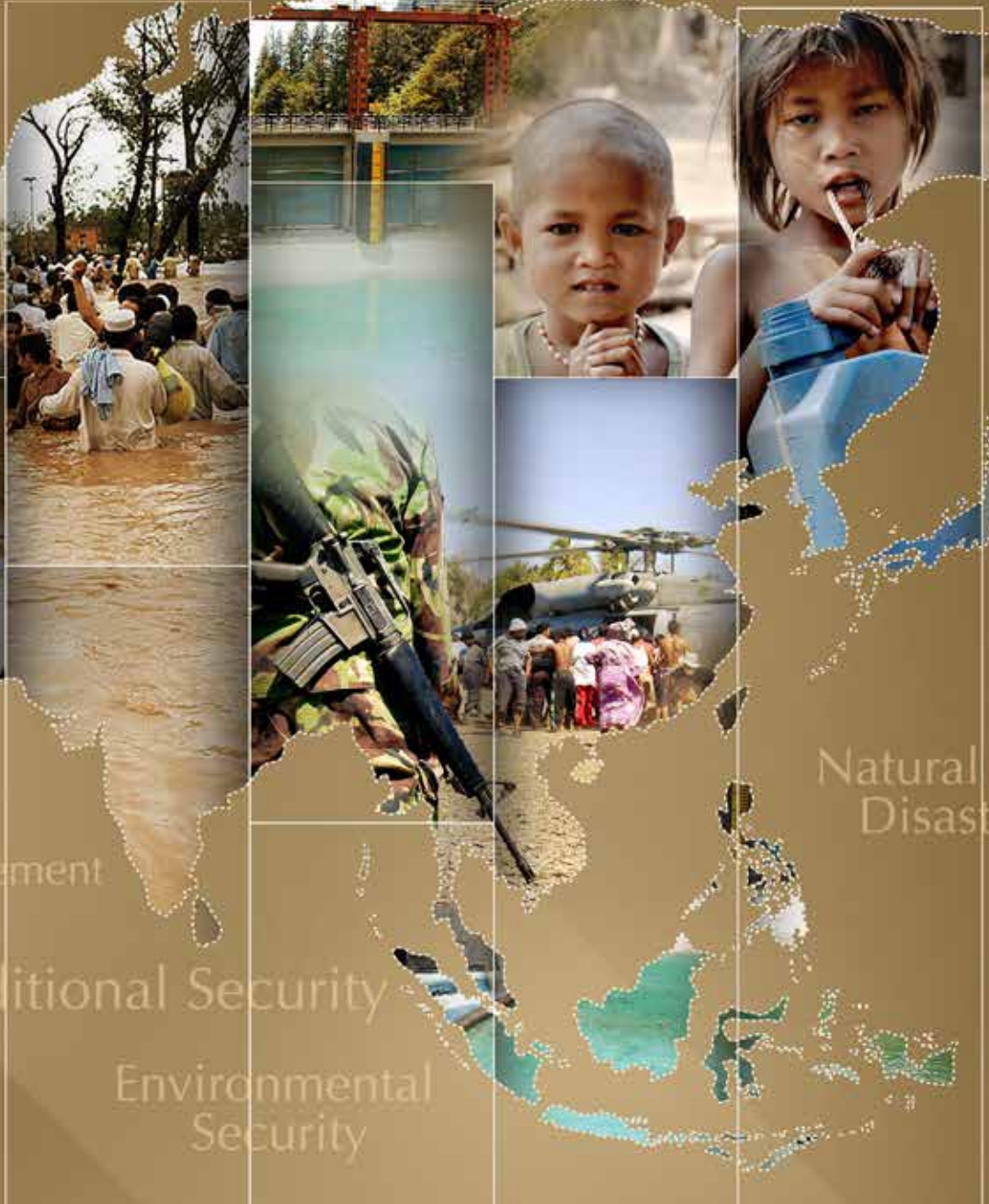Economic Security

Climate Change

Energy

Conflict Management

Non-Traditional Security

Environmental Security

Natural Disasters

Policy Roundtable on Asian Non-Traditional Security
30–31 July 2012

Organised by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS); the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies and the Center for Non-Traditional Security and Peaceful Development Studies (NTS-PD) at Zhejiang University

CENTRE FOR
NON-TRADITIONAL
SECURITY STUDIES

PONDER THE IMPROBABLE

POLICY ROUNDTABLE ON
ASIAN NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY

REPORT

ORGANISED BY

CENTER FOR REGIONAL SECURITY STUDIES (CRRS),
CHINESE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES (CASS)

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

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY (NIIS),
CHINESE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES (CASS)

CENTER FOR NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY AND
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S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (RSIS)
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Executive Summary

On 30–31 July 2012, a Policy Roundtable on Asian Non-Traditional Security was held at the Hotel Novotel Beijing Peace, China, with the aim of sharing the research findings of participating institutions. The Roundtable was organised by the Center for Regional Security Studies (CRSS), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS); the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS); the National Institute of International Strategy (NIIS), CASS; and the Center for Non-Traditional Security and Peaceful Development Studies (NTS-PD), Zhejiang University.

The Roundtable focused on the following themes: (1) climate change, environmental security and natural disasters; (2) economic crises and human security; (3) energy and human security; and (4) multilevel approaches to human security and conflict management.

Non-traditional security (NTS) and human security continue to gain traction in the region. Against such a backdrop, the Roundtable provided a significant opportunity for the various actors to come together to understand the NTS issues that are most salient to Asia, to share experiences and lessons in dealing with NTS challenges in the region, and to seek opportunities and entry points for cooperation. Definitional issues, governance, and NTS developments in China were some of the issues that were highlighted, as summarised below.

- **Due to the political sensitivities associated with the notion of 'human security', countries in the region are more receptive to the concept of 'non-traditional security'.**

Human security presents a new paradigm for understanding the challenges faced by societies. While the traditional notion of security is centred on the security of the state, human security argues that people should be the referent object of security. The implications of such a framework are viewed by some as intrusive of state sovereignty. Many countries in East Asia are thus wary of promoting the concept of human security. This stance is manifested in the cautious attitude taken towards the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP), a concept that is essentially a further development of human security.

In view of the region's concerns over the notion of human security and its implications for sovereignty, NTS is a more palatable concept. The focus of NTS is on the nature of the threats facing countries, communities and individuals, and it thus presents a more comprehensive view on shifting the security referent. By broadening the scope of security, NTS seeks to accurately capture the vulnerabilities that increasingly threaten the security of states and populations today. It provides a framework through which to discuss and analyse emergent issues such as health emergencies, financial crises, natural disasters, nuclear pollution, political instability and food shortages.

One implication of the expanding scope of security is the involvement of more actors. In traditional security paradigms, the state typically monopolises the provision of public goods including security. However, in dealing with NTS challenges, non-state actors may in some cases have the more pertinent skills and expertise. For instance, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) play a crucial role in rescue and relief efforts during natural disasters and humanitarian crises.

While the salience of NTS to countries is rising, it must be recognised that it complements traditional security, rather than replaces it. Security should be viewed from an inclusive lens to encompass the state's freedom from invasion as well as people's freedom from fear and want.

- **Effective governance at the national, regional and global level is central to addressing NTS challenges, whether they are related to climate change, global financial crises, energy vulnerabilities or internal conflicts.**

Governance was consistently identified as a key element in managing and resolving NTS challenges, with the climate change issue providing useful examples. Alleviation of strains and adaptation to challenges are important in dealing with the effects of climate change; and effective implementation of the two approaches hinges on good governance at multiple levels. Further examples can be gleaned from the 2007–2008 global financial crisis. It had many NTS consequences, including

an economic slowdown, unemployment, social unrest and overall erosion of quality of life. Addressing the root causes of such problems requires improved governance at the global, regional and national level.

