

NTS-Asia

- Security Beyond Borders -

First Annual Convention of the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia
Galadari Hotel, Colombo
5 -6 November 2007



Members of NTS-Asia together with members of the NTSI Working Group from NESANetwork, National Defense University, Washington D.C

Seated in the front row is Prof. Syed Rifaat Hussain, Executive Director of RCSS Sri Lanka and Chair of NTSI Working Group (5th from left); Dr. Mely Caballero Anthony, Secretary-General of NTS-Asia (6th from left), keynote speaker Dr Rama Mani, Executive Director of the International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES), Sri Lanka (5th from right) and Dr Meiwita Budiharsana, Country Representative, Ford Foundation Indonesia (3rd from right)

As agreed during the Inaugural Meeting of NTS-Asia in January 2007, the First Annual Convention of NTS-Asia was held in Colombo from 5-6 November 2007. The Convention was organized by the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, with the support of the Ford Foundation and the NTS-Asia Secretariat, the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University.

In his opening remarks, Prof Hussain welcomed the presence of NTS working group members from the Near East and South Asia (NESANetwork) – scholars from leading research institutions from South Asia and the Middle East. Prof Hussain noted the timeliness of the NESANetwork meeting in coinciding with the NTS-Asia Annual convention as

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it generates opportunities for much needed cross-regional fertilization of ideas, research activity and long-terms intellectual collaboration in the challenging field of non-traditional security issues. Dr Budiharsana then expressed her thanks to RCSS for organizing the event and was delighted to see the progress of NTS-Asia thus far and looked forward to future developments within the Consortium.

In her introductory remarks, Dr Caballero-Anthony noted the significance of the convention as it marks the next phase of NTS-Asia activities, wherein members take off from where they left off since the inaugural meeting in Singapore in January 2007. Dr Caballero-Anthony also made mention of three main issues that the consortium needs to address. First, the

need to take stock of emerging challenges (such as the effects of climate change, infectious diseases and transnational crime) and not only assess their implications for human security, but also to bring value to these analyses by adding an NTS perspective – as was discussed during the Inaugural Meeting. Second, is the need to bridge the East-West divide on NTS research and policy analysis. The shared awareness of NTS issues in Asia and the work done by NTS-Asia member institutes serves to provide the avenue to break through the traditional notions of security that is prevalent in the West. And third, there is the need to advance the study of NTS in Asia beyond the current emphasis on the securitization dynamic towards exploring concrete ways and means for protecting peoples and societies. This would



involve closer examination of response mechanism to NTS issues such as poverty, health and natural disasters, thereby highlighting gaps and identifying best practices among state and non-state groups in responding to these challenges.

In her riveting keynote address, Dr Rama Mani, Executive Director of the International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES) Sri Lanka, noted that human security and democracy in South Asia is characterized by as a “state of siege in a reign of terror”. This, she noted, was ironic given the fact that human security emerged in the global south due to the harsh realities of tyranny and inequality. She thus noted remedies for this attack on human security and democracy. First, there is a need to re-think and reclaim the concept of human security. This is vital as the diffusion of human security has resulted in the “securitization of anything” and greater uncertainty over who should take responsibility. As such a more critical view of HS is needed. Second, there is the need to question the concept of democracy, which has been discredited as a Western tool. Moreover, the use of democracy has often been more concerned with the forms (i.e. electoral processes) rather than its substance (i.e. social justice). It is also critical to judge democracy based on socio-economic development equality, states would be able to avoid the dilemma of juggling economic development and democracy.

The Convention proceedings were followed various panels on NTS issues namely (i) Climate Change and Global Pandemics (ii) Transnational Terrorism and the Role of Small and Light Weapons; (iii) Illicit Human Trafficking, Transnational Crime and Narcotics; and (iv) other NTS issues related to migration, democracy and gender. The final session of the Convention was critically important as Consortium members finalized outstanding issues pertaining to membership, coordination of research clusters and other outstanding issues to further enhance the running of NTS-Asia.

