Preface

This third annual report summarises the outcomes and achievements of the Asia Security Initiative project of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies titled Responding to Internal Crises and Their Cross Border Effects over the period July 2011 to June 2012, which arose from key activities convened under the three research programmes supported by the Asia Security Initiative: the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme; the Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme; and the Energy and Human Security Programme.

Key activities over the reporting period are as follows:

• Updating of the Asia Security Initiative Cluster 3 website, blog and resource database as a vehicle for knowledge exchange and dissemination.

• Convening of a number of conferences, workshops and study groups under the three Asia Security Initiative research programmes, including the following:

  **Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme**
  » Protection of Civilians in Asia.
  » The Responsibility to Protect.
  » Security Sector Governance.
  » The Dynamics for Resolving Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia.

  **Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme**
  » Human Security and Climate Change in Southeast Asia: Managing Risk and Resilience.
  » Climate Change and Food Security: Securing Asia Pacific's Food Futures.
  » Climate Change, Migration and Human Security.

  **Energy and Human Security Programme**

• Production and dissemination of research output arising from the above activities, such as the Asia Security Initiative Policy Series/Working Papers, conference reports, short articles, op-eds and videos.

• Asia Security Initiative Visiting Fellowship

As we reflect on the Asia Security Initiative project for the past year, we are pleased to report that all activities for the three research programmes have been successfully completed at the end of the original grant period in March 2012. At this point, we would like to note that a grant extension has been provided to allow for us to carry out two new key activities under the Asia Security Initiative project. These are: (1) a policy roundtable that will be organised in Beijing to further disseminate research findings from the project; and (2) a continuation of research in the field of climate and migration. The fourth and final annual report will thus cover the outcomes and achievements of these activities in the grant period July 2012 to June 2013.

We hope that you will find this report an interesting read.

Ambassador BARRY DESKER
Dean, RSIS

MELY CABALLERO-ANTHONY
Head, Centre for NTS Studies, RSIS

List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACWC</td>
<td>ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AICHR</td>
<td>ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APSPC</td>
<td>ASEAN Political-Security Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN-ISIS</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations-Institutes of Strategic and International Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSCAP</td>
<td>Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSIS</td>
<td>Centre for Strategic and International Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil society organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HD Centre</td>
<td>Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally displaced person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSPAG</td>
<td>Institut Pengajian ASEAN dan Ehwal Global [Institute of ASEAN Studies and Global Affairs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISDS</td>
<td>Institute for Strategic and Development Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTS</td>
<td>Non-Traditional Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTS-Asia</td>
<td>Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POC</td>
<td>Protection of Civilians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RtoP</td>
<td>Responsibility to Protect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSIS</td>
<td>S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSG</td>
<td>Security Sector Governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSR</td>
<td>Security Sector Reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRM</td>
<td>Solar Radiation Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRMGI</td>
<td>Solar Radiation Management Governance Initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWAS</td>
<td>The Academy of Sciences for the Developing World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCAP</td>
<td>United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Over the course of the Asia Security Initiative project, the Centre had developed an active research agenda that drew on its own resources as well as that of its network partners around the region to deliver policy-relevant outputs. The research addressed many of the most pressing challenges faced by Asia’s policymaking communities, from climate change, natural disasters, and energy, to internal and cross-border conflict.

The Centre’s research also identified a broader and more inclusive understanding of security that sought to open up policymaking to different perspectives. However, there has been a re-emergence of interest in traditional security issues in recent years, even though NTS issues are increasingly prevalent in the Asia-Pacific. This shift illustrates the necessity of continuing to further evidence-based and policy-relevant research to ensure that policy gaps in responding to NTS challenges are effectively addressed.

It was in this context that the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies organised the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative Dissemination Meeting on 21–22 November 2011 in Singapore with the aim of showcasing the research outcomes of the three-year Asia Security Initiative Project and to share the findings to a wider policy community and civil society. The meeting attracted more than 80 participants from around the region and provided researchers and participants an opportunity to exchange views.

It was concluded during the meeting that the Centre remains committed to mainstreaming NTS in the policy arena, and that these efforts have thus far been fruitful as a conduit for engaging policy circles such as those found in ASEAN. However, there remains much work to be done to ensure that policies implemented ultimately also benefit the marginalised and vulnerable sections of society. To this end, given the complexities and nuances inherent in NTS issues, it is vital that the institutions involved in shaping the regional security architecture are broadened and that their interaction with communities and individuals is strengthened. Such consultative and collaborative relationships will be essential for promoting responses to Asia’s NTS challenges that are judicious, as well as have the clarity of purpose and the capacities needed for success.

Below is an overview of the research outcomes that were shared during the dissemination meeting.

- **Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters**

Over the last three years, the research project on Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters focused on a plethora of emerging threats while also illuminating the human resilience of affected communities in the region. Two salient issues that were focused upon included the role of gender, and the nexus between climate change and migration. Both topics were further developed based on existing knowledge of complex NTS threats in Asia. In doing so, issues relating to the vulnerabilities and resilience of communities in the face of disasters were examined in greater depth. Such perspectives provided an alternative to the doomsday scenarios prevalent in climate change discourse, which often create dystopian images of security risks and threats without giving appropriate credence to the welfare and standing of those most vulnerable to climate change.

- **Energy and Human Security**

Indeed, throughout the three-year initiative, a running theme was the recognition of community resilience in response to the multitude of modern NTS challenges. One of the primary findings of the research project on Energy and Human Security was that communities and non-state actors can add significant value by influencing the decision-making process as states strive to address energy vulnerability – a key concern in East Asia which is home to net energy-importing countries.

The research findings suggest that there is rising demand from countries for energy but this need not lead to zero-sum games and that efficiency of energy consumption might prove to be as or more important than securing access to more resources. The research highlighted that both state and non-state actors continue to face the challenge of collectively addressing energy supply issues due to limited political and economic integration and openness in the region.

One stream of the research focused on the development of nuclear energy for civilian purposes, which was largely seen as an attractive way to increase local energy supply in the region up until the 2011 Fukushima accident in Japan. Subsequently, the policy debate over nuclear power was rekindled with Japan suspending its nuclear energy plants. Many states in the region do however still see nuclear power playing an important part in their future energy mix. Issues related to plant safety were not the only nuclear policy challenges identified by the research. The ongoing tensions, both in East Asia with the potential development of nuclear weapons in North Korea, and the long-term political stresses in South Asia, illustrate the more geostrategic NTS threats in Asia.

- **Internal and Cross-border Conflict**

While the development of nuclear weapons concerns security policymakers worldwide, the more localised ongoing civil unrest in South and Southeast Asia continues to stifle democratic consolidation and economic development within the two subregions. Ongoing internal conflicts in Myanmar, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines, and the cross-border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia, attest to the need for policy preparations and policy solutions in Southeast Asia.
The Internal and Cross-Border Conflict research project highlighted the development of a regional human rights body – the AICHR – and the broader APSC. These institutional developments provide the arenas through which more substantive progress can be made to address the root causes and human consequences of the conflicts at the regional level. One key theme has been to document the varying levels of policy traction that the RtoP norm generates in Asia. On the one hand, Asian states are notable contributors to UN peace operations, yet there remain many instances of human rights abuses within the region, illustrating the limited progress of SSR in Southeast Asia.

The project has, over the past three years, witnessed the organisation of close to 40 conferences and seminars, as well the publication of more than 150 working papers, conference reports, policy briefs, op-eds and videos. Edited volumes as a result of research conducted in each of the programmes have also been published or will be published in 2012.

As mentioned earlier, the project timeframe has been extended for another year to accommodate two more key activities that will be conducted from June 2012 to June 2013. These are chiefly: (1) the organisation of a policy roundtable in Beijing; and (2) the conduct of research on the topic of climate and migration.

The policy roundtable will serve to engage various scholars, and where possible, practitioners from the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies' existing expansive network in the Asia-Pacific region. This would include representatives from the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP); the ASEAN-ISIS Network; and the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia) – a group of 20 research organisations across the Asia-Pacific, of which the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies acts as the Secretariat.

