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NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES: THAILAND AND REGIONAL COOPERATION

King Prajadhipok's Institute

NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES
THAILAND
AND REGIONAL COOPERATION

Amitav Acharya
with Angela Maria Pennisi Di Floristella
and Blake Berger

King Prajadhipok's Institute

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Author Amitav Acharya

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for their substantial research assistance
in preparing this report.”

NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES

THAILAND AND REGIONAL COOPERATION

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Introduction of King Prajadhipok's Institute

One of Thailand's challenges in reforming the country is the confrontation with the uncertainty from Non-Traditional Security directly related to the safety and well-being of the people and the country. Despite military threats, there are many other issues such as climate change, scarcity and exploitation of resources, epidemics, natural disasters, unexpected migration, food shortages, human or drug trafficking, and international crimes.

This new form of security is largely addressing threats to international security, which requires thorough solutions for economic, social and political issues as well as humanitarian use of military force without any territorial restriction. Conducting a study with the framework of one national policy is not sufficient to effectively understand this new threat and security management.

King Prajadhipok's Institute as an academic institution under the direction of the Chairman of the Parliament realizes the importance of the national reform especially on the issue of the new security, so the study on the issue is conducted at the international level to examine the role of both Thailand and international cooperation for policy recommendations on the response to the new and effective security.

The report is derived from the study on “Challenges of New Security: Thailand and Regional Cooperation”. The frameworks of the national and regional policy are included to present the ASEAN practice to deal with the current security problem. The focus is on two areas: the new security at urgency in both national and regional level including terrorism and natural disaster management.

On the behalf of King Prajadhipok’s Institute, I would like to express my appreciation to Prof. Amitav Acharya, Dr. Floristella and Mr. Blake Berger for their contribution to this report. This book is to provide academic perspectives for researchers, policy holders, and the public with an interest in the issues of new security and international cooperation.

Professor Woothisarn Tanchai

Secretary-General

August 9, 2018

Introduction from the Director of College of Politics and Governance

"Challenges of New Security: Thailand and Regional Cooperation" is a book derived from the research called "Security in a New Form" initiated by the College of Politics and Governance, King Prajadhipok's Institute in cooperation with Prof. Dr. Amitabh Archarya to examine the current security situation among the ASEAN countries especially the political and security cooperation in the framework of ASEAN and Thailand as well as solutions for the new threats in the future.

The objectives of this pursuit are based on changing security issues. At present, these issues are not only considered the matter of the state or the military, but they are also relevant to many extensive issues affecting the public such as terrorism, climate change, serious epidemic, international crimes, cybercrimes, inequality, and impacts of globalization. Most of these issues are beyond a control of a single state or to be managed in a traditional manner.

This book aims to display the current security in a new form through systematic analysis and discussion of theories and experiences

from case studies. The problems and challenges of ASEAN and Thailand in responding to the threats are brought to light to deal with the future threats. This book aims to serve academic communities, security officers, the public, and interested people the knowledge of new security under the framework of Thailand and ASEAN.

As a director of the College of Politics and Governance, King Prajadhipok's Institute, I am grateful to the contribution from Prof. Dr. Amitabh Archarya. Through his work on researching information related to the framework of Thailand and ASEAN, the analysis, the academic summary, and the policy recommendations are very valuable. I also appreciate the support from all of the faculties, researchers, and staffs. Moreover, the Secretary-General of the King Prajadhipok's Institute and all the executives has contributed to this book. I hope this book will be useful in terms of concept and practice for all the readers.

Associate Professor Dr. Panitarn Wattanayakorn
Director, College of Politics and Governance
August 15, 2018

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research project report presents challenges of Non Traditional Security (NTS) to Thailand and ASEAN and identifies ways of mitigating and resolving them. The challenges include mobilsing resources, implementation of policies, ensuring effective regional cooperation and external assistance. There is also a need to reconcile NTS and human security concerns. For ASEAN, while the organization has made considerable progress in NTS cooperation, there remains several obstacles to more effective cooperation, including lack of resources, ASEAN's non-interference principle, gap between official policy statements and implementation, and difference in security perspectives and threat perceptions between governments and parties. A major issue for NTS in ASEAN is how much support it can get from outside powers, such as China, Japan, and the US, which have better expertise and resources in handling such issues.

Given the current situation of NTS in Thailand and ASEAN, this report offers suggestions for future research as well as policy recommendations. Future research should conduct more research on NTS challenges. These should include: human trafficking, illegal migration, transboundary pollution and environmental degradation more generally, beyond natural disasters. They need to examine in detail the implementation capacity of national and regional agencies in dealing with NTS challenges. Lastly, more specific and concrete policy measures to enhance national capacity and regional cooperation in dealing with NTS challenges in needed.

In policy realm, the findings of the report suggest that Thailand policy makers should develop greater awareness of NTS and human security issues among the population through their inclusion in school, college and university curricula. Develop more national research capacity and in a regional network for research and action to address challenges of NTS and human security are also needed. It will be good for Thailand to establish a national center for the study of Non-Traditional and Human Security Issues and national center and use it as the foundation for developing a regional and international network on NTS and human security. In addition, there should be more training to government officials on NTS and human security issues. The KPI should develop and incorporate such training modules into its activities. Various defence and police colleges should also develop and expand their training in these areas. It is also recommended to organize an international conference on NTS in Thailand in 2018, inviting leading experts from ASEAN, East Asia and around the world to examine the changing nature of NTS and human security challenges in an era of rapid globalization.

More importantly, there should be a NTS and human security monitoring system, and index for Thailand and its various provinces most affected by NTS threats. In this project, we propose three policy tools: (1) Human Security Governance Index and Ranking; (2) Human Security Mapping in Conflict Zones; and (3) Human Security Impact Assessment. Human Security Governance Index and Ranking extends Human Development Reports to regions and districts (within states/provinces) to allow for more micro-studies and of the local context in which human

security assessments and policies must be carried out. It includes not only threats but also governance in its measurement. Human Security Mapping in Conflict Zones relates to people in conflict zones and analyzing their concerns and attitudes. Human Security Impact Assessment enables governments, foreign donors, multilateral institutions and corporations, to better anticipate the impact of their projects not just on development and environment, but also on security as a whole, from a broader perspective. All of these tools can be developed for addressing NTS threats Thailand and ASEAN in the next stage of this KPI-led project.

INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of this research project is to examine Non Traditional Security (NTS) challenges to Thailand and ASEAN and identify ways of mitigating and resolving them. The project is conceived as a comprehensive, multi-year project. In the first year, the focus will be on developing a conceptual framework for analyzing NTS, surveying the existing literature on the nature of NTS threats in Thailand, and ASEAN, and establishing the pattern of cooperation between national, regional and international agencies and forums addressing them. Subsequent phases of the project will explore detailed case studies, on the basis of detailed research, such as, but natural disasters, terrorism, climate change, pandemics and transnational crime (drug trafficking, people smuggling, money laundering, etc.), to give a few examples.

This final report of the first year of the project outlines the key points and findings of the project up to March 2017. The report covers conceptual issues as well as two areas of NTS: terrorism and disaster management. The first part of the report defines key concepts, especially NTS and human security. The second part covers terrorism. This is followed by an analysis of natural disasters and disaster management. In each case study, the report looks at the role of ASEAN and ASEAN Regional Forum, and how Thailand has used these forums for its response to these two NTS threats. The conclusion makes some observations and recommendations regarding the handling of these threats, and identifies areas for further research.

The project considers both the nature and scale of the NTS threat, and the response of Thailand to these threats at both national and regional levels, namely through regional mechanisms developed by ASEAN and the ASEAN Regional Forum, in which Thailand is a member. Regional organizations, while not a substitute for national action, can help in setting norms, mobilizing additional resources and securing external assistance. Hence considering how Thailand has been able to work within ASEAN and ARF to address its NTS threats is important to its overall capacity to deal with such threats.

DEFINTION OF CONCEPTS

In this report, the following definition of NTS is used:

'Non-Traditional security issues are challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of non-military sources, such as climate change, resources scarcity, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, people smuggling, drug trafficking and transnational crime. These dangers are often transnational in scope, defying unilateral remedies and requiring comprehensive – political, economic, social – responses, as well as humanitarian use of military force'

There are seven key features of the NTS concept which can also be applied to some human security issues:

- Challenges are mainly non-military
- Come at short notice (perhaps climate change is an exception, but even that can create unexpected problems)
- They are transnational in scope (neither purely domestic, nor purely inter-state)
- Transmitted rapidly due to globalization, communication revolution etc.
- Cannot be entirely prevented, but coping mechanisms can be devised

- In many cases, national solutions inadequate; regional and multilateral cooperation essential
- The object of security is not just the state (state sovereignty or territorial integrity), but also the peoples (survival, well-being, dignity), both at individual and societal levels

In investigating the nature and scope of NTS threats to Thailand and ASEAN, it is important to bear in mind that while the roots of NTS threats are complex, many of them are aggravated, if not caused, by globalisation. Among the effects of globalisation and its related consequences such as rapid industrialisation, population growth and resource depletion are: Environmental stress, competition over resources, the spread of diseases and pandemics, climate change/global warming, movement of people, drug trafficking, money laundering, financial crisis and volatility and terrorism.

A second and related concept used in this study is human security. The concept of Human Security was first identified by UNDP's Human Development Report (1994). It contains seven elements:

- Economic security (assured basic income)
- Food security (physical and economic access to food)
- Health security (diseases and infection)
- Environmental security (access to sanitary water supply, clean air, and a non-degraded land system)

- Personal security (from violence and threats)
- Community security (cultural identity)
- Political security (protection of basic human rigtrs and freedoms)

The concept of human security has been defined variously. Some key definitions include:

> "Human security can be said to have two main aspects. It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities." UNDP

> "human security means freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or lives" Government of Canada

> 'Human security may be defined as the preservation and protection of the life and dignity of individual human beings." Govt. of Japan

> The objective of human security is to safeguard the "vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment". UN Commission on Human Security

In this project, we use the terms “Non-Traditional Security” (NTS) and Human Security interchangeably, although there are some differences between the two. Briefly stated, NTS and Human Security overlap in issues areas: both are concerned with issues such as climate change, people smuggling, natural disasters, etc. But human security puts people, not the state at the centre-stage, while NTS combines both state and individual as objects of security. Hence, while NTS concept can be used as a subset of national security, with its main referent object being the state, human security is less state-centric, and has more of a connotation of “security for the people”.

RELEVANCE OF NTS FRAMEWORK TO THAILAND AND ASEAN

The concept of non-traditional security and human security became increasingly relevant and used in the security policy discussions in Thailand and ASEAN in the 1990s. This was the result of "the most severe transnational dangers that the region has faced since 1997."[1] Among the key events of the past two decades which sensitized ASEAN countries to NTS threats are:

- 1997 Asian Financial Crisis: impoverishment, unemployment, lack of social safety nets
- Terrorist Attacks in Bali, 2002, 2003: fear and anxiety, economic impact
- Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), 2003; fear, economic impact
- Indian Ocean Tsunami 2004, about 280000 people killed
- Cyclone Nargis, 2008, 140000 dead or missing

[1] Amitav Acharya, Promoting Human Security: Ethical, Normative and Educational Frameworks in South-East Asia (UNESCO 2007), http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001518/151821E.pdf.

- Typhoon Haiyan, Philippines, 8 November 2013, the deadliest storm ever to hit that country, killing at least 10,000 people there.

These are the major events of course; there have been numerous smaller and slow-motion NTS challenges to ASEAN in recent years. These include the impact of climate change, drug trafficking, people smuggling, and violent extremism.

Thailand has been involved in many of these challenges and can be described as a "frontline state" when it comes to NTS challenges. The Asian financial crisis of 1997 onwards begun in Thailand with the collapse of the Thai Baht. Thailand was a major victim of the Indian Ocean Tsunami; it lost more lives than any other country except Indonesia due to that disaster. Extremist violence has continued to fester in southern Thailand, making it one of the key areas of concern in the terrorist threat in Southeast Asia after Philippines and Indonesia. As a developing nation, and as a founder of ASEAN, Thailand has a special interest and role in addressing NTS challenges in the region.