Governance of the energy sector is also of importance to East Asia. To meet growing demand for energy, countries in East Asia import energy from outside the region. This exposes them to vulnerabilities arising from fluctuations in energy prices on the international market and to socio-political problems in energy-producing countries. Cooperation at the regional level is thus vital, and regional institutions could be helpful here in facilitating trust-building and energy trade. It is also important to promote energy efficiency and saving, and national governments could spearhead such efforts. China, for instance, adopted a tiered electricity-pricing mechanism in 2012 to curb consumption, and meet the country's commitment to emissions reduction.

Finally, successful conflict management is also linked to good governance. Human insecurities such as poverty, unemployment, food shortages and human rights abuses, that is, issues that are often the root causes of conflicts, can arise from weak or ineffective governance.

While the need for good governance was recognised, the manner in which that could be realised is more controversial. Countries in the region support the principles of non-intervention and mutual respect for sovereignty; as such, prevention and capacity building are the preferred approaches. There was nevertheless broad consensus that sufficient attention should be given to people caught in conflicts, such as refugees and internally displaced persons.

- **The link between NTS threats and economic development is increasingly recognised, and this has led to NTS issues gaining traction in China, in policy as well as academic spheres.**

NTS issues, in particular, climate change, economic security and energy security, are agenda priorities for China's government as the country recognises that these issues could have compound effects on China's development. For instance, China's fast-paced economic growth results in surging energy demand. As fossil fuels

are the primary source of energy in China, rising energy consumption means higher greenhouse gas emissions, which places China in a difficult position in international climate change negotiations.

At the regional level, China also faces the NTS manifestations of its territorial disputes with its neighbours, such as fishing disputes and tensions over exploration of offshore oil and gas fields. Domestically, weak governance could result in the abuse of power, human rights violations and lack of social protection for the underprivileged. The government has adopted a set of people-oriented policies to cope with such NTS challenges. It has for instance implemented measures to restructure its pattern of development so as to reduce its energy consumption, and thus reduce its energy dependence as well as greenhouse gas emissions.

In terms of the development of the field of NTS studies, impressive strides appear to have been made in China, with numerous books and articles published annually. However, there are many problems that may affect future progress, such as the lack of a clear definition for the NTS concept, inadequate knowledge of the NTS framework, and limited networks for sharing research findings among researchers in the same field. Chinese scholars have realised that exchanges and dialogue result in insightful views and interesting research topics, and are important for the healthy development of NTS studies in China.

Conclusion

NTS represents the evolution of the concept of security in response to the emerging vulnerabilities experienced by human society. It has become increasingly apparent that the threats posed by NTS issues are as urgent as traditional security imperatives, if not more so. To effectively manage the various pressing NTS challenges, good governance and human resilience are essential, as is strong commitment from actors at various levels, from individuals to national governments. The transboundary effects of some NTS issues also require enhanced coordination and cooperation among stakeholders. Regional and international organisations play an important role here as they provide platforms for dialogue and exchange of experience and expertise among countries.

Keynote Speech: Meeting New NTS Challenges

Professor Zhang Yunling
Member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC);
Director of International Studies
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
China

Non-traditional security (NTS) challenges can be categorised into three layers – global, regional and local – according to their sources and the reach of their impacts. Climate change, environmental deterioration, resource scarcity, economic/financial crises and cyber security have global implications. At the regional level, NTS challenges may arise from cross-border conflicts and crime as well as natural disasters and emergency incidents that have transboundary impacts. Domestically, weak governance and political instability lead to non-traditional insecurities.

NTS challenges are often complex and transboundary in nature. Take climate change for example. It not only affects a large number of countries; it also involves different aspects of NTS, including environmental security, energy security and food security. For instance, extreme weather induced by climate change could lead to massive hunger and displacement. NTS challenges like climate change are thus a serious problem for the international community as a whole. To address these types of issues, global cooperation is a necessity, and this has been recognised by the various stakeholders.

As the impacts of global warming have become more pronounced, global efforts to reduce human-induced acceleration of this process have come into being. International mechanisms such as the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and its related agreements and protocols coordinate countries' commitments to addressing climate change. When the financial crisis that began in the US in 2007 snowballed into a global crisis, one of the responses was the convening of the Group of Twenty (G20) summit, the first of which was held in 2008.

International institutions such as the UNFCCC and the G20 are important in that they provide platforms for cooperation and coordination. However, some of these institutions have yet to deliver the expected results, partly because the international community remain divided over points such as how to define international responsibility for NTS issues and minimise external interference and intervention. Such differences were instrumental in the failure to produce a meaningful agreement at the 2009 UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen (formally known as the 15th session of the Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC).

In East Asia, cooperation at the regional level is urgently required, not least because it has been extensively affected by the compound effects of various disasters and tensions. The Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011, for example, led to the Fukushima nuclear crisis, and that in turn had impacts that included a power shortage in Japan and panic among Japan's neighbours over nuclear safety issues. Such consequences highlight the need to strengthen nuclear safety regulation and information sharing on disasters. The killing of 11 Chinese sailors on the Mekong River in 2011 shows that countries need to work together more closely to fight crime committed in shared waters. Also, the resolution of ongoing maritime disputes in the East China Sea and the South China Sea hinges on cooperation between and among stakeholders. Some progress has been made in increasing cooperation on the above issues. Examples include the ASEAN+3 International Conference on Disaster Management in 2010, the Japan-Korea-China Conference on Nuclear Medicine and the ASEAN-China Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime.

NTS issues are among agenda priorities for China's government. In the global NTS discourse, China focuses its interest on climate change, financial/economic security, energy security and food security. In climate change negotiations, China adheres to the principle of 'common but differentiated responsibilities' and is committed to meeting its emissions reduction target. In response to the global financial crisis of the late 2000s, China has made efforts to transform its economy from one that is export-oriented to one depending more on demand-led growth. It has also sought a new development model defined by the use of clean energy and high energy-efficiency. At the regional level, China is focused on the NTS manifestations of its territorial disputes with its neighbours, such as fishing disputes and tensions over offshore oil and gas exploration. Existing cooperative mechanisms have not been able to address the disputes effectively as they lack enforcement capacity. Domestically, weak governance, which results in abuse of power, human rights violations and lack of social protection for the underprivileged, has been a major threat to the human security of the people. In response, the government of China has adopted a set of people-oriented policies.

With NTS issues rising in importance, the government has been encouraging research on them. The result is that the study of NTS in China has seen significant strides made, with numerous books and articles published annually. However, there are many problems that may affect the further development of NTS studies in China, such as the lack of a clear definition for the NTS concept, limited networks for sharing research findings and inadequate knowledge of the NTS framework. To resolve these issues, cooperation with regional and international partners is vital.

Discussion

The divide between traditional security and NTS is a major point of discussion among scholars. Maritime security and cyber security are often discussed as NTS issues in China, but they are categorised in the realm of traditional security in certain other countries. Such cases show that traditional security and NTS do not in fact exist independently of each other. Instead, they could be different stages of manifestation of the same issue. For instance, China's fishing disputes with Japan and the Philippines could escalate to become a traditional security threat if they are not managed properly.

The discussion also focused on China, where NTS challenges are increasing apace with the country's rapid development. Climate change and energy security are identified as priorities for the country as these two issues are closely related to the country's prospects for further economic growth. In particular, ensuring adequate supply of energy to sustain its growth has become one of the most urgent of its NTS challenges. The government has responded with a dual-track solution: improving energy efficiency and saving; and tapping foreign sources of energy. Domestically, it has adjusted its economic policies, transforming its development model towards one that is more energy-efficient and relies more on clean energy. It also encourages its people to change their lifestyles to achieve greater energy savings. Meanwhile, China's energy companies have expanded their engagement in energy-producing countries with the aim of increasing energy supply to China.

Session 1: Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters

The impacts of climate change on Asia were the focus of this session. The first presentation examined the relevance of the relationship between climate change and migration, underlining the complex and multifaceted nature of the links between the two. The second presentation focused on the Bangladesh case, arguing that there is an urgent need to improve the country's adaptive capacity.