The continued interest of the US in the region has highlighted differences of both opinion and approach to key internal challenges to human security. The increased involvement of the US in the Asia-Pacific region, alongside a rising China, means that there are now a diversified range of avenues through which Asian actors can engage with states, international agencies, regional groupings and NGOs. These avenues offer alternative mechanisms for addressing the implications of internal and cross-border conflicts, from legal advances at the national level, and assessments and reporting by international human rights bodies, to institutional developments in regional security communities and awareness raising activities by community based actors to address human security concerns.

Asian states seem particularly susceptible to various forms of internal conflict and violence, ranging from low-level violent secessionist conflict, to extrajudicial killings, urban-rural divides and human rights abuses such as extrajudicial killings. In Southeast Asia, internal conflicts within individual ASEAN member states have also had actual and potential cross-border implications. The secessionist and insurgency problems in the Philippines, the violence in the Muslim provinces of southern Thailand, continuing ethno-nationalist struggles in Myanmar, religious tensions in Malaysia and numerous restive provinces in Indonesia all threaten to undermine regional security and stability. At the same time, 2011 saw the re-emergence of a decades-old inter-state conflict between Cambodia and Thailand, which caused at least 20 deaths and the displacement of tens of thousands on either side of the border, representing the worst outbreak of violence to involve two member states of ASEAN since its establishment. The violence has also tested the resolve of ASEAN conflict management and resolution mechanisms in bringing an end to the dispute.

Against this backdrop, however, there have also been several notable positive developments that have captured the attention of the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme team over the past year. The ongoing political development and reform in Myanmar has led to a series of policy changes in the international community to encourage the democratisation process and national reconciliation between the different ethnic nationalities and the majority Burman population. This has led to a series of ceasefires and the establishment of peace talks. Concurrently, the developments at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, or more commonly known as the Khmer Rouge Trials, have illustrated the prospects and challenges of hybrid courts to bring justice to the victims’ families. At the regional level, the AICHR and ACWC are continuing to draft a regional human rights convention. Outside of these two formal institutions, plans continue to develop concerning the formation of an ASEAN regional peacekeeping centres network linking those already established national peacekeeping centres to one another, and provide the technical expertise to advise on the establishment of centres in member states where they do not exist. The further aim is to identify key national strengths and tap into these by focusing each centre on a particular area of peacekeeping. The Programme has contributed significantly to policy discussion and has provided valuable insights into these developments. While the rhetoric of non-intervention remains salient, there are several emerging potential entry points, such as the development of the peacekeeping capacity, for implementing the human security framework that resonates widely – at least conceptually – in the region, as well as for operationalising ‘global’ norms of civilian protection and the RtoP principle across the Asia-Pacific.

The above considerations have all contributed to the design of the research agenda for the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme throughout

**Research Activities and Deliverables**

The following sections detail and list the activities and output under the three research programmes of Internal and Cross-Border Conflict, Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters, Energy and Energy security.

### A) Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme: Bridging Multilevel and Multilateral Approaches to Conflict Prevention and Resolution

Over the past three years, a number of significant developments in the Asia-Pacific have highlighted the contested nature of both governmental systems and territorial boundaries in the region. The continued interest of the US in the region has highlighted differences of both opinion and approach to key internal challenges to human security. The increased involvement of the US in the Asia-Pacific region, alongside a rising China, means that there are now a diversified range of avenues through which Asian actors can engage with states, international agencies, regional groupings and NGOs. These avenues offer alternative mechanisms for addressing the implications of internal and cross-border conflicts, from legal advances at the national level, and assessments and reporting by international human rights bodies, to institutional developments in regional security communities and awareness raising activities by community based actors to address human security concerns.

Asian states seem particularly susceptible to various forms of internal conflict and violence, ranging from low-level violent secessionist conflict, to extrajudicial killings, urban-rural divides and human rights abuses such as extrajudicial killings. In Southeast Asia, internal conflicts within individual ASEAN member states have also had actual and potential cross-border implications. The secessionist and insurgency problems in the Philippines, the violence in the Muslim provinces of southern Thailand, continuing ethno-nationalist struggles in Myanmar, religious tensions in Malaysia and numerous restive provinces in Indonesia all threaten to undermine regional security and stability. At the same time, 2011 saw the re-emergence of a decades-old inter-state conflict between Cambodia and Thailand, which caused at least 20 deaths and the displacement of tens of thousands on either side of the border, representing the worst outbreak of violence to involve two member states of ASEAN since its establishment. The violence has also tested the resolve of ASEAN conflict management and resolution mechanisms in bringing an end to the dispute.

Against this backdrop, however, there have also been several notable positive developments that have captured the attention of the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme team over the past year. The ongoing political development and reform in Myanmar has led to a series of policy changes in the international community to encourage the democratisation process and national reconciliation between the different ethnic nationalities and the majority Burman population. This has led to a series of ceasefires and the establishment of peace talks. Concurrently, the developments at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, or more commonly known as the Khmer Rouge Trials, have illustrated the prospects and challenges of hybrid courts to bring justice to the victims’ families. At the regional level, the AICHR and ACWC are continuing to draft a regional human rights convention. Outside of these two formal institutions, plans continue to develop concerning the formation of an ASEAN regional peacekeeping centres network linking those already established national peacekeeping centres to one another, and provide the technical expertise to advise on the establishment of centres in member states where they do not exist. The further aim is to identify key national strengths and tap into these by focusing each centre on a particular area of peacekeeping. The Programme has contributed significantly to policy discussion and has provided valuable insights into these developments. While the rhetoric of non-intervention remains salient, there are several emerging potential entry points, such as the development of the peacekeeping capacity, for implementing the human security framework that resonates widely – at least conceptually – in the region, as well as for operationalising ‘global’ norms of civilian protection and the RtoP principle across the Asia-Pacific.

The above considerations have all contributed to the design of the research agenda for the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme throughout

**Project Overview**

The Asia Security Initiative project met its key objectives of fostering creative and innovative analysis of multilevel governance of cross-border challenges, from the global to the national and the local; strengthening social science research with scientific and empirically based findings; broadening the community of individuals and institutions involved in the shaping of the security architecture; and providing a platform to connect researchers, policy analysts, CSOs, practitioners and even corporate actors.
the MacArthur project. To this end, the project examined the dynamics of internal conflicts, human security and the potential for multilevel and multilateral approaches to peacebuilding, as well as conflict management and resolution in East and Southeast Asia. Among the questions we examined were:

- What are the emerging patterns of internal conflicts in the region and what are the cross-border security challenges?
- What are the existing frameworks, if any, for conflict prevention and resolution, and how do we build effective regional and multilateral mechanisms for conflict management?
- How do we navigate between the zealously of protecting state sovereignty and the compelling need for regional security cooperation?
- What role should subnational entities and civil society play in conflict prevention and resolution?
- How do we promote multilevel and multilateral engagement for conflict prevention and resolution?

The core research areas examined by the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme included:

**Programme Activities**

- **Project on the RtoP**

  Within Asia, acceptance of the RtoP norm – which can be partially understood as the culmination of momentum generated by people-centred security concepts such as the human security framework and NTS – is gaining increasing traction among policymaking communities throughout Asia as a response to the numerous conflicts that blight communities in the region. Indeed, precisely due to its susceptibility to intra-state conflict, East Asia provides particularly fertile ground in which to further the normative movement away from the primacy of the traditional conception of state sovereignty towards the idea of sovereignty as responsibility. Recent developments in Asian regionalism, particularly in Southeast Asia, also provide fertile ground: or at the very least, establish an environment conducive to examining potential policy entry points – for advancing such ideas.

  With this in mind, the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies launched the Operationalising the Responsibility to Protect in Asia: Mapping Out Differing Voices and Building Constituencies to Advance the RtoP project in 2009 in order to examine and track normative shifts vis-à-vis the nascent RtoP norm within Asian policymaking elites and civil societies. This project was jointly funded by the Asia Security Initiative and the Australian Responsibility to Protect Fund.

