Centre For
Non-Traditional
Security Studies

# 4TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE CONSORTIUM OF NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY STUDIES IN ASIA (NTS-ASIA)
## 25–26 November 2010

Organised by the NTS-ASIA Secretariat based in the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies.

# 4TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE CONSORTIUM OF NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY STUDIES IN ASIA (NTS-ASIA)

REPORT

ORGANISED BY
THE NTS-ASIA SECRETARIAT BASED IN THE RSIS CENTRE FOR NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY (NTS) STUDIES

FUNDED BY
THE FORD FOUNDATION

25–26 NOVEMBER 2010
SINGAPORE

S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY
2011

Recommended citation:
Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia), 2011, 4th Annual Convention of the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (25–26 November 2010), Singapore: RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies for NTS-Asia.

Photo credits (from left to right):
1st row – Evan Schneider, Jean Pierre Laffont and John Isaac (all from UN Photo).
2nd row – Logan Abassi/UN Photo.
3rd row – learningexecutive/flickr.com, ReSurge International/flickr.com, P. Sudhakaran/UN Photo.
5th row – John Isaac/UN Photo.
6th row – REM/flickr.com.



*This report summarises the proceedings of the conference as interpreted by the assigned rapporteurs and editors of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this report. This conference adheres to a variation of Chatham House Rules. Accordingly, beyond the speakers and paper presenters cited, no attributions have been made.*

# Message from the Secretary-General

Dear Members,

Looking back at the original three main objectives established for the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia) at its inception – (1) to provide a platform for networking among scholars working on non-traditional security (NTS) issues; (2) to build long-term and sustainable regional capacity for research; and (3) to mainstream and advance NTS studies in Asia – I am pleased to say that NTS-Asia has continued to sustain and meet these objectives.

The 4th Annual Convention of NTS-Asia held in November 2010 has not only been fruitful in taking stock of developments within the consortium over the past year but has also demonstrated the extent to which it has grown since its establishment in 2007. The inclusion of NTS scholars from beyond Asia, for instance, contributes to the advancement of NTS studies and reflects enhanced ties with scholars engaged in studying these issues.

The significance of NTS studies in recent years is also highlighted through the increasing visibility of NTS issues in the region and the (often inadequate) responses by governments in addressing these issues. Such developments further underline the importance of networks such as NTS-Asia. It has been wonderful to see the great level of traction and support that NTS-Asia has received over the years. It has seen incremental growth in terms of its membership, activities, networks and partnerships, as well as its relevance to policy circles.

However, there continues to be pockets of communities that may still choose to criticise and question the salience of NTS issues, particularly against dominant traditional security concerns. For instance, the crisis that recurred between North Korea and South Korea in the last quarter of 2010 reinforced arguments that these hard-core security issues matter more than NTS concerns.

Despite this, NTS issues continue to impact the security and well-being of states and societies, and hence there is a need to ensure a steadfast commitment to those issues. It is important for policymakers to keep in mind the significance of NTS issues, which require proactive action rather than reactive responses.

Indeed, achieving effective multilateral solutions to NTS issues is critical but can be a rather complex task. It is an effort that takes time and patience before the fruits of labour can be enjoyed. Take, for example, the global negotiations on climate change. While the much anticipated 2009 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) meeting in Copenhagen was seen to be a failure in terms of formulating a legally binding treaty to address climate change, the succeeding 2010 UNFCCC meeting in Cancún was a relative success, with some progress made in reconciling the varying concerns of developed and developing countries. As such, perseverance and commitment are essential when seeking multilateral solutions to NTS issues.

Sustaining a network's momentum requires the same elements. This is indeed a crucial stage in the evolution of NTS-Asia as we continue to explore and concretise future avenues for advancing the network's influence.

On behalf of the NTS-Asia Secretariat, thank you for your constant support. We will continue to be guided by your vision, ambition, drive and advice on NTS issues in the region.

*Mely Caballero-Anthony*
*Secretary-General*
*Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia)*

# Executive Summary

The 4th Annual Convention of the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia) was held on 25–26 November 2010 at Traders Hotel, Singapore. As in previous years, the Annual Convention brought together the members of NTS-Asia to take stock of salient non-traditional security (NTS) issues in the Asia-Pacific region, as well as to formulate ways forward to sustain the consortium's activities.

The opening session began with welcome remarks by Ambassador Barry Desker, Dean of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS); opening remarks by Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony, Secretary-General of NTS-Asia and Head of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies; and brief remarks by Professor John Fitzgerald, Representative of the Ford Foundation in China. NTS-Asia was also privileged to have Datin Paduka Marina Mahathir, Board Member of Sisters in Islam as the keynote speaker. An activist for gender and HIV/AIDS issues, Datin Paduka Marina delivered a comprehensive and enlightening address focused on gender and health security issues which was enhanced by her on-the-ground experiences.

The opening session was followed by several panel sessions on various topics: climate change and security; food security; conflict prevention and resolution; global architecture and NTS; human rights and human security; and transnational crime. In addition to covering a range of NTS themes, presentations within the panel sessions represented diverse sub-regional perspectives as well as views from various disciplines (from the technical as well as the social science streams). Such presentations reflect the consortium's commitment to facilitating a multi-stakeholder process in addressing NTS issues.

This year, the Annual Convention made further progress in ensuring inclusivity in the discussions. First, the Annual Convention included the participation of NTS experts from as far as Latin America. Second, speakers who could not make it to Singapore for the Annual Convention were able to deliver their presentations via video recording. Of particular note were Dr Sania Nishtar, Founder and President of Heartfile, Pakistan, who gave a presentation on health and globalisation, and Professor Andrew Watson, former Representative of the Ford Foundation in China, who delivered brief remarks as an old friend of the NTS-Asia network. The latter video presentation, in particular, was a pleasant surprise for the founding members of NTS-Asia as Prof. Watson had played a significant role in the formation of the NTS-Asia network.

As with previous years, the Annual Convention concluded with a discussion among NTS-Asia members on the ways forward for the consortium. This year, the discussion revolved in particular around the deliberations of NTS-Asia's Sustainability Working Group, which had been formed during the previous Annual Convention to advise on possible ways to sustain the activities of NTS-Asia in the future.

# Opening Session

## Welcome Remarks

*Ambassador Barry Desker*
*Dean*
*S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)*
*Nanyang Technological University (NTU)*
*Singapore*

The 4th Annual Convention of the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia) began with opening remarks by Ambassador Barry Desker, who noted that the increasing significance of non-traditional security (NTS) issues is a result of two trends. First, there has been a greater occurrence of NTS threats – characterised as transnational and non-military threats to the security of communities and individuals – which has in turn affected the security of the state. These NTS threats are likely to increase in the absence of effective measures to address the needs of communities and individuals. Second, NTS issues have gained attention at the global level as they are increasingly discussed and featured in international forums such as the inaugural Singapore Global Dialogue organised by RSIS in September 2010.

Amb. Desker highlighted that addressing NTS issues requires immediate and well-coordinated responses where multi-sectoral and multi-level collaboration with communities and individuals is crucial. In this regard, NTS-Asia, which has expanded its membership since its establishment in 2006, plays a significant role in building the Asian region's capacity to address various challenges, through mainstreaming the study of NTS issues and providing a platform for scholars and practitioners.

Amb. Desker concluded by expressing his appreciation, to Datin Paduka Marina Mahathir for accepting the invitation to deliver the Annual Convention's keynote address, to Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony for leading NTS-Asia, and to Professor John Fitzgerald for Ford Foundation's support in facilitating the consortium's activities.

## Opening Remarks

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

In her opening remarks, Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony highlighted the 2004 findings of the UN High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, which was mentioned in the keynote address given by Dr Surin Pitsuwan, Secretary-General of ASEAN, during the inaugural meeting of NTS-Asia in 2007. The UN High Level Panel noted that inter-state cooperation is vital in ensuring state security, and doing so would maximise the possibility of reciprocal cooperation to address each state's own security threats. In light of this, Prof. Caballero-Anthony noted that NTS-Asia has continuously strived to support states by providing the necessary information and analyses relating to transnational challenges. At the same time, the consortium serves to highlight windows of opportunity for multi-sectoral and multi-level cooperation.

Prof. Caballero-Anthony reported on NTS-Asia's activities over the past year, during which it engaged and collaborated with both intergovernmental and non-governmental bodies within and beyond the Asian region. NTS-Asia's research fellowship programme also witnessed an increase in the number of proposals each year. Applications received in 2010 were four times more than when the fellowship began in 2007.

This, Prof. Caballero-Anthony noted, was a commendable achievement as it highlighted NTS-Asia's significant contribution to building the capacity of young researchers and scholars in the region.

Prof. Caballero-Anthony also mentioned two NTS-Asia sub-regional workshops to be held in 2011, which will be organised by the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Colombo, and the Ilmin International Relations Institute (IIRI), Korea University, with support from the Ford Foundation, on the themes of 'Ending the Displacement Cycle: Finding Durable Solutions through Return and Resettlement' and the 'Securitisation of Climate Change' respectively.

Prof. Caballero-Anthony concluded her introductory remarks by addressing the pertinent task ahead for NTS-Asia, particularly the need to formulate a work plan for the post-2011 scenario. This work plan would need to address issues related to funding, programmes and long-term sustainability.

## Brief Remarks

*Professor John Fitzgerald*
*Representative*
*Ford Foundation*
*China*

Professor John Fitzgerald expressed his pleasure at being able to represent the Ford Foundation and witness the fruits of the collective efforts of the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia) in the last four years. He noted that mainstreaming non-traditional security (NTS) was one of the original objectives of the Ford Foundation in supporting this grant in the Asian region. NTS-Asia had played a significant role in this respect, by fostering networking, research capacity building, and strengthening communication among scholars, both within government institutions as well as between them. The Ford Foundation was thus honoured to be associated with the effort, and to have been able to assist in facilitating the growth of NTS-Asia since its foundation in 2007.

Prof. Fitzgerald was delighted to have the opportunity to learn about the latest developments in the NTS field and the current concerns of NTS specialists in the region. He expressed his hope for continued cooperation among members of the NTS-Asia network in identifying the strengths and fields of specialisation within the network in order to assist the Ford Foundation in planning its future grant making in Asia. He also noted that while the Ford Foundation was not free from the impact of the 2008 financial crisis, resources for its core grant budget have been restored. Prof. Fitzgerald concluded by congratulating NTS-Asia for its continuing efforts and expressed his best wishes to all members.

## Keynote Address

**Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Issues: Gender and Health**

*Datin Paduka Marina Mahathir*
*Board Member*
*Sisters in Islam*
*Malaysia*

Datin Paduka Marina Mahathir began by expressing her gratitude for the opportunity to share her work on gender and health. She noted the increasingly tighter links between non-traditional security (NTS) and traditional security. As political scientist, Kalevi J. Holsti, puts it, 'Security between states in many areas … has become increasingly dependent on security within those states.' She also noted that NTS issues have become more complex and pertinent with the rise of globalisation and information technology.

Datin Paduka Marina proceeded to provide insights on the HIV/AIDS issue based on her 12 years of experience in the field. She asserted that while there is a misconception that HIV-positive people live in solitude, the reality is that they are part of a family and community. It has been observed that when someone is infected with HIV, his/her family enters a cone of silence. The effects are worse when the HIV-infected person is a woman who is also a wife and mother, as the family disintegrates without her being able to perform her domestic roles. As such, HIV not only adds pressure and stress to the individual affected, but also to his/her family and community.

Datin Paduka Marina noted that violence could be a factor in the spread of HIV cases, as well as the result of its spread. For instance, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, the displacement of people as a result of development projects has exposed them to instances of violence, and disrupted education and health services, thereby destabilising their communities and increasing their vulnerability to HIV infection. On the other hand, HIV could itself be a causative factor in major upheavals within communities. It could, for instance, undo development, cause rural disintegration, as well as lead to social unrest due to starvation, and deprivation of education and future employment. In the case of Asia, incidences of HIV infection are currently relatively low but have the potential to increase. In that event, it is likely that Asia-Pacific countries would be unable to cope with the issue without external assistance.

Datin Paduka Marina then touched on the issue of gender inequality, which in recent years has been a cause of human insecurity. The low status of women manifests itself in many ways: in education, where women have less access to schooling and therefore opportunities to earn their own income; in access to healthcare services; in political participation and in legal protections. Hence, in an environment where women's choices are limited but survival demands are great, women are forced into situations where they have little protection. This often pushes them to accept low-paying jobs. In some cases, this leaves them prey to unscrupulous agents and employers, or worse, to human trafficking. In addition to this, their children, left behind in their home country, are vulnerable to violence and abuse in the home, including incest. Hence, gender inequalities do not only affect individual female migrant workers but also their children and families.

Datin Paduka Marina further noted that few laws exist to protect the rights of women and children in the Asia-Pacific region. A contributing reason for this is the low level of political representation by women. The Asia-Pacific region has the second-lowest percentage of women parliamentarians in the world. Hence, there is a need for greater representation of women in political and decision-making positions, to make and change the necessary laws to stop cases of discrimination and abuse. Datin Paduka Marina also discussed other transnational NTS issues – such as environmental disasters – where the resulting displacement of people becomes a security concern. The displacement is often exacerbated by the slow transfer of aid to the disaster victims, which only serves to increase their vulnerability to other threats such as the spread of infectious diseases, and increased crime and violence against women.

Datin Paduka Marina went on to note that domestic security issues in one state can spill over to neighbouring states thereby spurring domestic concerns there as well. An example of this is the case of refugees from Myanmar, who, in a bid to flee persecution in their home country,

have fled to neighbouring Thailand and Malaysia. This situation has, unfortunately, rendered many of them vulnerable to exploitation especially by local police volunteers and immigration officials, while the local media paints them as potential criminals. As a result, conflicts have arisen between refugees and locals in the host countries.

Datin Paduka Marina then turned to issues in her own country, Malaysia, which has been experiencing a brain drain; many bright young Malaysians have left the country in search of greener pastures. This has left a population that is increasingly unable to cope, within a weak educational and social system, with the kinds of economic crises reaped by globalisation. This, she noted, could be a likely reason for security issues related to motorcycle gangs, domestic abuse and petty crimes.
In concluding her address, Datin Paduka Marina asserted that policies to promote growth and encourage security for the individual, the community and the nation are essential, and the issue of human security should be emphasised in various discussions. Governments should thus look at measures which could resolve domestic human security issues so as to ensure that their citizens feel physically, psychologically and economically secure. Datin Paduka Marina suggested that a forum such as NTS-Asia could best identify the security challenges and agenda for the region.

## Message

*Professor Andrew Watson*
*Former Representative*
*Ford Foundation*
*China*

In a pre-recorded video message, Professor Andrew Watson congratulated the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia) for its success and growth over the last 10 years, demonstrated through the solid achievements and development of NTS-Asia.

