



## NTS Bulletin January 2013

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## NTS VIEWPOINT

### Is 2015 the new Copenhagen? How the UNFCCC process risks falling into faulty patterns

By J. Jackson Ewing and Gianna Gayle Amul

Reactions to December's UN climate change talks in Doha have been defined largely by frustration with the pace, scope and ambition of the process. Exasperated and often derisive voices lament the vacuous extension of the international agreement to reduce greenhouse gas emissions (the Kyoto Protocol), the pervasive uncertainties besetting funding for climate change efforts in developing countries and failures to heed increasingly clear scientific warnings.

On process, Doha only solidified the skirmish lines between critics of underwhelming outcomes at the annual meetings of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and those who claim that measured, modest progress represents the only game in town.

#### The Copenhagen syndrome

On a micro-level, Doha has seen a potentially troubling dynamic becoming further entrenched: the circling of calendar dates at which a future grand bargain is to take place. This risks eroding trust in the entire process, particularly with Copenhagen still casting a long shadow.

The 2009 talks in Copenhagen had taken on an almost mythical narrative as the place where the ship would be righted once and for all. Its relative failure created a backlash, and demonstrated that seemingly well-established plans in the climate change sector remained hostage to international trends and moods in a range of sectors.

Subsequent meetings in Cancun and Durban cooled down key climate debates by picking low-hanging fruits and making incremental progress on ostensibly achievable goals. This allowed the UNFCCC process to proceed with modest successes and thus avoid the cynicism and melancholy that followed Copenhagen.

Events at Doha raise the question of whether these recent softly-and-slowly approaches have fallen out of favour. The UNFCCC process now targets the 2015 climate change talks for a series of paramount decisions that will notionally usher in a new era of climate change response. It is in 2015 that 'binding' emissions targets will be set for key high-emitting countries, essential bargains will be struck between developing and developed states, and the question of what countries belong where in the climate discourse and framework re-evaluated.

This vision gives pause to those still smarting from Copenhagen's failures. It would appear that Doha has doubled down on the UNFCCC proclivity for stop-gap measures meant to bridge the time between the present and some putative future in which political will might be more forthcoming.

#### The process paradox

Ambition and urgency along with incremental and at times piecemeal efforts both appear essential, if increasingly at odds with one another. Calls for patience and cautious optimism argue through various forms that Rome was not built in a day, and that facing climate challenges requires long-term diligence. Many scientific and policy voices, meanwhile, continue to spell out climate challenges, and the inadequacy of efforts to address them in increasingly stark terms.

Solutions to this process conundrum are far from apparent. The emphasis on strict lines between developed and developing countries continue to be contentious. Conversations about blurring these lines saw little movement in Doha as efforts to keep the climate architecture alive took centre stage. The toothlessness of 'binding agreements' should also be all too clear, and new approaches could either make censoring options apparent or move away from the obsession with binding agreements altogether. A robust mix of new metrics for emissions measurement, including through per-capita and per-unit of gross domestic product (GDP) and industrial activities, should be embraced.

Most importantly for any such efforts, however, is that UNFCCC participants continue to converge on overarching processes and strategies. This calls for a sober look at past failures, current trajectories and the connections that currently bind them.

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### Additional Info:

- Leahy, Stephen, 'Planet on path to four C warming, World Bank warns', *IPS*, 19 November 2012.
- Bailey, Rob, 'Doha climate talks: Stark warnings', *Chatham House*, 24 November 2012.
- 'Turn down the heat: Why a 4 degree C warmer world must be avoided', *World Bank*, November 2012.
- Corbyn, Zoe, 'Politics is biggest factor in climate uncertainty', *Nature*, 2 January 2013.
- Doyle, Alister, 'Cost of combating climate change surges as world delays – Study', *Reuters*, 3 January 2013.
- Elliott, Larry, 'Climate change, debt and inequality "threaten financial stability"', *Guardian*, 8 January 2013.

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## CLIMATE CHANGE, ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY AND NATURAL DISASTERS



### News & Commentaries

- Figueres, Christiana, 'Momentum for change: Recognizing climate action on the ground', Guest Article No. 88, *Climate Change Policy & Practice*, 27 November 2012.
- Murray, James, 'US intelligence community warns of rising climate security threat', *Guardian*, 11 December 2012.
- Brickell, Emily, 'A paradigm shift in thinking on REDD+?', *REDD-Net*, 12 December 2012.
- 'Typhoon Bopha toll hits 1020', *The Australian*, 17 December 2012.
- 'Floods, drought top disaster warning list', *Bangkok Post*, 25 December 2012.
- 'Top 10 facts about Asia's natural disasters in 2012', *Asian Scientist*, 31 December 2012.
- 'Science and development highlights of 2012', *SciDev.Net*, 3 January 2013.
- Lyall, Sarah, 'Heat, flood or icy cold, extreme weather rages worldwide', *The New York Times*, 10 January 2013.

