THE RSIS-WARWICK JOINT CONFERENCE ON RADICALISATION, NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION

1 – 4 NOVEMBER 2009
SINGAPORE

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

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THE RSIS-WARWICK JOINT CONFERENCE ON RADICALISATION, NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION

REPORT FOR A CONFERENCE ORGANIZED BY
THE S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (RSIS)
NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY, SINGAPORE
&
THE UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK, UNITED KINGDOM

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S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY
2010

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Message From The Head Of Graduate Studies

Dear reader,

RSIS had the privilege of conducting the official launch of the NTU-Warwick double Masters Programme on November 3rd, 2009, the first such collaboration with an overseas university. This is an important first-step in what will likely be the development of several high profile international educational partnerships. The NTU-Warwick Double-Degree concept makes eminent sense, given the growing links between Asia and Europe. Moreover, RSIS/ NTU and Warwick are an excellent 'fit'. RSIS, for instance, has acquired a reputation as a leading research institution and provider of rigorous professional education in strategic and international affairs, as evidenced by its January 2010 ranking as the third best 'think-tank' in the Asia-Pacific region. In turn, Warwick possesses an acknowledged reputation for excellence in research, teaching, innovation, as well as extensive links with the business community. There is thus a clear academic rationale and complementarity in the partnership of these two institutions, as reflected in the course structure of the new Programme. The first year studies commence at Warwick's Politics and International Studies (PaIS) Department with an emphasis on theoretical frameworks, whilst second year studies at RSIS, focus on the more practical aspects of international studies, linked to an emphasis on professional education.

The official launch was encased within a three-track conference that brought scholars and analysts together from different communities and areas of study, sitting together to discuss some of the most important issues affecting today's global community, such as, de-radicalisation, non-traditional security and international political economy. The three-track conference, accompanying the launch of the new Double-Degree Programme, was organised by three RSIS centres, namely the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), the Centre for Non-traditional Security (NTS) Studies, and the Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade and Negotiation (TFCTN). The partner institutions at Warwick were the Warwick International Security Initiative (WISI) and the University of Warwick's Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation (CSGR). CENS and WISI jointly organised the workshop on de-radicalization with the aim of better understanding the processes and mechanisms of radicalization as well as evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of existing de-radicalization and counter-radicalization practices in place today. The Centre for NTS Studies and WISI co-organised the workshop on non-traditional security to provide participants with a platform to discuss and share European and Asian experiences with regard to NTS issues on food, energy and human security; allowing those involved to identify 'best practice' in tackling NTS challenges. Finally, TFCTN and CSGR co-organised the workshop to examine trade relationships in the Asia Pacific, especially the new rules for finance.

Undoubtedly, the three-track conference has set the tone for future RSIS/NTU-Warwick cooperation. The rich discourses generated in the conference captured the latest thinking and networking opportunities affecting Asia-Pacific and Europe. On behalf of RSIS, I encourage you to participate in this educational experience, making your own contribution to the debate.

Ron Matthews
Head of Graduate Studies, S Rajaratnam School of International Studies
(RSIS) and Deputy Director, Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS)

CENS-WISI WORKSHOP ON RADICALIZATION AND DE-RADICALIZATION: GLOBAL LESSONS LEARNED

REPORT OF A WORKSHOP JOINTLY ORGANIZED BY
THE CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

AND

THE WARWICK INTERNATIONAL SECURITY INITIATIVE

WITH THE SUPPORT OF
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This report summarizes the proceedings of the conference as interpreted by the assigned rapporteurs and editor. The participants neither reviewed nor approved this report. The conference adheres to a variation of the Chatham House rules. Accordingly, beyond the points expressed in the prepared papers, no attributions have been included in this conference report.

Executive Summary

On 1 November 2009, the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU) and the Warwick International Security Initiative (WISI) at the University of Warwick, U.K., with the support of the National Security Coordination Secretariat (NSCS), and the Economic and Social Research Council's (ESRC) New Security Challenges programme organized the "CENS-WISI Workshop on Radicalization and De-radicalization: Global Lessons Learned" at the Marina Mandarin Hotel, Singapore. The workshop sought to understand the process and mechanisms of radicalization as well as evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of existing de-radicalization and counter-radicalization practices by bringing together both European and Asian experts in these fields.

By way of background, CENS, a constituent unit of RSIS, NTU, was inaugurated in April 2006. The Centre seeks to actively promote research and create awareness in areas that will help to enhance local and regional intellectual capital through the analysis of emerging national security concerns and threats. CENS works very closely with the NSCS in the Prime Minister's Office, Singapore.

WISI was formally established in July 2007 and seeks to consolidate information on research expertise, contacts and activities across the university, in order to promote greater inter-disciplinary research activity and collaboratively funded research applications. This began with a Security Away Day back in September 2007, leading on to a number of more focused seminar workshops throughout 2008.

Given the importance of the issues of radicalization and de-radicalization and the lack of consensus regarding the best policies to address them, CENS and WISI joined together to dig deeper into these issues by examining, from a global perspective, the sub-themes of: (i) Ideology and Agents of Radicalization; (ii) Rights and Resilience; and (iii) Counter- and De-radicalization.

The first session on "Ideology and Agents of Radicalization" began with a presentation by Robert Lambert, a Research Fellow at the University of Exeter, who spoke on the role of Street Leaders, and their potential to influence crowd behaviour and engage youths in violent extremism as Al Qaeda operatives. This presentation was followed by that of Martin Harrow of the Danish Institute for International Studies, who discussed the possible causal links and correlations among agents of radicalization, arguing that terrorism reproduces terrorism. Next, Don Pathan, the Regional News Editor of *The Nation* newspaper in Thailand, gave a detailed account of the social-historical context of the insurgency in Southern Thailand. The first session concluded with a presentation by Peter Neumann, the Director of the International Centre for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence, in the United Kingdom, on the level of influence that ideology and grievance have in driving violent radicalization in Europe.

Session two focused on the theme of "Rights and Resilience", and began with a talk by Rachel Briggs, a Senior Research Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies in the United Kingdom; who

argued that it is the absence of "rights" that explains the emergence and endurance of the current terror threat. This presentation was followed by Ben O'Loughlin, a Reader at the University of London, who spoke on what a security culture does to how people engage in democratic practices. Kevin Tan Yew Lee, Adjunct Professor, at RSIS, presented an overview of the impact of political radicalization and terrorism on human rights. Tan's presentation was followed by a talk by Kamarulnizam Abdullah, a Lecturer of Strategic Studies and International Relations at the University Kebangsaan Malaysia. He discussed how a state's resilience to terrorist threats involves more than the presence of a strong political system and effective counter-terrorism laws but that resilience, above all else, requires societal involvement. The session concluded with a discussion of rights and resilience in the framework of U.S. counterterrorism strategies given by Marisa Porges, an International Affairs Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. Porges argued that while there are academic debates on rights and resilience, the harder questions facing policymakers rest at the implementation stage of policies to address these issues and in the foreshadowing of the near-term effects of such policies.

The final session focused on the theme of *Counter- and De-Radicalization* and was opened with a talk by Jonathan Githens-Mazer, of the University of Exeter, who focused on the policy responses to violent radicalization and Islamically inspired terrorism in the United Kingdom. His presentation was followed by Sarah Connolly, Head of the Counter-Terrorism Research Group in the Foreign & Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom. Connolly gave an overview of her Office's research into radicalization in general, and Pakistan specifically. This was followed by a presentation given by Rommel Banlaoi, Executive Director of the Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research, who gave a thorough review of de-radicalization and rehabilitation efforts taking place in the Philippines, focusing on his research at the Bicutan Jail. Muhammad Tito Karnavian, Head of Intelligence for Detachment 88 of the Indonesia National Police, followed with a discussion of the de-radicalization process that the Indonesian police force is currently attempting to operationalize. Further discussion of Southeast Asia's approaches to de-radicalization was given by Mohammad Feisal Hassan from the Religious Rehabilitation Group in Singapore, who spoke on the country's approach to de-radicalization based on his personal experience as a counsellor with the religious rehabilitation programme. Hassan's presentation was followed with a talk by Bill Durodie of CENS who observed that there is not much dialogue going on about the exact aim that the de-radicalization process seeks to achieve, arguing that there should be more of a focus on the broader set of ideas that shaped and led individuals to violence. Session three was concluded with a talk from Phil Gurski, Senior Analyst at the Canadian Department of Public Safety, on the emergence of extremist violence in Canada and the country's ongoing initiatives for the prevention of terrorist activities and counter-radicalization.

Welcome Note From the Head of CENS

Welcome to the Radicalization Track of the RSIS-Warwick Conference. My name is Kumar Ramakrishna, Head of the Centre of Excellence for National Security, better known as CENS, at RSIS. This Track has been put together through the combined efforts of both the CENS and the Warwick International Security Initiative or WISI at the University of Warwick, U.K..

By way of background, just over a year ago, as part of wider discussions on the shape and structure of the planned RSIS-Warwick Conference, Professor Stuart Croft at Warwick and I commenced a dialogue on putting together an experts workshop on the global lessons learned to date on both radicalization processes on the one hand, and rehabilitation or de-radicalization approaches, on the other. The plan was that Warwick would identify top U.K. and European experts while CENS would try to pull together some of the best Asian experts and create a forum where both groups of experts could come together and exchange ideas.

To be sure the process of planning the workshop was not without difficulties. However, our joint efforts have not been in vain and the result of that year-long conversation with Stuart is presented here in this report. We are extremely pleased to have been able to get together such a wealth of expertise, which over a period of one and a half days exchanged European and Asian perspectives on three core themes. These themes, which in fact represented the three sessions of the workshop included:

- The Ideology and Agents of Radicalization

- Rights and Resilience

- De-radicalization and Counter-radicalization

I hope that you find this report insightful and helpful in uncovering the answers to many of the important questions surrounding the best practices associated with dealing with the issues of radicalization and de-radicalization.

Sincerely,

Kumar Ramakrishna
Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security

Ideology and Agents of Radicalization

Al-Qaeda Influence in Muslim Communities in London: Role of Street Leader

Robert Lambert presented on the findings of interviews conducted with and by the U.K. Metropolitan Police between 2002 and 2007. The study illuminated the potential for street activists or leaders to influence crowd behaviour, engage youths in violent extremism, and subsequently recruit these youths to be Al Qaeda (AQ) operatives. Lambert mentioned that terrorists have on several instances concealed their true identities and posed as legal political campaigners in the United Kingdom. He noted, for instance, a leading provisional Irish Republican Army terrorist who had led a double life in London as a street activist for almost a decade before his true intentions were discovered. This individual was well known to law enforcers as a legal street protester before CCTV footage showed him planting a bomb and revealed his terrorist agenda. Lambert noted that the ability to assume public leadership roles and use legal activities as a cover for violent extremism by terror groups also serves as indications of the operational calibre and skill level of AQ operatives currently based in London.

In Lambert's opinion, counter-terrorism practitioners have at times overlooked the roles of street leaders and their ability to lead criminal activities. Omar Bakri Muhammad, the former leader of Hiz-but Tahrir, had actively led street protests in the United Kingdom before any legal action was taken against him. Over and above their ability to draw attention to violent extremism, it was also added that credible Muslim street activists would probably be scouted by high-calibre AQ operative recruiters, as they formed a ready talent pool.

That said, determining the exact definition of "street leadership" is not an easy feat. When conducting research or gathering information on street leaders, there is a tendency to ask: (i) What makes a street leader? (ii) Who is a credible street leader on behalf of the AQ? (iii) Who should be accorded leadership status?

Ground police experiences with group violence, however, have shown that the notion of street leadership is transient and questions on who is a leader might not provide any useful leads. A man whom Lambert had described as being miscast as a terrorist by the media had instead prevented a group from assaulting a policeman and displayed "positive" leadership. In contrast and in a different case, Abdullah el Faisal, who was convicted for inciting violence against non-Muslims, was responsible for soliciting murder and stirring racial attacks. These incidences have shown that real street leadership might be different from what has been perceived. Hence, Lambert concluded that street leaders or leadership, in the London's context and experience with AQ influence in Muslim communities, has to be viewed and understood from the "ground perspective".

Militant Activities as an Agent of Radicalization

Martin Harrow explored in his presentation the possible causal links and correlations among agents of radicalization. According to Martin, as illustrated in his model on the dynamism of terrorism, the "factors for terrorism" fall into three key categories: (i) material factors; (ii) ideational factors; and (iii) objective environment. His main assertions are that "terrorism reproduces terrorism" and that the causal-relationship has a very strong "transnational component".

Harrow argued that for terrorism to occur, a constellation of factors needed to be in place. It would take the combined effect of such factors as ideology, frame or grievances, software, manoeuvrability, finances, technology and training to push an actor towards terrorism. The list of factors is not exhaustive, but the key assumption is that terrorism is a matter of *contingent outcome*. Harrow explained that similar to Charles Tilly's work on "Contentious Politics", this perception works on the premise that "contentious performances" or terrorism is case dependent and rests on the availability of resources (e.g. ideology and finance) and opportunities. Essentially, terrorism is a complicated process and is the outcome of several factors at work.

The prevalent belief is that "terrorism produces counter-terrorism" and that counter-terrorism operations or policies will eventually lead to more "terrorism". This vicious cycle is fuelled on the notion that counter-terrorism breeds grievances and this would therefore fan more terrorist activities. However, Harrow opined that "it is very difficult to identify and prove grievances" as a main driving cause of terrorism. Rather, it is past acts of terrorism that provides an example and motivation as to what could be done (or copied), and what resources are needed to mount at attack. Historical data also appears to support this finding in that incidences of terrorism occur in waves. Harrow highlighted for instance that following a major aircraft hijacking in the late 1960s, a series of similar hijack cases followed.

Harrow mentioned that as the number of terrorist attacks in the West forms only a small portion of total or worldwide Islamist militancy, some analysts doubt that "terrorism outside the west" has a direct contagion and "software producing" effect on domestic events. It was countered that most database builders faces the problem of "what to count and what not to count as terrorism", hence, the ratio might not at face value show a correlation. In his documentation of both local and global Islamist terrorism attacks from 1989 to 2008, Harrow found that there is a sequence or a one-to-two year time lag in the occurrence of "Islamist Terrorism in the West" and "Islamist Terrorism against Western targets abroad". The sequential patterns support the case for the argument that "Terrorism reproduces Terrorism" and shows that domestic episodes of terrorist attacks do coincide with waves of terrorist attacks abroad.

In particular, Harrow added that whenever there is a western-led war in a Muslim country, like the two Gulf Wars, it shows that terrorist attacks on Western targets would intensify within a year and subsequent attacks in Western grounds would follow within two or three years. Hence, considering the possible domino or contagion effect that previous acts of terrorism have on future attacks, Harrow called for the consideration of terrorism as an agent of radicalization. He concluded on the note that there is a strong trans-national component to terrorism and efforts to study the subject cannot focus on one country alone.

Insurgency in Southern Thailand: Indoctrination and Radicalization

Don Pathan gave a detailed account of the social-historical context of the insurgency in Southern Thailand. There is a tendency to frame conflicts in Southern Thailand in religious and at times in terms of militancy. Pathan noted, however, that such an approach would miss out on the local grievances that have been at the centre of the conflicts, which have remained largely unresolved.

The origin of the grievances could be located in the geo-political history of the greater Patani region, which shares a border with Malaysia. Pathan clarified that Patani spelled with a single "t", refers to the entire Malay-speaking region and it includes Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and the four Malay-speaking districts of Songkhla province. While a majority of Patani residents are "Malay Muslims", they share minimal cultural similarities with both Malaysians and Thais. Pathan stressed that the Patani Malays have their own unique identity and culture.

Since the Patani region came under the direct ruling of Thailand and Thai-nationalism gained speed in the 1940s, several attempts were made by the central Thai administration to have Patani residents assume a state defined identity. Moreover, administratively, Patani residents are subsumed under a broad "Thai-Muslim" category, which falls under the directives of a century old national policy aimed at assimilating them into a central Thai culture and society. Pathan questioned whether there is a distinct

definition of a "Thai" culture and identity or a "Thai State" to begin with. Hence, the Malays of Patani have consistently resisted assimilation efforts by the Thai State and took to asserting their cultural differences through dress: the wearing of the hijab or head scarves by women and the use of Bahasa Melayu instead of the Thai Language. In any case, the Thai state hardly provides cultural or political space to the Patani Malays. Official Thai history, for instance, is still nationalistic in nature and contains no separate narrative or recognition of the Patani Malay as a distinct group and their contribution towards Thai nation building.