Prof. Watson noted that NTS-Asia has been the recipient of three phases of Ford Foundation support. The aim of the support was to help develop a research basis and discourse around the concept of non-traditional security (NTS) and human security, which were still contested concepts. It was also to strengthen Asian regional capacity and presence in the global discourse, to help create an Asian voice. Prof. Watson opined that this has been very successfully achieved, as seen from the fact that NTS is now part of various dialogues and discourses in Asia, and has been widely referred to in formal knowledge exchanges. Moreover, the issues themselves have become increasingly important. NTS-Asia has grown in terms of the number of members and activities at regional and sub-regional levels, and the tremendous work with regard to publications was acknowledged.

Prof. Watson concluded by congratulating the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) for its strong support, and particularly Ambassador Barry Desker and Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony for their leadership in steering the NTS agenda.

# Panel 1: Climate Change and Security

This session was chaired by Professor Han Feng, Deputy Director and Professor at the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (IAPS), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), China. The session examined various issues related to climate change, including disaster management, the implications of migration, and land management. The use of the concept of trusteeship as an alternative lens in examining the issue of climate change was also discussed.

## Reassessing the Security Challenges of Climate Change

*Major General A.N.M. Muniruzzaman (Retd)*
*Founder and President*
*Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS)*
*Bangladesh*

Major General A.N.M. Muniruzzaman (Retd) assessed the implications of climate change from both traditional (or 'hard') security and human security perspectives, and analysed the evolving roles that militaries are anticipated to play as a result of changing climatic conditions.

Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman first presented several ways in which climate change could be a 'threat multiplier' when combined with existing social and environmental challenges. Examples of ways in which climate change might exacerbate insecurity include the risks from sea-level rise, the greater prevalence and strength of disastrous weather events, changes in precipitation patterns and hydrological cycles, and increased occurrences of drought and flooding. These natural processes would then have attendant effects on the stability and security of individuals, communities, states and regions.

The potential security ramifications of impacts stemming in part from a changing climate are pronounced. From a human security perspective, these effects include hygiene and health challenges, which Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman labelled 'disease security', along with threats of access to adequate food, water and other basic resources. While such developments are problematic in and of themselves, Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman emphasised that these stresses also create a range of challenges in the hard security sphere. The most acute challenges will likely relate to population movements. As climate change affects the habitability of populated zones, through its gradual effects on resource bases and/or via natural disasters, migration will result.

If the challenges of potentially large-scale human migration movements are not adequately managed, they could lead to serious friction between migrant and receiving communities. In the most severe scenarios, such friction would be manifested in state vs state, state vs group, and group vs group conflicts. Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman pointed out that many of the countries that are most vulnerable to climate change already face a host of development and stability issues. As such, when climate change acts as a force multiplier in conjunction with existing dynamics, affected locations can become destabilised quite rapidly. To underline this point, Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman quoted US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Amanda J. Dory, who had stated that such scenarios become 'real complicated, real quickly'.

The realities of these human and hard security challenges led Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman to the question of the appropriate roles for militaries in addressing the effects of climate change. He argued that the military should be involved in areas where its capacity is strongest. For example, the logistical and lift capacities of military forces can prove essential for the delivery of vital goods and services in disaster relief scenarios. Given these needs, Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman advocated a shift in military doctrines, capabilities and training strategies. He claimed that many militaries are currently not ready to face the emerging challenges accompanying the changing climate, and that they will need assistance from multiple sources in the governmental and civil sectors to develop the requisite new skill sets. If these skill sets can be achieved, however, militaries will be well-placed to make a positive contribution to wider efforts to adapt and respond to climate-related security challenges.

## Climate Change and Human Security: Migration as an Adaptation Strategy

*Professor Tasneem Siddiqui*
*Department of Political Science, and*
*Chair, Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU)*
*University of Dhaka*
*Bangladesh*

Professor Tasneem Siddiqui argued that migration can be a logical, legitimate and livelihood-diversifying coping mechanism for dealing with the effects of climate change. Rather than being viewed as a potential security threat, as it is often framed, migration should be analysed as an adaptation strategy to be cultivated and managed at the community, state and international levels. She discussed the issue along several lines.

Prof. Siddiqui pointed out the ambiguity of the terminology surrounding migrants compelled to leave their original homes by climate change. Terms such as 'climate refugees' and 'environmental migrants' are still in their formative stages. Citing the influential work of Graeme Hugo, she stated that existing ambiguities need to be addressed in order for there to be progress on the discourse surrounding climate-induced migration.

Prof. Siddiqui also noted that migration is a phenomenon that defies singular categorisations. The decision to migrate is virtually always in response to multiple push and pull factors, only some of which might be related to climatic trends and attendant environmental events. The multifarious nature of migration means that it should not be framed or analysed within a single sector, but rather looked upon in a more holistic manner.

That being said, Prof. Siddiqui outlined specific ways in which climate change might represent a significant driver of migration. Citing her home country of Bangladesh as an example, she demonstrated correlations between increasing flooding and greater population displacements. Such flooding, along with the oft-related cyclonic events, represents a potentially abrupt driver of migration. In addition to these event-focused causes, Prof. Siddiqui also addressed slow-onset processes such as sea-level rise and the increased prevalence of droughts which can lead to steady migration patterns over time.

Prof. Siddiqui argued that state and international adaptation measures and environmental policies do not engage with the realities of migration effectively. She suggested that effective strategies would require a fundamental shift in the analytical connotations surrounding the migration phenomenon. Migration is a strategy that has been used since time immemorial to deal with shifting environmental and social conditions. Climate change is the latest manifestation of such shifting conditions, and human development can be improved through appropriately responsive population movements. Migration, therefore, should not be looked upon as a threat, but rather as a phenomenon that necessitates targeted policies which are responsive to the modalities of climate-induced migration. Only through such a conceptual shift can these contemporary challenges be addressed responsibly.

## Land Management Issues under Climate Change

*Professor Ronald Hill*
*Honorary Professor in Ecology and Biodiversity*
*School of Biological Science, and*
*Honorary Professor in History*
*The University of Hong Kong (HKU)*
*Hong Kong*

Professor Ronald Hill began by pointing out that an 'emerging scientific consensus on the reality of climate change' has taken hold in the past several years. Despite this growing level of consensus, however, humankind remains in a state of 'considerable ignorance' on the various economic dimensions of the climate discourse. A lack of understanding in this area can lead to unexpected expenditures, such as the more than 2 per cent of global gross domestic product (GDP) for disaster relief, as well as longer-term costs and impediments to economic growth and social progress. These effects vary depending upon the ecological system that is affected and the social structures in place.

One set of ecological systems which is particularly relevant for Southeast Asia would be the region's river systems. Prof. Hill detailed some of the human-induced processes which can lead to the utility of river systems being undermined. Among these processes, soil erosion holds particular significance, as the tilling of soil for agriculture and other human needs can lead to a loss of topsoil nutrients and the sedimentation of downstream rivers. These sediment deposits are most pronounced at a river's edges. Such build-ups of sediment are a natural phenomenon, and one that has often throughout history been mitigated by regular flooding and the reconstitution of basic river patterns. However, manipulations of these natural processes by humans, primarily through the building of levees and other river containment structures, have undermined the stability and regularity of river systems and made them more prone to abrupt and detrimental breach flooding events.

Climate change exacerbates the dangers associated with the manipulations of river systems. Precipitation patterns and hydrological cycles in Southeast Asia are already being altered by climate change, and these changes will likely become more pronounced. Heavier rains in wet seasons and altered storm patterns will lead to more soil erosion, greater sedimentation of rivers and more incidences of acute flooding. Sea-level rise also has the capacity to influence these processes; Prof. Hill pointed out the particular vulnerability of many areas of Southeast Asia to an encroaching sea. All of these challenges make it necessary for communities, states and the region at large to pursue development strategies that recognise and respond to emerging climate vulnerabilities.

Prof. Hill concluded by presenting the foundations of some such responsive development strategies. First, risk zones must be identified to ensure that appropriate resource allocation is applied to areas most in need. Second, new warning systems should be developed and existing systems extended in response to shifting risk assessments. Third, more robust disaster management apparatuses need to be put in place to address the realities of impending disaster events. Prof. Hill wrapped up his presentation with the reminder that we must 'work with nature, not against nature, because nature has a nasty habit of biting back'.

## Trusteeship as a Response to Climate Change Anxieties

*Professor Peter deSouza*
*Director*
*Indian Institute of Advanced Study (IIAS)*
*India*

Professor Peter deSouza complemented the presentations of the climate panel by offering an alternative view on climate change. He noted that a reassessment of the fundamental tenets of many of the world's modes of economic production and resource manipulation is needed.

In a highly conceptual talk, Prof. deSouza argued that governments around the world have succumbed to what George Soros has labelled 'market fundamentalism', and that this has had acute effects on the natural environment. The core of market fundamentalism is a 'fiscal incentive policy that rewards individuals who produce more and gets others to consume more'. Such a system is problematic, according to Prof. deSouza, because it creates hedonistic individuals and societies that continue to exploit natural resource stocks at unsustainable rates. A fundamental shift in such thinking is required to address the formidable challenges of climate change and global environmental stress.

In response, Prof. deSouza forwards the concept of 'trusteeship' as a new normative order that could encourage efforts towards a more sustainable future. Trusteeship in the sense used here draws upon the work of Mahatma Gandhi, who foresaw many of the pitfalls of modern industrial production that are now becoming more pronounced. Gandhi proclaimed that all of the world's bounty has divine origins, and that the benefits of this bounty are meant for all peoples rather than just the privileged few. As a result, when individuals or groups accrue a disproportionate amount of resources when compared to others, the more fortunate become 'trustees' of these resources and should be expected to manage the resources in ways respectful of the larger good.

Prof. deSouza drew extensively on the historical works of Gandhi to substantiate the concept of trusteeship and

argued that these decades-old positions have particular import for addressing contemporary challenges. In the realm of economics, ideas of trusteeship suggest that any wealth produced must be adequately compensated for, and that the balance of wealth beyond this compensation should be held in trust for common benefits. Such shifts require that a 'culture of trust' be injected into modern capitalist systems. In the political realm, movements towards a system based on trusteeship require that politicians see themselves as trustees of the public interest. Beyond both politics and economics, but relating to both, Prof. deSouza argues that human beings also must be trustees of the natural world, taking only portions of nature's offerings and not more than they need.

Prof. deSouza recognised that his position risks being criticised as utopian and unrealistic, but argued that this is not the case. He suggested that it is through thinking in terms of 'other worlds' that societies can navigate periods of 'considerable moral and technical flux'. Given the pronounced and unprecedented challenges presented by contemporary environmental stresses, small measures and gradual shifts will likely prove wanting. Prof. deSouza's charge to the audience and society at large is to confront the foundations of the social systems that have contributed to the contemporary state of the natural world.

## Discussion

The discussion began by addressing Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman's presentation on the roles that militaries can potentially play in tackling the challenges of climate change, along with the level of preparedness of regional militaries in terms of fulfilling these emerging tasks. Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman pointed out that militaries and national security strategies throughout Asia, with a few exceptions, do not adequately address climatic issues. This reality is due in part to the conceptual gap that persists between traditional security issues and NTS issues. Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman argued for the narrowing of this gap to address the many points of convergence which can unite actors on either side of the security continuum. What is needed is a 'smart security' approach which is able to address traditional military concerns while still meeting burgeoning challenges such as those associated with climate change.

Several points relating to migration and particularly environmentally induced population movements were raised. As one participant noted, international legal frameworks have proven inadequate for dealing with the needs of 'environmental refugees'. Codifying this term more thoroughly would require a new set of obligations for receiving communities and the international community as a whole. It remains unclear whether the political will to take on such obligations will be forthcoming in the near future.

Beyond the issue of legal frameworks, Prof. Siddiqui observed that the broader conceptualisation of climate-induced migration is problematic. She emphasised that, rather than being the source of insurmountable security threats, migration is a coping strategy which can prevent destitution and death in emergency situations. Moreover, viewing migration as a threat risks creating a self-fulfilling prophecy as effective management strategies will not be pursued. The international community should thus deal with migration rather than persist in demonising it.

The final point of discussion addressed the trusteeship concept. One participant asked Prof. deSouza if it would be necessary to invoke divine powers in order to develop more healthy and balanced relationships between humankind and the natural world. Prof. deSouza responded by suggesting that the natural world has sacred and metaphysical characteristics which cannot be encapsulated by simple adherence to worldly concepts. Another participant brought up philanthropy as a potential example of trusteeship that already plays an important role throughout Asia. Prof. deSouza acknowledged the value of philanthropy, but noted an important difference between the two concepts. In philanthropy, persons voluntarily 'give away' wealth belonging to them whereas trusteeship views actors as 'managing' wealth that is beyond their needs. Debate on these issues saw the session to a close, but the interplay between environmental and social systems would remain a recurring theme in other panel discussions.

# Panel 2: Food Security

This session was chaired by Mr Mushahid Ali, Senior Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). Presentations delivered during this session touched on both social and technical or scientific aspects of food security.

## Food Security and Human Security Norms: Report of a Workshop

*Professor Lorraine Elliott*
*Department of International Relations*
*Australian National University (ANU)*
*Canberra*
*Australia*
*and*
*Visiting Senior Fellow and Advisor to the*
*Climate Change, Environmental Security and*
*Natural Disasters Programme*
*Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*
*S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)*
*Nanyang Technological University (NTU)*
*Singapore*

Professor Lorraine Elliott discussed the themes and questions raised during a food security workshop in October 2010 co-hosted by the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies and the Department of International Relations, ANU. The workshop had sought to address questions related to the framing of food security. Starting with the fundamental question of how regional food security frameworks address the challenges of food security, it led to other questions and analytical themes revolving around how food security and regional frameworks have been conceptualised and evaluated.

Prof. Elliott briefly examined the theme of governance and institutions, looking at the reasons for why the issue of food security should be discussed at the regional level rather than only at the domestic level, and the forms and functions that these regional frameworks should take. She underlined the need to address whether regional institutions should function as partners supporting the food security efforts of individual countries or as overarching frameworks which take on food security as a multi-sectoral issue.

Prof. Elliott also raised the theme of scale, highlighting the various levels of analysis, and examining whether food security should be analysed at a regional, state, community, household or individual level. She then quoted a Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) definition which states that food security is a public good. She brought up the question of whether food security is an underprovided public good and whether there are competing public goods. She observed that the production of food may be in competition with the aim of protecting existing ecosystems, and thus there is a need to address the possible competition arising between the two public goods.

The way food security is framed is also important, as it affects our understanding of the issue. For example, instances of food shortages could be seen as a crisis or an event, the matter of food provision could be seen as an issue of security or one of stability, food production could be conceptualised as a system or a supply chain issue, and food security could be examined as an availability and/or an accessibility issue. The framing affects how we approach the subject of food security, for instance, it determines whether the issue should be examined as a singular problem, or, one involving separate factors which should be investigated independently of one another.

The way food security is framed would also affect the interventions that would be deemed necessary. For instance, ensuring food security could be seen as a technological, economic, infrastructural, social, political or leadership issue. She referenced Prof. Peter deSouza's presentation in Panel 1, saying that the trusteeship concept may be an interesting way to examine the topic of food security.