### Selected Publications

- Mainaly, Joney and Su Fei Tan, 2012, 'Mainstreaming gender and climate change in Nepal', Working Paper No. 2, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED).

This study examines gender as a significant dynamic that underpins the process of social and institutional changes in policy reform in addressing climate change. It provides an analysis of the extent to which gender differences are taken into account in the development of policies and plans for adaptation to climate change in Nepal, and investigates the opportunities and progress made towards mainstreaming gender into policy more widely.

- Bunting, Stuart W., 2013, *Principles of sustainable aquaculture: Promoting social, economic and environmental resilience*, London: Routledge.

This book focuses on sustainable aquaculture practices. It is based on extensive evidence and knowledge of best practices, and provides guidance on appropriate adaptation and uptake in a variety of environmental, geographic, socioeconomic and political settings. The author concentrates on low-impact aquaculture systems and approaches, which have minimal adverse effects on the environment; and he emphasises socially responsible and equitable aquaculture development to enhance the natural-resource base and livelihoods.

- Antonio, Ella, Steve Bass and Donna Gasgonia, 2012, 'Philippines experience, lessons and challenges in environmental mainstreaming', Environmental Governance Series, No. 5, London: International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED).

This report offers a ten-point agenda for improving environmental mainstreaming in the Philippines, to better tackle poverty and improve the sustainability of economic growth. It emphasises working 'from the bottom', that is, local government units engaging with the poor to identify environmental practices that support poverty reduction; and linking this to working 'from the top' by engaging the central financial, economic and development authorities and identifying policies that support local needs and environmental goods

and services.

### Events & Announcements

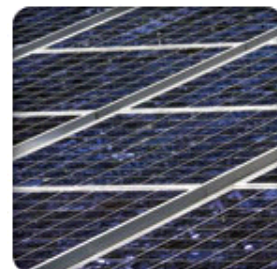
- 'UN University Conference on Earth System Governance', 28–31 January 2013, Tokyo, Japan.
- 'Aid and International Development Forum (AIDF) Asia-Pacific', 30–31 January 2013, Bangkok, Thailand.
- 'World Wetlands Day', 2 February 2013.

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## ENERGY AND HUMAN SECURITY

### News & Commentaries

- 'Philippine govt sees nuclear energy a viable option', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 25 December 2012.
- Tabuchi, Hiroko, 'Japan's new leader endorses nuclear plants', *The New York Times*, 30 December 2012.
- 'Biofuel production threatens air quality and crop yields, study finds', *Guardian*, 7 January 2013.
- Ma, Wayne, 'China plans to ramp up solar-power capacity', *The Wall Street Journal*, 8 January 2013.
- Azwar, Amahl S., 'Development of RI's biggest power plant stymied', *The Jakarta Post*, 10 January 2013.
- 'Dam meet offers MRC final chance to bare teeth', *Bangkok Post*, 14 January 2013.
- Tanaka, Nobuo, 'Asia must chart a collective future for greater energy security', *Eco-Business.com*, 14 January 2013.



### Selected Publications

- Dent, Christopher M., 2012, 'Renewable energy and East Asia's new developmentalism: Towards a low carbon future?', *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 25, No. 5, pp. 561–87.

This article examines the relationship between state capacity and industrial policy and the rapid growth of renewable energy in East Asia. It analyses the prospects of the region's transition to low-carbon development and the challenges related to this trend.

- BP, 2012, *BP Statistical Review of World Energy June 2012*, London.

This annual edition provides detailed statistics about global and regional consumption, production, and reserves of different energy sources. It also gives a brief forecast of trends in the energy sector.

### Events & Announcements

- '2013 International Conference on Electrical Energy and Networks', 19–20 January 2013, Singapore.
- 'Solar Business Expo', 19–20 March 2013, Bangkok, Thailand.