The resistance to state engineered culture and identity took a violent turn in 2001 with the emergence of armed separatist movements. However, in the beginning, these groups were merely thought of as "sparrow bandit" attacks aimed at attaining financial and political gains. It was not until 2004 when a series of attacks on police and military outposts occurred that the modus operandi of the separatists became clear to the Thaksin administration that the armed assaults were considered to be a serious threat. As the attacks mirrored extremist suicide missions, they were viewed as possible extensions of the global radical Islamist movement. This new generation of separatists, as compared to earlier forms of resistance, are more violent in their approach and less hesitant in targeting non-security personnel. It was also during this period that local grievances were given an international context when some Ustaz, or religious teachers, related the situation in Patani to the Palestinian conflict and emphasized "Muslim obligations".

Pathan concluded his talk by stating that the core "old grievances" of the conflict remain unresolved. He argued that the acts of violence are less influenced by ideology and instead are driven by previous and existing mistreatment of the Patani Malay identity and their cultural rights. Pathan opined that the Thai state would have to spell out in real terms the place of Patani Malays in Thai society, and acknowledge their history and culture before the peace process can advance any further.

Ideology and Grievance in Violent Radicalization and Recruitment in Europe

Peter Neumann presented his research on the level of influence that ideology and grievance have in driving violent radicalization in Europe. The research is based on an earlier study, which he and Brooke Rogers had carried out for the European Commission. The main thesis question driving the research was: Assuming that radicalization is a process, what are they key ingredients, factors and variables to understand?

Public and political debates on violent radicalization after the 9/11 attacks tend to be dominated by two distinct paradigms. The Left-Liberal argument is that grievances are what drive terrorism. The lack of education and economic opportunities, for instance, are some of the reasons why people become terrorists. People are seen to be products of structures and conditions. Hence, grievances produce certain outcomes. Based on this line of thought, underlying personal grievances have to be addressed before one can counter terrorism effectively. The Right-Conservative perspective, however, regards ideology as the key factor for radicalization. Some politicians would add that it is an "evil ideology" that is driving the use of terrorism and that turns "unsuspecting" people into terrorists. The central belief of this side of the political debate is that actions and decisions are the product of personal deliberate choices.

Neumann opined that this is a false dichotomy and asserted, rather, that it is an interplay of grievances and ideology that drives violent radicalization. However, he cautioned,

the two ingredients of Ideology and grievances alone do not always lead to violent reactions. While a myriad of ideologies are found on the Internet, few of these ideas articulated have "gained any traction". Radical ideologies only work when they resonate with people's experiences and grievances. Likewise, grievances can only translate into political action when there is a framework or an ideology that enables people to make sense of them.

A study conducted in the 1960s on the communist insurgency in South Africa, for instance, found that African communities there were extremely poor, both in terms of financial and literacy levels, and were not on the brink of engaging in the revolution. The study also showed that between African communities that had participated in revolution and those that had not, those who reacted had had a "teacher". The communities that did not produce any revolutionaries lacked a teacher who utilized "grievances" as a framework for their state of poverty and gave a blueprint or plan of action to "fight" these grievances. This case study, in Neumann's opinion, provides a brilliant example of how grievances and ideologies interact. Likewise, a recent case found that Omar Bakri Mohammed introduced youth into the Al Qaeda ideology and network through the usage of ideologies that resonate with existing grievances. Grievances and the language of social movement theory provide the cognitive opening that made radicalization possible.

A third ingredient of "mobilisation" makes the difference between passive and active forms of radical activism. This is the factor that makes the leap from "thinking what is wrong" to "doing something about it". Mobilisation can take place in social groups and networks. Neumann concluded that the three elements of the process of radicalization need not happen in sequence. In his opinion, these three elements provide a good set of tools to make sense of the process of radicalization and what needs to be done to counter radicalization. He also stressed that a good counter-radicalization strategy should contain all three elements that include: (i) a counter-mobilisation element, focusing on the disruption of networks and structures; (ii) a counter-ideology element that takes on underlying ideas; and (iii) a counter-grievance element that addresses the "perception of grievances".

Discussion

A member of the audience questioned the attitude that one should take towards "ideological entrepreneurs" by asking whether there is a major difference between those who air their views and those who really put words into action. The responses from the panel were varied. One panellist explained that in the London context, Al Qaeda (AQ) recruitment is not dependent on the influence of charismatic individuals. However, another panellist remarked that charismatic leaders have a significant amount of influence over youths.

Omar Bakri Muhammad was quoted as having said: "I was just a preacher. Thousands of people have been to my lectures and I can't control the actions of everyone." Charismatic leaders like Omar Bakri Muhammad not only introduce AQ ideology to youths, but also provide the indoctrination and socialization needed prior to joining the AQ or being a part of its milieu. In response, another panellist highlighted that in Thailand's case, ideological entrepreneurs tend to be regarded or viewed with suspicion by the Thai government. Ideological entrepreneurs are therefore mainly thought of as being critically influential by some panellists.

On the claim that "terrorism breeds terrorism", a participant questioned whether it might also be a case of our reactions against terrorism breeding terrorism. In response, a panellist highlighted that the empirical data does not support the case for "cosmic justice" or the "good-begets-good" theory. They went on to argue that past terrorist attack waves have shown that terrorism has nothing to do with our counter-terrorism reactions.

This discussion was followed by concerns over a seemingly strong emphasis on ideology and the ways it might be used or abused. One participant cautioned that other agents of radicalization, for example, the influence of a charismatic leader, might be overlooked if too much focus is placed on ideology alone. Another panellist concurred with this thought and added that when dealing with "high calibre terrorists", the focus, especially for law enforcers, would, for example, be on their sphere of influence and networks. Issues of grievances and ideology would rank lower on the immediate security priority list.

The panellists were asked if the research models presented had over-generalized radicalization and if this would lead to meaningful policies. A panellist replied that the models were meant to serve as frameworks to structure thinking and for a systematic study on radicalization, arguing that the models were not designed to determine who is a terrorist. Instead the models provide an understanding of the tipping point or causal factors of violent radicalization.

Rights and Resilience

Rights and Resilience

Rachel Briggs, basing her talk on the situation in the United Kingdom, discussed the relationship in a democracy between rights and security. Noting that human, civil, and democratic rights are often presented as luxuries in the face of a security threat, Briggs stated that there is not an inverse relationship between the two, wherein more rights equals less security. In fact, she argued, it is the absence of these rights that, in part, explains the emergence and endurance of the current terror threat.

For the purposes of her talk, Briggs adopted the "human security framework" to define rights; this framework, described by the Commission on Human Security in 2001, argues that insecurity results from the inability to protect seven key needs: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political. In other words, the human security framework states that insecurity will result when a range of human needs, both basic and more advanced, are not met. These human needs can be met by both the state and the individual.

In these terms, Briggs discussed that current research sees British Muslims scoring poorly against this framework in relative terms to other Britons. Briggs discussed a number of surveys undertaken in the past few years, which found that British Muslims are: (i) doing poorly in socio-economic terms; (ii) over-represented in the criminal justice sector;

(iii) disproportionately affected by new anti-terrorism measures; (iv) suffering from negative media stereotypes and discrimination; (v) subjected to a rise in Islamophobia in the United Kingdom since 9/11, including physical attacks and discrimination; and (vi) have poor political representation.

Briggs noted that while this picture is true in some respects of many ethnic and religious minority communities in the United Kingdom, there is a concern in relation to the British Muslim community as it directly relates to terrorism in three ways. Firstly, it partly contributes towards radicalization. Secondly, it reduces the community's appetite for cooperating with the authorities, which is critically important in the fight against terrorism. Thirdly, it reduces the resilience of communities to act pre-emptively to tackle terrorism and violent extremist ideology at its source. This is especially important, Briggs said, as marginalized and isolated communities are often poorly equipped to challenge certain ideologies and extremist narratives.

Resilience to terrorism, Briggs argues, is in fact wholly dependent on: (i) a fierce defence of rights; (ii) a commitment to meeting the needs of communities; and (iii) the pursuit of strong and empowered communities, which have the resources and confidence to play a role alongside the authorities.

To do this Briggs put forward three measures that the British government needs to do, either as part of their counter-terrorism strategy, or alongside it: (i) invest in community development to ensure Muslim communities are well served by a range and variety of community organizations that are able to get stuff done and that are representative of the people they serve; (ii) challenge the negative stereotypes and myths that prevail about Muslims as these perpetuate the "us and them" divides; (iii) encourage, facilitate and enable political mobilization among young Muslims, even where it is oppositional and confrontational, as long as it remains within the law; and (iv) nurture civic entrepreneurialism.

Communication Rights and Democratic Resilience

Ben O'Loughlin's presentation examined how a security culture impacts how people engage in democratic practices and how societies respond to a culture where terrorism is frequently talked about. The presentation was based on original research carried out in the United Kingdom between 2004 and 2007, which consisted of an ongoing iterative research scheme aimed at looking at how audiences were responding to security incidents and disasters. This included audience ethnography with members of the British Muslim community, and interviews with members of the U.K. media and security policymakers to see how perceptions of security shifted over time.

With regard to the media and radicalization, one of the areas of research that O'Loughlin examined in his presentation is trying to identify the "push" and "pull" factors that shape individual's engagement with democratic politics. Specifically, O'Loughlin's study focused on feelings of disengagement in segments of British Muslim communities.

The main "push" factors that this research found were in the manner in which British politicians addressed issues to the public. O'Loughlin argued that citizens want a degree of contingency in policy statements, rather than a closing down of debate. Instead, his research found many citizens experiencing political statements as expressing too much certainty, too fixed and too direct. In addition, terms used by politicians such as "radicalization" and "de-radicalization" do not make sense to many British citizens. "Pull" factors were mainly in the realm of: (i) inadequate media representation of British Muslims; (ii) only extremist Muslims gained media coverage in British media; and (iii) mainstream British media "ignored" Muslim casualties in wars.

During the research study, O'Loughlin stated that one of the interesting case studies that came out was the run up to the launch of Al-Jazeera TV news channel in the United Kingdom. Many British Muslims hoped that it would pluralize media coverage of events, especially of events and countries in the Middle East and South Asia. However, the question arose after its launch as to why it did not pluralize public and political debates as British Muslims hoped. O'Loughlin posited that this was due to a number of reasons, including: (i) watching the same thing does not lead to a convergence of interests; (ii) remediation made Arabic news familiar, yet still "Other"; and (iii) Al-Jazeera lost trust with Muslim and Arabic audiences after appearing to bow to U.S. pressure on reporting of events in Iraq.

O'Loughlin closed his talk by saying that while there are new opportunities to give voice to minority groups, to have their issues or feelings heard does not necessarily mean they will be listened to by policymakers. One of the tensions in a democracy, he noted, is that although one may have the freedom to speak and the freedom to be listened to, one does not necessarily have the freedom to get one's way, politically speaking.

Human Rights in a Time of Political Radicalization

Kevin Tan Yew Lee's talk gave an overview of the impact of political radicalization and terrorism on human rights, using the concept of constitutionalism and the role of international law as a framework. His discussion covered how concerns over security threats in a time of political radicalization have caused many governments and peoples to become paranoid about their personal security and well being. One major repercussion of this has been the passage of laws that have made increasing inroads into individual freedoms and civil liberties. Tan argued that unless societies became more resilient in the face of a radically changed world, it ran the risk of losing control over personal freedoms and liberties. Additionally, Tan put forward the proposition that law itself is not resilient and this poses serious problems in dealing with radicalization and terrorism. While the law has long been seen as a bulwark against arbitrariness and capriciousness, it lacks the structural and substantive resilience to handle those who are out to destroy the constitutional framework of civilization. This lack of resilience on the part of the law also offers political executives fodder for constraining liberties in the name of national security or in a state of emergency.

Tan then outlined some of the concepts of constitutionalism and international law, noting constitutionalism and human rights law function on certain premises demanding adherence to an accepted framework of governmental powers. Structurally, constitutions and human rights instruments were framed in times of peace, or following major political convulsions or even war. While they may provide for contingencies, the province of law stands helpless in the face of majorities and the executives that purport to represent them. This situation is all the more heightened by developments in international and local politics that offer executives even greater fodder for intrusive curbs on civil liberties in the name of national security or states of emergency.

Discussing the current security situation, Tan stated that political radicalization in the twenty-first century may be characterized by political violence and sanctions to take the lives of "enemies". In addition, there is a built-in assumption that the legal order is either unfair or corrupt or nothing more than the handmaiden of "the enemy".

One of the major problems facing states is that ordinary laws cannot deal with violent radicals. There is, for example, difficulty in producing evidence, discharging a burden of proof, and so on. This has been experienced by states in the past too. As an example, Tan pointed to the Singapore government's attempt to deal with the problem of criminal gangs during the 1960s. In such situations, governments often take recourse to extraordinary laws such as preventive detention. However, when faced with a situation where there are curbs on civil liberties, the main sufferers are not perpetrators of political violence but ordinary citizens.

Tan then went on to examine the structure of human rights and constitutions as well as international law and its response to 9/11. Tan discussed how constitutions and

human rights treaties serve primarily to: (i) allocate powers between various branches of government; (ii) guarantee and safeguard fundamental human rights and the civil liberties of citizens and others; (iii) accomplish these goals through a system of checks and balances between the branches of government, and especially through the device of judicial review. These are only possible, however, if people believe in the values encapsulated in these constitutions, and there exists a constitutional culture that respects the rule of law as a substantive normative concept.

Additionally, governments in power must feel compelled to constrain themselves in the face of challenges to their authority and to do only what is absolutely necessary. However, Tan discussed that during times of national emergency or crisis, a government may contract out of normal constitutional law, noting that many constitutions provide for the suspension constitutional safeguards during an emergency. In terms of international law, provisions exist within the existing UN Charter and UN human rights covenants to authorize derogation from civil liberties. After a thorough breakdown of international law and the effects of 9/11, Tan noted that the resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council following 9/11 afford states legitimate grounds in law to derogate from civil liberties at a domestic level as well.

Concluding, Tan stated that international law sanctions tough action to be taken against political radicals and perpetrators of political violence, and that national laws provide for states of exceptionalism in sanctioning derogations from civil liberties guarantees in times of emergencies or when a nation is at war. However, under the auspices of these legitimating influences, states will continue to aggregate more and more power to the centre in order to more efficaciously and effectively deal with the problems of radicalization and terrorism. Faced with executive action that purports to defend the constitution and act in the interests of "national security", most courts will not be reluctant to overturn or interfere with executive action on account of the fact that they are unelected representatives of the people. Tan concluded by warning that the structures of domestic and international law do not have the capacity to deal with a radicalized world, but that governments should be wary of implementing laws that will erode constitutional rights and civil liberties.

State's Resilience and Societal Resistance to Terrorist Threats in Malaysia and Indonesia

Kamarulnizam Abdullah began his presentation by highlighting the fact that within the Southeast Asian region, the countries of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore face a common and shared terrorist threat. For instance, in Malaysia and Indonesia, Kamarulnizam noted that while the evolution of the terrorist organization Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) could be traced to the Darul Islam movement in Indonesia, the group's early activities began in Malaysia. He further noted that there have been many Malaysian and Indonesian nationals in the command structure of JI, including the infamous Noor Din Mat Top, who was the most wanted terrorist in the region.

Kamarulnizam stressed that while Malaysia and Indonesia share similar social and cultural traits, there are marked differences in the way Islam is practised in both countries. Indonesia, for instance, is a more pluralistic society in which religion is not controlled by the state but is open to interpretation. In contrast, Islam in Malaysia is administered and controlled by the state. In facing the threat of terrorism, Kamarulnizam stated that while Indonesia has experienced several serious attacks, Malaysia has yet to suffer any terrorist incidents, although certain western interests have been targeted in Kuala Lumpur. Accordingly, a state's resilience to terrorist threats involves more that the presence of a strong political system and effective counter-terrorism laws; it also requires societal involvement. Kamarulnizam noted that in the context of Indonesia, while society at large has for years been distancing themselves from the government's efforts at counter-terrorism, this is slowly changing.

Kamarulnizam argued that there is now a new challenge to the security of states after 9/11. States in Southeast Asia are now targets of terrorist groups due to their alliances with the Unites States. He is of the opinion that Malaysia's ability to deal with terrorist threats may be attributed to the fact that the country has a long history of fighting against Communist and local extremist threats. Communist jungle and urban fighters used strategies that are similar to those employed by present-day terrorist groups. Further, the role of the police special branch and the contribution of society have enabled the gathering of accurate intelligence. Another step taken by the Malaysian government includes the enactment of the Internal Security Act (ISA), which proved to be highly effective yet draconian in nature due to its potential breach of human rights. However, Kamarulnizam noted that a new approach has been taken by the Malaysian government in introducing the process of rehabilitation, where ISA detainees are exposed to mainstream religious and political issues in order to broaden their outlook.