CASE STUDIY I:

TERRORISM AND EXTREMISM

Overview

There are differences in views as to the sources of the terrorist threat posed by radical Islam to stability in Southeast Asia. Some, such as Bilveer Singh, argue that the region faces a grave danger and see "the increasing Talibanization of Southeast Asia...that involves the adoption of Islamist doctrines, ideologies, and values that are largely militant in character, and that for some groups includes the adoption of violence to achieve their goals." Elaborating on the danger, Singh argues:

> *"Jihadists are operating in small and localized cells even though the broad goals remain the same, namely, to spread sharia, establish an Islamic state, and bring down secular regimes. As most governments do not have the credibility or the expertise to diminish the threat posed by Islamist extremism, Wahhabism, and Salafism, Southeast Asia is in danger of being Talibanized in the near future."* [2]

Others see the threat as being rooted in past, ongoing conflicts with mainly indigenous roots. According to Liow:

> *"Though the conflict in southern Thailand is becoming increasingly colored by religion, there is scant evidence to suggest links either to any radical Islamic ideology that exhibits*

---

[2] Bilveer Singh, The Talibanization Of Southeast Asia: Losing The War On Terror To Islamist Extremists (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007).

> *links to pan-Islamism or to broader global jihadi terrorism and violence. The conflict in southern Thailand remains rooted not only in the political ideology of Malay-Muslim nationalism and separatism…"* [3]

A more nuanced view may be to combine both internal sources and external stimulation. According to this view, while the roots of terror are internal to states and the region, they are aggravated by external events such as the 9/11 attacks and developments in the Middle East. But it remains a fact that many of the hotspots of radicalism have also been traditionally areas of ethnic separatism and strife in Southeast Asia, including southern Thailand and southern Philippines. Hence:

> *"Terrorism is not new to Southeast Asia. For much of the Cold War, the activities of a variety of domestic ethnonationalist and religious militant groups posed a significant challenge to the region's internal stability. Since the 1990s, however, the residual challenge posed by substate militant extremism has risen in reaction to both the force of modernization pursued by many Southeast Asian governments and the political influence of radical Islam."* [4]

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[3] Joseph Chinyong Liow, "International Jihad and Muslim Radicalism in Thailand?: Toward an Alternative Interpretation," Asia Policy 2, no. 1 (2006): 89-108.

[4] Peter Chalk, Angel Rabasa, William Rosenau, and Leanne Piggott, The evolving terrorist threat to Southeast Asia: A net assessment (Rand Corporation, 2009).

> Thailand has been noted as a site of this new extremist challenge, which for the past decade *"has captured growing national, regional, and international attention due to the heightened tempo and scale of rebel attacks, the increasingly jihadist undertone that has come to characterize insurgent actions."* [5]

The key instrument of AESAN counterterrorism cooperation is the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT). Adopted in 2007, the ACCT "provides a common framework to enhance the region's counterterrorism capacity and to deepen the level of interstate cooperation." It came into force in 2011:

> paving the way for the harmonization of national counterterrorism laws, and the realization of a consistent regional policy on this issue. Thus by arriving at a common "understanding" of terrorism, according to thirteen listed UN Treaties (art. 2), the ACCT should facilitate ASEAN joint actions to counter, prevent and suppress terrorist activities. Of no less significance, the Convention creates the first legally binding instrument, valid for all ASEAN countries. One can therefore expect that by making this mechanism more forcible regional cooperation can be strongly enhanced. [6]

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[5] Peter Chalk, The malay-muslim insurgency in southern thailand: Understanding the conflict's evolving dynamic. Vol. 198. (Rand Corporation, 2008).

[6] Angela Pennisi di Floristella, "Are non-traditional security challenges leading regional organizations towards greater convergence? The EU and ASEAN security systems in comparative perspective," Asia Europe Journal, Vol. 11 No. 1 Mar 2013): 21-38

In addressing the threat of terrorism and extremism, analysts have pointed to the role of a variety of responses, including "counterterrorist initiatives, military and policing strategies, hearts-and-minds campaigns, and funding and support from international organizations and governments". [7] At the same time, the role of domestic institutions and education is critical. The answer to extremism lies in "how secular democratic institutions can be strengthened, and how moderate and tolerant tendencies can be promoted." [8] Some analysts argue for the need to adopt non-military approaches to counter terrorism. Analyzing the US response to terrorism in Southeast Asia, De Castro maintains that "the best way to counter terrorist organizations is through the cooperative security or functionalist approach rather than the strategic/military mode, which tends to generate conflict among state actors who are faced with a common security challenge." [9] Addressing local grievances is critical. In the case of Thailand, it has been said that "Because the nature of violence in southern Thailand is primarily rooted in local grievances rather than radical Islamist ideology, Washington and Bangkok would benefit from taking concrete steps to identify and address these local grievances." [10] Military restraint and better public relations strategies are also important.

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[7] Chalk, Rabasa, Rosenau, and Piggott, The evolving terrorist threat to Southeast Asia.

[8] Angel Rabasa, Political Islam in Southeast Asia: Moderates, Radical and Terrorists. No. 358. (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[9] Renato Cruz De Castro, "Addressing international terrorism in Southeast Asia: A matter of strategic or functional approach?," Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol. 26, No. 2 (August 2004), pp. 193-217.

[10] Joseph Chinyong Liow, "International Jihad and Muslim Radicalism in Thailand?: Toward an Alternative Interpretation," Asia Policy 2, no. 1 (2006): 89-108.

In 2013, a British based from Aon PLC revealed that Thailand is ranked as the world's ninth most prone country to terrorist attacks. [11] According to the IHS Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor, Thailand is confronted with a complex domestic security situation resulting from three interrelated threats, namely international terrorism, Malay-Muslim separatism in the south and violent political rivalries. [12] The first threat involves non state-actors using Thailand as a soft arena in which target the interest of other countries. [13] In particular, since 2002 Thai authorities and their Western allies have been concerned by the threat posed to Western interests in Thailand by international jihadists affiliated to organizations such as Al-Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), [14] which can use Thailand as both a sanctuary and a platform from which to strike Western targets.

The second domestic security threat is constituted by the persistent separatist insurgency in Thailand's Muslim-majority southern provinces of Narathiwar, Yala and Pattani committed to the creation of an independent state. Most authors agree that the separatist movement is largely driven by ethno-nationalist motivations and by Malay Muslims' perception of threat to their distinctive identity. [15] Here the conflict

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[11] Bangkok Post (2013) Thailand No. 9 in terror risks, 15 May.

[12] IHS Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor; Thailand's terrorism nexus Coulsdon, 1 April, 2012

[13] Ibidem.

[14] IHS Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor; Thailand's terrorism nexus Coulsdon, 1 April, 2012

[15] N. Gunanatna and S. Kam (2016) Handbook of Terrorism in Southeast Asia (London: Imperial College Press); A Acharya (2015) Whither Southeast Asia Terrorism? (London: Imperial College Press).

has been particularly active since 2004 and, governments attempt to contain violence has had mixed results. In most cases, military engagement in counter-insurgency operations, a militarized approach, strict security laws, and the implementation of martial law and emergency decree have served to exacerbate the conflict. [16]

Although it has been noted that the overall long-term goal of the movement in the south remains the creation of an independent state with Islamic governance, [17] Thai officials have increasingly raised concerns for "the strong potential for the Muslim insurgency in the south to become caught in the spiral of the global jihad." [18] In fact, some of the older insurgent organizations, which previously were linked to JI., have received financial support from foreign Islamic groups, and have leaders who have trained in camps in Libya and Afghanistan. [19] Furthermore, in late November 2015, Russia's Federal Security Service informed Thai police about the entry of ten Syrians linked to the Islamic state into Thailand, which were reportedly planning attacks during the Christmas and

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[16] J. C Liow and D. Pathan (2010) Confronting ghosts. Thailand's shapeless Southern Insurgency. Lowi Institute for International Politics.

[17] Congressional Research Service (2016) Terrorism in Southeast Asia. Available at: https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20160512_R44501_8e1f19d0821a48a0f20b618fde38f4295631165c.pdf

[18] S. Kam "Thailand" (2016) in N. Gunanatna and S. Kam (eds) Handbook of Terrorism in Southeast Asia (London: Imperial College Press), 87.

[19] Congressional Research Service (2016) Terrorism in Southeast Asia. Available at: https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20160512_R44501_8e1f19d0821a48a0f20b618fde38f4295631165c.pdf

New Year period. [20] Such a situation highlighted the ease by which militants from the Middle East could trespass into Southeast to mount attacks, or to radicalize, recruit and promote extremist and terrorist activity. [21] According to the US Department of State, however, "there was no direct evidence of operational linkages between ethno-nationalist Malay Muslim insurgent groups in southern Thailand and ISIL". [22]

The third domestic security concern with a terrorist potential is linked to:

> *"the chronic political polarization that has divided the country since the September 2006 coup, when staunchly conservative elements in the military ousted then prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra on grounds of alleged corruption and insults to the monarchy. The depth of this political divide and its potential to spill over into organized violence, including terrorist attacks, have already been demonstrated, notably when Bangkok was hit by a series of bomb blasts on New Year's Eve 2006. At the time, interim prime minister Surayud Chulanont ruled out Malay-Muslim separatists as being behind the explosions and blamed "people who lost*

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[20] S. Kam "Thailand" (2016) in N. Gunanatna and S. Kam (eds) Handbook of Terrorism in Southeast Asia (London: Imperial College Press), 87.

[21] S. Kam "Thailand" (2016) in N. Gunanatna and S. Kam (eds) Handbook of Terrorism in Southeast Asia (London: Imperial College Press), 87.

[22] BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific "Muslim insurgents in south Thailand reportedly notlinked to Islamic state group" London, 21 June 2015.

power", while Western intelligence and Thai security officials spoken to by IHS Jane's all assess the attacks to have been politically motivated". [23]

In additional to the above mentioned potential terrorist threats, a study from Kam [24] warns against the flow of refugees in the region. [25] For instance, the study notes that "while Uighur refugees may arrive in Southeast Asia with grievances towards China's treatment, there is the danger that some of them may be clandestinely using Southeast Asia as a gateway to travel to Syria and Iraq. As evidence, in January 2015, China detained nine terror suspects who were Uighurs, and ten Turkish nationals accused of helping them in an attempt to travel to Syria". [26]

Most studies also warn that land borders are relatively porous in Thailand. In June 2012, the Thai government removed the Personal Identification Secure Comparison and Evaluation System (PISCES) from eight major points of entry and installed an inferior, locally developed program. Thailand has also an active market in fraudulent documents.

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[23] IHS Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor; Thailand's terrorism nexus Coulsdon, 1 April, 2012.

[24] S. Kam "Thailand" (2016) in N. Gunanatna and S. Kam (eds) Handbook of Terrorism in Southeast Asia (London: Imperial College Press), 87.

[25] Mainly Rohingha's from Myanmar and Uighur from China

[26] S. Kam (2015) Thailand's Uighur Refugees: Security Implications for Southeast Asia, RSIS Commentary no. 160.

Thailand's Response to Terrorism

Legal Measures

According to a study from Chalk (et. Al. 2009), the Thai central government has perceived with acute sensitivity any challenge, including terrorism, that might have threated the territorial integrity of the country and has preferred to deal with centrifugal forces with strategies of assimilation rather than accommodation. [27] Thailand's approach to counter terrorism has been therefore, overwhelmingly reactive. [28]

From a legal perspective, Thailand has attempted to comply to international norms rather than to establish its own rule-based legal framework to cope with the terrorist threat. [29] Thailand thus became party to 9 out of 18 antiterrorism conventions and protocols [30] including:

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[27] P. Chalk et al. (2009) The Evolving Terrosit Threat to Southeast Asia. A new Assessment Rand, Rand National Defense Research Institure, Centre for International Security Studies, 105.

[28] Arabinda Acharya (2015) Whither Southeast Asia Terrorism? (London: Imperial College Press), 173.

[29] Arabinda Acharya (2015) Whither Southeast Asia Terrorism? (London: Imperial College Press), 173.

[30] Statement by His Excellency Mr. V. Plasai, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Thailand to the United Nations before the Sixth Committee of the 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Measures to eliminate international terrorism, New York, 12/13 October 2015.

- 1963 Tokyo Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft;
- 1970 Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft;
- 1971 Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation;
- 1973 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Person, including Diplomat Agents;
- 1979 International Convention against the Taking of Hostage;
- 1988 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airport Serving International Civil Aviation;
- 1991 Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection;
- 1997 International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombing;
- 1999 Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism;

More recently, Thailand has also welcomed the UNSC Resolution 2199 aimed at preventing terrorist groups in Iraq and Syria from benefiting from trade on oil, antiquities and hostages and from receiving external donations. Thailand has also supported the Global Initiative to

Combat Nuclear Terrorism (GICNT) and has proposed the establishment of networks between organization that controls and is responsible for nuclear issues in South East Asia, especially on Nuclear Forensics. [31] Thailand has arranged the ASEAN Regional Forum forum on Nuclear Forensics on December 2011. [32]

"Pursuant to international conventions concerning terrorist offenses, Thailand enacted a number of provisions relating to terrorist acts". [33] A legal approach to fight terrorism was first introduced in an implementing law of the Act on Certain Offences against Air Navigation, B.E.2519 (1976) and the Act on Certain Offences against Air Navigation (No.2), B.E. 2522 (1979). Thereafter, in 2003 Thailand amended its criminal code to incorporate antiterrorism provisions in accordance with the UNSC Resolution 1373. In the same year two Royal Decrees concerning counterterrorism were promulgated, the first to criminalize terrorist offences by amending the penal code B.E. 2546 (2003). The decree stipulates terrorist offences as universal crimes which state is able to exercise universal jurisdiction over terrorism pursuant to Section 7 (1/1) of the Code. The second Royal Decree was the Amendment of the Protection and Suppression of Money Laundering Act of B.E. 2546 (2003) which prescribed measures

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[31] Asia News Monitor (2012) "Thailand: Thailand reaffirms effort to prevent movement of nuclear weapons through Thailand", Bangkok, 27 March.

