# The Future of an Asia-Europe Strategic Partnership in Conflict Transformation

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# Foreword

The 8th Asia-Europe Roundtable "The Future of an Asia-Europe Strategic Partnership in Conflict Transformation" which was organised in Bali on 23-25 May 2011, marks the culmination of the Asia-Europe Roundtable on Conflict Management series (AER). This series which began in 2003, has been consistently recognised as a valuable forum for Asia-Europe dialogue on conflict management. The AER has been a joint initiative between the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF), the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) Office for Regional Cooperation in Asia and the Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA).

The series has covered the whole conflict management cycle – from conflict prevention, conflict mediation, conflict resolution to post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation. Throughout the course of its activities, there has been consensus in the value of strengthening the Asia-Europe partnership to address common challenges in region-building and conflict management. At the same time, there has been a growing realisation that effective conflict prevention and peace-building programmes require multi-agency co-ordination in responding to a conflict situation. Since conflict management policies/activities need to be mainstreamed across different policy instruments, there has been a shift towards multi-stakeholder strategic dialogue as a tool for preventing and mitigating conflict.

To address the complexity that is involved in building an inclusive, multi-sector Asia-Europe strategic partnership on conflict transformation, the 8th Asia-Europe Roundtable (8th AER) adopted a strategic foresight approach to evaluate those decisions and actions required to enhance regional conflict transformation mechanisms in Asia and Europe and develop different bi-regional strategic partnership possibilities. Using scenario-building exercises over a three-day period, the 8th AER explored the different trajectories of Asia-Europe co-operation that could develop in the future with regard to conflict and security issues. This publication is an outcome of the 8th AER meeting.

Beginning with a brief overview of some of the key regional actors involved in conflict management, the publication presents the trajectories that were developed at the 8th AER and discusses within each trajectory the relevant areas (such as migration, new technologies, geopolitics, climate change and the economic crisis) which require the attention of policy makers at the bi-regional level. Finally, it offers recommendations by which regional partnerships between Asia and Europe can be strengthened across multiple sectors. It is hoped that this report will be useful in stimulating actions and policies that can influence the development toward an Asia-Europe strategic partnership in conflict transformation.

Ms. Ratna Mathai-Luke (ASEF) was the lead writer of this report. Ms. Natalia Figge (FES) contributed towards the writing. The organisers thank them both for their excellent work. The organisers also thank Prof. Sohail Inayatullah who guided the methodology of the workshop. Most of all, we thank the participants of the 8th AER whose contributions were not limited to the meeting discussions alone but who also provided invaluable suggestions and feedback on this report.

This event was made possible by the close co-operation between ASEF, the FES and the SIIA. We thank the teams at both ASEF and FES for their work on the 8th AER, with special thanks to the FES Indonesia office, in particular Mr. Daniel Reichart, Ms. Artanti Wardhani and Ms. Endah Yuliani for their on-ground support and assistance without which the workshop was not possible.

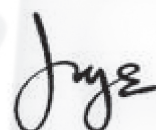The co-organisers acknowledge and appreciate the co-operation of the various FES offices in Asia and Europe.

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# Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| ADB | Asian Development Bank |
| ADMM | ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting |
| AER | Asia-Europe Roundtable |
| AMM | Aceh Monitoring Mission |
| APSC | ASEAN Political-Security Community |
| ARF | ASEAN Regional Forum |
| ASEAN | Association of Southeast Asian Nations |
| ASEF | Asia-Europe Foundation |
| ASEM | Asia-Europe Meeting |
| BRIC | Brazil, Russia, India and China |
| CFSP | Common Foreign Security Policy |
| CSCAP | Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific |
| CSDP | Common Security and Defence Policy |
| EEAS | European External Action Service |
| ESDP | European Security and Defence Policy |
| EU | European Union |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organization |
| FES | Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung |
| GAM | Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (The Free Aceh Movement) |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| HCNM | High Commissioner on National Minorities |
| ICJ | International Court of Justice |
| ICT | Information and Communication Technology |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| IOM | International Organization for Migration |
| IWT | Indus Water Treaty |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| OSCE | Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe |
| R2P | Responsibility to Protect |
| REDD | Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation |
| SAARC | South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation |
| SIIA | Singapore Institute of International Affairs |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNDPA | United Nations Department of Political Affairs |
| UNSC | United Nations Security Council |

# Executive Summary

Regional co-operative mechanisms for peace and security remain a key priority in the 21st century. In addition to the existing EU-ASEAN dialogue at the ministerial level, the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) process[1] reviewed the political and security situations in both regions and agreed on the importance of "effective regional architectures of security and cooperation in Asia and Europe based on mutual respect…and on partnership among various regional organizations and fora".[2]

However, even though the importance of security co-operation is recognised, there are no concrete mechanisms or institutions within the ASEM process for implementing security co-operation. The Asia-Europe Roundtable (AER) series was established with the aim of examining international relations issues between the two regions, with a view to identifying best practices and encouraging ASEM collaboration on conflict management and human security. The 8th Asia-Europe Roundtable met in Bali on 23-25 May 2011 to discuss 'The Future of an Asia-Europe Strategic Partnership in Conflict Transformation' by looking at conflict transformation as a process of engaging with and changing the relationships, interests, discourses and those societal structures that support the continuation of violent conflict.[3]

With the intention to investigate those policy decisions that are required now to ensure sustainable bi-regional co-operation on peace and security in the future, the 8th AER deployed a scenario-building exercise to explore the different trajectories of trans-regional co-operation that could develop between Asia and Europe on conflict and security measures by 2030. Within each trajectory, a set of policy areas relevant for future security and conflict management co-operation between the two regions were identified.

**Trajectory 1: Business as Usual for Asia-Europe Security Dialogue**

If regional co-operation continues to operate in its current form, then the European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) would remain key regional players 20 years hence. Actual bi-regional engagement, however, may have to suffer due to the repercussions from the global financial crisis faced today (2011), if left unchecked.

*Key Recommendations:*
- The imbalances in economic recovery from the global financial crisis require joint exploration by Asia and Europe to find compromises in market regulation as well as alternative regional/international trade mechanisms that can be a means to manage future crises.
- With increasing global competition over resources, especially energy, joint efforts to find opportunities for technical research between Asia and Europe now, can create new avenues for multilateral partnerships for future energy co-operation
- Given the impact of the crisis on migration, joint regional solutions will be needed. This could include implementing joint policies on trade, migrant workers and visa policies.

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[1] ASEM is an informal trans-regional platform for dialogue and co-operation between the two regions and has arisen out of a mutual recognition that the relationship between Asia and Europe needed to be strengthened in light of the challenges and opportunities of the 21st century. For more information about the ASEM process, please visit www.aseminfoboard.org

[2] Chair's Statement of the Eighth Asia-Europe Meeting, 'Greater Well-being and More Dignity for All Citizens', Brussels, 4-5 October 2010.

[3] Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies 2004.

**Trajectory 2: 'Game Changers' for Asia-Europe Security Dialogue**

To deal with the common concerns of both regions, functional mechanisms will have to be in place to address/
deal with emerging trends which promise both opportunity and challenges for shaping a common Asia-Europe
response to security and conflict management.

*Key Recommendations:*
- To facilitate legal migration, policy makers across ASEM countries should work to establish joint
  policing strategies and operations against trafficking.
- To satisfactorily address the implications of climate security, both regions will have to find ways to
  co-operate on resource-sharing and work towards an international framework for climate change
  and disaster management.
- To improve Asia-Europe co-ordination in the conflict sphere, ASEM countries should seek to:
  - enhance inter-operability of national peacekeeping forces, including trainings;
  - enhance programmes in building conflict transformation capabilities; and
  - establish a joint Asia-Europe Peacekeeping Centre

**Trajectory 3: A Comprehensive Approach for Asia-Europe Security Dialogue**

Along with the recognition that the structure of conflict has changed, there is also the acknowledgement that a
comprehensive approach to conflict management and security is needed. Conflict transformation requires that
all processes and actors involved in conflict be enabled to move towards constructive engagement to reduce/
remove the causes of conflict.