  Consequently, a Study Group on the RtoP was convened in 2009, with a number of objectives in mind: (1) to examine the thinking and perspectives of Asian governments and societies on the RtoP norm, particularly in Southeast Asia; (2) to assess current mechanisms and initiatives in Southeast Asia that could represent possible platforms for promoting RtoP principles in the region, for instance, the APSC, the AICHR and the ACWC; (3) to assess the role of the major Asian powers, notably China and Japan, in advancing the RtoP in Asia; and (4) to examine the role of CSOs and social movements in the dynamics of internal conflicts and their precursory contexts and aftermaths, and how they might contribute to operationalising the RtoP in Asia. The study group participants developed their arguments over the course of a number of regional meetings in October 2009 and April 2010, and a Regional Consultation on the RtoP was held in Singapore on 8–9 April 2010. Finally, two Dissemination Meetings and Policy Roundtables were convened in Tokyo and Bangkok on 26 January 2011 and 28 March 2011 respectively, in order to provide a platform for the RtoP study group members to share their research findings on current thinking on the RtoP and insights into possible policy entry points for operationalising the norm in East and Southeast Asian policymaking.

  A key output of the study group is the special issue of the journal *The Pacific Review* (2012, Vol. 25, No. 1), which, through a selection of the study group participants’ papers, canvasses Asian thinking on the RtoP norm and examines the potential for operationalisation, or localisation. It incorporates both conceptual and empirical analyses and includes the following articles:

  » ‘The Responsibility to Protect in Southeast Asia: Opening Up Spaces for Advancing Human Security’ by Mely Caballero-Anthony.
  » ‘RtoP by Increments: the AICHR and Localizing the Responsibility to Protect in Southeast Asia’ by Herman Kauth.
  » ‘Thailand and the Responsibility to Protect’ by Keokam Kraisaraphong.
  » ‘Indonesia and the Responsibility to Protect’ by Lina Alexandra.

  In the final year of the RtoP project, efforts were focused on pulling together the data gathered in the first two years to formulate policy-relevant publications. In this vein, Pavin Chachavalpongpun, Associate Professor in the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto...
University, drew on the series of discussions held in the first two years and assessed the role of CSOs and social movements in the region, and how they can contribute to operationalising the RtoP in Southeast Asia, and more broadly in Asia. This investigation evaluates the role CSOs play in protecting civilians, for example through monitoring and early-warning, and the capacity of civil society to work across borders as many RtoP situations tend to be regional and transnational. It also includes the views of and information from civil society and policy actors, addresses policy issues and arrives at policy recommendations for the operationalisation and implementation of the RtoP.

Click here to read this paper.

In addition to a focus on civil society engagement with the RtoP, Alistair D.B. Cook, as Research Fellow and Lead of the Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme in the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, evaluated at the local, national, regional and international levels, the common themes that were highlighted through the RtoP discussions held with both state and non-state actors in the region. In light of these themes, fieldwork was carried out along the Thai-Myanmarese border with those displaced from the civil conflict in Myanmar, where the author interviewed key stakeholders on the ground including community-based organisations, local government officials, international NGOs, and displaced persons. In an effort to better conceptualise the three RtoP pillars in operation in the region, further interviews were carried out by RSIS Centre NTS Studies’ researchers, Manpavan Joth Kaur and Lina Gong, in Cambodia with a particular focus on the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, more commonly known as the Khmer Rouge trials. These fieldtrips contributed to the publication of policy-relevant resources including NTS Alerts, Insights and Perspectives, and to an article by Alistair D. B. Cook and Lina Gong titled ‘Cambodia’s Legacy and the Responsibility to Protect in Asia’ in Peace Review (2011, Vol. 23 No. 4).

Click here for the NTS Alert on ‘Roadmap for the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) in Asia: Personalities, Institutions and Processes’ by Alistair D.B. Cook.

In November 2011, the final MacArthur Asia Security Initiative Dissemination Meeting drew on the resources across the areas covered by the MacArthur Grant. Within this context, Alistair D. B. Cook presented the findings of the RtoP project, drawing on the work of the RtoP Study Group and the fieldwork interviews carried out by researchers from the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, to an audience from across the region and relevant sectors including participants from both Track One and Track Two levels as well as the wider policymaking community. The subsequent exchange and feedback from participants were taken into account when the NTS Perspectives on ‘Roadmap for the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) in Asia: Personalities, Institutions and Processes’ was published in February 2012.

Research findings from this project provided some indication of the opportunities and challenges that could arise from the further development of the RtoP norm.

One key finding is that there was poor awareness of the RtoP in the region. There is thus a pressing need to promote the RtoP to all stakeholders engaged in internal and cross-border conflicts, and to advance its implementation within the region. In addition, it is important to recognise that, within countries, overseas representatives and domestic officials differ in their opinions of the RtoP. As a result of the reluctance to fully embrace the RtoP and the existence of divergent understandings within countries, there is no state that is clearly identifiable as a champion of the norm. Therefore, promotion of the RtoP in the region falls to non-state actors. A further RtoP challenge is in its application, as the definition and scope of mass atrocities, notably what constitutes a crime against humanity, remains contested. Regional non-state actors are currently largely dependent on funding from outside the region because of this.

These constraints mean that it is important for Track Two organisations and civil society to focus on capacity building and awareness-raising through identifying current institutions and policies that complement the RtoP. While remaining reliant on the global RtoP network for support, non-state actors supportive of the RtoP need to coordinate among themselves as well as provide a solid information network on conflicts in the region. Through such a network, a preventive early warning mechanism can emerge. Such a mechanism could also pinpoint conflicts that are of concern to the region.

The emergence of national and regional mechanisms, notably in Southeast Asia, provides potential added capacity to promote and work towards the protection of civilians. The AICHR and the ACWC are institutions through which awareness of these issues could be raised. The most notable institution is the AICHR, which has the ability to gather thematic reports on human rights issues from all stakeholders. While the RtoP in Asia is contested at present, there remain multiple avenues for building capacity, raising awareness and providing the necessary means to protect civilians within the three-pillar strategy.
More research can be conducted to explore these avenues.

• Project on the Dynamics for Resolving Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia (in collaboration with CSIS, Indonesia)

Research findings solidified the null hypothesis of the project; that is, various attempts at resolving internal conflicts in Southeast Asia have brought about three different outcomes: deadlock, relapse, and success. The project proposed to investigate the dynamics of resolving intra-state conflicts in the Southeast Asian region. More specifically, it examined the circumstances that resulted in the relapse, deadlock or success in resolving internal conflicts in the four case studies, namely Indonesia, the Philippines, Burma and Thailand.

The most recent Aceh peace process served as an example of a successful peace process, while the two case studies in the Philippines (the case of the MILF and the MNLF) represented relapsed conflict resolution processes. Both Thailand and Myanmar, on the other hand, served as evidence of deadlocked peace processes. The project was a modest attempt to synthesise the literature and selectively probe primary sources to produce a fuller and more rigorous analysis of the dynamics for resolving internal conflicts in the region.

A dissemination meeting was held on 6–7 July 2011 to circulate the research findings. This meeting was co-organised with ISDS, and included the following:

- ‘Thailand’s Malay-Muslim Insurgency’ by Thitilin Pongsudhirak.
- ‘Explaining the Rise and Fall of Post-Suharto Peace Initiatives in Aceh: Civil-Military Relations, Mediators, and Spoilers’ by Evan A. Lukisman.

• Project on SSG and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia (in collaboration with the ISDS, Philippines)

Research findings from this project outlined a possible way forward to resolving internal conflicts in Southeast Asia. The relationship between SSG and conflict management is highly relevant as an effective SSG programme will have a significant impact on conflict. In the context of Southeast Asia, internal security has always been a major concern for security actors, as countries in the region have experienced problems such as secessionist, ethnic violence and ideological tensions.

