaced millions and led to still undetermined social and economic impacts.

Cambodia's war crimes tribunal, a collaborative effort between the International Criminal Court and the Cambodian judiciary, brought to trial the four surviving top leaders of the Khmer Rouge. [\[p.28\]](#)



ECCC / Wikimedia Commons

The Horn of Africa experienced the worst famine in 60 years. Over 10 million were affected, and Somalia's exceedingly poor governance capacities gained renewed international attention. **[p.21]**

In Thailand, Yingluck Shinawatra led the opposition Pheu Thai party to victory. **[p.27]**

Echoing a previous UN Security Council statement, the International Court of Justice ruled that ASEAN should lead efforts to resolve the ongoing border dispute between Thailand and Cambodia. **[p.27]**



JUL

A UN high-level meeting garnered increased attention and resources for non-communicable diseases. **[p.23]**

Myanmar announced the suspension of the Myitsone Dam project, a move which had significant implications for energy security in southwest China.

Extreme flooding in Sindh, eastern Balochistan and southern Punjab in Pakistan caused huge losses and damage, adding further strain to a South Asian country already facing considerable internal pressures.



AUG



Oxiam International / flickr

The 17th annual Conference of the Parties (COP17) to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change was held in Durban, South Africa. **[p.10]**

The 6th East Asia Summit (EAS) convened with an expanded roll of 18 members which included the US and Russia.



SEP

OCT

NOV

DEC

Philippines President Benigno Aquino held secret talks with Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) leader Al Haj Murad Ebrahim to discuss the long-running Mindanao conflict, illustrating the continuing rapprochement between the government and separatist forces. **[p.28]**



Phillip Roeland / flickr

Massive flooding in Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam damaged over 1.5 million ha of rice fields, leading to nervous speculation about the effects on regional food security. In the shadow of these unfolding challenges, ASEAN convened its 11th annual Food Conference in Brunei Darussalam. **[p.19]**

A significant natural gas discovery off the coast of Vietnam brought the South China Sea territorial disputes back to the fore.

In response to the deaths of 13 fishermen, China, Laos, Myanmar and Thailand agreed to hold joint security operations targeted at criminal organisations associated with drug smuggling.

Papua saw renewed violence between the Indonesian armed forces and locals as 1,000 Papuans gathered for a reportedly peaceful pro-independence demonstration. **[p.28]**

# Japan's Triple Disaster Reveals NTS Interconnections

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The year 2011 has seen the further prioritisation of non-traditional security (NTS) issues throughout research and policymaking circles in the Asia-Pacific region. Regional trends and events have highlighted the need for strategies that can help people, communities, states and organisations address multifarious security challenges, thus propelling the NTS platform to a higher stratum of political and institutional discourse.

During 2011, for example, food prices reached an all-time high, creating opportunities for producers and marketers while driving many vulnerable households and individuals further into poverty. Climatic volatility continued as climate change negotiations laboriously moved forward from 2010's Cancun meetings, with the need for new agreements and strategic approaches as pressing as ever. Asia's growing economies laudably weathered much of 2011's pervasive global economic instability and as a result energy demand in the region continued to increase rapidly. Meeting

*The most severe destruction wrought by Japan's triple disaster came from the devastating tsunami. The wall of water stripped Japan's primary protective measures, leaving property damage and untold human suffering in its wake.*

---

such energy demand in ways that are environmentally sustainable and socially progressive is a formidable task for stakeholders throughout Asia. Public health issues continue to be formidable, and span a continuum, from rapidly developing risks such as pandemics and polluting accidents, to endemic problems associated with infectious diseases and lifestyle choices. Finally, and in part as a manifestation of other NTS challenges, internal and cross-border conflicts continue to bring violence and pockets of instability to areas around Asia.

The dynamics of each of these sectors are explored in greater detail in the following sections of this *Centre for NTS Studies Year in Review 2011*. It is important, however, that NTS issues not be analysed in strict isolation, and that the connections that bind broader security thinking are recognised. One series of events in 2011 provided a visual and emotive exemplifier of the interconnectedness of NTS challenges, and demonstrated anew the capacity for events to beget important questions and foment new trends and policy directions. These events were Japan's multiple disasters.

Matthew M. Bradley / US Navy

## A Jolt to Japan's Sense of Security

The so-called 'triple disaster' began in the mid-afternoon of 11 March 2011 when a 9.0-magnitude earthquake struck approximately 72 kilometres east of the Oshika Peninsula in northeast Japan. The earthquake, among the most powerful globally since recorded measurements began in 1900, rocked wide swathes of Japanese territory.

Destruction from the earthquake would ultimately pale, however, in comparison to the devastation wrought by an ensuing tsunami that struck the Japanese coastline with deadly force and travelled up to 10 kilometres inland. These events combined to leave still undetermined numbers of people dead (over 15,000 deaths have been confirmed) and the nation reeling. The situation was further compounded when the tsunami breached the barriers of the low-lying Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant and rendered key operational and safety systems non-functional. Over the days and weeks that followed, much of the world watched as Japan grappled to control serious nuclear hazards that saw explosions, reactor meltdowns and the release of toxic materials into the air and surrounding ecosystems. Overall, recovery

in Japan could cost up to USD235 billion according to World Bank estimates, making it among the most costly disasters ever recorded, and the country faces years of reconstruction efforts.

The tragedies in Japan brought new attention to the importance of disaster risk reduction (DRR) strategies and highlighted the reality that even highly developed societies can still face acute vulnerabilities. Japan has invested billions to regulate building and infrastructure construction in the face of earthquake risks, build seawalls to protect its coastlines from dangerous tsunamis and put social systems in place to promote the welfare of citizens in the case of disasters. These measures no doubt saved many lives, but in many areas the destruction from the events quickly overwhelmed disaster preparedness measures. For their part, Japanese authorities along with other key actors fell under fire for poor strategic communication, deficits in disaster relief efforts and a failure to transparently report the events in Fukushima as they played out. These criticisms have had social and political ramifications that will continue to evolve in 2012, and many hard-hit areas of Japan remain mired in a post-disaster environment.

## Wider Implications

Japan's triple disaster has done more than create untold suffering throughout much of the country. It has also had ripple effects that are truly global, and speak to many issues at the centre of NTS studies. Perhaps the most pronounced among these effects has been the wide-ranging re-evaluation of nuclear power around the world. Japan has long sought to maintain a degree of energy security despite its low traditional-energy resource endowment; and the country has

pursued an aggressive nuclear programme to this end. This strategy is now undergoing extensive review and is the source of a protracted national debate. Further afield, Germany has significantly altered its energy course and elected to phase out nuclear reactors in the coming decades. In developing states in Asia, including nuclear China and currently non-nuclear Vietnam, Thailand and Indonesia, the Fukushima incident has spurred renewed debate about the safety



*After an explosion at the Fukushima nuclear power plant.*

and wisdom of nuclear energy development. While nuclear plans in these Asian states are set to progress in 2012, there is little doubt that events in Japan have provided more than a cautionary tale to many potential future members of the nuclear energy club.

These developments have implications for energy security and environmental health. As Asian economies continue their economic ascent they will require greater energy inputs to meet growing demands. These demands will be met in large part by fossil fuels, but nuclear power could arguably be an increasingly important source of baseline energy in the region, particularly in large countries such as China and India. Any movement away from nuclear planning and development will require that other energy sources be brought to bear, and this could lead to still more demand in the fossil fuel sectors and/or an added impetus to more rapidly develop renewable sources of energy. The trajectory of these trends will be mightily important for future climatic changes, as the operation of nuclear energy programmes can contribute to reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Given Asia's emergence as a global energy consumption giant, few issues are more important for the future of global energy trends or climate mitigation efforts than the evolving energy policies throughout the region.

The 2011 disasters in Japan, and particularly the nuclear safety breaches at Fukushima, have also stirred far-reaching health concerns and created food security issues that are both local and international

in nature. Health concerns stemming from the release of radioactive material into the air, water and soil around Fukushima dominated coverage of the disaster from the point of nuclear crisis onwards. While the health risks associated with the nuclear breakdown were likely only applicable to a relatively small area surrounding the incident, concerns and even panic regarding public health spanned both sides of the Pacific. Other health concerns remain as the exposure of water and soil systems in Japan to radioactive materials has led to fears that the food produced there is unsafe. These developments have important second- and third-order implications for Japanese and regional food systems: the recovery of agricultural regions in the vicinity of Fukushima depends largely on the acceptance of food from these areas by both domestic and international consumers.

The final section of this *Year in Review* addresses some of the key conflict dynamics that have affected Asian stability during 2011. Clearly, these do not relate to the disasters in Japan in a direct manner. However, a critical assessment of the causes of conflict and instability in the region reveals a multitude of similar NTS issues at play. The interconnected trends and events that are exemplified by the triple disaster, such as those connecting energy, natural environments and human health and well-being, are often inescapable drivers of grievance and conflict in the pockets of conflict that mire Asian regions. These drivers are often masked, indirect and difficult to assess, creating analytical challenges that should be embraced by future NTS work.

## Conclusion

Japan's triple-disaster event was unique and tragic, but the interconnectedness of the disasters is not an aberration in the NTS field. Connections link NTS sectors in fundamental ways, from the ubiquity of energy and water inputs for food production, to the multifarious factors that are relevant to public health, to the foundational role of environmental resources for the range of human endeavours. Thus, while the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies finds

the sectorised categories of this *Year in Review* analytically useful, our founding premise is that it is the conjunction of NTS challenges that holds the most importance. It is our hope that the following sections will further unpack some of these NTS dynamics and relationships, and contribute to the maturation of the subfield in 2012.