*Key Recommendations:*
- Regional institutions need to be more engaged, not just within member states but also with non-
  state actors. Strong regional players lead to stronger inter-regional relations, which in turn lead to
  a better international presence.
- Greater investment should be made to multi-track conflict management efforts. Track 1.5 activities
  which allow for informal consultations between state and non-state actors may be particularly
  useful to complement the formal Track I and unofficial Track II efforts at conflict prevention and
  resolution.
- For conflict transformation, goals should not be set for short term conflict resolution but to lay
  emphasis on long-term structural stability. Regional institutions should have a dedicated focus on
  human development and sustainable growth. For ASEM and the Asia-Europe partnership, more
  attention could be paid to development issues.

# Introduction

The recent decades have seen increased efforts to improve regional co-operation between Asia and Europe. In addition to the existing dialogue at the ministerial level between the European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) process which began at the close of the 20th century, reviewed the political and security situations in both regions and agreed on the importance of international initiatives to resolve outstanding problems. Significantly, it recognised the importance of enhancing bi-regional partnerships on peace and security issues.[4]

In response to this call, the Asia-Europe Roundtable (AER) series was established with the aim of examining international relations issues between the two regions, with a view to identifying and sharing best practices on solutions to common or contrasting problems. Since its inception, the AER has become the only consistent forum for ASEM collaboration on conflict management and human security. Through its policy debates, the series has deepened dialogue in conflict prevention, reconciliation and post-conflict reconstruction.

Regional co-operative mechanisms for peace and security remain a key priority in the 21st century. At the 8th ASEM Summit[5] held in 2010, ASEM leaders stressed the continued importance of "effective regional architectures of security and cooperation in Asia and Europe based on mutual respect…and on partnership among various regional organizations and fora".[6]

Simultaneous to the development of regional mechanisms, there has been, in the efforts to better detail the nuances of the peace-making process, a shift in terminology, moving beyond 'conflict management' to 'conflict transformation'. Referring to those actions and processes that seek to alter the various characteristics and manifestations of violent conflict by addressing the root causes of a particular conflict over the long-term, **conflict transformation deals with structural, behavioural and attitudinal aspects of conflict. Most importantly, it is a process of engaging with and changing the relationships, interests, discourses and those societal structures that support the continuation of violent conflict**.[7]

## The 8th Asia-Europe Roundtable (8th AER)

With this in mind, the 8th Asia-Europe Roundtable was held in Bali on 23-25 May 2011 to discuss 'The Future of an Asia-Europe Strategic Partnership in Conflict Transformation'. With the intention to investigate those policy decisions that are required now to ensure sustainable bi-regional co-operation on peace and security in the *future*, the organisers invited a small group of experts including representatives from international, regional and national institutions, non-governmental organisations and think tanks.

In order to enhance regional conflict transformation/management mechanisms within Asia and Europe, roundtable participants worked towards generating policy and strategy recommendations relevant to those regional institutions such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the EU, ASEAN, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) which operate in the field of conflict management. The ideas that were shared in the course of the meeting, developed into recommendations and suggestions to improve and operationalise Asia-Europe partnerships in conflict and security issues.

[4] Chairman's Statement of the Asia-Europe Meeting, Bangkok, 2 March 1996
[5] 8th ASEM Summit 'Quality of Life, Achieving Greater Well-being and More Dignity for All Citizens', 4-5 October 2010
[6] Chair's Statement, ibid.
[7] Miall 2004, Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task, Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies.

## Methodology

To address the complexity involved in building an inclusive, multi-sector Asia-Europe strategic partnership in conflict transformation, the 8th AER deployed a scenario-building exercise to develop different possible models of co-operation between Asia and Europe on conflict and security measures by 2030. "Scenarios can be usefully theorized as distancing us from the present. This conceptual distance allows us to see the present or future anew...the distance can be temporal (going back and forth in time) or can be epistemological (seeing the issue from different ways of knowing)".[8] It is however only "…one approach amongst many. Whatever model of futures studies one uses it is clear, reliance on one method will almost always leads to problems given that we live in a differentiated complex and transforming world".[9]

To successfully navigate around the uncertainties in scenario-building, a multi-stakeholder approach was used. While participation in previous AERs was limited exclusively to the conflict management sector, participants for the 8th AER came from multiple fields of expertise including (but not limited to) security and conflict management, climate change, human rights and Information and Communications Technologies (ICT).[10]

The meeting aimed to explore the many critical uncertainties that might unfold over a twenty-year time frame, as well as synergies and interactions between these uncertainties. The year 2030 was chosen as a suitable time-frame for the scenario exercise, given the fact that this timeframe is not too distant on the horizon yet not so close as to inhibit actors from institutionalising changes.

It was challenging to produce thorough scenarios and a comprehensive vision within the time constraints of a three-day workshop. The outcomes presented here can be seen as alternative trajectories for conflict transformation and management and their consequent implications for Asia and Europe's strategic partnership. Integrating academic and practical expertise and creative imagination, the trajectories describe plausible divergent future conditions.

While this report draws heavily from the meeting outcomes, the authors have also relied on relevant literature and case-studies to fully illustrate and better substantiate those ideas which may have been discussed during the meeting in passing but not delved into further detail.

With regard to the presentation of the outcomes, the scenarios are presented in the form of 'trajectories' which deliver possible alternatives in which Asia-Europe security cooperation can go. After providing a brief understanding of the trajectory in the form of an overall narrative, the key issues are raised with policy recommendations highlighted in the relevant boxes. Where applicable, case-studies have been provided.

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[8] Inyatullah 2009, "Questioning Scenarios – Scenario Symposium", *Journal of Futures Studies*, February 2009, 13(3): 75 – 80.
[9] Ibid.
[10] The detailed list of participants can be found in Annexe B.

## Roundtable Proceedings

The scenario-building and strategy formulation exercises were led by Prof. Sohail Inayatullah who over the course of the three-day meeting guided the methodology. Participants were divided into four groups. The first exercise was in mapping by using the *Futures Triangle* method to map a possible image of the future for each group. At the bottom corners of the triangle are drivers (those factors – usually quantitative – which push towards the image) and weights (those factors – usually institutional, organisational or historical factors – which act as barriers to the imaged future).

The second set of exercises was tied to identifying those issues which will affect the future (issues that will disturb the futures triangle). Using *Emerging Issue Analysis*, each group was asked to draw an S-curve, which placed at one end of the timeline, those policy concerns which are well-known now, in the middle of the curve emerging issues were placed (those issues which while not currently in the public eye, are beginning to garner attention), while at the extreme end were placed those possible issues which are not yet a policy concern, but could play a vital role in the future. Taking up the identified emerging issues, groups were then asked to create a *Futures Wheel*. The Futures Wheel allows users to develop the consequences – both primary and secondary consequences – from a particular issue (in the context of the 8th AER, this was from the emerging issues analysis).[11]

Having unpacked most of the topics relevant to the discussion, each group then began creating four scenarios of alternative futures – best case, worst case, business as usual and outlier (a surprise future caused by a non-factored, seemingly inconsequential emerging issue). Once scenarios were identified, strategies in the form of recommendations were developed to either move towards or avoid the scenario from being realised.

The scenarios offered in this report are not definitive – any vision is provisional and subject to revision over time. Indeed, foresight is a dynamic process as the scenarios are based on the expectation of new possible futures. They cannot by definition be final as transformation will occur as policy-makers move toward or away from possible futures. Rather, the trajectories presented in this report are offered as an initial image of a *possible* future, an image that should be expanded and amended. It is, however, useful in stimulating actions, values, and policies that can change the course of regional development toward an Asia-Europe strategic partnership in conflict transformation.