In order for SSG programmes to produce positive results, they would need to take into consideration a country’s specific circumstances and experiences, for example, the ethno-religious dimensions of conflict in Vietnam and the way national security is conceptualised; the environment of political patronage and the twin insurgencies in the Philippines; and the multi-ethnic, pluralist culture in Malaysia and its view of national security (as shaped by its colonial experiences under the British).

Internal security challenges have posed threats not only to domestic political stability, but have also had a major impact on ASEAN as a regional organisation which espouses comprehensive security. It is important to note that, within ASEAN, regional stability is related to the ability of its member states to maintain national harmony and order. Instituting SSG, and understanding its limitations and its implementation problems, is therefore critical to ASEAN if it were to succeed in its goal of promoting peace and security in the region.

More importantly, building international cooperation through SSG is important because ASEAN countries work together as a bloc (mostly and increasingly), in its engagement with partners in the Asia-Pacific region, other major powers and international institutions.

As mentioned earlier, a dissemination meeting was held on 6–7 July 2011 to circulate the above-mentioned research findings. This meeting allowed for the writers to present their papers to a wider audience on SSG and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia. It was convened in Jakarta, Indonesia as a follow-up to the first and second Study Group Meetings held in April 2010 and February 2011. The issue of SSG is particularly salient in the Asian context in light of the significant challenges posed by political transitions and democratisation in the region. Furthermore, given the goal of states in the region to establish a Political-Security Community by 2015, a comparative study on SSG in Southeast Asia is particularly timely.

The meeting comprised 50 participants from various sectors of Indonesian society (government officials, members of the academic community, CSOs, etc.). Case writers present included Dr Rizal Sukma of CSIS, Indonesia; Professor Herman Kraft from the Philippines; Dr Tang Siew Mun of ISIS, Malaysia; Professor Maria Anna Rowena Layador, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines and ISIS; and Dr Pham Quoc Tru, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam Institute of Strategic & Foreign Policy Studies. After this meeting, the study group members finalised their papers and submitted them to ISDS. As mentioned in the earlier section, these papers are expected to be compiled and published in a joint edited volume with CSIS, and include the following:

- ‘Establishing Good Security Sector Governance in Southeast Asia’ by Herman Kraft.
- ‘Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia: The Case of Aceh in Indonesia’ by Rizal Sukma.
- ‘Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia: The Case of the Philippines’ by Maria Anna Rowena Layador.
- ‘Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Vietnam’ by Pham Quoc Tru.
- ‘Security Sector Governance in Malaysia’ by Tang Siew Mun.

• Seminar to Launch Reports on Conflict Resolution in Asia, 27 July 2011, Singapore.

This seminar marked the launch of three country reports from the Comparative Perspectives on Conflict Management and Peacemaking in Asia project undertaken by the HD Centre and its partners under the Asia Security Initiative. The HD Centre’s primary role across the globe is to facilitate dialogue and mediate in armed conflicts. Its collaborators in this project, which began in 2009, included the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Current Asia, the Institute of Bangsamoro Studies and the Delhi Policy Group.

The three country reports aimed to offer a comparative perspective on approaches to conflict resolution, with each focusing on the following cases: (1) India: Kashmir, Manipur and the Naxalite insurgency; (2) Indonesia: Papua, Maluku and Sulawesi; and (3) the Philippines.
The seminar was led by Dr Michael Vatikiotis, Regional Director of the HD Centre. The authors of two country reports also delivered presentations on their case studies. They were Mr Ouseph Tharakan, Project Officer at the HD Centre; and Dr Murid Nadjojo from the Center for Political Studies at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences.

During the presentation, Dr Michael Vatikiotis noted that each study began with the same lines of inquiry: What are the different ways the state engages with armed groups? What negotiation strategies have been used by parties to the conflict? How have armed actors other than armed opposition groups, such as militia groups, been dealt with? What is the role and potential of civil society in peacemaking and conflict resolution?

While recognising the complexity and diversity of the various case studies, he noted that the project identified some common observations (and lessons learned):

» The appropriate (fair/proportionate) use of security forces is critical to resolving conflict.

» Civil society has the potential to play an important peacemaking role, albeit being dependent on sustained support and the space to operate.

» The role of women in the decision-making processes of peace talks is a frequently neglected aspect; indeed, they are still often relegated to the role of victim.

» Coordination within government is paramount.

» More policy-relevant material is needed for parties to peace processes, even at the community level, in order to share lessons and provide examples for local peacemaking efforts.

The seminar was chaired by Associate Professor Rafl Emmer, then Acting Head of the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies. An audio recording and complete write-up of the seminar can be found here.

• Seminar on China and Its Neighbours, 15 August 2011, Singapore.

Given China’s expanding national power and its rising profile in international affairs, its foreign-policy intentions have attracted wide attention from policy and academic communities across the world, and in particular, from the Asia-Pacific countries (which are often directly affected by China’s policies). Over the past year, China’s handling of regional hotspot issues such as the Cheonan incident has led to more questions – than answers – regarding its relations with its neighbours.

In this seminar, Professor Zha Daojiong, Visiting Senior Fellow, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies; and Professor, School of International Studies, Peking University, sought to share the audience his personal observations of, and explanations for, China’s reactions to those headline events, with a focus on the Asia-Pacific region. Themes covered in the seminar included the government of China’s national security considerations, the puzzles arising from its policy behaviours and the answers, and the likely role that the academic community can play in relation to China’s engagement with its immediate neighbours.

An audio recording and write-up of the seminar can be found here.


Professor Antonio Marquina, a Visiting Senior Fellow with the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, who led the ASEF-supported ASEM Education Hub Thematic Network on Human Security, kicked off the event with a presentation of his latest edited book entitled Perspectives on Migration Flows in Asia and Europe. The publication is the third in a series by Asian and European scholars, following publications on energy security and global warming.

The book sees Professor Marquina analysing political, economic, social and environmental trends which prevent countries in Asia and Europe from stemming the flow of migrants. Factors that have played an important part include an ageing domestic population, the effects of the economic crisis, migration caused by environmental degradation and the exodus of political refugees.

A write-up of the seminar can be found here.

• Published Works under the Programme


Alistair D.B. Cook and Bridget Welsh, ‘Myanmar’s Road to Democracy’, The Straits Times, 17 January 2012.


b. Multimedia: ‘In Conversation With’ Series


Alistair D.B. Cook presented a paper on ‘Brokering Peace – the Internal and External Bids and Influences on Conflict Resolution in the Asia-Pacific’ in the panel ‘Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding’ at the International Studies Association-Asia Pacific Regional Conference, Brisbane, Australia, 29–30 September 2011.


b. Multimedia: ‘In Conversation With’ Series


Alistair D.B. Cook presented a paper on ‘Brokering Peace – the Internal and External Bids and Influences on Conflict Resolution in the Asia-Pacific’ in the panel ‘Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding’ at the International Studies Association-Asia Pacific Regional Conference, Brisbane, Australia, 29–30 September 2011.


b. Multimedia: ‘In Conversation With’ Series


Alistair D.B. Cook presented a paper on ‘Brokering Peace – the Internal and External Bids and Influences on Conflict Resolution in the Asia-Pacific’ in the panel ‘Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding’ at the International Studies Association-Asia Pacific Regional Conference, Brisbane, Australia, 29–30 September 2011.


b. Multimedia: ‘In Conversation With’ Series


Alistair D.B. Cook presented a paper on ‘Brokering Peace – the Internal and External Bids and Influences on Conflict Resolution in the Asia-Pacific’ in the panel ‘Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding’ at the International Studies Association-Asia Pacific Regional Conference, Brisbane, Australia, 29–30 September 2011.


b. Multimedia: ‘In Conversation With’ Series


Alistair D.B. Cook presented a paper on ‘Brokering Peace – the Internal and External Bids and Influences on Conflict Resolution in the Asia-Pacific’ in the panel ‘Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding’ at the International Studies Association-Asia Pacific Regional Conference, Brisbane, Australia, 29–30 September 2011.