*Contributed by J. Jackson Ewing*

# Changing a Climate of Scepticism and Pessimism

Despite being two years removed, the dismal process and disappointing outcomes of the 2009 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) meeting in Copenhagen have continued to affect the climate change discourse. Marred by politicking among delegates, attacks on climate science, as well as aggressive civil society organisations (CSOs), the expectations of a fair, ambitious and binding climate treaty were lost. Instead, the watered down Copenhagen Accord was formulated, with no specific targets to mitigate climate change.

Fortunately, the 2010 UNFCCC meeting in Cancun – marked by a sense of pragmatism, lowered expectations from delegates and excellent chairpersonship by Mexico – was able to vastly improve upon what transpired in Copenhagen. Observers have however contemplated whether such politically pragmatic approaches would be able to effectively stem the effects of climate change in the long run. Fortunately, 2011



*UNFCCC Meeting in Panama, October 2011.*

has so far demonstrated progress as the international community prepares for the UNFCCC meeting in Durban in November. Post-Cancun developments, namely advances in the UNFCCC process and evolving approaches among important stakeholders, provide reasons for optimism as climate negotiations move forward.

## Advances in the UNFCCC Process

The UNFCCC meetings in Bonn and Panama, in June and October 2011 respectively, saw progress realised through the UNFCCC process and a further revalidation of its institutional direction. In terms of mitigation, there had been cynicism that Annex 1 countries (largely developed nations) would be able to meet their targets and renew their commitments under the Kyoto Protocol. Nevertheless, countries were encouraged at Bonn to be proactive in overcoming gaps in commitment periods by realising middle-ground solutions and options that are acceptable to all sides. The Panama meeting built on these discussions by furthering the creation of a credible formal Review (2013–2015) of the total sum of national pledges to reduce carbon emissions. Presently, the amount falls 40 per cent short of keeping below a 2 degree Celsius temperature increase. That said however,

there was progress on other mitigation fronts such as the formalisation of the Climate Technology Centre and Network, which will likely lead to the greater involvement of various stakeholders from the global clean technology community.

The Bonn meeting also hosted a new session to examine the possible impacts of implementing mitigation measures. A joint effort of two UNFCCC subsidiary bodies – the Subsidiary Body for Implementation (SBI) and the Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice (SBSTA) – the session demonstrated stronger efforts to integrate various climate change strategies. Issues raised during discussions included economic transitions and diversification as well as health and trade-related concerns. Such a session is highly valuable but is only



UNclimatechange / flickr

UNFCCC Meeting in Bonn, June 2011.

a starting point for redoubling efforts to understand the impacts of implementing various carbon mitigation measures. Fortunately, UNFCCC Executive Secretary

Christiana Figueres noted that such sessions will continue to be held in future UNFCCC meetings so as to develop a work programme with modalities that can be operationalised.

There were also progressive developments in the adaptation sector during 2011. Of particular note were the strengthening of governance structures and the further delineation of the specific roles of the Adaptation Committee. With this progress, delegates are confident that the Adaptation Committee can be operationalised during the 17th Conference of the Parties (COP17) in Durban, a point which is highly significant for many of the vulnerable countries of Asia.

## Perpetual Thorn in the UNFCCC's Side

Maintaining relatively low expectations may have staved off the disillusionment felt after the COP15 in Copenhagen in 2009, and helped to sustain the momentum going forward from the COP16 in Cancun in 2010. However, that still leaves largely unsolved the prickly issue of reducing carbon emissions. To what extent can the pursuit of a green economy at the COP17 in Durban in late 2011 and the Rio Earth Summit in 2012 address this?



UNclimatechange / flickr

*'... the sum total of current national pledges to reduce global emissions falls **40 per cent short** of keeping below 2°C and that gap will have to be filled in the future.'*

### **Christiana Figueres**

Executive Secretary of the UNFCCC speaking at the Bonn Climate Change Conference, June 2011.



Anas Mohamed

*'At the UN, progress is slow... A frankly childish mentality persists, which says: "**I won't act on carbon emissions until you act first.**" Political will to tackle climate change appears as fickle as the weather.'*

### **Mohamed Waheed**

Vice President of the Maldives, speaking during Climate Week in New York City, September 2011.

## Stakeholders' Evolving Approaches

Aside from progress within UNFCCC channels, 2011 also saw changes in the approaches of various key stakeholders. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, who was a strong advocate of a positive outcome at the UNFCCC meeting in Copenhagen, has since changed his stance and redirected his efforts to more immediate gains in clean energy and sustainable development. Such a change is significant as it signals a move in the UN Secretariat away from focusing on emissions targets as such and towards an emphasis upon the renewable energy improvements that will help make such targets achievable.

Second, many CSOs are showing signs of altering their approaches to the climate negotiation process. Several CSOs that opted for an aggressive stance at Copenhagen have now shown a greater willingness to engage more constructively, and to recognise the concerns and limits of the various stakeholders. Moreover, CSOs have acknowledged the importance of lobbying policymakers at the national and regional level prior to the annual international meetings. International NGOs have also been providing increasing assistance to local NGOs, which understand the nuanced needs of local communities but may not be as well funded as their internationally established counterparts.

CSOs have also often been misrepresented as being generally opposed to government initiatives. In reality,

however, CSOs are a diverse group which include non-profit organisations, research institutes and think tanks as well as business alliances. Depending on their specific expertise, CSOs can assist in various aspects of addressing climate change, such as implementing projects, providing funding, monitoring processes and extending technical and policy advice. Such engagement from CSOs is further enhanced when it is recognised that their existing experience would be a valuable asset. An example is the Non-Governmental Organization Network of the Global Environment Facility (GEF-NGO Network) which was established in May 1995 to formalise dialogue and partnerships between accredited NGOs worldwide and the GEF's governing bodies and various partner agencies.

Third, climate change discussions in 2011 have been increasingly integrated or balanced with existing knowledge. Doomsday scenarios have been questioned for their alarmist overtones, and more nuanced deliberations on climate change effects have emerged. In a study group meeting organised by the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies in April 2011, it was noted that climate change-induced migration, for instance, would not necessarily lead to mass movements of people that would cause national security threats, and moreover cannot be distinctly separated from other push and pull socioeconomic factors. Furthermore, based on existing literature on climate change and migration, it was

*The drying up of rivers as a result of prolonged drought has contributed to multiple levels of insecurity, including threats to food security, economic livelihoods and energy security (hydroelectric power).*



observed that, rather than choosing to migrate, victims of weather-related disasters such as floods and typhoons often preferred to adapt to their circumstances.

The climate change and migration example suggests that climate change solutions must not be pursued in isolation and that there is a need to recognise and respond to the social contexts in which climate change effects occur. In this vein, there has also been an

emphasis on integrating climate change mitigation and adaptation measures with existing knowledge, such as streamlining disaster risk reduction (DRR) with climate change adaptation, and combining poverty alleviation measures into mitigation and adaptation strategies. Mit-Ad (a combination of mitigation and adaptation) strategies, which have been adopted by the UN Economic and Social Council for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP), are an example of such integration.

## Challenges

While positive strides have been made during 2011, pervasive challenges remain and need to be further considered not just in Durban, but also as a part of national and regional deliberations. External developments that may affect the success or efficiency of mitigation and/or adaptation measures would have to be factored in. In terms of urban planning, vulnerabilities in urban areas would need to be better amalgamated into development plans. Megacities such as Manila and Jakarta have demonstrated that housing and socioeconomic issues across various jurisdictions must be addressed effectively if the growth in the number of vulnerable settlements is to

be reduced. In terms of diversifying energy mixes or reducing dependence on fossil fuels, countries must weigh the pros and cons of the energy sources that they adopt, whether they be nuclear, hydrocarbon-based or renewable. Additionally, in terms of financing, governments must make policy choices on climate and development projects that minimise adverse impacts on communities. As such, countries must develop a nuanced understanding of the local circumstances and needs of various regions. It is only by doing so that development plans can provide optimum benefits for the respective communities.

## Prospects for 2012

The road to Durban is thus an uphill slope albeit with a slightly reduced gradient as a result of the Bonn and Panama meetings. The underlying tone since Cancun of having low expectations in climate negotiations does reduce the level of disappointment among various stakeholders, and thereby helps to maintain a steady momentum. This, however, gives room for some countries to slacken their efforts, particularly in light of global developments such as the financial downturn in the West, which are likely to further exacerbate stagnating climate change negotiation trends.

It remains to be seen to what extent outcomes from Durban will contribute to, and/or enhance, discussions at the Rio Earth Summit in June 2012. While some observers have criticised both meetings as mere global

talk shops, there must be recognition of the significant overlap in some of the issues and solutions raised in both tracks, such as the green economy's role in alleviating poverty and the importance of large-scale energy transitions in both developed and developing countries. Hence, the key indicator of progress for national governments and other stakeholders is the extent to which they are able to streamline and coordinate efforts to facilitate more efficient allocation of resources to sectors that need them most. While the international community is aware that there is hardly a need to reinvent the wheel, the speed at which the wheels of sustainable development are paddled must increase exponentially in 2012.

