

Session II Cluster 3 Transcript

Moderator

Mely Caballero-Anthony

Participants

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Session II. Cluster Discussion Cluster 3. Internal Challenges

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Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

Colleagues, friends, good afternoon and welcome to our session on cluster discussion for the third cluster of the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative. Someone asked me today, “What’s the name of our cluster?” The categorization of our cluster is “internal challenges.” I think during the first call for grand scheme, the full title was “internal challenges and cross country implications.” I see familiar faces but I think for the benefit of those who are with us for the first time, it may be good to just go around the table and say something about ourselves. And then we can decide the modality of how we are going to conduct our meeting. Belinda, you can start.

Belinda Chng

I’m the program officer for the ASI project in the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies. We work on three main programs here: internal conflict, climate change as well as energy and human security.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

By the way, Belinda is actually the one writing to everybody, because as you know, we have a Cluster 3 website. This is our deliverable to the MacArthur Foundation and (to Belinda) can you just show the research cluster page to everyone? We are all here. See? There you are... I know you all have your respective websites, but this is where the MacArthur Foundation keeps

track of how much information or interactions we have. We will talk about this later and continue with the introduction. James, please?

James Gannon

Thank you, it’s good to belong somewhere. I’m James Gannon. I’m the director of Japan Center for International Exchange, U.S. office. We do a lot of political exchange activities and policy work here, but mostly what I focus on is non-governmental underpinnings of the U.S. and Asia. Thank you.

Tadashi Yamamoto

I’m Tadashi Yamamoto. I’m the founder of the JCIE. It is an institution not controlled by the government or bureaucrats. We have survived so far. I really think that we are a very truly independent institution. I’m very proud of it but we are rather precarious because we depend on contributions. To make a very long story short, we focus on three cutting-edge clusters. One is civilness; civil society network. The second is the network of NGO. The third one is the proclamation programs, mainly with the United States. So we have a staff of about fifty or so in Tokyo and five in New York. We believe in networking very much. So we have the East Asia Community Project since way back, in fact ahead of you guys, including MacArthur. We solely believe in the importance of networking with like-minded institutions for us to survive, make contributions and learn. I think that strategy has been great and I hope to broaden the network so that Japan can truly be part of the international community.

One last thing, I should really say that I was very much concerned about who Japan was. Japan was emerging as the industrial nation and we were kind of a lonely state. We didn't have any friends, others were suspicious about us, and so we wanted to network with others. Most of the secondary was very much concerned about the government control of our JCIE. So we insisted on independence, and so we do not get any form of subsidy. If you do so, you get owned by the government. So this is a shortened version of what we do.

David F. von Hippel

I am David von Hippel from Nautilus Institute. I guess I was inclined to just give a two minute introduction, and then I'm assuming we would be coming back around the table talking about our project and initiatives. I'm not a Nautilus Institute employee but probably have more longevity with Nautilus Institute than anybody else besides Peter Hayes. I've been working with Peter on issues related to North Korea and more broadly, energy security in North East Asia and East Asia for many, many years. We will be happy to describe projects in that regard. I will let my colleague Peter Yi (Kisu Yi) to talk about that.

ANM Muniruzzaman

Thank you. My name is Muniruzzaman but you can just call me Munir. I am the head of the Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies. It's an independent think tank where you work on a broad spectrum of security issues; both traditional and nontraditional issues and cross national security issues. I'm kind of new in the cluster, so I will appreciate it if my institution logo is included in the website. I have been associated with the MASI's initial design of its concept before it was launched, so I have been with the MacArthur's initial concept for a couple of years. It's been three years now. So I am happy to be here to discuss about our project as we come back again. Thank you.

Kirsten Trott

Hi, I'm Kirsten Trott. I work for the Strategy and Research Impact at the Centre for Asia and Globalization (CAG),

which is a small research center based at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, which is a school based at the National University of Singapore. We will talk more about our projects later.

Ilmas Futehally

Hi, I'm Ilmas Futehally. I'm the executive director of the Strategic Foresight Group, an independent think tank based in Mumbai. We were set up eight years ago to provide poverty research.