Core Team

- **Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony**
  Principal Investigator/Researcher, Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme, Associate Professor, RSIS; Former Director of External Relations, The ASEAN Secretariat; Head, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies; and Secretary-General, Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia)

- **Dr Alistair D.B. Cook**
  Research Fellow, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

- **Mr Pau Khan Khup Hangzo**
  Associate Research Fellow, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

- **Ms Lina Gong**
  Research Associate, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

- **Ms Holly Haywood**
  Research Analyst, (2010–2011) RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

- **Ms Manpavan Kaur**
  Research Analyst (2010–2011) RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

- **Joseph Franco**
  Research Intern (March – June 2012) RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

Affiliated Team

- **Professor Herman Kraft**
  Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, Philippines

- **Dr Keokam Kraisoraphong**
  Department of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand

- **Mr Evan A. Laksmana**
  Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, Indonesia

- **Dr Maria Anna Rowena Luz Layador**
  College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines, and Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, Philippines

- **Professor Amado Mendoza Junior**
  Department of Political Science, College of Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines (Diliman), Philippines

- **Dr Pham Quoc Tru**
  Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam, Institute of Strategic & Foreign Policy Studies, Vietnam

- **Professor Thitinan Pongsudhirak**
  Department of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand

- **Dr Rizal Sukma**
  Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, Indonesia

- **Dr Tin Maung Maung Than**
  Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, National University of Singapore, Singapore

- **Dr Tang Siew Mun**
  Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia and School of History, Politics and Strategic Studies, University Kebangsaan Malaysia, Malaysia.

B) Environmental Security, Climate Change and Natural Disasters: Addressing Emergent Challenges

Environmental changes are affecting the political, economic and security landscape of the Asia-Pacific in fundamental ways. The past year has witnessed a range of trends and events, from natural disasters in Japan, the Philippines and Thailand, to acute resource management challenges throughout key regional ecosystems. Climate change projections, meanwhile, suggest that existing environmental stresses will likely amplify in the near- to medium-term.

All of these issues bring to the fore the reality that continuing progress in the Asia-Pacific will depend upon forward-looking stewardship of key environmental systems and the judicious development of essential natural resources. The most pronounced environmental stresses facing the region in 2012 have roots in former human activities, and can only be mitigated through lucid strategies backed with appropriate resources. Such strategies require the redoubling of environmental research agendas, consultative processes that bring together stakeholders from local to regional levels, and effective public and private actors that can turn policies into actions. The resources to support such efforts, meanwhile, necessitate that key environmental issues are prioritised with greater urgency by regional governments, international organisations and non-governmental stakeholders.

The RSIS Centre for NTS Studies has sought to contribute to these objectives by pursuing a substantive and timely research agenda while acting as a conduit for collaboration and consultation among other regional environmental actors. The Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme’s work has led to multiple outputs along these fronts, and the Programme remains a prominent voice on key environmental issues throughout the Asia-Pacific.

The key issues explored by the team over the past year include the following:

- How are environmental changes and climatic stresses affecting population movements in the Asia-Pacific, specifically as these movements relate to urbanisation trends?

- How does environmentally-induced migration affect human security and strategic considerations in the region?

- What are the primary points of climate change vulnerability in Southeast Asian megacities and how effective are the policy platforms that seek to address them?

- What are some of the primary land-use challenges facing the region, and how do these challenges affect regional political economies and people dependent upon key natural resources?

These issue areas are reflected in both past and ongoing programme activities.

Programme Activities

- **Project on Climate Insecurities, Human Security and Social Resilience**

Work in this Year 1 Asia Security Initiative project on Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters has culminated in the forthcoming publication of a book on *Climate Change, Human Security and Social Resilience*. To be published in the third quarter of 2012, this edited volume makes an
The book includes the following chapters:

- ‘Human Security, Climate Change and Social Resilience’ by Lorraine Elliott
- ‘The Economics of Climate Change in Southeast Asia’ by Juzhong Zhuang, Suphachol Suphachalasai and Jindra Nuella Samson
- ‘Risk, Vulnerability and Resilience: Climate Change and the Urban Poor in Asia’ by Devananth Pathasarathy
- ‘Water Regime Resilience and Community Rights to Resource Access in the Face of Climate Change’ by Keokam Kraisoraphong
- ‘Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD): Mitigation, Adaptation and the Resilience of Local Livelihoods’ by Enrique Ibarra Gené and Arif Aliadi
- ‘The Gender and Climate Debate: More of the Same or New Pathways of Thinking and Doing?’ by Bernadette P. Resurreccion
- ‘Climate Security and Development in Southeast Asia: The Limits of UNESCAP’s Green Growth Approach’ by Irene A. Kunjoro
- ‘Risk, Resilience and Human Security in Cross-border Areas: The Greater Mekong Subregion, the Heart of Borneo and the Coral Triangle’ by Fitrian Ardiyasah and Desak Putu Adhiyanti Putri
- ‘ASEAN and Climate Change: Building Resilience through Regional Initiatives’ by Mely Caballero-Anthony

- Project on Climate Change, Migration and Human Security in Southeast Asia

The Programme’s primary activities over the past year have centred upon ongoing research into the linkages connecting environmental change and migration. The UN estimates that there could be at least 200 million environmentally-induced migrants worldwide by the year 2050. However, claims about the security implications of climate migration need to be revisited both empirically and conceptually. As opposed to securitising the climate migration issue as an exacerbating factor to traditional security concerns such as conflict and war, the programme sought to elaborate on a human security approach in analysing and responding to the potential insecurities generated by climate migration. Taking a different approach will demand alternative responses that should take into account a number of underlying vulnerabilities associated with the issue of climate migration such as food, livelihood, poverty, health, and disaster management. To this end, this project explores how adaptation policies in the region will be able to address these challenges.

The Study Group Meeting and Seminar on Climate Change, Migration and Human Security in Southeast Asia, held in May 2011, revolved around several themes. The first session provided an overview of climate change, migration and human security in Southeast Asia. To this end, presenters identified and analysed current evidence on climate change and the displacement of people and communities in Southeast Asia. The second session assessed human insecurities caused by climate-induced migration. These included impacts on livelihoods and income, loss of social capital, impacts on traditional coping mechanisms, and implications for already marginalised groups. The third session discussed adaptation and responses to climate change and migration by various stakeholders, while the final session examined the role of institutions and governance with regard to climate change and migration. Points raised during the meeting highlighted the need to be sensitive to the nuanced differences in the contexts and factors relating to instances of climate-induced migration. The need for more preventive rather than reactive action by states and communities was also emphasised; as was the fact that solutions to the concerns raised are in fact available but require the necessary commitment and resources to be successful.

The monograph is set for publication by the third quarter of 2012 and seeks to add value to academic and policymaking communities. This work on climate change and migration was the final theme in the three-year Asia Security Initiative Project. Earlier themes focused on climate insecurities, human security and social resilience (Year 1), and climate change, human security and food security (Year 2).

In addition to continuing work on environmentally-induced migration, the Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme has explored and published work on multiple relevant regional topics. These outputs are based upon multiple fieldwork projects, including:

- The Urban Climate Vulnerability Project: The urban poor are one of the groups most vulnerable to the effects of climate change. With urbanisation levels steadily rising throughout much of Southeast Asia, the challenges of building resilience throughout poor urban communities will become more pronounced in both the near- and long-term. Climate change has the potential to exacerbate many risks that already confront poor urban communities. This group of projects explores a range of these issues, with a particular focus on Southeast Asia’s three megacities: Jakarta, Manila and Bangkok and its findings will be published in a RSIS Working Paper in late 2012.
- Project on Land-Use Challenges in Indonesia: Indonesia faces pronounced land-use challenges. The sprawling archipelagic state must deal with the legacies of short-sighted land conversions,
the need to pursue foreign investment, capital growth and employment generation through profitable land intensive industries, and the rising food demands of a growing and increasingly urban population. Moreover, Indonesia must pursue these already daunting objectives without compromising its endowment of forest resources; which provide a range of valuable ecological services both domestically and internationally. This project took the Reduced Emissions through Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) Programme as a starting point for exploring these issues in Indonesia through field work activities in Jakarta and parts of northern Sumatra. The work was published through the ASI Working Paper Series.