*Contributed by Sofiah Jamil*

# The Search for Energy Security

2011 was an important and turbulent year for energy security. Throughout the year, much attention was dedicated to various aspects of nuclear energy development, especially in the context of the tragic Fukushima accident. At the same time, the past year witnessed a re-emergence of the clean energy sector from the rather challenging period that followed the 2008 economic slowdown. In the field of fossil fuels, the greatest interest was given to the potentials offered by shale gas explorations taking place in various parts of the globe.

## Storms on the Nuclear Sea

The beginning of 2011 was marked in Asia and the world by a renewed interest in nuclear energy. Rising fuel prices, concerns about climate change and a slowdown in the production of hydrocarbons had pushed many Southeast Asian nations to look towards the opportunities offered by modern nuclear technology. Countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam and even tiny Singapore revealed plans for various levels of nuclear energy development. Hence, at least in terms of interest and planning, the early months of 2011 witnessed a continuing 'nuclear renaissance' both in Southeast Asia and in other parts of the world. This trend was shaken on 11 March 2011 when a devastating tsunami crippled the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant in Japan. While the earthquake and tsunami by themselves resulted in a catastrophic loss of life and major damage to residential, commercial and industrial areas, these were overshadowed, locally and internationally, by the concerns about the accident at the Fukushima plant. Subsequently, the disaster had significant impacts on the perception of nuclear energy both in Japan and abroad. Several countries, primarily in Europe, called for the review or even abandonment of existing or planned nuclear energy projects.

In Asia, conversely, while the Fukushima incident has certainly resulted in more silence around nuclear projects, multiple countries remain determined to continue expanding their nuclear sector. The fundamental reasons for the interest of Asian countries in nuclear energy projects are still valid in the post-Fukushima world and they will likely continue to



Bruno and Ligia Rodrigues

Coal power plant.

remain so into the foreseeable future. Hence, despite the Fukushima incident, in 2011 Asia continued to be the world's primary ground for the development of nuclear energy projects. The Fukushima incident will, however, certainly have an impact on how Asian governments pursue their nuclear energy ambitions. The building of new plants is likely to take place at a slower pace and with modifications based on lessons from Japan. Furthermore, more transparency and confidence-building measures will be needed to address public concern over the safety of nuclear power plants.

## Developments in Clean Energy

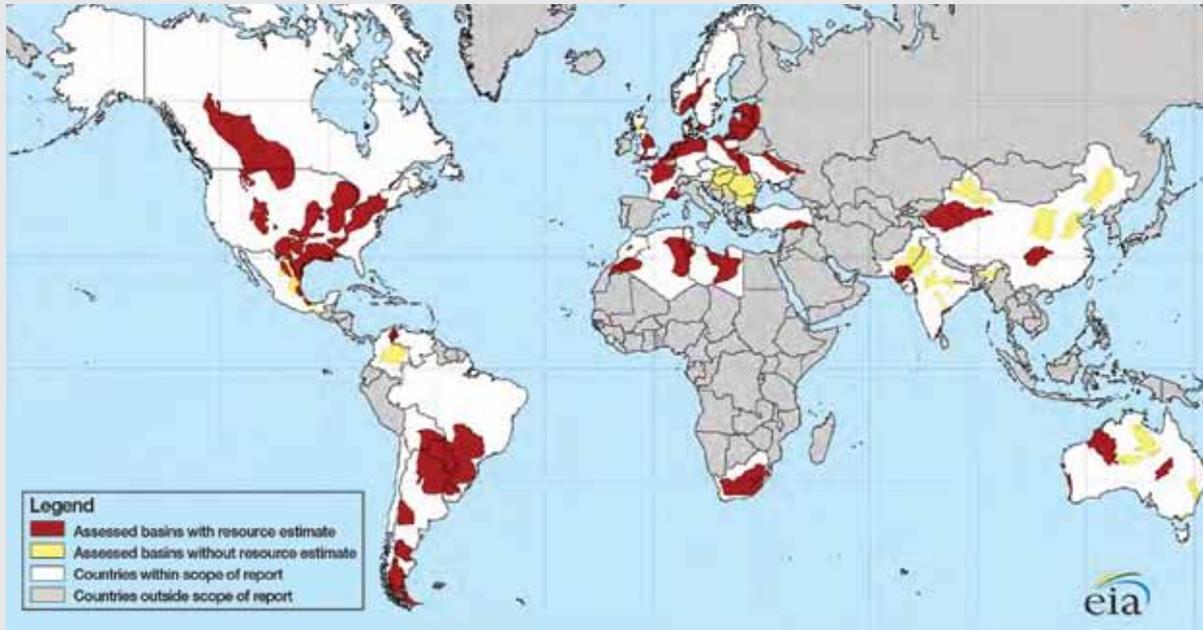
After a hiatus caused by the global economic downturn, in 2011, both business and political circles demonstrated a renewed interest in clean energy. This tendency was further reinforced by the Fukushima incident which led a number of nations to turn their eyes to alternatives to nuclear energy.

One of the major developments in the clean energy sector in 2011 was the increased interest in offshore wind power generation. Despite its high costs, offshore wind power offers several potential benefits. Consistent winds mean greater power generation capacity, and wind farms can be located relatively close to population centres. In Asia, China continued to be the most important centre for the development of offshore wind power projects. Indeed, China's impressive large-scale deployment of clean energy technologies in 2011 led many to suggest that it might take not only regional but also world leadership of clean energy development.



Ad Meskens / Wikipedia Commons

## Shale: An Energy Game-changer?



Map of 48 major shale gas basins in 32 countries.

Source: US Energy Information Administration (EIA), 2011, *World Shale Gas Resources: An Initial Assessment of 14 Regions Outside the United States*.

While further exploration will bring more clarity, the map above reveals that shale gas could potentially alter the distribution of the world's energy hotspots, affecting energy calculations throughout Asia. Before it does so, however, the leaders of this new fossil eldorado will need to address the concerns raised by influential environmental groups across the globe.

## Hopes for Shale Gas

In addition to greater efforts in the renewables sector, 2011 also witnessed a significant increase in interest in shale gas. Little known even five years ago, shale gas is seen as having the potential to shake the geopolitics of global energy markets.

Shale gas refers to natural gas that is trapped within shale formations. Technological advances in recent years have allowed access to large volumes of shale gas that were previously uneconomical to produce. So far, the US is the only country to engage in large-scale exploration of this resource. Nevertheless, the success of some shale gas projects in 2011 brought hopes that

the resource could be successfully exploited in other parts of the globe.

Shale gas presents a very attractive source of energy for a number of reasons. The use of shale gas could mean lower greenhouse gas emissions: when burned, the gas has been shown in many cases to emit fewer pollutants than coal or oil. Hence, exploiting shale gas could offer benefits from an environmental point of view. Second, shale gas can be found outside of the traditional natural-gas producing regions such as Russia or the Middle East. For instance, it is possible that China holds the world's largest shale gas reserves.

In this context, shale gas could have far-reaching consequences for global geopolitics and particular countries' sense of energy security.

At the same time, however, 2011 saw a rise of environmental voices opposed to the exploitation of shale gas. While shale gas could be a 'cleaner' source of energy, some academics, activists and organisations note that the methods used in its extraction might result in irreversible damage to the natural environment. While the overall impact of the extraction of shale

gas on the environment is still a subject of debate and study, these concerns have already resulted in the slowing down of shale gas projects in several Western countries. While China's government might prove to be less susceptible to civil society's opinions, it may find it at least politically necessary to ensure that its desire to develop a new, abundant source of energy be accompanied by appropriate measures to ensure the safety of its environment and the well-being of affected communities.

## Prospects for 2012

The fundamental rationale for diversifying energy sources is likely to remain in place throughout 2012 and beyond. In light of volatile prices, air pollution, climate change and various geopolitical considerations, most countries will continue to seek viable alternatives to fossil fuels. This will mean that, despite Fukushima, most countries, especially in Asia, will proceed with their planned nuclear energy projects. Japan's problems might however mean more public resistance to nuclear energy, which may result in the need for increased expenditure on additional safety measures and various confidence-building policies. At the same time,

provided that economic conditions remain favourable, 2012 is likely to witness a growth of the clean energy industry which may prove to be one of the greatest beneficiaries of the concerns over nuclear energy's safety. Yet, the most anticipated developments are likely to be associated with shale gas exploration projects currently undertaken around the globe. If the results of drilling prove as promising as the current predictions, one can expect a potentially major sea change in both energy markets and energy geopolitics.

*Contributed by Zbigniew Dumianski*

*Nuclear power plant.*



redjar / flickr

# Addressing Food Security from Farm to Plate

The year 2011 has seen significant challenges in the food security sector, marked by record-high global food prices and the Horn of Africa suffering the world's worst famine in decades. These developments, as well as growing awareness of the linkages among food security, climate change and social stability, have contributed to the increased profile of food security as a paramount issue in global affairs.

Demand pressures on Asia's food supplies are momentous and growing. Currently, 60 per cent of the world's malnourished reside in Asia, and meeting their needs will only become more challenging as the region's population swells, as the demand for food increases and diversifies with income growth, and as the demographic shifts towards cities heighten urban food security issues. In the production of food, the region faces escalating environmental challenges relating to land degradation, land conversion and water management, in addition to intensified weather events and changed weather patterns resulting from climate change.