The Indonesian counter-terrorism effort, however, faces different challenges. Unlike Malaysia, the Indonesian society was not directly involved in the counter-terrorism efforts until the Bali bombings occurred, which proved to be a turning point for the country. Kamarulnizam further suggested that Indonesia's counter-terrorism efforts have been influenced by the country's political reformation and democratization process. The Indonesian Anti-Terrorist Laws No. 15 and 16 which were introduced in 2003 were met with resistance due to the nature of such laws that were felt to run counter to human rights. Indonesian non-governmental organizations have also criticized Densus 88, the special unit formed to deal with terrorism, for killing Dr. Azahari Husin and Noor Din Mat Top instead of bringing them to justice in the court of law.

Kamarulnizam noted that recent efforts by the Indonesian government to educate the population through the media, civil society and engagement of local political groups have proven successful in forming a close relationship between society and the state in dealing with terrorism. He concluded by emphasizing the importance of collaboration between the state and society in managing the threat of terrorism.

Considering Rights and Resilience in the Framework of U.S. Counter-terrorism Strategies

Marisa Porges began her presentation by considering two key questions: (i) how states balance issues of human rights against those of national security; and (ii) consideration of the possible ways to improve society's resilience towards violent extremism. She notes that while these two issues have been central to a whole range of decisions at the strategic and tactical level for the United States, implementation of such policies has been difficult.

To illustrate this point, Porges provided the example of the attempts made to regulate charities. Charities are potentially vulnerable to abuse by illicit actors to fund and support terrorist organizations. This has led the United States and other countries to develop policies that would make the procedures of charities more transparent, but the implementation of such policies have proven difficult as there has been resistance by charities and donors who are naturally reluctant to have too much oversight and government involvement in their affairs.

Commenting on the changing landscape with the recent U.S. elections acting as a referendum on a whole spectrum of human and civil rights, Porges noted that while there has been a corresponding shift in the Government's rhetoric concerning issues of personal and civil liberties, the question of how policies are being implemented is still in doubt. This can be seen in the U.S. government's recent efforts in dealing with its detention centre at Guantanamo. Despite the rhetoric, academic discussions and the creation of three task forces by the Obama Administration, the closure of Guantanamo has been delayed. As such, although there

has been a shift in the understanding of where national security should be on the spectrum of rights and resilience, there are problems with its implementation.

A further exemplification of this difficulty involves the transfer and relocation of detainees who are not considered a high threat. Citing the recent transfer of six Uighur detainees to the island nation of Palau, Porges brought up the difficulties involved in situations where such detainees may decide to return to jurisdictions where they could face potential persecution. This would go against the international obligations of the United States to protect detainees from being returned to countries where there is a possibility that they might face violent persecution. How policymakers will deal with such situations remain to be seen.

Shifting her focus to counter-terrorism programmes in Saudi Arabia and Yemen, Porges noted that both countries have been focused on efforts to build up societal resilience towards the threat of terrorism. While Saudi Arabia has had a de-radicalization programme since 2004 to rehabilitate prisoners with violent and extremist leanings, recent steps have also been taken to involve the family and friends of the individual detained who could potentially become radicalized due to this detention. This shows the Saudi authorities' focus on the effect that their actions have on the population at large and their efforts to make society view the terrorism problem as one they face with the government against the terrorists. While Yemen presents an interesting counter-point to Saudi Arabia due to the country's potential as the next safe haven for terrorists, Porges notes that the government increasingly understands that violent ideology is a growing problem and that there is a need to build societal resilience against this threat.

In conclusion, Porges argued that while there are academic debates on rights and resilience, the harder questions facing policymakers is at the implementation stage and in foreshadowing the near-term effects of such policies over the next two to five years.

Discussion

In response to a question on whether being a radical is a right that should be protected, one speaker noted the difference in approach between Indonesia and Malaysia. While Indonesia would not view radical ideas as a threat, they placed more importance on the implementation of such ideas; for Malaysia, ideas that are deemed to be against the official definition of Islam would be considered radical and be dealt with. Another speaker responded that from the perspective of the United States, the word radical was used in a cavalier manner and what the authorities are worried about is actually extremist violence. One speaker stated that from the research that they had carried out, the word "radicalism" was not one that was easily understood and was used by mainly the state, and suggested that it may be necessary to find better terms that had more resonance with the general public. Another panellist understood the use of the word "radicalization" as being particularly problematic as what is actually meant when it is used in the terrorism context is radicalism towards violence. However, the word is used carelessly, which perverts the root of the word radical.

One participant put forth several comments regarding issues raised by Kamarulnizam during his presentation. In particular, with regard to the reason why Malaysia has yet to be targeted by JI, the participant explained that this was because several key members of the organization had felt indebted to the country that gave them safe haven during former President Suharto's time. Further, the strategy of JI was to divide Southeast Asia into different areas, with Malaysia and Singapore being categorized as the areas of economy where funds are collected and used in the area of operation, designated as Indonesia. With regard to the state-society relationship in Indonesia, it was noted that the country had adopted the concept of total warfare when it came to dealing with terrorism, which includes the cooperation of the police, military and the army. The participant further voiced the opinion that from the viewpoint of law enforcement, the anti-terrorism laws in Indonesia proved far weaker than those found in Malaysia. Changes in the Indonesian laws allowed for an extension of the period of arrest from one to seven days and the detention time period from 20 days to four months, as compared to two years under Malaysia and Singapore's

Internal Security Act. The participant further explained that of the 466 terrorist arrests made by the Indonesian authorities, only 14 had been killed and this was due to threats posed to the police during the attempted arrests.

A question was raised to the panel as to the meaning of the word "resilience" used in the context of democracy and human rights. One speaker responded by stating that the word connotes being resilient to extremist ideology. Another panellist replied that the word defines the ability of the state and society to respond to the threat of terrorism. A third panellist stated that in their opinion, the word is synonymous with the ability of a democratic system as a whole to adapt to some internal or external problem. A final speaker broke the word down to two components, the first being the ability to bounce back from shocks and the second part being able to adapt and to reconfigure in a way that makes an entity more able to respond to shocks in the future.

Counter- and De-Radicalization

Causal Processes, Radicalization and Bad Policy: The Importance of Case Studies of Radical Violent Takfiri Jihadism for Establishing Logical Causality

Jonathan Githens-Mazer's presentation focused largely on the methodological challenges in studying radicalization and terrorism, and the policy implications arising out of such issues. One of the main issues identified is the lack of any clearly agreed upon definition of what radicalization constitutes; this leads to policy measures that have poorly defined outcomes, which are not easily measurable. As Githens-Mazer argued, part of this problem of policy outcomes arises out of how societies understand politically undesirable outcomes, such as terrorism, violence or social disintegration. It is easier, he stated, to say what we do not want in a society than what we do want.

Githens-Mazer then outlined many of the various definitions of radicalization and a variety of stated goals of counter-radicalization policies. This confusion of discourse about radicalization is in fact a conceptual confusion. The absence of a definition is a problem, Githens-Mazer stated, both in academia and for policymakers, as it confuses both focused research agendas as well as crafting effective policies designed for specific ends.

A working definition of radicalization was proposed by Githens-Mazer as a "collectively defined, individually held moral obligation to participate in direct action". This definition is, he stated, necessarily broad in order to later narrow down good research questions. In terms of violent radicalization or extremist violence, Githens-Mazer proposed the term "Radical Violent Takfiri Jihadism".

Clear concepts, Githens-Mazer continued, are needed in order to rigorously test claims as to the causes of radicalization. In terms of measuring causality, researchers need to narrow their investigation to make any kind of meaningful causal claims. One major problem in radicalization research to date is the reliance of the selection on a dependent variable in that researchers look for cases where radicalization is present, not where it is not. If one is making claims to what is radicalization, one must be able to measure when it is absent. This is important, Githens-Mazer stated, as it makes a difference in the ability to craft clearly defined and effective policy solutions. Without good research, measuring the effectiveness of such policies will not be possible.

Research and Radicalization:
The U.K. Approach

Sarah Connolly's talk gave an overview of the British Foreign & Commonwealth Office's research into radicalization in general, and Pakistan specifically. Pakistan is a priority country for the United Kingdom, and in mid 2008, the British government realized that there were significant gaps in their knowledge of the country. Therefore, a two-year project involving numerous surveys carried out in Pakistan was enacted in an attempt to close this knowledge gap.

Using a variety of survey companies, the United Kingdom garnered measurements on: (i) civil society; (ii) national identity; (iii) tribal culture; (iv) religion; (v) foreign influence; and (vi) women.

With regard to national identity, Connolly noted there is a high desire for change and a low locus of control among Pakistanis. Frustration across the country is rife and people complain about lack of employment, lack of security and a poor economy. They do not see anything to rally around and there is nothing to inspire national pride, which threatens the very notion of a viable Pakistan.

Despite frustration in Pakistan over people's lack of engagement in the political process, there is a strong desire in the notion of democracy. This comes across strongly,

Connolly stated, in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Federally Administered Northern Areas. However, while approval ratings of the Pakistan government appear high, on closer examination, they are widely viewed as lacking competence to govern.

Findings on the issues of religion and the importance of education to Pakistanis were discussed. However, one of the more pressing issues that Connolly highlighted was the issue of internally displaced peoples (IDPs), which Connolly stated is the largest humanitarian crisis that Pakistan faces. During the recent Swat offensive over two million people—the largest movement of people since Rwanda—were forced to move and there remains a strong need to deliver food, water, tents and medicines. People in the camps, Connolly said, want a return to normality above any sense of revenge, though those who do contemplate revenge like the idea. However, it is not clear who would be the target of any such revenge. Results from the survey suggested that IDPs are more open-minded than Pakistanis who make up the U.K. Diaspora. As such, they are vulnerable to influence, both positive and negative. One of the key policy implications of this is that if IDPs can tell a positive story, they become credible voices.

The British Foreign & Commonwealth Office, Connolly said, responded to the results of the research in four main ways. Firstly, the decision was made to continue to focus and deliver the British government's messages, focusing on the longer term and linking domestic and overseas policies. Secondly, the government has decided to continue developing relationships with the media, the civil society and others in order to build resilience against violent extremism. Thirdly, the British Foreign & Commonwealth Office will work with the Department for International Development to ensure that aid is going to the right places and that the Pakistani Diaspora knows about it. Finally, the British government has pledged to invest £250m over the next five years in the education system in Pakistan.

Challenges of De-radicalization and Rehabilitation Efforts in the Philippines: The Case of Muslim Detainees Accused of Crimes Associated with Terrorism

Rommel C. Banlaoi's presentation was a thorough review of de-radicalization and rehabilitation efforts in the Philippines, focusing on Banlaoi's research at Bicutan Jail. Banlaoi stated that the Philippine government recognizes the importance of de-radicalization programmes as the country continues to face terrorist threats emanating from a number of militant groups, including: (i) Abu Sayyaf Group; (ii) New Peoples' Army; (iii) rogue elements of the Moro Islamic Front and the Moro National Liberation Front; and (iv) JI in the Philippines. Additionally, the government must deal with incarcerated members of the dormant Rajah Solaiman Islamic Movement, Al Khobar Group, and Bangsamoro National Liberation Army.

In 2003, the Philippines government enacted a 16-point counter-terrorism programme that identifies inter-faith dialogues and "special development programmes" as the cornerstone of its de-radicalization and counter-radicalization policy. However, there has been no actual implementation of programmes by the Philippine government focusing on the de-radicalization and rehabilitation of Muslim detainees. Indeed, Banlaoi stated, it remains in the conceptual and preparatory stage, although exploratory efforts have been made. Recently, the National Counter Terrorism Unit, in coordination with the Bureau of Jail Management and Penology, has been directed by the Anti-Terrorism Council to develop de-radicalization and rehabilitation programmes for Muslim detainees in the Philippines accused of crimes associated with terrorism. Banlaoi moved into an overview of the results of his research, noting that his various visits to Muslim detainees in Bicutan Jail for the past two years have raised an awareness of the need to develop a coherent and systematic counter-radicalization and de-radicalization programme in the Philippines. As such, the Philippine government can draw valuable lessons from the experiences of Singapore, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and others, in this area. However, replicating these "best practices" in the Philippines must take into account the peculiar situation of Muslim detainees in the Philippines. For example, Banlaoi said, all Muslim detainees in Bicutan Jail are just "accused". That is, they have not been "convicted" and therefore cannot be recommended for participation in "rehabilitation" programmes.

From his research at Bicutan Jail, Banlaoi identified two major causes of grievances that lead to Muslim radicalism in the Philippines: (i) minoritization and social exclusion, and (ii) economic marginalization and deprivation. These two factors create the conditions for people to join militant groups and make a de-radicalization programme difficult to pursue because the social, economic and political situations in the Philippines, Banlaoi argued, are compelling some people to become radicals. Indeed, Banlaoi noted, most of the Muslim detainees in Bicutan joined "terrorist" groups because of circumstantial and behavioural reasons rather than ideological conviction.

Banlaoi stated that sustained visitation, counselling, legal assistance, socio-economic support and after-care for detainees are important processes to turn them away from violent behaviour and embrace a more peaceful outlook. However, Banlaoi argued that there is also a need to pay greater attention to disengagement programmes. Disengagement acknowledges that rebels can maintain their radicalism, but they should leave the use of violence and terrorism behind and instead pursue a peaceful struggle.

The Attempt to De-radicalize Islamist Threats in Indonesia

Muhammad Tito Karnavian spoke on the de-radicalization process that the Indonesian police force is currently working to operationalize. Karnavian stated that in contrast to the past when the police focused on a hard approach to counter-terrorism, Indonesia has begun to adopt a soft approach. There are two reasons behind this change in counter-terrorism strategy. First, there were weaknesses with the law enforcement aspect of the hard approach because it failed to address the underlying problems of radicalization. Second, using soft approaches with a number of detainees gave positive outcomes, which raised optimism toward this method. Through this new soft approach, the aim of the Indonesian police is to: (i) persuade the detainees to opt for cooperating with the police for further investigation; (ii) paralyse terrorist networks with a tactic similar to the divide-and-rule strategy of the colonial period; and (iii) if possible, change their mindset into a non-violent jihad.

According to Karnavian, the police force has attempted to develop a model of de-radicalization to deal with radical groups. This model is based on the empirical findings gathered by the police through investigation of approximately 400 JI members. This model comprises three stages. The first stage is to study the target. Herein, three factors are observed: (i) the dominant motive that led a detainee to radicalization; (ii) the detainee's role in the terrorist network; and (iii) the detainee's personal problems. After studying the target, the next stage is to diagnose the level of difficulty, which correlates to the level of radicalism. For example, in respect to the dominant motive, a detainee who became radicalized due to his spiritual motive will be diagnosed as the most difficult, whereas one who was led by material motive will be regarded as the easiest. The last stage is the intervention and influence. In this stage, qualified police officers are specifically assigned to detainees. These police officers are usually those who have experience in dealing with radicals and have a good understanding of the detainees radical network. They are also preferably Muslims and their role is to build trust between themselves and the detainees. This is done through informal dialogue rather than religious debate, and the expression of empathy rather than the blaming of a detainee for holding a wrong ideological orientation. Consistent with the soft approach, the aim is to understand the culture of the community where the detainee came from. After a detainee is considered to have become de-radicalized, his role is to deter other would-be-radicals from becoming radicalized. In this connection, these de-radicalized detainees are encouraged to express their repentance publicly and to encourage others to change their mindset from that of a violent jihadist to being a good Muslim. Karnavian said that this rehabilitation process has proved to be quite successful in that more than half of those approached opted for cooperation with the police and provided information on the network.

Karnavian concluded his presentation by suggesting a number of improvements that should be made in order to formally establish the de-radicalization model. First, he said that a more systematic programme for de-radicalization and counter-radicalization should be established. Second, a proper legal basis and financial support system should be provided. Last but not least, Karnavian stressed that it is important for different agencies to operate in coordination for counter-radicalization efforts to work effectively.

Terrorist Rehabilitation: Winning Hearts and Minds Approach

Mohammad Feisal Hassan discussed Singapore's approach to de-radicalization based on his personal experience working with the religious rehabilitation programme in Singapore. Hassan explained that Singapore pursues a multi-pronged approach to the rehabilitation of religious radicals. At the government level, different government agencies work in coordination, bringing their respective expertise to the issue of de-radicalization. At the community level, there are two institutions, namely the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG) and the Aftercare Group, which work toward a similar end. The RRG is a voluntary group of religious scholars and teachers working to assist in the rehabilitation of JI detainees who have been placed under "Restriction Orders". Such rehabilitation is mainly done through religious counselling. The Aftercare Group works to engage the detainees' families and relatives. At the academic level, there are various think tanks, which provide nuanced interpretations of national security, including counter-radicalization.

