International Security in the Asia-Pacific: Beyond ASEAN-centred Security?

Existing frames of international security in the Asia-Pacific are fixated upon either the state of coexistence and rivalry among the great powers, or explore the limitations of regional organizations in securing the interests of the weaker states. There is also a third perspective that informs the overlapping security architecture of ASEAN-driven security forums such as the ASEAN Regional Forum, the East Asia Summit and ASEAN Plus Three. However, there is a widespread sense that with ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) fast approaching its fiftieth anniversary in 2017, it is inadequate in dealing with transnational threats to physical population security, as well as psychological threats to the daily operation of national economies, transportation systems, health facilities, multiracial nation-building, post-disaster recovery and urban normalcy. What ASEAN has excelled at is in containing conventional interstate disputes over land, sea and air boundaries under the rubrics of its Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, and the various declarations on codes of interstate conduct. These ‘excellent practices’ are little more than conflict mitigation efforts: they involve the deliberate temporization on conflict resolution and the subtle avoidance in assigning blame for state provocations. ASEAN also dealt with great powers by striving to be inclusive of them in regional processes. Increasingly too, in the wake of Cyclone Nargis, Typhoon Haiyan and the MH370 aircraft disaster, the arena of Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief is emerging as the latest field of intra-ASEAN and great power rivalries. Therefore, going into the twenty-first century, ASEAN has to address non-traditional threats that draw attention to domestic, or internal, conditions of distress and poor governance, while still paying attention to the manoeuvres of interstate rivalry over great power spheres of influence and territorial disputes. This workshop calls on participants to discuss the frictions arising from these two divergent patterns of security.
PROGRAMME

DAY ONE: 9th October 2014 (THURSDAY)
Venue: Officer Cadet School Auditorium, SAFTI MI

0900 – 0905h  Opening Remarks
BG Benedict Lim, Commandant SAFTI MI / Group Chief MINDEF
Communications, Ministry of Defence

0905 – 0915h  Keynote Address
BG Desmond Tan, Director of Joint Operations, Singapore Armed Forces

0915 – 0930h  Keynote Speech
Dr Ooi Kee Beng, Deputy Director, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

Panel 1: Reaching ASEAN’s Limits
This panel deals with a familiar starting point in Southeast Asian security –
ASEAN’s achievements and its increasingly visible limitations. Topics include:
recalling ASEAN’s best achievements between the 1970s and 1980s; critical
examination of ASEAN’s founding documents; ASEAN’s gingerly handling of
political and military security up till 1992.
Chair: Dr Linda Quayle

0930 – 1100h  ASEAN Centrality: A Concept in Search of Relevance?
Associate Professor Tan See Seng, Deputy Director, Institute of Defence and
Strategic Studies and Head, Centre for Multilateralism Studies, S. Rajaratnam
School of International Studies, Singapore

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Conflict
Management: Approach, Achievements and Challenges
Associate Professor Ramses Amer, Associated Fellow, Institute for Security and
Development Policy, Sweden

ASEAN’s Limits to the Regional Conflict Resolution
Professor Kriengsak Chareonwongsak, President, Institute of Future Studies for
Development, Thailand

1100 – 1130h  Coffee Break
Venue: Officer Cadets’ Mess, SAFTI MI

Panel 2: Great Power Cooperation and Rivalry in the Asia-Pacific
This panel will explore the patterns of cooperation and rivalry between the great
powers of China, Japan and the USA, with India covered as an embryonic player.
The perspective of great power priorities from Beijing will be critically examined
by the majority of speakers. Perspectives from Washington and Tokyo will also
be dealt with from the test of their credibility in responding to China’s challenges
through either creative civilian diplomacy or policy probes using military and
economic means. In the meantime, it may appear that ASEAN-driven forums
such as the ARF, ASEAN Plus Three, ADMM Plus and the East Asia Summit may
still offer constructive avenues for the great powers to de-escalate their rhetoric
and meet on neutral ground to discuss confidence building initiatives.
Chair: Associate Professor Alan Chong
Panel 3: Defence Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific
The panel explores the ramifications of pre-existing channels of defence diplomacy, which is understood collectively as the various forms of bilateral and multilateral communication practised by governments involving their respective military organizations in non-combat collaborative endeavours. Across the Asia-Pacific region today, this is increasingly important given the ongoing temperature of territorial disputes in the South China Sea and the East China Sea. Militaries need to produce their own ‘language’ or ‘proxy instruments’ for maintaining peace and stability if options of using force are to be kept off the policy table.
Chair: Associate Professor Ramses Amer
## DAY TWO: 10th October 2014 (FRIDAY)

Venue: Officer Cadet School Auditorium, SAFTI MI

### Panel 4: Non-Traditional Security Threats in Southeast Asia

Non-traditional security (NTS) issues increasingly dominate national and international agendas in Southeast Asia. This will have implications on how governments define security for themselves or through ASEAN and other ASEAN-related forums. Topics include: What are the operational ramifications of dealing with pandemics? What are the operational ramifications of dealing with recovery efforts after a natural disaster? What policing capabilities might be needed in restoring calm after inter-ethnic violence?

*Chair: Mr Jeffrey Engstrom*

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| 0900 – 1030h | **How did ASEAN Fare on NTS Cooperation?: From Cyclone Nargis to Typhoon Haiyan and MH 370**  
Assistant Professor Dr Kitti Prasirtsuk, Director of Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University, Thailand |
|            | **Asia's Security Competition by Proxy: Competitive HADR as a Respectable Arena?**  
Associate Professor Alan Chong, Faculty, Military Studies Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore |
|            | **Subnational Conflict Mitigation and Civil Society: Networks, Innovations, and the Uncertain Place of ASEAN**  
Dr Linda Quayle, Assistant Professor, The University of Nottingham (Malaysia Campus), Malaysia |
| 1030 – 1100h | **Coffee Break**  
Venue: Dining Hall A, SAFTI MI |

### Panel 5: Military Experiences in Coping with Non-Traditional Threats in Asia

Topics to be covered include: reflections on relief operations in Sumatra, Phuket by SAF officers; sharing of perspectives on national political factors conditioning humanitarian relief efforts by South Korea, China, Taiwan and Japan; reflections by experts on the ground difficulties involved in relief operations in Tacloban City after Typhoon Haiyan/Yolanda; and finally discussions on naval relief capabilities.