The Southeast Asian food economy in particular is continuing to adapt, develop and modernise at a rapid pace in the face of these challenges. Innovations in biotechnology, farm management practices, sustainable agriculture, technological inputs, and urban agriculture continue to improve prospects for food production. However, access to and utilisation of these innovations remain disparate and unequal within the region. Traditional supply chains are shortening and modernising at a rapid rate, most



FPRI / Flickr

The food retail sector in Asia is modernising rapidly, with corporate grocers emerging at an unprecedented rate.

notably in the retail sector, which is witnessing the sharp rise of corporate grocers. Medium- and large-scale food producers are better placed to benefit from and participate in these transformations than the region's small-holder farmers, who remain vulnerable to the modernising food economy.

Food price volatility and sustained high food prices have differing but deep long-term effects on food security, particularly in developing countries. Volatility brings investors into the agricultural commodities market, but causes uncertainty for poor households and the region's many small agricultural producers, who are impacted on both sides as buyers and sellers of food. High food prices push large numbers of marginally poor people into poverty and cause immense food security challenges for the chronic poor, but simultaneously they encourage increased agricultural productivity and much-needed investment in agriculture.

## Record Food Prices

The volatility experienced during the 2007–2008 food price crisis has not been experienced since, but global prices have reached new sustained heights. Following a sharp rise in mid-2010, the Food and

Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) Food Price Index peaked at a record 238 points in February 2011 and prices have remained high throughout the year. A wider range of food types have

been affected by the price hikes this year (compared to 2007–2008). The factors contributing to the 2010–2011 food price hikes have been considerably more complex, interdependent and globalised than in previous decades, when the dominant influence on prices was the weather. In relative terms, rice has not as yet followed the price hike trends of other staple foods in 2011 as there are unique factors determining its price. The impact of floods in the region in late 2011 and the implementation of Thailand's rice pricing plan may however prompt a rise.

Structural factors driving up the global price of food include demand pressures such as population growth, rising incomes in developing countries and diversified demand for food as a result of income growth. In terms of supply, the falling stocks of staples and an inability

to keep up with demand during the past decade have kept food prices high. Competition for grains for biofuel production and livestock feed has intensified, as has competition for land as Southeast Asian cities sprawl into areas once used for agricultural production. The cost of agricultural inputs continues to rise, and water scarcity and water mismanagement issues in Southeast Asia continue to drive up food production costs. Moreover, decades of underinvestment and neglect in agricultural technology, infrastructure, processing facilities and research and development in the region continue to have an impact on pricing. Cyclical factors which have contributed to high food prices in 2011 include the destruction of crops from devastating weather events (particularly floods), the weakening US dollar, rising energy prices and speculative food commodity market activity.

## Food Inflation and Poverty

Domestic food prices, which directly impact consumers and producers, are determined by market conditions, government policies, import dependency and currency exchange rates. Given these factors, there have been considerable variations between Southeast Asian countries in the transmission of global to domestic prices this year. High domestic food prices have driven food price inflation in Asia in 2011, putting pressure on domestic economic growth and impacting the many households that spend at least 60 per cent of their income on food. In early 2011, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) predicted

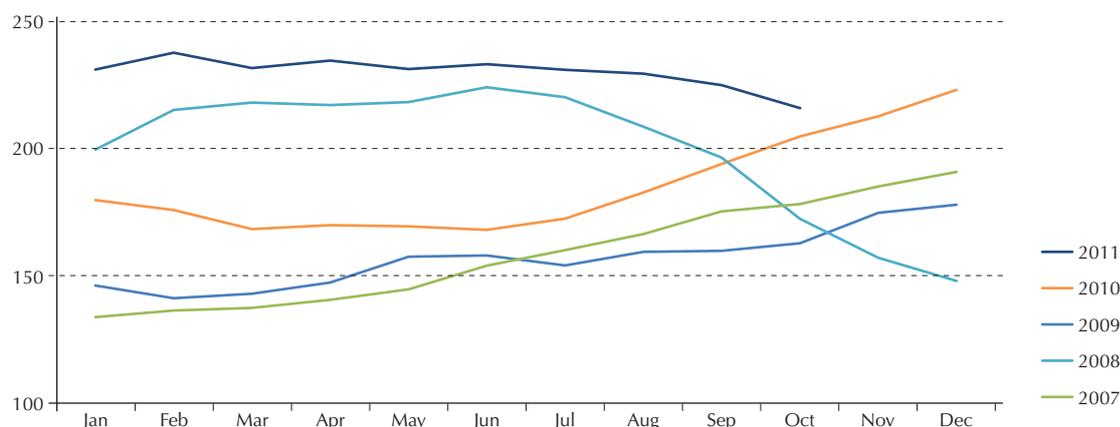
that a 10 per cent rise in food inflation in Asia's developing countries could lead to an additional 64 million people entering poverty, while the World Bank estimated that 44 million people globally had already entered poverty by early 2011 as a result of the 2010–2011 price increases. Domestic prices and inflation are but two of the driving factors which have determined the impact of high food prices on poverty. Other factors include the effectiveness of policy responses, the ability of households to cope with price shocks, and the distribution and composition of food supplies.

## Food Price Rise and Investment

While devastating to the region's poor and malnourished, the rise in food prices has concurrently presented opportunities for development and growth in Asia's food sectors. High food prices have been shown to result in increased production. They encourage crucial investment in the agricultural sector – in improved farm inputs, research, storage facilities, transport and infrastructure. There is also the potential for the region's small-holder farmers (many of whom

are net buyers of food and are nearly all vulnerable to price volatility), to benefit from food price increases. At present, it is generally medium- and large-farm owners who stand to benefit most from price increases, but there are examples of higher profitability flowing through to small-holders. Small-scale rice farmers in Vietnam in particular have gained from increased global rice prices as a result of effective government policies and rural development programmes.

## FAO Food Price Index 2007–2011



## Prospects for 2012

In the face of these multiple challenges, the approach of governments in responding to and preparing for future food price volatility remains key to the region's food security. Southeast Asian countries have adopted various domestic stabilising policies, including strategic food stockpiles, subsidies for consumers and producers, and measures to stimulate production, which have proven useful and can be expanded upon. None of the food growing countries in the region have implemented export restrictions on food since the 2007–2008 crisis and ASEAN has effectively driven cooperation in the creation of rice reserves and the sharing of market information and intelligence. There is potential for further cooperation, particularly in the possible development of a regional risk-sharing mechanism in order to prevent protectionist actions in the event of future food price spirals, and encourage improved transparency in the trade of rice. Continued efforts to assist those vulnerable to high food prices are a priority given predictions that global prices will not ease until at least December 2012.

Constructing symbiotic urban-rural food sector relationships must be a primary goal for Asian countries and institutions, and was a key theme of the inaugural International Conference on Asian Food Security (ICAFS), hosted by the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies in Singapore in August 2011. The pertinent issues along the four key dimensions of food security – food availability, physical access, economic access and food utilisation – were identified and addressed during the three-day conference.

The ICAFS 2011 dialogues were premised on the fact that addressing Asia's primary food concerns requires better understandings of the interdependencies connecting urban and rural food security. In particular, the opportunity for increased utilisation of resources available in urban contexts to promote developments in rural agricultural production was highlighted as a measure to improve the region's future food security prospects. It will also be vital to regain investment momentum, promote innovation in science and policy, advance sustainable agricultural practices and address the plight of small-holder farmers and the chronic poor.

Key to Asia's food security in 2012 will be recovery from flood-related crop losses in 2011, and effective measures to help the urban and rural poor achieve household food security under sustained high-pricing conditions. Urgent and multifaceted approaches are needed to ensure that the agricultural sector gains from high prices, including providing assistance to small farmers and developing investment opportunities. Likely extreme weather events will continue to highlight the immense food security risks associated with climate change and further draw attention to the imperative need for adaption and mitigation. If these challenges are addressed effectively and in conjunction with one another, Asia's food security outlook could markedly improve in the coming year.

*Contributed by Sally Trethewie*

## Horn of Africa: Worst Famine in Decades

The worst famine the world has witnessed in decades affected over 13 million people in Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti in 2011. This is double the number of people affected by the Ethiopian food crisis of 1984–1985. A ‘perfect storm’ of factors, including a drought worsened by climate change, the international community’s slow response to early warnings, weak local governance and the hindering of relief operations in southern Somalia by rebel group al-Shabaab, led to the severity of the crisis.

Warnings of a serious impending drought in the Horn of Africa first emerged in 2008, followed by warnings in 2009 and 2010 by the UN and other actors who declared that many in East Africa were in need of urgent assistance. However, the international community only engaged with the issue once famine was declared in July 2011, at which point some affected areas were already well over the thresholds for famine and tens of thousands had died.

Even though the likelihood of a famine on this scale occurring in Southeast Asia in the near future is slim, worrying levels of hunger persist in parts of the region. The number of hungry people in Southeast Asia has reduced 44 per cent since 1990 to a moderate level according to the Global Hunger Index (GHI) 2011, but the region remains close to the category of serious risk. The complex, structural, pocketed and ongoing dynamics of hunger in Southeast Asia will not garner an urgent international response similar to that of a rapid-onset regional famine. It is therefore crucial for food security stakeholders in the region to place the alleviation of those suffering inadequate physical and economic access to food at the centre of policymaking.