Hassan's presentation focused on the role of the RRG and how it contributes to the rehabilitation of radicalized detainees. The establishment of the RRG was instigated by the arrest of JI members in Singapore in December 2001. The arrests led to questions of what motivated them to join the terrorist network; and the Singapore government came to the conclusion that motivations were strongly related to the issue of ideology. The government, which has a history of working closely with the different communities in Singapore, turned to engage religious teachers and scholars from the Muslim community in order to challenge the distorted ideology of the detainees. Pursuant to this effort, meetings were arranged between Ustaz and detainees, and this produced a number of findings: (i) the detainees did have a distorted ideology and concept of Islam; (ii) they believed in using violence as means to achieve a utopian Islamic state; and (iii) the detainees operated from a simplistic paradigm in which they split the world into Muslims and non-Muslims. This led to the conclusion that: (i) the detainee's ideology required to be changed; (ii) there should be a consensus among the religious fraternities to engage the detainees; and (iii) religious scholars, government and other experts should all engage in the effort of detainee rehabilitation.

The RRG comprises 38 counsellors who possess a deep knowledge and expertise in the study of Islam. Until now, RRG has carried out more that 1,200 religious counselling sessions of which 120 counselling sessions were provided to families of detainees. Based on these counselling sessions, the RRG established a model that set out the various levels reflecting JI's misinterpretation of Islamic concepts. The foundational level is the formation of blind loyalty towards Muslims and enmity towards non-Muslims. The next level is the creation of the Islamic community (Jama'ah) of which the members pledge allegiance (Bai'ah) to their leaders and community. This line of logic is followed by the unification of communities into one universal Islamic nation (Um'mah) and ultimately the establishment of the utopian Islamic state (Daulah Islamiyah) through war (jihad).

In closing, Hassan stated that based on the lessons learned from religious counselling sessions, the RRG aims to: (i) extricate negatively imbued ideology; (ii) replace negative ideology with positive ones; (iii) imbue correct understanding of Islamic teachings and knowledge; and (iv) exemplify how to live harmoniously in a multi-racial and multi-religious community. Lastly, he added that aside from the rehabilitation programme for detainees, Singapore also performs a community engagement programme designed to deliver the above message to the public of Singapore at large.

De-radicalization … to What?

Bill Durodie opened his talk by opining that for the de-radicalization process to be effective, clear answers are required to two fundamental questions: (i) What is it that we want to de-radicalize the so-called radical individuals from? (ii) What is it we want to de-radicalize them to? Durodie observed that currently, there is not much dialogue going on about the exact aim that the de-radicalization process seeks to achieve.

Durodie stated that mainstream politics permits people to hold beliefs in anything they like, but discourages them from overly indulging oneself in that belief. In other words, mainstream politics allows people to keep their own beliefs as long as they do not stray too far away from the generally accepted norms and ideas. However, Durodie said that people should be able to adhere to their own beliefs so long as they can counteract each other's beliefs and ideas in a robust manner.

From a historical perspective, Durodie suggested that the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 gradually changed our perception of "radicalism". In 1989, being a radical meant one was "secular, left wing and political" and hence, posed a great threat to the state. Today, being a radical means to be a "religious fundamentalist". In addition, Durodie pointed out that South Asian immigrants in the United Kingdom, who in 1989 referred to themselves as "Asians", refer to themselves as "Muslims" today. In order to examine the cause of such transformation, it is important to look at the change in the political and social landscape of the United Kingdom from 1989 to 2009. Durodie said that British Muslims can generally be split into three generations within this time period. The first generation immigrants were those who were drawn to the United Kingdom by its western values such as freedom, democracy and liberty. The second generation is their children, who developed a sense of injustice after having realized that these promises were not being delivered. Their anger towards the society was thus expressed through joining the political left and organizing campaigns against the government. When the Berlin Wall came down in 1989 and the political left collapsed in its own intellectual exhaustion, these young "radicals" started to move away from their leftist ideas and focus inwards on their feelings and emotions. Hence, came the third generation of British Muslims, whose expression of being a "radical" surfaces through their religious identity.

Durodie argued that while mainstream politics unites people, the celebration of culture divides people the most. The shift from ideology to identity has created a climate where everyone takes offence more easily. This has created an environment where politics are determined by feelings instead of beliefs. In this connection, Durodie stated that when it comes to radical terrorists, we need to focus on their anti-modern and anti-western ideas instead of their jihadist rhetoric and violence. In other words, when dealing with these so-called religious radicals, we should focus more on the broader set of ideas that shaped and led them to where they are today.

Counter-radicalization and Outreach in Canada

Phil Gurski spoke on the emergence of extremist violence in Canada and the country's ongoing initiatives for the prevention of terrorist activities and counter-radicalization. He noted that violent activities initiated by radicals in Canada have been occurring for almost four decades. In 1970, the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) crisis broke out when members of FLQ kidnapped two government officials and killed one of them. Following the FLQ crisis was the assassination of the Turkish military attaché by Armenian-Canadians in 1982, the bombing of an Air India flight by Sikh extremists in 1985, and the Oka Crisis in 1990. Additionally, there was the Mujahedin-e Khalq storming of Iranian Embassy in 1992 in response to a rumour that the Iraqi leadership had been killed by the Iranians.

Among the recent cases of terrorist activity in Canada was the failed bomb attack in Los Angeles International Airport in 1999 by Ahmed Ressam, who was an Algerian-Canadian. Following that incident, the arrest of Momin Khawaja in 2004, a Pakistani-Canadian who was linked to the failed terrorist attack named Operation Crevice in the United Kingdom. In 2006, 18 alleged members of a terrorist group, which came to be known as the Toronto 18, were arrested for plotting a series of terrorist attacks in Canada. In 2007, Said Namouh, a member of the Global Islamic Media Front, was arrested for allegedly spreading jihadist propaganda on the Internet. Gurski stated that among all the terrorist incidents, the Toronto 18 incident especially alarmed the Canadian public because of their perceived incompetence and unprofessional image as terrorists. The Canadian public

believed that they did not have the ability to carry out a major terrorist attack and that the prosecution of these individuals was more about increasing Canada's national security budget. However, after three years, public opinion shifted and Canadians started to acknowledge that these terrorists did have the ability to carry out a serious plot that would have resulted in mass casualties.

In a climate where the public has become increasingly aware of terrorist threats, Canada has formulated its own counter-radicalization strategy. After having accepted that there is a problem regarding terrorism, Canada advanced to the next question: "How big is the problem?" Recognising the inherent bureaucratic problem of different government agencies giving their own estimation and analysis on the scope of the terrorist problem without credible basis, the Canadian government started incorporating academia into the study of terrorism. This facilitated the government and academia to work hand in hand in order to share expertise and expand existing knowledge of the terrorist threat. Apart from the role of the Canadian government, the Canadian communities are equally given an important role in addressing the issues of radicalization and extremist violence. The community seeks to build trust and relationships within itself and work with local law enforcement as well. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, which is a federal, provincial and municipal policing body, also plays an important role within the counter-radicalization strategy.

One of the recent programmes derived out of Canada's counter-radicalization efforts is the Cross Cultural Roundtable on Security (CCRS) that was created in 2005. This brings together the leaders of different ethnic and religious communities to engage in a dialogue on national security issues and extremist violence. Through the CCRS, participants came to an agreement that youth radicalism should be treated as priority. In addition to the roundtable discussion, the CCRS also enables constructive dialogue between the community and the government, which will hopefully develop into a formal policy or strategy. In closing, Gurski stated that the various initiatives for counter-radicalization will continue at multiple levels in Canada from the government to the community level.

Discussion

Two participants asked the panel related questions on the problems of methodology in studying radicalization and counter-radicalization programmes. The first participant queried if it were better not to search for causal links in the radicalization process; the second participant, questioning the usefulness of medical metaphors in the counter- or de-radicalization programmes, opined that the only way to measure the effectiveness of such programmes is with control groups. Additionally, it was asked if these programmes were over-cognitive in their assumptions about human behaviour; in this sense, the role of ideology and religion are overemphasized.

A speaker responded to the first query by claiming that, methodologically, researchers in the radicalization field are often backwards in the way they view outliers. Out of billions of Muslims in the world, cases of radicalization are extremely small. So as a research design question instead of asking how Islam is inspiring violence the more meaningful question is how Islam is preventing violence, as that is where the weight of the evidence lies. The speaker posited that researchers should stop looking at cases of radicalization as indicating necessary and sufficient causes but instead examining them as outliers in order to differentiate them from the main body of cases.

In response to the second question a speaker responded that it is important to define what kind of radical movement we are examining. For example, in Indonesia it is important to distinguish between secular and Islamic groups. In this sense, a group like the Free Aceh Movement, where the main driver is nationalistic in a sense and Islam is used to foster group identity, should be differentiated from an Islamist group like JI where Islam as a religion is the goal (e.g. the establishment of sharia law and an Islamic country in Indonesia). In this case the main driver is ideology, so the solution must be to counter that ideology.

Workshop Programme

2 November, Monday

1000–1115hrs **Session One: Ideology and Agents of Radicalization**

Arrival of Invited Foreign Participants and Speakers

Moderator:
Kumar Ramakrishna, Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU, Singapore

Speakers:
Al-Qaida Influence in Muslim Communities in London: Role of Street Leaders by *Robert Lambert,* Research Fellow, University of Exeter, United Kingdom

Militant Activities as an Agent of Radicalization by *Martin Harrow*, Research Fellow, Danish Institute for International Studies

Insurgency in Southern Thailand: Indoctrination and Radicalization by *Don Pathan,* Regional News Editor, The Nation, Thailand

Ideology and Grievance in Violent Radicalization and Recruitment in Europe by *Peter Neumann*, Director of the International Centre for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence, United Kingdom

1115–1200hrs **Discussion**

1200–1330hrs **Lunch**

1330–1500hrs **Session II: Rights and Resilience**

Moderator:
Norman Vasu, Deputy Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU, Singapore

Speakers:
Rights and Resilience by *Rachel Briggs*, Senior Research Fellow, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, United Kingdom

Communication Rights and Democratic Resilience by *Ben O'Loughlin*, Reader, International Relations Royal Holloway, University of London

Human Rights in a Time of Political Radicalization by *Kevin Tan Yew Lee*, Adjunct Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), NTU, Singapore

1500–1530hrs **Tea Break and Networking**

1530–1630hrs	**Continue Session Two: Rights and Resilience**
	Moderator:
	Norman Vasu, Deputy Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU, Singapore
	Speakers:
	State's Resilience and Societal Resistance to Terrorist Threats in Malaysia and Indonesia by *Kamarulnizam Abdullah*, Lecturer, Strategic Studies and International Relations Programme, Centre for History, Politics and Strategic Studies, University Kebangsaan Malaysia
	"Considering Rights and Resilience in the Framework of U.S. Counterterrorism Strategies" by *Marisa L. Porges*, International Affairs Fellow in Residence, Council on Foreign Relations, USA
1630–1700hr	**Discussion**
1830–2100hrs	**Conference Dinner**

3 November, Tuesday

0900–0915hrs **Overview of Previous Day** by *Kumar Ramakrishna*, Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU, Singapore

0915–1000hrs **Session Three: Counter- and De-Radicalization**

Moderator:
Kumar Ramakrishna, Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU, Singapore

Speakers:
Preventing What? The Impact of Concept on Evidence – Based Policy Responses to Violent Radicalisation and Islamically Inspired Terrorism by *Jonathan Githens-Mazer*, Senior Lecturer in Politics, University of Exeter, United Kingdom

Research and Radicalisation – the U.K. Approach by **Sarah Connolly**, Head of the Counter-Terrorism Research Group in the Foreign & Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom

Crimes Associated with Terrorism by *Rommel Banlaoi*, Chairman of Board and Executive Director, Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research

1000–1030hrs	**Informal Book Launch** by *Rommel Banlaoi* of his book *Philippines Security in the Age of Terror*
	Tea Break and Networking
1030–1130hrs	**Continue Session Three: Counter- and De- Radicalization**

Speakers:
De-Radicalization Program in Indonesia by *Tito Karnavian,* Head of Intelligence, Detachment 88, Indonesia National Police

Terrorist Rehabilitation: Winning Hearts and Minds Approach by *Mohammad Feisal Hassan,* Secretariat, Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG), Singapore

De-Radicalization … To What? by *Bill Durodie*, Senior Fellow and Co-ordinator of the Homeland Defence Programme in the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU, Singapore

Counter Radicalization and Outreach in Canada by *Phil Gurski*, Senior Analyst at the Canadian Department of Public Safety

1130–1200hrs	**Discussion**
1200–1215hrs	**Closing Remarks** by *Kumar Ramakrishna*, Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU, Singapore
1230–1400hrs	**Joint Lunch**
1400–1700hrs	**Speakers Programme**

List of Presenters and Moderators

Moderators:

Kumar Ramakrishna
Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS),
RSIS, NTU, Singapore

Norman Vasu
Deputy Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security
(CENS), RSIS, NTU, Singapore

Speakers:

Kamarulnizam Abdullah
Lecturer, Strategic Studies and International Relations
Programme, Centre for History, Politics and Strategic
Studies, University Kebangsaan Malaysia

Rommel Banlaoi
Chairman of Board and Executive Director, Philippine
Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research

Rachel Briggs
Senior Research Fellow, Royal United Services Institute for
Defence and Security Studies, United Kingdom

Sarah Connolly
Head of the Counter-Terrorism Research Group in the
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Singapore

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Director of the International Centre for the Study of
Radicalisation and Political Violence, United Kingdom

Ben O'Loughlin
Reader, International Relations Royal Holloway,
University of London

Don Pathan
Regional News Editor, *The Nation*, Thailand

Marisa L. Porges
International Affairs Fellow in Residence,
Council on Foreign Relations, USA

Kevin Tan Yew Lee
Adjunct Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International
Studies (RSIS), NTU, Singapore

WORKSHOP ON NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY

REPORT OF A WORKSHOP

ORGANISED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

AND

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

2 NOVEMBER 2009
MARINA MANDARIN HOTEL, SINGAPORE

S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY
2010

Contents Page

This report summarises the proceedings of the conference as interpreted by the assigned rapporteurs and editor. The participants neither reviewed nor approved this report. The conference adheres to a variation of the Chatham House rules. Accordingly, beyond the points expressed in the prepared papers, no attributions have been included in this conference report.

Message From the Head of Centre

Dear readers,

The RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies had the pleasure of co-organising together with the University of Warwick, the Warwick International Security Initiative (WISI) – Centre for NTS Studies day-long workshop on non-traditional security on 2 November 2009. This workshop, along with two other workshops organised by the Centre of Excellence for National Security and the Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade and Negotiations respectively, were held to mark the official launch of the Nanyang Technological University-Warwick Double Masters Programme in International Studies.

The WISI-Centre for NTS Studies workshop on non-traditional security was an invaluable opportunity for both sides to share European and Asian perspectives on non-traditional security (NTS) issues and to allow for participants involved to identify best practices in tackling current NTS challenges. Certainly, the growing importance of NTS issues worldwide highlights a need for the international community to understand, prepare and devise innovative ways to respond to these issues. Collaborative workshops such as this one between the University of Warwick and the Centre for NTS Studies was not only timely but was also useful in generating greater interaction and fostering dialogue between the Asian and European communities to address the various global NTS themes of energy security, economic underdevelopment, migration and human security, and food security. The workshop proved to be an enriching and insightful exercise for all participants involved.

Moving forward, I am optimistic that this first collaboration signals the birth of a new partnership that can only lead to the development of synergies and further opportunities for collaboration as part of a broader goal to establish networks between the two parties in the years to come.

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

Introductory Session And Overview

The workshop on non-traditional security was held in the Marina Mandarin Hotel in Singapore. It was jointly organised by the University of Warwick and the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies under the Warwick International Security Initiative. Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony began the day's proceedings by framing the context of the workshop and introducing the distinguished guests from the University of Warwick in her opening remarks to participants.

Opening Remarks (I)

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

Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony

In her opening remarks, Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony, Secretary-General of NTS-Asia, welcomed all participants, especially participants from the University of Warwick, and emphasised that 2009 has been a year of crisis, that included the global financial crisis, natural disasters, pandemics, conflicts and the energy crisis. She highlighted that the responses from the international community, during these times of crisis, illustrated the need for greater cooperation among communities, the world over. In order for effective collaboration to result

in better preparedness and response mechanisms for international challenges, Assoc. Prof. Caballero-Anthony noted the importance of knowledge communities, including academia and policy research institutions as an integral part of track-two diplomacy, mass media as the distributor of information for such knowledge communities and civil society as a constructive advocate and promoter of good virtues of governance.

In the area of non-traditional security, knowledge communities are tipped to play an increasingly crucial role in addressing the gaps in governance via multi-stakeholder participation in non-traditional security policymaking and serving as a valuable driver of intra- and interstate cooperation. The growing partnership between the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies and the University of Warwick in the form of the Warwick International Security Initiative is an example of fostering greater interaction between European and Asian knowledge communities, resulting in a combination of analytical lenses, different perspectives and innovative research opportunities.