*Chair: Professor Renato Cruz De Castro*

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| 1100 – 1245h | **Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief in the Asia-Pacific**  
Dr Alistair D.B. Cook, Research Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore |
|            | **Disaster Relief as Defense Diplomacy: Exploring the Factors Conditioning Humanitarian Responses by the Militaries of South Korea, China, Taiwan and Japan**  
Mr Jeffrey Engstrom, Senior Project Associate, RAND Corporation, United States of America |
Operation Flying Eagle: What are the Lessons for Small States?
BG (NS) Goh Kee Nguan, former SAF Contingent Commander, Operation Flying Eagle, Singapore

Australia’s Experience in Humanitarian Aid and Disaster Relief: Avenue for Confidence Building
Brigadier Peter Gates, Commandant Australian Command and Staff College, Australia

1245 – 1345h Lunch
Venue: Dining Hall A, SAFTI MI

1345 – 1515h Syndicated Group Discussion 2
Visit to Information Fusion Centre for local and overseas speakers

1515 – 1545h Coffee Break
Venue: Dining Hall A, SAFTI MI

1545 – 1715h Plenary Presentation
Chair: Associate Professor Alan Chong, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

1715 – 1730h Closing Remarks
COL Ng Wai Kit, Deputy Commandant SAFTI MI / Head Centre for Operational Learning / Commandant Goh Keng Swee Command and Staff College, Singapore Armed Forces

End of Seminar
LIST OF SPEAKERS AND CHAIRS
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Alan Chong is Associate Professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. He has published widely on the notion of soft power and the role of ideas in constructing the international relations of Singapore and Asia. His publications have appeared in The Pacific Review; International Relations of the Asia-Pacific; Asian Survey; East Asia: an International Quarterly; Politics, Religion and Ideology; the Review of International Studies; the Cambridge Review of International Affairs and Armed Forces and Society. He is also the author of Foreign Policy in Global Information Space: Actualizing Soft Power (Palgrave, 2007). He is currently working on several projects exploring the notion of ‘Asian international theory’. His interest in soft power has also led to inquiry into the sociological and philosophical foundations of international communication. In the latter area, he is currently working on a manuscript titled ‘The International Politics of Communication: Representing Community in a Globalizing World’. In tandem, he has pursued a fledgling interest in researching cyber security issues. He has frequently been interviewed in the Asian media and consulted in think-tank networks in the region.

Alessio Patalano is lecturer in East Asian Warfare and Security at the Department of War Studies, King’s College London, where he specialises in Japanese naval history, strategy, and East Asian security. He has been a visiting researcher at GRIPS; he is affiliated with the Institute of Contemporary Asian Studies, Temple University Japan, and is currently a visiting professor at Aoyama Gakuin University. His work focused on Japanese military history and post-war defence policy, and on Sino-Japanese maritime relations; it appeared in English, Japanese and Italian academic and professional journals. Dr Patalano’s first book was titled Maritime Strategy and National Security in Japan and Britain. From the Alliance to Post-9/11 (Brill/Global Oriental, 2012), and his next book titled Postwar Japan as a Sea Power: Imperial Legacy, Wartime Experience, and the Making of a Navy is forthcoming in 2014 by Bloomsbury.

Dr Alistair D.B. Cook is Research Fellow at the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore. In 2012–2013, he was a visiting research fellow at the East Asian Institute of the National University of Singapore. He graduated with a PhD from the University of Melbourne, Australia; Masters from Purdue University, USA; and M.A. (Hons) from St. Andrews University, Scotland.

He has taught at Purdue University, University of Melbourne, Deakin University, Nanyang Technological University and the Australian National University. His research interests are in non-traditional security and human security in the Asia-Pacific including peace and conflict studies, environmental security and climate change, foreign policy and regional cooperation, and domestic politics in Myanmar. He has recently co-edited ‘Irregular Migration and Human Security in East Asia’ (Routledge, 2014) and ‘Non-Traditional Security in Asia: Issues, Challenges and Frameworks for Action’ (ISEAS, 2013) and has published in a variety of journals. He is also a resident analyst on Myanmar and regional security issues for Channel NewsAsia.
Brigadier General Benedict Lim is the Commandant of SAFTI Military Institute. He is concurrently Group Chief MINDEF Communications. BG Lim holds a Bachelor of Arts from the National University of Singapore and is a Berkeley-Nanyang AMP graduate. He attended the Singapore Command and Staff Course and the Singapore Armed Forces Senior Commanders’ Programme.

BG Lim held various command and leadership appointments in his military career, which included MINDEF’s Director of Public Affairs, Assistant Chief of Staff (Operations), SAF Chief Armour Officer, Brigade Commander of an Armour Brigade, Officer Commanding and Platoon Commander of an Armoured Company. In recognition of his dedication and professional conduct, BG Lim was awarded the Public Administration Medal (Silver) (Military) and the SAF Long Service and Good Conduct Medal (25 Years).

Charmaine G. Misalucha is Assistant Professor in the International Studies Department of De La Salle University in Manila, Philippines. She was recently a Visiting Research Fellow under a Japan Foundation grant in the Osaka School of International Public Policy at Osaka University in Japan. In 2013, she was selected as one of the Fellows of the inaugural US-ASEAN Fulbright Program. She did her fellowship in the School of International Service at American University in Washington, DC. Her research areas are US-Southeast Asia relations, ASEAN, and regionalism. She received her PhD from the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore.