[32] Ibidem.

[33] K. Jayangakula, K (2012) "Thailand and Terrorism: Is Thailand's Law on Terrorism an Ambiguous Prosecutorial Tool that Can Combat International Terrorist Activities?", June 7. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=2131663 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2131663.

under the penal code to abolish the monetary network of organizations that support terrorism.

Countering the financing of terrorism:

Thailand belongs to the Asia-Pacific Group (APG), a Financial Action Task Force (FATF)-style regional body, and its Anti Money Laundering Office is a member of the Egmont Group. Thailand's Counterterrorist Financing Act (CFA), together with subordinate laws, came into effect in early 2013. In September 2015, the Anti-Money Laundering Office (AMLO) revised the CFT Act, amending its rules and procedures for notifications of designations in accordance with obligations under UN Security Council Resolutions. Thailand does not have a significant unregulated informal banking and money transfer system regarding terrorism financing activities. In cases where the Bank of Thailand has discovered unauthorized remittances, the Bank has coordinated with the RTP to arrest the perpetrators. AMLO in 2015 did not identify and freeze terrorist assets of any individuals and organizations listed under the UN 1267/1989/2253 ISIL (Daesh) and Al-Qaida sanctions regime, although it did freeze $3,079 in other terrorist assets. [34]

[34] US Department of State (2015) "Country reports: East Asia and Pacific Overview", Bureau of counterterrorism and countering violent extremism country reports on terrorism 2015. Retrieved from: https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2015/257515.htm

Institutional Organization

Thailand's first institutional response to the threat of international terrorism came in 1983 following terrorist incidents in Bangkok in 1972 and 1981. A national command-and-control group, the Committee on Counter-International Terrorism (COCIT), was established, bringing together the prime minister, national police chief and armed services commanders. The Counter International Terrorist Operation Center (CITOC) directed by COCIT was responsible for the coordination between the policy levels and operational units. Counterterrorism combat operations were assigned to specialized units, including an air commando unit and a dedicated counter-terrorist unit from the Special Warfare Command. [35]

The 2002 Bali bombings dramatically raised Thailand's perception of the terrorist threat. Thaksin who guided national security policymaking for much of the most violent phase of the terrorist insurgency rejected any conciliatory tone to deal with rebel leaders and representatives. During the military interim, new laws gave the military more power. The Internal Security Act has given the Internal Security Operation Command power to arrest and interrogate without a warrant and censor the mass media. [36] In 2004, Thaksin endorsed the establishment of a forward headquarters for the 4th Army to help coordinate military operations throughout the southern border provinces. At same year, he imposed martial law and

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[35] IHS Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor (2012) "Thailand's terrorism nexus", 12 April.

[36] E. Paul (2010) Obstacles to Democratization in Southeast Asia (London: Palgrave Macmillan).

the state of emergency across Yala, Pattani, and Narithiwat, allowing troops to make arrests without a court warrant as well as extending their rights of search and preemptive detention. [37] According to Acharya [38] this instrument has been extensively used by Thai governments to deal with terrorism and insurgency.

At an institutional level, prime minister Thaksin moved to set up a new counter-terrorist structure centered on the National Security Council (NSC), an institution with a mandate previously limited to border-related issues such as illegal logging and the movement of refugees. [39] The Prime Minister also appointed a former intelligence chief at the Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters, General Winai Phathiyakul, as the head of the revamped NSC. His first challenge was to expand the NSCs remit and review the workings of the country's intelligence agencies, including the civilian National Intelligence Agency (NIA), the Police Special Branch and the Armed Forces Security Center (AFSC). Under Gen Winai's leadership, the NSC instituted a significant integration of intelligence capabilities, an approach that contrasted with the previous system of competing agencies. The success of the new structure was illustrated both with the capture of Hambali in August 2003 and by Thailand 's successful hosting of the

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[37] A. Davis (2004) "Thailand Confronts Separatist Violence in Its Muslim South," Jane's Intelligence Review.

[38] Arabinda Acharya (2015) Whither Southeast Asia Terrorism? (London: Imperial College Press), 174. See also S. S. Tan and H. Nasu (2016) "ASEAN and the development of counter-terrorism law and policy in Southeast Asia", Thematic: Counter-Terrorism Law and Policy in Southeast Asia.

[39] IHS Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor (2012) "Thailand's terrorism nexus", 12 April.

Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in October of the same year, a major security challenge held amid fears of terrorist disruption.

The September 2006 coup had the greatest impact on Thailand's counter terrorism capabilities at the national command-and-control level, exacerbating the rivalry between the broadly pro-Thaksin police and the military, which had ousted him. The Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC) was reinvigorated as an agency modelled on the US Department of Homeland Security. A more comprehensive approach to dealing with violence in the south has been adopted. [40]

The government embarked on a new set of initiatives that combined three main strategic strands: (1) peace-building and reconciliation, (2) security (split 50/50 between hard and soft approaches), and (3) dialogue. The Internal Operation Security Command was responsible for the coordination and execution of security policy throughout all 14 provinces of southern Thailand. It was composed of two main wings: a military wing (CPM) and a socioeconomic wing (SBPAC). [41]

In 2013, then Prime Minister Shinawatra initiated peace talks with the help of Malaysian Prime Minister Razak. The so called Ramadhan Peace Initiative was aimed at reaching a common understanding with the separatist insurgents and to create a violence free month of Ramadan.

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[40] P. Chalk et al. (2009) The Evolving Terrorist Threat to Southeast Asia. A new Assessment Rand, Rand National Defense Research Institute, Centre for International Security Studies

[41] P. Chalk et al. (2009) The Evolving Terrorist Threat to Southeast Asia. A new Assessment Rand, Rand National Defense Research Institute, Centre for International Security Studies, 115.

Generally speaking, according to the US country report on terrorism in Thailand (2015) the delineation of duties between law enforcement and military units with counterterrorism responsibilities was unclear in Thailand. Interagency cooperation and coordination is sporadic, information sharing is limited and, biannual reshuffles of senior government and security officials hampered continuity in leadership.

Cooperation with ASEAN

ASEAN Cooperation on Transnational Crime (including terrorism):

In the *Kuala Lumpur Declaration in Combating Transnational Crime*, 2015, ASEAN Member States agreed to following:

- "Support the elevation of the Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters (MLAT) to an ASEAN Treaty;
- Support the work of the ASEAN Law Ministers' Meeting (ALAWMM) to enhance cooperation on the issue of extradition;
- Preserve the central role of ASEAN and the region's interests in appropriate regional frameworks and mechanisms, including those with ASEAN's external parties, established to prevent, address and combat international crime;

- Expand the scope of responsibility where necessary to effectively address new methods and forms of transnational crimes;
- Encourage the ratification of existing international legal frameworks in combating transnational crimes;
- Strengthen the capacity of the criminal justice system, including judges, prosecutors and law enforcement officials, through cooperation within ASEAN and with relevant regional and international organizations;
- Strengthen cross-sectorial coordination and improve information sharing with relevant ASEAN sectorial bodies under the AEC and ASCC pillars on issues pertaining to combating transnational crime including through inter alia, enhancing cooperation on border management, information sharing, and intelligence exchange"

Cooperation among regional intelligence agencies in Southeast Asia was largely absent before the terrorist attacks on the United States in 2001. Since then, information-sharing has grown along specific lines among a small set of countries. [42] In 2001, the United States and

[42] Oxford Analytica Daily Brief Service (2015) Poor data-sharing hurts security, 20 July. Retrieved from: https://search-proquest com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/docview/1697228278 ?accountid=27934

Thailand established the joint Counterterrorism Intelligence Center for the purpose of coordinating the intelligence agencies linked to Thailand's foreign affairs agencies. Law enforcement officials with counterterrorism responsibilities received U.S. training through the Bangkok-based joint U.S.-Thai International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA) and Department of State-funded training programs. In May 2002, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines (joined later by Cambodia and Thailand) signed a counterterrorism agreement to strengthen border controls, share airline passenger information, establish hotlines, share intelligence and adopt standard procedures for search and rescue. In November, 2004, ASEAN members have also adopted the Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, also referred to as the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty (MLAT). The aim of the MLAT is to enhance the effectiveness of the law enforcement agencies of ASEAN member states in the investigation and prosecution of offences through cooperation and mutual legal assistance in criminal matters. All these efforts helped lay the groundwork for the adoption of the ACCT in 2007.

ASEAN member states have sought to deal with terrorism through varying combinations of approaches: military measures; socio-economic, ideological, and educational policies; as well as the enactment and enforcement of counterterrorism laws. They have attempted to synchronize the regional initiative with the global governance goal of countering violent extremism. However, Southeast Asian governments have not handled terrorism in the same way. For example, Indonesia and Singapore have tended to adopt a non-militaristic, law enforcement approach to tackling the challenge, whereas Malaysia and Thailand have relied on more

coercive, militaristic responses. [43] Although the present imperative for stronger cooperation in intelligence-sharing is obvious and often discussed among Southeast Asian countries, even rudimentary exchanges are technically and politically difficult including political differences, internal divisions and pending disputes. For instance, current and recent border disputes with its neighbors leave Thailand reluctant to share information with Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar. [44] Thitinan Pongsudhirak, a political scientist at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand said that " overall the handling of the terrorist violence has been more individual country based- each country for itself rather than ASEAN wide efforts." [45]

Recent regional cooperative initiatives

- The ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting- Plus, which was established in 2010, also took the initiative to launch a joint military exercise for counterterrorism in Jakarta in 2013, bringing together more than 500 soldiers from the 10 ASEAN countries as well as the 8 dialogue partners.

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[43] S. Tan and H. Nasu (2016) "ASEAN and the development of counter-terrorism law and policy in Southeast Asia", Thematic: Counter-Terrorism Law and Policy in Southeast Asia.

[44] Oxford Analytica Daily Brief Service (2015) Poor data-sharing hurts security, 20 July. Retrieved from: https://search-proquest com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/docview/1697228278 ?accountid=27934

[45] http://www.voanews.com/a/un-presses-asean-to-boost-cooperation-against-islamic-state/3731761.html.

The exercise was based on a scenario of multiple bomb a attacks by terrorists on an oil tanker and at a crowded event. The exercise focused on technical and tactical capabilities and the management of information and technology in counterterrorism. Following the success of the first exercise, a second Counterterrorism Exercise has been held in Brunei Darussalam and Singapore on 2-12 May 2016.

- In the counterterrorism domain, the UN's Office of Drugs and Crime UNODC assists ASEAN countries with: 1) Strengthening legislative and policy frameworks; 2) Enhancing knowledge and skills to investigate and prosecute cases; and 3) Enhancing mechanisms for regional and international cooperation. Under this framework, on November 21 2016 a two day Roundtable Discussion on Regional Cooperation to Counter Terrorism and Terrorism Financing has been held in Bangkok with senior counter-terrorism officials and practitioners from Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, to facilitate the improved criminal justice cooperation to prevent and address transnational terrorist activities. The Roundtable has focused on national and international frameworks and mechanisms that govern international cooperation on terrorism-related cases in the five participating countries.