Prof. Elliott then discussed some of the necessary and sufficient conditions for food security and what could be done within the framework of human security or NTS studies. She outlined the ways in which various analytical themes overlap with some of the normative themes which are dominant in the human security framework, such as power, justice, political legitimacy and authority. These normative themes affect how food security is operationalised. For instance, taking these normative themes into account would lead to a need to examine how existing frameworks are the result of consent and participation. Food security would also be seen as extending beyond the provision of food, to encompass outcomes such as ensuring justice and making sure that vulnerable populations are not made worse off, which could in turn necessitate the exploration of, for example, strategies to deal with community vulnerability and sensitivity to food crises. Furthermore, categories such as geography, gender and socioeconomic levels would have to be recognised as non-monolithic so that complex groups could be taken into account.

She concluded by noting that participants at the workshop in October 2010 suggested the establishment of an Asia-Pacific food security knowledge network which could continue the discussion of how food security should be analysed and operationalised at different levels.

## Emergent Issues in Asian Food Security

*Professor Paul Teng*
*Dean*
*Graduate Programmes and Research*
*National Institute of Education (NIE), and*
*Senior Fellow and Advisor to the*
*Food Security Programme*
*Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*
*S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)*
*Nanyang Technological University (NTU)*
*Singapore*
*and*
*Dr Margarita Escaler*
*Research Fellow*
*Graduate Programmes and Research Office*
*National Institute of Education (NIE)*
*Nanyang Technological University (NTU)*
*Singapore*

Professor Paul Teng drew attention to some of the emerging issues and paradigm shifts in the conceptualisation of food security in Asia. He mentioned a number of recent and upcoming conferences and meetings on food security in the Southeast Asian region, noting that demonstrates a growing interest in the subject.

Prof. Teng discussed the Green Revolution and analysed both of its positive and negative effects in the region. There was a significant increase in productivity and total production of major staples during the Green Revolution, which resulted in rural regions producing enough surplus food to also provide for urban dwellers. However, the successes of the Green Revolution also resulted in complacency and decreased investment in agriculture, as well as declines in prices of major staples and food commodities, and thus decreases in real incomes of agricultural producers.

Prof. Teng listed a number of factors related to food security which should be analysed, namely, availability, accessibility and utility of food. He emphasised that availability is not just an issue of food supply, but also involves production and distribution. Distribution is an important factor mainly due to the global supply chain, and the importance of securing distribution channels. With regard to accessibility, both the market supply chain and incomes should be examined. Access to food is not just an infrastructural or physical matter of having access to markets but also a matter of economic access, as demonstrated by the correlation between poverty, deprivation and hunger.

A major change that Prof. Teng highlighted is a shift in the geographical distribution of the world population. At the time of the presentation, 50 per cent of the world's population live in cities. However, it is projected that by 2050, 70 per cent would be urban and would mostly be in developing countries. The growing world population and a growing middle class would result in both quantitative as well as qualitative changes in the demand for food. There would be an increasing demand for more animal protein, which would require more grain to produce, resulting in changing production patterns. Furthermore, as cities grow, the demand for food would also increase as they are net importers of food commodities. As a

result, urban food security would be an increasingly important issue.

He also looked at the main threats to food security, both in the short and long term, such as weather disruptions, fluctuations in energy prices and supply, and other social, political and economic factors. These could affect urban food security and cause disruptions in production, supply and distribution.

Prof. Teng concluded by using the case of Singapore to examine issues of food production, supply and demand as they pertain to a net-importing, predominantly urban, country. He emphasised that the issue of food security should be examined at the country, regional and global levels as national food security can be achieved only when regional and global food security also exist. Countries such as Singapore could explore the possibility of urban agriculture to supplement food imports, for instance, through the adoption of technologies such as aeroponics or hydroponics. He also underscored the importance of the private sector in ensuring food security and said that governments could learn from and collaborate with the private sector.

## Fisheries, Food Security and Climate Change: The Whys, How and Whereto

*Dr Maripaz Perez*
*Regional Director for Asia*
*and*
*Ms Majorie-Ann Dator*
*Research Specialist*
*The WorldFish Center*
*Philippines*

Dr Maripaz Perez discussed the importance of small-scale fisheries (SSF) and small-scale aquaculture (SSA) and examined the potential impact of climate change on fisheries. The SSF/SSA sector is vital to Asia, particularly Southeast Asia, as the Southeast Asian region has the largest number of SSF and SSA operators in the world. The SSF/SSA sector typically contributes approximately 0.5 to 2.5 per cent to a country's gross domestic product (GDP), a significant proportion when compared with the contributions from the agricultural sectors of most of the countries in the region. Furthermore, despite global trade suffering as a whole from the financial crisis in 2008, the fishery industry import trade continued to expand. However, despite the importance of the sector, it remains burdened by a number of problems, such as poverty, the lack of education and high unemployment.

Dr Perez stated that the problems could be exacerbated by climate change, which could pose a significant threat to the SSF/SSA industry and the people involved in it. Examples of the manifestations of climate change are higher water temperatures, sea level rise, increase in the frequency and intensity of storms, changes in the amount and location of rainfall, and the El Nino Southern Oscillation (ENSO).

Dr Perez argued that these manifestations of climate change will have a major detrimental effect on fisheries and aquaculture producers, affecting the quality and quantity of stocks and increasing the uncertainty of small fishing communities who are more vulnerable to harsher weather conditions. She added that there will also be economic effects from climate change, for instance, production and marketing costs could increase while purchasing power and exports could decrease.

Climate change will also affect the four dimensions of food security, namely, availability, stability of supply, access and utility. Access to aquatic foods could be affected by changes in livelihoods, and catching or farming opportunities. Due to the potential changes in fish and aquaculture stock, people may have to turn to species not traditionally consumed as food.

She concluded with the suggestion that there is a need for a better understanding of the issues, as well as greater international collaboration to address climate change, in order to mitigate its impact on the SSF/SSA sector and the people who rely on it for their livelihoods. Dr Perez argued that collaboration among institutions, governments and agencies would be vital as the concerns are multi-sectoral in nature, and require varied perspectives and analyses

if a comprehensive understanding of the issues at hand is to be achieved.

## Discussion

Several participants raised the issue of genetically modified (GM) foods. On the issue of whether GM foods should be allowed in the region, Prof. Teng commented that institutions are already funding major efforts to increase actual potential yield and to engineer genes to produce crops that are more tolerant to droughts, floods and pests. He brought up the socio-political debate behind genetically modified organisms (GMOs). He also noted that the number of GM crops has increased dramatically since it was introduced in the 1990s. At present, there are 134 million hectares of GM crops worldwide; in 1995, there were none. He argued that the question now is whether humanity can afford to not use the best technology available, a question that is seldom addressed in forums which tend to be concerned primarily with food safety.

Prof. Elliott added to the GM foods discussion by raising the question of the social context in which technology is used and debated. She argued that the discussion on GM foods should be conducted separately from other concerns about GMOs in general. She emphasised that if food security is seen as a problem related to how food systems functioned in terms of production and distribution, there would be a need to also discuss the social and political contexts and not purely issues related to technological solutions.

Another participant raised the possibility of micro-financing to help agricultural producers. Dr Perez voiced her hope that policymakers would recognise the significance of the issue, adding that policymakers have to go beyond just terrestrial adaptation strategies. Micro-finance is also important to the SSF/SSA sector. For example, in the Philippines, major changes in the banking sector need to occur so that people working in the SSF/SSA sector could have access to loans. The government is coming up with new micro-financing schemes but they address only terrestrial-based commodities and not aquaculture. Consequently, there is a need to maintain a balance between the needs of the different industries in order to make sure that micro-finance helps to mitigate existing problems faced by the SSF/SSA sector.

Several points were raised in relation to food crops. A participant brought up the issue of rice cultivation in Malaysia, specifically, a proposal that rice cultivation be discontinued in the north of the country, and palm oil or rubber planted instead. Another participant raised the question of how to increase and maintain rice yields, and why yield gaps still exist. A question was also put forth as to whether the expansion of cities could and should be controlled since good agricultural land could potentially be lost to urbanisation. In response to the comments, Prof. Teng stated that it would take a tremendous shift in policy to change existing practices. The disparity in yields could be due to, for example, cultural factors, differences in investment, and varied management practices. There would be a need to encourage the adoption of proper agricultural practices to reduce yield gaps. He also argued that appropriate management and extension systems were needed, and public institutions could look towards learning from the private sector.

On the issue of whether the production of biofuels have the potential to lead to food price increases, Prof. Teng responded by saying that investment in biofuels would not necessarily affect the production of main commodities. The land used may not be suitable for food crops, and thus there would be no direct competition.

# Panel 3: Conflict Prevention and Resolution

This session was chaired by Professor Tasneem Siddiqui of the Department of Political Science and Chair of the Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU) at the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. Various case studies relating to conflict prevention and resolution in Asia were examined.

## Preventing Complex Emergencies: Implications for RtoP in the Case of the North Korean Contingency

*Professor Shin-Wha Lee*
*Department of Political Science*
*and International Relations*
*Korea University*
*South Korea*

Professor Shin-Wha Lee began with an overview of the status of the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) norm. She pointed out that the RtoP norm reflected a transformed notion of state sovereignty, from one of privilege to that of responsibility. She further noted that RtoP is a norm and not a law; with some perceiving it as a mere policy option.

She outlined key events in the norm's development, including the 2001 report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) in which the notion of RtoP was first proposed; the decisive 2005 World Summit Outcome Document; the Secretary-General's report of 2009, which first articulated the RtoP as constituting three pillars; and the UN General Assembly debate on the RtoP in 2009, in which all states (with the exception of Venezuela, Sudan, Nicaragua and Cuba) agreed on the RtoP as an emerging norm.

However, a number of debates and controversies still bog the implementation of the RtoP. First, some still claim that the RtoP is no more than political rhetoric and highlight the lack of legal backing. Second, it is still viewed as a significant threat to state sovereignty. The RtoP is critiqued as a tool of neo-colonial interventionism. Third, there are concerns over its proper implementation, particularly in view of the power held by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to veto UN interventions. Fourth, Prof. Lee noted an ongoing debate over the definition of the RtoP and its scope, with critics suggesting that the RtoP in its current form is too narrow to accommodate other types of humanitarian crises. Finally, there is the critical question of who is to define the criteria for intervention.

In terms of the scope of the RtoP, Prof. Lee suggested that when it comes to implementation, it is idealistic to only focus on the four mass atrocity crimes in the context of complex emergencies, where there tends to be a vicious cycle of violence and poverty. Given that the protection of civilians is arguably the spirit behind the RtoP, she suggested that it would seem to improve the RtoP's function both normatively and operationally in its three phases (the responsibilities to prevent, react and rebuild) if the multifaceted nature and dynamics of complex emergencies were to be fully considered in its implementation.

Against this backdrop, Prof. Lee examined the complex emergency in North Korea, a case which represents a complicated mix of traditional security and NTS issues. In terms of traditional security challenges, externally, there is the issue of nuclear weapons and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) as well as active sponsorship of terrorism. Internally, there is the challenge posed by the pending transfer of dynastic power and the potential for instability due to economic and other issues. Ultimately, regime survival is the state's top priority, but in terms of NTS challenges, a food crisis and human rights problems plague the country, and there is a significant refugee problem outside of North Korea (predominantly

in China, the country to which most refugees are fleeing). Prof. Lee painted a picture of North Koreans choosing either a life of constant hunger at home or the life of a fugitive in China, given its non-recognition of these individuals as official refugees.

Although the four RtoP crimes are not clearly evident in the North Korean case, the state has not only failed to be a security guarantor, but it is also a security spoiler and security violator, not only in relation to economic and food issues, but also with regard to political prisoners, public executions and other human rights violations. North Koreans should therefore be protected as the victims of complex displacements and a complex emergency.

However, how can the international community consider and account for victims of a complex emergency such as that seen in North Korea which involves mass starvation, contingencies (arising from the possible sudden collapse of the Kim Jong-il regime or North Korea itself), civil war and large-scale refugee flows? Prof. Lee suggested that in terms of the RtoP, a critical question in the North Korean context inevitably becomes how the 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' aspects can be incorporated under its umbrella to help the people in that country.

Prof. Lee then proposed four possible approaches to the North Korean emergency in the context of the RtoP. First, it is imperative that regional leadership be fostered; the role of China is particularly important. Second, it is crucial that an issue/country-specific approach to the RtoP be carefully applied to North Korea. Third, early warning and prevention of humanitarian crises and possible contingencies should be emphasised. Finally, the epistemic community has an important role to play. Sustained discussion and debate among regional civil society organisations (CSOs), academia and the mass media are needed in order to devise ways for dealing with crises such as that posed by North Korea.

## RtoP and Conflict Prevention in Asia: A Japanese Perspective

*Dr Miki Honda*
*Assistant Professor*
*Waseda University*
*Japan*

While Japan is a key supporter of the RtoP norm, there are a number of factors that make it difficult for the country to fulfil its responsibility to protect civilians at critical risk. Dr Miki Honda therefore sought to shed some light on ways that the Japanese government might overcome some of these limitations.

Dr Honda began her presentation with a brief overview of the RtoP, including the three pillars of the norm, which outline the different responsibilities of individual states and the international community to protect populations. She noted that the essence of pillar one – the state's own responsibility to protect its population – has long been established under international human rights law and international humanitarian law. However, during the 2009 UN General Assembly debate on the RtoP, several states raised concerns regarding possible selectivity and double standards in the implementation of the norm. Dr Honda suggested that all international norms are potentially vulnerable to these challenges. She acknowledged that some states oppose pillar three as it is seen to violate the cardinal principle of non-interference on which the international system is built; it is seen to infringe on state sovereignty, and it is argued that the international intervention it authorises could be used as a pretext for intervening.

In the context of the 2005 World Summit consensus on the RtoP, Dr Honda briefly surveyed attitudes prevalent in North Asia. South Korea has stressed the importance of effective domestic dispute resolution mechanisms, and

the importance of mediation and rapid reaction capacity. North Korea (and, arguably, also Malaysia, Iran, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) holds the most negative attitude towards the RtoP. China welcomed discussions on the principle but argued that the new norm should not be used to place pressure on states. In the case of Japan, despite its support for the RtoP, there is a significant gap between rhetoric and reality, with a number of factors making it difficult for Japan to fulfil its RtoP commitments.

First, Japan's 'Peace Constitution' of 1947, through article 9, denounces war as a sovereign right of the nation and prohibits the possession of a military force. The Japan Self Defense Forces (SDF) were nonetheless created in 1954, sparking off a never-ending debate over Japan's security functions, both at home and abroad. Second, there is an uncomfortable relationship between the RtoP and Japan's commitment to human security. Both the RtoP and the human security doctrine share similar concerns in many respects, but the RtoP ultimately paves the way for armed intervention (albeit in extreme cases and as a last resort). Yet, Japan's primary focus is on preventing conflicts or crises. It therefore supports the RtoP norm in principle, but does not see itself actively engaged in its implementation, preferring instead to focus on human security.