Kiho Yi

Nice to meet you. My name is Kiho Yi. Actually, I work in different sectors concurrently. One is the Nautilus Institute. In Seoul office we call Nautilus "ARI." ARI is Asia Regional Initiative. We have actually been working on building up some sort of a civil society cooperation network based on the local government or civil society. We are much interested in building a kind of face to face communication and local to local solidarity. Of course we do not deny the international paradigm, but we would also like to develop local and regional paradigms which will be a new way of working as a unit or a community. At the same time, I work at Hanshin University, where I'm in charge of the Center for Peace and Public Integrity. But today, I came here as a director of Nautilus ARI, so if I just briefly talk about it continuing from David, in Nautilus ARI we would like to develop not only about the issues but, if I just briefly say two things, we would like to make a comment about the complexity of the global problems and how those are connected. At the same time, we would like to develop some methodology to see what the problem really is and how to solve it together. So, we also developed the scenario workshop as our methodology, and in our context we are also developing an ARI version of the ISA –a Japanese word which we call isa, which means, as you probably know, "now, it's time to go." ISA means issue-defining by ourselves; it should not be defined by others. It should be defined by the very people who are living there. S is scenario, and A is alternative strategy. So that is in the process of development, which is just what I would like to say. The

other concern about the issue, as I have mentioned, is that we would like to see the complexity and connections among the global issues, and over here, in the next two years, we would like to give a focus to creating more nuclear free zones in the perspective of the civil society. We would like to make a focus on Japan and Korea nuclear free zone first of all. That's all, and thank you.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

Thank you Kiho. I think Kiho has sort of started the ball rolling and informing us about the projects we are involved in. To be very honest, I am not sure how you would like to have this meeting. When we first met, just as a background for those who have joined us for the first time, we found ourselves being grouped together in this cluster. When first met in Singapore, we were wondering how we were going to work together. We were assigned as a core institution but in our proposal to MacArthur we also had to define our own set of partners. That was the requirement if you wanted to be a core institution; you should be able to demonstrate that you can be collaborative with various partners. So we gave them a set of partners that we have, including some of our members from By the time the grant came on, we found ourselves together. The first question we raised in Singapore was how we were going to work together, since most of us, or at least some, already had very defined projects, and the MacArthur grant only came in basically to supplement the ongoing projects that they had. So at that time, we thought that the most practical way to proceed was to get ourselves informed about what we are doing, and if there were any projects which we share common themes, we could perhaps invite members from other institutions to come and participate as research persons, and if possible, think about having joint conferences. We didn't decide on how to go about it, but those were just very free floating ideas that we just put on the table.

So, if I could start, for our side at the RSIS, we have very focused themes for our MacArthur project. One of the themes was "Multilevel approaches to internal conflict." And we decided to focus on the set of conflict and its mul-

tilevel approaches because we believe that the internal conflicts, whatever they are, must not only include or involve governments, but should include a number of actors, because the approaches that you have, whether it is a religious or an interstate conflict, there must be other actors involved. This is where the civil society component comes in. Also, when you look at approaches to conflict, we think that there are other ways to resolve or manage conflicts, which have not really been thought about. So we are exploring things such as the whole notion of the responsibility of protecting civilians, which is not just the responsibility of the international community, and the need for intervention of other actors –non-state actors, civil society organizations– and even to what extent the civil security sector has been reformed in managing conflict. Finally, the whole idea of protection of civilians – if this is not handled properly, it would lead to different types of conflict. So understanding what it means, and to promote approaches or norms to protecting civilians in a way that helps managing or preventing internal conflicts.

The second project or program that we have is on climate change, environment and security. Because it is a center for nontraditional studies that runs these programs, we always use human security as our main framework in approaching many of these issues. So looking at climate change, we deviate away from the usual discourses of debates, and focus instead on the vulnerabilities faced by societies as a result of climate change. We have this workshop –we had our first last year- and this is what we thought since some institutions such as the Strategic Foresight are working on water security, and Nautilus was also working on energy –that is why we started to invite people to come in.

Finally the third one was energy and human security. We are looking at the human security issues that are perhaps not talked about in energy security. This is not just about supply and demand, but their impact on security, for example, socioeconomic impact on energy security. But we also have people within the center that are interested in the debates on nuclear energy of Southeast Asia and the human security indications of that, which links to other de-

bates on the environment, political security and the role of civil society in engaging the debates on nuclear energy.

So we have these three programs that have now, basically, taken off, and all the relevant projects within the districts of these three processes have already started. We are now in the second phase where we are writing papers for the commission and we are also organizing a place where we can discuss our findings. We will be inviting people, and if you are interested in, or very much like to, getting any of you from your institution to come in and become our research person, either as discussants or reviewers of this paper, feel free to do so. So these are just the three things.

Finally, as I have mentioned earlier, we are also supposed to gather or facilitate a vehicle for promoting your work as well in this cluster. So Belinda has been appointed as a program officer to write to every institution and to see if there is anything that you would like to disseminate not only to MacArthur but also to our own audience that we reach out to from our school. So this has actually been a very active website and we have had some of your reports that have been uploaded, and anybody who is interested in this can actually just access the website. So this is what we do. David?