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[11] The Futures Wheel is a structured futures-oriented brainstorming exercise which intends to populate future spaces with events and trends. This method is important because instead of identifying the 'correct' future, the focus is on finding alternatives which are articulated on the basis of disagreements about possible trajectories.

## Prominent Asian and European Institutions

Within the ASEM area, the main institutional actors in conflict transformation remain the regional groupings to which the individual ASEM member states belong. While this paper will not go into the details of *all* the regional security arrangements that the different ASEM countries belong to, it will focus on some of the prominent Asian institutions and their European counterparts which have been active in security and conflict management.

**ASEAN** is the most prominent regional institution in Southeast Asia. While it seeks to uphold the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of member states, ASEAN has been working on policy initiatives for regional security co-operation. Apart from the ARF, the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM) was created to contribute towards the establishment of the ASEAN Security Community by promoting dialogue within – and between – ASEAN and its dialogue partners in defence and security co-operation. The first meeting of 'ADMM plus' (10 ASEAN countries plus 8 dialogue partners) was held in 2010.

The **EU's** Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) was first established under the Maastricht Treaty, which saw the creation of the 'three pillar' structure of the EU. CFSP decisions are taken through inter-governmental consensus in the European Council. Occasional divergence of member states' positions—such as in regard to the 2003 Iraq invasion—has not prevented successful advancement of the CFSP, as evidenced for instance through increasing intra-EU co-operation within international organisations like the UN; successful development of joint strategies and responses to international challenges such as terrorism and human rights concerns; and the increasing consolidation of member state approaches to third countries and other regions.

The implementation of the Lisbon Treaty on 1st December 2009 has resulted in significant consolidation within the EU. This has included the creation of the role of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, a fusion of two previous foreign policy roles – the High Representative for CFSP in the European Council, and the Commissioner for External Relations in the European Commission. In support of the High Representative, the **European External Action Service** (EEAS), a joint foreign and defence office, was created.

### The Involvement of NATO?

Alongside the EU, it should be noted that the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** is a political-military alliance which provides its European members both security guarantees and the capabilities and framework to act 'out of area' in peace-enforcement and peace-keeping operations. Currently, NATO is involved in difficult operations in Afghanistan and Libya. The co-operates with the EU, although political problems (the Cyprus question) prevent both organisations from making the most out of their potential.

However, looking at the role of NATO in the future, some participants at the 8th AER were doubtful as to whether NATO would be able to or even willing to play a role of a regional stabiliser, particularly in Asia. It was further argued that when looking at the process of conflict management, a stronger focus should be on soft means to transfer conflicts towards sustainability and less emphasis on military solutions.

Many experts believe that "NATO should limit future full-scale military interventions to Europe and increase better co-operation with its contact countries - Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand - along with emerging states like India" to "ensure a wide, flexible network of global partnerships to help add both legal and moral legitimacy and operational efficiency" to NATO undertakings in the future.*

* Atlantic Community 2010, "NATO Must Strengthen Ties with Asia or Risk Irrelevance", Public Service Europe, 23 August 2011.

The **OSCE** works extensively on security issues. With regard to conflict, the OSCE works through its Conflict Prevention Centre on conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation. To prevent minority conflict, the OSCE set up the office of the High Commissioner of National Minorities (HCNM) in 1992 to provide early warning and, where appropriate, early action to prevent the rise of ethnic tensions. For example, when conflict broke out in Macedonia, the High Commissioner could relay the early warning to the relevant national and central authorities without having to wait for authorisation from the OSCE Chairperson's office.[12]

Security challenges have long informed the agenda for **ASEM** meetings. This concern was re-affirmed at the 10th ASEM Foreign Ministers Meeting in June 2011 where the focus was on non-traditional security issues. With the blurring of traditional and non-traditional security, the meeting underlined the importance of co-operation. As the Hungarian Prime Minister, Viktor Orbán stated "Lone Fighters can no longer be successful".[13]

Apart from traditional conflict co-operation, international and regional organisations are also increasingly working together on 'non-traditional' security and conflict management issues. With the realisation that multilateral security co-operation can no longer be confined to traditional military concerns alone, 'non-traditional' human security concerns such as terrorism, climate change, transnational crime, resource scarcity, health epidemics, etc. have been, for some time now, at the forefront of contemporary security frameworks. For example, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the EU, the United Nations Department of Political Affairs (UN

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[12] For more information on the role of the HCNM in minority conflict, please refer to 'Early Warning Systems in Minority Conflict: A Framework for Developing Regional Response', 7th AER, 2011

[13] Orbán, 2011, Opening Speech at the 10th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting, Gödöllő, Hungary, 6 June 2011. More information about the 10th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting can be found at www.aseminfoboard.org

DPA) and four other UN partners are working on a joint programme to provide technical assistance to relevant stakeholders in conflict-affected countries "to better understand and prevent tension over environmental issues and the management of natural resources".[14]

As Europe and Asia strengthen their economic ties to one another, efforts to improve the EU-Asia strategic partnership have become stronger. Beyond economic co-operation, there is an increasing push to work on other strategic issues relevant to both regions – including non-traditional security issues such as climate change, migration and maritime security. In 2010, an EU-ASEAN high level expert workshop on preventive diplomacy and international peace mediation was held to discuss and exchange best practices of peace mediation. The exercise has been described as the first step for improved co-operation in conflict resolution.

The 8th AER used scenario building to explore the different trajectories of trans-regional co-operation that could develop in the future. These trajectories are useful because they delve into those issues which already influence Asia-Europe co-operation and in the process, provide insightful observations on the future of Asia-Europe dialogue.

## Trajectory 1: Business as Usual for Asia-Europe Security Dialogue

*Overall Narrative*: If regional cooperation continues to operate in its current form, then the EU and ASEAN would remain key regional players 20 years hence. Dialogue processes such as ASEM will continue to fulfil their mandate as an informal institution. Actual bi-regional engagement however, may have to suffer due to the repercussions from the global financial crisis faced today (2011), if left unchecked.

- The *global financial and currency crisis* that started in 2007 re-opened the contentious debates between protectionism and free trade. Although the impact of protectionist measures on world trade fell from 0.8 per cent in 2009 to 0.2 per cent in 2010,[15] barriers to trade still exist. For Asia which has a share in more than a quarter of global trade, decrease in demand from industrial countries has created the need to find new markets, with the challenge to improve domestic demand and intra-regional trade. Moreover the imbalances in economic recovery are making it difficult for sustained development/recovery.

> *Recommendation*
>
> Joint exploration by Asia and Europe to find compromises in market regulation as well as alternative regional/international trade mechanisms can be a means to manage future crises. Moreover, measures that protect labour and ensure equitable trade negotiations – such as the implementation of social standards in trade agreements – should be encouraged as a means to mitigate future crises and promote good practice.

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[14] For more information, please visit www.undp.org 2011

[15] For more details, please refer to Ali, Dadush and Odell 2011, Is Protectionism dying?, Vox EU, 2011 accessed at http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/6617

- The global economic crisis, which started with the collapse of the financial markets in 2007-2008, and was exacerbated by the fuel and food price crises, has caused a great *setback to the global development agenda*. The on-going Euro-zone crisis has already had spill-over effects on developing economies. Unlike previous crises, countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) are at the centre of the current economic crisis and the effects are being felt sharply across the developing world – from a fall in export demands, reduced foreign direct investments to a decline in development aid.[16] In response to the crisis, in a survey conducted for the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in 2011,[17] two-thirds of the 56 developing countries surveyed were cutting their own budgets for one or more pro-poor welfare sectors (e.g. education, health or social protection) so that existent social welfare measures will be unable to extend their coverage to those affected by the crisis.

*Observation*

While development assistance programmes in developing countries have been adversely affected, this shift from 'donor assistance' allows the possibility for greater reciprocity between an increasingly prosperous Asia and an increasingly reticent Europe so that Asia-Europe relations can be re-defined from a traditional 'donor-recipient' relationship to one of greater equality and balance.