Assoc. Prof. Caballero-Anthony concluded by saying that the increased collaboration between the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies and the University of Warwick under the Initiative will generate the development of new and creative responses to issues such as climate change, conflicts, energy security, global pandemics, and natural disasters. It will encourage further dialogue on responses to NTS issues and challenge the robustness and resilience of current, institutional practices, in order to build better policy responses.

Opening Remarks (II)

Professor Shaun Breslin
Professor of Politics and International Studies
University of Warwick
United Kingdom

Prof. Shaun Breslin

In his opening remarks, Professor Shaun Breslin highlighted the potential for synergy and prospects for future collaboration between RSIS and the University of Warwick. He mentioned the fantastic intellectual capital at both institutions and that the partnership between the two universities will only increase the networks both institutions are already a part of. In addition, Prof. Breslin emphasised the importance of Asia and how important this partnership is for the University of Warwick, especially since current global challenges and issues involve Asia. He concluded by suggesting that the University of Beijing be part of this wider network and thanked Professor Stuart Croft, from the University of Warwick, for playing an instrumental role in the establishment of this partnership. Lastly, he thanked the conference organisers in helping to make this conference possible.

Session I:
Theoretical Overview of NTS

Moderated by Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony, this panel focused on the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of non-traditional security, including the importance of the security architecture currently in place.

Assoc. Prof. Lorraine Elliott

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

Associate Professor Lorraine Elliott's presentation focused on conceptual and theoretical issues which underpin some NTS questions, particularly with respect to climate change and environmental security.

The widening and deepening of the security discourse into areas that are referred to as 'non-traditional' is well known, but worth recapping by asking what are the NTS answers to traditional security questions of 'for whom?', 'for what?' and by 'what measures?' Following change in the political order at the end of the Cold War, Assoc. Prof. Elliott explained, security came to be defined as freedom from existential threat, freedom from fear, freedom from want and as human survival. Such concerns about non-traditional threats were also accompanied by a non-traditional security referent, aided by the approach of human security. Assoc. Prof. Elliott said that the human security approach, whilst controversial for some, nevertheless provides a model to help the interrogation of those kinds of issues. She highlighted the existing fears among some that an increase in NTS issues could come at an expense of the more traditional state security agenda—including political independence, territorial integrity and internal order.

However, Assoc. Prof. Elliott remarked that traditionalists need not have worried, because state security has maintained its dominance, and human security has yet to fulfill its transformative potential. The reality of human security, as Assoc. Prof. Elliott stated, is that it has become more of a policy issue, rather than a norm which informs a critical framework for thinking differently about security and non-traditional threats. The Copenhagen School has provided a theoretical framework for looking at how things become security issues, through speech acts. Going a step further is the United Nations Development Programme claim that human security can be a powerful antidote to conventional views of security that have for too long been shaped by the potential for conflict between states.

Assoc. Prof. Elliott observed that based on past and current events, the centrality of human security has arrived and it is now 'the new black'. However, she cautioned that a number of problems still persist. Firstly, there is definitional confusion—even within the human security policy community—and uncertainty on whether human security is a policy goal or a normative paradigm, and, if the latter is true, what emphasis on conflict should be incorporated from the traditional security paradigm. Secondly, there is uncertainty of the links between human security and that of the state. Thirdly, there is continued uncertainty of the real impact of human security on the ground, as measured by key performance indicators.

In order to understand these issues, Assoc. Prof. Elliott returned to questions of where human security meets securitisation theory. Importantly, she noted that those who are most affected by human insecurity are those least in the position to speak about their experiences—marginalised from political decision-making, physically intimidated from expressing their concerns and actively prevented from protection. These are often the poor in both rural and urban areas, women and indigenous peoples.

In conclusion, Assoc. Prof. Elliott asked if we should continue to worry about these conceptual or theoretical problems. The answer given throughout her presentation was a clear yes, but that, as others have also noted, does not exist independently of continued research on human security groundwork issues. There is an immediate need to link the conceptual and the empirical work on human security. One potential approach is to consider human insecurity as harm, rather than threat. Human security can therefore be seen in the context of emancipation, and social and community resilience. Harm is the product of the problems of un-recognition, lack of solidarity, physical and social exclusion and denial of rights. It is important to recognise it as a process, rather than as an end point, which by definition highlights the dynamic dimension of human security. Assoc. Prof. Elliott noted that this is about making things better without implying an external understanding of what may be best. Lastly, in contrast to orthodox views on security, emancipation as a human security approach to non-traditional security issues is not a zero-sum commodity.

Responding to Non-Traditional Security Challenges: The Westphalian State, The "West" and the Long Shadow of 1944
Professor Shaun Breslin
Professor of Politics and International Studies
University of Warwick
United Kingdom

Professor Shaun Breslin began by explaining his presentation title and the choice to focus on 1944 rather than 1945, as 1944 was the year in which many of the discussions that took place towards the end of World War II laid down the foundations of the security architecture of today. Building on from what Assoc. Prof. Elliott said, Prof. Breslin stated that this security architecture is actually where the central problem lies.

Prof. Breslin commented that in a world 'beyond the Washington Consensus', many NTS issues entail political economy solutions. There is therefore a need for a reconciliation between NTS studies and political economy. Prof. Breslin then raised the key issue of whether the existing system built on national and/or international security is in fact capable of guaranteeing human security. In answering this question, he drew from colleagues' works and highlighted the 'West-failure' system—the failure of the Westphalian system. But while identifying the difficulties and obstacles to effective governance of new security issues is relatively easy, Prof. Breslin noted that it is often more difficult to find the solutions.

According to Prof. Breslin's presentation, it is usually the most powerful states that set the global agenda, set the definition of what security is, and create the mechanisms for dealing with security issues, both on a global and regional level. Indeed, contemporary security architecture still remains heavily influenced by decisions made in the bi-polar world of 1944. Security hence remains constrained by architecture, institutions and ideas of what security issues actually are.

Although incomplete, the transition to an NTS agenda has partially represented a shift to these kinds of problems affecting the global north, in addition to the global south, in an increasingly interconnected world. This partial transition has meant that non-traditional security has become part of international security only if and when it is found to affect the most powerful nations.

Prof. Breslin reiterated the need for reconciliation between political economy and non-traditional security, since, he noted, issues such as resource scarcity, food security and environmental security could be dealt with through the institutions of political economy more effectively than by the current state and international security architecture and paradigm. In this respect, good governance programmes are essential to end corruption, and security institutions can build capacity and resilience, while lawyers and academics also become agents of security. Poverty reduction, Prof. Breslin highlighted, is a tool of international security. However, he cautioned that there is a danger that the human security agenda could become a liberal or neo-liberal Western agenda, imposing its beliefs on others.

In conclusion, Prof. Breslin returned to the question of whose world order it is, and asked how the international community can build alternatives. In order to do so, the link between economics, equity and security in global economic paradigms is crucial. One powerful solution, he added, may lie in the study of regionalism and regionalisation. It is at the regional level where the study of political economy and security are coming together and if the global level is the problem, Prof. Breslin offered that perhaps the regional level may hold the solution.

Discussion

Participants during the discussion

The discussion centred around a series of questions including how to strengthen the forgotten voices of the most vulnerable individuals and populations and on the artificial divides between political economy and security, normative paradigms and policy goals, and between critical studies and problem solving. Assoc. Prof. Elliott replied that the way in which these issues are internalised into discourse must be challenged. Human security enables alternative viewpoints and clearly shows that communities such as those affected by climate change are not the cause of threat but its victims. In this regard, non-traditional security is about finding solutions to critical problems.

The discussion then turned to the appropriate level of analysis—global or regional—with participants noting that the global level is increasingly used as the level of analysis in current literature. Nevertheless, there was almost unanimous agreement that the regional level of analysis may be more appropriate. To the question of whether the G20 makes a big difference to the structuring of world order, Prof. Breslin gave a clear answer that it does not. However, he indicated that the G20 can contribute in some way, that Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRICs) will play an important role, and that the financial crisis may indeed bring about change.

Energy Security

Moderated by Professor Shaun Breslin, this panel focused on different perspectives and understandings of energy security.

**Energy Security in Southeast Asia: The Case of
Nuclear Energy Development
Mr Collin Koh
Research Analyst
Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore**

Mr Collin Koh

Mr Collin Koh began by observing that the energy security issue is a particularly salient one that concerns the interlocking issues of energy supply and demand with respect to NTS issues. He then outlined the structure of his presentation which included a brief overview of the current security challenges, and then focused on how these issues play out in Southeast Asia. He focused in particular on the nuclear renaissance in Southeast Asia and proposed some solutions.

He began his presentation by assessing the global energy situation. In the face of a worldwide population increase, states actually increase their energy supply in order to satisfy the rise in consumption. According to the recent International Atomic Energy Agency report, an increase along the lines of the current rate of energy consumption, would mean that the world will need to produce the

equivalent of four times the current energy production of Saudi Arabia. The rise in demand and supply will lead to an increased amount of carbon emissions entering the atmosphere, thereby accelerating climate change. Hence, we need to make more efficient changes and investigate alternative sources of energy to mitigate this.

Mr Koh argued that current development and investment in new and renewable energy production is uncertain particularly in the present global financial crisis. This is coupled with the other effects of the global economic crisis, which has seen the price of oil fall, meaning that governments can afford to buy more oil and stockpile more oil. Southeast Asia is made up of small- and medium-sized states, and has weathered the current economic crisis comparatively well. It is also fortunate in having indigenous and varied natural resources including new and renewable energy sources. This allows for the region to explore various paths to energy production including nuclear energy. This is particularly needed in the coming decades as economies and populations grow significantly.

Finally, Mr Koh focused on governments in Southeast Asia and how they are pessimistic about the ongoing Copenhagen process, because developing states will not compromise on their economic development through the reduction of energy use. He stated that if one were to study electricity and heat generation in Southeast Asia over the coming decades, one will see a projected increase in fossil fuel use including coal. However, as coal-rich Southeast Asia moves towards greater energy self-reliance, the dependence on coal power will increase. Unfortunately at present, there is little evidence of carbon capture and sequestration being economically viable in the near future. In the meantime, Southeast Asia will continue to use increasing amounts of fossil fuels. Nuclear energy is an important energy source that Southeast Asia is looking at to balance environmental security, energy security and economic development. Nuclear energy is seen as a reasonable approach to balance these concerns. There are several Southeast Asian states including Indonesia that are actively engaged in a peaceful

nuclear renaissance, and this has many implications for Southeast Asia and the wider world. He concluded by calling for Southeast Asian governments to clarify their nuclear energy policies and the purpose of other energy policy alternatives to the public. Currently, Southeast Asian governments are championing nuclear energy rather than considering other energy alternatives.

The Role of Civil Society in Energy Security
Ms Lina Alexandra
Researcher
Department of International Relations
Centre for Strategic and International Studies
Indonesia

Ms Lina Alexandra

Ms Lina Alexandra spoke about the role of civil society and the challenge of adopting a state-centric approach with regard to NTS issues, using Indonesia as a case study. She argued that there needs to be a balance between all the stakeholders involved in a particular policy issue. The first question she posed was to ask what the role of civil society was in energy security or insecurity. Every day in Indonesia, people deal with electricity shortages, so Indonesians are directly affected by government policies on energy issues and struggle to carry out day-to-day activities. They are faced with a government that treats this issue as a commodity to increase foreign currency reserves rather than a government that focuses on the sustainability

of their people's lives. Ms Alexandra argues that this is why civil societies should be involved; to make the government aware of people's perspectives on the ground and be able to work in partnership with communities. Simply put, energy insecurity is too important to be taken up by governments alone.

Ms Alexandra noted that civil societies should play a role in policymaking to create a balance and to act as a communication medium between communities and decision-makers—a criterion of a democratic state—where the government is consultative at the grassroots level and civil society is a means through which the two can interact. In Southeast Asia, civil society focuses on how they can empower society through awareness because governments, especially in developing countries, are overstretched in providing energy resources for the people. In the course of her research, Ms Alexandra interviewed various institutions about the kinds of roles they play in the energy policymaking debate. What her research revealed was that they play many different roles dependent upon the types of challenges they face at any one time. Her research found that many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) engage in public education and campaigning exercises, in areas particularly concerning the environment.

In another recent research project, Ms Alexandra investigated the differences and similarities between NGOs in Asia and Europe. Her research found that the main difference between Asia and Europe is the different political systems and conditions. On both continents, there are also local issues that offer different prospects for NGO engagement. The conclusions of her study reveal that NGOs in developing states are involved in building capacity and empowering people at the local community level rather than critiquing policy and lobbying as they do in the more developed states. Another conclusion Ms Alexandra reached was that, in general, Asian NGOs do not become international NGOs; they focus more on engagement with their own governments rather than focus on establishing themselves as international NGOs.

Energy Security: Meaning, Context and Change
Ms Caroline Kuzemko
Economic and Social Research Council Project Leader
Politics and International Studies
University of Warwick
United Kingdom

Ms Caroline Kuzemko

Ms Caroline Kuzemko introduced her presentation on energy security and a problematisation of energy security, through government policy. The contextual background focuses on the energy policy paradigm change or shift in the United Kingdom (UK). The first observation is that energy security is a universally-used term which is potentially problematic in that it can reflect different understandings and implicit policy responses. Ms Kuzemko argued that this makes both material and ideational contexts important to consider. The second observation is that the securitisation of energy at a perceived time of crisis in energy does appear to provide some impetus for political change. She looked at the UK government and its energy policy as a testing ground for these observations.

The first notion that Ms Kuzemko looked at was the idea that energy security is open to interpretation. The first observation she made was how the broad usage of energy security is used in UK-Russia relations, particularly at the 2007 G8 Summit in St Petersburg where energy security rose to the top of the agenda, masking some major differences between nation states. She looked at international security literature and what it offered to the meaning of energy as a security issue. She discovered that there is an absence of any objective measure in security theory and that this is also absent when used politically and in lay terms. She then focused more specifically on energy security and found that there is a dearth of literature on the conceptualisation of energy security.

Ms Kuzemko argued that energy security usage can be categorised into four areas: pro-market, geo-political, sustainable and climate change energy security, and energy security and development. She argued that pro-market notions are found commonly in the UK and European Union policy documents that describe energy supplies as stable and competitively-priced. The geo-political energy security interpretation sees such security as a condition of insecurity, where states are vulnerable to the 'oil weapon' or where there is an over-reliance on other states for energy supplies. The climate change and sustainable energy security debate argues that energy and climate change security are interconnected and that solutions should focus on demand as well as supply. The final category of energy security and development defines energy security as a cheap supply of energy that is crucial to economic development and growth.

Furthermore, Ms Kuzemko argued that in the absence of trade and consumer norms, and agreement within the international community, a more meaningful discussion of what energy security means should be pursued. Ms Kuzemko went on to analyse the development and evolution of UK energy policy over the past 30 years as a way to illustrate the various influences and meanings attributed to different governments' perceptions and policy understandings of energy. She concluded that her investigation found that both ideational and material contexts are necessary to enhance the understanding of energy security.

Discussion

During the discussion, a series of questions were raised about the rise of the use of securitisation and politicisation as terms. These questions teased out whether it is essentially politicking by various interest groups, and whether it is even useful a term, if on one level it can politicise and on another, depoliticise. The response from Ms Kuzemko was that there are hardly any concepts that are not contested. The terms are used to frame an issue in a particular way to achieve certain means to an end.

There were several questions on the development of the various schools of thought on energy security, with a particular interest in the notion of energy security as development, and the audience was interested in understanding where within governments are current debates situated and what this can tell us about ongoing energy security issues.

The debate then shifted to more applied examples of energy security, particularly in the South China Sea and its link to the ongoing political and military tensions there. At this point, discussion shifted to the Mekong region as a notable area where energy development projects have been pursued at the expense of the local economy, which in turn has raised several questions about food security and the impact these projects have on the national economy as a whole. The debate concluded with a discussion on how different actors frame security in ways to achieve their own ends and this leads to different security considerations being made at the expense of others.

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Session III:

Food Security

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Moderated by Professor Paul Teng, Dean of Graduate Programmes and Research, National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, this panel focused on issues of food security, with a special focus on the fishery sector and on ways to study complex interactions within the global food system.

**Food and Nutritional Security—a Fisheries
Sector Perspective
Dr Edward Allison
Science Management Team
Worldfish Center
Malaysia**

Dr Edward Allison

Dr Edward Allison began his talk by thanking the coordinators and recalling how the fisheries industry enables wider connections to all kinds of issues such as food security, trade, governance and even conflict and security issues. The overall mission of Dr Allison's institute is to improve food security and to reduce poverty through improvements that can be made to fisheries and aquaculture—both of which make contributions to food security and poverty reduction in various ways, by managing fisheries more effectively and increasing the productivity of aquaculture.