*A family from the world's largest refugee camp (in Dadaab, Kenya) collects firewood and building material amid East Africa's devastating famine, September 2011.*



# Towards a More Comprehensive Global Health Agenda

The year 2011 saw a significant shift in the international health agenda. Since the emergence of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in 2003, pandemic preparedness and outbreak management have been prioritised on the international stage. However, pre-existing disease burdens and other emerging challenges are increasingly considered important global health priorities. In 2011, both sectors received redoubled attention in the international health discourse.

## Pandemic Preparedness and Outbreak Management

Two years on from the 2009 H1N1 outbreak, public interest in pandemic preparedness and the vigilance of some authorities involved may have significantly waned. However, the need to be prepared for future pandemics remains important, particularly for Asia. Concerns of H5N1 re-emergence were realised in 2011 with the confirmation of an outbreak affecting poultry in India. Recent studies claim that a new H5N1 strain has emerged in China and Vietnam, and is being spread to Central Asia and Eastern Europe by migratory waterfowl. This year was thus an appropriate time to take stock of lessons learnt from past outbreaks.

With this in mind, the World Health Organization (WHO) Review Committee on the Functioning of the International Health Regulations (2005) in relation to Pandemic Influenza (H1N1) 2009 released its final report in May. The committee was established to assess the WHO responses to the 2009 H1N1 outbreak and



Dickson / flickr

*H5N1 continues to be a concern in 2011, with outbreaks reported in India, and claims of a new strain emerging in China and Vietnam.*



Kyle Simourd / flickr

Scanning of airline passengers was one of the responses implemented during the 2009 H1N1 pandemic.

investigate claims that the responses were unduly influenced by pharmaceutical companies. It found that the WHO performed well during the pandemic despite shortcomings which included the absence of a consistent, measurable and understandable depiction of pandemic severity; an excessively complex pandemic phase structure; and systemic difficulties in vaccine distribution. The report also concluded that there was no evidence of malfeasance, noting that the WHO delayed declaring H1N1 as a Phase 6 pandemic until they had proof of sustained spread in multiple regions. Additionally, it reported no evidence of commercial influence on advice given to or decisions made by the WHO on H1N1. The committee asserted that the assumption that commercial influences account for WHO actions 'ignores the power of the core public-health ethos to prevent disease and save lives'.

## Non-communicable Diseases

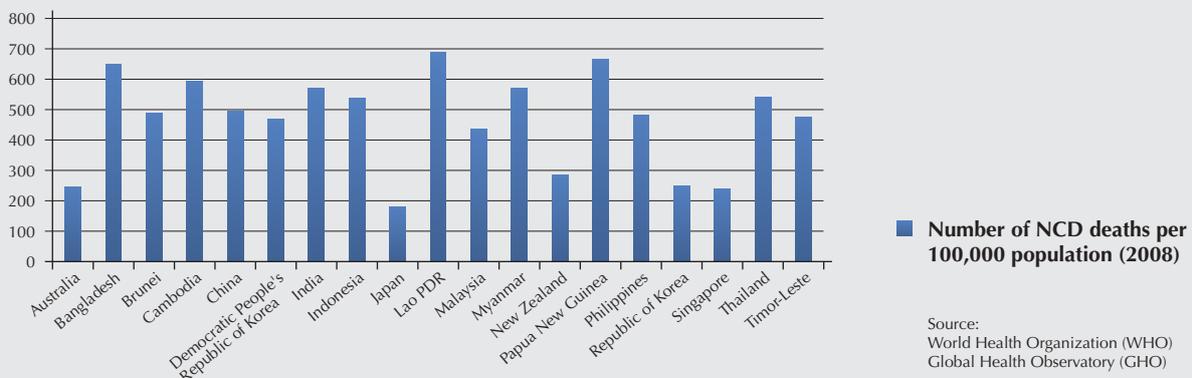
The year 2011 also saw renewed institution-level attention given to non-communicable diseases (NCDs), which had arguably been deprioritised in the face of 21st-century pandemic scares. The four main NCDs – cardiovascular diseases, cancers, chronic respiratory diseases and diabetes – are expected to be responsible for 60 per cent of the global disease burden and 73 per cent of all deaths by 2020. According to the World Economic Forum, the global economic impact of these diseases could reach USD47 trillion over the next 20 years. The WHO and the World Bank say that the regions projected to have the greatest total number of NCD-related deaths in 2020 are Southeast Asia (member states include Indonesia, India

and Thailand) with 10.4 million deaths, and the Western Pacific (member states include Australia, China, the Philippines and Japan) with 12.3 million deaths.

This year's inaugural UN High-level Meeting on NCDs culminated with government leaders pledging to make greater efforts to address the challenge, among them, implementing tax measures to reduce tobacco and alcohol consumption, improving access to vital medicines, and pushing for universal health coverage. However, this meeting was criticised for its lack of comprehensive targets or political and financial commitment to following through on its pledges.

### Asia-Pacific's Developing Countries Experience Rise in NCDs

Number of Non-Communicable Disease Deaths Per 100,000 Population (2008)



Over the past decade, developing countries have seen a rise in the occurrences of the four main NCDs – cancers, cardiovascular diseases, chronic respiratory diseases and diabetes – in tandem with an upward trend in a multitude of factors, all of which are related to economic growth. The consumption of processed, refined, sugary and fatty foods has been increasing among the inhabitants of the Asia-Pacific's emerging economies, and this is a major contributory factor. Other significant risk factors are physical inactivity,

tobacco consumption and the harmful use of alcohol. The WHO warns that high levels of these risk factors in the Asia-Pacific will lead to the continued rise of NCDs as well as an increased propensity for NCD occurrence among progressively younger age groups. This, alongside the increasing incidence of NCDs among the poor and other vulnerable groups in the region, contributes to impacts on the workforce, socioeconomic and development costs, and widening health inequities within and between countries.

## The Millennium Development Goals

Such targeted commitments are central to achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) related to health: reducing child mortality; improving maternal health; and combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases. The objectives of the MDGs are to, by 2015, reduce the under-5 child mortality rate by two thirds, lessen the maternal mortality ratio by three quarters from 1990 figures, and halt or begin to reverse the incidence and spread of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases. The Asia-Pacific region has had mixed progress in achieving the health MDGs. Last year's Asian Development Bank (ADB) report notes that while the region has already achieved the 2015 target for the reduction of HIV and tuberculosis prevalence, progress remains slow on the child and maternal health fronts.

Internationally, progress in women's and children's health has been promising. In May, 16 countries announced their political and financial support for action on women's and children's health as part of the Global Strategy for Women's and Children's Health. The commitments focus on measures such as childhood immunisations and attended childbirth – two major priorities for the Asia-Pacific. In September, governments, philanthropic institutions, multilateral

organisations, civil society and private entities pledged a total of USD40 million for 2010–2015. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon also lauded the over 100 new commitments given in 2011 in areas such as policy change, advocacy work and the investment of specialist knowledge to develop innovative solutions. The Asia-Pacific region will undoubtedly benefit from this infusion of capital as well as political support.

Significant progress on HIV/AIDS has also been made despite some setbacks. Donor governments disbursed USD6.9 billion in 2010 for HIV prevention, treatment, care and support, USD740 million less than in 2009. UNAIDS, the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS, estimates that at least USD22 billion in investment will be required in order to reach universal access goals and avert more than 12 million new infections by 2015. However, there have been positive developments. A total of USD11.7 billion (2011–2013) was pledged to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, of which USD3.5 to 4.8 billion should benefit directly the health of women and children. Also, member states at the UN High-level Meeting on AIDS in June committed to new targets for AIDS response, including scaling up investments to between USD22 to 24 billion by 2015.



CDC / Chris Zahniser, B.S.N., R.N., M.P.H.

Polio vaccination.

## Food Safety and Health

In addition to prominent policy attention towards reducing disease burdens, food safety issues have been high on the international health agenda since the 2008 melamine-tainted milk scandal in China. Over the past year, China has seen myriad food safety challenges arise, among them clenbuterol-tainted pork and pork products, protein powder extracted from hydrolysed leather waste, and watermelons contaminated with growth accelerators. In response to public outcry, China's government has launched a nationwide campaign to crack down on the rampant use of additives in food.

Food safety has also become a priority throughout the greater Asian region. Radiation and nuclear contamination fears after the Fukushima nuclear disaster resulted in South Korea banning imports of a range of Japanese foods. The discovery of Taiwan-made beverages and foodstuffs containing DEHP, a banned industrial plasticiser, severely affected Taiwanese food

exports to the US, Hong Kong and China. Further afield, the *E. coli* outbreak in Europe sent waves of concern throughout the region over food safety standards and the effectiveness of regulatory mechanisms.

To address Southeast Asia's regional food safety challenges, the ASEAN Food Safety Network engages in consultative networks, expert group meetings and cooperation with the Codex Alimentarius Commission. It also works on strengthening member states' risk assessment capabilities. The World Trade Organization's agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures and its agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade address public health, safety and environmental concerns that arise from food safety at the global level. In spite of these regulatory measures and frameworks, debates on the importance and enforcement of food safety regulations on one hand, and their use as barriers to international trade on the other, continues. These debates show few signs of abating.

## Prospects for 2012

Given the prominence of NCDs on this year's international health agenda, the issue seems set to continue to rise in importance over the course of 2012. This prospect was further bolstered by the UN High-level Meeting on NCDs, which called for a multi-pronged campaign by governments, industry and civil society to set up plans to curb NCD risk factors by 2013. However, implementing such plans may not be quite so simple.