- The *global competition over resources*, especially energy, has increased significantly in 2011. Nuclear energy was on the agenda of the G8 meeting.[18] The Fukushima nuclear plant crisis has led to some countries phasing out their nuclear energy programmes, thereby highlighting the need for greater energy efficiency and diversified energy resources which in turn call for the development of better technology.

*Observation*

In 2008, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) launched the 'Green Economy Initiative' to support investment in environmentally friendly sectors. UNEP defines a green economy as one that leads to 'improved human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities'. The initiative is one of nine UN-wide Joint Crisis Initiatives*.

As international multilateral and bilateral energy co-operation efforts grow, it should be noted that if joint technical research between Asian and European institutions is encouraged now, it can create new avenues for multilateral partnerships for future energy co-operation. As economies are encouraged to adopt ecologically friendly structural changes, emphasis should be placed on the creation of 'green jobs'** and the adoption of socially inclusive economic practices.

* UNEP 2011, http://www.unep.org/greeneconomy/
**Green Jobs are jobs that reduce the environmental impact of enterprises and economic sectors, ultimately to levels that are sustainable while at the same time meeting requirements of decent work.

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[16] In 2009, the Italian government cut aid by 56 per cent; Latvia cut off aid spending by 100 per cent.

[17] Brunschwig, Carrasco, Hayashi and Mukhopadhya 2011, "The Global Financial Crisis: Impact on Asia and Emerging Consensus",  ADB South Asia Working Paper Series, No. 3 February 2011

[18] The G8 meeting refers to the annual meeting between the leaders of eight of the world's most industrialised nations, on topics of global concern. The G8 includes Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States.

- *Migratory flows* have, for some time now, been a source of concern, especially with large Asian populations working and settling in Europe (increasingly, the reverse is also becoming true as Europeans head east in greater numbers than ever). UNDP estimates that the 2009 financial crisis has had adverse effects on the movement of people – as migrants who have lost jobs return to their places of origin, while those laid off in their home countries push outwards for new jobs.[19] Countries in both Asia and Europe have introduced freezes or restrictions on migrant entries. The rise of right-wing politics in Europe and the growing frustration in Asia with foreign white collar employment displacing local employees can cause complications in nation-building. Xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment can cause new conflicts by rousing collective identity emotions.

Not only international migration but also internal migration movements have increased. With rural-urban migration, China's internal 'floating population' has increased significantly from 140 million in 2004 to 220 million in 2011– set to go up to 350 million by 2050.[20] The increased competition for already scarce resources and access to services has led to increased worries about social unrest. Participants at the 8th AER identified the potential of inter-regional tensions over migrant communities to become a new 'thorn in the side' of inter-regional relations, causing diplomatic tensions which diminish the willingness of each side to co-operate but do not halt the dialogue altogether.

Given the current economic trends, it is unlikely that individual solutions to mitigate the effects of the crisis on migration and reverse migration will be found. Joint action through EU and Asian diplomacy and extensions of such diplomacy — where pragmatic and needed — could be used to defuse tensions as they arise.

*Recommendation*

Joint Asia-Europe action should be undertaken to:
- increase exchange programmes to enhance understanding of cultures, languages and conflict history of Asia and Europe;
- implement reciprocal and joint policies on trade, migrant workers and visa policies.

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[19] UNDP 2009.

[20] Statistics released by China's National Population and Family Planning Commission. The estimate increase is detailed in the Commission's 2010 Report on the Development of China's Floating Population.

- For the system to change incrementally without any major catastrophes in the next 20 years, *emerging Asian superpowers* like China are expected to continue their rise – indeed, China's socio-economic and political stability is already considered crucial for the world order so that international actors are expected to work pragmatically in staving off any unexpected collapse. As a regional superpower may also exercise its dominance in the existing security structures, this may be a source of some instability in the region. For example, concerns have already been raised about China's growing dominance which could have a destabilising effect on the current status of the South China Sea disputes, which in turn will require a shift in strategy by other actors involved in the dispute.[21]

> ### The Future of ASEAN?
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> ASEAN as a regional body is expected in the coming years to have a stabilising effect in the region, particularly through economic incentives, transforming security vulnerabilities through joint projects. ASEAN however, is currently facing its own challenges. At the launch of the ASEAN Competitiveness Report 2010, ASEAN's Secretary-General suggested that the vision of an ASEAN Community may not be achieved by 2015.*  Moreover, apart from its direct involvement in the ARF and ADMM, most of ASEAN's activities on conflict issues have until now been carried out on the initiative of individual ASEAN member states. ASEAN should be more active in its role as a regional stabiliser.
>
> A joint bi-regional partnership between the key regional players would be more successful to ensure that regional security architectures remain strong.
>
> * The ASEAN Community was originally set for 2020. It was moved forward to 2015 to speed up the integration process in light of growing inter-regional co-operation.

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[21] For further reading, see Periyaswamy 2011, "The South China Sea Dilemma: Options for the Main Actors", *RSIS Commentaries* No. 137/2011 dated 29 September 2011

## Trajectory 2: 'Game Changers' for Asia-Europe Security Dialogue

*Overall Narrative*: Asia-Europe collaboration will remain relevant in 2030, with a move towards a common security framework – especially since there are common concerns for both regions. Functional mechanisms will have to be in place to address/deal with the trends which promise both opportunity and challenges for shaping a common Asia-Europe response to security and conflict management – some of these trends which were identified in the previous section will now be described in greater detail.

- *Migration* continues to be identified as a key policy concern for regional security – both in Asia and in Europe. The International Organization of Migration (IOM) estimates that there are about 214 million international migrants worldwide today with the likelihood of reaching 405 million by 2050 (IOM 2011). Migration and asylum have been a part of the EU's foreign policy directives – with attempts often made to curb migratory flows at their point of origin or in 'transit' countries. In addition to tightening its border controls, the EU has also sought to standardise immigration procedures and asylum policies.

  In Southeast Asia, ASEAN has been working with its partners to secure co-operation on immigration matters – in particular, seeking region-wide initiatives to stop human trafficking. The 'Trafficking in Persons Report 2010' released by the United States (US) Department of State indicates that 12.3 million people are currently victims of human trafficking – in forced, low and unskilled labour.[22]

> *Recommendation*
>
> As a stable and peaceful security environment is crucial for the development of both regions, policy makers across ASEM countries are encouraged to establish joint policing strategies and operations against trafficking and facilitate legal migration by 2030.

- While the pressures of migration and its correlation on societal tensions have been well documented, the *positive effects of migration* on the socio-political environment of countries are equally important. One of the obvious benefits of the influx of young Asian labour is the alleviation of demographic problems in the greying societies of Europe.

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[22] US Department of State 2010, Trafficking in Persons Report 2010, United States Department of State, accessed at http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2010/

> *Recommendation*
>
> As an intercultural response to 'managing' migration and mitigation of conflict, another important gain from the redistribution of populations across ASEM is **mutual understanding and respect for the different values and mindsets of people**. To achieve this, by 2030, policy makers across the ASEM countries could:
>
> - prioritise integration policies to ensure political trust;
> - harmonise education systems so that secular and intercultural training is provided from primary education onwards;
> - promote the development of multicultural education programmes as an effective peace-building measure; and
> - work towards establishing world-class trans-regional universities and the seamless movement of academics and students.

- In recognition that labour is not merely a commodity and that the benefits of globalisation must be equitable, the International Labour Organization (ILO) Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization was adopted in 2008 to promote those policy measures which seek to provide "full employment and the raising of standards of living, a minimum living wage and the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need".[23] To ensure equity and access to essential social security benefits, organisations such as the ILO have recommended a solidarity based approach to labour markets so as to maintain equilibrium between those at opposite ends of the earning scale. The current crisis conditions have emphasised the importance of social security provisions for workers to weather economic uncertainties.