Two development challenges hence exist within the fisheries sector, as indicated by Dr Allison's presentation, one of which is to develop sustainable aquaculture and the other, to support the continued impact that small-scale fisheries make to poverty reduction and food security. Dr Allison said that within these two development challenges, it is important to make improvements in environmentally and socially sustainable ways. The social ecological resilience conceptual framework can be applied in useful and practical ways, at local, national and regional levels. This involves also looking at different ways in which resource exploitation and other aspects

of the fishery system can be governed using a variety of instruments from outside the sector, as well as those within it, at multiple scales and levels.

Dr Allison introduced the ongoing debates around food security, where some argue that it is simply a problem of food (resource) distribution, while others argue that the world cannot meet its future food needs with current production systems and that we therefore need to increase food production. Still others argue that food sovereignty is paramount, while some insist that it is not, due to advances in the global trading system. In fact, Dr Allison questioned whether or not globalisation may lead to the persistence of food insecurity and poverty in rural communities, since the current economic system requires that people produce food at very low costs and this keeps certain individuals and communities trapped in poverty.

According to Dr Allison's presentation, there are numerous frameworks currently available for use, although traditional fishery science comes out of a sustainable development framework. Other frameworks include an ecosystem approach, social ecological resilience, sustainable livelihoods, well-being, social exclusion, rights-based approaches, vulnerability, as well as non-traditional security and global environmental policy. Importantly, he asked if we were floundering among frameworks. Each approach has its own epistemic community, language, framework and unique lens through which the issues can be examined, perhaps synergistically helping us to be critical problem solvers.

Reminding the audience of what the issues at stake are, Dr Allison relayed that there are currently over 520 million fishery-dependent people in the world, 80 per cent of whom live in the Asia-Pacific. Fish is therefore a major source of nutrition to many of the poorest people in Asia with more than half of their animal protein coming from fish. The rapid rate of urbanisation and growth of a wealthy middle class has increased demand for sushi, sashimi and other high-end fish goods—with low-cost dried fish found at the other end of the spectrum. However the global economic slowdown has led to recent declines in people's purchasing power.

Importantly, most fisheries in the world supply low-income consumers with food and provide poor people with jobs. Managing such a system sustainably necessitates good policy and will require the strengthening of fishery

governance. One of Dr Allison's slides showed the evolution of fisheries from being lightly exploited to heavily exploited, indicating clearly that as the rate of fishing increases, the resultant yield of fish increases up to a point, afterwhich the capacity of the fish to sustain themselves is exceeded. Approximately 70 per cent of the world's fisheries have by now either reached or indeed surpassed this point, and are therefore no longer sustainable.

Lastly, Dr Allison discussed the effects of climate change on the fishery sector, as well as the effects of extreme events, natural disasters, and endemic and pandemic diseases. Basic human rights issues in fisheries were also discussed and this included land rights and child labour, both of which are also linked to poverty. Dr Allison concluded that it is imperative to be able to engage with the other sectors of water, health, environment, agriculture and energy in a truly multi-sectoral way, and that solutions may indeed lie in successful political engagement.

Complexity and the Food System
Associate Professor Yasmin Merali
Associate Professor of Information Systems
Warwick Business School
University of Warwick
United Kingdom

Assoc. Prof. Yasmin Merali

Associate Professor Yasmin Merali began her presentation by explaining that whilst it is not purely theoretical work, she will nevertheless be introducing a conceptual angle and the utility of using the lens of complexity science to examine food security issues.

The essence of complexity science lies in its rejection of reductionist, linear causal assumptions, and in its emphasis on holism and synergy stemming from interactions within systems. It is defined by the following inter-related

concepts: (i) the relationships between components of the specific system; (ii) the internal structure of the system and its relationship to its environment; (iii) system or organisational learning and memory; (iv) the potential for emergence—synergistic outcomes as a result of interactions; and (v) change and evolution. Further 'unpacking' the characteristics of complex adaptive systems requires an approach that preserves a sense of the whole, while simultaneously exposing the relationship of elements to one another and to the system itself. Important elements which can be systematically studied include relationships, dynamics and networks, the non-linear nature of feedback (power) within these relationships, and the changing properties of the system that result from such dynamic interactions. It is these rich relationships that produce meaning within the system and therefore, in a complex system, the system as a whole cannot be fully understood simply by analysing its components. Indeed, complexity science argues that processes of analysis that attempt to isolate components of the system destroy what they seek to understand.

From a holistic perspective, Assoc. Prof. Merali explained that numerous definitions exist for food security. They include having access to nutritious food products at all times, leading an active and healthy lifestyle, establishing supply chains that are reliable and resilient, and producing food in an environmentally sustainable way. As Assoc. Prof. Merali explained, this package of concepts does not just involve food but also includes issues of supply chains, lifestyle choices, markets, infrastructure, political economy, values and ethical choices, social well-being and so on. Food security therefore entails numerous discourses, and using the complexity lens is an attempt to take into account the various communities that have these different ways of framing issues in order to find the best way to proceed from the current position, rather than looking for an ultimate 'perfect solution' in a 'perfect world'.

Assoc. Prof. Merali illustrated her point with a case study of the United Kingdom, which focuses on producing food that is more readily available, leading to a reduction of the overall variety and diversity of the food stock. This lack of variety may negatively affect the resilience and robustness of the system. As detailed by Assoc. Prof. Merali, the origins of food production lie very far from the consumer, and distribution thus depends on supply chain networks. Assoc. Prof. Merali explained how this network structure makes the system vulnerable to potential errors along the production/distribution line and enables unforeseen single events (outliers) to have unexpectedly large and sudden effects—known as 'network effects'. While current forecasts are based on patterns of the past, what may be required instead is to look for signals, rather than trends. Such an action would entail looking at contextual conditions, since network systems are dynamic systems and the behaviour of local 'agents' depends on their specific context.

Assoc. Prof. Merali said that a paradigm shift towards the use of a complexity science lens enables moving from a focus on boundaries and interfaces to a focus on relationships. This includes looking at the dynamics of how these relationships play out over time. This means a move from studying correlation and causality—as is currently frequently the case and is fine in a stable system—to studying processes, mechanisms, and structure versus dynamics; moving the discourse to focus on network dynamics. This will enable the inclusion of the middle levels, which are currently missing. Assoc. Prof. Merali asked the question of how the micro level would translate into the macro level, and pondered on whether this question can be answered using tools of language, concepts, emergence, self-organisation and complex adaptive systems.

One powerful way of studying such system effects, Assoc. Prof. Merali said, is by using tools of mathematical modelling. However, many early models have proven problematic—including those at computational levels. New types of 'agent-based' mathematical models may enable the modelling of network dynamics, thereby allowing the study of networks. The power of such networks comes from heterogeneity, links, nodes (agents which are well connected to other agents) and the patterns of connectivity. Furthermore, Assoc. Prof. Merali noted that understanding network form and structure may inform network dynamics. These kinds of studies would focus on the difference of being (i.e. static) and becoming (i.e. dynamic). While they may not provide concrete solutions, they enable the testing of assumptions and thereby move the debate towards robustness and resilience and a focus on complex adaptive systems. Complexity science hence serves as a useful tool for these kinds of studies through the logic of sustainability.

Discussion

A participant posing a question to the panel

The discussion opened with a question relating to the nationality of fish. Dr Allison replied that fish, although do not carry passports, do in fact swim across boundaries. He added that fish governance systems currently designate exclusive economic zones and that each sovereign state has exclusive rights to fish located as far out as the edge of the zones. Dr Allison also addressed the conflicting views about a new system of management called rights-based fishing, which is meant to bring market discipline to fisheries. In reply to another question, he said that there is a continued need for public sector investment in the direct food security-end of aquaculture production while the private sector focuses more on export-orientated growth. There is also a growing interest in public-private partnerships of various kinds, although good examples of this are lacking in the fishery sector.

The discussion then turned to links between health security and food security and Dr Allison explained that a large proportion of cholera outbreaks around the world occur around fishery communities. A country which has cholera outbreaks will usually be banned from exporting fish which exposes fisher-families and communities to new insecurities and vulnerabilities. The problem of obesity as a food security issue was also debated.

Prof. Breslin then commented on what he believes is an evolutionary development in our understanding of knowledge, rather than a paradigm shift, in changes from organisations to networks, from structures to networks and from boundaries to relationships. To this, Assoc. Prof. Merali agreed to a point but added that the shift in question involves talking in terms of structures to talking in terms of dynamics. Examples of models include influence and opinion-making models.

Human Security

Chaired by Professor Richard Higgott, Pro-Vice Chancellor for Research and Professor of International Political Economy, University of Warwick, United Kingdom, this panel focused on the issues of legal and illegal international migration.

Migration and Human Security: Issues and Challenges
Professor Ruth Lusterio-Rico
Department of Political Science,
University of the Philippines,
The Philippines

Prof. Ruth Lusterio-Rico

Professor Ruth Lusterio-Rico introduced her presentation on the labour migration of Southeast Asian women and the security concerns surrounding their international movements. Based on the 1994 United Nations Development Programme Report, human security is defined as the freedom from fear, want and humiliation. Her presentation focused on a comparative investigation into the policies that affect women from Indonesia and the Philippines. In her research, Prof. Lusterio-Rico found that security is defined by these women migrant workers as having an income, a permanent home, education, peace and order, good family relations, freedom, and personal safety.

Prof. Lusterio-Rico went on to chart the course of Southeast Asian women's labour migration, which saw the feminisation of the migrant labour force in the 1990s. This change was created by a series of push factors that included a lack of opportunities in their home countries, and the pull factors

of overseas sectors with labour shortages such as a shortage of domestic and childcare workers. The impact of such labour migration is worth an estimated US$6 – 7 billion per year in the Philippines, and US$2.4 billion in Indonesia. This international labour migration has led to an improved standard of living for families of migrant workers in their home countries but with the knock-on consequences of one-parent families or even absentee parents, where the children are left with another family member while their parents travel overseas for work. The wages earned by the parents are sent back home in the form of remittances to support the education and welfare of their children and the rest of their families.

In her presentation, Prof. Lusterio-Rico noted that the situation within the homes of the employers is difficult to manage because one cannot ascertain whether the women migrant workers are able to earn the minimum wage or whether they are being controlled by illegal recruiters who take a percentage of their wages. As a result, these women migrant workers are a particularly vulnerable group because they are outside of their home country with little recourse to act in a largely informal sector. Prof. Lusterio-Rico argued that there are several challenges to this situation. Among these are the challenges of regulating the flows of undocumented migration and the vulnerability of these women migrant workers in the host country during periods of economic recession or uncertainty. During such periods, these workers can be repatriated without warning and as a result, have limited or no job security.

Added to these challenges is the significant social cost of the 'new brain drain' where medical professionals in the Philippines are recruited overseas for better paying jobs, leaving the healthcare system in the Philippines. This calls for a need for more cooperation between migrant sending and receiving countries to address these insecurities. Finally, Prof. Lusterio-Rico noted that the use of remittances in the community should be investigated to better assist in how these funds can be spent.

Economic Security in Asia: Issues and Challenges
Dr Helen Nesadurai
Senior Lecturer (International Studies) and,
2009 Undergraduate Course Coordinator
School of Arts and Social Sciences
Monash University
Malaysia

Dr Helen Nesadurai

Dr Helen Nesadurai's presentation focused on the conceptual and policy benefits when considering economic security in Asia with governance issues. She explained the notion of economic security and how it is most often used during periods of economic recession and crises. There exists a mixed bag of policies and definitions of economic security that mean different things in various contexts. Dr Nesadurai then explained the important differences between the different schools of thought on the issue of economic security. She then paid particular attention to the traditional or neo-realist school, which sees economic security within a traditional national security framework. For example, one would look at the link between the economy and military spending, or the use of trade and aid for security purposes.

Further along her presentation, Dr Nesadurai linked NTS issues to the traditional security framework. She then explained how this has now linked terrorism to trade security and to the container security initiative for example. Dr Nesadurai then suggested that to include NTS issues, such as poverty, with more traditional notions of security would mean that the notions of the security referent need to be expanded to include the question of who is to be secured. One needs to think about the economic insecurities that affect groups and individuals as well as the more traditional notions of economic security at the macro- or state-level. Many states maintain a link between economic security and job security, which illustrates an NTS dimension.

Dr Nesadurai went on to investigate the benefits of linking security to economic issues. She argued that securitising an issue, such as economic issues, would lead to the danger of it being depoliticised and removed from the bounds of accountability and from the input of the public at large, which would have a knock-on effect on legitimacy and democracy. However, she counterposed the question of whether there was a need to involve such processes when rapid action is needed in the economy. However, problems emerge when certain groups are framed as an economic security issue and it can play out both ways. On the one hand, individuals can frame economic security as job security but on the other hand, these individuals can be framed as a threat to the state. Dr Nesadurai then went on to focus her investigation on Filipino workers in Sabah, Malaysia. She concluded by cautioning that governments are not always responsive to the human security discourse nor has the use of rights language always been successful. She noted in particular the dominant paternalistic application of human security by Southeast Asian governments.

Discussion

During the discussion, there was significant interest in the institutional development in the Philippines of the government agency mandated to oversee its overseas workforce. The discussion then moved to the development of international and regional agreements, in particular the United Nations Convention on Migrant Workers. Prof. Lusterio-Rico observed that it is mainly sending states that had signed up to the convention and that there are very few recipient state signatories with notable populations of expatriated workers. It was raised that sending states have begun to dehumanise their expatriate workers and view them as commodities and that there is a need to recognise the convergence of economic and human security especially when sending states' economic security is impacted upon when their overseas workforce is being ill-treated by their employers.

The discussion then moved on to focus on the concept of economic security and whether it is an absolute or relative term. There was broad agreement that it is a relative concept particularly with the varying experiences of different regions around the world. Before concluding, the discussion moved on to the issue of multinational companies operating in special economic zones in a situation where the host state does not have complete control over the treatment of workers in these particular areas. It was noted that this is a particular concern of sending countries. Finally, it was highlighted that there is a significant pattern emerging over the country destination of choice of workers. Oftentimes they would relocate to countries with broadly similar characteristics; an Indonesian Muslim would relocate to Saudi Arabia for example. The discussion concluded with a focus on which security discourse resonates the most now that these issue areas had been discussed. There were varying opinions and a hearty discussion.

Closing Remarks

Closing Remarks (I)

Professor Shaun Breslin
Professor of Politics and International Studies
University of Warwick
United Kingdom

In his closing remarks, Professor Shaun Breslin highlighted the bigger themes that emerged during the workshop. Among the themes was the crucial question of depoliticisation and whether it is helpful or not, as it remains a political subject. The second issue Prof. Breslin raised was a suggestion to have more people from different parts of the world interacting in places they usually would not consider. The third principal theme discussed was the idea of securitisation. According to Prof. Breslin, it is not a teleological force. The driving questions are who securitises, both within states and among states, and how the quieter voices can be heard and the louder voices be softened. Prof. Breslin expressed his concern over NTS being hijacked by the state framework, enhancing mechanisms of power and capital, and, in the worst-case scenario, becoming a continuation of authoritarianism. He concluded by expressing the need to mainstream NTS and stated that one must always be aware of the world order one is dealing with.

Closing Remarks (II)

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

Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony commenced her closing remarks by underlining that there is an attempt to transform the Westphalian state, underpinned by a normative dimension, of wanting to correct something that is not regarded as correct. There needs to be a change in the language of security, a goal, an ideal to transform, especially in the current hegemonic order, where the marginalisation of states occurs.

She continued by noting that it is good to try to engage in complex, new problems, which do not fit in the mainstream framework. Such engagement allows for space to be opened up and for more voices to be heard. There is no reason for voices from the South not to be mainstreamed. The present architecture does not respond to the prism of state security. Human security does not differentiate and is not mutually exclusive.

Assoc. Prof. Caballero-Anthony concluded by stressing that she was very happy that this conversation was finally taking place and that she looked forward to the future partnership between the Centre and the University of Warwick. The Centre, she noted, is pushing young scholars to look at such problems, to deal with them, frame them and, ultimately, have an impact on both academia and policy.

Closing Remarks (III)

Professor Richard Higgott
Pro-Vice Chancellor for Reasearch
Faculties of Arts and Social Studies
University of Warwick
United Kingdom

Prof. Richard Higgott

Professor Higgott concluded the workshop by remarking that the partnership developed between the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies and the University of Warwick under the Initiative was particularly beneficial in that it is now clear that there are many alternative ideas and perspectives on issues that Europe has not been previously exposed to. He mentioned that Europe needs to consider the rising multi-polar world and take other views, such as the Asian one, into account. Finally, he expressed hope that this workshop is only a precursor to the many collaborative projects between both institutions in the years to come.