The rise of NCDs invariably raises questions of how lifestyle changes contribute to public health. The rise of sedentary lifestyles; the increasing affordability of refined, energy-dense, low-micronutrient processed foods; the growth of the food production, processing and manufacturing industries; and increasingly liberalised international trade have all been cited as contributors to changing dietary habits and the accompanying rise of NCDs, particularly in developing regions.

Linked to this rise is the role of big business in

influencing health outcomes. Major trade and industry players across food and agriculture have been accused of ignoring science and research, and putting public health at risk in order to protect their profits. Some have also argued that the media, marketing and advertising companies that play central roles in these enterprises must also be held accountable for their actions. A major question remaining is the role of tobacco companies, whose products have been proven on multiple occasions to contribute to global increases of cardiovascular and respiratory disorders and cancers.

Given the unique set of multi-sectoral and overlapping challenges that NCDs pose across the broad spectrum of health, trade, and food security, it remains to be seen whether the current momentum on the NCD issue will be sustainable over the coming years, and the prioritisation of NCD policies will continue to be linked to the relative and perceived pandemic threat.

*Contributed by Ong Suan Ee*

# Navigating the Path to Peace and Prosperity

Over the past year, several notable events transpired that had impacts across multiple non-traditional security (NTS) issue areas, deeply affecting the ability of individuals to enjoy daily life in a sustainable peace in Southeast Asia. In some cases, transnational criminal activity such as drug trafficking was utilised by combatants involved in internal conflicts to fund the purchase of weapons. More indirectly, the economic development of natural resources led to the internal displacement of people across the region.

The wide-ranging nature of security issues is particularly noteworthy in Southeast Asia due to its

unique social and historical context. It is home to the major religions of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. Also, the experience of colonial rule, and the subsequent independence movements, still reverberates today. Coupled with these dynamics are the challenges arising from long-term economic progress, including direct and indirect tensions associated with new challenges such as global food security and natural resource extraction. In this section, the developments that have characterised 2011 are reviewed to evaluate the areas where disputes have escalated to internal and cross-border conflict in Southeast Asia.

## Dispute Resolution

A new government was elected in Myanmar at the end of 2010 and this year has been a test ground for the kinds of changes the government is willing to make. The early part of 2011 saw former Prime Minister and top General Thein Sein inaugurated

as President; a new national parliament convened, albeit one dominated by current and former military personnel; and most recently, the release of a limited number of political prisoners. While these incremental developments are seen positively in the

*The Pheu Thai party's last campaign rally at Rajamangala Stadium before the 3 July 2011 general elections.*



international community, there remain significant national reconciliation challenges centred on the ethnic nationalities in its border areas. Previously signed peace agreements have faltered as a result of the exclusion of some of the ethnic nationalities from the election process. The insistence of the current administration that the ethnic-nationality armed forces negotiate with regional parliaments rather than the national government also remains a point of contention. Fighting has resumed, leading to a rise in instability in the border areas. Without significant steps towards national reconciliation and further democratisation, the prospects for conflict resolution remain distant. In the closing months of 2011, an assessment of the progress made will be carried out by the Chair of ASEAN (currently Indonesia).

The presence of Myanmar's ethnic nationalities in refugee camps on the Thai side of the border illustrates the cross-border implications of the decades-old conflicts inside Myanmar. For Thailand, this was not the only cross-border issue it faced in 2011. On the far side of Thailand, along its border with Cambodia, there were skirmishes between Cambodian and Thai military troops over the long-disputed territory around the 11th-century Preah Vihear temple. The dispute was de-escalated through a combination of regional and international mechanisms, demonstrating the need for the involvement of multiple levels of governance – in this case, ASEAN and the UN – in dispute resolution.

The two border issues have different cross-border implications and highlight the interconnectedness of the region in a post-colonial world. While the Thailand-Myanmar border issue did not feature in the run-up to the Thai national elections, the Thailand-Cambodia border dispute did. Internal political dynamics ruled over the election, but were not disassociated from the border dispute, particularly with former Thai Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra acting as advisor to the Cambodian government, and his youngest sister, Yingluck Shinawatra, coming to power in the national election held on 3 July 2011. Her Pheu Thai party won enough seats in parliament to form a single-party government on a platform of,

## Rallying for Reform in Malaysia



tripleexpresso / flickr

On 9 July 2011 in Malaysia, a demonstration known as Bersih 2.0 was held. Supported by the three main opposition parties, it was organised in a bid to raise concerns regarding the electoral process. Bersih (meaning 'clean') is the short name of the Coalition for Clean and Fair Elections (Gabungan Pilihanraya Bersih dan Adil), a network of over 60 NGOs founded in 2006. Their aim is to lobby the Malaysian Election Commission to review current electoral practices, from the issue of free media access to that of voting reform to ensure free and fair elections. The rally was deemed illegal yet protestors still took to the streets, leading to outbreaks of violence and accusations of police brutality. Interestingly, the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (Suhakam) supported the staging of the rally.

among others, promoting national reconciliation, which could however prove to be the single most challenging task facing the new government. It needs to prevent further violent clashes between opposing internal political forces and it has to promote dialogue between the various urban-rural communities.

## Justice and Reconciliation

Internal challenges were also highlighted in Cambodia where the Khmer Rouge trials are ongoing. In 2011, the tribunal brought to trial Nuon Chea, a Khmer Rouge ideologue; Khieu Samphan, former head of state and public face of the regime; Ieng Sary, former Foreign Minister; and his wife, Ieng Thirith, ex-Minister for Social Affairs. Each faces charges of crimes against humanity, genocide, and war crimes, as well as a combined charge of murder, torture and religious persecution. The indictments follow the 19-year sentence handed to the regime's chief jailer, Kaing Guek Eav, also known as Duch, in July 2010, on charges of war crimes, crimes against humanity, torture and murder. Most of the defendants show little willingness to cooperate with the court and there are concerns that Cambodians will be denied the chance to hear first-hand accounts of the motivation and ideology that fuelled an unrelenting killing spree by one of the world's most enigmatic regimes. Indeed, the issue of transitional justice and the makeup and process of the court itself has been a significant bone of contention between the Cambodian government and the UN in recent years.



*ECCC hearing, 31 August 2011.*



*UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (centre left) attends a breakfast meeting with President Thein Sein (right) of Myanmar at a meeting in Bali, Indonesia, 18 November 2011.*

ECCC / Flickr

UN Photo / Mark Garten

## Development and Identity

While reconciliation in Cambodia focused on the ideology of the former Khmer Rouge, Southeast Asia is host to multiple internal challenges as a result of the combination of ethnic groups spread across national borders, religious differences and patterns of migration. Two areas, Indonesia and the Philippines, both in maritime Southeast Asia, illustrate these tensions well.

In Indonesia, the long-running dispute in Papua continues 10 years after the promise of Special Autonomy status, with little progress made over the multifarious Papuan concerns. The interrelated economic and political issues that engender tension in the area range from the development-induced displacement around the Grasberg Mine to a

demographic shift that has seen ethnic Papuans losing ground to the increasing number of migrants from other parts of Indonesia. This demographic change also adds a significant dynamic to the conflict as many Papuans are Christian and those migrating into the area are largely Muslim. This is compounded by the province oftentimes scoring the lowest in literacy or the highest in HIV/AIDS infection rates among all Indonesia's provinces

Similar issues are apparent in the Philippines. The long-running internal conflict in Mindanao in the southern Philippines is a case in point. While there have been more positive developments in 2011 compared to the conflict in Papua, notably the August secret meeting between President Benigno Aquino and

Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) leader Al Haj Murad Ebrahim in Tokyo, Japan, resolution difficulties remain. The central issue of contention is the same as in Papua – the governments largely see these issues through an economic lens, whereas the MILF in Mindanao and the Free Papua Movement (OPM, or Organisasi Papua Merdeka) view these conflicts in terms of identity politics. An NTS perspective recognises that both these lenses are needed to comprehensively understand conflict dynamics in the region. One noticeable difference between the conflict in Indonesia and that in the Philippines is the formalised nature of the peace talks in the Philippines and the absence of this in Indonesia.



MILF's Camp Darapanan in the southern Philippines.

## Prospects for 2012

It is too early to make any definitive assessment of the prospects for improved governance and peace in the region. Overcoming strongly felt grievances and deep suspicions in society will be a protracted process. Initial signs however offer a glimpse of what 2012 has in store.

In Myanmar, one of the first issues that President Thein Sein noted in his inaugural address was the ethnic-nationality question, which lies at the heart of the conflicts in Myanmar. While it remains to be seen how this will be translated into concrete policy, it is an important recognition of the significance of questions regarding the ethnic-nationality areas given the disenfranchisement of some from the most recent elections. Reform of the electoral laws appears to be one way in which both the National League for Democracy and ethnic-nationality groups could be brought into the electoral system; the breadth of the reforms and how far they go will ultimately determine whether there are significant changes in Myanmar's relations with the international community, particularly the West. Likewise, in Thailand, national reconciliation also needs to be addressed, albeit with reference to the specific local dynamics. It appears that a review of lese-majesty (defamation of the monarchy) laws is likely, as is a truth and reconciliation commission to investigate the deaths of 90 protesters in 2010.