- Indeed, as an ILO paper states "social security will effectively cushion the negative impacts of the crisis if its foundations based on solidarity are strengthened".[24] With the increase of temporary and circular migration as well as the unchanged reliance of some economies on remittances from labour migrants, it will be crucial to ensure portability of social benefits between countries.

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[23] ILO Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization, adopted by the International Labour Conference at its Ninety-seventh Session, Geneva, 10 June 2008.

[24] Diop 2009, *The Need for Solidarity: Social Security Systems in Times of Crises*, International Labour Office, 2009, document no. I:\COMMON\ISSA\ Social security systems in times of crises-MC-v3.doc

*Recommendation*

Since 2006, the ASEM Labour and Employment Ministers Conference has been held at regular intervals, to discuss policy concerns and to expand co-operation between ASEM countries on common areas of labour issues. The 4th ASEM Labour and Employment Ministers Conference will be held in Hanoi in October 2012 under the title 'Social Protection and Employment – A Key to Inclusive Growth'.*

To transform migration challenges into opportunities, ASEM countries should continue to develop joint mechanisms to address the concerns of the global labour market so that the interlinked economic regions profit from a free flow of knowledge and skills. **An open and integrated labour market of Asia-Europe by 2030** would ensure a regulated flow of skilled and unskilled labour among the two regions.

Key features of this open and integrated labour market could be:

- a common and comparable wage policy that is adopted by all social partners (namely, governments, employer and employee associations);
- transferable social security and pension benefits; and
- a solidarity-based social insurance system in both regions which includes universal coverage of income security and social protection.

*For more information on the Conference, please visit www.aseminfoboard.org

- *Mass migration for environmental reasons* has already been identified as a major trend for the future. Climate change, rising sea levels, environmental degradation as well as the exploitation of natural resources has led to the loss of land in large parts of Asia. Countries such as Tuvalu already face imminent extinction while the Maldives, Bangladesh and Vietnam face similar threats from rising sea levels. By 2050, approximately 200 million people are expected to be environmental migrants.[25]

*Recommendation*

To deal with the human security implications of climate change, both regions could work towards an **international framework for climate change and disaster management**. One of its key features could be the **right to climate asylum** for affected citizens.

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[25] Brown 2008, "Migration and Climate Change", IOM Migration Research Series, IOM International Organization of Migration, 2008, accessed at http://www.migrationdrc.org/publications/resource_guides/Migration_and_Climate_Change/MRS-31.pdf

- Climate change also has an adverse impact on *food security*. As per the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the global food crisis of 2007-2008 pushed over 100 million people to chronic hunger and poverty (FAO 2009). There is also a direct correlation between food security and conflict. In conflict-affected areas, the lack or loss of proper infrastructure can limit accessibility to food distribution networks. Inability to access food can also cause volatile unrest in peacetime.[26] With countries like India and China struggling to bring down double digit food inflation figures, experts in the region have highlighted food security as a future challenge for Asia.

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### *The Future of Food Security*

Writing in The Guardian* recently, the UN Special Rapporteur for the Right to Food, Mr. Olivier De Schutter called upon G20 leaders to improve global food security with the adoption of certain measures, including:

- a push for global regulation of food prices and agricultural products to ensure market stability;
- develop and improve agricultural storage facilities at the region level to counteract food production instability – not just for emergencies but also across seasons – as an effect of climate change; and
- improve global governance on food security, in particular improve co-ordination between governments and international agencies on international food security policies.

* De Schutter 2011, "Food Crises: Five Priorities for the G20", The Guardian, 16 June 2011.

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- While contested control over resources is a familiar cause of conflict, environmental factors and increasing competition over ever scarcer natural resources has seen the emergence of '*resource conflicts*' – both internal and external – not just over control and access but also over distribution. For example, with more than 20 per cent of the world's population, China has only 7 per cent of the world's total water resources. Increasingly, the country faces severe challenges in water allocation – aggravated by geography and community settlements. It has been observed how Western China, which has already seen minority unrest, is also the most water-scarce region. Unless the state takes remedial action soon, water woes, it is warned, could fuel further discontent if the minorities view the distribution as unfair and the government measures as inadequate.[27]

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[26] Please refer to Gilpin 2010, Food Security and Peacebuilding in Conflict-Affected Regions, United States Institute of Peace.

[27] Cannon 2006, "Water as a Source of Conflict and Instability in China", Strategic Analysis, Vol. 30, No. 2, April-June 2006, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses.

> *Water Conflicts: Case-study of the Indus Water Treaty*
>
> Another protracted conflict that could be affected if water issues aren't resolved is Kashmir. The Indus Water Treaty (IWT) signed in 1960 between India and Pakistan is considered to be one of the few successful collaborations between the two countries. However, given the changing and ever-growing energy requirements of both countries, this water-sharing treaty has increasingly become a source of dispute – not just between national governments, but also within Jammu and Kashmir, which, on both sides of the Line of Control, share the Indus rivers. It is estimated that the IWT causes a loss of Rs. 8000 crores annually to Jammu and Kashmir.* There has been growing demand to look for viable and optimal sharing of the Indus waters between India and Pakistan.
>
> * Chandran 2009, "Harnessing the Indus Waters: Perspectives from India", IPCS Issue Brief 122, September 2009.

- The *management of natural resources* as a viable conflict transformation approach was pointed out by one of the 8th AER participants who highlighted the multi-stakeholder approach used by the Aceh Forest and Environment Project which, under the Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) programme, conserved 750,000 hectares of rainforest in West Aceh for carbon trading. Many former Free Aceh Movement (GAM) ex-combatants were employed as forest rangers and conservation officers.

  Such examples remain far and few as global efforts to seek practical co-operation on climate change and natural resource management have received little consensus.[28] While agreements of such kinds have always been politically challenging, linking environmental co-operation to conflict transformation is even more so because it is difficult to gauge climate change's direct association with conflict. Intersecting with other socio-political factors, environmental changes are an indirect driver of conflict – e.g. the influence of drought in the Darfur conflict. Nonetheless, debates on climate change and natural resources are increasingly becoming securitised and "the way in which these issues are 'securitized' is itself an essential aspect of the transition from conflict of interest to armed conflict. Energy is already more 'securitized' than climate change, but both are rising rapidly up the list of 'new security challenges' with which states are concerned".[29]

- In 2001, Goldman Sachs estimated that the *rising economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China* (BRIC) would collectively eclipse the combined economies of the current richest countries by 2050. With the ability to dominate regional and international politics, the rise of regional heavyweights would call for the realignment in current power relations so as to reflect the interests of the former and present a challenge for established institutions (such as ASEAN and SAARC).

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[28] As demonstrated by the failure of the UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen 2009 (COP15) to secure an international agreement on carbon emission reduction targets.

[29] Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall 2011, Contemporary Conflict Resolution, Polity Press, p. 302

In Asia, the rapid rise of China as an international actor, where China exceeds the status of a regional power and is moving in the direction of being a global player, together with the three other main powers, the US, Japan and India, is leading to shifts in bilateral relations with other main security actors in Asia. The geopolitical context in Asia is therefore already changing.[30]

The rise of one key player in the region could also see a reaction from other state actors – either from a single state or from a grouping, in the form of new institutions, to maintain the balance of power. In the worst case scenario, there is the potential of 'proxy war' circumstances as experienced during the Cold War when major powers played off minor states against the other without declaring intent.[31]

In a more positive light, regional heavyweights could also become 'regional champions' by having a greater responsibility to uphold regional peace and security – which in turn raises the possibility of the improvement of protection and human rights standards – with the support from regional and inter-regional partners.