*website: www.asicluster3.com

David F. von Hippel

Let me talk about a couple of projects that I'm most involved in, and mention at least one that Tanter would have spoken about –he sends an apology for not being able to come- and leave Kiho to elaborate. So one of the areas that I think touches on the ongoing MacArthur work is North Korea, and in particular, on North Korean issues. We have been working on it since 1994 to try figuring about what the North Korean energy sector looks like, and then taking a number of different approaches to the problem, looking at environment, military energy uses, energy efficiency and respective different fuels of electricity to try see in what ways the international community might assist the DPRK, and work together in assisting the DPRK to solve the energy security problems that have had so much to do with the

nuclear weapon problems that they make with others. That's sort of the one area of work, and the second work has been what is most recently been under the MacArthur East Asian Science and Security project, and in that project, which I think has a lot of overlap with what you have been doing with your group, we have had working groups between 8 and 10 different countries in East Asia, where each of the working group headed typically by an academic (and sometimes somebody from NGO) has been working relatively for some time to form a forward looking energy model of the economy, using the same common software tool. So it's like a language that all of the countries keep together. And it is quite nice to get together in a room and have our Russian colleagues helping Japanese colleagues with their data sets and sharing their information very openly. So what we are doing is fostering a methodology to look at energy and environmental security issues together and look at regional approaches to getting what economists would say pareto optimal, which means to have everybody better off by collaborating on different issues. We have also gone through a number of different issues each year. In the last couple of years we have been focusing on energy power and specifically the relationship between nuclear power and climate change, which is not as straightforward as the media sometime likes to make it sound. But one of the ideas that we pursued in some detail last year is looking at how different types of cooperation on nuclear fuel cycle issues might improve energy security, which we define very broadly to include energy supply, technological and environmental security, sociopolitical, military security and many others that I would be mentioning in my presentation this afternoon. We have just completed, or at least undergoing an internal review in a fairly large part, on that project and are stepping into what will be our last year of the work on climate nuclear nexus with our partner countries, unless we get more money, which will be nice.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

So are you almost at the end of this project cycle?

David F. von Hippel

We are, and we are hoping that we will have...it's been ten years in building this project and its network of colleagues with detailed data sets describing energy security in these countries, and it will be a shame to end it. There is an opportunity to expand to new countries. We have done this research at Indonesia, Australia, Vietnam and Taiwan, and we would certainly like to add others like the Philippines or Malaysia. But money is a big issue.

But, we are using that work as a springboard for the Korea-Japan nuclear free zone project, or at least a portion of that, because a part of making the Korea-Japan nuclear free zone work means you have to make arrangements for nuclear fuel cycle cooperation between Japan and the ROK. So we have just started on that process, and have been building on.

One other thing that I think Richard Tanter would have mentioned is that he and his colleagues are very interested in the discussions in Indonesia regarding their nuclear power program that were made in Manhattan. I have been working peripherally as an advisor to them, but I know that they would like to continue to do that work in conjunction with Indonesian colleagues to make sure that all of the positives and negatives of nuclear power development in Indonesia are clearly laid out for both civil society and policy makers.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

Maybe we will leave the suggestions on collaborations later after we have gone around. So, Munir?

ANM Muniruzzaman

I would like to briefly inform the cluster about the project that we are starting this month. We are basically working on the issue of climate change, but we are also focusing very definitely and narrowly on security dimensions of climate change. In that, we are narrowly focusing again on finding out the nexus between the climate-induced conditions on the migrations of specimen and the link between these specimen and internal instability and regional conflict. So that is the primary area on what we are trying to see. The reason we chose this is because the predictions