Japan also faces a challenge in terms of opposition from Northeast Asian countries. Having experienced Japanese aggression in the past, and in view of Japan's perceived failure to atone for its actions, there is a significant degree of mistrust towards Japan in the region, meaning that any notion of Japanese security leadership in the region becomes problematic. Whenever Japan tries to play a more active role, it finds itself faced with a credibility gap, both at home and abroad. This credibility gap is caused by the disparity between the reality of Japan's sophisticated military capabilities and the prevalent perceptions of Japan on the one hand, and the idea of Japan as a pacifist nation trying to play a more constructive regional leadership role on the other, an image that it has failed to create despite its peaceful track record since 1945.

Dr Honda proposed three ways by which Japan can reduce its credibility gap. First, it needs to convince its people that it is in their interests to become more actively involved in international affairs. Second, Japan needs to keep reassuring its Asia-Pacific neighbours that it will never revive militarism. Third, and most importantly, it needs to establish a credible record of distinguished peacekeeping in the region. Increased SDF efforts to build security in the region should focus on medium- to low-level issues that are not incongruent with or do not interfere with Japan's major security institutions. The SDF can do a lot in the fields of development assistance, human rights protection, police and peacekeeping activities and humanitarian assistance, in order to prevent violent conflict.

At the same time, to persuade the Japanese government to dedicate its intellectual and material capabilities to implementing the RtoP, it is vital that the international community clarify the criteria for the RtoP. This includes the criteria for the use of force, guidelines for how to proceed when the UN Security Council is deadlocked, and a code of conduct for the veto. There is also a need to clarify the connection between the RtoP and prevention, as well as the principle's link to existing international law.

## Some Reflections on the War-displaced Population in Sri Lanka

*Professor R.A. Ariyaratne*
*Director*
*Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS)*
*Sri Lanka*

Professor R.A. Ariyaratne reflected on some of the controversial issues surrounding the issue of displacement as a result of the 35-year conflict in Sri Lanka. He began his presentation by highlighting events in May 2009, when Sri Lanka shot to prominence in the global media as the country that, against all odds, put a stop to one of the strongest, and most protracted and deadly insurgencies in the world. Suddenly, he argued, the world became acutely aware of the approximately 300,000 persons, mainly Tamils from the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka, who were subsequently displaced.

Prof. Ariyaratne, however, questioned whether this decisive defeat in 2009 actually constituted the end of the conflict. While it brought an end to the military war, he suggested that so long as there are genuine grievances, in essence, conflict remains; he argued that the grievances of the Sri Lankan people did not end with the cessation of the conflict in 2009.

He noted that concern and publicity for the displaced population of 2009 contrasted sharply with the lack of attention that had been paid to the issue prior to that – when those displaced pre-2009 constituted larger numbers, and had been in both Indian and Sri Lankan camps for over 20 years as a result of the protracted conflict. Nothing had been done about this earlier displacement, and it had not attracted much concern from the international community.

Prof. Ariyaratne then questioned the nature of the experiences of these displaced people. He queried whether the persons displaced and forced to camps in 2009 were really displaced people, in the original sense of the word. He argued that while the earlier displaced population were without question innocent civilians, many of those displaced in 2009 had been used as human shields by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in their fight against the government or were LTTE sympathisers or suicide bombers. It is believed that many had been involved in killing government soldiers and were actively trying to establish an alternative government. Thus, Prof. Ariyaratne questioned whether the RtoP principle could be applied in cases such as these, and whether these people could legitimately demand the right to protection from a state which they have fought against. Such controversial questions, he noted, must be asked in the Sri Lankan context.

After being prompted by a participant, Prof. Ariyaratne gave the view that, ultimately, such displaced persons do have the right to demand protection, despite it necessarily being from the very government that they have been fighting against – not least because that very state failed to protect them for so many years. They had been marginalised, discriminated against, and, in a sense, compelled to fight the government.

Prof. Ariyaratne divided the remainder of his presentation into 10 sub-topics in order to provide the broader context for the experiences of the displaced in the Sri Lankan conflict. He discussed the issue of international benchmarks and national yardsticks, and highlighted the fact that many states in South Asia are not signatories to the significant conventions and protocols protecting displaced persons or refugees.

He also distinguished between the different causes of displacement in Sri Lanka, noting that displacement pre-1983 had been primarily due to riots and situational violence, whereas in the post-1983 period, it was typically the result of war in the full sense of the word. Here, he also briefly touched on the impact of the Indian occupation on displacement. He discussed the influence of the Tamil diaspora, which he suggested has been very strong, not in numbers, but as the LTTE's economic backbone. In the final phase of the conflict, Prof. Ariyaratne noted that fighting had been very severe, with an estimated 40,000–70,000 casualties, and 26,000 Sri Lankan soldiers killed. Finally, he stated that although the large majority of those displaced in 2009 had been released from their respective camps – largely due to international attention and agitation – it will typically take more than a decade for the previously displaced to properly re-establish a home somewhere.

## Mainstreaming RtoP in Indonesia: An Update

*Ms Lina Alexandra*
*Researcher*
*Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)*
*Indonesia*

Ms Lina Alexandra's presentation offered some preliminary findings from an ongoing research project that aims to explore civil society's views on the RtoP in Indonesia. She began by suggesting that the biggest dilemma facing the RtoP is its effective implementation. Indeed, at the 2009 UN General Assembly debate on the RtoP, then Indonesian permanent representative, Marty Natalegawa, reinforced the fact that the task ahead was not to renegotiate the consensus achieved at the 2005 World Summit, but to find ways to implement its

decisions. Nonetheless, there is the issue of how, and who, should implement the principle.

In the context of the RtoP's three pillars, Ms Alexandra suggested that it is clearly the state that holds the most responsibility for protecting populations at risk. Yet, in many cases (such as Darfur, Myanmar and Sri Lanka), the state is the primary actor violating the RtoP. In such cases, civil society clearly has a critical role to play, not least to blow the whistle on actual or suspected cases of mass atrocity crimes. However, for CSOs to fulfil this role, Ms Alexandra argued it is necessary for them to be aware of the RtoP principle. She acknowledged that some have suggested that it is not necessary for CSOs to know about the RtoP per se, provided that they implement its principles. However, she asserted that when a government has committed itself to the RtoP principle, it is important that CSOs be able to refer to the framework and language of the RtoP, as that would enable them to better pressure the government to abide by the principles to which it has agreed.

From her preliminary research findings, Ms Alexandra concluded that, first, there is minimal understanding among civil society actors (such as conflict resolution workers, academics and human rights activists) as to what the RtoP actually means. Little information has been received by CSOs and there is low knowledge about the RtoP's pillars or its scope. Only a few have heard of the principle. Ms Alexandra noted that, to date, only one of her respondents was aware of recent developments in the RtoP and only a few recognised the position of the Indonesian government on the principle. Where there is awareness, it has often been gained through discussion with other non-governmental organisations (NGOs), especially foreign NGOs (in this case, the International Committee of the Red Cross, or ICRC). In terms of definition, many respondents linked the RtoP with post-conflict peacebuilding, humanitarian action, human security and even poverty. That is, they perceive the term 'responsibility' as including the provision of the basic needs of the people.

Most did not know that the RtoP applies only to four specific crimes, and not natural disasters (although this was initially included in the 2001 ICISS Report). On the issue of the RtoP's scope, Ms Alexandra gauged that there were two different views – some proposed to restrict the focus to the four crimes agreed at the World Summit in 2005, whereas others suggested that the RtoP should include other issues, such as poverty and natural disasters, due to the intensity of these problems in Indonesia. These divergent views were largely related to opinions on whether RtoP crimes had even actually ever occurred in Indonesia; some refuted any suggestion that such crimes had been perpetrated in the country, whereas others pointed to events in 1965, as well as the cases of Papua and Aceh.

The first pillar (the foremost responsibility of the state) is not contentious for CSOs. However, when it comes to potential intervention (specifically, the third pillar), the views of respondents were mixed. Those working in the area of human rights clearly have no objections to the potential for foreign intervention and even invite such action in the context of a state's failure to protect. They argued that international pressure could persuade the government to do what is necessary to protect its people. On the other hand, a minority of respondents were primarily concerned with developed, Western countries using human rights as a veil for intervening, when their central aim is to fulfil their own ambitions.

Ms Alexandra pointed out that CSOs have served to complement or bridge what is still lacking on the government's part in relation to the implementation of the RtoP. Indeed, from the CSOs' perspective, efforts on their part can be used to enhance the capacity of the state to fulfil their responsibility to protect, for instance, by raising awareness of the RtoP principle, both among members of the broader society as well as through education on human rights for members of parliament and for military officers. Another avenue is through establishing regulations on how to prevent, react and rebuild after conflict. For instance, there has been a collaborative NGO effort to construct a draft of an Act on managing social conflict. This was sent to the government and parliament in 2003, albeit with no response as yet. Certain NGOs have also been heavily engaged in reconciliation processes, for instance, in the

case of Maluku, where the government has proven largely unable to manage the situation. Finally, respondents view civil society as having a role in assisting in economic development and poverty alleviation. This is related to the views of interviewees that it does not make sense in the context of Indonesia that the RtoP be restricted to the four crimes, when poverty and religious discrimination, for instance, are much more prevalent in the country.

## Discussion

It was suggested that frameworks such as the RtoP are often adopted by epistemic communities in the global South, who subsequently search for relevant cases in the area. However, it can be useful to also look for cases in the global North and to challenge the North with such 'inconvenient facts'. For instance, how does the RtoP respond to the treatment (or eviction) of the Roma people from France? This point was picked up by another participant, who remarked that there has been a traditional conception of the North as the norm makers and the South as the norm takers. Nonetheless, it is perceived that there have been attempts to make the process a two-way flow, rather than a North-to-South diffusion of the norm.

One participant also opined, in the context of Ms Alexandra's presentation, that while prevention is stated as the most important measure, it is much easier to 'sell' the need for intervention to a government and its people when confronted with a crisis situation, than it is to persuade a government to intervene to prevent what could potentially escalate into a crisis. How then can engagement be mobilised without the emotion and commitment evoked by the graphic imagery of a crisis situation? This point was not disputed by respondents to Ms Alexandra's survey; it is arguably easier to convince authorities to respond in the face of death and suffering. However, prevention is still the least controversial aspect of RtoP. Furthermore, prevention is the broader aspect which also links RtoP to some extent with economic development, peacebuilding issues, human rights and human development. Therefore, above all else, prevention is an issue of strategic significance.

In terms of countries perceived to be most resistant to the RtoP norm, one participant questioned Malaysia's inclusion alongside countries such as North Korea and Cuba. It is true that Malaysia does have reservations to the RtoP; however, it was argued that these hesitations are held not only by Malaysia, but also by other states in the Asia-Pacific region. It was noted that Malaysia has been comfortable and supportive of the philosophy behind the RtoP, but is merely cautious of the selectivity and double standards that might come into play in its implementation. One participant added to this by highlighting that even the Indonesian government, which is seen as being supportive of the RtoP, uses language more to the effect of 'not being in disagreement' with the RtoP, rather than being necessarily affirmative. It has similarly emphasised prevention, and indicated concerns over the implications (particularly that of intervention) of the third pillar.

Against this backdrop, one participant pointed to significant resistance to the RtoP in Latin America, not only from Cuba or Venezuela, but also from Brazil in particular. This is seen to derive from fears that the RtoP could be taken advantage of by certain powers. Therefore, while most countries may offer support for the RtoP, they may nonetheless be doing nothing to implement it. The resistance from Latin America was acknowledged, with one respondent suggesting it was understandable given that the RtoP might potentially apply where a state is failing. No state wants to be seen as a failed or weak state unable to protect its population.

Finally, the question was raised as to whether, given that Asian countries are some of the main contributors to peacekeeping operations, they would actually be prepared to intervene in RtoP-type situations (thus aiming to shed light on the RtoP's foreseeable implementation). One participant responded that the RtoP does not have a correlation with peacekeeping. Furthermore, particularly in Southeast Asia, while many countries have contributed significantly to UN peacekeeping operations, the nature of peacekeeping conducted so far has been more in keeping with traditional peacekeeping, rather than complex peace operations that may touch upon the issue of sovereignty.

# Panel 4: Global Architecture and Non-Traditional Security (NTS)

This session was chaired by Mr Kwa Chong Guan, Head of External Programmes at RSIS, Singapore. This session comprised three presentations. The first provided insights on the possibilities of a global NTS architecture, while the second examined the implications of the growing regional architecture on NTS issues. The third presentation discussed the global NTS architecture with specific focus on health.

## Changing Global Architecture: Possibilities and Challenges

*Professor Dennis Altman*
*Professor of Politics, and*
*Director*
*Institute for Human Security (IHS)*
*La Trobe University*
*Australia*

Professor Dennis Altman began his presentation by outlining the aspects of new international power balances that are contributing to a changing global architecture. These aspects were identified as: economic shifts to emerging countries such as Brazil, Russia, India and China (the BRICs), the growing challenges to the Western liberal belief in democracy as a prerequisite for growth, and the global financial crisis of two years ago revealing a host of new challenges to the role and scope of existing multilateral agencies. It was also noted that many emerging global issues of today are important NTS issues which reinforce one another. He also said that more vigorous research is needed, and that such research should seek to transcend barriers between the various issues, focusing on their common connections and linkages instead of their differences.

The global architecture is changing as regional focuses have become increasingly global. It was stated that new coalitions and partnerships between and among different countries have replaced the Cold War divide of the past, and that the regional architecture is becoming trans-regional, particularly across countries in the South with common interests in playing a global role in bringing nations together. It was then argued that the regional framework is no longer accurate to illustrate new international trends and that a more global stance would be needed in order to gain a better comprehension of widespread changes across borders.

Additionally, Prof. Altman acknowledged that new players and complexities are increasingly featuring in today's global architecture. In particular, global civil society and international NGOs are seen to have stronger voices. However, more familiar complexities such as religious and ethnic tensions continue to be prominent at the global level. The session also addressed the topic of the place of international development within the emerging global architecture. This is considered to be extremely significant to NTS issues such as health security, food security and water security. It was argued that the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 was the high point of international interest and dedication to international development, but the world has since then observed a marked decline in interest in efforts towards global equity.

Prof. Altman argued that the primary power relations observed in the current global architecture are increasingly characterised by capital and economic power, and the need for increased cooperation and collaboration between governments and the corporate world. An example was given of this growing cooperation and collaboration. At the recent G20 meeting in Toronto, Canada, the Canadian government invited leaders from a group of major international corporations, known as the B20, to meet on the sidelines to discuss pertinent global issues alongside their government counterparts. Prof. Altman concluded that the growth of new players in the

international field does not entail a decline of economic self-interest. Although there are new developments – a greater number of, and more diverse, actors on the global stage; a changing focus from the regional to the global; a situation where economic self-interest is more complicated than it was during the period of Western/ North Atlantic dominance due to growing common interests, increased trade and the growing ties between trade and political power – economic inequality and power still shapes a great deal of global reality.