- The use of the **Responsibility to Protect** (R2P) principle by regional actors, raises multiple debates on the immediate implications of its application – territorial aggression in the worst case, to the protection and prevention of human rights abuses in the best. It is agreed that the use of R2P by international actors for intervention can be decisive in the short-term, especially if other domestic/regional actors have not reached the political stage to intervene. In the long run however, its sustainability is unclear as a vehicle for sustainable political change – with there being no clear structures for dialogue (for political settlements) and reconciliation. While the debate on the application of the R2P principle in trauma hotspots (e.g. Libya) is on-going, both sides appear to agree that R2P works best when it is preventive.[32]

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[30] See Egberink and Van der Putten 2011 "ASEAN, China's Rise and Geopolitical Stability in Asia", *Clingendael Paper* No. 2, April 2011, Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

[31] See Evans 2011, "Political Risk in Asian Markets", address by Professor the Hon. Gareth Evans, Chancellor Australian National University, President Emeritus International Crisis Group and former Australian Foreign Minister, to 2011 *Credit Suisse Asian Investment Conference*, Hong Kong, 21 March 2011, accessed at http://www.gevans.org/speeches/speech436.html

[32] See Dunne 2011, "Libya and the State of Intervention", *Asia-Pacific Centre* for *R2P, APC R2P* Brief, Vol. 1 No. 1 (2011).

*Recommendation*

While R2P is an international instrument which requires decision-making at the UN level, ASEM actors should begin to **discuss the implications of R2P at the inter- and intra-regional level**. Since R2P has an impact on the disaggregation of actions, the roles and responsibilities of different actors need to be identified (including those of non-state actors). Standards need to be set which would involve a far more complex legal framework than what is currently in place. Consensus at the bi-regional level would present a united voice at the international table.

While there are currently no concrete mechanisms or institutions within the ASEM process for implementing security co-operation, some 8th AER participants felt that a functional secretariat to develop the ASEM process further, could help cover this gap.

Specifically, to improve the effectiveness of joint Asia-Europe co-ordination in the conflict sphere, ASEM should seek to:

- enhance inter-operability of national peace-keeping forces, including trainings;
- enhance programmes in building conflict transformation capabilities; and
- establish a joint Asia-Europe Peace-keeping Centre

- From networks like FAST to open source platforms like Ushahidi – *technology* has a *vital role in conflict management*. The Arab Spring saw internet technology mobilise protests and demonstrations in the Middle East, allowing people a new way to organise social movements which quickly spurred analysts to debate the actual ability of social media like Twitter and Facebook to galvanise popular dissent – and if its seeming success could be replicated in other parts of the world. As one of the 8th AER participants put it, the Arab uprisings were "2.0 revolts against 1.0 regimes".

  With an increasingly digitalised world, multiple issues emerge - from a digital divide of north-south, to a divide between digital elites within societies, to issues of control and privacy. These are all challenges that global governance needs to respond to. *The vital question then becomes, who controls (and has access to) information?*

- As technological advancements lead to the development of even stronger social networks, *new online communities* with like-minded values come together. Functioning to put information/news feeds online, they control their network of information (what, how much and when), so that it becomes a '**tyranny of the connected**' and the new inequity would quite possibly be between the 'digital cans' vs. the 'digital can-nots'.

*Observation*

With the Internet as a global platform rendering void ideas of borders and localisation, **the emergence of digital transnational elites poses new questions** for the evolution of Asia-Europe regional collaboration.  Some issues that need further engagement include:

- the impact of technology on governance and human rights needs to be considered. The role of new technology in conflict needs to be mapped.
- the use of the Internet as a means for misinformation raises concerns for regulation. Civil society should be actively involved in this dialogue.
- greater clarity in international law/guidelines will be required to deal with a digitalised society which transcends traditional boundaries.
- there are physical constraints (infrastructure) which prevent digital interconnectivity in many parts of the world.
- conflicting issues of security concerns vs. freedom of expression.

## Trajectory 3: A Comprehensive Approach to Asia-Europe Security Dialogue

*Overall Narrative*: With the recognition that the structure of conflict has changed (intra-state conflicts supersede interstate conflicts, with a shift towards low-intensity, protracted situations with multiple actors[33]), there is also the acknowledgement that a comprehensive approach to conflict management and security is needed. Currently, while there is greater stress on the international system, there is also greater consensus on co-operation and collaboration (for example, NATO's involvement in Libya; ASEAN's involvement in the Thai-Cambodia conflict). Approaches still tend to be formulaic but increasingly, there is a realisation that 'no one size fits all'. Conflict transformation requires that all processes and actors involved in conflict be enabled to move towards constructive engagement to reduce/remove the causes of conflict.

Assuming that Asia-Europe partnership will strengthen and by 2030 the focus would have moved from its current approach of conflict management to conflict transformation, there needs to begin constructive engagement by regional institutions with different stakeholders, especially non-state actors.

- **Stronger Regional Actors**

   It was stressed at the 8th AER that current regional institutions in the Asia region need to be more engaged, not just within member states but also with non-state actors. Strong regional players lead to stronger inter-regional relations, which in turn lead to a better international presence. There is also a growing call for responsive and proactive leaders by citizens who want responsible governance (as witnessed in early 2011 when proactive e-citizens were able to use the digital revolution for political and social awareness). Regional concerns require decisive action and there is a need to shift from a traditional approach to a stronger, more proactive regional actor who can respond to emerging crises and take action when needed.

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[33] For further reading, please refer to IDEA International 2003 Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators, IDEA International.

ASEAN engagement in resolving the disputes within the region has in the past been limited to quiet diplomacy and closed door meetings – mainly due to its emphasis on non-interference and also the fact that none of its members have been in serious conflict with each other. The on-going Thai-Cambodian border dispute however, has been seen by many as a challenge to ASEAN's role in maintaining security in Southeast Asia. The new ASEAN Charter allows the parties in dispute to request the Chairman or the Secretary-General of ASEAN to "provide good offices, conciliation or mediation".[34] In its *Blueprint for a Political Security Community* (APSC), ASEAN sets out strategies and a range of measures aimed at integrating its members 'politically' and into a framework of regional security governance, for instance through the establishment of a regional network of peace-keeping centres. Tied to this is a commitment to good governance, democratisation and human rights. The Blueprint calls for the prevention of disputes and conflicts arising between member states. It further sets out to improve existing mechanisms and promote regional and international technical co-operation to build expertise and capacity on conflict resolution.

The ARF which was established to foster dialogue and consultation on political and security issues in the Asia-Pacific region, endorsed its Vision Statement in 2009, which gives direction for the ARF to 2020. The Vision Statement which provides guidelines to make the ARF more action-oriented was followed by the adoption of the Hanoi Plan of Action in 2010. To maintain peace and stability in the region, the Hanoi Plan emphasises strengthening the ARF process by expanding regional capacity as well as strengthening co-operation measures with other regional and international security bodies.[35] Through this, the ARF could achieve more relevance as an intra-regional security actor.

### The Thai-Cambodia Conflict: A Case Study of ASEAN Leadership

At the informal ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting in Jakarta in February 2011, Thailand and Cambodia agreed to allow Indonesia as the current ASEAN Chair to send its observers to the disputed border as well as be an observer of any future bilateral talks. This was bolstered by a UN Security Council (UNSC) judgement as well as the International Court of Justice (ICJ) decision to explicitly endorse ASEAN's leadership role in settling the dispute. Under Indonesia's Chairmanship, ASEAN has approached the border dispute between Thailand and Cambodia as a significant opportunity to develop its capacity for conflict management and resolution. Backed with the UNSC's ruling and ICJ's decision, it gives ASEAN an affirmation of its growing role and a chance to take its mandate as outlined in the charter and APSC Blueprint forward. Although the conflict could not be resolved through this intervention, the initiative led to more self-sufficiency within ASEAN as a potential actor for conflict management.

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[34] ASEAN, 2008, Article 23 in the Charter of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, can be accessed at www.aseansec.org/21069.pdf
[35] The Hanoi Plan of Action can be accessed at http://www.aseanregionalforum.org/PublicLibrary/ARFChairmansStatementsandReports/tabid/66/Default.aspx

In South Asia, the SAARC, which was formed in 1985, has seen difficulties in promoting effective regional co-operation. Although member states have been involved in bilateral arrangements, SAARC's emphasis on non-interference has seen little co-ordination on security issues. Its joint activities in this area are focused on terrorism, narcotics and organised crime. With the increasing bisection of terror and organised crime with conflict and security concerns, SAARC countries may yet find new opportunities to co-operate at the regional level.