have indicated a 1m rise in sea level will entail about the loss of 20% of Bangladesh territory. And given small geographic size of Bangladesh, with a huge demographic size of its population, it would entail the displacement of population of climate-induced refugee population of 35 to 40 million. That is a very staggering and massive figure that the international community has never dealt with. Given the internal conditions and capacity of the country, it is also anticipated that this is something that will not be handled internally, because the state's capacity to handle such a massive population does not exist at all. We are also anticipating that this large number of climate refugees cannot be absorbed internally, so it will be moving towards trans-border migration, and trans-border migration probably will lead towards India. Given the problem that they have, again, within India, as it has a very large population, and given the current situation of the Indo-Bangladesh border, which for your information is the worst, only totally-fenced border, the complete border along the Indo-Bangladesh border which is of three sides of Bangladesh has been fenced by India. And given the kind of preparation and move from the Indian side of the border, which I will not debate here, I don't think that the Indian side will be in the position to accept any of the refugees crossing India. So it will certainly come to a situation where there will be tensions along the borderline, and eventually, engulfing into interstate conflict that could very easily have implications not only between Bangladesh and India, but on the wider South Asian region. We also see steady climate-induced conditions that will have human security impact, starting with Bangladesh. And those would be impacts that will cover the economic life lines of people who are marginalized in some coast areas of the country. We are trying to analyze the saline intrusion that is coming into the country, especially because it is a deltaic region, and therefore any intrusion of salinity in the region has very devastating effects not only on the ecology of the country, but also the total life cycles of the people. In addition to this, we will be studying the state's capacity to cope with some of the challenges that will be mounted on the state when this calamity begins to occur. And this will start with

the flow of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP). IDP flow will come towards overpopulated and outlining urban areas in the country, which will aggravate the human security, health and hygiene conditions, and various levels of human security conditions in the country. We will also be studying, with the help of my colleagues in India, about the policy regimes that exist in the neighborhood. In that, we will be jointly studying this aspect with India and Nepal to see what sort of internal policy or resilience will have regional implications. We will also be collecting data to see comparative analysis with Maldives. So altogether, I'm quite excited that this will be a fascinating study. As a matter of fact, some of the first major impacts of climate change will occur in this region, the countries that I have been mentioning. And it will be fascinating in the sense that it would be good to see the empirical study to see what is going to be played out, so that it is not only us in the region, but the whole international community that has a feel of what is about the conflict and what should be there in preparation to face them. Because certainly, it is a study under climate change and international security, and any impacts that it will have on the national and regional security will definitely have impacts and implications on the international security.

Please also bear with me on the concept that South Asia and South Asia bordering China is very sensitive to any change of destabilization in any part of the area. This is also about the most nuclearized zone because, of the nine countries in the region, three are nuclear powers, and two powers are contesting powers. So any sign of destabilization anywhere within the region will have very unpredictable consequences. We do not know how this can be played out for the interest or disinterest of one another. It is a very sensitive area and climate-induced conditions can have very negative and destabilizing effects that form the consequences not only for the regional security, but also for the international security. I will be working very closely with our friends within the cluster and institutions we have worked with within the region. We shall be exchanging information, collecting data, doing joint papers together and hosting conferences in and out of Bangladesh

Kirsten Trott

I'm representing three researches that have been taking part in our project. You might have met some of them before. Our project that focuses mostly around energy has three components; two relating to energy governance, one which is global energy governance, and another one is regional energy governance. And the third section is on energy security. The global energy governance section of the project has been jointly funded by MacArthur and as part of this initiative and also funded as part of the larger program known as the S.T. Lee, so if you heard any reference at all to the S.T. Lee global governance project in relation to the Lee Kuan Yew School, they do overlap. And that is focusing on largely building an epistemic community of scholars looking at global energy governance, with the key issue related to security and development but also to human security more generally, trying to work out why energy isn't working properly at a normal level. So there are three parts to that; looking at individual countries' approaches to energy governance within China, India and Philippines, looking at formal international organizations – so anything from the G20 and the G8 to the AIEA which is more specifically energy-related obviously, and trying to cross linkages in that. Without going into too much detail on that area of the project, that area of the project is coming to an end this year, although there will be ongoing dissemination and et cetera next year. But in the short term we are looking at producing an edited volume of papers for that it has been something along the lines of twelve to fifteen papers in commission for that part of the project internationally.

Then the regional energy governance; part of the project has been headed up by Dr. Teresita Cruz-del Rosario who's been looking at governance relating to hydroelectric projects in the Mekong sub region. And the energy security project led by Benjamin Sovacool has both had a quite a large energy security workshop which was held in Singapore last year, which has involved again a number of papers ...

David F. von Hippel

It is a book.

Kirsten Trott

It is a book. The Energy Security Handbook. So that's in train and that's specifically trying to create a set of indicators for measuring energy security. That's a brief summary of our project, and I have further information should anybody want it. And just to make a comment on ANM's project, I know Rozario has been talking about an interest in migration and climate change. So it may be worth at some stage making linkages with her given her expertise in migration. If you are looking for paper within the region – I don't know what her research schedule is like, she's got lots different areas to work on – just to do with energy security.