Prof. Altman then used the case of HIV/AIDS to illustrate his argument. He said that the HIV/AIDS cause was the focus of considerable global activism and mobilisation and substantial resources (from organisations such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, or PEPFAR). However, there remain many dilemmas for treatments and access, and political, cultural and religious barriers to prevention. He argued that there is a need to address the issue of homosexuality within debates focused on the increased transmission rates of HIV/AIDS, the cultural aspect of attitudes towards the disease and its transmission, and the interconnection between health security and traditional security with regard to HIV/AIDS (for example, the interconnection between security in Afghanistan/Pakistan and drug/needle use, social breakdowns, ignorance, taboos and denial, and the possibility of a major new HIV/AIDS epidemic developing) – and to explore the links among these issues.

Prof. Altman also explored how to ensure greater respect, justice and human rights for the vulnerable. He noted that the biggest problem in HIV prevention is not a lack of medical intervention or development (condoms, clean needles, biomedical developments to prevent mother to child transmission are all well-known preventive measures), but rather, the existence of cultural and religious barriers. He highlighted the need to be bolder in highlighting interconnections between the ways in which culture, tradition and religion are invoked to defend regimes of power and the way in which they are used to perpetuate vulnerability and human insecurity. He added that there are still gaps between technological solutions and social solutions to HIV/AIDS, and that debate and discussion do not adequately address political action, mobilisation and community empowerment or, in other words, the need for a greater commitment to change.

Concluding his presentation, Prof. Altman stated that in spite of these challenges, there are many reasons for optimism. To the question of whether economic growth leads to greater altruism and willingness to sacrifice short-term gains for long-term solutions, he restated his belief that efficient and sustainable solutions can be attained through enlightened self-interest or revived grassroots radicalism.

## The Evolving Regional Security Architecture in East Asia: Challenge or Opportunity for NTS?

*Dr Rizal Sukma*
*Executive Director*
*Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)*
*Indonesia*

Dr Rizal Sukma began his presentation by discussing the growing discourse surrounding the evolution of the regional security architecture. A prime example of this was seen during the ASEAN Summits in July and October 2010 and the East Asia Summit in October 2010, where many conversations and debates revolved around the 'emerging regional security architecture' and the form it would take. The discussion, however, referred to traditional security issues, and not NTS issues. Hence, a key question would be what an emerging, evolving regional architecture would mean for NTS in the region.

ASEAN cooperation began on a platform of non-sensitive, mostly NTS, issues, with cooperation truly intensifying only with the end of the Cold War. The Asian financial

crisis in 1997, and the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) outbreak in 2003, resulted in even deeper cooperation. ASEAN was able to extend cooperation on NTS issues to East Asia through its partnerships with other actors in the region via ASEAN-centred multilateral institutions such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the ASEAN Plus Three (APT) forum. NTS issues have also emerged as the core agenda of the ASEAN Defence Ministerial Meetings (ADMM) and ADMM Plus, where natural disasters have become a main issue of discussion and cooperation.

Two main reasons for the centrality of NTS issues within ASEAN were cited by Dr Sukma. First, ASEAN's security agenda is mostly focused on non-sensitive issues, which are thought to be less difficult to broach, less controversial, and more amenable to agreement and cooperation. Many of these non-sensitive issues in security are NTS issues, and these are the issues considered to be the best platform upon which to encourage cooperation and cohesion among states in the region. Second, the expansion of the ASEAN model makes it possible for the grouping to take a leadership role in intensifying and incorporating NTS into its collaboration with other states within other regional forums and organisations, thereby propagating the NTS focus more widely.

Dr Sukma did note, however, that NTS threats do still exist in the region. There are currently three main pillars of regional architecture: US-led bilateral alliances, ASEAN-centred multilateral processes, and other bilateral-level security cooperation initiatives between countries.

At the moment, NTS cooperation within Southeast Asia and the greater East Asian region is possible because of ASEAN's role as an architect of the regional agenda. However, this role is being challenged due to several factors: first, there have been power shifts in the region (such as the rise of China and India, and the changing relationships among the major powers); second, there are the internal weaknesses of ASEAN itself (in the management of regional security problems, and in cooperation); third, there is the view held by some countries that there is a need to restructure the current regional architecture based on US-bilateral alliances; and fourth, there have been suggestions and ideas for restructuring by other countries such as Australia and Japan.

Dr Sukma noted that ASEAN has been able to come to an agreement on how to respond to these challenges and yet maintain ASEAN centrality. The East Asia Summit reflects major power relations within the region, and ASEAN's voice within that summit remains central, strong and pertinent. He argued that as long as ASEAN-centred multilateral efforts continue, NTS issues will continue to be prioritised in the region as one of ASEAN's foremost regional security priorities.

However, Dr Sukma also observed that NTS remaining central to the region's security architecture would depend on two important factors: the viability and efficacy of ASEAN centrality, and changes in relationships among the major powers (realignments, competition among themselves, etc.). Within a context of changing security priorities in the region characterised by a new arms development, modification and accumulation race, several trends – the growth of militarism and defence spending, the continued threat of nuclear weaponry (posed by North Korea and Myanmar), China's growing assertiveness, territorial disputes and the rise of nationalism – will compete with NTS issues in the years to come.

## Globalisation and Health

*Dr Sania Nishtar*
*Founder and President*
*Heartfile*
*Pakistan*

Dr Sania Nishtar began her pre-recorded video presentation by noting that globalisation is not a recent phenomenon and that health has always been a pertinent dimension of the process. Dr Nishtar noted that the benefits of globalisation in terms of health outcomes – through the promotion of global public goods, scientific discoveries, technological solutions and coordinating mechanisms – outweigh the disadvantages, although it remains important to recognise certain caveats. While globalisation opens up opportunities, she stressed the need for adequate institutional capacities to seize those opportunities and ensure that their benefits are equitably distributed to populations across the globe.

Dr Nishtar proceeded to outline six main points touching on health's interface with globalisation and how these facets are related to the positioning of health as an NTS issue within the global architecture. First, in terms of health security, recent outbreaks of emerging and re-emerging infections (for example, SARS and H1N1) have highlighted epidemiological security as an inherent feature of the health and human security paradigm. She added that these crises gave rise to the World Health Organization's (WHO) intergovernmental negotiations, which resulted in the 2007 International Health Regulations (IHR). Four years on, Dr Nishtar noted that questions have arisen with regard to the surveillance reporting of various countries, especially in light of the under-reporting of H1N1 cases due to the absence of well-functioning surveillance systems in certain countries in Asia, which led to the failure of countries to fulfill the responsibilities mandated by the IHR. Dr Nishtar also stated that the spread of disease through trade channels and human travel, and through bioterrorism, are also pertinent global health security threats. Thus, in building capacity for health, there is a need to go beyond surveillance if the wide array of threats were to be addressed. Alongside that, there is a need to view health security as more than an issue of financial risk protection and a domestic concern, but also as a broader and more global issue.

Second, while the increased level of international trade resulting from globalisation can contribute to improvements in various areas – healthcare quality, expertise and medical education, surveillance and diagnostic capacity, and infrastructural development – it can also create inequities and thus requires that incentives for investment be balanced with appropriate safeguards. Dr Nishtar illustrated this point using the example of the migration of health professionals out of many Asian countries, adding that government priority should be on generating medical expertise for the country in question and strengthening national health systems, not on sending medical expertise overseas and relying on remittances. She added that global multilateral health organisations such as the WHO have negotiated frameworks in this area but they are non-binding, and it is important to pay more attention to this problem as it has become a very pertinent issue for Asian countries. She stressed the need for Asian countries to increase knowledge sharing with one another and to work towards the development of Asian normative frameworks for trade and health security.

Third, Dr Nishtar noted that advances in information and communications technology have given rise to developments in medical education, greater connectivity

through health information systems and better surveillance technologies. She also noted that the blending of mobile technology, health service delivery and health financing have led to improvements in the health of populations all over the world. She added, however, that true success in this field will ultimately be measured by the way these developments and services are deployed to achieve health equity. It is here that the commitment of institutions to upholding health equity as a fundamental outcome will be critically important.

Fourth, Dr Nishtar explained that development assistance has caused dramatic changes in the health sector thanks to growth in official health development assistance in the last two decades. She cited the aid effectiveness movement, in particular, the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action, as an example of the formulation of a set of norms within a global architecture which focuses on harmonising aid in support of particular strategies led by governments. However, she added that Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) surveys in 2006 and 2007 noted that the implementation of the Paris principles pointed to systemic weaknesses in domestic governance as the key impediment to reaping the benefits of aid.

Dr Nishtar also pointed to global public-private partnerships as key players in development assistance. These partnerships, which have primarily focused on infectious disease control, product development, improvements in access, global coordination, and the implementation of certain interventions to strengthen health services, have resulted in many diseases of poverty being eradicated. For instance, the Global Fund to Fight Aids, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM) and the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunisation (GAVI) have made many resources available to poor countries, and PEPFAR has helped take development assistance to new levels, especially in Africa.

Fifth, a burgeoning middle class has developed in Asia in recent decades, and correspondingly, there has been an increase in the occurrence of chronic non-communicable diseases (NCDs) related to, and in some cases attributable to, sedentary lifestyles and unhealthy diet patterns. Dr Nishtar asserted that multinational corporations (MNCs) have an important role in this regard; they can switch to manufacturing, marketing and increasing the availability of healthier consumer products for the public. She added that the move towards self-regulation among food industry players is gradually occurring, and that it is important to consolidate that momentum and mainstream it in order to reduce NCDs. Dr Nishtar noted that international organisations are also increasingly focusing on the issue: the UN General Assembly will be convening a meeting on NCDs, slated for September 2011.

Finally, Dr Nishtar noted that goalposts such as MDGs, Health for All and the quest for universal healthcare coverage unite everyone under a common set of principles and vision for the future of global health security. In light of this, she stressed the need to examine the options for an Asian vision of health security and also to look at how to conceptualise such a vision. She cited binding conventions such as the IHR, the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, and the various World Trade Organisation (WTO) agreements as reference points for Asian countries to begin framing their own health security experience. Dr Nishtar noted that Asian countries have taken the lead in implementing those conventions and taking advantage of their flexibilities, but that they face capacity constraints which prevent them from fulfilling the mandates. Dr Nishtar thus called for the possible establishment of a mechanism for the sharing of experiences and the development of stronger channels for health security capacity building in the region.

Dr Nishtar concluded by stating that, in the current global architecture, power is unevenly distributed, thus making some countries dependent on the frameworks,

conditions and systems set up and dictated by others. She ended by posing a set of questions. Is there a need for regional capacity building to examine the health risks of an unregulated global economic system? Is there a need for greater regional emphasis as global health gains traction as a foreign policy issue? Is there an Asian imperative which takes cognisance of contemporary globalisation and structures a system with the view to upholding health equity? She concluded by affirming that regional think tanks such as the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies are ideally positioned to bring together experts to address these questions.

## Discussion

Prof. Altman was asked to consider the efforts stemming from academia, NGOs, think tanks and CSOs that change and challenge the way we think about issues in relation to NTS. In response, Prof. Altman clarified that he remained committed to CSO and global citizen participation within the global architecture, but that sometimes one has to ask hard questions about what is effective. Prof. Altman noted that he had perceived many failures at the international organisation level – such as the climate change negotiations in Copenhagen – and, at that same time, successful grassroots movements were not really acknowledged. He also stressed the continuing importance of activism in shaping norms and agendas in health security.

In relation to Dr Sukma's presentation, a participant sought clarification of Dr Sukma's use of the term 'East Asia' in his presentation. It was argued that there was a large gap in security priority within the so-called East Asian region, with Northeast Asia being primarily focused on traditional security threats and Southeast Asia being more advanced in the area of NTS cooperation. In response, Dr Sukma commented that ASEAN had made it possible for NTS to become part of the regional security agenda beyond Southeast Asia, citing the example of ASEAN bringing North and South Korea as well as China and Japan together in talks on NTS issues.

Dr Sukma elaborated that the focus on NTS issues had been made possible within a larger East Asian context thanks to Southeast Asian multilateral processes, and that this had been integral to preventing a regional architecture in which the major global powers (that is, China, Japan, Russia, India and the US) end up having the loudest voice in major decisions. He added that, within East Asia, the fallibility of support from major international actors (both state and organisational) has made it difficult for NTS issues to be pushed to the forefront. He also noted that given normative and realistic considerations, Japan is most likely the main key player in terms of NTS issues in Northeast Asia.

Dr Sukma was also asked to share his thoughts on the limitations of ASEAN's security agenda with particular reference to Myanmar. He commented that assessments of ASEAN with regard to Myanmar needed to be less harsh and more measured, stating that it was ASEAN, not China or the US, which had succeeded in persuading Myanmar to open up to aid after Cyclone Nargis. He maintained, however, that it is still difficult for ASEAN to respond to other issues such as the recent elections in the country. He agreed that ASEAN can and should do more, and noted that it is currently working on various agreements and towards making the ASEAN Political-Security Community a basis for the facilitation of change in Myanmar.















***Participants of the 4th NTS-Asia Annual Convention 2011***

***Front row (from left to right):*** *Mr Kwa Chong Guan, Ms Clara Joewono, Prof. Shin-Wha Lee, Prof. Peter DeSouza, Prof. John Fitzgerald, Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony, Datin Paduka Marina Mahathir, Amb. Barry Desker, Prof. Han Feng, Prof. Tasneem Siddiqui, Maj. Gen. Muniruzzaman, Dr Maripaz Perez.*

***Second row:*** *Dr Yeo Lay Hwee, Dr Wang Wen-Thuen, Dr Herminia Francisco, Ms Seema Kakran, Mr Wilson Ang, Prof. Dennis Altman, Dr Marcela Donadio, Ms Majorie Ann-Dator, Prof. Koh Kheng Lian, Dr Miki Honda, Ms Wan Portiah Hamzah, Dr Keokam Kraisoraphong, Ms Lina Alexandra.*

***Third row:*** *Dr Margarita Escaler, Prof. R.A. Ariyaratne, Dr Gan Junxian, Dr Rizal Sukma, Prof. Katja Weber, Dr Rosalia Sciortino, Maj. Gen. Muhammad Firdaus Mian, Prof. Chowdhury Abrar, Dr James Chin, Prof. Dong Wang, Mr Mushahid Ali.*

***Fourth row:*** *Ms Lila Smith, Mr Bradley Drummond, Ms Hilary Stauffer, Mr Yang Razali Kassim, Prof. Paul Teng, Mr Craig Strathern, Prof. Herman Kraft, Dr Tang Siew-Mun, Prof. Ronald Hill, Dr Stefanie Elies.*

# Panel 5: Human Rights and Human Security

This session was chaired by Professor Peter deSouza, Director of the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies (IIAS), India. The presentations examined several perspectives on human rights and human security, in Asia as well as Latin America, which provides a useful point of comparison on the mainstreaming of NTS issues worldwide.