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TFCTN-CSGR WORKSHOP ON A NEW ECONOMIC AGENDA FOR A POST-CRISIS WORLD

REPORT OF A WORKSHOP

JOINTLY ORGANIZED BY THE TEMASEK FOUNDATION CENTRE FOR TRADE & NEGOTIATIONS

AND

THE CENTRE FOR STUDIES OF GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONALIZATION WITH THE SUPPORT OF

THE NATIONAL SECURITY COORDINATION SECRETARIAT

4 NOVEMBER 2009
MARINA MANDARIN HOTEL, SINGAPORE

S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY
2010

Contents Page

This report summarizes the proceedings of the conference as interpreted by the assigned rapporteurs and editor. The participants neither reviewed nor approved this report. The conference adheres to a variation of the Chatham House rules. Accordingly, beyond the points expressed in the prepared papers, no attributions have been included in this conference report.

Summary

Morning Theme: The Rise of Minilateralism and the Expansion of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement

The pressures for protectionism have been growing in the wake of the prolonged economic downturn. In spite of the incentives for closing markets, talks are gearing up for a new type of free-trade agreement, one that will knit together three continents. An original P4 trade agreement signed in 2004 between Singapore, New Zealand, Brunei and Chile may expand with the inclusion of the United States, Australia, Peru and Vietnam. A successful Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement could represent renewed momentum for trade expansion in this region in a time of crisis. Whether it will do so depends on the amount of trade openness in the agreement as well as the motives and incentives for potential member states such as the United States and Australia. The push towards a larger minilateral or plurilateral grouping could also represent a solution to the "noodle bowl" effect in the Asia-Pacific region of unscrambling overlapping bilateral and preferential free trade deals.

Afternoon Theme: International Financial Reform—Beyond Architecture, Towards Building Consensus

The current international financial crisis asks us to rethink our answer to an important question: what are our financial systems for? The report on the Warwick Commission on International Financial Reform of November 2009 provides an answer by bringing together a range of world-class economists, political scientists and lawyers to explore how we can best enhance international financial stability through regulation that is sensitive to variations in what countries want from their financial systems. The commission has identified key reforms for a well-regulated financial system. Among these reforms is an emphasis on dealing with boom-bust cycles, introducing macro-prudential regulation, recognizing the need for a better allocation of risks among financial institutions, dealing with issues of regulatory capture, and bolstering national rules with international coordination to promote international financial stability.

Welcome Note from Deborah Elms, Head of TFCTN

This workshop represents an important opportunity to bring together a diverse community of scholars from Europe and Asia to consider a new economic architecture that might arise out of the current financial and economic crisis. The workshop has two parts. The morning session is focused on new trends in the framework of trade that knits together the Asia Pacific and the afternoon session turns to new structures in the world of finance.

On the trade side, we have chosen to examine the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement talks. The planned resumption of negotiations among the eight potential TPP member countries was perhaps the most important announcement coming out of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Singapore in November 2009. The TPP is meant to set the standards for high-quality, comprehensive trade agreements of the future. The scholars on this panel have considered this statement from a variety of angles. The report that follows presents each individual's take on the TPP expansion.

In studying the new financial architecture, we are delighted to be able to release a brand-new study from the Second Warwick Commission. This study, by the Warwick Commission on International Financial Reform, attempts to set new policy directions after careful deliberation and debate among an impressive community of diverse scholars and participants. The afternoon session highlights the critical role of an appropriate institutional architecture to help regulate and allocate risk properly on a global basis.

Further information, including copies of the papers presented at the workshop, can be found on our website at www.tfctn.org.sg.

Deborah Elms, Head, TFCTN

The Rise of Minilateralism and the Expansion of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement

Extending the TPP: The Political Economy of Multilateralization In Asia

John Ravenhill, Adjunct Professor, RSIS, and Professor, Australian National University, examined whether the TPP had the potential to improve the "noodle bowl" of overlapping trade agreements in the region. The proliferation of preferential trade agreements (PTA) in the Asia-Pacific region in the last decade has been primarily a top-down affair, driven by governments acting as much for political-strategic as for economic considerations.

The consequence has been a succession of poor quality, "trade-lite" agreements, towards which the business community—the supposed beneficiary of such arrangements—has been largely indifferent. Usage rates of Asia's PTAs are low, both in absolute terms and in comparison to those for such agreements in other parts of the world. Moreover, if business were to become more interested in utilizing these arrangements, it would run up against the noodle-bowl effect: the need to comply with multiple variants of rules of origin.

In these circumstances, any agreement that has the potential to multilateralize the existing PTAs in the region to bring a semblance of order to the noodle bowl must surely be welcomed. The Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership (P4), on which the TPP will build, is a rarity among Asian PTAs in that its membership has been expanded (to include Brunei). It explicitly allows for further expansion.

And, with some exceptions, it is a high-quality agreement relative to most of those in Asia. But will the TPP really provide sufficient incentives to exporting interests to mobilize against domestic protectionist forces and pressure governments to deliver a high-quality, multilateralized agreement?

One problem is that existing PTAs already link many of the TPP partners. Of the 28 potential dyads in the TPP, only eight are not covered by existing PTAs (Australia-Peru, Brunei-Peru, Brunei-U.S., Chile-Vietnam, New Zealand-Peru, New Zealand-U.S., Peru-Vietnam and Vietnam-U.S.). Many of these relationships involve negligible volumes of trade. The big prize in an expanded TPP would be preferential access to the U.S. market for those countries that have not already signed a PTA with the United States.

It is not difficult to see why Wellington is an enthusiastic supporter—"Securing a free trade agreement negotiation with the United States has been a key New Zealand trade objective for more than a decade." New Zealand's efforts have been repeatedly rebuffed, in part for foreign-policy reasons but also because of the composition of New Zealand exports to the United States. Roughly one-half consists of agricultural products, primarily beef, lamb, and dairy products—items that are particularly sensitive in the U.S. market, as Australia found to its cost in the negotiations for its PTA with the United States.

All the potential members of the TPP are relatively minor trading partners of the United States. Combined, they currently provide a market for only five per cent of total U.S. exports. In the context of the pre-occupation of the U.S. Congress with bilateral trade imbalances, it is notable that the only TPP partners with which the United States currently runs trade deficits are the two countries that are most likely to benefit from improved access under the TPP to the U.S. market—New Zealand and Vietnam. The potential gains for U.S. exporters from trade agreements with Vietnam and New Zealand, which together account for less than one-half of one per cent of total U.S. exports, appear slim, certainly insufficient to mobilize businesses to counter protectionist forces.

The risk is that, should the United States decide to proceed with the TPP, it will again seek to carve out sensitive sectors. Another flawed agreement will result, but one that New Zealand and Vietnam will nonetheless be keen to sign on to, not least for political reasons.

President Obama, on his recent Asian trip, voiced support for the ratification of the trade agreement negotiated in 2007 with Korea, which, as America's eighth largest market, consumes more than five times the volume of exports that the United States sells to New Zealand and Vietnam combined. Nonetheless, he conspicuously avoided nominating a date for submitting the agreement to Congress. This clear signal of the difficult environment in which U.S. trade policy is currently being crafted does not bode well for the TPP, however well-intentioned the USTR may be.

The Tran-Pacific Strategic Partnership Agreement: High Standard or Missed Opportunity?

Henry Gao, Associate Professor of Law, Singapore Management University, provided a critical analysis on whether the Tran-Pacific Strategic Partnership Agreement between Brunei Darussalam, Chile, New Zealand and Singapore (P4) is a high-standard agreement, as its member countries have claimed.

Since its inception in 2005, the P4 Agreement has been hailed as a "high-standard" free-trade agreement (FTA). However, there has never been any official explanation as to how the assessment of the agreement was conducted. Now it is exam time again. Let us see how the agreement performs in "Free Trade 101".

To be deemed as "high-standard", an agreement must satisfy two requirements.

First, it must fulfil the requirements under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Article XXIV and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) Article V on trade coverage and elimination of trade barriers.

Second, it must provide higher levels of market access and less restrictive non-tariff rules than other agreements.

Regarding market access to goods, whilst the agreement provides very high trade coverage, it lags behind other agreements—such as the Chile-Australian FTA—in terms of both the depth of initial tariff reduction and the length of the phase-in period.

In terms of the rules of origin (ROO), the agreement provides for 40–50 per cent Regional Value Content, and this is much higher than most other FTAs and more restrictive. Furthermore, the agreement only allows bilateral accumulation but not extended accumulation. Both of these features, coupled with the use of different types of ROO schemes in the agreement, would put the agreement squarely into the group of more restrictive FTAs.

With regard to the rules on trade remedies, again the agreement proves to be rather disappointing. While many of the more liberal FTAs choose to eliminate or at least restrict the use of trade remedy measures, the P4 Agreement explicitly allows for the use of trade remedy measures so long as the measure is permitted under either the respective WTO agreements or the P4 Agreement itself.

In addition to goods, the agreement also covers services. On its face, the service commitments in the agreement appear to be quite liberal as the agreement adopts a "negative list" approach in scheduling the commitments, meaning that obligations on national treatment, most favoured nation (MFN) and market access apply to all covered sectors in all four modes unless otherwise noted. A closer examination reveals, however, that this is not quite the case. First, the agreement has carved out entire sectors, such as the financial services sector. Second, under Annexes III and IV, the parties can not only maintain existing reservations to their scheduled commitments but can also introduce new measures that do not conform to the basic obligations.

In summary, contrary to the popular claim that the agreement is a high-standard FTA, the P4 Agreement really provides nothing remarkable. In the ever-expanding galaxy of FTAs, it is at best a white dwarf, rather than the supernova that its creators would want others to believe. With a mark of "C−" for market access for goods, rules of origin and trade remedy rules, and a "B−" mark for services commitments, the agreement runs the risk of being kicked out of the "school of free trade" very soon, unless it gets its act together fast enough to turn this missed opportunity into something real.

Multilateralizing PTAs in the Asia-Pacific region: A Comparison of the ASEAN-Australia-NZ FTA and the P4 Agreement

Ann Capling, Professor of Political Science, University of Melbourne, presented a preliminary assessment of the ASEAN-Australia-NZ FTA (AANZFTA) and Tran-Pacific Strategic Partnership Agreement between Brunei Darussalam, Chile, New Zealand and Singapore (P4) by drawing on recent literature on how preferential trade agreements (PTAs) might serve as building blocks to broader non-discriminatory liberalization.

The TPP is intended to be a high-quality, comprehensive regional trade agreement that is consistent with APEC and WTO principles. Importantly, it will be open for accession to other countries and is intended to serve as a building block towards APEC's longer-term goal of a Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific (FTAAP). So what is the TPP? And what are its prospects?

The TPP will expand on the existing Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership (P4) between Chile, New Zealand, Singapore and Brunei. The origins of the P4 can be traced to a U.S. proposal in 1998 for the negotiation of a preferential trade agreement (PTA) between Australia, New Zealand, Chile, Singapore and the United States, intended at that time to spur Asian members of APEC into action on trade liberalization. For different reasons, Australia, Chile and the United States did not proceed, leaving New Zealand and Singapore to negotiate a bilateral trade agreement. Chile's subsequent interest in negotiating bilateral PTAs with New Zealand and Singapore led the three governments to propose a trilateral PTA. The proposal was launched at the 2002 APEC Leaders Summit, negotiations commenced in 2003 and, prior to the final round of negotiations in 2005, Brunei Darrusalam asked to participate. The final P4

was initiated at the 2005 APEC Trade Ministers Meeting and it entered into force in 2006. During the early stages of negotiations, there was agreement among the parties that they should aim to develop a high-quality, ambitious model agreement that was open to other nations to join in the future.

The P4 agreement is the first multi-party trade agreement to link three different continents: Asia, Australia and South America. The P4 is comprehensive in that it includes provisions on market access for trade in goods and related rules (e.g. customs procedures, rules of origin, sanitary and phytosanitary measures, technical barriers to trade, and trade remedies), trade in services, intellectual property, government procurement, competition policy, and dispute settlement. It also includes agreements on cooperation in matters relating to labour and the environment. However, it does not include a separate chapter on investment, and negotiations on investment and financial services were scheduled to commence two years after the P4 came into effect. This will now be on the agenda of the TPP negotiations.

However, one cannot assume that the current structure and design of the P4 would be the same for a new, larger membership Trans-Pacific Partnership. In particular, it is not clear that the TPP would be a genuine regional PTA, that is, an agreement with a single tariff schedule for each country with tariff commitments that would apply equally to all other parties and with eligibility for these commitments determined by regional Rules of Origin (ROOs). In addition, much of the trade between the proposed TPP partners is already covered by existing bilateral PTAs and the potential gain to the United States of securing deals with Brunei, Vietnam and New Zealand through the TPP is likely to be very small. In that sense, the TPP may have difficulty in attracting the kind of business support in the United States that would be necessary to counter protectionist forces that currently hold sway in Congress.

Nonetheless, a TPP that included the United States as well as countries from East Asia, Oceania, and Latin America could well prove to be an attractive vehicle for multilateralizing regionalism in the Asia Pacific, and could serve as a catalyst for broader developments. Certainly, the "bottom-up" and incremental approach of the TPP is likely to be more politically feasible than the FTAAP proposal, which is a distant prospect. Moreover, it is a welcome addition to other

initiatives within APEC that are aimed at harmonizing PTAs with a high standard, consistent with APEC's commitment to "open regionalism" and WTO norms and rules. These other initiatives include the development of non-binding "model measures" for PTAs as well as the promotion of analytical work that explores how existing PTAs might be merged or "docked" with a view to enlarging existing agreements.

From P4 to TPP: Explaining Expansion Interests In the Asia Pacific

Deborah Elms, Assistant Professor, RSIS, and Head, Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade and Negotiations, investigated why the United States had announced plans to move ahead with TPP negotiations.

The ambiguity in U.S. President Barack Obama's statement on 13 November 2009 on the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) talks mirrors the somewhat torturous path in American trade policy to date on this topic. In his speech in Tokyo, President Obama said, "The United States will also be engaging with the Trans-Pacific partnership countries with the goal of shaping a regional agreement that will have broad-based membership and the high standards worthy of a 21st century trade agreement."

Listeners in the audience could be forgiven for confusion. Was the United States in or out? What did the president mean by "engage"?

It was left to U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) Ron Kirk to clarify the position the next morning at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings in Singapore. When he unambiguously announced that the United States was going to participate in formal negotiations, his statement was met with applause from trade officials and business leaders in the room.

The United States first committed to the TPP talks under USTR Susan Schwab in the final months of the George W. Bush Administration. Her team at USTR had determined that joining negotiations with the P4 countries of Singapore, New Zealand, Chile and Brunei would signal American interest in Asia. In the wake of the U.S. announcement, Australia, Peru and Vietnam also decided to join the talks. While the P4 agreement is not perfect, it remains a useful platform for creating an expanded trade network in the Asia Pacific.

The P4 agreement has been viewed as broadly comprehensive and high quality. It includes liberalization on all tariff lines for Chile, Singapore and New Zealand, and 99 per cent for Brunei (phased in over time). The services chapter contains a negative list. Some of the 20 chapters include sanitary and phytosanitary standards (SPS), technical barriers to trade (TBT), competition policy, intellectual property rights, government procurement, and dispute settlement. It contains some labour and environmental provisions in a separate MOU. Two additional chapters on financial services and investment were to be completed within two years of the agreement. Critically, and unusually, the document also included an accession clause to allow other economies to join the agreement in the future.

Schwab deliberately left the outlines of the TPP negotiations vague. She did not want to tie down the next White House. The first round of negotiations was scheduled for March 2009, on the assumption that the incoming administration could put their own "stamp" on the talks. Instead, the talks were postponed, pending a thorough review of U.S. trade policy.

The outcome of that review was in considerable doubt all the way up to Obama's departure for Asia in November 2009. Although officials at USTR argued vigorously for a strong U.S. commitment to Asia, it was not clear whether the TPP was the appropriate vehicle for engagement, nor was it clear whether the U.S. ought to be committing to any further trade liberalization talks at all. After all, three existing free trade agreements (including one with South Korea) were still waiting for the right time for ratification by Congress.

Enthusiasm for additional trade is at a near-record low in the wake of the economic downturn. Businesses had not been actively lobbying officials to pick up the TPP negotiations. The economic outcomes of a deal with the eight states will be modest. While the United States already has bilateral deals in place with most of the TPP member states, the two without agreements (Vietnam and New Zealand) come with a host of challenges. For example, opening the American market to further imports of New Zealand dairy products will be quite difficult, as will negotiations over textiles and footwear with Vietnam.

Nonetheless, by early November, the momentum had shifted in favour of action on the TPP. Three factors appear to have been key. The first was the signing of the free trade agreement between the European Union and South Korea. This galvanized businesses to argue much more forcefully in favour of an active U.S. approach to trade in Asia.

Second, alternative economic configurations in Asia, like ASEAN + 3 or ASEAN + 6, were starting to pick up steam. If the 10 countries of Southeast Asia in ASEAN could combine in a meaningful way with the +3 countries of China, Japan and South Korea or the +6 members of Australia, New Zealand and India, the United States risked being shut out of Asian markets. Japan's proposal for an East Asian Community or Australia's Asia Pacific Community ideas will further marginalize the United States.