Ilmas Futehally

So our project for the MacArthur Foundation is looking at water security in the Himalayan River basin, and we are concentrated on the Northeastern part of India, so India, Southern parts of China and Bangladesh. Last year we organized two workshops – one in Katmandu, where we had scholars and experts on water and water security, and then we have organized another one in Dhaka earlier on this year along with Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies, so we already had collaborations with other organizations. We were also busy last week with the Singapore International Water Week, which looks at a number of issues which we have mentioned already, such as environment, security and migration, and then suggests ways of looking ahead and cooperating between these four countries. The next part of the project that I want to focus on is the dissemination of reports – I would like any suggestions from all of you. Also, we want to organize one more workshop to quantify some of the issues that we have come out with together with partner institutions.

James Gannon

At a Japanese institution, you never speak before your boss (laughs). But I'll just give an overview of the core project that we are procuring at for the MacArthur Institution, and

what our main contributions are to the regional security cooperation. The genesis of this was in talking about East Asia community. When you go to the meetings, and as I have seen some of you this morning, sometimes I even feel that we are talking in circles. We have a lot of acronyms out there and talk about even though we are representing NGOs we mainly talk about states. International organizations ...part, when you try to build a regional community it means really functional issues – it's about water, migration and so on. And when you look deep down, how's doing the real work, it is the nongovernmental sector. So we are trying to wrap our minds around this. How you bring this into the debate and also how you make a better contribution to the nongovernmental sector.

So our project is in three phases, and we recruit project team of seven – sort of mid-career, very promising people who are not necessarily Asia specialists, but are functional specialists, and they are guided by 5 or 6 senior leaders from the region. The first chunk of this is trying to get a sense of what the civil society organizations really do in the region. We can't talk about contributions without knowing what they are doing. And so we have focused on a few key functional areas. One is on climate change, one is on human trafficking, and one is on global health. One chunk is disaster and humanitarian assistance, one's on piracy – one of our researchers is actually spending his time living among pirates in some constraints and they are trying to get a sense of what roles these organizations play. Of course there are things such as working with the epistemic community, making norms in the civil society...and we can see, as well, in the case piracy researcher who's in Argentina, he feels that piracy links to economic issues on the land. Government pushes people into piracy. So we have advocacy organizations that are pushing for protecting fishing and so on. Environmental organizations – they have a large contribution to make. The other very Someone. Facilitation..so our first phase of the project is to try to get a grasp on this document of what's happening and provide a place to discuss civil society contributions in this intellectual community. Second phase that we move into is to consider “how do you make civil society organi-

zations to be more effective?” This involves relationships with business and the state for the civil society to act as this revolves around standards and networks of civil society organizations across borders here.

And the third gear that we want to look at is “how do we link them up to what’s happening in the regional institutions?” What should the JCIE secretariat be doing to coordinate how we reach out to nonprofit organizations? So that’s something I think we can learn quite a bit from the presentations that we have heard today.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

Thanks very much. I noticed that there is really a marked difference between our discussions now and last time. Now we have a better sense of how far we have gone, and a clear idea of what I think we can propose on the table. I know for example, from our own project, when you look at climate change and human security and social resilience, we have a hard time looking at what the risks and vulnerabilities are. It’s really asking the question: How are societies being protected from these various risks? And one of the risks was identified in our meeting although the coverage was mainly on Southeast Asia. The first time we had this conference, we tried to get people from other regions to learn from them. One of the things that were identified was this problem that people are talking about: climate change induced refugees. And interestingly, our research person from Bangladesh –she is a migration expert- was very upset with the word climate refugees. When we use the word “refugee”, she said, there is an element of persecution. But when you look that them, they are not actually persecuted by states, but are rather vulnerable to climate induced risks such as natural disasters, hence they become IDP (internally displaced persons). So she actually called us to look at the possibility to debate this whole notion of refugees versus IDPs.

On the other hand, there was the possibility of looking intraregional comparisons – how the regions or the states are actually addressing climate change. Generally we talk about this phase in terms of Bangladesh, because it is a low

lying state. In fact, the Southeast Asia has a number of low lying states, and the issues you have talked about, there has to be some possibilities that ... they are issues that are usually discussed at the regional level. Hence, you have the question of: Are there regional cooperation mechanisms to deal with this? And our response to this is, no, we don’t have, because although we have ASEAN and other international institutions, there is no agenda on climate change. There’s agenda on energy; when we talk about energy in the context of ASEAN, we talk about excavations. So one of the possibilities I can think of, or maybe to discuss, would be an interregional discussion on climate vulnerabilities. South Asia, Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia...something along these lines.