## Human Rights and Human Security of Virtual Stateless Groups in Bangladesh: The Rohingyas and the Biharis

*Professor Chowdhury Abrar*
*Department of International Relations, and Coordinator Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU)*
*University of Dhaka*
*Bangladesh*

Professor Chowdhury Abrar's presentation focused on the situation of two stateless groups in Bangladesh – the Rohingyas and the Biharis. Prof. Abrar began with an introduction to human security and its core elements. Human security, according to the 1994 Human Development Report, is security from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression, and protection from sudden and harmful disruption in the pattern of daily life. Thus, the seven core elements of human security include: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

Prof. Abrar emphasised that, for the Rohingyas and the Biharis, every one of the aforementioned elements of human security is absent. These two groups have experienced virtual statelessness, deprivation of fundamental rights and freedoms, and severe infringements on their human security and dignity. However, different approaches may be needed in each case, as the Rohingya situation has an international dimension while the Bihari is an internally displaced people.

Prof. Abrar then elaborated on the situation facing the two groups. The Rohingyas, a Muslim minority from Arakan, Myanmar, has suffered human rights violations under the junta since 1978, and has consequently fled to neighbouring Bangladesh. There were two major waves of Rohingya refugee flow, in 1978, and in 1991–1992. Although they have been given a certain level of support – the local population in Bangladesh have provided the Rohingyas with food and shelter, and the government of the country has invited the international community to look after them – Rohingya refugees still face dire conditions. They are restricted in terms of movement, employment, education and skills training. The situation is worsening because of the protracted situation, donor fatigue and discontent among the local people. The future of the Rohingyas looks bleak as there is little hope for repatriation to Myanmar, possibilities for local integration remain slim and third country resettlement has elicited lukewarm response. In addition, international protection is unlikely because there is no agreed position on the status of the Rohingyas. As a result, the Rohingyas are likely to remain forsaken.

The Bihari situation is not much better. The Biharis had migrated to Bangladesh from India before the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. The Biharis, who had sided with Pakistan during the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971, ended up settling down in temporary camps set up by the ICRC. These camps have been managed by the Bangladesh government since 1973. Although the Biharis were finally given Bangladeshi citizenship in 2008 after a vigorous struggle, they still face enormous obstacles – in terms of employment, education and healthcare as well as threats to their personal security and risks of eviction, etc.

Prof. Abrar concluded with the suggestion that the Biharis need to give voice to their demand for equal opportunities in terms of shelter, education, healthcare and employment within Bangladesh. The Rohingyas, however, must squeeze their claim for citizenship into the broader Myanmarese democratic process.

## Promoting Environmental Democracy to Combat the Security Challenge from Climate Change

*Mr Shekh Mohammad Altafur Rahman*
*Executive Director*
*Human Security Alliance (HSA)*
*Thailand*

*(This paper was presented by Mr Bradley Drummond Associate Programme Officer, HSA)*

Mr Bradley Drummond began by defining environmental democracy as a participatory, ecological and rational form of collective decision-making. It prioritises judgments based on long-term general interests, facilitated by communicative political procedures and supported by rationales based on existing liberal rights. Tackling the security challenges generated by climate change is a complex undertaking. The traditional state-centric security apparatus and the regional military-security regime are not able to sufficiently address the challenges posed by natural disasters.

Furthermore, the current disaster management regime has left little room for the participation and involvement of ordinary people directly exposed to the negative impact of climate change. A major thread in the environmental democracy approach, therefore, is the view that the incorporation of the people into the environmental decision-making process is key to dealing with the adverse impacts of climate change. Mr Drummond then drew the link between environmental democracy and human security, highlighting that both notions are underpinned by the perspective that people are the referent of protection.

Mr Drummond noted that the concept of security comprises two aspects, namely, the traditional and the non-traditional. Traditional security deals with matters of national security, while NTS falls within the human security discourse. A relatively new concept –it emerged in the early 1990s – human security represents a shift in the security referent – from the state to the people. Mr Drummond made the point that traditional security and NTS can be of benefit to each other, rather than being mutually exclusive.

Mr Drummond then went on to address climate change, human security and environmental democracy in greater detail. Climate change has resulted in fewer or inadequate livelihood options, the destruction of living space and an increase in the possibility of conflict due to the depletion of natural resources. These adverse effects of climate change have disproportionately impacted the poor and the least developed countries. As a result, climate change as an NTS threat has become the focus of international and regional actions, and the security of human beings has become a central priority of such efforts. To ensure durable solutions which address the human security implications of climate change would require the increased representation of ordinary people in the process of environmental policymaking.

Mr Drummond emphasised that the concept of democracy through representation which underpins environmental security is different from traditional notions of participatory democracy. The latter is based on the principle that people should have decision-making power in proportion to how much they are affected by the decision. In the case of environmental democracy, the formulation of environmental policy should involve the participation of all affected by the policy. As people on the ground are likely to have greater insight into the adverse effects of climate change, they are able to make effective contributions to national policy formation.

Mr Drummond suggested that the opinions of ordinary people on addressing climate change are valuable because they have local knowledge and long experience.

Furthermore, since people in local communities would be directly affected by decisions on climate change, they should have a say on their fate. Finally, he reiterated that the participation of people from local communities is essential to the formulation and implementation of a functional and successful policy.

## Human Security in China and Capacity Building

*Dr Gan Junxian*
*Senior Research Fellow*
*Center for Non-Traditional Security and Peaceful Development Studies (NTS-PD)*
*Zhejiang University*
*China*

Dr Gan Junxian began by outlining the evolution of China's view on security. National security and territorial integrity have long been the focus of China's strategic thinking, in fact since the founding of the People's Republic of China. However, after the adoption of the opening-up policy in 1978, a shift occurred. China began emphasising the importance of friendly and cooperative relationships with neighbouring countries to create a secure regional environment for its economic development.

The second shift took place around 2000, with China taking a more human-centred approach towards security issues, a notable deviation from its previous traditional definition of security. This shift was catalysed by several major issues: social conflict arising from its phenomenally rapid economic growth, environmental degradation, public health emergencies, tensions between ethnic groups, energy insecurity and scandals involving tainted food. These issues led the China government to reshape its understanding of security and to take NTS into consideration in its policymaking. This is all the more remarkable given that the China government has long held a perspective on human rights which differs from the West (and has been much criticised by Western countries) – China prioritises economic rights over political and civil rights. Due to concerns about possible external interference, the China government has rarely adopted the human security discourse. Thus, the elevation of NTS in China's security agenda indicates the importance the China government attaches to the issues.

Faced with increasing NTS threats, the China government has committed itself to strengthening its capacity to deal with those challenges. It has adopted legislation to improve the regulation and supervision of food, strengthened the role of the military in natural disaster relief, enhanced regional cooperation in dealing with environmental issues, established early warning and crisis response mechanisms to tackle emergencies, encouraged input from academia and think tanks to policymaking, and improved inter-agency coordination in controlling disasters.

Dr Gan argued that the rise of NTS in China's security discourse carries with it various opportunities for China's future development. By taking the lead in resolving NTS issues, China could further reinforce its status as a great power. Furthermore, the introduction of mechanisms for addressing crises could have a positive impact on domestic stability. Apart from that, NTS threats could serve as the catalyst for political and social transformation in China.

## Women, Peace and Security: Ten Years of Resolution 1325

*Dr Marcela Donadio*
*Executive Director*
*Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (RESDAL)*
*Argentina*

Dr Marcela Donadio first provided a brief overview of RESDAL. Established in 2001, RESDAL is a Latin American network with over 300 members that is focused on institutional capacity building in security and defence. The membership comprises academics, policymakers and police and military officers, all of whom are individual members. There are no institutional members in RESDAL, and this absence of institutional affiliations allows members to enjoy greater flexibility and freedom in working towards the network's goals. The network has enhanced regional cooperation in the defence sector and shared data on defence from 17 countries in Latin America and 12 countries in the Caribbean. RESDAL's information-sharing mechanism has enabled it to conduct research on more difficult topics such as women, peace and security. Dr Donadio noted that her participation in the Annual Convention served as an important platform for cross-regional exchanges on addressing similar challenges, such as food security and participation in peacekeeping operations.

Dr Donadio noted that the issue of women's participation in UN peace operations has largely been ignored. Five years ago, a request for female troop contribution to UN peacekeeping operations received little attention from the Defence Ministry of Argentina. This is because, in Latin America, men predominate the military, and have done so since the 19th century. Dr Donadio proposed to change the situation by adopting a gendered approach to peacekeeping. This approach should be built on two assumptions: first, men and women should enjoy equal opportunities, and second, the under-participation of women in peacekeeping should be an issue of concern to both men and women, rather than only women. This approach received strong support from the UN.

Dr Donadio noted that countries in Asia and Latin America have increased their troop contribution to UN peace operations dramatically over the past decade. Asia contributes nearly half of the UN peacekeeping force. Latin America jumped from the last place to 4th among all regions and sub-regions in terms of troop contribution. However, women's participation in UN peacekeeping is still very low, at around only 2 per cent. As UN peacekeeping becomes increasingly multidimensional, women are well-placed to play an essential role, serving as a bridge of communication between and among local people, civil societies and the UN peacekeeping force.

As 90 per cent of conflict victims are women and children, women peacekeepers are in a better position to interact with the victims compared to their male colleagues. Women peacekeepers could encourage local women to return to a normal life and even join the military and police force. In order to protect and empower women caught in conflict, the UN Security Council passed two major resolutions, resolutions 1325 (2000) and 1920 (2008).

Through unswerving effort, the share of women from Latin America in peacekeeping had risen from zero to 4 per cent. However, women usually hold low-ranking positions and have little say in decision-making. Therefore, the empowerment of women in UN peacekeeping operations still has a long way to go.

## Discussion

The discussion following the presentations centred on four topics, namely, NTS in China, women and UN peacekeeping, the distinction and connections between traditional security and NTS, and solutions to displacement.

It was noted that in the wake of the 2003 SARS epidemic and 2008 Wenchuan earthquake, the China government has placed a high value on rapid risk response and management. Concerns raised include whether rapidity should be achieved at the expense of effectiveness, and whether strong or weak governments were more desirable.

There are differences between China and Western countries in defining human security and human rights. China could benefit from increased communications with the West, but it is not necessary to copy the entire Western understanding of human security and human rights. With regard to the tainted food scandals, Dr Gan remarked that China's food regulation mechanism is in its infancy and still needs further improvement.

Dr Donadio noted that equal opportunity should be the principle underpinning UN peacekeeping and also national military forces. Women can contribute to UN peacekeeping by serving as a check against possible crimes such as sexual abuses, because they are more forthright when it comes to criticising wrongdoings.

Prof. Abrar remarked that the government of Bangladesh should be responsible for improving the dire conditions faced by the Biharis, as they are citizens of that country. The solution should involve trying to engage the community. With respect to the Rohingyas, international organisations and NGOs have not pushed hard enough for an appropriate solution. The international community should help the national government address the problem from a long-term perspective.

Lastly, one participant pointed out that NTS issues do not necessarily impact just human security. They can also be national security issues when they threaten the security of the state. It is therefore important to continue to sensitise practitioners in traditional security sectors to the significance of NTS issues in their line of work.

# Panel 6: Transnational Crime

This session was chaired by Dr Rizal Sukma, Executive Director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Indonesia. The presentations in this session examined the issues of piracy and maritime security, as well as human trafficking.

## From the Straits of Malacca to the Gulf of Aden: China's Counter-Piracy Strategy and Maritime Security

*Associate Professor Dong Wang*
*School of International Studies*
*Peking University*
*China*

Associate Professor Dong Wang presented his research findings on the emergence of maritime security as a significant security issue for China. He noted that China is highly dependent on the ocean for trade, particularly for access to natural energy resources. The most prevalent issue, and one seen as the greatest threat to Chinese maritime security, is piracy. Both the Straits of Malacca and the Gulf of Aden are waters frequented by Chinese vessels. Indeed three-quarters of China's trade goes through the Straits of Malacca.

Prof. Dong then mapped the changes in China's view of security. He noted that after the end of the Cold War, China expanded its vision of security to include NTS issues such as piracy, people smuggling, etc. More recently, in 2008 and 2009, the issue of piracy gained significant attention in policy circles as a result of the high incidence of piracy in the Gulf of Aden.

Within this context, Prof. Dong explained the historical evolution of China's counter-terrorism strategy. He elaborated upon three hypotheses to illustrate China's increasing engagement with NTS issues, using piracy to illustrate this trend. The three hypotheses are: (1) structural constraint; (2) learning and socialisation process; and (3) prime opportunity.

The first hypothesis, structural constraint, posits that China strategically keeps a low profile and is reluctant to engage in any proactive policy in Southeast Asia towards piracy as a result of the prevalent policy of non-interference. For instance, ASEAN states have continuously refused to accede to a Japanese proposal for a joint patrol to prevent piracy.

The second hypothesis, learning and socialisation process, suggests that higher levels of engagement can result from increased experience of and knowledge on the piracy issue within policy circles and in the epistemic community. Prof. Dong Wang cited China's experience of the threat of piracy in the Gulf of Aden as an example. It has led China to become more proactive in formulating and implementing policies to tackle piracy.

The third hypothesis, prime opportunity, is premised on the idea that under the right conditions, increasing engagement can result. For instance, the piracy threat in the Gulf of Aden, and the subsequent raising of the issue in the UN, has provided China with the incentive to overcome its reservations to having a proactive foreign policy strategy. As a result of this, a Chinese fleet was sent to patrol the Gulf of Aden. Subsequently, China saw the policy as a way to improve its international image as well as its naval capabilities.

## Human Trafficking: An Overview for Southeast Asia

*Professor Herman Joseph S. Kraft*
*Executive Director*
*Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), Inc.*
*Philippines*

Professor Herman Kraft focused on the historical evolution of policy responses to human trafficking in Southeast Asia. ASEAN has a history of success in driving NTS issues up the policy agenda, using NTS as a means of enhancing

cooperation in the region. He argued that, as a result of this success, the issue of security can no longer be discussed without referring to NTS issues such as human trafficking. He then referred to the 2004 ASEAN meeting in Vientiane and the subsequent ASEAN Declaration against the Trafficking of Persons Particularly Women and Children. This agreement asserted the dignity of those who have been trafficked, recognising that they should not be regarded as criminals, a shift in how they had previously been viewed.

Prof. Kraft then tracked the work which has been done to combat human trafficking. He identified the establishment and hosting of the ASEAN Ministerial Meetings on Transnational Crimes as well as the ASEAN Senior Officials Meetings to discuss the more technical issues surrounding human trafficking as positive contributions in responding to human trafficking. Another significant development is the production of a regional handbook on human trafficking which was launched in Manila. The handbook focuses on investigating human trafficking as well as providing ways to develop judicial processes as a step towards establishing regional mechanisms and setting standards.