Finally, the TPP gave the United States a seat at the economic table in Asia in a way that these alternatives did not. It represented a better platform for meaningful engagement than the only remaining configuration—somehow coaxing APEC to do more.

As a result, the United States has decided to press ahead with negotiations in the TPP. They will not be easy. The U.S. has to convince a sceptical public and Congress to embrace further market access and harmonization of existing rules of trade. It will need to cajole the TPP partners into accepting bargains on some items—like stronger labour and environmental rules—than most would prefer. Lastly, it will have to make the final package attractive enough to encourage other states to join in future tranches of negotiations. If the TPP includes only the current eight states, it will not lead to the major changes in the economic structure in the Asia Pacific that its backers hope to achieve.

International Financial Reform: Beyond Architecture, Towards Building Consensus

Warwick Commission on International Financial Reform

Len Seabrooke, Professor, University of Warwick, and Director of Studies for the Second Warwick Commission, introduced the five key principles in the commission report. These include the need for macro-prudential regulation, "right-sizing" of financial institutions and importance of regulatory capture, the importance for host-country regulation, taking appropriate steps to improve risk allocation, and the importance of empowering the Financial Stability Board (FSB) as key coordinator. The purpose of the commission report, according to Seabrooke, was to prescribe some form of regulations that were aimed to balance risk and returns as well as to smooth out economic boom and bust periods.

Heribert Dieter, Senior Fellow at the German Institute for International Security Affairs, detailed the second principle in the commission report: the importance of the "right sizing" of finance and regulatory capture. He noted that many financial institutions had grown too big, insofar that the collapse of banks resulted in stress for the entire economy, as in the case of AIG. "Right-sizing" was imperative to prevent the problem of institutions that were "too big to bail", as these institutions had become too "big to fail". Lehman Brothers Bank, for example, was "too big to fail", and Dieter opined that the bank's failure was the culmination point of many years of mismanagement in the financial sector. The concept of right sizing finance, therefore, was to make the bank small enough for market access.

The third principle in the commission report was host-country regulation. Dieter explained that the aim of this principle was to empower national regulators. Unlike host-country regulation, home-country regulation contained inherent risk where the financial institutions might be too big for the home country. The three banks in Iceland—Landsbanki, Glitnir and Kaupthing—were cited as examples of banks that had to be rescued after the deterioration of their funding positions. In 2003, these banks had issued loans that amounted to 200 per cent of the country's GDP.

By 2007, the issuance of loans had increased to 900 per cent of the GDP. The commission report recommended that financial institutions needed to establish subsidiaries instead of relying on branches under home-country regulation, as this would enable countries with financial power to use financial institutions as tools of foreign economic policy. Hence, host-country regulation not only enhanced the link between a financial system and national welfare objectives but it also ensured risk allocation.

Seabrooke continued the presentation by expounding on the fourth and the fifth principles of risk allocation and empowering the FSB as key coordinator. Risk should be differentiated by function, institution and behaviour. Regulation should be geared towards the segmentation of institutions according to their capacity to absorb risk. Greater segmentation will result in greater transparency on the financial market behaviour for regulators, as well as facilitating better information sharing between countries.

The presentation ended with the description of the FSB, which was established by the G20 in April 2009 as a successor to the Financial Stability Forum created by the G7 in 1999. It was designed primarily to facilitate networks of cooperation among financial officials and regulators. The FSB could be made accountable to the Global Economic Council proposed by the UN Commission or International Monetary and Financial Committee of the IMF.

The Political Economy of Regulatory Capture

Seabrooke provided insights to the dominance of certain ideas and practices in a financial system. Next, Eleni Tsingou, Research Fellow at the University of Warwick, gave recommendations on ways to avoid capture by focusing on informal governance networks that have privileged access to policy-making and by encouraging confidentiality rather than promoting transparency. Financial institutions should adopt host-country rules that may allow for intellectual diversity and for more explicit links between finance and the "real" economy. Tsingou noted that the power of "groupthink" and its failings could be assessed by looking at professional interaction.

In conclusion, there were multiple explanations for the dominance of certain ideas and practices in financial systems, of which one was intellectual capture. As such, financial diversity and stability would be needed to overcome groupthink. Research into competition among professions revealed that there was diversity in groupthink and financial market behaviour required diversity to be sustainable.

Discussion

Charles Adams, Visiting Professor at the Lee Kwan Yew School of Public Policy in Singapore, summarized the discussion by asking a few pertinent questions with regard to the commission report. Would the international architecture of G20 replace the G7 and G8? How much capital would be needed for each sector if the cross-section approach were adopted for the capital standard? How would the financial system link capital ratio to the business cycle, and what would be the criteria for benchmarking this linkage? With regard to the right sizing of financial institutions, Adams asked the panel what the future would be like for financial institutions and if there should be a separation of commercial and security banking.

Finally, Adams opined that the recent global financial crisis was attributed to global imbalances and flawed monetary policies. As such, there would be little that supervision or rules could do when the macroeconomics prudential were flawed.

Agenda

Wednesday, 4 November 2009

0800 – 0900 **Registration**

0900 – 0915 **Opening / Welcome Address**

0915 – 0930 **Morning Theme: The Rise of Minilateralism and the Expansion of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement(TPP)**

Session I – Extending the TPP: The Political Economy of Multilateralization
John Ravenhill, Professor, Australia National University

0930 – 0945 **Session II—The Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement: High Standard or Missed Opportunity Delivered by Dr Deborah Elms**
Henry Gao, Associate Professor, Singapore Management University

0945 – 1000 **Session III—Multilateralizing PTAs in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Comparison of the ASEAN - Australia-NZ FTA and the P4 Agreement**
Ann Capling, Professor, University of Melbourne

1000 – 1015 **Session IV—From the P4 to the TPP: Explaining Expansion Interests in the Asia-Pacific**
Deborah Elms, Head, Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade & Negotiations

1015 – 1030 **Break**

1030 – 1230 **Q&A**

1230 – 1400 **Lunch**

1400 – 1430 **Afternoon Theme: International Financial Reform: Beyond Architecture, Towards Building Consensus**

Session V—International Financial Reform: Beyond Architecture, Towards Building Consensus
Leonard Seabrooke, Professor, University of Warwick

Herbert Dieter, Senior Fellow German Institute for International and Security Affairs & Member

1430 – 1500 **Session VI – Political Economy of Regulatory Capture**
Leonard Seabrooke, Professor, University of Warwick

Eleni Tsingou, Research Fellow & Programme Manager of GARNET

1500 – 1530 **Discussion**
Discussant *Charles Adams*, Visiting Professor, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy

1530 – 1545 **Break**

1545 – 1645 **Q&A**

1645 – 1700 **Closing Remarks**
Deborah Elms, Assistant Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

Richard Higgott, Pro-Vice Chancellor, University of Warwick

List of Speakers and Moderators

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About CENS

What is CENS?

The Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) is a research unit of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Established on 1 April 2006, CENS is devoted to rigorous policy-relevant analysis of a range of national security issues. The CENS team is multinational in composition, comprising both Singaporean and foreign analysts who are specialists in various aspects of national and homeland security affairs.

Why CENS?

In August 2004, the Strategic Framework for National Security outlined the key structures, security measures and capability development programmes that would help Singapore deal with transnational terrorism in the near and long term.

However, strategizing national security policies requires greater research and understanding of the evolving security landscape. This is why CENS was established to increase the intellectual capital invested in strategizing national security. To this end, CENS works closely with not just other RSIS research programmes, but also national security agencies such as the National Security Coordination Secretariat within the Prime Minister's Office.

What research does CENS do?

CENS aspires to be an international research leader in the multi-disciplinary study of the concept of resilience in all its aspects, and in the policy-relevant application of such research in order to promote Security within and beyond Singapore.

To this end, CENS conducts research in four main domains:

- **Radicalization Studies**
  The multi-disciplinary study of the indicators and causes of violent radicalization, the promotion of community immunity to extremist ideas and best practices in individual rehabilitation. The assumption being that neutralizing violent radicalism presupposes individual and community resilience.

- **Social Resilience**
  The systematic study of the sources of—and ways of promoting—the capacity of globalized, multicultural societies to hold together in the face of systemic shocks such as diseases and terrorist strikes.

- **Homeland Defence**
  A broad domain encompassing risk perception, management and communication; and the study of best practices in societal engagement, dialogue and strategic communication in crises. The underlying theme is psychological resilience, as both a response and antidote to, societal stresses and perceptions of vulnerability.

- **Futures Studies**
  The study of various theoretical and conceptual approaches to the systematic and rigorous study of emerging threats, as well as global trends and opportunities—on the assumption that resilience also encompasses robust visions of the future.

How does CENS help influence Rational Security Policy?

Through policy-oriented analytical commentaries and other research output directed at the

national security policy community in Singapore and beyond, CENS staff members promote greater awareness of emerging threats as well as global best practices in responding to those threats. In addition, CENS organizes courses, seminars and workshops for local and foreign national security officials to facilitate networking and exposure to leading-edge thinking on the prevention of, and response to, national and homeland security threats.

How does CENS help raise public awareness of National Security issues?

To educate the wider public, CENS staff members regularly author articles in a number of security and intelligence-related publications, as well as write op-ed analyses in leading newspapers. Radio and television interviews have allowed CENS staff

to participate in and shape the public debate on critical issues such as radicalization and counter-terrorism, multiculturalism and social resilience, as well as the perception, management and mitigation of risk.

How does CENS keep abreast of cutting edge National Security research?

The lean organizational structure of CENS permits a constant and regular influx of Visiting Fellows of international calibre through the Distinguished CENS Visitors Programme. This enables CENS to keep abreast of cutting edge global trends in national security research.

For more on CENS
Log on to **www.rsis.edu.sg** and follow the links to **"Centre of Excellence for National Security".**

About the Centre for NTS Studies

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

To fulfil this mission, the Centre aims to:

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

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

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

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

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

Our Research

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our Output

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

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

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

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

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

* 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 TFCTN

The Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade & Negotiations (TFCTN) is a policy research centre at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University. The Centre is dedicated to improving the process of international negotiations, with a particular focus on increasing capabilities and access for developing states. The Centre uses rigorous empirical research to create new ideas and to generate informed debate leading to practical policy alternatives for improving global negotiations on trade and economic issues.

The Centre also conducts a wide range of activities designed to increase capabilities and build sustainable capacity for effective participation in negotiations for states in the Asia-Pacific region. The audience for these events includes not only a wide range of government officials but also business leaders, policy advocates, academics and researchers, members of the media, and the wider public in Singapore and beyond.

The Centre fulfills its mission by creating high-quality, empirically grounded research and objective analysis. Results of our research are disseminated through a series of capacity building and training courses; seminars, workshops and conferences; books and journal articles; working papers, policy briefs and commentaries; op-ed columns; a resident fellows programme; and the RSIS website. Centre staff work collaboratively with researchers and practitioners around the world to increase the impact of the research and capacity building activities.

The Centre's focus is trade and economic negotiations and policy. Centre staff consider not only economic factors, but also political and legal interests. Research topics include bargaining in the World Trade Organization (WTO), other multilateral and regional economic organizations, various regional and bilateral free trade agreements, international trade rules, liberalization measures, regulatory policy, development, intellectual property rights, and investment and competition policy.

The Centre was created in 2008 with a generous initial donation from the Temasek Foundation. The Temasek Foundation was founded on the principle that the development of human capacity is key to Asia's development prospects. Additional support for the Centre is provided by foundation grants, corporate donations and individual donors.

The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) serves as the institutional home for the Centre. RSIS is an autonomous graduate school of international affairs as well as one of the leading independent think tanks in the Asia-Pacific region. It offers master's and Ph.D. courses in international political economy, international relations, strategic studies, and Asian studies. RSIS is located in Nanyang Technological University (NTU) in Singapore.

About WISI

The Warwick International Security Initiative (WISI) at the University of Warwick, U.K was formally established in July 2007 and seeks to consolidate information on research expertise, contacts and activities, in order to promote greater inter-disciplinary research activity and collaborative funded research applications. This began with a Security Away Day back in September 2007, leading on to a number of more focused seminar workshops throughout 2008.

Led by Professors Richard Higgott and Stuart Croft from PAIS, these workshops are interested in engaging possible ways in collaborative efforts across disciplines. Since 2008, WISI has been focused on generating research collaborations and research seminars.

For more information on WISI

Log on to **www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/cross_fac/ security/**

About RSIS

The **S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)** was established in January 2007 as an autonomous School within the Nanyang Technological University. RSIS's mission is to be a leading research and graduate teaching institution in strategic and international affairs in the Asia Pacific. To accomplish this mission, it will:

- Provide a rigorous professional graduate education in international affairs with a strong practical and area emphasis

- Conduct policy-relevant research in national security, defence and strategic studies, diplomacy and international relations

- Collaborate with like-minded schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence

Graduate Training in International Affairs

RSIS offers an exacting graduate education in international affairs, taught by an international faculty of leading thinkers and practitioners. The Master of Science (MSc) degree programmes in Strategic Studies, International Relations, and International Political Economy are distinguished by their focus on the Asia Pacific, the professional practice of international affairs, and the cultivation of academic depth. Over 120 students, the majority from abroad, are enrolled in these programmes. A small, select Ph.D. programme caters to advanced students whose interests match those of specific faculty members. RSIS also runs a one-semester course on "The International Relations of the Asia Pacific" for undergraduates in NTU.

Research

RSIS research is conducted by five constituent Institutes and Centres: the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS, founded 1996), the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR, 2002), the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS, 2006), the Centre for the Advanced Study of Regionalism and Multilateralism (CASRM, 2007); and the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in ASIA (NTS-Asia, 2007). The focus of research is on issues relating to the security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and their implications for Singapore and other countries in the region. The S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies brings distinguished scholars and practitioners to participate in the work of the Institute. Previous holders of the Chair include Professors Stephen Walt, Jack Snyder, Wang Jisi, Alastair Iain Johnston, John Mearsheimer, Raja Mohan and Rosemary Foot.

International Collaboration

Collaboration with other professional schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence is an RSIS priority. RSIS maintains links with other like-minded schools so as to enrich its research and teaching activities as well as adopt the best practices of successful schools.

About the Radicalisation and Violence Programme

The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Foreign and Commonwealth have combined to support a £2.4 million initiative on radicalisation and political violence. This investment is part of the wider research agenda of the Research Councils, notably under the Global Uncertainties initiative. The New Security Challenges Radicalisation and Violence Programme will build on the ESRC's New Security Challenges programme and complements work in the AHRC/ESRC Religion and Society programme and the AHRC Diasporas, Migration and Identities programme. The aim of the initiative is to produce an informed and critical assessment of the diverse causes of 'radicalisation' and transnational political violence. It will also critically engage with uses of the term 'radicalisation'. Commissioning is now complete, and successful projects examine social, political and religious dynamics in and across particular countries and regions; and thematic issues that cut across geographically defined regions, providing comparisons with different forms of violent and non-violent movements.

For more information on ESRC

Log onto **http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/research/nsc/**

About NSCS

The National Security Coordination Secretariat (NSCS) was set up in the Prime Minister's Office in Jul 2004 to facilitate national security policy coordination from a Whole-Of-Government perspective. NSCS reports to the Prime Minister through the Coordinating Minister for National Security (CMNS). The current CMNS is the Deputy Prime Minister Professor S. Jayakumar, who is also Minister for Law.

NSCS is headed by the Permanent Secretary for National Security and Intelligence Coordination (NSIC). The current Permanent Secretary for NSIC is Mr Peter Ho, who is concurrently Head of Civil Service and Permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs.
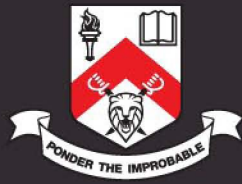
NSCS provides support to the ministerial-level Security Policy Review Committee (SPRC) and Senior official-level National Security Coordination Committee (NSCCom) and Intelligence Coordinating Committee (ICC). It organizes and manages national security programmes, one example being the Asia-Pacific Programme for National Security Officers. NSCS also funds experimental, research or start-up projects that contribute to our national security.

NSCS is made up of two components: the National Security Coordination Centre (NSCC) and the Joint Counter-Terrorism Centre (JCTC). Each centre is headed by a director.

NSCC performs three vital roles in Singapore's national security: national security planning, policy coordination and anticipating strategic threats. As a coordinating body, NSCC ensures that government agencies complement each other, and do not duplicate or perform competing tasks.

JCTC is a strategic analysis unit that compiles a holistic picture of terrorist threat. It studies the levels of preparedness in areas such as maritime terrorism and chemical, biological and radiological terrorist threats. It also maps out the consequences should an attack in that domain take place.

More information on NSCS can be found at **www. nscs.gov.sg**

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