Contextualising Climate as a Cause of Migration in Southeast Asia

Dr J. Jackson Ewing
Research Fellow and
Coordinator for the Climate Change, Environmental
Security and Natural Disasters Programme
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Climate change will have a range of impacts on human activity. For instance, shifts in precipitation will exacerbate droughts in some areas while increasing flood risks in others. Such changes have serious consequences on people's daily lives and their production-related activities. Reduced water availability leads to lower agricultural output, which in turn threatens the livelihoods of populations dependent on that sector and leads to people being forced to seek new livelihoods elsewhere. Examples such as these show that it is reasonable to draw a connection between climate change and large-scale population movements.

For countries struggling to cope with climate change-induced migration, adaptation is critical. Adaptation refers to the adjustment of a system in order to moderate potential damage and utilise opportunities. The ability to adjust is the system's adaptive capacity. All countries are subject to the consequences of climate change, but certain countries in the developing world are particularly vulnerable as their adaptive capacity is regularly low and their people's livelihoods are often closely tied to natural resources.

In discussions of adaptation, it is important to recognise that it is not a straightforward issue. Adaptation encompasses a number of factors that are mutually reinforcing; it includes not only measures at the systems level but is also linked to people's capability and resilience in the face of climate change. Precisely because individuals and communities are the ones directly affected by climate change impacts, improvements in human resilience will increase the effect and efficiency of efforts to address climate change.

Also significant in discussions on climate change and migration is the recognition that the link between the two is complex and multifaceted; and that drawing direct causal connections between climate change and migration risks under-representing other important factors. The study of the climate-migration relationship must therefore be contextualised. The natural contexts for migration include natural disasters, sea level rise, shifting precipitation patterns, and changing agricultural possibilities. The social contexts for migration include geographic location and human-induced environmental changes such as deforestation, and urban development and land conversion. Adaptive capacities and personal choices are another important element of social context. When people are able to adapt effectively to climate change, they may choose not to migrate. Others, conversely, might view migration as an effective adaptation strategy. Still others will view migration as a last resort which they are forced to undertake as a result of conditions that include climatic changes.

As cities often have more developed infrastructure and employment opportunities compared to rural areas, they have become the destination of a majority of the migrating population in Asia. In Southeast Asia, the urban population has grown from 15 per cent of the regional total in 1950 to 42 per cent in 2010. The influx of migrants to urban areas has some positive attributes, but has also caused many problems for receiving communities. These migrants can flood labour markets and overwhelm social welfare programmes. Their presence has in

some cases exacerbated environmental degradation and group-identity schisms. Such problems are intensified by existing structural issues faced by cities in Asia such as deficiencies in infrastructure and urban planning capacity.

In responding to migration that is induced at least in part by climate change, it is important then to recognise the complexities and variegations. For example, the ways in which such migration takes place will vary among individuals, as will the attendant security implications. Attention must be given in particular to the impacts of such migration on cities. Contemporary trends and future projections suggest that cities will remain the primary destination for those who move in part as a result of climate change. This will create a host of challenges, including those related to climate change, as well as opportunities for countries in the region.

Security Implications of Climate Change:
A Comprehensive Case Study of Bangladesh

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

Carbon emissions from human activities over the past 100 years have greatly contributed to the acceleration of climate change across the globe. In turn, climate change has affected human development as its consequences have disrupted production activities. The climate change and security nexus thus provides an essential perspective for addressing challenges arising from resource scarcity, conflicts and economic transition.

Climate change has significant NTS implications for Bangladesh, a country identified by many international organisations as one of the most climate-vulnerable in the world. Its climate change-induced NTS challenges include natural disasters; water, food, health, environmental, gender and economic insecurities; and climate refugees.

A major challenge for Bangladesh is water security, particularly with insecurities related to water having serious ramifications for other aspects of the country's NTS calculus. Bangladesh's need for water has continued to increase across all sectors, even as its sources of water remain the same, and the amount of water from the Himalayan rivers decrease (because of the glaciers in the region diminishing). Bangladesh's water security issues include lack of access to adequate and safe drinking water, water-borne disease due to lack of safe water, arsenic contamination, salinity, lack of water for irrigation and cultivation, and irregular discharge of waste-water. As a result of water scarcity, between 35 and 77 million of the 125 million in Bangladesh run the risk of drinking contaminated water.

The effects of climate change also intensify tensions between Bangladesh and India over river sharing. The two countries share 54 rivers but have reached agreement on water sharing for only one – the Ganges. Bangladesh has complained that India's unilateral diversions of water from the Ganges have had negative consequences for Bangladesh, among them, stress on water supply, salinisation and contamination. Climate change-induced decrease of river runoff exacerbates the impacts of the water diversions.

Sea level rise associated with climate change will also have significant consequences for Bangladesh. An increase of just 1 metre will result in 17 to 20 per cent of Bangladesh's territory being submerged. Many heritage sites and the habitats of the Bengal tiger and some rare bird species will be affected. With five out of eighteen important tourist sites in Bangladesh located in the coastal zone, losses will be suffered by the economically significant tourism industry. Sea level rise – by causing coastal erosion, land inundation and salinisation – will also lead to a decline in agricultural output, threatening people's food security, and leading to their displacement. Every year, between 64,000 and 1 million Bangladeshis are rendered homeless due to riverbank erosion alone.

The scale of the displacement exceeds Bangladesh's limited hosting capacity, causing some of the displaced to seek shelter and livelihoods in India. It is predicted that climate change could create up to 26 million Bangladeshi climate refugees. Such migration has already become a source of tensions between Bangladesh and India. Indian border troops have, in some cases, shot at Bangladeshi refugees crossing the border.

Gender represents another important aspect of climate change-induced insecurities in Bangladesh. Women, due to their disadvantaged position in Bangladesh's socio-cultural structure, suffer disproportionately from climate change consequences. Women comprise 83 per cent of the deaths caused by climate change-related disasters. Furthermore, women who have lost their livelihoods as a result of natural disasters may, in order to feed their families, turn to the sex industry. Women and young girls are also threatened by hygiene-related problems and sexual harassment as a result of displacement and lack of fresh water.

Given the serious consequences of climate change-related NTS issues on the well-being of Bangladeshis, the government has adopted the following measures: building embankments and coastal green belts; tidal river management; early warning and weather forecasting systems; cyclone shelters; crop insurance; disaster-resilient housing; floating community lifeboats; and inland pond culture.

However, more needs to be done. Bangladesh has low levels of adaptive capacity, and its management of its existing capacity is ineffective and inefficient. Bangladesh needs to build the capacity of the state, its military forces and the coastal community. It should spearhead efforts to share climate change-related knowledge, technology and expertise – both within its society and with other countries. Establishing a national and regional policy framework and legal regime is another important measure. The country also needs to enhance cooperation and strengthen the role of international organisations.

Discussion

Vulnerability results from many factors, both natural and man-made. Rural areas are usually more vulnerable than urban areas as cities are often given priority in the allocation of resources. However, this does not mean that cities are spared from the impacts of climate change. Indeed, the concentration of economic activities in megacities such as New York and Shanghai has made them highly vulnerable to climate change consequences. Moreover, poor urban planning and low-quality buildings could exacerbate the impacts of natural disasters. For instance, Beijing's drainage system was caught by exceptionally heavy rain in late July, which led to unexpectedly serious flooding and casualties.

Effective adaptation relies on the commitment of the government as well as the people to the task at hand. The government needs to play a major role in formulating and implementing adaptation strategies since it controls more human and financial resources than other actors. Of equal importance is the need to improve people's resilience in the face of climate change impacts. However, some experts caution that emphasising the human resilience aspect could be counter-productive; governments could argue that since the people themselves are adapting in their own ways, there is no need for the state to commit further resources to tackling the problems.

Urbanisation and migration are not necessarily detrimental to human development. They existed even before climate change began to be seen as a challenge. However, urbanisation, and in some cases migration, have turned out to be multipliers of climate change effects; and they have in some instances proven to be hindrances to adaptation efforts. For example, the influx of migrants to urban areas puts a strain on the capacity of cities to provide its population with basic services such as sanitation, transportation, education and healthcare. To minimise the negative consequences of urbanisation and migration, there is a need for improved governance, including better urban planning.