*Recommendation*

Informal regional groupings should be institutionalised as this leads to greater accountability. Processes like ASEM need to be able to demonstrate their strengths to move forward **from informal declarations to concrete action plans**. For ASEM, there was consensus that there need to be strategic agreements in place to deal with conflict in a co-ordinated manner. Some of the recommendations include:

- joint security and foreign policy for the ASEM region;
- common ASEM committees and working groups to deal with emerging crisis/issues;
- an ASEM pool of peace-keepers which are jointly trained; and
- a unified ASEM voice on the UN Security Council

The *EU's Asia Strategy* for 2007-2013 is based on strengthening EU-Asia engagement with institutions and processes such as SAARC, ASEAN and ASEM on three strategic priorities of regional integration, policy and technical co-operation and support to people displaced by crises. Security and governance remain top priorities, with four of the six objectives for EU-Asia partnership being informed by these themes.

With the institutional consolidation of the CFSP and the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) into the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) together with the EU's new singular legal personality, the EU's negotiating power and its competency to sign international treaties has increased. The Lisbon Treaty developments have also improved EU visibility and effectiveness as a partner to international organisations, third countries, and regional partners such as ASEAN. The EU is currently operating 13 CSDP missions.[36]

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[36] For information and analysis on the individual CSDP missions conducted to date, please see www.csdpmap.eu

*The Aceh Monitoring Mission: A Case Study of Bi-regional Co-operation*

One of the oft-cited examples of successful cross-regional engagement in conflict resolution is the **Aceh Monitoring Mission** (AMM). Three decades of armed conflict in Aceh ended in ceasefire when the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on 15 August 2005 in Helsinki, Finland. The AMM was deployed to assist the Government of Indonesia and the GAM in the implementation of the MoU. The AMM was an EU-led mission, conducted together with five ASEAN countries (Brunei, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand), and with contributions from Norway and Switzerland.

The AMM was the first ESDP mission in Asia as well as the first to be conducted in coordination with another regional organisation. Although ASEAN's financial contribution to the AMM was limited, the mission has been lauded for the extent of EU-ASEAN co-operation – six of the 11 district offices were headed by ASEAN representatives. As Halbach (2009) states "Cooperation with ASEAN enhanced the mission's expertise with regard to regional and cultural specifics and thus increased its legitimacy on the ground and diplomatic muscle at the international level".*

* Halbach, 2009, "ESDP in Asia – The Aceh Monitoring Mission in Indonesia" in  Asseburg, M. and Kempin, R., *The EU as a Strategic Actor in the Realm of Security and Defence? A Systematic Assessment of ESDP Missions and Operations*, SWP Research Paper 14, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, pp. 100–111, accessed at http://www.csdpmap.eu/thematics

- **Multi-track Approaches**
  The emergence of non-traditional security and conflict concerns has resulted in a requirement for a more 'hybrid' and flexible approach to conflict transformation[37], which calls for a combination of activities and a multiplicity of state and non-state actors, institutions and organisations.

  Multi-track approaches refer to the different track arrangements used for conflict management and resolution. At its highest level, formal discussions between senior officials (political and military leaders) on cease-fires and conflict settlements are referred to as Track I, while Track II efforts relate to dialogues and activities between civil society leaders and officials participating in their private capacity, who work to build relationships and still have some influence over policy.[38]

  While there is consensus that Track I processes should be closely aligned with other track approaches, especially of Track II (and also be supportive of Track III), there are increasingly, calls for greater investment in Track 1.5 activities - an amalgamation of both Track I and II. This approach allows the adoption of a more informal and consultative dialogue between high-ranking official actors and decision makers who can interact in an informal setting to create insights into the conflict situation. Furthermore, it would allow for more enhanced interaction between state and non-state actors who could have greater access to the official level dialogues. Regional institutions who may not be centrally involved in the conflict can work to create positive conditions to such dialogues. Additionally, through their involvement, they bring credibility to the process.

[37] For more information on hybrid conflict transformation approaches, please refer to Boege 2006, T*raditional Approaches to Conflict Transformation – Potentials and Challenges,* Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management.

[38] Track III refers to those conflict management efforts which take place at the grassroots level by NGOs and other groups to prevent and resolve conflict between local communities. A useful glossary on the different tracks can be found at http://glossary.usip.org/resource/tracks-diplomacy

**Focus on Structural Issues**

More importantly, there is a need to address the structural issues of conflict which go a long way in reducing violence and ending conflict. For conflict transformation, goals should not be set for short-term prevention or resolution of conflicts but to go beyond, to address the serious structural challenges and inequities of communities. This requires a shift in attitude for human security and development.

Traditional linear approaches to conflict management divide conflict mitigation activities into different stages (pre-conflict, in-conflict and post-conflict) with different strategies for each stage. However, there is also a growing recognition that peace-building activities need to focus on long-term structural stability and therefore promote sustainable community development. Indeed, conflict transformation discourse "focuses on long-term peace-building efforts oriented to outcomes, processes and also structural changes…at overcoming revealed forms of direct, cultural and structural violence, transforming unjust social relationships and promoting conditions that can help to create cooperative relationships".[39]

*Recommendation*

Regional institutions should have a dedicated focus on human development and sustainable growth, over their current focus on political and economic affairs. For ASEM and the Asia-Europe partnership, more attention could be paid to development issues.

It has been proposed that dedicated funding be created for an **ASEM Development Fund**\* which would ensure:
• funding for human development and sustainable development;
• funds for crisis relief/response;
• funding for humanitarian aid; and
• sharing and joint research on climate change technologies between the two regions.

The ASEM Dialogue Facility which is aimed at enhancing policy and know-how transfer to less developed countries in Asia should focus more on human security issues. In the past two years, only two of the meetings organised under the Facility facility have focused on development co-operation issues.

\* In a previous attempt made by ASEM to contribute to social development and redress poverty alleviation, an ASEM Trust Fund was set up in 1998 and was administered by the World Bank. Suffering from larger structural problems, the ASEM Trust Fund was criticised for its failure to address social development issues. A.C. Robles, Jr. states that the Fund's fund's failure can be attributed in large part to its management – the size of the grants were small and funds were allocated to projects which were components of larger World Bank projects. This he says, had two consequences "First, in practice, the World Bank became the interlocutor of the Asian country; and second, the World Bank's instinct was to push its agenda of privatization, deregulation and liberalization."
(Robles 2008, The Asia-Europe Meeting: The Theory and Practice of *Interregionalism*, pp. 56 -57)

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[39] Bigdon and Korf 2004, *The Role of Development Aid in Conflict Transformation: Facilitating Empowerment Processes and Community Building*, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management.

## Conclusion

Eventually, whatever trajectory or pathway future Asia-Europe security co-operation takes, there are core issues that need to be addressed.

*On the Shifting Global Power Balance*
The continued rise of countries like India and China as superpowers will have key implications both for the international and regional world order. While there are those who would view these developments with concern – especially for regional stability and power relations – new powers could also become 'regional champions' taking on greater responsibility to maintain regional security and peace, with the support of regional and international institutions. Regional institutions also need not only to be more proactive in their efforts to strengthen their own dialogue processes with member states, but also to hone international and bi-regional co-operative measures to foster consultation on regional and international political and security issues.

*On Environment Co-operation and Resource Management*
The impacts and consequences of climate and environmental degradation on migration, natural resources and food security have been well-documented. Numerous studies also exist that emphasise the causal links between food security and natural resource competition with conflicts. The increasing securitisation of these issues in global debates has put environmental co-operation on the security agenda. Given the difficulties in securing political consensus on climate change and natural resource management, regional actors would have to seek more opportunities for international co-operation on these issues.