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## FOOD SECURITY

### News & Commentaries

- Zhang, Hongzhou, 'China's food security: Sourcing from the seas', *RSIS Commentaries*, 29 November 2012.
- Sarmiento, Prime, 'Mekong dam may cause food security threat, study', *Asian Scientist*, 3 December 2012.
- Phakathi, Mantoe, 'From Doha to Dakar, food insecurity is the norm', *IPS*, 4 December 2012.
- 'Food security institute launched', *The Canadian Press*, 10 December 2012.
- Tengku Abdullah, Tengku Noor Shamsiah, 'Asia's future food security hinges on modernisation of farm to market chains: ADB study', *Bernama*, 10 December 2012.
- 'Food security challenges may be answered with underutilized crops', *Farm Futures*, 13 December 2012.
- 'Bangladesh: Deforestation threatens food security in Southeast', *IRIN*, 18 December 2012.
- 'Experts: Rice production vital', *New Straits Times*, 19 December 2012.
- Lu, Maggie Yueyang, 'Chinese investors wary of Australian farm investments', *Reuters*, 20 December 2012.
- Bhardwaj, Mayank and Naveen Thukral, 'India reaps reward of bumper wheat crops as world exports shrink', *Reuters*, 13 January 2013.



## Selected Publications

- Australia-China Joint Working Group, 2012, *Feeding the future: A joint Australia-China report on strengthening investment and technological cooperation in agriculture to enhance food security*.

This report states that cooperation between Australia and China in the agrifood sector can contribute to improving global food security through investments to improve productivity and expand productive capacity, and focused cooperation in innovation, technology and services. It lists specific recommendations on bilateral cooperation in the areas of investment, technological and services cooperation, and joint consultative mechanisms.

- Reardon, Thomas, Kevin Chen, Bart Minten et al., 2012, *The quiet revolution in staple food value chains: Enter the dragon, the elephant and the tiger*, Manila: Asian Development Bank (ADB) and International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI).

This study presents findings of a survey of rice and potato value chains in Bangladesh, China and India, and from these, assesses how domestic staples value chains are structured and performing in Asia after the food price hike in 2007–2008. It also provides a systematic and rigorous review of the catalytic roles that governments, the private sector, civil society and international development institutions can play in the process.

## Events & Announcements

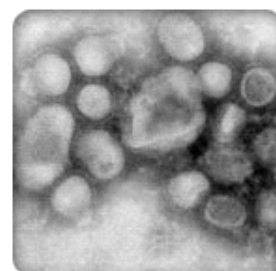
- 'Sustainable Foods Summit', 22–23 January 2013, San Francisco, CA, US.
- 'Africa's Food Systems in 2030', 5 February 2013, Stanford, CA, US.

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# HEALTH SECURITY

## News & Commentaries

- 'Bugs without borders: Researchers track the emergence and global spread of healthcare associated *Clostridium difficile*', *Science Daily*, 9 December 2012.
- 'Alcohol pricing policies save lives and increase profits, experts say', *ScienceDaily*, 10 December 2012.
- Rowe, Jeff, 'mHealth a promising new tool in the global health toolkit', *Healthcare Information and Management Systems Society (HIMSS)*, 11 December 2012.
- Kelland, Kate, 'Global malaria battle stalls as financing gets tight', *Reuters*, 17 December 2012.
- Fonbuena, Carmela, 'Senate, House OK RH bill; Make history', *Rappler*, 17 December 2012.
- Sarmiento, Prime, 'Asia-Pacific commits to improving health data systems,' *SciDev.Net*, 28 December 2012.
- 'Philippine president signs contraception law', *Al Jazeera*, 29 December 2012.
- Protocol to eliminate illicit trade in tobacco products opened for signature', *WHO*, 10 January 2013.
- Saragih, Bagus B.T. and Agnes Winarti, 'Terrorism likely behind avian flu outbreak: Indonesian Intelligence', *AsiaOne*, 12 January 2013.



## Selected Publications

- Witter, Sophie, 2012, 'Health financing in fragile and post-conflict states: What do we know and what are the gaps?', *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 75, No. 12, pp. 2370–7.

This article presents a review of the limited literature on health financing in fragile and post-conflict states. It finds that much of the existing literature relates to the role of donors. It notes the need for more work in some areas, such as access to care and equity over the post-conflict period, the mix and sequencing of financing mechanisms, and overall health financing strategies and their possible contribution to wider state-building.

- Chee, Grace, Nancy Pielemeier, Ann Lion et al., 2012, 'Why differentiating between health system support and health system strengthening is needed', *The International Journal of Health Planning and Management*, e-publication ahead of print.

This article argues the need to differentiate between health system support and health system strengthening in order to identify the policy and structural constraints that affect the performance of health systems. It asserts that providing health system support merely addresses current constraints while health system strengthening addresses future constraints. The article recommends criteria for designing more effective system strengthening interventions that can have long-term impact on health services as well as more effective resource allocation from donor organisations.