Mr Chiang Chie Foo served as Permanent Secretary (Defence) from 2004 to 2013. In that appointment, Mr Chiang oversaw the formulation and implementation of defence policy, as well as the administration and development of MINDEF/SAF. Mr Chiang played a key role in strengthening MINDEF/SAF’s relations with major countries. He led negotiations with the US for the Strategic Framework Agreement in 2005, which recognised Singapore as a Major Security Cooperation Partner of the US. He also signed the Agreement on Defence Exchanges and Security Cooperation with China in 2008. Serving as Singapore’s ASEAN Defence Senior Officials’ Meeting leader to the ASEAN Defence Ministers’ Meeting (ADMM), Mr Chiang played an important role in ASEAN’s efforts to establish the ADMM in 2006 and the ADMM-Plus in 2010. To ensure that the SAF remained capable, he spearheaded a framework for the SAF’s Third Generation transformation and guided the introduction of a third military career scheme.

Mr Chiang is currently the Chairman of the Central Provident Fund Board. He was awarded a Public Administration Medal (Gold) in 1997 and the Meritorious Service Medal in 2007 for his significant contributions to the Public Service.
BIOGRAPHIES
(in alphabetical order according to given names)

David Capie is an Associate Professor of International Relations and Director of Research at the Centre for Strategic Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. His research interests focus on security issues in the Asia-Pacific region, regional institutions and New Zealand’s foreign relations. He has authored or co-authored three books and numerous articles and book chapters. His research has been supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, the East-West Center, the MacArthur Foundation and the Royal Society of New Zealand’s Marsden Fund. David has been a Visiting Scholar at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University and a LUISS Guido Carli in Rome, and serves as a Research Associate at the ASEAN Studies Center at American University in Washington DC. In 2013 he was nominated for a New Zealand National Tertiary Teaching Excellence Award.

Brigadier General Desmond Tan is the Director of Joint Operations in the Singapore Armed Forces. BG Tan holds a Master of Business Administration (Nanyang Fellows) jointly conferred by Nanyang Technological University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology under the Singapore Armed Forces Postgraduate Scholarship; and a Bachelor of Engineering (First Class Honours) from Victoria University of Manchester (UK) under the Singapore Armed Forces Merit Scholarship. In his military career, BG Tan attended the United Kingdom Advanced Command and Staff course, the Defence Technology and Systems course, and the Governance and Leadership Programme. BG Tan’s command and leadership experience included Commanding Officer of 1st Battalion Singapore Infantry Regiment, Commander of 3rd Singapore Infantry Brigade, Director of MINDEF Public Affairs and Chief Guards Officer. BG Tan also participated in the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan as Singapore’s National Contingent Commander, and was awarded the SAF Overseas Service Medal (Enhanced) and the NATO (ISAF) Medal.

Jeffrey Engstrom specializes in Asia-Pacific security issues and foreign policy. His recent work has focused on Chinese conventional and nuclear capabilities, East Asian force projection, and partnership capacity building. Before joining the RAND Corporation, Engstrom was a defense policy analyst at SAIC where, in addition to researching East Asian military capabilities, he also developed expertise in war gaming. Prior to his work at SAIC, Engstrom served as a Peace Corps Volunteer. Engstrom received his BA in political science and international studies from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and a MPP from the University of Chicago.
BIOGRAPHIES
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Dr Ooi Kee Beng’s major works include *In Lieu of Ideology: An Intellectual Biography of Goh Keng Swee; The Reluctant Politician* which won the “Award of Excellence for Best Writing Published in Book Form on Any Aspect of Asia (Non-Fiction)” at the Asian Publishing Convention 2008; and *Continent, Coast, Ocean: Dynamics of Regionalism in Eastern Asia*, which was named “Top Academic Work” in 2008 by the ASEAN Book Publishers’ Association (ABPA). He is Editor of the *Penang Monthly* magazine and has been Adjunct Associate Professor at the Southeast Asian Studies Programme at NUS, and Visiting Associate Professor at the Department of Public and Social Administration at City University of Hong Kong. His Swedish translations of Chinese war classics have been used as officer course material at Stockholm Military College.

Brigadier General (BG) (NS) Goh Kee Nguan holds a BSc in Computer Programming from University of New South Wales, Australia and a Masters in Strategic Studies from the US Army War College. He graduated from the Royal Military College, Duntroon in Australia in 1983.

BG(NS) Goh has held several key leadership and command appointments in his military career. These included Commander Army Training and Doctrine Command, Chief Guards Officer/Commander 21st Division, Assistant Chief of General Staff (Training), Commander 10th Singapore Infantry Brigade and Commanding Officer 3rd Battalion Singapore Guards. As ACGS(Training) and subsequently as Commander TRADOC, BG (NS) Goh was instrumental in shaping the Army Knowledge Management and Learning System as part of the effort to operationalise the Learning Army. BG (NS) Goh was also Chairman of the Organising Committee for National Day Parade (NDP) 2006 as well as Army Half-Marathon in 1998.

Most notable in his military experience, BG (NS) Goh commanded the 1200-strong Singapore Armed Forces Contingent in the 2004 Boxing Day Tsunami Relief Operations in Aceh, Indonesia. During this operation, he was instrumental in working with various stakeholders, including UN agencies, Indonesian government and military, other foreign militaries as well as non-governmental organisations, to provide responsive and precise humanitarian aid to the affected population.

After leaving the Army, BG (NS) Goh became the Chief Executive Officer, Singapore 2010 Youth Olympic Games Organising Committee from April 2008 till December 2010. They organised a successful and meaningful inaugural Youth Olympic Games in August 2010. More than 5000 athletes and officials from 205 National Olympic Committees participated in this event, together with another 5000 members from the IOC, International Federations, National Sports Associations and local and foreign media as well as more than 20,000 volunteers. An event that was fast-paced and considered the largest international multi-sport and multi-venue event held in Singapore.