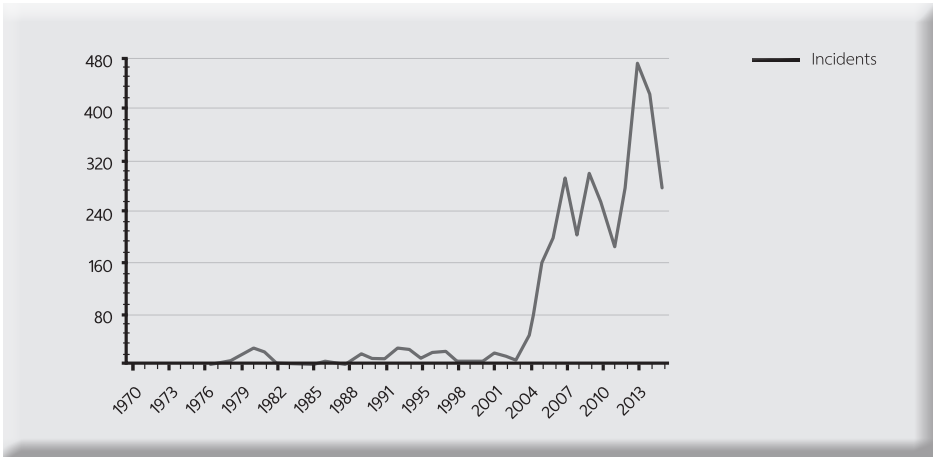
Discussion has also focused on the implementation of regional frameworks for cooperation, including the ASEAN Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Treaty (MLAT) and the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT),

- Various Thailand agencies have joined the 2016 Crisis Management Exercise, known in short as C-MEX 16, which aims to equip responsible personnel with more skills in dealing with international terrorism, maritime security threats , and both natural and man-made disasters. Organized jointly by the Office of the National Security Council, the Counter Terrorist Operation Center, and the Thailand Maritime Enforcement Coordination Center, the drill is being held from 30 June to 5 July 2016 in the southern province of Phuket, which is one of Thailand's prime tourism destinations. It will create the confidence of tourists and local residents about their safety and security in the country. [46]

[46] Asia News Monitor (2016) "Thailand Launches Preparedness for Disasters and Other Threats", Bangkok 4 July.

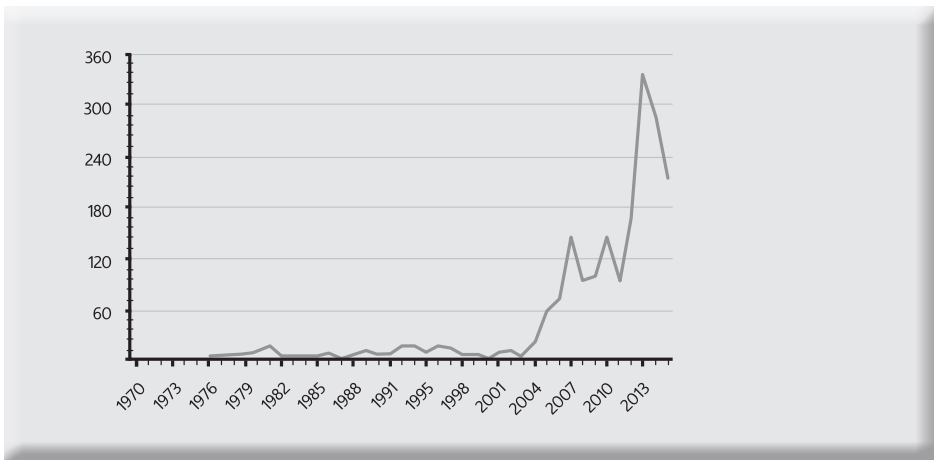
THAILAND AND TERRORISM: SELECTED DATA

Figure 1 Thailand And Terrorism: Number of incidents per year



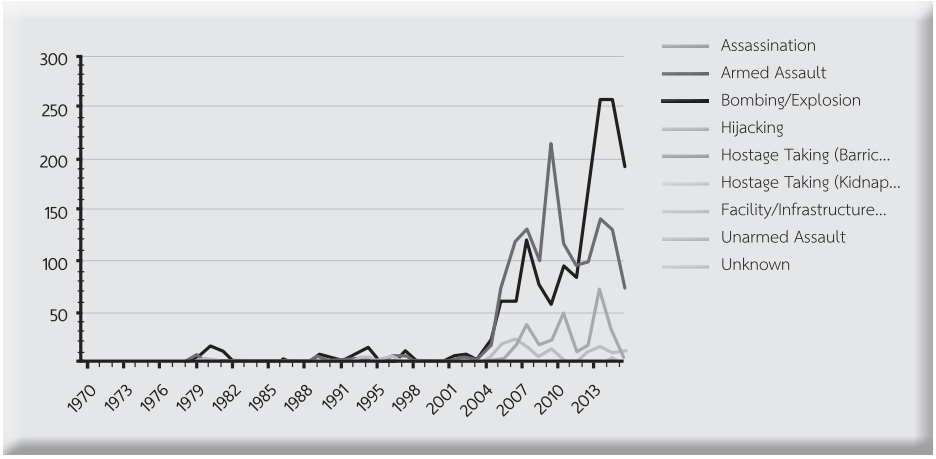
Source: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). (2016). Global Terrorism Database [Data file]. Retrieved from https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd

Figure 2 Thailand And Terrorism: Number of Fatalities per Year



Source: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). (2016). Global Terrorism Database [Data file]. Retrieved from https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd

Figure 3 Thailand And Terrorism:
Number of terrorist Incidents by Type



Source: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). (2016). Global Terrorism Database [Data file]. Retrieved from https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd

Cooperation with ARF on Terrorism and Transnational Crime (including drugs)

When the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) was established in 1994 with the first meeting being held in Bangkok, Thailand on July 25th, 1994, the scope of its operations was limited and dealing with international terrorism and transnational crime was not part of its agenda. When the ARF was established, the forum was specifically designed to be a forum to discuss political and security cooperation between ASEAN and its wide-ranging partners, which included major powers such as China, India, Japan, Russia, and the United States. [47] The forum was to advance in stages beginning with confidence building then onto preventative diplomacy, and finally reaching the conflict resolution stage. [48] In framing the definition of security, the ministers sought to adopt a comprehensive definition that encompassed economic and social aspects. During the early years of the forum, ministers debated the structure and future of the forum; emphasised the need to work with other international organisations, such as the United Nations (UN) and the Red Cross; and practical cooperation being limited to disaster relief and humanitarian assistance (HADR).

It was only during the 6th ARF Meeting in Singapore on July 26th, 1999, that transnational crime began to be addressed and considered part of the forum's agenda. It should be mentioned that in the aftermath of

[47] The ARF originally comprised of 18 participants; the ASEAN states (which comprised the original ASEAN-5 plus Brunei), Canada, Japan, Russia, the U.S., Australia, China, Vietnam, Laos, the European Community, New Zealand, South Korea and Papua New Guinea.

[48] ARF (1995) The ASEAN Regional Forum: A Concept Paper, www.aseanregionalforum.org/PublicLibrary/TermsofReferencesandConceptPapers/tabid/89/ Default.aspx.

the Asian Financial Crisis (1997-1998), ASEAN leaders were keenly aware of the interdependence of the region and nature of spill-over effects in affecting neighbours. The ministers highlighted the transboundary problems that were emerging in the region and the significant impact that it could have on regional security. Specifically, the ministers focused on the illegal accumulation of small arms and light weapons and growing piracy threat in the region. Due to the regional nature of piracy, the minister emphasised not only the need for member to increase their efforts and bolster cooperation with the UN, but that they must begin to develop cooperative approaches to dealing with the threat. The following year during the 7th ARF Meeting in Bangkok, Thailand held on July 27th, 2000, the ministers highlighted that globalisation wielded both positive and negative effects, and that it had become necessary for member states to strengthen their individual and collective capacities to meet the numerous challenges facing their common security. [49] In framing the early notions of transnational crime and its scope, the ministers included drugs, piracy, illegal migration and trafficking, especially women and children, and illicit trafficking of small arms. This was the first time that the ministers stressed the seriousness of drug trafficking and production in the region. Additionally, during the 7th ARF Meeting, the minister in seeking to bolster cooperation on transnational crime sough to hold the first ARF Expert Group on Transnational Crime to be convened in conjunction with the first inter-sessional support group on confidence building measures (ISG on CBMs). [50]

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[49] ARF (2000) Chairman's Statement of The Seventh ASEAN Regional Forum Meeting. July 27, 2000.

[50] Ibid.

2001 would prove to be not only an extremely challenging year for the ARF participants, but also a catalysing moment in the ARF to begin addressing terrorism and transnational crime. During the 8th ARF Meeting in Hanoi, Vietnam on July 25th, 2001, the ministers stressed the need to address transnational crime because of the serious social, security, and economic threat that it represented. The ministers specifically underscored drug production and trafficking, piracy, illegal migration, trafficking of small arms, money laundering, terrorism, and cyber crime. [51] Additionally, the ministers encouraged its members to ratify the UN Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime and its Protocols, further indicating the leading role of the UN in transnational and transboundary crime. The catalysing moment for the organisation was the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States. In the statement released by the chairman of the ARF in response to the attacks, the chairman wrote "The threat of international terrorism to international peace and security requires concerted action to protect and defend all peoples and the peace and security of the world." [52] The chairman underscored the ARF and respective governments commitment to utilise all available means to pursue, capture, and punish those responsible and prevent future attacks. Furthermore, that the ARF would in future discussion address ways and means to cooperate in fighting terrorism.

Following the attacks, the ARF would quickly hold workshops on combating terrorism. The first workshop, 'the ARF ISG on CBMs – Workshop

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[51] ARF (2001) Chairman's Statement of The Eight ASEAN Regional Forum Meeting. July 27, 2000

[52] ARF (2001) Statement by the Chairman of the ASEAN Regional Forum on the Terrorist Acts of the 11th September 2001. October 4, 2001.

on Financial Measures Against Terrorism,' co-hosted by Malaysia and the U.S. on March 24-26, 2002 in Hawaii, discussed the potential financial measures that could be taken against terrorism, and stressed that fighting terrorism financial was the responsibility of the entire international community. In order to combat this threat, the participants stressed the need to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1373 and to enhance cooperation with the World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on technical assistance and with the UN Counter Terrorism Committee on compliance and reporting. [53] On April 17-19, 2002 in Bangkok, Thailand and Australia co-hosted the ARF Workshop on Prevention of Terrorism. The meeting sought to consider how the ARF could enhance cooperation to counter terrorism and that in finding a way to do so would be a key step in realising the ARF's preventative diplomacy mandate. The ministers agreed that no country was immune to terrorism and that it posed a direct serious threat to the short and long term security and economic development of the countries and region. The minister warned of the possible damage to tourism and investment flows if they were seen as not playing an appropriate role in combating terrorism. This was also the first time the ministers noted the nexus between terrorism and transnational crime. The practical measures put forward included possible cooperation on intelligence sharing and between law enforcement, strengthening border controls, and holding training and exercises to enhance regional capabilities. [54]

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[53] ARF (2002) ASEAN Regional Forum Inter-Sessional Support Group Meeting On Confidence Building Measures – Report of the ARF Workshop on Financial Measures Against Terrorism. March 24-26, 2002.

[54] ARF (2002) Co-Chairs Report on ARF Workshop on Prevention of Terrorism. April 17-19, 2002.

In direct response, during the 9th ARF Meeting on July 31st, 2002 in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei, the ministers established the Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter Terrorism and Transnational Crime (ISM on CTTC), and welcome the Work Programme on Terrorism, which was adopted by the Special ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Terrorism. The ministers emphasised the need for capacity building and several key areas for collaboration, which included legal assistance, financial measures, and practical cooperation in law enforcement. [55] Concomitantly, the forum released the ARF Statement on Measures Against Terrorist Financing, which put forth key recommendations. These included freezing terrorist assets through the implementation of UNSCR 1373; implementation of international standards, including the UN Convention for Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and the UN Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime; and to enhancing cooperation with International Financial Institutions. Additionally, the statement emphasised the need for technical assistance. [56] In October 2002, the 2nd ARF Workshop on Counter Terrorism was held in Toyo, Japan, and was co-hosted by Japan, South Korea, and Singapore. The focus of the meeting was on developing more concrete cooperation. Quickly following the workshop, the Bali Bombings in Indonesia prompted immediate reaction from the ARF. In the ARF Chairman's Statement, the forum condemned the attacks.

In the aftermath of the Bali Bombings, the First ISM on CTTC was held in Karambunai, Malaysia on March 21-22, 2003. The ministers held

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[55] ARF (2002) Chairman's Statement of The Ninth ASEAN Regional Forum Meeting. July 31, 2002.

[56] ARF (2002) ARF Statement on Measures Against Terrorist Financing. July 30, 2002.

that there was general agreement that terrorism constituted a dangerous threat to regional stability and security, and due to its transboundary nature, participants said that in order for it to be addressed cooperation had to be undertaken at the national, regional, and international level. The ministers stressed the need for technical assistance and capacity building, especially for the developing countries, and that the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee was a key vehicle to do so. Two of the areas that had to be addressed immediately was the fact that the region lacked a centralised database for contacts in the immigration and customs bureaus in order to deal with immigration and migration, and the movement of goods, and the need to facilitate greater and timelier intelligence sharing. Several specific recommendations emerged such as national measures including the introduction of machine-readable passports and biometric technology, and the implementation of international standards. [57] Additionally, Malaysia briefed the meeting on the developments surrounding the establishment of the Southeast Asia Regional centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT) in Kuala Lumpur.