And we already have this report on the water security in the Himalayas...and challenges. If you are looking at having a series of dissemination workshops, and if you are thinking about Southeast Asia, we will be very happy to provide a venue for you and maybe even to organize for you and we will see how we can link this to our project on the subject of water. And maybe we can get some resources...so something along those lines, and I can think about two, well, more than two.

I am really excited that we have a dedicated project looking at the role of civil society and specifically mapping out what they are doing to promote not just regional cooperation but also human security. When you talk about civil society and health, I mean we have a huge project on pandemic preparedness, and one of our very important papers that we were able to commission was the role of faith-based organizations in Indonesia in trying to fight H1N1. It was a very good mapping of how they work and how they link to government and regional efforts. It’s already a readymade paper. And since you have this project, my sense is that maybe you can invite the researcher to come share her paper with you, or a resource person, because this is a really good example of human trafficking and human society. Although we don’t deal with that in our center, we still monitor human trafficking. I see a lot of potentials now to collaborate and look at specific issues, and how we can then identify the factors and the areas where they work

and promote Asian security and regional cooperation –the whole gist of the ASI. Can we just continue with this conversation and get more ideas on the table?

ANM Muniruzzaman

I just want to inform that I see that the ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) has taken climate security on this agenda. So they are discussing about climate change and international security? (Mely: Yes) So this is new but is one of the agenda now.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

How far are they since they started?

ANM Muniruzzaman

I think they are quiet new, and are just beginning to discuss this.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

I'm familiar with that because the Council for Security Cooperation Pacific has a working group on climate change, looking at the impact of climate change. The study that is going on is, if these are the impacts of climate change in the Asia Pacific countries, then what are the states doing to work together on climate change? There is a gap. (ANM: Yes, there is a gap) So can we do something about it, or can your project or paper be used as a source of policy coordination? As noted in our climate change workshop, the IPCC and all others as we noted in our climate change workshop have all these maps about climate change vulnerabilities. The information about climate change is so advanced, but that information is not being fed to the government to the extent in which it can understand what it means, or understand the threats and to do something about it by forming policies.

ANM Muniruzzaman

I agree, because of the issue of security implications, not much work has been done anywhere. There is also a gap in understanding, because there is a tough fight between scientific and policy communities and what they perceive

as military intruders. So I think we have to resolve this, and it is getting resolved very quickly. We also need to move on very quickly in this critical time. I belong to a group of, what they call, the International Military Advisory Council on climate change. We have really found how little has been done on this issue, and the military itself is not keen to take on an additional charge. But we need to prime a lot of equities very fast because we know that we have lost very, very critical time. The other you mention about climate refugees is very debatable because this is definitely something beyond IDPs. So when they are beyond IDPs, what are the terms to use for them?

The legal difficulties are that the international community is very skeptical to the term "climate refugees" because it embraces obligations, and that is something that they are not prepared...I was involved in a study group in Copenhagen, and this came out as a very heated matter. The international community is not prepared here to assign the term "climate refugee" because of the whole legal obligations.

Tadashi Yamamoto

May I go through an almost rather childish process of trying to understanding what is sort of happening and in what ways this coalition size is useful? I am trying to understand better here.

Number one, we are tackling mostly so-called human security challenge, internal challenges which we have been talking about. At least they can say that human security challenges – in what way they can present themselves in this region, is there any particular characteristics or tendency in this region?

Two, in what way are we organizing ourselves in each country to tackle these challenges? How can the government, NGOs and corporations et cetera work together?

And the third one is that we are studying these cases and finding that there is a growing number of collaboration within the region. If this is the case, what will be the way to further enhance such collaboration in the future?

I'm wrapping these things just so to better understand what we can tell the government. These are the kinds of

things which are happening, and it is a promising area. I might have presented a monologue in a way, but I hope I'm not totally wrong in my understanding of what this is all about.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

Not at all. Those are the kinds of question that we –I am very careful to say that this is what we did, because we all have different ways of doing things and– let me again reiterate that there was a bit of confusion really when we started this in Singapore. Okay, so we are all doing this, and if we are to collaborate how are we going to go about it and proceed? And very mindful of the fact that we are very different and are working with different actors, what we are really trying to do is listening and asking others to join. This is why when listening to conversations this afternoon it's now easier to address issues. If there are the types of issues that we want to bring to the table, and tell the MacArthur Foundation, such as arms control, we are basically saying “thanks very much for giving us the grant, this is now our chance to tell you these are the other things that matter, too.” And if we are all institutions in alliances joining in security conferences and et cetera, how are these institutions finding their way into the agenda of these regional institutions?