BG(NS) Goh is currently the Chief Executive Officer of Huttons Asia Pte Ltd since 1 May 2013. He is responsible for the strategic direction and new business areas as well as the day to day operations and administration
of the agency. Prior to this appointment, he was the Chief Operating Officer (COO) of Cityneon Holdings Limited from March 2011 till April 2013. He was a member of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Coordination Commission for the Nanjing Youth Olympic Games in 2014. BG(NS) Goh is also the Chairman for the National Cadet Corp Council and sits on the board of Mercy Relief Singapore. He is an advisor with the International Red Cross Commission (ICRC).

Kitti Prasirtsuk teaches International Relations in the Faculty of Political Science and serves as Director at the Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University.

He received his B.A. from Thammasat, an M.A. from Keio University and a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley (2001). His areas of interest include international relations in East and Southeast Asia, Japanese politics and foreign policy, and ASEAN.

Prof. Kitti’s current research is on soft power in East Asia. His writings include “The Implications of the U.S. Strategic Rebalancing: A Perspective from Thailand” (Asia Policy 15, January 2013) and “Japan and ASEAN in East Asian Community-Building: Activating the Fukuda Doctrine,” a chapter in Lam Peng Er (ed.), Japan and Southeast Asia (London: Routledge, 2012). He also wrote “From Political Reform and Economic Crisis to Coup D’état in Thailand” published in Asian Survey (Nov/Dec 2007). He also contributed Asian Survey’s yearend articles for Thailand in 2008 and 2009, respectively.

Prof. Kitti also taught “International Relations in Southeast Asia” as a visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley, and also gave lectures at Waseda University and Yonsei University.

Professor Kriengsak Chareonwongsak, a Senior Fellow at Harvard University, USA, and Fellow at Said Business School, the University of Oxford, was in addition a Prime Ministerial Adviser in Thailand, a Member of Parliament and Vice Chair of the Economic Development Committee in the House of Representatives. Currently, he is President of the Institute of Future Studies for Development. As a businessman, he is Chairman of Success Group of Companies, an Executive Chairman Adviser to CP ALL Public Company Limited in Thailand and a director of a public listed company in Singapore. In 1981 he graduated from Monash University, Australia, with First Class Honours and an Economics PhD. He obtained a Master of Public Administration degree from Harvard University, USA, and holds a Master’s Degree from Judge Business School at the University of Cambridge, UK, having also completed Post Doctoral Studies at the University of Oxford, UK.
**Dr Linda Quayle** is currently an Assistant Professor in the School of Politics, History and International Relations at The University of Nottingham, Malaysia Campus. Her previous academic post was with Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, and she has also researched and/or lectured in Singapore, Thailand, Australia, and her home country, New Zealand. She specializes in Southeast Asian regional politics, especially ASEAN-related issues, but also works on the broader Asia-Pacific area. Recent research topics have included regional civil society, ASEAN’s communication initiatives, migration, and Indonesia’s great-power aspirations. She is the author of various journal articles on regional politics, as well as *Southeast Asia and the English School of International Relations: A Region-Theory Dialogue*, published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2013. Before joining academia, she spent many years as an editor with BBC Monitoring, a division of BBC World Service.

**Brigadier Gates** is the Commandant of the Australian Command and Staff College which he was appointed to in 2012 and is Head of Regiment, School of Artillery.

As Director General Defence Education and Training in 2010, Brigadier Gates led enterprise wide education and training reforms.

He has also held a number of Instructional appointments throughout his career. These include appointments at the Royal Military College, the Combined Arms Training Centre, and United Kingdom’s Combined Joint Services Staff College. He has served as Army Force Development and as the Colonel of Operational Plans (J53) in Headquarters Joint Operations Command.

**Ramses Amer** – Associate Professor and PhD in Peace and Conflict Research – is Associated Fellow, Institute for Security & Development Policy, Sweden (ramsesamer@gmail.com). Major areas of research include a) security issues and conflict resolution in Southeast Asia and the wider Pacific Asia and b) the role of the United Nations in the international system. He is the author of *The Sino-Vietnamese Approach to Managing Boundary Disputes*, Maritime Briefing, Vol. 3, No. 5 (Durham: International Boundaries Research Unit, University of Durham, 2002). He is Co-editor, with Carlyle A. Thayer, of *Vietnamese Foreign Policy in Transition* (Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies; and, New York: St Martin’s Press, 1999). He is Co-editor with N. Ganesan, of *International Relations in Southeast Asia: Between Bilateralism and Multilateralism* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010). He is Co-editor with with Zou Keyuan, of *Conflict Management and Dispute Settlement in East Asia* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011). He is Co-editor, with Ashok Swain and Joakim Öjendal, of *The Security-Development Nexus: Peace, Conflict and Development* (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2012). He has also contributed to international journals and books and has written reports on issues of Southeast Asian Affairs and on the United Nations.
Renato Cruz De Castro is a full professor in the International Studies Department, De La Salle University, Manila, and the holder of the Charles Lui Chi Keung Professorial Chair in China Studies. He was the U.S. State Department ASEAN Research Fellow from the Philippines and was based in the Political Science Department of Arizona State University in 2009. His research interests are Philippine-U.S. security relations, Philippine defense and foreign policies, U.S. defense and foreign policies in East Asia, and International politics of East Asia. He has written over 70 articles on international relations and security that have been published in a number of scholarly journals and edited works in the Philippines, South Korea, Canada, Malaysia, France, Singapore, Taiwan, Germany, the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States.

Tan See Seng holds concurrent appointments as the deputy director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies and the head of the Centre for Multilateralism Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, where he is a tenured associate professor and an elected member of the University Senate. A student of Asian security, he is the author/editor of 9 books and over 50 scholarly papers and book chapters. His major publications include The Making of the Asia Pacific: Knowledge Brokers and the Politics of Representation (Amsterdam University Press, 2013) and Regionalism in Asia, Volumes 1-4 (Routledge, 2009). He has held visiting appointments at leading universities and research institutes in Australia, Japan and Singapore, and has served as a technical consultant on Asian affairs for various international organisations and national governments including that of Singapore. He was educated at the University of Manitoba and the Arizona State University.