GPPAC Peace Boat Mission **15 – 19 June 2007**

Professors Rifaat Hussain and R.A. Ariyaratne of RCCS participated in a variety of peace-building workshops conducted aboard the well-known cruise ship “Peace Boat” from 15-19 June 2007. They joined the mission in Da Nang, Vietnam, and made a fruitful contribution to GPPAC’s current discourse on shifting the peace-building paradigm from reaction to prevention by focusing especially on the current conflict scenario in Sri Lanka, Pakistan and India.



Delegates onboard the Peace Boat

The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) has been active in the Asia Pacific region for the last five years with strong and innovative processes in each of the four regions – Northeast Asia, Pacific, Southeast Asia and South Asia – gathering civil society organizations to implement measures designed to obviate the occurrence of conflicts and violence. The Da Nang meeting was the first ever GPPAC Asia Pacific Inter-Regional Forum. This gathering, on 15th June, was of great interest for the participants from 17 different countries/regions. The Forum set out to strengthen inter-regional cooperation on issues of regional priority through information exchange and relationship-building, as well as strategizing on cross-cutting issues to improve advocacy effectiveness and inter-regional coordination, and lastly developing concrete plans to optimize interregional cooperation.

Building on the strong contacts of the ‘floating’ host, Peace Boat, the delegates stepped out for the first time to meet with over 2000 young people in a night of colour, music and an celebration dedicated to





peace. This was followed by a meeting with civil society leaders of Da Nang to hear about their suffering related to Agent Orange used during the Vietnam War. The representatives personally met the victims of this hideous act and promised them that they will strive to raise international awareness on this issue.

Having boarded the Peace Boat in Da Nang, the delegates set out on a journey to map the similarities, differences and possibilities of cooperation amongst the four regions. Listening to each other's challenges, priorities and needs, the delegates learned from each other's experiences and developed a plan to more effectively cooperate and support each other's work. While engaging in a process of collective deliberation on such urgent issues as the nuclear arms and missile proliferation and geo-political power struggles in Northeast Asia and South Asia, along with crises of democracy, self-determination, human security and cultures of violence in the Pacific and Southeast Asia, the Forum recognized the need to respond to urgencies in Timor Leste, Burma, Sri Lanka, Guam, West Papua, Solomon Islands, North Korea, Fiji, the Philippines, Thailand and Japan. The Forum therefore agreed to formulate a concrete action plan including strategies to address identified issues.

The Forum discussed the situation in Burma and agreed to send a petition calling for the immediate and unconditional release of Aung Sun Suu Kyi. The petition was signed by 650 Peace Boat passengers, including Asia Pacific Forum members and was presented at the GPPAC Asia Pacific Multi-Stakeholder Roundtable, "ASEAN at 40 years: Building Partnerships for Peace in the Asia Pacific Region" held in Singapore on 19th June 2007. On the same day, upon arrival in the Singapore harbour a thirty-metre banner was unfurled on the side of the Peace Boat wishing Aung Sun Suu Kyi a Happy Birthday.

With the establishment of GPPAC Asia Pacific, the existing web of connections between national, regional and international parts of GPPAC's work has now been formally recognized and consolidated in Asia Pacific. At the end of this well-accomplished mission, the organizers announced on behalf of

GPPAC that plans are underway for the next Forum to be held in May 2008.

Perspectives on Social Policies:
A Week of Dialogue
19 - 23 March 2007
University of Hong Kong

The Strategic Research Theme on Social and Public Policies, co-convened by the Centre of Urban Planning and Environmental Management and CAS, hosted a week of dialogues in March 2007 at the University of Hong Kong. The event was officiated by Professor Richard Wong (HKU Deputy Vice-Chancellor) and Professor Ian Holliday (Dean of Social Sciences).