A key finding of Prof. Kraft's research is the existence of an implementation gap. ASEAN member states may have laws and action plans on human trafficking but their ability to translate these into tangible and enforceable policies has been significantly lacking. The ability to prosecute perpetrators around the region is thus a policy area that is in need of significant development. Prof. Kraft also noted that there is a significant gap in political will across ASEAN, which is essentially a failure attributable to a lack of collective action. Thus, he argued that human trafficking needs to be tackled multilaterally.

In concluding his presentation, Prof. Kraft identified three policy areas requiring further development: (1) policy responses to forced labour in the region; (2) information and data collection; and (3) prosecutorial and judicial capacities. Indeed, he noted that a lack of prioritisation of human trafficking is the reason for the lack of capacity around the region and it is a systemic issue that needs to be addressed.

## Recasting the Human Trafficking Debate

*Mr P.K. Hangzo*
*Associate Research Fellow*
*and*
*Ms Manpavan Kaur*
*Research Analyst*
*Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies*
*S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)*
*Nanyang Technological University (NTU)*
*Singapore*

Ms Manpavan Kaur began the presentation by establishing the definitions of human trafficking in international agreements. She highlighted three areas of human trafficking covered by international legal definitions: prostitution, forced labour, and the removal of and trade in human organs.

The central aim of the presentation was to discuss ways in which enforcement policies could be improved. In this respect, the inaccessibility of data from Southeast Asia is a fundamental concern for researchers and policymakers. Trying to compare data across the region is also a formidable undertaking, due to difficulties in collecting data as well as the lack of a consistent methodology for measuring human trafficking in the region. Another

challenge, Ms Kaur argued, is the tendency in the policy world to view human trafficking within a criminal justice framework, and as a result criminalise those being exploited. Finally, it was noted that law enforcement agencies are limited by their mandates.

Ms Kaur also pointed out that as sexual violence is categorised as aggravated assault, sex trafficking receives greater attention whereas other areas, such as abuse inflicted on domestic workers and fisheries workers and the use of child soldiers, have not been sufficiently investigated to decide if these are potential instances of human trafficking.

Ms Kaur identified several approaches – corporate social responsibility, or more broadly, a multi-sectoral approach – as being potentially valuable in developing a more comprehensive and responsive framework which could form the basis for the development of more effective policies to combat human trafficking.

The presentation then moved to a case study analysis by Mr P.K. Hangzo. He provided an overview of the situation of migrants and child workers, and human trafficking trends in Southeast Asia. He noted that most countries in Southeast Asia are signatories to the UN Protocol on Human Trafficking. Those which are not signatories have developed national legislation to respond to this issue. Mr Hangzo identified several countries in the region, such as Lao PDR and Cambodia, as states which have amended their current legislation rather than establish human trafficking legislation.

Mr Hangzo noted that much legislation focuses on supply-side issues such as the root causes of human trafficking and organised criminal groups. There is little effort to address demand-side issues such as the demand for cheap labour and goods. The way forward, he argued, is for the debate to address the demand for cheap labour. Mr Hangzo recognised that there is a significant dearth of information and data on these issues, and that this is another area which has to be addressed in order to develop suitable policies.

## Discussion

The session opened with the observation that while Sri Lanka was commented upon a few times in the presentations, one situation that had not been raised was the large number of Sri Lankans taken to Australia and Canada in ships. The participant pointed out that it is not the poor or the displaced who are being taken to Canada but the well-to-do. The poor are still found in camps, and are subject to a second tier of exploitation by unscrupulous employment agents.

One participant remarked that the issue of sexual exploitation has been given more attention by states, as noted by Mr Hangzo and Ms Kaur, because it is not in the interest of a state that benefits from cheap labour to highlight labour issues. The participant also commented that better data collection, while important, would be extremely difficult to implement given that those trafficked are usually hidden populations.

An observation was made that ASEAN has done very well in developing policies on human trafficking in comparison to the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) which has no comparable regional institutional mechanism, or even bilateral understanding, on human trafficking. The participant suggested that ASEAN should be given more credit for its work in this

area. Prof. Kraft responded by reiterating that ASEAN has been able to mainstream the human trafficking discourse into the security debate, not only within ASEAN, but across the wider region as well.

Another participant argued that viewing the case of a domestic worker who was beaten up in a Gulf state as a human trafficking issue is conceptually awkward. A vast majority of domestic workers go through the proper channels, have a successful term of employment and send money home. Domestic worker abuse is a criminal issue of an employer abusing an employee rather than a trafficking issue. If cases of domestic worker abuse are argued to be human trafficking-related then there would arise significant conceptual fuzziness. The participant concluded that these cases should be framed as maltreatment of domestic workers and abuses of their human rights.

Mr Hangzo, in response, noted that international law stipulates that a situation such as the one in which some domestic workers find themselves – in which they are virtual prisoners and experience a loss of their rights – to be forced labour, which is why the issue was framed as a human trafficking one. Ms Kaur added that, within their research, they did recognise the problems with the UN definition of human trafficking. Nevertheless, the crux of their argument was that, due to the blurring of the distinction between migrant labour and human trafficking, there is a need for enforcement policies to go beyond addressing the issue as a criminal one. She further argued that agents have to be made more accountable.

Ms Kaur responded to a question about women as promoters of human trafficking, highlighting that their research had investigated the changing profile of returned trafficked and sexually exploited persons, such as prostitutes who become brothel owners, as an important dynamic in the debate. Prof. Kraft drew attention back to the lack of data on the issue.

Dr Dong responded to a question about the prosecution of pirates and argued that the international community faces a real dilemma in terms of jurisdiction. For instance, if pirates are caught in Somali territorial waters, then the Somali government has jurisdiction over them, but as is well-known, there is no government there. If the pirates operate in international waters, there is no law to govern that situation either. He argued that the international community is responding very slowly to these challenges. He then focused on the example of Russia, which had responded to pirates in international waters by destroying the engine of the pirates' ship and depriving them of sustenance. This action did not violate international laws as they did not kill the pirates. Dr Dong concluded that this type of response may become more common in the short term while the international community takes its time coming to grips with the issue.

# Programme

**Day 1**
**25 November (Thursday)**

08:30 – 08:50 **Registration**

09:00 – 09:45 **Opening Session and Overview**

**Welcome Remarks**
Ambassador Barry Desker
Dean
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

**Opening Remarks**
Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony
Secretary-General, NTS-Asia, and Head, Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore

**Brief Remarks**
Professor John Fitzgerald
Representative
Ford Foundation
China

**Keynote Address**
Datin Paduka Marina Mahathir
Board Member
Sisters in Islam
Malaysia

**Message**
*(pre-recorded)*
Professor Andrew Watson
Former Representative
Ford Foundation
China

10:00 – 11:30 **Panel 1: Climate Change and Security**

**Chairperson:**
Professor Han Feng
Deputy Director and Professor
Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (IAPS)
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
China

**Speakers:**
**Reassessing the Security Challenges of Climate Change**
Major General ANM Muniruzzaman (Retd)
President
Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS)
Bangladesh

**Climate Change and Human Security: Migration as an Adaptation Strategy**
Professor Tasneem Siddiqui
Department of Political Science, and Chair
Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU)
University of Dhaka
Bangladesh

**Land Management Issues under Climate Change**
Professor Ronald Hill
Honorary Professor in Ecology and Biodiversity
School of Biological Science
and
Honorary Professor in History
The University of Hong Kong (HKU)
Hong Kong

**Trusteeship as a Response to Climate Change Anxieties**
Professor Peter deSouza
Director
Indian Institute of Advanced Study (IIAS)
India

11:30 – 11:45 **Break**

11:45 – 13:00 **Panel 2: Food Security**

**Chairperson:**
Mr Mushahid Ali
Senior Fellow
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

**Speakers:**
**Food Security and Human Security Norms: Report of a Workshop**
Professor Lorraine Elliott
Department of International Relations
Australian National University
Canberra
Australia
and
Visiting Senior Fellow and Advisor to Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

**Emergent Issues in Asian Food Security**
Professor Paul Teng
Dean, Graduate Programmes and Research, National Institute of Education (NIE)
and
Senior Fellow and Advisor to Food Security Programme
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore
and
Dr Margarita Escaler
Research Fellow
Graduate Programmes and Research Office
National Institute of Education (NIE)
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

**Fisheries, Food Security and Climate Change: The Whys, How and Whereto**
Dr Maripaz Perez
Regional Director for Asia
and
Ms Majorie-Ann Dator
Research Specialist
The Worldfish Center
Philippines

**Q & A session**

13:00 – 14:15 **Lunch**

14:15 – 15:45 **Panel 3: Conflict Prevention and Resolution**

**Chairperson:**
Professor Tasneem Siddiqui
Department of Political Science, and
Chair
Refugee and Migratory Movements
Research Unit (RMMRU)
University of Dhaka
Bangladesh

**Speakers:**
**Preventing Complex Emergencies: Implications for RtoP in the Case of North Korean Contingency**
Professor Shin-Wha Lee
Department of Political Science and
International Relations
Korea University
South Korea

**RtoP and Conflict Prevention in Asia: A Japanese Perspective**
Dr Miki Honda
Assistant Professor
Waseda University
Japan

**Some Reflections on the War-Displaced Population in Sri Lanka**
Professor R.A. Ariyaratne
Director
Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS)
Sri Lanka

**Mainstreaming RtoP in Indonesia: An Update**
Ms Lina Alexandra
Researcher
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Indonesia

**Q & A Session**

15:45 – 16:00 **Break**

16:00 – 17:15 **Panel 4: Global Architecture and Non-Traditional Security (NTS)**

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

**Speakers:**
**Changing Global Architecture: Possibilities and Challenges**
Professor Dennis Altman
Professor of Politics and
Director, Institute for Human Security (IHS)
La Trobe University
Australia

**The Evolving Regional Architecture in East Asia: Challenge or Opportunity for NTS?**
Dr Rizal Sukma
Executive Director
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Indonesia

**Globalisation and Health**
Dr Sania Nishtar
Founder and President
Heartfile
Pakistan

**Q & A session**

**End of Day 1**

**Day 2**
**26 November (Friday)**

08:30 – 09:00 **Registration**

09:00 – 10:30 **Panel 5: Human Rights and Human Security**
**Chairperson:**
Professor Peter deSouza
Director
Indian Institute of Advanced Study (IIAS)
India

**Speakers:**
**Human Rights and Human Security of Virtual Stateless Groups in Bangladesh: The Rohingyas and the Biharis**
Professor Chowdhury Abrar
Department of International Relations and Coordinator
Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU)
University of Dhaka
Bangladesh

**Promoting Environmental Democracy to Combat the Security Challenge from Climate Change**
Mr Shekh Mohammad Altafur Rahman
Executive Director
Human Security Alliance (HSA)
Bangkok
Thailand
(Paper presented by Mr Bradley Drummond
Associate Programme Officer, HSA)

**Women, Peace and Security: Ten Years of Resolution 1325**
Dr Marcela Donadio
Executive Director
Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (RESDAL)
Argentina

**Human Security in China and Capacity Building**
Dr Gan Junxian
Senior Research Fellow
Center for Non-Traditional Security and Peaceful Development Studies (NTS-PD)
Zhejiang University
China

**Q & A Session**

10:30 – 10:45 **Break**

10:45 – 12:00 **Panel 6: Transnational Crime**

**Chairperson**
Dr Rizal Sukma
Executive Director
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Indonesia

**Speakers:**
**From the Straits of Malacca to the Gulf of Aden: China's Counter-Piracy Strategy and Maritime Security**
Associate Professor Dong Wang
School of International Studies
Peking University
China

**Human Trafficking: An Overview for Southeast Asia**
Professor Herman Joseph S. Kraft
Executive Director
Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), Inc.
Philippines

**Recasting the Human Trafficking Debate**
Mr P.K. Hangzo
Associate Research Fellow
and
Ms Manpavan Kaur
Research Analyst
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore

**Q & A session**

12:00 – 13:15 **Discussion on NTS-Asia Matters**

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

**End of Convention**

# List of Consortium Member Representatives and Speakers

*in alphabetical sequence according to last names


**1. Professor Chowdhury Abrar**
Coordinator
Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU)
University of Dhaka, Bangladesh
Sattar Bhaban 4th Floor
3/3-E Bijoynagar, Dhaka 1000
Bangladesh
Telephone : +880 2 936-0338
Fax : +880 2 836-2441
Email : chowdhury_abrar@yahoo.com

**2. Ms Lina Alexandra**
Researcher
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Jl. Palmerah Barat 142-143
Jakarta 10270
Indonesia
Telephone : +62 21 5365-4601
Email : lina_alexandra@csis.or.id

**3. Professor Dennis Altman**
Director
Institute for Human Security (IHS)
La Trobe University
Kinsbury
Melbourne, Victoria 3086
Australia
Telephone : +61 39 479-74702
Email : d.altman@latrobe.edu.au

**4. Professor R.A. Ariyaratne**
Director
Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS)
68/1, Sarasavi Lane, (off Castle Street)
Colombo - 08
Sri Lanka
Telephone : +94 11 269-0764
Fax : +94 11 269-0769
Email : ariyaratne6@gmail.com

**5. Dr James K. Chin**
Centre of Asian Studies (CAS)
The University of Hong Kong
Pokfulam Road
Hong Kong
Telephone : +85 2 2241-5904
Email : qianj@hku.hk

**6. Ms Majorie Ann Dator**
Research Specialist
The WorldFish Center
SEARCA Building
College, Laguna
Philippines
Telephone : +63 4 9536-9246
Fax : +63 4 9536-0202
Email : M.Dator@cgiar.org

**7. Professor Peter deSouza**
Director
Indian Institute of Advanced Study (IIAS)
Rashtrapati Nivas,
Shimla, Himachal Pradesh, 171005
India
Telephone : +91 177 283-0006
Fax : +91 177 283-1389
Email : peter@csds.in

**8. Dr Marcela Donadio**
Executive Director
Red de Seguridad y Defensa de America Latina (RESDAL)
Corrientes 1785 5J
1041 Buenos Aires
Argentina
Telephone : +54 11 4371-3822
Email : marcela@resdal.org.ar

**9. Associate Professor Dong Wang**
School of International Studies
Peking University
B317, Beijing, 100871
China
Telephone : +86 10 6275-4537
Fax : +86 10 6275-9302
Email : wdong@pku.edu.cn

**10. Mr Bradley Drummond**
Associate Programme Officer
Human Security Alliance (HSA)
246 Times Square Building, Unit 1203
Sukumvit, Bangkok 10110
Thailand
Telephone : +66 2 229-5561 (ext. 7)
Fax : +66 2 229-5560
Email : braddrumm@yahoo.com

**11. Dr Margarita Escaler**
Research Fellow
Graduate Programmes and Research Office
National Institute of Education (NIE)
Nanyang Technological University
1 Nanyang Walk
Singapore 637616
Telephone : +65 9270-8442
Email : margarita.escaler@nie.edu.sg

**12. Professor John Fitzgerald**
Representative
Ford Foundation
International Club Office Building Suite 501
21 Jianguomenwai Dajie
Beijing 100020
China
Telephone : +86 1391002-3594
Email : J.Fitzgerald@fordfoundation.org