Session 2: Economic Crises and Human Security

Economic crises and their non-traditional security (NTS) consequences were discussed in this session. The first presentation highlighted the complex, often global nature of NTS issues, drawing on the case of China and the 2008 global financial crisis. The second presentation advanced the argument that, in the face of greater uncertainties due to rising global risks, effective governance has generally been lacking.

Governing Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Crises

Professor Yu Xiaofeng
Director
Center for Non-Traditional Security and Peaceful Development Studies (NTS-PD)
Zhejiang University
China

Due to the increasing number and scale of NTS incidents in China, NTS issues in the country have come to be regarded as threats to state security. In response, the country now labels what used to be called 'public crises' as 'NTS crises'. By defining an issue as an NTS one, and thus securitising it, the scope of crisis management is widened; and more options for addressing the challenges become available.

NTS issues are usually non-military and transnational in nature, and involve multiple actors. The issues can be categorised into four types: (1) threats with domestic origins; (2) threats that have their origins in international factors; (3) threats with domestic as well international roots, and which usually occur in frontier regions; and (4) threats arising from a combination of traditional security, NTS and intertwined security issues. Intertwined security is a relatively new concept that refers to the convergence of traditional security and NTS approaches.

China securitises an NTS issue as a 'crisis' when it escalates to become extremely urgent and difficult to manage. The evolution of a crisis could be thought of as comprising six stages: (1) prior period; (2) beginning; (3) development; (4) escalation; (5) de-escalation; and (6) end. To manage NTS crises effectively, there is a need to address the specific circumstances seen at each stage of a crisis.

An NTS crisis could evolve from a domestic problem to a global one, as illustrated by the 2008 global financial crisis. That crisis actually began as a subprime mortgage crisis in the US in 2007. It then spread to other sectors of the US financial system, causing a wave of bankruptcy among US financial institutions, with disastrous consequences for the European financial system and the global economy. Resolving such a crisis requires the commitment of global stakeholders, and in fact the turning point of that particular crisis was the convening of the Group of Twenty (G20) summit in 2009 and the reform of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The preceding discussion suggests that NTS crises are complex and often global in scope, and that resolving such challenges requires higher levels of commitment from the various stakeholders, both at the domestic and at the international level. China, faced with increasing NTS challenges, needs to enhance its capacity to manage such problems; and international cooperation could be critical to its success in doing so.

Global Risks and Financial Crises: Reflections on the Implications for Human Security

Professor J. Soedradjad Djiwandono
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)
Singapore

Despite encouraging signs that a global financial breakup or a depression has been avoided, the world economy is still fragile, with a number of uncertainties still in play, including the European sovereign debt crisis, the recovery of the US economy and the slowdown of China's economy. Regardless of how these immediate challenges are resolved, the global economy is entering a difficult phase in the long term. The environment for economic growth has become less hospitable as the deeper economic and political causes of the financial crisis remain unresolved.

Economic disparity and ineffective governance are two major threats to future global economic growth. Economic disparities at the international as well as domestic level could give rise to nationalism, populism and social fragmentation. To address problems arising from such disparities, international institutions able to provide strong governance of the economy are a must. However, the prospects for improved governance appear unpromising at the moment. Countries failed to reach agreement on trade at the Doha Development Round, and on climate change at the 2009 UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen (formally known as the 15th session of the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change). The struggle of emerging economies for increased representation in the Bretton Woods institutions has also progressed slowly.

In addition, there are other risk clusters – economic, environmental, societal, geopolitical and technological – threatening the global economy. Economic risks include currency volatility, asset-price collapse, fiscal crises and trade protectionism. Globalisation has meant that an economic breakdown in one country could easily affect other countries. For instance, the European debt crisis spread from Greece to other parts of Europe. Sluggish economic growth in the US impacts emerging economies. Illegal economic activities such as illicit trade, organised crimes, money laundering and corruption also threaten the normal economic development of a country. According to estimates, worldwide illicit trade in 2009 reached USD1.3 trillion.

Environmental risks are relevant to the world economy in that natural resources are fundamental to sustained economic growth. Geopolitical risks include threats posed by the collapse of fragile states. Technological risks are linked to information infrastructure breakdown as happened during the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake. Societal factors such as low birth rate and influx of migrants also create uncertainties for economic development.

The preceding discussion shows that economic security is closely related to other dimensions of NTS. Sustained economic growth hinges on many non-economic factors, such as political stability, sufficient resource supply, free trade and a capable labour force. In particular,

improvement of governance at both the macro and micro levels is regarded as key to addressing economic risks. Good governance provides direction and regulation for economic activities as well as coordination between and among different actors. In turn, economic development is conducive for addressing other NTS issues such as poverty, healthcare, and food shortages.

Discussion

NTS threats are a pressing problem for China and the rest of the world, not just in themselves but also because they may intertwine with traditional security concerns. NTS issues could escalate into traditional security threats, and vice versa. However, broadening the boundaries of security should be undertaken with caution as it has important implications. Securitised issues are typically placed at the top of a government's agenda, and they are given priority in resource allocation, including the use of military resources. This means that securitisation could potentially be used to promote a government's agenda. Hence, while attracting attention to, and resources for, public issues, securitisation also risks increasing tensions and controversies.

The 2008 global financial crisis had serious social and political consequences. The visible impacts of the crisis were cuts in government budgets and a surge in unemployment in many countries. As a result, various dimensions of human security were threatened. At the international level, the economic slowdown had implications for the funding of charities and humanitarian activities. There were reports that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) involved in humanitarian relief suffered a considerable drop in donations. At the national level, budget cuts by governments meant reduced expenditure on health, education and essential services. At the corporate level, it led to lower allocations for social responsibility activities. At the individual level, people were upset by the decline, or even loss, of income and welfare services. With the different dimensions of NTS being so interconnected – that is, with insecurity in one dimension having ripple impacts on other dimensions – it is important to adopt a comprehensive approach in tackling NTS challenges.

Session 3: Energy and Human Security

Energy vulnerabilities affecting East Asia were the focus of this session. The first presentation reviewed the state of energy security in the region, and suggested several agendas that should be prioritised to ensure human security. The second presentation discussed issues related to the development and exploration of the Mekong River, and pointed to the need for greater coordination and dialogue among countries sharing the river.

Energy Security in China and East Asia

Professor Zha Daojiong
School of International Studies
Peking University
China

Although China's energy consumption is immense, it still lacks an overall energy strategy. In the country's 12th five-year plan, its energy policy remains ambiguous, and there is no overall plan for the development of its energy industry.

Controversy reigns over whether the government should place a cap on energy consumption. In 2011, China's energy consumption was 3.8 billion tons of coal equivalent. Some experts warn that this consumption pattern is not sustainable, and argue that rising energy consumption should not be allowed to continue unchecked. Against that is the view that an artificial cap on consumption will limit economic growth.

While the country has yet to develop an overall energy plan, it has set several specific targets related to sustainable energy use. For instance, the government plans to increase the share of non-fossil fuels in China's energy mix to 15 per cent by 2020. China mainly looks to three types of alternative energy – hydropower, nuclear power, and solar and wind power. However, meeting the target for non-fossil fuels through increasing the availability of these particular resources will not be easy.

In the case of hydropower, China's dam projects have already strained its relationship with its neighbours due to competition over water and environmental concerns. The proportion of nuclear power in China's energy mix is also not likely to see any large increase. While the 2011 Fukushima incident has not produced any immediate impact on China's nuclear energy activities – existing projects are proceeding as planned – no new projects have been added either. Solar and wind power accounts for less than 1 per cent of China's energy consumption and is not likely to be widely utilised in the near future. State monopoly of the national electricity grid impedes the expansion of wind and solar power. As a result, coal remains the dominant source of energy in China.