Click here to read the working paper.

» Project on Environmental Change and Migration in Bangladesh: Bangladesh has a wealth of natural characteristics leading to vulnerability, including its low-lying delta regions and its presence within the pathways of storms and large precipitation events. These characteristics create unique challenges for Bangladesh in light of predicted climate shifts. Additionally, however, Bangladesh also experiences social conditions that will make it difficult for individuals, communities and state-structures to effectively cope with climatic changes as they occur. The country’s high population and heavy population densities in potentially affected areas, relatively low economic development levels, and dependence in many areas upon subsistence agriculture represent some of the social dynamics exacerbating Bangladesh’s vulnerability calculus. In light of these challenges, one predicted adaptation strategy for climate-affected communities and individuals will be to migrate. As lands and/or ways of living become untenable, people will naturally seek opportunities elsewhere. The ensuing population movements may occur as the result of virtually immediate push factors (such as flooding), more gradual environmental processes (such as sea-level rise), or as the result of less direct climate related processes by which the basic necessities of life and progress are eroded over time (such as through declining economic potential relating to natural resources). Migration represents a potential response mechanism to all of these dynamics, however, and must therefore be an integral part of Bangladesh’s strategic planning. This project calls upon fieldwork from vulnerable areas in southern Bangladesh to comment upon the environmental drivers of migration and their potential implications.


On 11 March 2011, a massive earthquake struck the Tohoku region of Japan. The giant tsunami that resulted caused a disaster of unprecedented proportions. Japan has experienced countless earthquakes and tsunamis throughout its history and has expended considerable energy into preparations against them. It also possessed a certain degree of knowhow in managing the crises surrounding natural disasters. However, the March 11 earthquake and tsunami exceeded all assumptions that the nation has made to date, unleashing catastrophic damage of unimaginable magnitude. Moreover, because of the release of radioactive substances into the environment from the troubled Fukushima nuclear power plant, fears of contamination of agricultural products and other ramifications have spread. Due to power shortages caused by reduced electricity-generating capacity, economic disruptions have spread far beyond the areas immediately affected by the disaster, extending to the country as a whole. The economic disarray from the disaster continues to this day.

This seminar sought to discuss the book Lessons from a Great Disaster: Risk Management and the Compound Crisis Presented by the Great East Japan Earthquake which was published based on information available five months into the post-disaster period. Seminar speakers included three of the book authors, Professor Heizo Takenaka, Professor Jun Murai and Professor Yoichi Funabashi. They examined Japan’s experience and conveyed lessons in relief and recovery activities during and after the crisis. The issue is discussed as it relates to the speakers’ areas of expertise – economy, governance and information communications technology.

Click here for notes on and audio recording of the seminar.

* Published Works under the Programme


J. Jackson Ewing, ‘From Kyoto to Durban: The Fits and Starts of Global Climate Change Negotiations’, NTS Insight, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, February 2012.


• Public Dissemination under the Programme

a. Public Outreach Activities


J. Jackson Ewing was interviewed by Channel NewsAsia on Climate Change Negotiations, 28 November 2011.


J. Jackson Ewing presented a paper on ‘Identity, Natural Resources and Separatism in Southeast Asia’ at the International Studies Association-Asia Pacific Regional Conference, Brisbane, Australia, 29–30 September 2011.


J. Jackson Ewing presented a paper on ‘Climate Change, Environmental Stresses and Human Security in ASEA’ at the Institut Pengajian ASEAN dan Ewah Global (INSPAG) [ASEAN Studies and Global Affairs], Universiti Teknologi MARA, Shah Alam, Selangor, Malaysia, 28 July 2011.

J. Jackson Ewing delivered a presentation on ‘Exploring the Connections between Climate Change and Security in Southeast Asia’ at the Diplomatic Academy, Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 15 July 2011.

b. Multimedia: ‘In Conversation With’ Series

The Centre for NTS Studies conducted interviews on the sidelines of the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative Dissemination Meeting on 28 November 2011.

Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Deputy Secretary for Politics to the Vice President, Secretariat of the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia.

c. Blog Posts


Tarun Gopalakrishnan, In Climate Change Negotiations, Less is More, 18 June 2012.

PK Hangzo, Transboundary Waters: Triggers of Conflict or Cooperation?, 6 May 2012.


Sofiah Jamil, Changing Gears for Effective (Climate) Change, 31 January 2012.

Sofiah Jamil, Enhancing Early Warning Systems for Disaster Management in Indonesia, 2 September 2011.

Sofiah Jamil, Faith-Based Organisations’ Role in Disaster Preparedness, 8 August 2011.

Core Team

• **Professor Lorraine Elliott**
  Visiting Senior Fellow and Lead Researcher of the Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme RSIS Centre for NTS Studies; and Associate Professor and Professor in International Relations Australian National University, Canberra

• **Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony**
  Associate Professor, RSIS; Former Director of External Relations, The ASEAN Secretariat; Head, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies; and Secretary-General, Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia)

• **Dr J. Jackson Ewing**
  Research Fellow RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

• **Sofiah Jamil**
  Adjunct Research Associate RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

• **Sally Trehewie**
  Senior Analyst RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

• **Tarun Gopalakrishnan**
  Intern (June 2012) RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

Affiliated Team

• **Mr Fitrian Ardiansyah**
  Advisor and former Programme Director Climate and Energy Programme WWF Indonesia

• **Dr Henri Bastaman**
  Deputy on Environmental Communication and Community Empowerment Ministry of Environment Indonesia

• **Ms Olivia Dun**
  PhD Candidate School of Geosciences University of Sydney Australia

• **Dr Beverly Goh**
  Assistant Professor Natural Sciences and Science Education National Institute of Education Nanyang Technological University Singapore
Dr Herminia A. Francisco
Director
Economy and Environment Programme for Southeast Asia
Singapore

Dr Enrique Ibarra Gené
Policy Researcher
Institute for Global Environmental Strategies
Japan

Associate Professor Shreekant Gupta
Adjunct Associate Professor
Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy
National University of Singapore
Singapore

Professor Graeme Hugo
ARC Australian Professorial Fellow
Geographical and Environmental Studies
University of Adelaide
Australia

Mr Masakazu Ichimura
Chief, Environment and Development Policy Section
UNESCAP
Bangkok, Thailand

Dr Keokam Kraisoraphong
Assistant Professor
Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok
Thailand

Mr Benoit Mayer
PhD candidate
Faculty of Law
National University of Singapore

Dr Triarko Nurlambang
Director, Center for Applied Geography Research; and Lecturer, Department of Geography Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science
University of Indonesia

Professor Devanathan Parthasarathy
Professor
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay
India

Mr John Pearson
Head of the South East Asia Climate Change Network
British High Commission
Singapore

Associate Professor Bernadette P. Resurreccion
Gender and Development Studies
School of Environment, Resources and Development
Asian Institute of Technology
Thailand

Dr Edsel E. Sajor
Associate Professor, Coordinator, Urban Environmental Management
School of Environment, Resources & Development
Asian Institute of Technology
Thailand

Professor Emil Salim
Member
The Advisory Council on Environment and Economy to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the President of the Republic of Indonesia (serving as advisor for environment and sustainable development issues)

Professor Tasneem Siddiqui
Chairman
Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit
University of Dhaka
Bangladesh

Professor Richard Tanter
Director
Nautilus Institute
RMIT University, Melbourne
Australia

Dr Arief Anshory Yusuf
Senior Economist
Economy and Environment Programme for Southeast Asia
Singapore

Professor Zha Daojiong
Professor
School of International Studies, Peking University
China

C) Energy and Human Security Programme

Global events in 2011 have significantly steered the Centre’s work in its Energy and Human Security Programme. Not only has the nuclear crisis in Japan as a result of the earthquake and tsunami in Fukushima demonstrated the strong interplay between economics, energy and the environment, it has also further validated the importance of a human security perspective on energy security issues.