The forum in seeking to develop practical measures held the ARF CBM Workshop on Managing the Consequences of a Major Terrorist Attack in Darwin, Australia on June 3-5, 2003. The workshop co-hosted by Singapore and Australia sought to share perspectives and advance cooperation among forum members on managing the consequences of a terrorist attack involving the use of chemical, biological, or radiological weapons. During the workshop, the participants engaged in an interactive

[57] ARF (2003) Summary Report of the Co-Chair of the ARF Inter-Sessional Support Meeting on Counter Terrorism and Transnational Crimes. March 21-22, 2003.

desktop exercise, which include a discussion on strategies and policies to ensure an effective coordinated response. Participants identified weaknesses in their own national capabilities and highlight that this an area where international cooperation can be beneficial. The ministers continued to emphasise that timely exchange of information was needed. [58]

Following the workshop, the ARF released a statement on Cooperative Counter-Terrorist Action on Border Security on June 17th, 2003 underscoring the urgent need to take necessary protective actions in border security. Key messages that emerged from the statement was the key role of international organisations, such as the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) and the World Customs Organisations, in implementing common and minimum standards, and developing means to share data on individuals of concern. [59] During the 2nd ARF ISM on CTTC held in Manila, Philippines on March 30-31, 2004, the issue of border and transportation security arose to be a chief concern during the meeting. One of the messages that emerged was that the participants needed to address the lack of a coherent approach, insufficient cooperation, and lack of harmonisation between national and international policies. As sea transportation infrastructure and services were considered the most vulnerable, the participants highlighted that this may be an area for the International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA) in Bangkok can be of

[58] ARF (2003) Co-Chairman's Summary Report of the ARF CBM Workshop on Managing the Consequences of a Major Terrorist Attack. June 3-5, 2003.

[59] ARF (2003) ASEAN Regional Forum Statement on Cooperative Counter-Terrorist Action on Border Security. June 17, 2003.

assistance. [60] The issue of transportation security was again emphasised in the ARF Statement on Strengthening Transport Security Against International Terrorism. The statement reiterated the need for participants to fully implement their obligations to the International Maritime Organisation's (IMO) International Shop and Port Security (ISPS) Code, and to begin holding simulation and joint exercises to fully the capacity and institution building needs. [61]

During the course of 2004, ARF participant-developed mechanisms dealing with CTTC began to emerge and play a role in facilitating coordination and cooperation, and also witnessed the further action on the CTTC scope of activities. At the 11th ARF Meeting in Jakarta, Indonesia on July 2nd, 2004, the ministers welcomed the establishment of the Jakarta Centre for law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC) and its role in building regional law enforcement capacity, especially on terrorism, and in conjunction with the SEARCCT in Kuala Lumpur and ILEA in Bangkok. As part of the ARF CTTC's agenda, the forum held the ARF Seminar on Cyber Terrorism in South Korea on October 13-15, 2004. During the seminar, the participants exchange ideas and information on national policies towards combating cyber terrorism and means to encourage effective cooperation. In order to promote cooperation, Thailand proposed that the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology in Thailand

[60] ARF (2004) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 2nd ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime. March 30-31, 2004.

[61] ARF (2004) ARF Statement on Strengthening Transport Security Against International Terrorism. July 2, 2004.

would establish a 'World Cyber Alert System'. The mechanism would provide essential information and facilitate exchanges. One of the key recommendations was to develop an ARF National Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT) Network with national contact points. [62]

While progression had been made in addressing new issues, holding seminars, and developing new ideas to promote cooperation, implementation remained a main challenge. Through 2005, the ministers continued to call for the implementation of numerous agreements, protocols, and actions. During the 3rd ISM on CTTC held in Bangkok on April 6-8, 2005, both the ARF Statement on Information Sharing and Intelligence Exchange and Document Integrity and Security in Enhancing Cooperation to Combat Terrorism and Other Transnational Crimes and 12th ARF Meeting held on July 29th, 2005, and 2nd ARF Seminar on Cyber Terrorism in October, 2005, stressed the dire need for implementation. This included establishing a list of national points of contact for information exchange, law enforcement cooperation, implementing ICAO standards, and the creation cyber security regional national contact database, all listed measures had been called for in numerous previous meetings. Regarding cooperation on cyber security, several key recommendations emerged out of the 2nd ARF Seminar on Cyber Terrorism, including the establishment of a ARF-wide network of CERTs, creating a technical or expert working group, and the establishment of a ARF Centre on Counter Cyber Terrorism. [63]

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[62] ARF (2004) Co-Chairs' Summary of the ARF Seminar on Cyber Terrorism. October 13-15, 2004.

[63] ARF (2005) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 2nd ARF Seminar on Cyber Terrorism. October 3-5, 2005.

Over the course of 2006, the ARF ISM on CTTC began to incorporate a new perspective in seeking to counter-terrorism and transnational crime through adopting a more people-centred approach. At the 4th ARF ISM on CTTC in Beijing, China on April 26-28, 2006, "Participants stressed that it was essential to address both the symptoms and the root causes of terrorism. Successfully eliminating terrorism requires a balanced and comprehensive approach that includes employing political, economic, legal, and other means, including measures aimed at winning the hearts and minds of people." [64] In line with this complementary approach, Brunei introduced a draft on promoting a people-centred approach to counter-terrorism. In seeking to facilitate cooperation, recommendations included establishing a hot line between law enforcement agencies, establishing a complete set of crisis management manuals and guidelines, and increased role of the ARF Unit. [65] At the next ISM on CTTC held in Singapore on May 2-4, 2007, the participants endorsed the Statement on People-Centred Approach to Counter-Terrorism and underscored the importance of debunking the 'clash of civilisations' concept. In order to further this approach, the ISM on CTTC held for the first time a special informal session on inter-civilizational dialogue. [66]

The challenges facing implementation remained a key theme for the rest of the ARF ISM on CTTC and related meetings. During the

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[64] ARF (2006) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the Fourth ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime. April 26-28, 2006.

[65] Ibid.

[66] ARF (2007) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 5th ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime. May 2-4, 2007.

14th ARF Meeting in August 2007, the ministers stressed and urged for the adoption of the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism, and participants highlighted during the 4th ARF Seminar on Cyber Terrorism that recommendations from the first seminar had yet to be implemented. [67] While increased activities and actions on cyber security and engaging civil society began taking place, representatives and ministers at both the 6th ARF ISM on CTTC and 15th ARF Meeting emphasised that not only did there need to be more practical action-oriented activities, but that more action was needed in tackling the growing issue of illicit drugs. In this vein, the ministers at the latter meeting adopted the ARF Statement Promoting Collaboration on the Prevention of Diversion of Precursors into the Illicit Drug Manufacture. During the same meeting, the ministers heralded the establishment of the Virtual Meeting of Experts on Cyber Security and Cyber Terrorism. [68]

On May 4-7, 2009, the 7th ARF ISM on CTTC was held in Hanoi, Vietnam, the ARF Unit described how the ISM on CTTC had shifted from a focus on technical issues towards a more soft approach in dealing with terrorism and transnational crime. The soft approach stems from the People-Centred Approach that was adopted, which seeks to involve non-governmental entities into the counter-terrorism equation. During the meeting, the participants continued to emphasise the lack of implementation, as the recommendations proposed in past meeting

[67] ARF (2007) Chairman's Statement of The Fourteenth ASEAN Regional Forum Meeting. August 2, 2007; ARF (2007) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 4th ARF Seminar on Cyber Terrorism. October 16-19, 2007.

[68] ARF (2008) Chairman's Statement of The Fifteenth ASEAN Regional Forum Meeting. July 24, 2008

remain the same. For example, in the recommendations section, one of the recommendations was to begin the process of setting up standard operating procedures for information sharing. In seeking to push the ARF, Thailand informed the meeting of its interest to be the lead ASEAN country on dealing with illicit drugs, and proposed training focused on handling and disposal of seized chemicals. [69]

In light of the terrorist attacks that took place in 2010 in ARF participant countries, such as Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, India, Russia, Pakistan, and Myanmar, during the 8th ARF ISM on CTTC in Brunei, the co-hosts and participants stressed the need for future activities to be more action oriented and practical, especially in regard to the priority areas, illicit drugs, bio-terrorism and security, and cybercrime and security. One of the new mechanisms that was proposed during the meeting was the U.S. proposal for establishing ARF Transnational Threat Information Sharing Centre (ATTIC), which would act as a focal point in facilitating cooperation and information exchange. In regards to implementation, the participants highlighted that the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism had yet to be fully ratified and that mutual legal assistance in criminal matters and extradition had yet to be put in place. Additionally, the meeting noted that no non-ASEAN country had yet stepped up to become a co-lead country with Thailand in dealing with illicit drugs. [70] This similar theme of implementation continued at the 17th ARF Meeting

[69] ARF (2009) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 7th ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime. May 2-4, 2009

[70] ARF (2010) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 8th ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime. April 29-30, 2010

in Hanoi on July 23rd, 2010. During the meeting the ministers emphasised again the ARF needs to become more action oriented in meeting the challenges and that the Hanoi Pan of Action and Vision Statement had yet to be implemented. [71]

In response to the challenges and lack of initiative, during the 9th ARF ISM on CTTC in Kuala Lumpur on May 29-31, 2011, the ASEAN Secretariat spoke openly and criticised the participants. "ASEAN Secretariat highlight the difficult in appointing lead countries for some priority areas under the ARF CTTC Work Plan, the insufficient period of time for implementing of activities, as well as lack of interest among ARF participants in taking up objectives in priority areas." [72] This was the first time that the Secretariat openly criticised the actions of the grouping. Beside the criticism, the meeting also witnessed several important developments. Thailand highlighted the role that its playing in tackling the illicit drug trafficking issue in the region, and warned that increased connectivity in the region will lead to increased cases of drug trafficking. The meeting also highlighted that Australia, Russia, and Malaysia would become co-leads on the priority area of cyber security and terrorism, and that the U.S. and the Philippines, as co-leads on bio-terrorism and security, held a ARF bio-risk management workshop and proposed a additional workshop for the future. Critically, the ARF ISM on CTTC scope would expand with Japan proposing to include counter-radicalisation into the

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[71] ARF (2010) Chairman's Statement of The Seventeenth ASEAN Regional Forum Meeting. July 23, 2010.

[72] ARF (2011) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 9th ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime. May 29-31, 2011.

priority area of the CTTC work plan. There were several other proposals to expand the scope of activities to include terrorism financing, trafficking in persons, as well as more focus on CBRN activities. In continuing to push for the creation of the ATTIC, the U.S. revised its concept paper, which limited the scope of the mechanism to dealing with drugs and transnational crime. [73]

At the 10th ARF ISM on CTTC in Quang Nam, Vietnam on March 16-17, 2012, Cambodia, the ASEAN chair, noted the entry into force of the ASEAN Convention on Counter-Terrorism, and stressed that in order for the convention to be fully implemented the forum should further synergise its activities with other forums such as the ASEAN Defence Minister Meeting (ADMM) Plus. In attempting to deal with the growing risk of terrorism in the maritime domain, the meeting identified the challenges towards facilitate cooperation, which included the limited access to information sharing, delayed ratification of agreements and conventions, and issues facing national capacities and meeting international commitments. In regards to the illicit drug area, Thailand highlighted the actions it had undertaken including a anti-drug campaign conducted in the country, and has pushed for further actions and projects in conjunction with the ASEAN Senior Officials on Drug Matters (ASOD). One area that had witnessed growing activities was the CBRN area, with the U.S. and the Philippines co-hosting a ARF Workshop on Diseases Detection and Surveillance in September, 2011, put forward a draft on best practise for implementation of diseases surveillance system, and proposed the 4th

[73] Ibid.