Fossil fuels remain the most important source of energy in East Asia. Demand for fossil fuels has risen dramatically in tandem with the rapid development of the past few decades, and the region has had to turn to sources outside of the region to meet that demand. However, East Asia stands at a disadvantage in the international energy trade arena due to several factors. First, there is no major supplier of fossil fuels within the region itself. Second, without an effective regional institution focused on energy issues, the region lacks bargaining power in negotiations with actors from other regions. Third, geopolitical limitations constrain most East Asian countries' choice of energy suppliers. For instance, the US is imposing sanctions on countries engaging in energy trade with Iran.

In order to address the region's energy vulnerabilities, regional energy integration should be promoted. Three channels – tariff reduction, infrastructure projects and simplified customs procedures – have been used in the region. An example is the Asian Development Bank's (ADB) sponsorship of a project focused on the trade and interconnection of energy across the Greater Mekong Subregion. The promotion of regional energy trade not only contributes to the energy security of countries in the region but also boosts the region's exchanges since energy products are also commodities.

With regard to human security issues stemming from China's energy security challenges, some encouraging developments have been seen in recent years. The government reformed the pricing of electricity by adopting a tiered pricing mechanism in 2012. This move contributes to China's emissions reduction by curbing electricity consumption without imposing any additional financial burden on the majority of households. Such a policy also encourages people to adopt a more environment-friendly lifestyle. Some companies have also been compelled by social movements to incorporate the human security perspective in the development of energy projects.

From a human security perspective, energy security in East Asia could be enhanced by pursuing the following four agendas: promoting regional energy trade, improving nuclear safety, encouraging the utilisation of wind and solar power, and valuing the human dimension in large-scale energy projects.

Lancang-Mekong River Basin (LMRB): Reflections on Cooperative Mechanisms Pertaining to a Shared Watercourse

Dr Apichai Sunchindah
Former Executive Director
ASEAN Foundation;
Development Specialist
Thailand

The Lancang-Mekong River Basin (LMRB) is one of the most important river basins in Southeast Asia. It encompasses the six countries of the Greater Mekong Subregion – China, Myanmar, Thailand, Lao PDR, Cambodia and Vietnam – and is home to 60–70 million inhabitants who depend on the basin as a major source of livelihood. The LMRB's significance is also reflected in the range of commercial, navigation and fishery activities taking place in the area.

Given the extensive security and economic interests generated from the Mekong River and the number of stakeholders involved, the management of the river presents many challenges. Equity, participation, accountability and dispute management are major issues. The fact that countries in the Upper Mekong Basin have an advantage over countries downstream of them in terms of exploring and controlling river resources has already led to tensions.

Dam construction is a contentious issue in the LMRB. Criticisms centre on the impacts of dams on the environment, on fisheries, and on water availability in the river's lower reaches. Moreover, some of the dams in China's Yunnan Province have been built on the earthquake belt. Earthquakes could cause those dams to collapse, potentially leading to serious flooding in the lower reaches. Despite the slim probability of this scenario playing itself out, it is still necessary to take the potential risk into consideration when developing hydropower projects.

Managing the LMRB is complicated by its being a resource shared among countries that vary dramatically from each other, in terms of population, economic development, culture, and territorial expansion. Suspicion and lack of trust between and among the countries are thus major challenges. Within such a context, regional cooperative mechanisms are needed to coordinate and facilitate communications and manage disputes. Several efforts currently exist. The ADB began supporting development in the Greater Mekong Subregion in 1992, after the civil conflict in Cambodia ended and peace was restored. Other major actors include the Mekong River Commission and ASEAN. Against the background of regionalism in Southeast Asia, the presence of such regional cooperative mechanisms has further increased connectivity in this region.

Dialogue and consultation would be vital in the case of China's efforts to develop hydropower as a clean option to meet its energy needs. Its dam projects have led to tensions over issues such as the impacts on the huge number of people dependent on the river for their livelihood; and there is a need for a platform to discuss the interests and concerns of all the parties involved.

Discussion

As the largest energy consumer in the region, China's energy security has attracted extensive interest. From a purely financial standpoint, China has very little motivation to turn to alternative energy, as coal is very cheap relative to other sources. Unconventional oil and gas resources (for example, shale oil and coalbed methane; or oil and gas obtained through advanced techniques, such as through conversion of natural gas to oil or coal to gas) have been proposed as alternative sources of energy. However, because of the low accessibility of such resources and the high cost of exploiting them, only 24 out of 62 pilot projects had been deemed worthy of further development. Hydropower is a feasible option for China, but NTS issues related to hydropower projects such as safety and environmental protection would have to be addressed in order to ensure its sustainability. Improving energy efficiency is also important, and here, infrastructure upgrades, such as enhancements to reduce loss of electricity during transmission, could help.

The traditional understanding of energy security as a competition is no longer appropriate. With energy resources depleting and demand for energy surging, cooperation has become of utmost importance. For instance, Singapore does not have oil reserves, but its advanced refining capacity attracts oil-rich countries to cooperate with it. The five-year strategic plan agreed between ASEAN and China is another promising effort. The plan's section on subregional development has substantial points on the Greater Mekong Subregion, covering issues ranging from navigation, trade and commerce, to environment, energy and water.

Joint development of river resources should be carried out through dialogue and consultation. Countries should also strive to learn from each other. Tensions arising from shared rivers are not unique to the Greater Mekong Subregion. India, which is located upstream of other countries in South Asia, faces some of the same issues as China. The two countries may thus find it useful to share their experiences on managing transboundary rivers. Although there are some instances of cooperation between the two sides, comprehensive efforts are still absent.

Session 4: Multilevel Approaches to Human Security and Conflict Management

This session featured perspectives on conflict management and human security in East Asia. The first presentation reviewed the Mainstreaming Human Security in ASEAN Integration project, while the second examined the Rohingya issue. The third outlined the research findings of a Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) study group, focusing on the Indonesian perspective. The fourth presentation argued that 'responsible protection' would be more appropriate than the RtoP for dealing with conflict-induced humanitarian crises. In the fifth presentation, China's civil protection system was discussed.

Mainstreaming Human Security in ASEAN Integration

Professor Carolina Hernandez

Professor Emeritus in Political Science
University of the Philippines (Diliman);
Founding President and Chair of the Board of Directors
Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS Philippines)
Philippines

The Mainstreaming Human Security in ASEAN Integration project was inspired by ASEAN's commitment to building an integrated ASEAN Community. Consequently, the project aimed to ensure that the integration process move along a people-oriented direction. Underpinning the project was the idea that national security cannot be achieved without also ensuring human security. The project was undertaken by two institutes (one from Indonesia, and the other, the Philippines) in partnership with the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). The three-year project (2009–2012) resulted in a three-volume book series assessing the implementation of human security elements in the regional integration process.

The project came across many conceptual and methodological challenges, the most significant of which was that the term 'human security' could not be found in any major ASEAN documents. Hence, the project had to search the blueprints of the ASEAN Community for elements that share the ethos of human security. The

result of that effort was published in the first volume. Certain regional public goods – among them, health security, maritime security, environmental security, food security and individual security from human trafficking – were identified as human security goods. Focus was placed on the human implications of the issues. For instance, maritime security was examined in terms of illegal fishing, overfishing, maritime pollution and the implications for populations dependent on the sea. The analysis highlighted in particular the importance of inclusiveness, arguing that poor and marginalised groups should have equal access to the regional public goods.

The second challenge faced by the project was the region's commitment to the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. The governments of ASEAN countries try to avoid politically sensitive and divisive issues in the integration process; and human security is considered by some as intrusive of sovereignty. The concern then was that the mainstreaming of human security in ASEAN's integration effort could meet with opposition and resistance from member countries. The project thus sought to evaluate the region's efforts in meeting the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on the basis that the MDGs overlap to some extent with human security objectives. Such a study could help uncover effective strategies for achieving politically sensitive and sovereignty-intrusive goals in this region. The findings were published in the second volume. A key observation was that localisation and coordination among countries were essential for success in meeting the MDGs.