These events have reflected the importance of the Programme’s work on assessing the risks, vulnerabilities and viabilities of energy issues in Asia, where more effective multi-stakeholder consultation, cooperation and collaboration is needed to ensure energy security in its entirety. Research work in the programme has culminated in the forthcoming publication of two edited books. These are: (1) Nuclear Power and Energy Security in Asia: Critical Debates? (June 2012) which looks at the complexities involved in the expansion of nuclear energy usage; and (2) Managing Regional Energy Vulnerabilities in East Asia (late 2012) which examines East Asia’s interstate collaborative energy projects in addressing energy vulnerability. It focuses on projects that have demonstrated effectiveness in addressing vulnerabilities faced by the 10 ASEAN states as well as China, Japan and South Korea in Northeast Asia.

Aside from seeing through the publishing process for these books, work in the past year has concentrated on enhancing the analysis of existing research areas, thus spawning mini-research initiatives on themes related to governance and technology. In this regard, research field trips to China and Japan were conducted in the wake of the Fukushima nuclear crisis. Research activities have also been conducted on geoengineering.

Programme Activities


Geoengineering, defined by The Royal Society, UK, as ‘the deliberate large-scale manipulation of the planetary environment to counteract anthropogenic climate change’ is receiving growing attention from scientists, policymakers and the public concerned with the slow progress of international negotiations to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases. However, the emergence of geoengineering technologies, as a new potential response for ameliorating the human and ecological risks of climate change, appears to have given rise to at least as many challenges as it might have answered. Geoengineering is still a novel notion and the effects of relevant technologies are yet to be fully known. Moreover, research and discussion on geoengineering have mostly been driven by European and North American countries while other regions that are significantly affected by climate change, such as Asia and the Pacific, are yet to make their perspectives heard.

Against this backdrop, the Pilot Workshop on Governing Geoengineering in the 21st Century was the first meeting in the Asia-Pacific region to elicit Asian perspectives in the discourse
on geoengineering. The event explored how geoengineering was perceived and framed in Asia-Pacific countries in relation to climate change mitigation and adaptation. It examined the threats ahead of and opportunities in store for geoengineering as a new set of emerging technologies with which to address climate change and the pressing demands for a low-carbon economy.

This pilot workshop was organised by the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies in cooperation with the multi-disciplinary Oxford Geoengineering Programme, an initiative of the Oxford Martin School at the University of Oxford, UK, and the SRMGI, an international NGO project co-convened by The Royal Society, UK; Environmental Defense Fund, US; and TWAS, for the developing world.

**Summaries of Presentations and Sessions**

- **The Challenges of Geoengineering Governance**
  Professor Steve Rayner
  James Martin Professor of Science and Civilization, University of Oxford, UK
  This session delineated along three main themes in the history of governing technology, along with a concluding discussion of a framework for pursuing geoengineering research. These themes centred upon the heterogeneity of technology, the importance of time frames and temporal elements, and the importance of scale in both the geographical and deployment-level senses. The proposed framework for geoengineering research, meanwhile, stems from the existing work of The Royal Society, UK’s, fundamental principles for governing geoengineering research.

- **The Importance of Global Public Engagement**
  Ms Jayne Windeatt
  PhD Candidate, Faculty of Engineering Doctoral Training Centre in Low Carbon Technologies, University of Leeds, UK
  This session focused on the importance of stakeholder and public engagement in evaluating the effectiveness and side effects of various geoengineering proposals. Of particular concern were the precise methods with which public opinion on geoengineering could be elicited and assessed, with the intention of democratising decision-making and improving accountability to the public.

- **The Solar Radiation Management Governance Initiative (SRMGI) – A Very Brief Introduction**
  Mr Alex Hanafi
  Attorney, Environmental Defense Fund, US
  This presentation outlined the key objectives of the SRMGI, a project aimed at increasing stakeholder engagement in devising guidelines to govern research on SRM. Key themes included the need for diversity in stakeholder engagement, the strengthening of specific norms in research communities and the evaluation of governance options for SRM research.

- **Showcasing Proposed Geoengineering Techniques**
  Mr Tim Kruger (Moderator)
  James Martin Fellow, Oxford Geoengineering Programme, University of Oxford, UK
  This session introduced delegates to several proposed geoengineering techniques by employing posters as well as a series of six 5-minute videos from experts in each of the techniques. Three prominent issues were touched upon: (1) the capabilities and constraints of current techniques; (2) the underdeveloped state of geoengineering research with respect to potential risks; and (3) thinking about geoengineering using a ‘risk/risk’ rather than a ‘cost/benefit’ calculus.

- **Country Perspectives on Geoengineering Governance**
  This session examined perspectives on geoengineering from India and Japan.
  a. Governing Geoengineering
  Dr Arunabha Ghosh
  Chief Executive Officer, Council on Energy, Environment and Water, New Delhi, India
  Geoengineering is a relatively new policy area. As such, there are no regulatory frameworks in place aimed specifically at controlling geoengineering activities. Creating an international governance structure for geoengineering, first and foremost, requires a set of guidelines and principles. Currently, there are two sets of principles, namely the Oxford Principles and the Asilomar conference guidelines.
  b. Public Perception of Climate Geoengineering in Japan, as Revealed in an Online Survey: Initial Results
  Dr Masahiro Sugiyama
  Professor, Central Research Institute of Electric Power Industry, Japan
  Dr Sugiyama discussed the results of an online survey, which was conducted by researchers at the Central Research Institute of Electric Power Industry in Japan to determine public perceptions of climate change and geoengineering in the country. The survey is instructive on how the public in Japan views geoengineering. The objective of the online survey was to analyse the level of awareness among the Japanese public regarding geoengineering and to find out whether or not they were agreeable to the use of such techniques for combating climate change. On the whole, the survey result indicated that few people in Japan had heard of ‘geoengineering’ and they supported research in the area albeit cautiously. Despite this lack of awareness, the public evidenced an interest in undertaking voluntary actions to combat climate change.
  c. Personal View about Geoengineering
  Professor Akimasa Sumi
  Executive Director, Integrated Research System for Sustainability Science, University of Tokyo, Japan
  In providing his views on geoengineering, Professor Sumi noted the importance of adhering to the concept of sustainability science. The concept would be important to abide to so as to ensure a balance among three forms of systems – global, social and human. He also noted the possibility of Japan seeking entry into the Geoengineering Model Intercomparison Project, which serves to organise geoengineering simulations by prescribing experiments that all participating climate models will perform.
  d. Civil Society Perspectives on Geoengineering Governance
  Ms Neth Dano
  Programme Manager, Action Group on Erosion, Technology and Concentration, The Philippines
  This session highlighted a perspective among some civil society groups on geoengineering, specifically with regard to a pilot geoengineering initiative in the Sulu Sea. In 2007, an Australian firm, Ocean Nourishment Corporation, planned to dump urea (nitrogen) into the Sulu Sea in 2007, but was eventually stopped by the Filipino government after over 500 CSOs campaigned against the plan.
The presentation does highlight that geoengineering is not merely a cheap technofix for climate change but also a political smokescreen that could be deployed by wealthy nations to avoid undertaking any real domestic emission reductions or commitments to help the global South fend off impending catastrophe. Moreover, the rush to deploy geoengineering without public consultation or intergovernmental oversight could imperil the marine environment, which is the main source of survival and livelihood for poor fisherfolk in the Philippines.

» Workshop on the SRMGI

In this session, participants were organised into four teams each team representing a country. The teams were then asked to outline governance systems for SRM research that best suited the interests and priorities of the national governments that they represented based on the five criteria: (1) level of participation in SRM; (2) legal form and institutionalisation; (3) responsibilities and authority; (4) public consultation and deliberations; and (5) linkages to climate change policy.