*On New Technology*
With the Internet as a global platform, traditional ideas of borders and localisation are fast becoming obsolete so that the emergence of digital communities poses new questions for the evolution of Asia-Europe regional collaboration. The impact of technology on governance and its implications for human rights protection need to be considered. Issues of infrastructure, access and development divides which are inherent in the new technology debate, will require focused discussion between both state and civil society actors.

*On Development Perspectives*
Conflict transformation focuses not just on the short-term prevention or resolution of conflicts but to address the serious structural challenges and inequities of communities that often lie behind conflicts. The 3F crisis (Fuel, Food and Financial) has caused cutbacks in development budgets – not only with overseas development assistance measures but also national welfare measures. There is a shift required in the current attitudes for human security and development.

*On Migration*
Migration – not just international migration but also internal movements of people – has long been a source of concern to policy makers. Indeed it has been identified as the new 'thorn in the side' of inter-regional security relations with the potential to cause diplomatic tension over migrant rights and protection – as recent individual state responses to migration have highlighted. Given the current economic trends, it is unlikely that individual solutions to mitigate the effects of the crisis on migration and reverse migration will be found. Joint action through EU and Asian diplomacy and extensions of such diplomacy will be needed to defuse tensions as they arise.

Ultimately, the challenges, trajectories and concerns (both present and potential) that were identified during the scenario-building process of the 8th Asia-Europe Roundtable, only underscored the importance of more proactive regional engagement – not just between official state actors but also with non-state actors. Strong regional players lead to stronger inter-regional relations, which in turn leads to a better international presence. Regional concerns require decisive action and there is a need to shift from a traditional approach to a stronger, more proactive regional approach with multi-sectoral actors who can respond to emerging crises and take action when needed.

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# ANNEXE C – ABOUT THE ORGANISERS

The **Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF)** promotes greater mutual understanding between Asia and Europe through intellectual, cultural and people-to-people exchanges. Through ASEF, civil society concerns are included as a vital component of deliberations of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM)\*. ASEF was established in February 1997 by the participating governments of ASEM and has since implemented over 500 projects, engaging over 15,000 direct participants as well as reaching out to a much wider audience in Asia and Europe. www.asef.org

The **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)** was founded in 1925 as the political legacy of Germany's first democratically elected president, Friedrich Ebert. Since the beginning of the political foundation's work in South, Southeast and East Asia more than 40 years ago, FES has focused on promoting democracy and peace while strengthening social progress.

The FES Office for Regional Cooperation in Asia based in Singapore focuses on the reinforcement of social justice as a key factor for inclusive growth and as a core element of political processes in Asia. It also co-ordinates the Regional Trade Union Programme of FES. In the past few years, FES has actively supported dialogue platforms and multi-stakeholder processes for trade unions and civil society organisations in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) with the aim of establishing inclusive and structured mechanisms for constructive stakeholder engagement on the regional and interregional levels. Within its network of 15 offices in Asia, FES co-operates with a number of governmental institutions, trade unions, political parties, social movements, NGOs, media and scientific institutions as well as international foundations. www.fes-asia.org

The **Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA)** is an independent think tank dedicated to the research, analysis and discussion of regional and international issues. We aim to make Singapore a more cosmopolitan and global society through research, policy work and public education on international affairs. Founded in 1961 and registered as a membership-based society, we are Singapore's oldest think tank.

As a founding member of the ASEAN-Institutes for Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) network, we work with our partner think-tanks to organize regional and international workshops and conferences to seek new thoughts and ideas. Accompanied by research and analysis, we share our political, economic and security insights with politicians, policy-makers, business leaders, and opinion-leaders. www.siiaonline.org

The Europe-Asia Policy Forum (EUforAsia) is designed to target relevant stakeholders in Asia-Europe affairs and policy-making with information on contemporary issues regarding EU-Asia. The briefing series is part of the EU-Asia Policy Forum that aims to enhance EU-Asia co-operation and awareness on issues of mutual interest such as sustainable development, regional integration, governance and other hot topics. Main partners are the **International Institute of Asian Studies** (IIAS), the **Asia-Europe Foundation** (ASEF), the **Singapore Institute for International Affairs** (SIIA) and the **European Policy Centre** (EPC). The Europe-Asia Policy Forum is supported by the European Union.

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\* ASEM now brings together 46 member states (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Cambodia, China, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Indonesia, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Laos, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Malta, Mongolia, Myanmar, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom, Vietnam) plus the European Commission and the ASEAN Secretariat. www.aseminfoboard.org

# About the Asia-Europe Roundtable

The Asia-Europe Roundtable (AER) is a series that aims to examine the nature of Asia and Europe, focusing on international relations issues, with a view to understanding both better and to identify and share best practices on solutions to common or contrasting problems. Since 2000 the following activities have been organised:

**1st AER "Regions in Transition"**

August 2000 | Singapore

**2nd AER "Trans-National Problem-Solving in a Global Era: Towards Multi-Level Governance?"**

September 2001 | Oxford, United Kingdom

Co-hosted by the Centre for Globalisation and Regionalisation Studies, Warwick University, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford University

**3rd AER "Peace and Reconciliation: Success Stories and Lessons from Asia and Europe"**

October 2003 | Hanoi, Vietnam

Hosted by the Institute for International Relations (IIR) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vietnam

**4th AER "Conflict Prevention: Actors, Institutions and Mechanisms"**

April 2005 | Berlin, Germany

**5th AER "Sustaining the Peace through Post-Conflict Reconstruction"**

May 2007 | Singapore

**6th AER "Minority Conflicts – Towards an ASEM Framework for Conflict Management"**

June 2009 I Derry, Northern Ireland & Letterkenny, Ireland

**7th AER Workshop "Early Warning Systems in Minority Conflicts"**

May 2010 I Singapore

**8th AER "The Future of an Asia-Europe Strategic Partnership in Conflict Transformation"**

May 2011 I Bali, Indonesia

The series is organised by the Asia-Europe Foundation, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, and the Singapore Institute of International Affairs.

The inaugural AER was launched in Singapore in 2000, to present a broad overview of the transitions in the two regions. The 2nd AER was held in Oxford, in 2001, and focused on the issue of global and regional governance and transnational problem-solving. The roundtable shifted from broader regional issues to a more specific focus on peace and security. The 3rd AER in Hanoi (2003) and the 4th AER in Berlin (2005) deepened bi-regional dialogue and promoted networking in the areas of conflict prevention as well as peace and reconciliation. The 5th AER focused on "Sustaining Peace through Post-Conflict Reconstruction" and the 6th AER looked at different types of minority conflicts and the potential to design possible political solutions and a framework for sustainable peace. The 7th AER Workshop focussed on Early Warning Systems in Minority Conflicts. The 8th AER explored the different trajectories of Asia-Europe co-operation that could develop in the future with regard to conflict and security issues.

At the 8th Asia-Europe Roundtable (23-25 May 2011), experts reviewed current and emerging global trends, relevant to conflict management, to identify those decisions and actions required to enhance regional conflict transformation mechanisms in Asia and Europe and develop different bi-regional strategic partnership possibilities.

Based on the discussions from the 8th Asia Europe Roundtable, 'The Future of an Asia-Europe Strategic Partnership in Conflict Transformation' examines those policy decisions that are required now, to ensure sustainable bi-regional co-operation on peace and security in the future. The report explores possible scenarios of future Asia-Europe co-operation with regard to conflict and security issues.

More specifically, this publication:

a) *Maps some of the different trajectories of Asia-Europe co-operation that could develop in the coming years with regard to conflict and security issues;*

b) *Analyses those global issues (such as migration, new technologies, geopolitical shifts, energy co-operation) that will have an impact on regional co-ordination of conflict management activities;*

c) *Presents multi-sectoral recommendations by which Asia-Europe conflict transformation strategies can be strengthened and better co-ordinated.*