The final volume was devoted to initial assessments of the blueprints for the three pillars of the ASEAN Community – the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). Most of the 340 action lines in the blueprints had elements that could be construed as being related to human security, for example, disaster preparedness, social welfare, protection of migrant workers' rights, and environmental protection. The project noted that the regional integration process is

generally beneficial for the human security of the region's people. Greater integration opens up more economic opportunities that creates jobs and provides more funds for social welfare. However, it found that the motivation for integration is still state-centric, suggesting that the mainstreaming of human security still has a long way to go. The project thus called on the region's leaders to review the framework and mechanism for integration so as to ensure the realisation of the promised people-oriented approach.

Multilevel Approaches to Human Security and Conflict Management: The Rohingya Case

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

Security and conflict studies are experiencing a paradigm shift, from 'government' to 'governance'. The traditional approach to security is underpinned by the view that states enjoy a monopoly over the provision of public goods including security. Since the 1990s, the security agenda has been widened to include human security. Under such a view, states are no longer the only security provider; other actors such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and regional organisations also play a role.

The case of the Rohingyas underlines the relevance of such widening of the security agenda. The Rohingya is an ethnic and religious minority from Arakan state, Myanmar. This group, numbering about 800,000, was deprived of Myanmar citizenship in 1982 and expelled twice by the government. Hundreds of thousands of them have fled to neighbouring Bangladesh. However, only 27,000 have become officially recognised as refugees. They face severe human security threats and are identified by the UN as the most vulnerable minority group in the world.

The recent violence against the Rohingyas in Arakan state has again put the spotlight on their plight. The event began as sectarian violence but evolved into organised and large-scale violence against the Rohingyas. There were killings and large-scale arrests of Rohingya men and boys. As a result of the violence, 80,000 people were displaced.

This incident highlighted the failure of Myanmar's government to fulfil its responsibility to protect its people against mass atrocity crimes. The military turned a blind eye to the violence perpetrated by the majority, and access to external humanitarian assistance was denied the Rohingyas.

On Bangladesh's end, the country refused entry to those displaced by the violence. To justify their decision, the government of Bangladesh securitised the issue. The Rohingyas, it was argued, was a threat to Bangladesh's own security. They were portrayed as infiltrators, intruders and even terrorists by the mainstream media. They were also blamed for the degradation of the local environment. NGOs were ordered by the government to stop providing basic humanitarian aid to the Rohingyas. In rejecting the Rohingyas' asylum claims, Bangladesh had failed to meet its commitments to the treaties it had committed itself to. (Although Bangladesh is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, the country has ratified an array of relevant treaties and conventions, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.)

The international community as well as regional actors have acknowledged the systematic persecution of the Rohingyas and called for respect for their right to 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. To resolve the issue, a multilevel approach would be needed. The Myanmar government, which has primary responsibility for protecting the Rohingyas, needs to end the violence. It should also cooperate with international actors to provide humanitarian assistance. The Myanmar government would also have to respect the rights of the Rohingyas in order to prevent future violence. On the part of Bangladesh, it should open its borders to the displaced Rohingyas and allow UN agencies and NGOs to provide humanitarian assistance. UN agencies and NGOs should, in addition to providing aid and assistance, monitor the situation and provide early warning.

Participants of the Policy Roundtable on Asian Non-Traditional Security

Front row (from left to right): *Ms Hideko Katsumata, Ms Clara Joewono, Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony, Prof. Zhang Yunling, Prof. Carolina Hernandez, Maj-Gen. Muniruzzaman (Retd), Ms Lina Alexandra, Ms Liu Yajun.*

Second row: *Prof. Tasneem Siddiqui, Ms Elina Noor, Prof. Guo Lijun, Prof. Yu Xiaofeng, Prof. Han Feng, Dr Mallika Joseph.*

Third row: *Dr Luo Yongkun, Ms Liao Danzi, Prof. J. Soedradjad Djiwandono, Prof. Pranee Thiparat, Mr Thongkhoun Sengphachanh, Mr Ek Sereywath, Dr Apichai Sunchindah, Dr Liu Tiewa.*

Back row: *Ms Lina Gong, Mr Le Dinh Tinh, Dr J. Jackson Ewing, Prof. Zha Daojiong, Prof. Chowdhury Abrar, Dr Xu Haina.*

Indonesia and the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP)

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

The RtoP, unanimously endorsed at the 2005 UN World Summit, comprises three strategic pillars. The first pillar emphasises the responsibility of states to protect their citizens from the four mass atrocity crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing and war crimes. The second suggests that the international community has a responsibility to assist a state and help it build its capacity when it is unable to protect its civilians from such mass atrocity crimes on its own. Pillar three provides for timely and decisive response by the international community when states are unwilling or unable to protect their populations from the specified mass atrocity crimes, using diplomatic and economic intervention, with military intervention as a last resort.

The first pillar is the least controversial and is supported by all countries including those with a traditional understanding of sovereignty. The third pillar is particularly contested. It implies the possibility of the use of military means under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which raises the concern that the RtoP is only a replacement for the controversial 'humanitarian intervention'. In other words, the RtoP is perceived by some as being in conflict with the non-intervention principle.

Against such a background, the RtoP Study Group was convened in 2009 by the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies to examine how the RtoP is viewed at the regional and national level in East Asia and to identify ways to localise the concept in the region.

The Study Group found that countries in the region are still very cautious about the RtoP. They remain concerned about the implications for their domestic interests. Thailand does not want to see the RtoP applied to the internal conflict in its south. Japan is wondering whether the RtoP could threaten its own human security diplomacy. China still sees the RtoP as diametrical to the principle of non-interference and opposes the use of

force under the name of the RtoP. Other ASEAN countries largely share China's views. Given the level of suspicion associated with the concept, there is an urgent need to distinguish the RtoP from humanitarian intervention. The effectiveness of any efforts to promote and operationalise the RtoP in the region depends on that happening.

With regard to the localisation of the RtoP in the region, there are some possible entry points in the region, through for example regional mechanisms such as the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR). In the case of Indonesia, instruments for the implementation of the RtoP already exist, such as Act No. 39/1999 on Human Rights and the country's National Human Rights Commission. However, these instruments have not yet effectively played their role because of domestic instability and separatist movements. In Indonesia, the discourse on the RtoP is largely shaped by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Other government agencies relevant to the discussion such as the Ministry of Law and Human Rights are not heard from. In order to promote the RtoP in Indonesia, it is important to educate civil society groups on this concept as they can serve as a check on government decisions.

In the region as a whole, the RtoP has yet to gain wide acceptance, partly because it is still wrongly perceived as a threat to state sovereignty. Efforts must thus be made to address such lack of understanding and increase public awareness. It is also vital to identify regional champions – civil society movements for example – as their influence could be instrumental in diffusing the norm.

**Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) or
Responsible Protection?**

Dr Ruan Zongze
Deputy Director
China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)
China

Despite unanimous support for the RtoP at the 2005 UN World Summit, it remains a contested concept. The Libyan case demonstrated that the RtoP could be misused by countries for their own political objectives, in this instance, the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime. Moreover,

the UN-authorised no-fly zone and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air bombing had failed to stop the fighting.

In view of the effects of intervention using intrusive and violent means, 'responsible protection' is more desirable than the RtoP. Responsible protection for people caught in conflicts would involve taking the following into account. First, the ultimate objective of any international response should be the protection of people rather than the achievement of political ends. The post-conflict chaos in Libya suggests that efforts are unlikely to be effective when the main motivation is regime change. Second, the UN should be the only international body authorised to carry out the protection mandate. Any operation that bypasses the UN should be considered illegitimate. Third, non-military measures should be exhausted first. Fourth, protection should be seen as a continuum of commitment that includes post-crisis reconciliation and nation-building. Fifth, a review mechanism should be established to ensure accountability for any protection operation.