Workshop on Bio-Risk Management for September 2012. Following up from Japan's proposal to include counter-radicalisation, Malaysia and Japan in collaboration with the SEARCCT to hosted a workshop on the topic. [74]

In order to address the challenges facing the ARF ISM on CTTC, at the 11th ARF ISM on CTTC held in Hanoi on March 4-5, 2013, the ASEAN Secretariat conducted a review of the meeting and work plan. The Secretariat outlined that there was insufficient volunteerism on the part of ARF participants highlighted by the fact there was still no non-ASEAN lead country on illicit drugs, and that there was a delay in submitting proposals for new activities. In response the suggestions presented by the Secretariat included further synergising the activities with other forums such as the ASEAN Senior Officials Meeting (SOM), focusing on priority areas, and considering having a longer time frame for implementation. In this vein, for the first time the Co-Chairs of the ADMM Plus Experts' Working Group on Counter Terrorism (EWG on CT) attend the meeting. Thailand highlighted the actions it had taken in dealing with illicit drugs and proposed mechanisms to accomplish a drug free ASEAN. Thailand further proposed cost sharing in the efforts in combating illicit drugs and bolstering capacity building. While progress had been limited in addressing illicit drugs, numerous workshops and seminar were held on CBRN, cyber security, and counter radicalisation. Interestingly while workshops had been limited in recent years directly dealing with counter terrorism in the ARF ISM on CTTC format, the EWG on CT had planned

[74] ARF (2012) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 10th ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime. March 16-17, 2012.

to hold a counter-terrorism exercise in Indonesia in September 2013. [75]

The following ARF ISM on CTTC, the 12th one held, on April 14-16, 2014 in Bali, Indonesia, focused on tackling the issue of illicit drugs. The Thai representative provided an overview of the ASEAN mechanisms in the fight against illicit drugs and the differing forums engaged in the priority area. Similar to the previous year, a lack of ownership and volunteerism continues to plague actions on illicit drugs. In order to address this and rectify the situation, Thailand and New Zealand proposed to hold the ARF Workshop on Enhancing Regional Cooperation to Address Challenges Posed by Illicit Drugs on September 8-9, 2014, Thailand and the U.S. agreed to hold a Workshop on the Concept Development of the ATTIC on September 10-11, 2014, and a ARF Workshop on Precursor Chemicals and Synthetic Drugs co-hosted by Thailand and Canada potentially in February 2015. As Thailand is the sole lead country on this priority area, the holding of three workshops represents significant effort by Thailand to foster further engagement of other participants. In addition to the three illicit drug workshops, U.S. and the Philippines briefed the meeting on the upcoming ARF Workshop on Bio-Preparedness and Disaster Response, Malaysia and Japan proposed holding a counter-radicalisation workshop, and Malaysia and Australia highlighted the outcomes of the ARF Workshop on Cyber CBMs, which included a desktop exercise. During the meeting, the EWG on CT highlighted how productive it was in comparison to the ARF ISM on CTTC on counter-terrorism. In its presentation, the EWG on

[75] ARF (2013) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 11th ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime. March 4-5, 2013.

CT since 2011 had held 13 activities including workshops, seminars, and joint training exercises. [76]

In seeking to bolster cooperation, Thailand and the U.S. co-hosted a ARF Workshop on Enhancing Regional Cooperation to Address Challenges Posed by Illicit Drugs – Implementing the ARF CTTC Work Plan in Bangkok on February 11-12, 2015. Both co-host representatives underlined the immense challenges the region faced in dealing with illicit drugs especially as the region was integrating under the ASEAN Community project. One of the substantive accomplishments mentioned during the workshop and encouraging sign was that Thailand, China, Myanmar, and Laos jointly established joint patrols along the Mekong River under the Safe Mekong Project. While progress had been made in producing concrete cooperation, implementation of existing recommendations remained a challenge; for example, the participants were still attempting to develop a regional database and best practices. Particularly, the recommendations put forward at the workshop even highlighted that proposed activities should complement rather than simply duplicate actions taken in other forums and organisations. [77]

While the challenge of implementation persisted, increased cooperation through holding multiple workshops, seminars, and exercises could be seen at the 13th ARF ISM on CTTC, which was co-hosted by

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[76] ARF (2014) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 12th ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime. April 14-16, 2014.

[77] ARF (2015) Co-Chairs' Summary Report ARF Workshop on Enhancing Regional Cooperation to Address Challenges Posed by Illicit Drugs – Implementing the ARF Counter-Terrorism Transnational Crime Work Plan. February 11-12, 2015.

Thailand and China in Nanning, China on May 14-15, 2015. The co-host representatives highlighted how China, Thailand, Myanmar, and Laos established joint law enforcement mechanisms to combat transnational crime around the Mekong River. The meeting highlighted that the Safe Mekong Operation had further enhanced cooperation between the parties by establishing the Safe Mekong Coordination Centre (SMCC) in Chiang Mai, Thailand. Furthermore, the meeting welcome the establishment of the ASEAN-NARCO Office in Bangkok. Underscoring the progress made in addressing counter-terrorism, the European Union and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) had been successfully working with JCLEC and SEARCCT to provide technical assistance and capacity building to five Southeast Asian countries. In addition to the discussion on illicit drugs and counter-terrorism, the meeting noted progress in tackling human trafficking and measure to improve border management. The meeting concluded by noting the multiple future workshops and seminars on areas ranging from CBRN to Cyber CBMs and combating wildlife trafficking. [78]

During the most recent 14th ARF ISM on CTTC held in Siem Reap, Cambodia on March 21-22, 2016, co-hosted by Cambodia and the European Union, the participants noted the inclusion of trafficking in persons as one of the priority areas. This happened in conjunction with the ASEAN leaders signing the ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking of Persons (ACTIP) at the 27th ASEAN Summit. The discussion of counter-terrorism noted the emerging trends specifically the rise of ISIS and

[78] ARF (2015) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 13th ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime. May 14-15, 2015.

terrorist allegiances to the group, the increasing frequency of terrorist attacks, and the growing numbers of foreign terrorist fighters. In seeking to deal with the multidimensional counter-terrorism issue, the meeting also discussed ways to improve maritime security. Environmental crimes emerged as a new issue on the ISM on CTTC's agenda, with Thailand voluntarily becoming a lead shepherd on this issue in the Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC). Currently, Thailand is working with partners on developing an encompassing work programme to deal with this emerging problem. On the issue of illicit drugs, the U.S. and Thailand as co-lead countries continue to advance the development of the ATTIC, which could be based in Thailand. As the ISM on CTTC scope increased so did the amount of workshops and seminars taking place. For the year 2015-2016, there were 12 events hosted addressing each aspect of the priority areas. [79]

In examining the effectiveness of the ARF ISM on CTTC and Thailand's role in the forum, there are a couple key takeaways that are both positive and negative aspects. There can be no questions that the ARF ISM on CTTC is a reactionary body seeking to best handle terrorist events and addressing how to stop them, which can be seen in the creation of the meeting following the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 in the U.S. Three key issues that have marred the progression of the ISM on CTTC and concrete deliverables is the challenge of implementation and volunteerism among its participants, and shifting from technical

[79] ARF (2016) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the 14th ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime. March 21-22, 2016.

assistance towards an action-oriented approach. This is not to say that the meeting has not been effective, it has, but albeit at a slower pace than hoped for. This has resulted in other ASEAN based-forums such as the EWG on CT and the SOMTC playing a larger role in the fight against terrorism and transnational crime. Thailand has emerged as one of the more proactive members of the group, taking on the lead country role on the illicit drug priority area, and possible host site of the ATTIC. While Thailand has sought to advance a more active ISM, the lack of a co-lead non-ASEAN country has burden them with being the sole actor in the meeting to push cooperation and activities on this important issue. The establishment of the Safe Mekong Project and Coordination Centre based in Chiang Mai are signs that Thailand is willing to utilise bilateral and multilateral agreements to combat illicit drugs and trafficking, and should be considered as an important achievement going forward. In moving towards the future, an important issue facing the ISM on CTTC and in developing concrete proposals is the continuing expansion of the meetings scope, which can divert attention and resources from the existing priority areas. The question that eventually should be raised is whether or not an expanding scope benefits the grouping, and whether or not some of these priority issues may be better suited for another ASEAN-based forum.

CASE II:

NATURAL DISASTERS AND DISASTER MANAGEMENT

Among the various issue areas in NTS, few are more important than countering natural disasters. [80] Not only does the region faces a high frequency of natural disasters, including cyclones and earthquakes, but the capacity of governments to cope with such disasters very widely. which in itself is a powerful reason for regional cooperation. Indeed, as one analysis put it "Southeast Asia witnesses a number of natural disasters...highlighting variable levels of national preparedness in dealing with disasters and illustrating the need for greater regional cooperation. [81]

Disasters in Thailand: An Overview

"Thailand is less susceptible to natural hazards than many of the countries in the Asia-Pacific region". [82] "The country is largely protected from typhoons due to land masses in the east and does not lie on a tectonic plate boundary". [83] However, according to the research conducted by the Center for Hazard and Risk Research at Columbia University the country

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[80] Adam Leong Kok Wey, "Natural disaster management and the future of ASEAN cohesion," East Asia Forum, 23 September 2016. http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/09/23/natural-disaster-management-and-the-future-of-asean-cohesion/

[81] Mely Caballero-Anthony, Irene A. Kuntjoro, Sofiah Jamil, Pau Khan Khup Hangzo and Sadhavi Sharma, "Natural Disasters," in Mely Caballero-Anthony, Alistair D. B. Cook, eds., Non-Traditional Security in Asia: Issues, Challenges and Framework for Action (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013): 85-117.

[82] CEDMHA (2015) Thailand: Disaster Management Reference Handbook. Hawaii: Center for Excellence in Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance.

[83] Ibidem.

is severely impacted by floods. Specifically, hydrological and drought events have severe impacts on central, eastern, and southern regions of the country. [84] The Thai Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation (DDPM) determined floods, accidents, and explosions to be the greatest source of risk. Thee U.S. Agency for International Development Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance noted floods, storms, and droughts to be the greatest source of risk. [85] In 2011, more than one million people have been affected by severe flooding for several weeks as a result of persistent rainfall. [86]

Furthermore, climate change is expected to severely affect Thailand over the future. "According to models developed locally, the mean daily maximum temperature in Thailand will increase by 1.2 to 1.9 degree celsius by 2050. [87] "At the same time, scientists expect that precipitation events, while shorter in duration and net amount, will increase in intensity in the form of destructive storms and floods". [88]

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[84] http://www.ldeo.columbia.edu/chrr/research/profiles/thailand.html

[85] CEDMHA (2015) Thailand: Disaster Management Reference Handbook. Hawaii: Center for Excellence in Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance

[86] World Bank (2011): The World Bank Supports Thailand's Post-Floods Recovery Effort.

[87] D. Marks (2011) "Climate Change and Thailand: Impact and Response", Contemporary Southeast Asia, 33 (2), 2011, 229-258, p. 231.

[88] Ibidem.

Thailand Disaster Management Framework

Emergency management in Thailand has been initially shaped by the Civil Threat Prevention Act (1979). The law covered all hazards including fires, wind storms, floods, military air attacks, and terrorist actions. The Ministry of Interior and its agencies were in charge of the nation's disaster management. The law specified responsibilities and authorities of related agencies in disaster preparedness and response. Other laws also enacted in this early era are the Prime Minister Office's Regulation on the National Accident Prevention 1983 (B.E. 2526) and 1995 (B.E. 2538). With the administrative Act of 2002 the Government undertook a substantial reform in the nation's administrative system. One important result was the creation of the Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation, under the Ministry of Interior. This new agency was in charge of developing master plans and promoting disaster prevention, relief and recovery.

After experiencing the the 2004 Southern Tsunami, several administrative reforms were undertaken and several important laws, and plans related to emergency management have been introduced including: the Prime Minister's Office Regulation on National Disaster Warning System Management 2005 (B.E. 2548) setting up the Commission for National Disaster Warning System Management and, the National Disaster Warning Center. [89]

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[89] See S. Khunwishit and D. A. McEntire Emergency Management in Thailand: On The Way To Creating A More Systematic Approach To Disasters, in Comparative Emergency Management Book, FEMA. Retrieved from https://training.fema.gov/hiedu/aemrc/books-download/compemmgmtbookproject/

In particular, Thailand strengthened the country's disaster management structure with the proclamation of:

- the **Disaster Prevention and Mitigation Act 2007**. [90] This act provides for the organization and management which is necessary to ensure mitigation of, preparedness for, response to and recovery from disasters in Thailand. According to the new Disaster Prevention Act, disaster can be classified into 3 categories namely: 1) Man-made and natural disasters; 2) Disaster resulted from air raid during wartime; and 3) Disaster resulted from sabotage or terrorist attack. The act regulates the institutional framework for disaster prevention and management and the organization, functioning, powers and responsibilities of the National Disaster Prevention and Mitigation Committee (NDPMC) and the Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation. The NDPMC, which is chaired by the Prime Minister is responsible for policy-making at the national level while the local committee counterparts reside with the Provincial Disaster Prevention and Mitigation Committees and the Bangkok Metropolitan Committee. The Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation is the primary agency coordinating all disaster

[90] Thailand: Disaster prevention and mitigation act (Act of 28 August 2007), Retrieved from http://www.adrc.asia/documents/dm_information/thailand_law02.pdf

management activities with the relevant organizations. The department is tasked to provide disaster relief assistance to the affected population, organize disaster management training courses and monitor the performance of agencies according to the national plan. [91]

- **The Strategic National Action Plan on Disaster Risk Reduction 2010-2019.** The Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation, Ministry of Interior developed the Strategic National Action Plan (SNAP) on Disaster Risk Reduction 2010-2019, to address the implementation of the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA) in Thailand. The Asian Disaster Preparedness Center (ADPC) assisted DDPM with funding support from the United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR). The SNAP also abides by the strategic priorities of the United Nations Partnership Framework (UNPAF) developed by the Royal Government of Thailand and the United Nations Country Team. The UNPAF highlights disaster risk reduction as one of the top priorities in the next 10 years by the government.