## Events & Announcements

- '10th Annual BIO Asia International Conference', 29–30 January 2013, Tokyo, Japan.
- 'World Cancer Day', 4 February 2013.
- Job Posting: Senior Health Coordinator, Emergency Response Team, International Rescue Committee, Deadline: 13 February 2013.

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## **INTERNAL AND CROSS-BORDER CONFLICT**

### News & Commentaries

- Morada, Noel, 'ASEAN, the Rohingyas and Myanmar's responsibility to protect', *Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (APCR2P)*, 27 November 2012.
- 'Australia's offshore asylum process', *IRIN*, 30 November 2012.
- 'Bangladesh: NGO ban hurting undocumented Rohingya', *IRIN*, 17 December 2012.
- Fuller, Thomas, 'Myanmar military admits to airstrikes on Kachin rebels', *The New York Times*, 2 January 2013.
- '13,000 boat people flee Myanmar, Bangladesh: UN', *Jakarta Globe*, 4 January 2013.
- Villanueva, Kevin H.R., 'ASEAN "Magna Carta" universalizes human rights', *The Jakarta Post*, 8 January 2013.
- Rosauo, Ryan D., 'New peace goal: Bangsamoro unity', *Inquirer*, 12 January 2013.
- Nebehay, Stephanie, 'ICRC head in Myanmar to gain access to prisons, conflict zones', *Reuters*, 13 January 2013.



### Selected Publications

- Croissant, Aurel, David Kuehn and Philip Lorenz, 2012, *Breaking with the past? Civil-military relations in the emerging democracies of East Asia*, Policy Studies, No. 63, Honolulu: East-West Center.

This study examines the transformation of civil-military relations in Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan and Thailand. It argues that differences in the development of civil-military relations in these countries had serious repercussions for national security, political stability and democratic consolidation; and that this helps explain why South Korea, Taiwan and, to a lesser degree, Indonesia, have experienced successful democratic transformation, while Thailand and the Philippines have failed to establish stable democratic systems.

- Williams, Paul D. and Alex J. Bellamy, 2012, 'Principles, politics, and prudence: Libya, the Responsibility to Protect, and the use of military force', *Global Governance*, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 273–98.

This article discusses the UN's Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) initiative and its significance as an international political policy in relation to the use of coercive and military measures to prevent mass atrocity crimes. Topics include the UN Security Council's Resolution 1973, its authorisation of military intervention in the Libyan civil war, and the political and operational difficulties associated with humanitarian war.

## Events & Announcements

- '8th Annual Conflict Prevention, Peacekeeping and Stability', 11–13 February 2013, Alexandria, VA, US.
- 'Poverty Alleviation and Social Protection Conference 2013', 9–11 March 2013, Bangkok, Thailand.

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## **TRANSNATIONAL CRIME**

### News & Commentaries

- Druzin, Heath, 'Fearing post-2014 environment, Afghans buy up weapons', *Stars and Stripes*, 5 December 2012.
- Amos, Howard, 'Chinese thirst drives illegal logging in Russia's Far East', *The Moscow Times*, 5 December 2012.
- Bilala, Anne-Yolande, 'The U.N. Arms Trade Treaty: An inadequate solution for illicit weapons trafficking?', *Diplomatic Courier*, 7 December 2012.
- Zhang, Yan and Wang Qian, 'Smuggling blights rare earths industry', *China Daily*, 10 December 2012.



- McGrath, Matt, 'Wildlife crime profound threat to nations, says report', *BBC*, 12 December 2012.
- 'India lost 123 billion in black money', *The Malaysian Times*, 18 December 2012.
- Castillo, E. Eduardo, 'Mexico says some 80 cartels at work in country', *AP*, 18 December 2012.
- 'Central Asia's "drug capital" fights to stem tide of narcotics', *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 4 January 2013.
- Gross, Grant, 'EU organized crime makes €1.5 billion a year on credit card fraud', *IT World*, 7 January 2013.
- Fürstenau, Marcel, 'Child trafficking on the rise, UN says', *Deutsche Welle*, 11 January 2013.

### Selected Publications

- UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2012, *Global report on Trafficking in Persons 2012*, Vienna.

This report sheds light on the patterns and flows of human trafficking in 2012. It observes that at least 136 different nationalities were trafficked and detected in 118 different countries. One of the most worrying trends is the increase in child victims. There are, however, some positive trends. By 2012, 134 countries and territories had enacted legislation criminalising trafficking. Indeed, the percentage of countries without an offence criminalising this activity halved between 2008 and 2012.