Dr Yuzawa is Associate Professor of International Relations at Hosei University, Tokyo, Japan. He received his PhD in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). His current research interests include the prospects of institution-building and regional order in East Asia. Prior to joining Hosei University, he was a research fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA). He is the author of Japan’s security policy and the ASEAN Regional Forum: The search for multilateral security in the Asia-Pacific (Routledge).

Dr Hoo Tiang Boon is Assistant Professor with the China Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from the University of Oxford. He is the lecturer of the Masters course China’s Foreign and Security Policy, as well as the deputy coordinator of the M.Sc. (Asian Studies) programme at RSIS. Dr. Hoo is the author of several publications on China, cross-strait relations and US-China relations. He has spoken about his work at various venues, including Harvard University, University of Oxford, University of Manchester, Bristol University and the International Studies Association Convention. He has been involved in several diplomatic and policy initiatives, such as the Singapore-US Strategic Dialogue, the Korea-Singapore Forum, the Council of Councils, and the Network of ASEAN

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Defence and Security Institutions. Dr. Hoo was formerly a visiting fellow at the China Foreign Affairs University, a visiting scholar at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and a visiting researcher at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies.

COL Ng Wai Kit is the Commandant of Goh Keng Swee Command and Staff College. He is concurrently Deputy Commandant SAFTI MI and Head of Centre for Operational Learning. Prior to assuming this appointment, COL Ng held various command and staff appointments including Assistant Chief of General Staff (Training) whilst concurrently the Deputy Commander, Army Training and Doctrine Command, Commander 3rd Division Artillery, Branch Head, G6 Army; Commanding Officer, 21st Battalion, Singapore Artillery; Weapon Staff Officer and Section Head in Headquarters, Singapore Artillery. He is also a graduate of the Australian Command and Staff Course, as well as the U.S. Army War College. COL Ng holds a Master of Management (Defence Studies) from University of Canberra, Australia; a Master of Science (Defence Technology) from Cranfield University UK; and a BSc (Honours) (Computer Information System) from Victoria University of Manchester, UK.

Xiaoming Huang is Professor of International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Professor Huang received his PhD in International Relations from University of Southern California, Los Angeles, and BA and MA in International Relations from Peking University. Dr Huang teaches East Asian Politics, International Relations of East Asia, and China’s Politics and International Relations at Victoria, and researches and publishes on East Asia’s political economy, modern development of China, and international relations of East Asia. His latest publications include Modern Economic Development in Japan and China: Developmentalism, Capitalism, and the World Economic System (Macmillan 2013), China, India and the End of Development Models (Palgrave 2011), China and the International System (Routledge 2012).

Professor Huang is Editor of International Studies Perspectives, and founding director of the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre. Dr Huang is a principal participant and contributor to the New Zealand public policy sector, particularly on China and Asia issues and policy, and has been a New Zealand delegate in bilateral Track II dialogues with China, Korea, Taiwan, Japan, India, Myanmar, Australia, Malaysia, and ASEAN, and a member of CSCAP: New Zealand National Council.
Panel 1: Reaching ASEAN’s Limits

ASEAN Centrality: A Concept in Search of Relevance?
Associate Professor Tan See Seng

Of late, the principle of ASEAN centrality has come under strain from non-ASEAN stakeholders of East Asia’s evolving regional architecture, who question ASEAN’s ability and will to lead the region effectively. Recent signs of disunity among its member states and the slow progress made towards establishing the ASEAN economic, political-security and socio-cultural community by 2015 have not helped ASEAN’s case either. On the other hand, even critics of ASEAN have grudgingly admitted that no regional arrangement in East Asia, not least the East Asia Summit (EAS) or the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus), would likely succeed without ASEAN’s involvement in a leading capacity. Against this backdrop, this paper seeks to do two interrelated things. First, it will review and critically assess the scholarly and policy debate on the significance and relevance of ASEAN centrality. Second, where preservation of its centrality in East Asian regionalism is concerned, it will argue that ASEAN’s biggest challenge going forward would be to transform what has largely and traditionally been an empty or negative concept—what alternative realities East Asia would have had to countenance were ASEAN centrality not accepted—to a positive one—what ASEAN needs to become in order to ensure effective regional governance of East Asia for all its stakeholders, ASEAN and non-ASEAN alike. While the extant debate has engaged these two sides of the coin, the latter issue, a need for a strong and effective ASEAN, has grown in salience in the face of external criticism, internal disunity and, ironically, ASEAN’s own valorized discourse. The continued relevance of ASEAN centrality to East Asian regional governance will likely depend on ASEAN’s ability to reconcile these issues.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Conflict Management: Approach, Achievements and Challenges
Associate Professor Ramses Amer

The purpose of the proposed paper will be to assess conflict management approach of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The ASEAN approach to conflict management will be outlined and the context in which it has developed presented. The paper will identify and assess the achievements reached by ASEAN and its member states in the field of conflict management. Also discussed will be the challenges that ASEAN and its member states have been facing in the field of conflict management. Three main dimensions will be examined: first, the core elements of the approach; second, the role played by the Association in terms of conflict management; and, third, the possible impact of the ASEAN approach and its role in inter-state disputes among its members. In addition, the possible relevance of the ASEAN approach on disputes involving also non-member states, e.g. in the South China Sea, will be explored in the proposed paper.
ASEAN's Limits to the Regional Conflict Resolution  
Professor Kriengsak Chareonwongsak

This paper aims to study ASEAN's role in conflict resolution in South East Asia. The first part analyzes ASEAN's limits which makes it unable to resolve the conflicts in the region nowadays such as:

1. ASEAN's Way policy that leads to many limits in conflict resolution, for instance, non-interference policy and so on;
2. Lacking of cooperation among ASEAN’s countries in terms of regional common interests, and lastly;
3. Security mechanisms such as Treaty of Amity and Cooperation that cannot be enforced legally and is a possibility to end conflicts. One good example for this treaty's limitation is the Preah Vihear temple dispute between Thailand and Cambodia where this treaty could not be enforced to stop conflicts between these two countries.