[91] CEDMHA (2015) Thailand: Disaster Management Reference Handbook. Hawaii: Center for Excellence in Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance.

- **The National Disaster Prevention and Mitigation Plan 2015.** The plan consists of four strategies. In the first strategy, emphasis is placed on prevention and the reduction of impacts from disasters. The second strategy seeks to integrate disaster management in emergency situations. The third strategy seeks to enhance the efficiency of rehabilitation on a sustainable basis. In the fourth strategy, Thailand will step up cooperation with the international community in disaster risk reduction. [92]

Government's capacity

The Thailand National Progress Report on the Implementation of the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA) 2009-2011 documents the Government's disaster management actions against the Hyogo framework. [93] The report has highlighted that:

- Effective implementation of national policy for disaster risk reduction has been hampered by lack of disaster awareness by the public and lack of good governance

[92] Thailand on global stage Thailand Emphasizes the Need to Build Disaster Resilience in ASEAN, 13 September 2015. Available at http://thailand.prd.go.th/ewt_news.php?nid=2148&filename=index

[93] Available from: http://www.preventionweb.net/files/41674_THA_NationalHFAprogress_2013-15.pdf

to uphold the national policy and framework. Thailand is striving to foster a "culture of safety awareness" amongst the population especially the local community.

- Disaster risk reduction resources are unavailable at all administrative levels. Authorities are designated by the Disaster Prevention and Mitigation Act 2007 and National DPM Plan 2010-2014 to the national and provincial levels, to enforce and encourage development of DPM action plans and the budgets to support annual exercises to practice the plans. The Central government allocates a small budget to support provincial annual exercises to practice the plan.

- Most of the community-based disaster risk management projects or other initiatives do not have a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation system to ensure the transfer of training and improved competencies of the local people and local authorities to properly handle with risks/disasters.

- There is lack of a shared vision between the member organizations and lack of active participation by the representatives. The climate change action members do not necessarily recognize the interconnectivity with disaster risk reduction. Budget and expertise are also listed as items in the top challenges faced by the committee.

The UNDP project Document titled "Strengthening Disaster Management Capacities in Thailand 2012 – 2015" has also been noted that the Thailand system for disaster management is highly complex in practice and challenges include: [94]

- **Large Scale disasters**: Neither the Act nor the Plan makes provisions for a disaster of the scale that hit Thailand during the recent floods. As a result, there are no provisions made for surge capacity to assist government bureaus in a range of rescue, and recovery operations. Given that frequency and magnitude of floods is predicted to increase as the effects of climate change are felt regionally, it will be important to address coordination issues related to responding to level 3 and 4 disasters. [95]
- **Post Disaster Needs Assessments** are not referred to in the Act or the Plan. DDPM was not involved in any needs assessment during the floods. While the need for needs assessments may not have seemed relevant prior to the 2011 floods, it's clear that they have a potentially important role in helping direct future large scale disaster responses in Thailand

[94] UNDP (2012) Thailand, Strengthening Disaster Management Capacities in Thailand 2012 – 2015. Available from https://info.undp.org/docs/pdc/Documents/THA/Prodoc_Singed%20page.pdf

[95] Ibidem.

- **Mainstreaming:** Neither the Act nor the Plan makes any specific provisions for mainstreaming. Specifically, there is no coordination mechanisms detailed that guide how Ministries and/or agencies work together at national, provincial and local levels. Lessons learned exercises conducted by DDPM found that a number of government departments were unaware that the Act applied to their own activities. As a result while some government agencies have developed emergency plans focused on their own operations, they had not made provisions for how to work together to coordinate recovery efforts as prescribed in the Act and the Plan. Lack of coordination was subsequently cited as one of the key challenges encountered during flood relief operations. [96]

- **Disaster Management Communication Strategies:** Overall, it seems that there are no provisions in the Act or Plan for developing a strategic communication strategy that deals with large or small scale disasters. Once the floods reached a significant size, many stakeholders and the public complained that they often received conflicting information about the floods and its impacts. It is clear the size and scope of the disaster took many authorities by surprise. While informal

[96] Ibidem.

communication plans may have worked in the past for small and medium scale disasters, a more standardized approach is required for disasters of scale. [97]

Cooperation with ASEAN

ASEAN policies and mechanisms include:

- The ASEAN Humanitarian Assistance (AHA), which addresses disaster management"
- "The ASEAN Working Group on Climate change (AWGCC) was formed as a part of the ASEAN Climate Change Initiative (ACCI), which aids the region in implementing mitigation and adaptation measures;
- "The ASEAN Action Plan on Joint Response to Climate change was adopted in 2012 by ASEAN Member States at the 12th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting. This allowed for the commencement of the implementation of the ASEAN Leaders' Statement on Joint Response to Climate Change articulated 2010. Together, these initiatives facilitated cooperation on environmental

[97] Ibidem.

issues with regional dialogue partners and other international organizations; and

- Joint Statements on Climate Change have been released in 2007, 2009, 20120, 2011, 2014, 2015, which allows ASEAN Member States to not only discuss their progress but also to articulate their goals for successfully addressing climate change in the coming years"

Analysts praise ASEAN's growing role in disaster management cooperation (or disaster risk management: (DRM). ASEAN "has emerged as a prime example of deepening cooperation and integration in Southeast Asia." [98] But the role of ASEAN and oher regional organizations such as APEC in addressing disasters has been criticized for being too reactive, rather than proactive and preventive. Critics argue that "many of the measures "aim mainly to strengthen international cooperation for emergency relief after ecological disasters, neglecting the dimension of human security. Therefore, it is important to elaborate regional and/or sub-regional conventions on the management of natural and industrial disasters, and the protection of environmentally displaced persons." [99]

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[98] Daniel Petz, Strengthening Regional and National Capacity for Disaster Risk Management: The Case of ASEAN (Brookings, 2014).

[99] Thi Thuy Van Dinh, "Human Security and Disaster Management in Asia: Necessity of Regional and Sub-regional Texts for Environmental Disasters and Environmentally Displaced Persons," Paper presented at the Second Conference of the AsianSIL, http://asiansil-jp.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/van_dinh.pdf.

Thailand is a member of AADMER. The guidelines for international disaster assistance are provided by the National Disaster Prevention and Mitigation Plan 2010-2014. The Thai Military supports international disaster relief operations. It adheres to the AADMER and the ASEAN Standard Operational Procedure for Regional Standby Arrangements and Coordination of Joint Disaster Relief and Emergency Response Operations (SASOP). The military participated in disaster relief efforts in Bangladesh, Laos, and Burma (Cyclone Nargis).

Thailand has cooperated with ASEAN in a number of cases, inter alia:

- After one of the worst floods in decades hit Thailand in 2011, the ASEAN-Emergency Rapid Assessment Team (ERAT) was dispatched to Thailand to assess flood-affected areas. As part of the assessments, the team also helped to identify the basic and immediate needs of the affected population; [100]
- Malaysia, Thailand, and Brunei used the AHA Centre to offer assistance to the Philippines during the Typhoon Haiyan;
- In the ASEAN context, Thailand has sponsored the ASEAN statement on cooperation in Flood, prevention, mitigation, relief recovery and rehabilitation. [101]

[100] Inside Thailand (2016) "Thailand Joins ASEAN in Disaster Relief Joint Exercise", 30 July.

[101] http://www.iri.edu.ar/publicaciones_iri/anuario/cd_anuario_2012/Asia/18.pdf

With the statement the ASEAN leaders agreed that the flooding has not only threatened human life and national and regional economies, but also affected agricultural production, food security and the regional and global supply chain, the draft statement said. The group emphasized the need to forge cooperation on flood management to cope with increasingly unpredictable weather conditions which may be attribute to climate change.

Thailand also actively cooperates with ASEAN in disaster management, in terms of training.

- The ASEAN Regional Disaster Emergency Response Simulation Exercise 2008 (ARDEX-08) was held at the Map Ta Phut Industrial Estate in the Rayong Province (Thailand), on 27 August 2008. [102]
- On September 11, 2016, the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus its Dialogue Partners (ADMM-Plus) has held a large-scale ten-day exercise on Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (AM-HEx 2016) closed in Thailand;

[102] A Simulated Typhoon Disaster Scenario was used in this exercise. Focusing on the coordination of regional disaster rescue and relief operation performed jointly by Thailand as the host country, participating ASEAN Member States as well as invited teams from the United Nations and international organizations, the overall aim of ARDEX-08 practiced, evaluated and reviewed the SASOP under the AADMER.

- In 2017, Thailand, has also shared its experience with other ASEAN partners in disaster risk management at the second ASEAN Regional Conference on School Safety, held in Bangkok on 14-15 February 2017. [103] The conference has been organized by the Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation, as the coordinator of the ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management on the part of Thailand.

Thailand: Data on Disasters

Table 1 Summary of main destructive disasters

Date	Type	Damage assessment
Oct 1062	Storm	Typhoon Harriet- southern Thailand. More than 900 killed. Damage cost over 30 million USD;
Aug 1978	Flood	Extensive flooding. More than 90 killed: several thousands displaced
Jan 1984	Flood	Extensive flooding. Over 400 million USD damage

[103] Inside Thailand (2017) http://thailand.prd.go.th/ewt_news.php?nid=4859&filename=index, 15 February.

Date	Type	Damage assessment
nov-88	Flood	Extensive flooding in Southern Thailand. More than 350 killed; 300,000 displaced. Damage cost over 170 million USD
nov-89	Storm	TYPHOON GAY, Southern, Thailand. Flooding and powerful storm surge. More than 800 killed. Up to 500 millions USD in damage
nov-93	Flood	Flooding caused by a tropical depression-Nakhon Si Thammarat Province. More than 20 killed; extensive damage to agricultural land. Over 1.3 billion UDS damage
Dec 2004	Tsunami	Coast of Thailand and Phuket area. Damaged local and tourist infrastructure. More than 5,000 killed, including more than 2,000 Europeans. Extensive damage to housing and infrastructure. Over 500 million USD in damage.
Juy-Jan 2011	flood	Heavy monsoon rains and massive flooding. More than 800 killed: extensive damage to agricultural land. More than 40 billion USD in damage

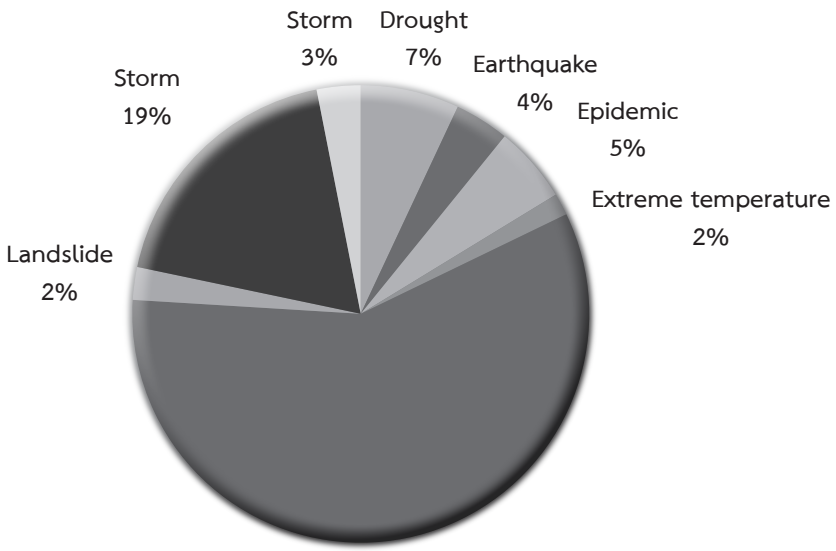
Source: P. Daly and Feener (2016) Rebuilding Asia flowing natural disasters, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 36

Table 2 Level of Disaster Intensity and vulnerability on Thailand

Disaster	Severity	Vulnerability	Management	Tendency
Flood	High	Medium	Medium	High
Landslide/ Mudflow	High	Medium	Poor	High
Windstorm	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Drought	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Fire	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Explosive	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Earthquake	Low	Low	Poor	Medium
Accident	High	Medium	Poor	High
Tsunami	High	Medium	Medium	Medium

Source: DDPM Adjust in 2010

Figure 4 Thailand: Number of Disasters by Type, 1950-2016



Source: EM-DAT: the OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database

Disaster management policies should be preventive, and not just reactive. In this respect, in responding to natural disasters, it is critical to devise policies that take into account the larger context of climate change. The link between natural disasters and climate change is poorly understood but crucial to addressing both issues. As one study notes, "Thus far, many of the discussions taking place on adaptation to climate change are not well-informed by disaster risk reduction strategies, tools, frameworks and experiences. At the same time, the disaster risk community has not fully incorporated climate change dimensions and information on climate impacts into its work." [104] But climate change has been increasingly blamed for the growing severity of natural disasters. "The risk of more complex, frequent, intense or unpredictable extreme weather events associated with global temperature increases, changing precipitation patterns and sea level rise, coupled with both gradual and non-linear changes to ecosystems and natural resources". [105]

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[104] Karen O'Brien, Linda Sygna, Robin Leichenko, W. Neil Adger, Jon Barnett, Tom Mitchell, Lisa Schipper, Thomas Tanner, Coleen Vogel and Colette Mortreux, Disaster Risk Reduction, Climate Change Adaptation and Human Security, GECHS Report, 2008, http://cdg.lathyrus.co.uk/docs/GECHS_DRR_CCA_HS.pdf.