» Video Conferencing with Panels from the Royal Society

Participants:

Dr Chris Vivian
Chairman, Scientific Groups of the London Convention and Protocol, UK

Mr Andy Parker
Senior Policy Officer, Royal Society, UK

Mr Mike Childs
Head of Climate Policy, Friends of the Earth, England, Wales and Northern Ireland

In this video conferencing session, members of The Royal Society, UK, shared their insights on issues related to geoengineering. Based on the discussion, several conclusions were noted, namely: (1) the involvement of more stakeholders in governing geoengineering; (2) expanding the scope of research; (3) maintaining climate change mitigation as a top priority and (4) the participation of the private sector.

The pilot workshop was indeed an insightful event and also marked the first time in which the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies had used video conferencing option. This greatly enabled the Centre’s ability to engage a wider range of experts

Dr Vivian noted that the ongoing changes to Japan’s nuclear energy structure will initiate greater coordination between the environment, energy and trade ministries as well as the Prime Minister’s Office, unlike before when it was largely under the auspices of the Ministry of Trade. That said, however, it still remains

or potential new geoengineering policy entrepreneurs. Particular attention was paid to transnational (geopolitical) dynamics and uncertainty about the future evolution of solar geoengineering technologies.

For an online summary and audio recording of the seminar, please click here.


The Fukushima nuclear crisis has led several Asian countries to face tremendous pressure to rethink their nuclear power projects. That said however, the Asia-Pacific region is likely to remain the most important area for new nuclear energy developments. For instance, after taking a step back in the wake of Japan’s nuclear disaster, China, the biggest potential player in the field of atomic energy, is moving cautiously ahead with its nuclear energy programme. Japan itself has not abandoned the nuclear option, but has instead decided to consider other energy sources and to review the current regulations governing the production of nuclear energy.

In view of such developments, research fieldwork was conducted to study the domestic and international implications of nuclear crises. Two in-house research pieces were produced as a result. The first piece entitled ‘Falling from Grace: Nuclear Energy in Japan Post-Fukushima’, demonstrated the limits of any disaster preparedness programme (even in a country like Japan that is known for its high disaster preparedness capabilities) if not complemented by sufficient safety measures and foresight in governance. It also examined the importance of effective nuclear energy governance systems by highlighting the implications for Japan’s future and that of the East Asian region. The piece also noted that the ongoing changes to Japan’s nuclear energy structure will initiate greater coordination between the environment, energy and trade ministries as well as the Prime Minister’s Office, unlike before when it was largely under the auspices of the Ministry of Trade. That said, however, it still remains
to be seen as to the extent to which the implementation of these structural changes will be effective.

In the second piece ‘On the Fast Train to Nuclear Disaster? Bias and Phobia as Challenges to China’s Pursuit of Nuclear Energy’, the focus was then turned to China and its prospects for sustaining a nuclear energy programme. The article took an interesting perspective by critically examining negative comments in the media, and in academic publications, on China’s development and its nuclear energy programme. It ultimately offered a wider and more optimistic perspective on both China’s progress and the safety of nuclear energy.

### Core Team
- **Associate Professor Rajesh M. Basrur**
  Senior Fellow and Advisor to the Energy and Security Programme (2009–2011) RSIS Centre for NTS Studies
- **Professor Zha Daojiong**
  Research Analyst (2010–2011) RSIS Centre for NTS Studies
- **Dr Jochen Prantl**
  Visiting Senior Fellow and Programme Lead of the Energy Security Programme, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies (2010–2011); and Senior Research Fellow, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, UK
- **Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony**
  Principal Investigator/Researcher, Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme Associate Professor, RSIS; Former Director of External Relations, The ASEAN Secretariat; Head, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies; and Secretary-General, Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia)
- **Dr Guy Hentsch**
  Diplomatic Advisor (Retd), European Centre for Nuclear Research (CERN)
- **Dr Alvin Chew**
  Adjunct Fellow (2009–2011) RSIS Centre for NTS Studies
- **Sofiah Jamil**
  Adjunct Research Associate RSIS Centre for NTS Studies
- **Zbigniew Dumienski**
  Research Analyst (2010–2011) RSIS Centre for NTS Studies
- **Lina Gong**
  Research Associate RSIS Centre for NTS Studies

### Published Works under the Programme


**Zbigniew Dumienski, ‘On the Fast Train to Nuclear Disaster? Bias and Phobia as Challenges to China’s Pursuit of Nuclear Energy’, NTS Alert, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, November 2011.**

**Sofiah Jamil, ‘Falling from Grace: Nuclear Energy in Japan Post-Fukushima’, NTS Alert, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, Nov 2011.**


**Steve Rayner, ‘Climate Change and Geoengineering Governance’, NTS Insight, Singapore: RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, June 2011.**


**Zbigniew Dumienski, Radiophobia - Fear that Kills, MacArthur Asia Security Initiative Blog, 8 Dec 2011.**

**Zbigniew Dumienski, Trains, Nuclear Power Plants and Confidence, 13 Sept 2011.**

**Sofiah Jamil, NIMBY rules for nuclear energy in East Asia post Fukushima?, 17 April 2012.**

### Public Dissemination under the Programme

#### a. Multimedia: ‘In Conversation With’ Series

**Pilot Workshop on Governing Geoengineering in the 21st Century: Asian Perspectives (18–19 July 2011), Report, RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, Singapore, 2011.**

The Centre for NTS Studies conducted interviews on the sidelines of the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative Dissemination Meeting on 28 November 2011.

**Kensuke Kanekiyo, Former Managing Director and Research Advisor, The Institute of Energy Economics (IEEJ), Japan.**

### Blog Posts

**Zbigniew Dumienski, Radiophobia - Fear that Kills, MacArthur Asia Security Initiative Blog, 8 Dec 2011.**

**Zbigniew Dumienski, Trains, Nuclear Power Plants and Confidence, 13 Sept 2011.**

**Sofiah Jamil, NIMBY rules for nuclear energy in East Asia post Fukushima?, 17 April 2012.**
Asia Security Initiative Visiting Fellowship

Arpita Mathur

Arpita Mathur was a Visiting Research Fellow at RSIS where she was involved in teaching graduate courses as well as training programmes. Her fellowship at the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies saw her organising a symposium on inter-state water conflicts in South Asia and the publication of an Asia Security Initiative working paper on women and food insecurity.

She received her MA, MPhil and PhD in International Relations from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. Before joining RSIS, she was Associate Fellow with the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, India (2001–2008). She has also been a recipient of the Okita Memorial Fellowship and the Japan Foundation Fellowship.

Her research interests include Japan and East Asia, as well as food and water security in South Asia. She has contributed book chapters and published articles in peer-reviewed journals and working papers.

Sally Trethewie

Sally Trethewie is Senior Analyst at the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies, where she researches for the Centre’s Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme, as well as its Food Security Programme.

Sally holds a BMus Studies (Performance) from the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, University of Sydney, and a Master in International Politics from the University of Melbourne. She recently co-authored a chapter for a handbook on International Political Economy which analysed the intellectual history of the discipline. Her master’s thesis analysed feminist theoretical approaches to the sex industry.

Aside from her research in both programmes, she has recently organised an expert group meeting on the feasibility of an Asian rice futures market and produced a policy brief and conference report on the topic. Sally’s next project is the organisation of a food wastage workshop that will work towards the quantification of food wastage along supply chains.

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

The Centre for NTS Studies, based in the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, was inaugurated by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Secretary-General Dr Surin Pitsuwan in May 2008. The Centre maintains research in the fields of Climate Change, Food Security, Energy Security, Health Security, as well as Internal and Cross Border Conflict. It produces policy-relevant analyses aimed at furthering awareness and building capacity to address NTS issues and challenges in the Asia Pacific region and beyond. The Centre also provides a platform for scholars and policymakers within and outside Asia to discuss and analyse NTS issues in the region.

In 2009, the Centre was chosen by the MacArthur Foundation as a lead institution for the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative, to develop policy research capacity and recommend policies on the critical security challenges facing the Asia-Pacific.

The Centre serves as the Secretariat of the ASEAN-Canada Research Partnership initiative supported by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada. It is also a founding member and the Secretariat for the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia).

More information on the Centre can be found at www.rsis.edu.sg/nts