The second part is the suggestion for ASEAN in conflict resolution in the region such as:

1. Revising some principles, for instance, ASEAN’s Way and so on in order to improve the effectiveness of the security mechanism in the region;
2. Learning and adopting good practices from European Union such as Supra-Government and so on;
3. Cooperating to solve conflicts in order to make regional benefits as essential as state benefits;
4. Cooperating with other countries from other regions in the theme of ASEAN’s security, and
5. Encouraging the attitudes of people in the region to trust each other and recognize ASEAN identity.

Hegemon Rising: China’s Flexible Assertiveness  
Dr Hoo Tiang Boon

The paper attempts to make better sense of China’s regional policy and behaviour in recent years, in particular, its purported rising assertiveness in the region. Building on nascent scholarship on China’s ‘new’ assertiveness (e.g. Iain Johnston, 2013), the paper will address, inter alia, the following questions: Is there a consistent or coherent strategy to China’s supposed regional assertiveness? How should we interpret China’s behaviour? What are some of the factors, dynamics and actors driving this process? The paper argues that from around 2009, Beijing has been crafting and implementing a strategy of ‘flexible assertiveness’ in Asia. It is a calibrated and deliberate policy with two prongs. One aspect is a tougher and more uncompromising—and increasingly more revisionist—approach towards what China regards as its core interests. The other is a more flexible, more negotiable, and more beneficent approach towards those regional interests that are perceived as less crucial.
The Role of the US’ Quasi-Alliances in Asia: Shadow Puppetry or Hard Alliances?
Dr Charmaine Misalucha

States accumulate power and engage in balances of power in order to minimize the effects of anarchy and ensure their security. One way to do this is by forming alliances based on states’ threat perceptions. However, once states determine whom to ally with, they face problems of defection in the form of either abandonment or entrapment. Abandonment spells realignment, de-alignment, repealing the alliance contract, or failing to deliver on explicit commitments or to render support where it is expected. Entrapment means being forced to join an ally’s war efforts for the sake of preserving the alliance. The issue becomes that of alliance management. How do states calculate the risks of abandonment and entrapment? How are hard alliances maintained?

In order to address these questions, I turn to the use of language as an analytical method. Linguistic tools like representational force can capture the fluidity of power politics in alliance relationships. As a communicative strategy, representational force is deployed to stabilize the collective identity of a relationship that is facing an external crisis. Moreover, representational force recognizes the power differentials of states and can therefore trace how weaker members end up acquiesce with the demands of the stronger powers. This shadow puppetry notwithstanding, the logic of representational force allows weaker powers to do the same and make stronger states comply with their representations. In short, using language as a method of analysis permits a reexamination of alliance management.

This framework can be applied to the United States’ alliances in East and Southeast Asia. Indeed, these alliances are the backbone of the region’s regional security architecture. With China as a variable in threat perceptions, how are the risks of abandonment and entrapment calculated in the US-Japan and US-Philippine alliances? I argue that in the face of crises, alliances’ exercise of representational force in order to stabilize their relationship takes precedence in the short term over addressing the actual threat.

The Emerging Security Landscape in Asia-Pacific: Where ASEAN Fits
Professor Huang Xiaoming

The security landscape in the Asia-Pacific has seen visible change in the past few years. There has been a momentum in the post-Cold War Asia-Pacific that a new security order, to pursue common, security through multilateral cooperation with ASEAN playing a central role, would prevail in the region. US pivot to Asia has significantly complicated this process. At the core of this US pivot is to delegate/share its regional security responsibilities primarily with its key regional partners, or, indeed, its traditional allies, in the region. Potentially to have a similar implicating impact is a subtle, but not that fully clear yet, shift in China’s posture to regional security that may lead China to retreat from its hard won enthusiasm to an Asia-Pacific-wide security community and take its traditional security concerns and methods more seriously. Facing significant difficulties, costs and risks in developing a China-friendly security involvement in its East and Southeast oceanic front and with little returns from its political investment in the new, multilateral security community, China is taking its Northern, Central Asia, West and Southeast inland front as a priority in building its wider “security
environment.” When ASEAN (and Northeast Asia for this matter) is no longer perceived, at least in the eyes of China, as a principal security provider for China, ASEAN centred security infrastructure will mean less for China. And China will more likely “take the law into its own hands” to secure and defend its interests in the region. China’s embracing of multilateralism in the Asia-Pacific has been a key point of success in building of an ASEAN centred regional security community in the past. We have successfully engaged the US pivot back to Asia, but it is not entirely inconceivable that we might one day debate who lost China in the ASEAN Plus processes.

ASEAN in the Era of Japan-China Tensions: Diplomatic Opportunities or Strategic Dilemmas?
Dr Takeshi Yuzawa

The early twenty-first century has witnessed growing tensions between Japan and China. Despite deepening economic interdependence over the past two decades, bilateral relations have increasingly been dominated by disputes over historical, territorial and strategic issues. From the perspective of ASEAN states, these tensions are not always unwelcomed phenomena, providing them with greater diplomatic leeway and opportunities. Indeed, it is this continuing distrust and rivalry between the two major powers that have allowed smaller ASEAN states to assume the “driver’s seat” in East Asian regionalism.

However, in recent years, it appears that rising tensions between Japan and China have been posing a significant challenge to ASEAN, rather than contributing to the overall maintenance of diplomatic centrality within regional institutions. Indeed, as their rivalry has increasingly spilled over into Southeast Asia, the two major powers have begun to exhibit explicit power balancing behavior across the region, putting ASEAN states more directly into strategic competition. Examples of their power-balancing tendencies are as follows:

1. Growing focus on “exclusive” minilateral cooperation (ASEAN+Japan, ASEAN+China etc)
2. A selective approach toward ASEAN countries. (Both major powers are seeking to forge strategic partnerships with specific ASEAN countries)
3. The use of ASEAN-led institutions as a tool for checking each other’s behavior and influence rather than for seeking genuine cooperation.