To fulfil its responsibility to people caught in conflicts, the international community should also rely more on humanitarian diplomacy. Non-military elements should be strengthened in the international response to conflict-induced humanitarian crises. For instance, more funds should be devoted to providing for the basic needs of refugees and internally displaced persons.

Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Governance and Institutional Capacity Building of the Chinese Civil Protection System

Ms Liao Danzi
Research Assistant
Center for Non-Traditional Security and Peaceful Development Studies (NTS-PD)
Zhejiang University
China

The growing challenges posed by NTS issues give rise to the need for new coping mechanisms. While international and regional organisations and NGOs play a critical role in addressing NTS issues, the state remains the primary

actor in this area. Thus, its capacity constitutes a key factor in the management of such issues.

In China, NTS issues are managed through a civil protection system based on two tracks (the government and the military) and multiple levels (government agencies). For instance, during the 2008 Sichuan earthquake, relief operations were directed from the centre by the government and the military, and implemented by local governments and military units.

The emergence of NTS challenges has transformed China's civil protection system. During and immediately after the end of the Cold War, its civil protection system was oriented towards defence against external threats (war). Today, it integrates external defence with disaster response. Other factors behind this transformation include the need to improve administrative efficiency and reduce unnecessary spending as part of China's institutional reforms, the desire to establish a peaceful reputation corresponding to its peaceful rise strategy and the tremendous public demand to strengthen the country's NTS management capacity.

Capacity building of China's civil protection system can be realised through conceptual, legal and institutional means. The broadening of security to incorporate the NTS dimension creates the conceptual prerequisite. The enactment of a civil protection law and the establishment of a civil protection agency provide the legal and institutional bases.

The most important aspect of the capacity-building effort is to define the role of the civil and military branches of the system and clarify their respective responsibilities so as to avoid confusion and miscommunication. Since NTS issues are complicated and multifaceted, civil protection also relies on the contributions of other actors, such as government agencies, the private sector and civil society. As the civil protection system is a network rather than a single agency, cooperation among, and coordination of, the different actors should be strengthened.

Capacity building at the community level constitutes the foundation of China's civil protection system as it is recognised that the ability of individuals to save

themselves is critical in the face of an emergency. At the regional and international level, cooperation opens up opportunities for China to improve its civil protection system through greater access to information, experiences and technology.

As NTS is now a component of China's national security, the country's capacity for managing NTS issues has significant implications for national security, regime security and the country's sustainable development. Institutional capacity building lays the foundation for the further development of China's civil protection system.

Discussion

The concept of human security was first advanced in the late 1990s as a further extension of the notion of human development. To this day, however, human security remains a sensitive issue within the policy community of East Asia. Governments in the region prefer the less political 'non-traditional security'; and the term 'human security' is still not used in major ASEAN documents. In contrast to the policy community, those from think tanks and academia have been more supportive of the concept.

Advancing the RtoP would thus first require that the policy community gain a better understanding of the concept. They need to realise that the RtoP is not the equivalent of humanitarian intervention, nor is its ultimate goal regime change. The ethos of the RtoP is that the state should not be allowed to commit mass atrocities under the protection of sovereignty and non-intervention. Furthermore, prevention is its primary dimension. To counter the various misperceptions regarding the RtoP, localisation of the concept could be helpful. Localisation could also lead to a more positive environment for the further dissemination and operationalisation of the RtoP, and give the concept greater legitimacy.

In Southeast Asia, implementation and awareness of the concept remain low, with few initiatives seen. In Thailand, the RtoP is still gaining traction. Indonesia has made some effort to disseminate the concept among the public.

Cambodia, drawing on its experience of mass atrocities under the Khmer Rouge regime, hosts discussions and workshops on the concept.

The international community needs to remain engaged in addressing humanitarian crises. The continuing instability and chaos in Libya should not be used to justify future international inaction. Timing is important when it comes to international involvement in stopping mass atrocities. In general, it is better that the international community step in sooner rather than later. It is also widely accepted that the UN plays a critical role in responding to conflicts and humanitarian crises, but the role of regional organisations has been recognised as well.

The Rohingya case is illustrative of the need for leadership and political will from all sides, and at all levels. At the moment, the Rohingya leadership is fragmented, and thus unable to serve as a meaningful voice for the rights of the Rohingya people. Also, neither the Myanmar government nor the most influential opposition party, the National League for Democracy (NLD), has demonstrated any concrete interest in addressing the issue. The government was unwilling to control the recent violence as it unfolded, and the General Secretary of the NLD questioned Myanmar citizenship laws without condemning the violence. Pressure and incentives from the international community and from regional actors would be needed to encourage the Myanmar government to address the issue. The UN Secretary-General had in fact urged Indonesia, an influential member of ASEAN, to ask Myanmar to explain the recent incident.

As China grows more powerful, it would be expected to take on a larger role in international affairs, in the areas of mediation and humanitarian diplomacy for example. China adheres to the non-intervention principle and thus opposes resolving conflicts and humanitarian crises through military means. In the case of Syria, China has called for dialogue and political solutions to the crisis. It takes the position that all parties to the conflict are responsible for the situation, and that a neutral position would be more conducive to resolving the crisis.

Concluding Remarks

Professor Zhang Yunling
Member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative
Conference (CPPCC);
Director of International Studies
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
China

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

The paradigm shift from traditional security to non-traditional security (NTS) has resulted in debates and contestations in East Asia, with the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) a key point of contention. The RtoP is controversial because of how sovereignty and security are perceived in the region. Many countries in East Asia hold traditional understandings of sovereignty and uphold the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of another state. These countries are wary of the RtoP, in part because the concept is still not well understood in the region. It is important then to clarify that prevention is the primary dimension of the RtoP and that military intervention is intended to be used only as a last resort. Localisation could be another way of raising awareness of the concept. It could help promote the RtoP by integrating it with local values.

In China, the study of human security and NTS is still at an early stage. Dialogue with counterparts from other countries would be positive for the development of NTS studies in the country, and for sharing of ideas on how China can cope with its rising NTS challenges. In turn, China's experience in handling its NTS issues could be instructive for other countries.

In tackling NTS challenges, a multi-sectoral approach is important. The compound impacts of the Fukushima crisis vividly illustrate the need for a comprehensive, coordinated response that spans multiple actors and sectors. In the contemporary 'informationised' society, technology and knowledge have an important role to play in any such response. The emergence of NTS threats has also served as a catalyst for the transformation of the role of military. Where once the military was responsible only for defence against conventional external threats to a country's borders, it is now often tasked to assist in disaster relief and emergency response.

Finally, in considering responses to NTS threats, the strengthening of human resilience must be one of the core elements. Countries would have to place the well-being of peoples at the centre of NTS threat management, as it is the people – communities and individuals – who are at the frontline when it comes to having to face the consequences of NTS threats.

Programme

Day 1
30 July 2012 (Monday)

Hotel Novotel Beijing Peace
China

09:15   Welcome Remarks

Professor Han Feng
Deputy Director
National Institute of International Strategy
(NIIS)
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
China

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

09:25   Keynote Speech

Professor Zhang Yunling
Member of the Chinese People's Political
Consultative Conference (CPPCC);
Director of International Studies
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
China

**10:00   Session 1: Climate Change, Environmental
Security and Natural Disasters**

Moderator:

Professor Han Feng
Deputy Director
National Institute of International Strategy
(NIIS)
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
China

Panellists:

Dr J. Jackson Ewing
Research Fellow and
Coordinator for the Climate Change,
Environmental Security and Natural Disasters
Programme
Centre for Non-Traditional Security
(NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
(RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

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

11.15   **Session 2: Economic Crises and Human Security**

Moderator:

Dr Mallika Joseph
Executive Director
Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS)
Sri Lanka

Panellists:

Professor Yu Xiaofeng
Director
Center for Non-Traditional Security and
Peaceful Development Studies (NTS-PD)
Zhejiang University
China

Professor J. Soedradjad Djiwandono
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
(RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

14:00   **Session 3: Energy and Human Security**

Moderator:

Ms Clara Joewono
Vice-Chair, Board of Directors and Co-founder
Centre for Strategic and International Studies
(CSIS)
Indonesia

Panellists:

Professor Zha Daojiong
School of International Studies
Peking University
China

Dr Apichai Sunchindah
Former Executive Director
ASEAN Foundation;
Development Specialist
Thailand

15:30   **Session 4: Multilevel Approaches to Human Security and Conflict Management**

Moderator:

Professor Guo Lijun
Deputy Director
Center for Regional Security Studies (CRSS)
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
China

Panellists:

Professor Carolina Hernandez
Professor Emeritus in Political Science
University of the Philippines (Diliman);
Founding President and Chair of the Board of
Directors
Institute for Strategic and Development Studies
(ISDS Philippines);
Philippines

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

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

Day 2
31 July 2012 (Tuesday)

09:00   **Session 4: Multilevel Approaches to Human**
         Security and Conflict Management (Cont'd)

         Moderator:

         Ms Hideko Katsumata
         Executive Director and Chief Operating Officer
         Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE)
         Japan

         Panellists:

         Dr Ruan Zongze
         Deputy Director
         China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)
         China

         Ms Liao Danzi
         Research Assistant
         Center for Non-Traditional Security and
         Peaceful Development Studies (NTS-PD)
         Zhejiang University
         China   Indonesia

10:20   **Concluding Remarks**

         Professor Zhang Yunling
         Member of the Chinese People's Political
         Consultative Conference (CPPCC);
         Director of International Studies
         Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
         China

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

10:45   **Meeting on Consortium of Non-Traditional**
         Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia) matters

         - End of Meeting -

List of Participants

(in alphabetical order according to last names)

1. Prof. Chowdhury Abrar
Coordinator
Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit
(RMMRU)
University of Dhaka
Sattar Bhaban 4th Floor
3/3-E Bijoynagar
Dhaka 1000
Bangladesh
Email: chowdhury_abrar@yahoo.com

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

3. Mr Ek Sereywath
Former Secretary of State
Ministry of National Defence;
Member of the Board of Directors
Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace
(CICP)
Phum Paung Peay
Sangkat Phnom Penh Thmey
Khan Sen Sok
Phnom Penh
Cambodia
Email: sereywath_ek@hotmail.com

4. Prof. Han Feng
Deputy Director
National Institute of International Strategy (NIIS)
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
3 Zhangzizhong Lu
Beijing 10007
China
Email: hanfeng@cass.org.cn

5. Prof. Carolina Hernandez
Founding President and
Chair of the Board of Directors
Institute for Strategic and Development Studies
(ISDS Philippines)
40E Maalalahanin Street
Diliman
Quezon City 1101
Philippines
Email: carolghernandez@gmail.com

6. Ms Clara Joewono
Vice-Chair, Board of Directors and Co-founder
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
The Jakarta Post Building
Jl. Palmerah Barat, 142-243
Jakarta 10270
Indonesia
Email: clara_j@csis.or.id

7. Dr Mallika Joseph
Executive Director
Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS)
68/1, Sarasavi Lane
(off Castle Street)
Colombo – 08,00800
Sri Lanka
Email: ed@rcss.org

8. Ms Hideko Katsumata
Executive Director and Chief Operating Officer
Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE)
4-9-17 Minami Azabu
Minato-ku, Tokyo
Japan 106-0047
Email: deko@jcie.or.jp / admin@jcie.or.jp

9. Ms Liao Danzi
Research Assistant
Center for Non-Traditional Security and Peaceful
Development Studies (NTS-PD)
Zhejiang University
Room 411-2 Xiyi Building
Zijingang campus
Hangzhou 310058
China
Email: danzi@zju.edu.cn

10.Dr Liu Tiewa
Deputy Director
Research Center of United Nations and
International Organizations;
Assistant Professor
Beijing Foreign Studies University
School of International Relations and Diplomacy
Mail Box No. 5
Beijing 100089
China
Email: liu.tiewa@gmail.com

11.Dr Lu Guoxue
Professor
Institute of World Economics and Politics
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
5 Jianguomennei Dajie
Beijing
China
Email: lugx@cass.org.cn

12.Maj. Gen. A.N.M. Muniruzzaman (Retd)
President
Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies
(BIPSS)
House 405, Road 6, DOHS
Baridhara, Dhaka-1206
Bangladesh
Email: muniruzzaman@gmail.com /
president@bipss.org.bd

13.Ms Elina Noor
Assistant Director
Foreign Policy and Security Studies
Institute of Strategic and International Studies
No. 1 Persiaran Sultan Salahuddin
P.O. Box 12424
50778 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia
Email: elina@isis.org.my

14.Dr Ruan Zongze
Deputy Director
China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)
3 Toutiao, Taijichang
Beijing 100005
China

15.Prof. Tasneem Siddiqui
Department of Political Science;
Chair
Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit
(RMMRU)
Sattar Bhaban 4th Floor
3/3-E, Bijoynagar
Dhaka 1000
Bangladesh
Email: tsiddiqui@gmail.com

16.Dr Apichai Sunchindah
Development Specialist
Grandville House, 36/40
Sukhumvit Rd, Soi 24
Bangkok 10110
Thailand
Email: apichai_sun@yahoo.com /
apichai@cbn.net.id

17.Prof. Pranee Thiparat
Department of International Relations
Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University
Bangkok 10300
Thailand
Email: pranee.th@chula.ac.th /
pranee.thiparat@gmail.com

18.Prof. Yu Xiaofeng
Director
Center for Non-Traditional Security and Peaceful
Development Studies (NTS-PD);
College of Public Administration
Zhejiang University
38 Zhe Da Road
Hangzhou 310027
China
Email: yuxiaofeng@zju.edu.cn

19.Prof. Zha Daojiong
School of International Studies
Peking University
5 Yiheyuan Lu, Haidian District
Beijing 100871
China
Email: zha@pku.edu.cn

20. Assoc. Prof. Zhang Jie
Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
3 Zhang Zizhong Rd
Beijing 100007
China
Email: zhang_jie@cass.org.cn

21. Prof. Zhang Yunling
Director of International Studies
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
3 Zhang Zizhong Rd
Beijing 100007
China
Email: zhangyl58@vip.163.com

RSIS

1. Prof. J. Soedradjad Djiwandono
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Block S4, Level B4
Nanyang Avenue
Singapore 639798
Email: isjsdjiwandono@ntu.edu.sg

RSIS CENTRE FOR NTS STUDIES
Website: www.rsis.edu.sg/nts
Secretariat of the Consortium of Non-Traditional
Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia):
www.rsis-ntsasia.org

(in alphabetical sequence according to last names)

Faculty

1. Assoc. Prof. Mely Caballero-Anthony
Head
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies;
Secretary General
Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in
Asia (NTS-Asia)
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Block S4, Level B4

Nanyang Avenue
Singapore 639798
Email: ismcanthony@ntu.edu.sg

Research and Administrative Staff

2. Dr J. Jackson Ewing
Research Fellow
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Block S4, Level B4
Nanyang Avenue
Singapore 639798
Email: isjjewing@ntu.edu.sg

3. Ms Lina Gong
Research Associate
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Block S4, Level B4
Nanyang Avenue
Singapore 639798
Email: islinagong@ntu.edu.sg

4. Ms Cheryl Lim
Programme Manager
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Block S4, Level B4
Nanyang Avenue
Singapore 639798
Email: ischeryllim@ntu.edu.sg

5. Ms Ng Lye Yoke, Josephine
Administrative Executive
Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Block S4, Level B4
Nanyang Avenue
Singapore 639798
Email: islyng@ntu.edu.sg

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

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

To fulfil this mission, the Centre aims to:

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

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

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

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

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

Our Research

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

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) Food Security Programme
   - Regional Cooperation
   - Food Security Indicators
   - Food Production and Human Security

5) 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 facilitate advanced education on NTS. These are aimed at, but not limited to, academics, analysts, policymakers and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

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

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

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

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

About the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University

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

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

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

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