While the establishment of formal mechanisms to address internal challenges illustrates significant progress towards peacebuilding and reconciliation, the process of realising the aims of these mechanisms could be drawn-out, taking its own toll on the eventual outcome. In Cambodia, for example, it is unlikely that 2012 will bring a conclusion to the Khmer Rouge trials as they have been further delayed by a court-ordered psychiatric assessment of one of the defendants, Ieng Thirith. The peace process in the Philippines is ongoing but difficulties remain in concluding them, particularly with the addition of the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF), potential spoilers in the negotiations. Measures to address internal challenges have not yet been formalised in Indonesia, and there will remain pressure on the government to actively begin formulating a process to tackle both the economic and political challenges faced by Papuan communities. All of the internal challenges across the Southeast Asian region illustrate the cross-cutting and multifaceted issues facing states and societies in the region. In 2012, there are multiple plausible advances in promoting peace and reconciliation, yet generating the political will from all the actors will remain the greatest challenge.

*Contributed by Alistair D.B. Cook and Pau Khan Khup Hangzo*

# Activities and Publications 2011

The RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies continues to spearhead research in the NTS areas of (1) internal and cross-border conflict; (2) climate change, environmental security and natural disasters; (3) energy and human security; (4) food security; as well as (5) health and human security.

2011 has seen the Centre disseminating close to 80 in-house publications as research in these areas developed full steam. In-house publications such as the NTS Bulletin, NTS Alert, NTS Insight, NTS Perspectives, NTS Policy Brief, NTS Working Paper Series, Asia Security Initiative Working Paper Series, NTS-Asia Research Paper Series and NTS conference reports continue to be well-received in both academic and policy circles. As part of efforts to groom promising young scholars in the field of NTS this year, the Centre sent young researchers on extensive research field trips in the region. This has helped acquaint them with NTS issues on the ground, which has in turn improved the quality of the research output of the Centre.

The Centre also conducted 20 conferences and seminars in 2011. It scored a couple of firsts this

year when it became the first in the region to initiate cross-sectoral dialogue on the issue of Asian food security with the inaugural International Conference on Asian Food Security (ICAFS) 2011: 'Feeding Asia in the 21st Century: Building Urban-Rural Alliances' (10–12 August 2011), and the first to raise awareness on geoengineering governance in the region with the Pilot Workshop on 'Governing Geoengineering in the 21st Century: Asian Perspectives' (18–19 July 2011).

To help grow the Centre's online profile and reach, the Centre's researchers continue to blog regularly on current NTS issues affecting the region, and to interview NTS experts on topics ranging from food security to pandemic preparedness and response for the Centre's 'In Conversation' series. Centre researchers are also regularly interviewed by regional and domestic media – particularly in the wake of the Fukushima disaster and the floods in Thailand. They publish opinion pieces in leading news media such as *The Jakarta Post*, *The Malaysian Insider*, *Bangkok Post*, *Phnom Penh Post* and *The Straits Times* (Singapore).

## PUBLICATIONS

### NTS ALERT

Cancun and Climate Security: New Approaches, Mixed Results  
*J. Jackson Ewing*

Cancun Agreement: Implications for Southeast Asia  
*Irene A. Kuntjoro and Mely Caballero-Anthony*

Exploring the Relationship between Health and Economic Development: The Case of China  
*Li Hongyan and Bill Durodie*

Development and Health in Southeast Asia from the Cold War to the Present  
*Ong Suan Ee and Bill Durodie*

An Agenda for Peace: Curbing the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons  
*Pau Khan Khup Hangzo and Manpavan Kaur*

Pro-government Armed Groups: A Source of Peace or Multipliers of Conflict?  
*Pau Khan Khup Hangzo and Manpavan Kaur*

Why We Need a Debate about Geoengineering Governance ... Now  
*Jochen Prantl*

Debating Geoengineering Governance: How It Matters to the Asia-Pacific Region  
*Jochen Prantl*

Recognising the Economic Relationship between Sex Workers and Sex Businesses  
*Manpavan Kaur*

Critical Reflections on Anti-human Trafficking: The Case of Timor-Leste  
*Zbigniew Dumienski*

Food and Health in the Asia-Pacific: The Economics of Access and Its Implications for Health  
*J. Jackson Ewing and Ong Suan Ee*

Brave New World? Assessing the Health Risks of Modern Food Systems in Asia  
*Ong Suan Ee and J. Jackson Ewing*

Hidden Vulnerabilities in Asian Megacities: The Case of the Bang Khun Tian Community in Bangkok, Thailand  
*Sofiah Jamil*

Feeding Asia in the 21st Century: Building Urban-Rural Alliances  
*Paul Teng and Margarita Escaler*

The Implications of the US Anti-Human Trafficking Strategy for National Policies: The Case of Malaysia  
*Manpavan Kaur*

Responding to Protection Gaps in Malaysia's Anti-Human Trafficking Policies  
*Manpavan Kaur*

Examining ASEAN Capacity in the Context of the Thai-Cambodian Border Dispute  
*Holly Haywood*

New Institutional Developments in ASEAN: Towards a More Effective (Genuine) Security Architecture?  
*Holly Haywood*

Peacebuilding Governance – Negotiating the Khmer Rouge Trials  
*Gong Lina and Manpavan Kaur*

Exercising the Responsibility to Assist: The Roles of the International Community and Cambodian Civil Society  
*Alistair D.B. Cook, Lina Gong and Manpavan Kaur*

Falling from Grace: Nuclear Energy in Japan Post-Fukushima  
*Sofiah Jamil*

On the Fast Train to Nuclear Disaster? Bias and Phobia as Challenges to China's Pursuit of Nuclear Energy  
*Zbigniew Dumianski*

## NTS INSIGHT

Visible Value? ENGOs and the UNFCCC Process  
*Sofiah Jamil and Devin Maeztri*

Applying the Ethnic Rebellion Model and Risk Assessment Model to Conflict in Myanmar  
*Lina Gong, Manpavan Kaur and Alistair D.B. Cook*

Legal Protection for Southeast Asian Migrant Domestic Workers: Why It Matters  
*Pau Khan Khup Hangzo, Zbigniew Dumianski and Alistair D.B. Cook*

'Mind the Gap': Reducing Waste and Losses in the Food Supply Chain  
*Margarita Escaler and Paul Teng*

Climate Change and Geoengineering Governance  
*Steve Rayner*

The Bangkok Floods – Reflections on the Waters  
*R.D. Hill*

## NTS PERSPECTIVES

Developing a 'Protection of Civilians' Agenda for Southeast Asia  
*Mely Caballero-Anthony*

(Un)natural Disasters: Health Responses after Natural Hazards in Southeast Asia  
*Li Hongyan, Ong Suan Ee and Bill Durodie*

The Challenges and Opportunities of Farmland Acquisition in Southeast Asia  
*Irene A. Kuntjoro and Pau Khan Khup Hangzo*

## NTS POLICY BRIEF

Southeast Asia and the Outcomes of the COP16  
*J. Jackson Ewing and Irene A. Kuntjoro*

The Hidden Costs and Risks of Nuclear Energy: The Way Forward  
*Sofiah Jamil, Jochen Prantl and Mely Caballero-Anthony*

Overcoming Energy Vulnerabilities in East Asia: Ways Forward  
*Sofiah Jamil, Jochen Prantl and Mely Caballero-Anthony*

Recommendations from the 4th NTS-Asia Annual Convention 2010  
*J. Jackson Ewing*

ASEAN Community Building: Towards a Comprehensive Framework for Civilian Protection in Southeast Asia  
*Mely Caballero-Anthony and Holly Haywood*

Securing Food Futures in the Asia-Pacific: Human Securitising Regional Frameworks  
*Lorraine Elliott*

Crafting Energy Security Cooperation in East Asia  
*Jochen Prantl*

Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia  
*Mark E. delas Alas*

Food Production and Environmental Health in Southeast Asia: The Search for Complementary Strategies  
*J. Jackson Ewing*

Differentiated Policies: Indonesia's International Leadership and Internal Challenges  
*Alistair D.B. Cook*

Climate Change, Migration and Human Security in Southeast Asia  
*Lorraine Elliott*

Feeding Southeast Asia in the 21st Century  
*Sally Trethewie*

## NTS CONFERENCE REPORT

Food Security Expert Group Meeting on 'Food First: Ensuring Food and Nutrition for Urbanites'  
*RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*

Dissemination Meeting and Policy Roundtable on the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) - 26 January 2011  
*RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies in collaboration with the Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute (JICA-RI)*

Public Forum and Workshop on Securing Food Futures in the Asia-Pacific  
*The Department of International Relations of The Australian National University (ANU) and the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*

Regional Workshop on Dealing with Energy Vulnerabilities  
*RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*

4th Annual Convention of the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia  
*RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies for NTS-Asia*

2nd Dissemination Meeting and Policy Roundtable on the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP)  
*RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*

Symposium on Inter-state Water Conflicts in Southern Asia Report  
*RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*

International Pandemic Preparedness and Response Conference  
*RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*

Study Group on Climate Change, Migration and Human Security in Southeast Asia  
*RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*

Pilot Workshop on Governing Geoengineering in the 21st Century: Asian Perspectives  
*RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*

Feeding Asia in the 21st Century: Building Urban-Rural Alliances  
*RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*

## NTS WORKING PAPER

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Global Norm Diffusion in East Asia: How China and Japan Implement the Responsibility to Protect  
*Jochen Prantl and Ryoko Nakano*