These trends have not only weakened ASEAN’s political unity but also undermined its leadership role in regional institutions. For ASEAN, perhaps the only means for escaping from such a strategic dilemma is to make a more tangible contribution to the maintenance of regional order. Chiefly, as the regional grouping aiming to promote a security community in Southeast Asia, ASEAN needs to play a greater role in tackling major regional security problems, most notably the South China Sea territorial disputes (in order to increase its unifying power). Likewise, as the driver of East Asian regionalism, ASEAN needs to make a more serious effort to promote meaningful multilateral cooperation that can truly contribute to the enhancement of mutual trust between the major powers (thus reducing their strategic competition) especially through the ARF and the ADMM-Plus, rather than merely providing opportunities for multilateral dialogues.
Panel 3: Defence Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific

Fostering Military Diplomacy among America’s Bilateral Allies: The Philippine Policy of Linking Spokes Together
Professor Renato Cruz De Castro

The article will examine the AFP’s efforts to foster closer military-to-military ties with the U.S., and its other bilateral security partners—Japan, South Korea, and Australia. These efforts are aimed at strengthening the country’s strategic relations with the U.S. and its allies in the face of the China challenge in the South China Sea. The goal is to harness these security ties to help strength the AFP’s territorial defense capabilities. This, in turn, enables the Philippines to confront a pressing and persistent maritime security issue in Southeast Asia—China’s maritime expansion in the South China Sea.

Naval Diplomacy and Sino-Japanese Relations: What Prospects for CBMs?
Dr Alessio Patalano

Japan and China are connected to each other through the maritime confines of the East China Sea. Over the past two decades, its waters have come to play a central role in their respective national security agendas for reasons related to trade, fish stocks and natural resources, and the defence of contested sovereign territories and maritime boundaries. At sea and from the sea, Sino-Japanese security relations are being redefined. During the past two years, confrontation and tensions underscored bilateral naval interactions. Are these interactions symptomatic of a new trend dominated by conflict? Will the future of Sino-Japanese relations distinguished by conflict at sea? How do Chinese and Japanese strategists view the evolving role of the ECS in security calculations and how is this affecting bilateral security relations?

This paper addresses the above questions by looking at the evolution of Sino-Japanese maritime encounters at sea over the past decade. It investigates the roles that maritime forces had in assisting the pursuit of evolving national security policies focusing increasingly more on the maritime realm. In Japan, and especially in China, the past decade witnessed increased interest in the confines of the East China Sea, with the consequent association of the projection of power and influence across its waters as fundamental to national security. The paper reviews the evolution of Sino-Japanese behaviour at sea, seeking to understand to what extent competitive actions were counterbalanced by diplomatic initiatives. The paper argues that naval interactions, after an initial difficult beginning, featured diplomatic initiatives and the introduction of basic CBMs. These, however, did not extend to coast guards and law-enforcement agencies, and today this remains a major limitation with the risk of compromising positive naval developments.
Defence Diplomacy and Peacekeeping

Dr David Capie

Multilateral defence and military interactions have been one of the fastest growing parts of the ASEAN-centred regional security architecture. The creation of the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM) in 2006 and the eighteen nation ADMM-Plus in 2010 are the most obvious institutional examples of this dynamic, but in addition there are a host of other bilateral, minilateral and working level interactions. One issue taken up by the growing stream of regional defence diplomacy meetings is peacekeeping. It has been the focus of an Expert Working Group in ADMM-Plus and is a key part of the activities envisaged under the ASEAN Political and Security Community. This paper explores the growing interest in peacekeeping operations among East Asian militaries and examines the ways in which peacekeeping contributes to regional defence diplomacy.

Insights on the ADMM and the ADMM-Plus: The Road to Realisation, and What Lies Ahead

Mr Chiang Chie Foo

This paper presents a Singaporean perspective on defence diplomacy in the Asia Pacific, centring on the ADMM and the ADMM-Plus as the key defence forums within ASEAN. This paper will explain the geo-political backdrop, considerations, processes and challenges behind the establishment of the ADMM and the ADMM-Plus. It will also offer insights on the parameters that were necessary to ensure a smooth start for both forums, which included the importance of securing the participation and support of key extra-regional countries. It also explains the rationale for the deliberate focus on practical cooperation.

This paper then analyses how the ADMM and the ADMM-Plus should evolve as part of the regional security architecture in view of the current geopolitical terrain, taking into consideration developments in the East and South China Seas, and China’s growing presence vis-à-vis the US' presence and engagement of regional countries. It will discuss whether the ADMM and the ADMM-Plus should move beyond practical cooperation to issue resolution in order that they remain strategically relevant.

Panel 4: Non-Traditional Security Threats in Southeast Asia

How did ASEAN Fare on NTS Cooperation?: From Cyclone Nargis to Typhoon Haiyan and MH 370

Assistant Professor Dr Kitti Prasirtsuk

Located in the domain of low politics, Non-Traditional Security (NTS) is generally expected to be a promising area of cooperation among ASEAN countries. This paper assesses how ASEAN fared in the three recent and important NTS cases. The first case, Cyclone Nargis that hit Myanmar in 2008 showed a sign of hope for active ASEAN’s roles and cooperation. ASEAN was instrumental not only in persuading Myanmar government to receive aid from the international community, but also creating fund and mechanism to help the victims.
However, in the case of Haiyan, ASEAN was slow and failed to deliver much in coordinated responses, despite plenty exercises for disaster relief. Assistance from ASEAN was extended more in bilateral basis, while more substantial assistance came from outside ASEAN, particularly from the U.S., Japan, and Australia. The AHA Center established in 2011 still lacked capacity to deal with such magnitude of disaster. The case of MH 370 revealed the weaknesses in ASEAN cooperation further, lacking communication and collaboration in search and rescue (SAR) operation as well as information sharing. Over all, sovereignty and capacity remain the obstacles for ASEAN cooperation.