From our perspective, this is what we do. If we identify the three areas, whether they are internal challenges, climate change, or energy security, we are aware that in as much as there are multilevel actors involved -state, non-state, business et cetera- to enhance regional peace and security there has to be a big role that the regional institutions play. So if we look at climate change we are looking at “this is what's happening on the ground, this is what people are doing...the civil society is doing something. So we have the former environmental minister of Indonesia, saying “look, it's about time that there is change, and for us to improve and respond to climate change.” So in our own way, we try to address the very questions you have raised, Tadashi. How does this open the way of collaboration of the agendas of states?

As we are doing these individually in our own capaci-

ties as research institution or an NGO, is there a way for us to step further and say “let's do this together” then?

What excites me is the interregional comparison. We always say that SARC is not doing anything, but there is perhaps something we can learn not just from SARC but from other likeminded institutions that we could work together with. This is something that we have missed out in the way we do things. Before the end of your projects, you should be asking these questions.

Tadashi Yamamoto

I was also asking myself. We have a big project on global health. I wonder if we have said with you in terms of what we are doing in the global health field; it's a huge area. Again it requires participations of diverse sectors. I have almost come to a conclusion that whatever global issues will require participation of the private sectors. That's one of the lessons I have learned. I also think that the global health issue areas may present to us various different models of participations and collaborations of various organizations – just putting that on the table for the reminder for myself, too. Have we talked about the global health before?

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

No, we had that as one of the areas until it was replaced with something else.

Kirsten Trott

We also have a project on global health governance.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

What can we do as a core institution to help? I was speaking, for example, David, if you are thinking about the people you would like to get for your project, we do have a database of resource persons that we have built over the years. Maybe what we could do is, if you like, give you some of the names we have and suggest some names to you to see if they are helpful

Ilmas Futehally

That will be very helpful

ANM Muniruzzaman

We should all start using it more and making it more interactive.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

In fact, there is another institution in Australia that has joined the cluster, although informally. They are doing a project on food security.

ANM Muniruzzaman

Oh yes, in July. He's supposed to be here but I don't see him here. He's supposed to be part of the cluster. His name is there.

James Gannon

I'm just very intrigued by this database you have, where you can find people issue by issue.

Kirsten Trott

There's lots of things that I didn't know, and I didn't know that this website actually existed.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

This is the other construction that we are coordinating, and these resources here, and all the people. There is the database arranged according to topics and experts. And this is readily available. Because every time ... we put up names of experts and resources of the relevant areas. We have been telling people that even if we don't have the appropriate names in our database, maybe we have other names that we can get, and we can forward it to you. We can forward them to you and if you like you can also give us the names so that we can build the database.

ANM Muniruzzaman

This is very helpful

Ilmas Futehally

I think you should give us the contact details.

James Gannon

Just one point to slap through here. We want to get involved here altogether, and when we get home we will get involved in other projects, and forget to check the website. Have you thought about mailing every month or two to just list what is new on the website and what projects the different institutions in the clusters are coming up with?

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

That will depend on...well in our case, we have a very hardworking program officer that can call on everybody at the end of the month to get updated on their progress. But it will really depend on your responses. Yes, Belinda is handling so many things. It's really very helpful because you'll know what's happening. So we can do that in fact, and do the service very easily. Just let us know.

ANM Muniruzzaman

That will be very helpful. We will have some sort of an information checkpoint back from the cluster every month or so.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

Before Matthew Stumpf actually left MacArthur, he used to check the website every now and then because this website is actually linked to the general MacArthur website. And we have something new here. I know you all already have pretty advanced websites, but if you want to have your paper disseminated outside and in our mailing list under the MacArthur website, just ask.

Belinda Chng

This is the resource website, and here is a resource database that you can go into to filter and look for different articles according to categories. You can look for articles, and others. For example, this is the database of about slightly more than one thousand entries; you can upload reports and download reports –public reports, conference reports. These are not just our own, but are also what we have gathered over the years. So if you have any reports that you have published, you can give it to us so that we can post it online.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

You all might as well do it, because that means you would have vehicle for dissemination.

Belinda Chng

We have three websites, one is the Non-traditional Security Studies (NTS) sponsorship website, one is ASI Cluster 3 website, and the other is our own center website. The databases across all three websites are all interlinked. So basically you can find the same type of information in any of them.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

Let us think about civil society in Indonesia. There is a scholar from the University of Paramadina who has been working on civil society. This also widens the pool of people we can invite, since he's not a usual suspect. Anything else that you think we should do? I'm sure you'll have your own private conversations, but this thing about nuclear energy – our project is really small on this one– but I think some of our researchers are doing this will benefit from perhaps the kind of work that Nautilus is already doing. We have a school helping us with this nuclear energy test –she was our discussant in civil society nuclear energy basically her comment on the paper was the reality check, questioning the effectiveness and role of civil society on decisions towards nuclear energy. This is undetermined. So it was just a reality check based on her experience in hydropower bases in Mekong region.