Participants at the Event

The events, which comprised three roundtables and a two-day international conference, discussed a number of critical themes in policy studies, notably urban planning, population policies, sustainable development, public health, housing and policy integration and implementation. In addition to local experts, international advisors from Italy, Mainland China, the United Kingdom, the United States and Singapore were invited to speak. More than 100 people attended and joined the discussion, including academics and representatives from different government agencies and communities.

The activity was also covered by local newspapers, such as South China Morning Post. A full set of papers presented at the conference are available at <http://www.hku.hk/cupem/home/SRT.htm>

Third NESARNSSC Plenary Meeting
9-12 November 2007
Amman, Jordan

Shortly after the NTS-Asia Annual Convention, Prof. Syed Rifaat Hussain attended the Third NESARNSSC Plenary Meeting in Amman. As Chair of the NESARNSSC working group on NTS Issues (NTSI), Prof Hussain provided a report on the group's indepth discussions on both the analytical dimension of NTS challenges as well as the need to have a shared framework between the Middle East and South Asia to deal with these challenges.

Prof Hussain noted that the NTSI group has agreed to compose a paper outlining the key elements of NTS perspective and its underlying assumptions. A mapping of NTS literature was also needed. The Group identified several topics for research and investigation, including (ii) energy and water issues, (iii) the role of armed groups, small arm and light weapons, (iv) Climate Change and (v) transnational crime.

(i) Migration, human trafficking and demographic change

Researchers of this topic would focus on the three Cs of Migration in the Middle East - Causes, Consequences and Cures. In doing so, various forms of migrations would be examined – namely internal migration, cross border migration, legal and illegal migration and tribal (nomadic) migration. It would also analyse the socio-economic and political causes for migration as well as the economic, political and security implications of migration. Finally, researchers would provide policy recommendations with regard to legislative and normalization laws and humanitarian assistance.

(ii) Water and Energy Security

Research in this area includes exploring issues and outlooks with regard to the sharing of water resources of common rivers among co-riparian states, such as Bangladesh and India. It would also probe into the issues and experiences in solving water sharing problems in the region. Research on energy security include examining the criticality of energy for regional states, in particular, the availability and

consumption patterns of energy, its demand projections over the next decade, strategies for meeting this demand and the need for reform measures to enhance regional integration.

(iii) Role of Armed Groups and Small Arms and Light Weapons

Drawing upon case studies in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Turkey and Iraq, research in this area would include (1) factors behind the proliferation of small arms and light weapons; (2)the interconnectedness between armed groups, sources of proliferation, illicit trafficking and socio- cultural norms; (3) the impact on human and regional security; (4) the role of regimes regulating small arms proliferation; and (5) the role of the state - such as proliferation and de-weaponization.

(iv) Climate Change

Research includes the nature of Climate change debate, in particular emerging issues and perspectives on climate change in South Asia and the Middle East, and how to mainstream climate change in the ongoing security discourse.

(v) Transnational Crime (TNC)

Research in this area include defining TNC, factors that influence TNC activities, the relationship between TNC and security, TNC and globalization, as well as TNC and information technology. It ends with recommendations needed to combat TNC.

The working group also decided to appoint decided to appoint two Vice-Chairs (one from South Asia and another from the Middle East) to ensure its effective functioning . The vice-chairs are Mr. A.K. M. Abdus Sabur (South Asia) and Dr. Mahjoob Ahmed Zweiri (Middle East).





NCERT- CSDS Textbook Initiative

NCERT with Lokniti under the leadership of Prof Suhas Palshikar, Prof. Yogendra Yadav and others has completed the task of producing Political Science textbooks for classes IX- XII for the academic year 2007-2008. The completed textbooks are 'Democratic Politics I' for class IX, 'Democratic Politics II' for class X, 'Indian Constitution at Work' and 'Political Theory' for class XI, and 'Contemporary World Politics' and 'Indian Politics Since Independence' for class XII. The team has also written separate Hindi versions of the textbooks. Such efforts are indeed commendable as they reflect a robust commitment to constitutional democracy.