- Freitas, Sarah and Dev Kar, 2012, *Illicit financial flows from developing countries: 2001–2010*, Global Financial Integrity (GFI).

The report is GFI's annual update on the amount of money flowing out of developing economies via crime, corruption and tax evasion. In this report, GFI introduces a special analysis of sovereign wealth funds and their relationship to illicit financial flows. It found that the developing world lost USD859 billion to illicit outflows in 2010, an increase of 11 per cent over 2009. Conservatively estimated, illicit financial flows have increased in every region with developing countries.

### Events & Announcements

- 'C5's Anti-Corruption Australia Forum', 29–30 April 2013, Sydney, Australia.
- 'International Conference for Police & Law Enforcement Executives', 26–28 May 2013, Toronto, Canada.
- 'International Conference for Police & Law Enforcement Executives', 9–11 June 2013, Atlanta, GA, US.

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## WATER SECURITY

### News & Commentaries

- Schneider, Keith, 'China's water reserves and world's warming atmosphere wait for natural gas breakthrough', *Circle of Blue*, 3 December 2012.
- Walton, Brett, 'To drought-proof city's water supply, Sydney proposes a second set of pipes', *Circle of Blue*, 4 December 2012.
- Balch, Oliver, 'For the food and drink industry, water security is no small beer', *Guardian*, 4 December 2012.
- Rinat, Zafir, 'Don't let campaign video on Israel's water crisis worry you too much', *Haaretz*, 9 December 2012.
- Mahbubani, Kishore, 'Singapore's record on water and built environment provides a lesson for Asia', *Guardian*, 14 December 2012.
- Postel, Sandra, 'Ethiopian dam threatens to destroy indigenous livelihoods and the world's largest desert lake', *National Geographic*, 11 January 2013.
- Lim, Ida, 'In Selangor water crisis, Rafizi cries "political sabotage"', *The Malaysian Insider*, 11 January 2013.
- 'Xayaburi dam stirs debate on Mekong River Commission', *Bangkok Post*, 13 January 2013.
- 'Taiwan mulls shipping water from China as ties improve', *AFP*, 13 January 2013.
- Sheldon, Fran, 'Australia begins large-scale plan to rehydrate declining river system', *Guardian*, 14 January 2013.



### Selected Publications

- International Rivers, 2013, *The downstream impacts of Ethiopia's Gibe III Dam: East Africa's 'Aral Sea' in the making?*, January.

Ethiopia's Gibe III Dam could create a region-wide crisis for indigenous livelihoods and biodiversity and destabilise the Ethiopia-Kenyan borderlands around Lake Turkana. The long-term effect could parallel what has happened to Central Asia's Aral Sea, one of the planet's worst environmental disasters. This paper summarises decades of research on and around the lake by specialists, as well as recent studies of current threats. It then reviews the potential political consequences and suggests strategies that might be pursued to tackle them.

- Amarasinghe, Upali, 2012, *The National River Linking Project of India: Some contentious issues*, IWMI–Tata Water Policy Research Highlight, No. 16, Colombo: International Water Management Institute (IWMI).

India's National River Linking Project (NRLP) is the largest inter-basin water transfer planned to date in India or elsewhere. This article examines a few contentious issues that received considerable attention in the national discourse. It concludes that donor basins may have surplus water to make the NRLP technically feasible; however, there is need for a nuanced analysis of whether the project is the best possible option available to India.

- UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and International Hydrological Programme (IHP), 2012, *Water, cultural diversity, and global environmental change: Emerging trends, sustainable futures?*, Paris: Springer.

It is argued that water is a fundamental human need, a human right and a core sustaining element in biodiversity and cultural diversity. This book offers an array of ideas, concepts and tools to understand and manage the sociocultural implications of the growing water crisis, and suggests alternative pathways to sustainability.

### **Events & Announcements**

- '2nd Annual Water Infrastructure Indonesia', 26–27 March 2013, Jakarta, Indonesia.
- 'First World Irrigation Forum (WIF)', 29 September – 3 October 2013, Mardin, Turkey.

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### **About the Centre:**

The Centre for NTS Studies, based in the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), 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.

The Centre is the Coordinator of the ASEAN-Canada Research Partnership (2012–2015) supported by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada. It also serves as the Secretariat of the initiative.

In 2009, the Centre was chosen by the MacArthur Foundation as a lead institution for its three-year Asia Security Initiative (2009–2012), to develop policy research capacity and recommend policies on the critical security challenges facing the Asia-Pacific. 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](http://www.rsis.edu.sg/nts).