**13. Dr Gan Junxian**
Senior Research Fellow
Centre for Non-Traditional Security
and Peaceful Development Studies (NTS-PD)
Room 411-1, Xiyi Building, Zijin'gang Campus
Zhejiang University
Hangzhou, 310058
China
Telephone : +86 571 8820-8518
Fax : +86 571 8820-8518
Email : zeusagan@zju.edu.cn

**14. Professor Han Feng**
Deputy Director and Professor
Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (IAPS)
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
3 Zhangzizhong Lu
Beijing 10007
China
Telephone : +86 10 6403-9039
Email : hanfeng@cass.org.cn

**15. Professor Ronald Hill**
Honorary Professor in Ecology and Biodiversity
School of Biological Science, and Honorary Professor in History
The University of Hong Kong
Bonham Road
Hong Kong
Telephone : +852 2299-0306
Email : rdhill@hkucc.hku.hk

**16. Dr Miki Honda**
Assistant Professor
Waseda University
1-21-1-#507
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 169-0051
Japan
Telephone : +81 3 5286-2168
Fax : +81 3 5286-2169
Email : m.honda@aoni.waseda.jp

**17.Ms Clara Joewono**
Vice-Chair, Board of Directors and Co-Founder
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
The Jakarta Post Building 3rd Floor
Jl. Palmerah Barat 142-143
Jakarta 10270
Indonesia
Telephone : +62 21 5365-4601
Email : clara_j@csis.or.id

**18.Ms Seema Kakran**
Senior Programme Officer
Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP)
Core 4A UGF, India Habitat Center, Lodhi Road
New Delhi 110003
India
Telephone : +91 11 2464-8450
Email : seema.kakran@gmail.com

**19.Dr Keokam Kraisoraphong**
Assistant Professor
Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University
Henri Dunant Road, Patumwan District
Bangkok 10330
Thailand
Telephone : +66 2 2187-204
Email : keokamk@gmail.com

**20.Professor Herman Joseph S. Kraft**
Executive Director
Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), Inc.
40-E Maalalahanin Street,
Teachers Village East, Diliman
Quezon City
Philippines
Telephone : +63 2 929-0889
Fax : +63 2 433-5039
Email : hskraft@gmail.com, isdsphilippines@gmail.com

**21.Professor Shin-Wha Lee**
Department of Political Science and International Relations
Korea University
5-1 Anam Dong, Sungbuk Ku
Seoul
Korea
Telephone : +82 2 3290-2194
Email : swlee@korea.ac.kr

**22.Datin Paduka Marina Mahathir**
Board Member
Sisters in Islam
No. 48, Jalan Terasek
2 Bangsar Baru
59100 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia
Telephone : +60 3 2284-8775
Fax : +60 3 2284-9062
Email : mosaique@unifi.my

**23.Dr Sania Nishtar**
Founder and President
Heartfile
One Park Road, Chak Shahzad
Islamabad
Pakistan
Telephone : +92 51 224-3580 /+92 51 835-8968/ +92 51 835-8584
Fax : +92 51 224-0773

**24.Dr Maripaz Perez**
Regional Director for Asia
The WorldFish Center
SEARCA Building
College, Laguna
Philippines
Telephone : +63 4 9536-9246
Fax : +63 4 9536-0202
Email : ma.perez@cgiar.org

**25.Maj. Gen. Muhammed Firdaus Mian**
Chairman, Board of Governors
Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS)
1/46, Old Elephant Road
Ramna, Dhaka 1000
Bangladesh
Telephone : +880 2 934-7914
Email : chairman@biiss.org,
fredmian@yahoo.com

**26.Maj. Gen. A.N.M. Muniruzzaman**
President
Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS)
House No. 405, Road no.06 DOHS Baridhara
Dhaka
Bangladesh
Telephone : +880 17 1413-3199
Fax : +880 2 841-1309
Email : muniruzzaman@gmail.com

**27.Professor Tasneem Siddiqui**
Department of Political Science
and
Chair, Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU)
University of Dhaka, Bangladesh
Sattar Bhaban 4th Floor
3/3-E Bijoynagar, Dhaka 1000
Bangladesh
Telephone : +880 2 936-0338
Fax : +880 2 836-2441
Email : info@rmmru.org

**28.Dr Rizal Sukma**
Executive Director
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
The Jakarta Post Building 3rd Floor
Jl. Palmerah Barat 142-143
Jakarta 10270
Indonesia
Telephone : +62 21 5365-4601
Email : rsukma@csis.or.id

# List of Local and Overseas Participants

*in alphabetical sequence according to last names

**1. Mr Wilson Ang**
President
Environmental Challenge Organisation (Singapore)
ECOSPHERE
87 Beach Road
Chye Sing Building #06-01
Singapore 189695
Telephone : +65 9147-4541
Fax : +65 6333-5537
Email : wilson.ang@eco-singapore.org

**2. Ms Olivia Choong**
Founder
Green Drinks Singapore
56 Butterfly Avenue
Singapore 349817
Telephone : +65 9688-7449
Email : olivia@greendrinkssingapore.com

**3. Dr Herminia Francisco**
Director
Economy and Environment Program for Southeast Asia (EEPSEA)
The International Development Research Centre (IDRC)
Regional Office for Southeast and East Asia
22 Cross St, #02-55
South Bridge Court
Singapore 048421
Telephone : +65 6594-3720
Fax : +65 6438-4844
Email : Hfrancisco@idrc.org.sg

**4. Ms Wan Portiah Hamzah**
Fellow
Institute of Strategic and International (ISIS) Malaysia
No 1, Persiaran Sultan Salahuddin, PO Box 12424
50778 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Telephone : +60 3 2694-8060
Fax : +60 3 2694-9227
Email : portia@isis.org.my

**5. Ms Sol Igelsias**
Director for Intellectual Exchange
Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF)
31 Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Singapore 119595
Telephone : +65 6874-9708

**6. Professor Koh Kheng Lian**
Emeritus Professor
Faculty of Law, National University of Singapore, and
Director, Asia-Pacific Centre for Environmental Law
469G Bukit Timah Road
Eu Tong Sen Building
Singapore 259776
Telephone : +65 6516-6246
Fax : +65 6872-1937/ +65 6779-0979
Email : lawkohkl@nus.edu.sg

**7. Ms Retna Mathai-Luke**
Project Officer
Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF)
31 Heng Mui Keng Terrace
Singapore 119595
Telephone : +65 6874-9744
Email : ratna.mathailuke@asef.org

**8. Mr Shafqat Munir**
Senior Analyst
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6513-2042
Email : ismali@ntu.edu.sg

**9. Dr Rosalia Sciortino**
Regional Director
International Development Research Centre (IDRC)
22 Cross Street
#02-55 South Bridge Court
Singapore 048421
Telephone : +65 6594-3712
Fax : +65 6438-4844
Email : rsciortino@idrc.org.sg

**10.Ms Lila Smith**
Administrative Assistant
Human Security Alliance (HSA)
246 Times Square Building, Unit 1203
Sukumvit, Bangkok 10110
Thailand
Telephone : +66 2 229-5561
Fax : +66 2 229-5560
Email : humansecurityalliance@gmail.com

**11.Mr Craig Strathern**
Diplomatic Adviser
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)
Unit 50-11-1, Level 11
Wisma UOA Damansara
No. 50, Jalan Dunfun, Damansara Heights
50490 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia
Telephone : +60 3 2084-1814
Fax : +60 3 2084-1999
Email : crstrathern@icrc.org

**12.Ms Hilary Stauffer**
Programme Director
International Bridges to Justice Singapore Ltd
8 Eu Tong Sen Street
#13-97 The Central
Singapore 059818
Telephone : +65 8450-4413
Email : hstauffer@ibj.org

**13.Ms Bridget Tan**
Founder-President
Humanitarian Organization for Migration Economics
711 Geylang Road, #03-03
Oriental Venture Building
Singapore 389626
Telephone : +65 6743-9277
Email : bridgett.home@gmail.com

**14.Dr Tang Siew-Mun**
Director
Foreign Policy and Security Studies
Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia
1 Persiaran Sultan Salahuddin
50778 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia
Telephone : +60 3 2693-4991
Fax : +60 3 2639-9375
Email : tang@isis.org.my

**15.Ms Selina Farahiyah Teo**
Research Officer
Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies
Bolkiah Garrison BB3510
Ministry of Defence
Brunei Darussalam
Telephone : +67 32 386-987/6
Fax : +67 32 381-424
Email : selinafarahiyah.teo@gmail.com

**16.Dr Wang Wen-Thuen**
Research Fellow
Chung Hua Institution for Economic Research
No. 75 Chang Hsing Street,
Taipei, 106
Taiwan
Telephone : +886 2 2191-2018 (ext. 581)
Fax : +886 2 2371-8575

**17.Associate Professor Katja Weber**
Sam Nunn School of International Affairs
Georgia Institute of Technology
781 Marietta Street NW
Atlanta, GA 30332-0610
USA
Telephone : +67 8 488-8891
Fax : +40 4 894-1900
Email : katja.weber@inta.gatech.edu

**RSIS**

**1. Ambassador Barry Desker**
Dean
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6790-6907
Email : isbdesker@ntu.edu.sg

**2. Mr Mushahid Ali**
Senior Fellow
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6790-6836
Email : ismali@ntu.edu.sg

**3. Mr Kwa Chong Guan**
Head of External Programmes
S. Rajaratnam of School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6790-6975
Email : iscgkwa@ntu.edu.sg

**RSIS Centre for NTS Studies**

*www.rsis.edu.sg/nts*
*www.rsis-ntsasia.org* (Secretariat of the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia)

**Faculty**

*in alphabetical sequence according to last names

**4. Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony**
Head, Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
and
Secretary General, NTS-Asia
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6790-5886
Email : ismcanthony@ntu.edu.sg

**5. Professor Lorraine Elliott**
Department of International Relations
School of International, Political and Strategic Studies
College of Asia and the Pacific
Australian National University, Canberra, Australia
and
Senior Fellow and
Advisor to Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Email : lorraine.elliott@anu.edu.au

**6. Dr Arpita Mathur**
Research Fellow
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6513-2741
Email : isamathur@ntu.edu.sg

**7. Professor Paul Teng**
Dean
Graduate Studies and Professional Learning
National Institute of Education (NIE)
and
Senior Fellow and Advisor to the Food Security Programme
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Email : paul.teng@nie.edu.sg

**8. Dr Jochen Prantl**
Visiting Senior Fellow and
Advisor to the Energy and Human Security Programme
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6592-7720
Email : isjprantl@ntu.edu.sg

**9. Mr Yang Razali Kassim**
Senior Fellow
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6790-6817
Email : isyangrazali@ntu.edu.sg

**Research and Operations Staff**
*in alphabetical sequence according to last names

**10. Ms Regina Arokiasamy**
Secretary to Head
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6790-6053
Email : isregina@ntu.edu.sg

**11. Ms Belinda Hui Kheng Chng**
Programme Manager
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6790-5889
Email : ishkchng@ntu.edu.sg

**12. Dr Alistair D. B. Cook**
Post-Doctoral Fellow and
Coordinator of the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6790-6053
Email : isdbcook@ntu.edu.sg

**13.Dr J. Jackson Ewing**
Post-Doctoral Fellow and
Coordinator of the Environmental Security and Climate Change
and Food Security Programmes
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6592-2531
Email : isjjewing@ntu.edu.sg

**14.Ms Lina Gong**
Research Analyst
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6592-1817
Email : islinagong@ntu.edu.sg

**15.Mr P.K. Hangzo**
Associate Research Fellow
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6513- 2035
E-mail : iskkpau@ntu.edu.sg

**16.Ms Holly Haywood**
Research Analyst
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6790-6053
Email : ishhaywood@ntu.edu.sg

**17.Ms Sofiah Jamil**
Associate Research Fellow
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6513-2037
Email : issofiah@ntu.edu.sg

**18.Ms Manpavan Kaur**
Research Analyst
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6513-2037
Email : ismanpavan@ntu.edu.sg

**19.Ms Irene A. Kuntjoro**
Associate Research Fellow and Centre Event Manager
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6790-5889
Email : isirene@ntu.edu.sg

**20.Ms Li Hongyan**
Research Analyst
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6592-1817
E-mail : ishyli@ntu.edu.sg

**21.Ms Cheryl Lim**
Senior Programme Officer
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6592-7521
Email : ischeryllim@ntu.edu.sg

**22.Ms Devin Maeztri**
Research Analyst
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6513- 2036
Email : isdmaeztri@ntu.edu.sg

**23.Ms Josephine Ng**
Administrative Officer
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 790-5889
Email : islyng@ntu.edu.sg

**24.Ms Ong Suan Ee**
Research Analyst
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6513-2037
Email : isseong@ntu.edu.sg

**25.Mr Steven Poh**
Multimedia Webmaster
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6592-7522
Email : isbcpoh@ntu.edu.sg

**26.Mr Nathan Sigal**
Intern
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Block S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore 639798
Telephone : +65 6513-2035
Email : nathansigal@gmail.com

# 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 non-traditional security (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 Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, is the secretariat for NTS-Asia. NTS-Asia brings together 20 research institutes and think tanks representing the three sub-regions across Asia: Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia and South Asia:

1. Asia Pacific Centre for Responsibility to Protect (APCR2P), University of Queensland, Australia.
2. Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS).
3. Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS).
4. Centre for International Security Studies (CISS), University of Sydney, Australia.
5. Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.
6. Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand.
7. Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Indonesia.
8. Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), India.
9. Centre of Asian Studies (CAS), University of Hong Kong.
10. Ilmin International Relations Institute (IIRI) Korea University.
11. Institute for Asian Human Community Network (AHC), Waseda University, Japan.
12. Institute for Human Security (IHS), Latrobe University, Australia.
13. Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), Philippines.
14. Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (IAPS), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China.
15. Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China.
16. Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Vietnam.
17. Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU), University of Dhaka, Bangladesh.
18. Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Sri Lanka.
19. Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP), Foundation for Universal Responsibility, India.
20. WorldFish Center, Malaysia.

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 in the broad field of non-traditional security.

**2. Research Fellowship Programme**

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

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

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

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

The **RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies** conducts research and 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 fulfill this mission, the Centre aims to:

- Advance the understanding of NTS issues and challenges in the Asia-Pacific by highlighting gaps in knowledge and policy, and identifying best practices among state and non-state actors in responding to these challenges.

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

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

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

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

## Our Research

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

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

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

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

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

**5) Health and Human Security**
- 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 to lead the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative* in 2009.*

## Our Output

**Policy Relevant Publications**

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

**Training**

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

**Networking and Outreach**

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

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

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

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

# About the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University

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*

Centre For
Non-Traditional
Security Studies

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

Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies,
Nanyang Technological University, South Spine, Blk S4, Level B4, Nanyang Avenue, Singapore 639798
Tel. (65) 6790 6982 • Fax. (65) 6898 4060 • Email. NTS_Centre@ntu.edu.sg

www.rsis.edu.sg/nts • www.rsis-ntsasia.org • www.asicluster3.com