Asia’s Security Competition by Proxy: Competitive HADR as a Respectable Arena?
Associate Professor Alan Chong

Following recent events such as Japan’s 3-11 tsunami-induced disaster, Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines and more recently the MH370 incident, Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) has emerged as a new field of security competition in Asia. While dominant analytical narratives seem to treat HADR as an avenue for hard power to transfigure itself into soft power, this paper asserts that HADR does not fit neatly into a liberal security paradigm. HADR is actually a form of security competition by proxy, implying that there are neoliberal and neorealist possibilities in states engaging in HADR campaigns. HADR allows states to promote images of national technological superiority, models of good governance, and low risk yet high signature contingency deployments of both armed forces and civilian forces. This is perhaps a security competition that allows national rivalries to play out without the risk of outright war. The three illustrative cases mentioned above will support the argument.

Subnational Conflict Mitigation and Civil Society: Networks, Innovations, and the Uncertain Place of ASEAN
Dr Linda Quayle

Subnational conflict, both overt and latent, remains a serious challenge for Southeast Asia, posing threats to its economic progress, its extra-regional relations, and its community aspirations. Yet ASEAN, despite several laudable initiatives that have a bearing on conflict mitigation, is still groping for a meaningful role in this area, and most of the load is currently shouldered by individual regional states, external players, and civil society entities of various kinds.

ASEAN confronts two challenges in this area. Firstly, civil society is a vital component of subnational conflict mitigation. Yet ASEAN is still in the process of working out the terms of its relationship with regional civil society, let alone with the many smaller local players that animate the peace support arena. Secondly, on the issue of conflict mitigation as on so many others, ASEAN is still balancing desired outcomes with available means and political will.

In order to flesh out the context in which ASEAN is trying to find its conflict-mitigation niche, this paper focuses on the subnational conflict areas of Mindanao and Aceh. Conflict scenarios are notoriously different, making it difficult to extrapolate patterns and recommendations from single cases. Nevertheless, these case-studies serve two purposes. The first is to unpack some of the
highly complex networks that state and non-state actors have created around conflict mitigation efforts, noting that the roles of ‘non-state’ and ‘state’ actors in the realm of conflict mitigation are often very blurred. The second is to highlight the innovations that have characterized the work of these networks, particularly in the areas of hybrid mediation support initiatives, civilian peacekeeping, and education for peace.

On the basis of these networks and innovations, the paper discusses some possibilities for ASEAN’s future involvement in what is not only a fraught issue but also a tangled operational environment.

Panel 5: Military Experiences in Coping with Non-Traditional Threats in Asia

Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief in the Asia-Pacific

Dr Alistair D.B. Cook

The Asia-Pacific is the world’s most disaster-prone region of varying scale and effect. In response, multiple military and civilian organisations, both state and non-state actors, are deployed to provide or are involved in the provision of Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR). There have been multiple responses in the international and regional community such as the adoption by the Association of Southeast East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Defence Ministers Meeting of concept papers to advance cooperation in HADR, hosting of a Table-Top Exercise on HADR in 2011, and through the larger ADMM-Plus have held a HADR/Military Medicine Exercise in 2013. However, the breadth and depth of this regional cooperation at present remains largely rhetorical. This is noted in its guiding principles for these situations, which have several exclusions notably Complex Humanitarian Emergencies which revert to United Nations coordination. This paper examines the complex set of interactions between states, societies, regional and international organisations in responding to HADR in the Asia-Pacific. It identifies significant cases and surveys the capacities and roles of actors and suggests potential developments ahead in Asia-Pacific HADR. Ultimately the study of HADR needs to move beyond a focus solely on regional level arrangements to one that recognises the multiple governance tiers involved and interactions between all the key stakeholders.

Disaster Relief as Defense Diplomacy: Exploring the Factors Conditioning Humanitarian Responses by the Militaries of South Korea, China, Taiwan and Japan

Mr Jeffery Engstrom

While participation in international disaster relief by the militaries of South Korea, China, Taiwan, and Japan is a relatively new phenomenon, these operations are now a regular facet of each country’s military diplomacy. This paper explores the varying national factors that shaped initial decisions to commit military forces in this role as well as those that continue to condition military contributions. These include: evolving national motivations prompting military participation in international disaster relief, internal political hurdles in initiating disaster operations, and various military challenges (organisational, doctrinal, etc.) that exist when carrying out these disaster operations.
Australia’s experience in Humanitarian Aid and Disaster Relief: Avenue for Confidence Building
Brigadier Peter Gates

Australia has a long history of contributing to humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR) efforts in the Indo-Pacific. These contributions reflect Australia’s strategic approach to natural disasters, which are regarded as a collective security challenge that demands a collective security response. Cooperation on HADR serves dual purposes since it both enhances the region’s capacity to address the impact of natural disasters and builds confidence among regional militaries that may encourage cooperation on other security challenges. HADR represents a valuable engagement opportunity for militaries that have little experience of working together since natural disasters are recognised as a shared security challenge. For this reason, cooperation in this field can also pave the way for later cooperation on more challenging security issues.

The Australian Defence Force (ADF) contributes to Australia’s whole-of-government approach on HADR by seeking to contribute those specialised military capabilities that are not available from other Australian agencies. This was demonstrated by the ADF’s role in relief operations following Typhoon Haiyan in 2013 and during the international search and rescue effort for Malaysian Airlines Flight MH370 in 2014.

While both these examples illustrate progress in developing a collective HADR response within the Indo-Pacific, there is scope for better regional coordination and cooperation. ASEAN-centred multilateral security frameworks have a particularly important role to play in this regard by fostering practical military cooperation on HADR. HADR exercises conducted under the ASEAN Defence Ministers’ Meeting-Plus and the ASEAN Regional Forum frameworks have enhanced interoperability between their members and supported greater civil-military cooperation. Australia welcomes the opportunities to further leverage these arrangements in support of a coherent regional approach to disaster response.
DIRECTIONS

GKS CSC Main Building Classrooms

Classrooms 1-7

Classrooms 8-9