Dialogues on Justice : A Report

The Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group (now known as the Calcutta Research Group or CRG) along with Lokniti (CSDS) organized a discussion on 'Dialogues on Justice' a report by CRG. The discussion was held at CSDS on the 18th of April 2007. This discussion was essentially based on the report 'Dialogues on Justice', which was an amalgamation of a series of dialogues held earlier. Several institutions such as Lokniti, Ford Foundation, European Union and International IDEA had assisted in holding these dialogues held during the State of Democracy in South Asia (SDSA) project.

The dialogues were held in Kolkata (discussing the

Upcoming Events

International Meetings on Security Sector Reform and Governance

The Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, Inc. (ISDS), a nongovernmental research and advocacy organization based in Manila, the Philippines, is hosting several international meetings from 20-27 January 2008 with the theme of promoting security sector reform (SSR) and security transformation in Southeast Asia and beyond.

Two international networks of scholars and practitioners on SSR will be meeting in Manila to discuss how to improve security sector governance and the provision of security, particularly to the marginalized and underprivileged sectors of society. On 21 January 2008, the Steering Committee of the [Global Consortium on Security Transformation \(GCST\)](#) will meet in order to determine its future plans, programmes, and activities. ISDS is one of the eight partner institutions of the GCST together with the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), the International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES), the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), among others.

From 22-25 January 2008, there will be several meetings on SSR co-organized with the [Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform \(GFN SSR\)](#), a research and training facility based in the University of Birmingham, UK. Its Advisory Group (AG) will meet to provide the GFN with valued advice, approve workplans and to discuss SSR issues of interest and how best to respond to them. On 23 January, there will be a workshop entitled "***The State of Security Sector Reform and Governance: Themes and Perspectives from South and Southeast Asia***" that will gather scholars and academics from these two sub-regions. Country papers from India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Timor Leste will be presented by members of the Asia Consultative Group on SSR (ACG SSR), a network of SSR scholars. Other events include a basic training programme on SSR for stakeholders in the Philippines as well as briefings on the security situation in the Philippines from different government and civil society.

Professor Carolina G. Hernandez, ISDS Founding President and Chair of its Board of Directors, sits in both the GCST Steering Committee as well as the GFN SSR Advisory Group. She is also the Coordinator of the ACG SSR and leads the research project funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to develop a Security Sector Reform Index (SSRI) for the Philippines.

If you would like further information please contact Aries Arugay at ISDS at arugay@gmail.com. For more information on ISDS's activities, please see: <http://idsphilippines.org>.

Recent NTS publications

Disasters and Security: A WISCOMP Forum - Swarna Rajagopalan and Nandhini Parthib, *The Forum Report (2007)*

WISCOMP strives to build a people-oriented discourse on the issue of security and the Disaster and Security Forum held on 15th and 16th September, 2006 at Chennai, India, sought to bring together researchers and practitioners to take stock of the range and variety of initiatives taken and lessons learnt in the aftermath of the December 26th 2004 tsunami and the October 8th 2005 Kashmir earthquake. The Forum aimed at identifying the theoretical areas where these initiatives and lessons must produce a change and capture and anticipate new themes and trends in human security scholarship. This report provides an overview of the issues raised at the forum, a summary of the sessions, a select bibliography and future agenda for research and praxis.

Prolegomena to the Study of People and Places in Violent India - Ananya Vajpeyi *WISCOMP Perspectives 26 (2007)*

Prolegomena to the Study of People and Places in Violent India is written as a letter to the contemporary Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben. With an introduction by political theorist and policy analyst Pratap Bhanu Mehta, the letter sets out the problems and possibilities of situating Agamben's categories of "camp" and "refugee" in a South Asian context. The author sketches the outlines of a theory of violent spaces and violated person in a cultural and historical context far removed from and yet intimately tied to, the European case theorized by Agamben.