For regional cooperation mechanisms on energy, this is where Benjamin was really helpful. He was sharing his own work that he was doing. But the water one was really interesting, because you can do anything. What other gaps do you feel in studying water security?

ANM Muniruzzaman

This is a very good point that Ilmas brought up. It got a very wide media coverage.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

We should publicize this in the web.

Tadashi Yamamoto

Again my basic question. We are trying to prove that the civil society organizations and collaborations thereof will be a major contributor of community building process of East Asia. Is that statement correct? I mean, we are assuming, by getting various actors in the region work together, we are in fact contributing to the community building in East Asia. (Mely: Yes) If so, we should have some kind of strategy to enhance such collaboration within the region across sectors. Or do we have such strategy? (Mely: No). I see... or is there some strategy that can be conducted immediately, or do we have any empirical exploration... or what?

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

My short response is that this is something that is missing. As you would have heard in the discussion today on global crisis, civil society was not discussed at all. It was about developing countries, China and the U.S. Some mentioned about regional institutions like ASEAN, but for post global crisis, this is about states. My point is that we are really filling in the gap. Now, how do you want to proceed with that? You have your own projects, and when we do it at our end, do we have to bring in civil society as one actor in all these areas we have identified? Nuclear energy: yes, we did, because we wanted to examine. [1:18:03] I don't know how other institutions are dealing with it. But I would imagine that if you are the only institution in the ASI in doing this, then maybe there should be more visibility and collaboration. How can we raise your visibility and collaboration so that others can know what you are doing?

Kiho Yi

I am actually very much interested in community building as it is a very important actor to face global problems. However, before inducing such issues, I would also like to ask about governments who are already working with the civil society. Let me just summarize my questions:

Firstly, when we define human security and what it

should be, is it really different from national or global security? Usually when we speak about human security, it is usually a general, cross-national and low boundary issues – usually global problems. But nuclear, military and some other national security issues are usually dealt with by the government. But I think if we just change the word “human security to “common or people security”, then we can ask for more responsibility or capacity from the government.

Secondly, when we think about the civil society – the term is too broad actually, very vague and vulnerable, even when it is very important – in terms of Northeast or Southeast Asia, most countries are very centralized in power, but decentralized or vulnerable in solution capacity. If we just try to remember all the disasters that occurred for the past ten to twenty years, like Japan’s Kobe earthquake in 1995, the government was very powerless in response. And if you recall back to two or three years ago during the Sichuan earthquake in China, usually the main responding people or actors were the civil society. So in this sense, how can we build up the community as effective global problem solving actors? I think this is important. However, the other thing that we also have to think about is that the region is very asymmetric in terms of size, economic development, democratic experiences and et cetera. Thus, it is not easy to make transnational solidarity cooperation. Also, we still have a lot of language barriers. This is very wonderful, but usually the intellectual who can speak English can access that. However, most East Asian civil society people cannot access it. So I think we should really make the resource accessible or tangible. Sometimes, we can see some sort of intellectual imperialism in there. That is really true, even in China, Japan and Korea. Also, what kind of platforms should be activated to deal with such security issues?

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

I think the conversation has just gotten more interesting, and I think there will be a lot of conversations that Nautilus, Kiho and Mr. Tadashi will have. Tadashi has a number of projects that are exciting, and you can continue your

conversation later. I’m sorry, but the role of chair is also ensuring that we are on time. I think we have exceeded about five minutes. What I would like to then state is, although we didn’t come up with any specific agreement –I don’t think we have to do that- but I hope to do is continue our conversation either later during dinner or by email.

Belinda Chng

I was starting the conversation with James during lunch, and he was telling me about the conference that he is organizing in Jakarta. I was trying to think of some names to give him. One of the ways you can look for participants for your conferences is to use this database. Some of the publications or progress reports are up on here. So if you click on this, it brings you here. So this is the list of participants we have for respective conferences. So if you try to look up for a specific topic, you can find the relevant people.

James Gannon

Collaborations are already successful here.

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony

I just wanted to show you: this is what we do at the center. So we have this workshop with a very important resource person. So the students can listen to this presentation instead of researching. There it is. You don’t have to stay for this video, but thank you very much.■