Pigs, People and a Pandemic: Communicating Risk in a City-state  
*K. U. Menon*

## ASI WORKING PAPER

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The Gender and Climate Debate: More of the Same or New Pathways of Thinking and Doing?  
*Bernadette P. Resurreccion*

Risk and Resilience in Three Southeast Asian Cross-border Areas: The Greater Mekong Subregion, the Heart of Borneo and the Coral Triangle  
*Fitrian Ardiansyah and Desak Putu Adhityani Putri*

Women and Food Security: A Comparison of South Asia and Southeast Asia  
*Arpita Mathur*

Climate Insecurities: Exploring the Strategic Implications for Asia-Pacific Armed Forces  
*Evan A. Laksmana*

Establishing Good Security Sector Governance in Southeast Asia  
*Herman Joseph S. Kraft*

Securitising Food Futures in the Asia-Pacific: Human Securitising Regional Frameworks  
*Lorraine Elliott*

Climate Insecurities in Indonesia: Implications and Challenges for Defence Transformation  
*Evan A. Laksmana*

(Not) Reconciling International Security (IS) with Non-traditional Security (NTS) Studies: Westphalia, the 'West' and the Long Shadow of 1944  
*Shaun Breslin*

Cooperating in the Energy Security Regime Complex  
*Jochen Prantl*

Forests, Food and Fuel: REDD+ and Indonesia's Land-use Conundrum  
*J. Jackson Ewing*

## NTS-ASIA RESEARCH PAPER

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Transporting Conflicts via Migratory Routes: A Social Network Analysis (SNA) of Uyghur International Mobilisation  
*Yu-Wen Chen*

Redefining Food Security in the Face of Foreign Land Investors: The Philippine Case  
*Ben Shepherd*

Displaced, Disabled and Disturbed: Narratives of Trauma and Resilience among Acehese Survivors of the 2004 Tsunami  
*A.K.M. Ahsan Ullah*

## RSIS COMMENTARIES

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Tunisia and Climate Change: What It Means for Southeast Asia  
*Yang Razali Kassim*

Food Price Spiral: Causes and Consequences  
*Paul Teng*

Georgia: Singapore of the Caucasus?  
*Zbigniew Dumiencki*

Climate Migration: Why It Is a Human Security Issue  
*Lorraine Elliott*

Libya and the UN: Whose Responsibility to Protect?  
*Iftekhar Ahmed Chowdhury and Yang Razali Kassim*

Japan in Disaster: Managing Energy Vulnerabilities  
*Sofiah Jamil and Mely Caballero-Anthony*

Japan Earthquake and Tsunami: End for the Nuclear Industry?  
*Alvin Chew*

'Mercenaries' in Libya: Impact of Legal Impunity  
*Manpavan Kaur*

After Japan: Waiting for Asia's Next Big One  
*Yang Razali Kassim*

Water Disputes in South Asia: Can the Region Come Together?  
*Arpita Mathur*

Asia's Food Security Conundrum  
*Paul Teng, J. Jackson Ewing and Margarita Escaler*

Refugee Swap Deal: Will It Reduce Irregular Migration?  
*Harrison Cheng*

Resolving Asia's Food Conundrum: Dual Strategy Needed  
*J. Jackson Ewing, Paul Teng and Margarita Escaler*

Asia Pacific Summits: How China, US and ASEAN Can Collaborate  
*Zha Daojiong*

Singapore's Growing Role in Asian Food Security  
*Yang Razali Kassim*

ASEAN Response to Asian Food Security Concerns  
*Yang Razali Kassim*

China and Its Southern Neighbours: Issues in Power Connectivity  
*Zha Daojiong*

Floods and Regional Disaster Preparedness: Too Little, Too Late?  
*Mely Caballero-Anthony and Sofiah Jamil*

Pakistan, India and Kashmir: Will Nature Force an Aceh Effect?  
*Rajesh Basrur and Yang Razali Kassim*

EAS and Non-Traditional Security: How about Health and Food Concerns?  
*Ong Suan Ee*

*The 19th ASEAN Summit: Tackling Floods, Food and Stability*  
*Yang Razali Kassim*

## EVENTS

### **Second Study Group Meeting on 'The Dynamics of Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia'**

17 January 2011, Indonesia

*(In collaboration with the Centre for Strategic and International Studies – CSIS, Indonesia)*

### **First Dissemination Meeting/Policy Roundtable on the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP)**

26 January 2011, Thailand

*(In collaboration with the Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute – JICA-RI)*

### **NTS-Asia Subregional Workshop on 'Ending the Displacement Cycle: Finding Durable Solutions through Return and Resettlement'**

28–29 January 2011, Sri Lanka

*(In collaboration with the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies – RCSS)*

### **Second Study Group Meeting on 'Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia'**

11 February 2011, Philippines

*(In collaboration with the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies – ISDS)*

### **Launch of the Asian Development Bank Institute's Book: Learning from Tsunami – Aid and Reconstruction after a Disaster**

17 February 2011, Singapore

### **Symposium on Inter-state Water Conflicts in Southern Asia**

18 February 2011, Singapore

*(In collaboration with the RSIS South Asia Programme)*

### **Seminar on 'China and Non-traditional Security: Towards What End?'**

17 March 2011, Singapore

### **Seminar on 'Will Arctic Warming Change the International Shipping Routes?'**

22 March 2011, Singapore

### **Second Dissemination Meeting/Policy Roundtable on the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP)**

28 March 2011, Thailand

*(In collaboration with the Institute of Security and International Studies – ISIS, Thailand, the National Research Council of Thailand, and the Strategic Studies Centre of the National Defence Studies Institute, Thailand)*

### **International Pandemic Preparedness and Response Conference: 'Finding the Balance between Vigilance, Warning and Action and Lessons from Disaster Management'**

18–19 April 2011, Singapore

### **Seminar on 'Non-traditional Security and New Modes of Security Governance in Southeast Asia'**

20 April 2011, Singapore

### **Seminar on 'The Chinese Model and the Global Crisis'**

25 April 2011, Singapore

### **Study Group Meeting on 'Climate Change, Migration and Human Security in Southeast Asia'**

26 May 2011, Singapore

### **Seminar on 'Climate Change, Migration and Human Security in Southeast Asia'**

27 May 2011, Singapore

### **Pilot Workshop on 'Governing Geoengineering in the 21st Century: Asian Perspectives'**

18–19 July 2011, Singapore

*(In collaboration with the Oxford Geoengineering Programme and the Solar Radiation Management Governance Initiative)*

### **Seminar to Launch Reports on Conflict Resolution in Asia**

27 July 2011, Singapore

*(In collaboration with Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue – HD Centre)*

### **International Conference on Asian Food Security 2011 (ICAFS 2011) on 'Feeding Asia in the 21st Century: Building Rural-Urban Alliances'**

10–12 August 2011, Singapore

*(In collaboration with the Southeast Asian Regional Center for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture – SEARCA)*

### **Workshop on Nutrition Security**

12–13 August 2011, Singapore

*(In collaboration with the International Development and Research Centre – IDRC)*

### **Seminar on 'China and Its Neighbours'**

15 August 2011, Singapore

### **Seminar on 'The Geopolitics of Emerging Geoengineering Technologies'**

29 September 2011, Singapore

### **MacArthur Dissemination Meeting on Non-Traditional Security and Regional Security Cooperation**

28–29 November 2011, Singapore

*(In collaboration with the RSIS Centre for Multilateralism Studies – CMS)*

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

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

To fulfil this mission, the Centre aims to:

- Advance the understanding of NTS issues and challenges in the Asia-Pacific by highlighting gaps in knowledge and policy, and identifying best practices among state and non-state actors in responding to these challenges.
- Provide a platform for scholars and policymakers within and outside Asia to discuss and analyse NTS issues in the region.
- Network with institutions and organisations worldwide to exchange information, insights and experiences in the area of NTS.
- Engage policymakers on the importance of NTS in guiding political responses to NTS emergencies and develop strategies to mitigate the risks to state and human security.
- Contribute to building the institutional capacity of governments, and regional and international organisations to respond to NTS challenges.

## Our Research

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

- **Internal and Cross-Border Conflict**
  - Dynamics of Internal Conflicts
  - Multi-level and Multilateral Approaches to Internal Conflict
  - Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) in Asia
  - Peacebuilding
- **Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters**
  - Mitigation and Adaptation Policy Studies
  - The Politics and Diplomacy of Climate Change
- **Energy and Human Security**
  - Stability of Energy Markets
  - Energy Sustainability
  - Nuclear Energy and Security
  - Security and Safety of Energy Infrastructure
- **Food Security**
  - Regional Cooperation
  - Food Security Indicators
  - Food Production and Human Security
- **Health and Human Security**
  - Health and Human Security
  - Global Health Governance
  - Pandemic Preparedness and Global Response Networks

## Our Output

### Policy Relevant Publications

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

### Training

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

### Networking and Outreach

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

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

More information on our Centre is available at [www.rsis.edu.sg/nts](http://www.rsis.edu.sg/nts)

*Research in the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies received a boost when the Centre was selected as one of three core institutions to lead 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.*

## About the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

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

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

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

For more information about RSIS, please visit [www.rsis.edu.sg](http://www.rsis.edu.sg).





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CENTRE FOR  
**NON-TRADITIONAL  
SECURITY STUDIES**



**S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL  
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