Economic Crisis, Institutional Changes and the Effectiveness of Government: the Case of Indonesia **Ari A. Perdana and Deni Friawan** **August 2007, CSIS Indonesia**

Ten years after the crisis, Indonesia is still struggling to solve the problems in four major issues: economic stabilization and recovery, democratic transition and political reform, decentralization of political power, and the redefinition of national identity. This paper will explain the major changes in the political sphere, and how they affect the effectiveness of government in delivering economic recovery. This paper argues that democratic transition and decentralization affects economic recovery through the quality and effectiveness of governance. These changes have had mixed results in the economic policymaking. On the one hand the new system provides more check-and-balance mechanisms. On the other hand, it delays the decision-making process and creates new patterns of rent-seeking activities. This paper discusses these changes in two main parts. First, it quantitatively evaluates the impact of this transformation on the quality of institution and government effectiveness using the available and widely used Governance Indicators. Second, it provides a qualitative description on the process and outcomes of the political transformation.

Pdf version of publication available from http://www.csis.or.id/working_paper_file/76/wpe102.pdf

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face of Justice in West Bengal), Darjeeling (talking of the epistemic and practical issues that mark the research agenda on social justice) and Bhubaneswar (relationship between justice and democracy in the context of divided societies). These dialogues are also part of the programme 'State of Social Justice in India' of the CRG. According to CRG, the dialogues have immensely contributed to the collective knowledge on the state of social justice in the country. They have thrown up new ideas and questions and have shed light on the collective struggles for justice that go on in India with or

without the help of law. For CRG, the dialogue programme has been an integral part of the research activities as dialogic knowledge is more intense, detailed and helps create a network of interested people which in turn makes research a matter of sharing, collective gain and responsibility.

Dr. Ranabir Samaddar made a presentation on the report while Prof. Peter deSouza was the facilitator for the meeting.





Climate Change, Energy, and Environmental Sustainability: Are Regional Security Frameworks Prepared? *by Mely Caballero-Anthony*

ASEAN's 13th Summit in Singapore was highly eventful. Despite splendid efforts by the host to run the meeting and the series of related gathering of leaders – the 11th ASEAN Plus Three (APT) Summit, the 3rd East Asian Summit (EAS) – as smoothly as possible, the unexpected volte face of Myanmar, which prevented UN envoy Ibrahim Gambari from briefing the regional leaders on developments in the country, spoiled celebrations of ASEAN's 40th anniversary.

Myanmar's intransigence undermined ASEAN's credibility when a new phase of regionalism was being ushered in with the much-awaited adoption of the ASEAN Charter. It was a double-whammy given that some had expressed disappointment and dismay over what they considered a watered-down version of what could have been a promising Charter. There was a dilution of the recommendations of the Eminent Persons Group, who were assigned to offer ideas on the Charter after conducting consultations with civil society groups and business organizations in the region.

Still, the agreements and declarations at the end of the Summits should focus our attention on the issues and initiatives to respond to pressing security challenges confronting the region.

Recalibrating the Regional Security Agenda

Three issues dominated the various summits – climate change, energy, and the environment. At the ASEAN Summit, the leaders adopted the ASEAN Declaration on Environmental Sustainability. At the 3rd EAS, the Singapore Declaration on Climate Change, Energy and the Environment was adopted. Are these regional security frameworks adequate to respond to the security threats that have emerged?

Climate Change

Climate change is a major security issue. Climate change already featured in the agenda of the 2nd East Asian Summit in January 2007. There is now a flood of information from scientific studies like the

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change on the security implications of climate change. Despite this, there had not been a clear regional strategy to deal with the cross-cutting security risks from climate change – at the ASEAN or the wider East Asian level – until the release of these statements.

The inclusion of climate change on the ASEAN and East Asian Summits agendas is highly significant, given the urgency this issue commands. The grave security implications of climate change should propel ASEAN and the EAS to craft more defined strategies to mitigate the risks and threats. The decision not to include numerical targets on carbon emissions reductions, however, raises questions as to the capacity of this region – which has two of the largest emitting countries – to respond decisively.

Energy Security

Much forecasting in the region has identified energy as the key security issue. So far, the discussion has focused on security of supply, security of access to resources, and sustainable pricing. Yet, ASEAN has not had a clear policy on energy until very recently.

The ASEAN Plan of Action for Energy Cooperation (2004-2009) outlined plans to establish interconnecting agreements in the field of energy through the ASEAN Power Grid and Trans-ASEAN Gas Pipeline. Not much has been heard about the progress of these plans, except for the information that has been available through the ASEAN Secretariat. It may be time to examine the problems that have held up implementation of these projects.

Several issues need to be further explored. Based on the experience of the EU, these issues would include the possibility of stockpiling energy reserves, investments in infrastructures, sharing of technology (particularly in areas of energy efficiency), and conservation. Given the enormous task of dealing with energy security, inter-ASEAN cooperation needs

to be synergized with other regional frameworks that deal with this issue, be it at the APT or EAS level.

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**INGOs in Arms Control and Disarmament:
Potential and Viability**
Geetanjali Chopra Sharma, RCSS Policy Studies 40

INGOs are fast emerging as active players in influencing attitudes, negotiating norms, and making a difference in the operational realm on the global plane. The activities of these organizations traditionally restricted to civic-oriented issues are widely acknowledged and documented, while their activities in core areas of arms control and disarmament are not so widely noticed. Do INGOs actually possess the potential to emerge as significant players in arms control and disarmament? This study addresses this central question by analyzing the past involvement of INGOs in arms control and disarmament activities, and, on that basis, assessing their future potential in similar initiatives.

The focus is on constructing a model of engagement of INGOs in arms control and disarmament, based primarily on their role in the campaign against landmines and the resulting Ottawa Process and Convention. The model has then been applied to the case of small arms in order to test its applicability and thus assess the overall potential and viability of INGOs in arms control and disarmament initiatives for conventional weapons.

Labour Right Questions in Asia

By Chang Dae-oup, 2007, in *International Labor Brief* Seoul: Korea Labor Institute, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 3-23

Advancing East Asian Regionalism: An Introduction

By Nick Thomas & Melissa Curley, 2007, in *Advancing East Asian Regionalism*, UK: Routledge, pp. 1-25.

Developing a Regional Economic Community in East Asia

By Nick Thomas, 2007, in *Advancing East Asian Regionalism*, UK: Routledge, pp. 137-157

Correcting the Political Disorientation of the Youth

By Anil K. Verma, January-June 2007 in the *Indian Journal of Youth Affairs*, Vol. 11, No.1, pp.8-11

Contextualising Inter, Intra-religious and Gendered Literacy and Educational Disparities in Rural Bihar

By Mohd. Sanjeer Alam and Saraswati Raju May 2007, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLII, No.18

Environmental Protection and Security Frameworks

Strategies to mitigate the effects of climate change, as well as to address energy security, must take into account their impact on the environment. Crafting regional responses also needs to consider the larger political, economic, and social conditions of the states and societies in the region. This is no easy task. Sustainable development as a possible framework for intra- and inter-regional cooperation can be useful.

The bringing together of “Energy, Environment, Climate Change and Sustainable Development” as one broad yet inter-related theme in this year’s ASEAN and EAS Summits is therefore a positive development, which reflects the multi-sectoral impact of these issues. While disagreements could emerge in mapping out regional responses, the shared vulnerabilities of the regional states should be impetus for regional leaders, as well as the relevant state and nonstate actors, to urgently address these security threats.

As with many non-traditional threats which are transboundary, regional multilateral approaches are no doubt critical given the limited resources of individual states. This is why their weaknesses and limitations, it is still worth pinning our hopes on the strengthening of regional frameworks to help ensure the security of states and societies in the region.

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