[105] O'Brien, et. al. Disaster Risk Reduction.

Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) in ARF and The Role of Thailand

When the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) was established in 1994 during the first meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, the forums modus operandi was to facilitate and intensify discussion on security and political matter and bolster cooperation. When the forum was founded, the ministers envisioned that the forum would proceed in stages, each signifying the depth of cooperation between ASEAN and its external dialogue partners, going from confidence building to preventative diplomacy and ultimately conflict resolution. As habits of cooperation were not deeply ingrained in the region, the forum goal was to foster practices of constructive dialogue and engagement on issues of common interests and concern in order to enhance the peace and stability of the region. One of the key issues that the ministers put forward as an area that could build habits of cooperation and constructive engagement was maritime security cooperation, specifically disaster prevention. [106] As part of the forum's initial confidence building measures, the 1995 ARF Concept Paper proposed to develop cooperative approaches to beginning exchanges of information and training in search and rescue cooperation, and mechanisms to mobilise relief assistance in the event of a natural disaster. Under the banner of maritime security cooperation, the ministers called for the establishment of an ASEAN Relief And Assistance Force and a Maritime Safety (or Surveillance)

[106] ARF (1995) The ASEAN Regional Forum: A Concept Paper, www.aseanregionalforum.org/PublicLibrary/TermsofReferencesandConceptPapers/tabid/89/ Default.aspx.

Unit. [107] From the ARF's initial establishment, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR) operations, as it would be eventually called, were part of the foundational operations of the forum.

The first instance of cooperation on HADR occurring at the ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting (ISM) on Search and Rescue (SAR) Coordination Cooperation on March 4-7, 1996 in Hawaii and co-hosted by Singapore and the United States. The meeting was not only attended by the 18 ARF participants but also representatives from the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) and the International Maritime Organisation (IMO), underscoring the forum's goal of working with international organisations to develop best practices and foster cooperation. During the meeting, the participants proposed the creation of a directory of SAR contact points, the development of rescue coordination centres (RCCS) and communication network, sharing of training facilities and expertise, begin process of standardisation of SAR manuals, training, and procedures, and develop practical training exercises. [108] It was during the Third ARF Meeting in Jakarta on July 23rd, 1996, that the ministers first considered enhancing the SAR operations through convening an ISM on the topic. As ARF participation was grounded in being part of the 'geographical footprint' of the forum, encompassing Northeast and Southeast Asia, and Oceania, the SAR operations would act as a key avenue to bolster cooperation among forum members. [109]

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[107] Ibid.

[108] ARF (1996) Summary Report of the ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Search and Rescue Coordination Cooperation in Asia Pacific. March 4-7, 1996.

[109] ARF (1996) Chairman's Statement of the Third Meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum. July 23, 1996.

Following the recommendations out of the Third ARF Meeting, the ARF ISM on Disaster Relief (DR), co-hosted by Thailand and New Zealand, was held in Wellington, New Zealand on February 19-20, 1997. In order to underscore the common interest undergirding these activities, the ministers framed disaster relief as a key aspect of comprehensive security and crucial CBM. One of the takeaways from the meeting was not only the need for international cooperation, but also cooperation between defence forces and international organisations, such as the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs (UNDHA). As this was the first meeting on disaster relief, the participants put forward several areas for further examination, such as holding a train the trainers' workshop, utilising existing regional centres, such as the Asian Disaster Preparedness Centre (ADPC) in Bangkok, for training purposes, and the development of a regional database to facilitate faster exchange of information. [110]

In seeking to foster mutual trust and cooperation through CBMs and building on the previous ISM, the Second ISM on SAR was jointly organised by the U.S. and Singapore, and held in Singapore on March 26-28, 1997. The meeting was focused on two SAR themes, cooperation and training, and on the second day of the meeting, Singapore, Indonesia, and the U.S. conducted a practical SAR demonstration in order to display the benefits of cooperation. This was the first time that the meeting recognised that SAR operations would be considered as a humanitarian mission. In terms of cooperation, the meeting identified several areas of

[110] ARF (1997) Summary Report of the ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Disaster Relief. February 19-20, 1997.

cooperation including bolstering communication between forum member SAR agencies, improving the sharing of information and development of contact points, and holding joint exercises and joint training activities. Specifically, the meeting proposed designating existing training centres as ARF SAR Training Centres (ARF SARTCs) as a means to pool resources and raise regional confidence. The meeting additionally emphasised that the participants need to focus on utilising existing technology, such as the Global Maritime Distress and Safety System (GMDSS). Several countries, including Thailand, proposed training programs, and Thailand specifically offered to invite participants to observe their own annual SAR exercises. [111]

In early 1998, the Second ARF ISM on DR, co-hosted by Thailand and New Zealand, held in Bangkok on February 18-20, 1998, underscored the important role that these activities had in building confidence and demonstrating concrete cooperation. During the ISM, the participants went on a field to the Royal Thai Army's Engineer Department in Ratchaburi Province to be briefed on Thailand's disaster relief techniques and procedures. One of the key areas discussed was the need to further study defence cooperation and civil-military cooperation, and the participants were briefed on the concept of using Military and Civil Defence Assets (MCDA) in disaster relief operations. In addition to proposing further study and activities in facilitating training and technical assistance, developing early warning systems, and regional database, the meeting proposed to establish a ARF Disaster Relief Expert Group. Further highlighting Thailand's

[111] ARF (1997) Co-Chairman's Summary Report of the Second Inter-Sessional Meeting on Search and Rescue. March 26-28, 1997.

role in advancing cooperation, the ADPC offered and along with the U.S. to hold a Workshop on Disaster Management. [112]

The next ISM on DR, the third ARF ISM on DR, held in Moscow, Russia, co-hosted by the former and Vietnam, marked the first time that the ISM was co-chaired by representatives from the disaster management agencies, and also was crucial in bringing both defence and non-defence officials into the CBM and DR process. At the meeting, Thailand proposed co-chairing with Australia a 'Train the Trainers" seminar under the banner of developing common approaches to disaster relief training. In seeking to provide a foundation for information exchange and cooperation, the ADPC presented the "Matrices of Cooperation in Disaster Management" which listed all the bilateral, multilateral, and international cooperation that had taken place between ARF participants. In addition, the participants discussed the importance of continuing to raise public awareness on disaster management practices. On the second day of the meeting, the participants were taken on a field trop to the Russian Federation Ministry of Emergency and Elimination of Consequences of Natural Disasters, and were briefed on how agency undertook DR operations and demonstrated their techniques. [113]

In early 2000, Thailand and Australia co-hosted the ARF Train the Trainers Seminar Towards Common Approaches to Disaster Relief

[112] ARF (1998) Co-Chairman's Report of the Second Inter-Sessional Meeting on Disaster Relief. February 18-20, 1998.

[113] ARF (1999) Co-Chairman's Report of the Third Inter-Sessional Meeting on Disaster Relief. April 11-14, 1999.

Training in Bangkok from January 25-28, 2000. The goal of the seminar was to promote cooperation in DR and lay the groundwork to enhance the capabilities of ARF countries in developing common approaches, especially between the military and civilian agencies. The seminar addressed a range of issues including gaps in training, integration between civil and military agencies, and opportunities for further cooperation. In terms of implementing previous recommendations, the participants requested that the list of ARF DR contact points be updated, and that a DR management training institution database be complied. Several of the recommendations emerging out of the meeting included the need for greater coordination; follow-up training events, such as the Thai proposed pilot training project; and the establishment of a website that would act as a focal point for information dissemination. In concluding the seminar, Thailand hosted a field to the Port Authority of Thailand's Fire Damage Prevention Training Centre in Chon Buri Province. [114]

Following the seminar in Thailand, the Fourth ARF ISM on DR was held in Hanoi, Vietnam on May 4-6, 2000. One of the main takeaways was the importance of utilising technology in handling natural disasters and disaster management. The participants stressed that cooperation in the development of an early warning system is a critical component of disaster preparedness and mitigation, and the Philippines confirmed that it would host a conference on enhancing the capacity of early warning systems in September 2000. Furthermore, in order to facilitate

[114] ARF (2000) Co-Chairman's Report ARF Train the Trainers Seminar "Towards Common Approaches to Disaster Relief Training". January 25-28, 2000.

cooperation between civil and military agencies in disaster management, participants widely shared the view that in order to ensure timely and effective coordination, a steering body comprising of representatives from the numerous agencies should be established nationally. The participants additionally underscored, as they had done in previous meetings, that regional training centres needed to be utilised in order to meet regional training needs. [115] Supplementing the ISM, the U.S. and Singapore hosted the Combined Humanitarian Assistance Response Training (CHART) Course in Singapore on August 21-25, 2000. The goal of the CHART course was to enable ARF countries to function in a disaster area when local authorities were unable to do so. The five-day course covered several areas spanning from health issues to international humanitarian law to measuring effectiveness and how to bolster cooperation between military and civilian agencies in delivering assistance. [116]

While enhancing cooperation on HADR had been progressing since the establishment of the ISM on DR and the ISM on HA, the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 would almost entirely halt all activities on HADR within the ARF, expect for the ARF HADR Seminar in December 2002. Much of the forum's attention had shifted The ARF HADR Seminar took place in December 4-6, 2002 in Singapore. This was the first time that the ARF employed the HADR terminology. Participants of the seminar included both ARF members and international organisations, such as the

[115] ARF (2000) Co-Chairman's Report of the Fourth Inter-Sessional Meeting on Disaster Relief. May 4-6, 2000.

[116] ARF (2000) Concept Paper: Combined Humanitarian Assistance Response Training (CHART) Course. August 21-25, 2000.

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHRC). The goal of the seminar was to train both civilian and military personnel in disaster management in order for them to effectively function. The seminar also marked the first time that the participants connected HADR practices with being applicable to handling a terrorist attack. [117] After the seminar, the ARF's focus on HADR would be placed on the backburner, as no events would be held until 2005 and in response to the Tsunami disaster that gravely impacted ASEAN states on December 26, 2004.

Following the tsunami and earthquakes that struck the region, the ASEAN leaders released a statement 'Declaration on Action to Strengthen Emergency Relief, Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Prevention on the Aftermath of Earthquake and Tsunami Disaster on 26 December 2004,' which emphasised the region and leaderships' commitment to enhancing their HADR efforts. Specifically, the leaders called for the establishment of an early warning tsunami system, further utilisation of regional resources, bolster cooperation between ASEAN and international organisations, and develop new partnerships between ASEAN and private organisations and donors. [118] Soon after the declaration, outside of the ARF, Thailand hosted both ARF and non-ARF members to Phuket on January 29, 2005 producing the Phuket Ministerial Declaration on Regional Cooperation

[117] ARF (2002) ARF Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief Seminar. December 4-6, 2002.

[118] ASEAN (2005) Declaration on Action to Strengthen Emergency Relief, Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Prevention on the Aftermath of Earthquake and Tsunami Disaster of 26 December 2004. January 6, 2005.

on Tsunami Early Warning Arrangements. The declaration stressed the dire need for a coordinated response in the face of natural disasters and that they represent a threat are a common responsibility to all. While not only pledging deeper cooperation between ASEAN mechanisms and international organisations, but Thailand also agreed to contribute U.S. $10 million to a voluntary trust fund on Tsunami Early Warning Arrangements in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia. [119]

Demonstrating the region's commitment to HADR, on July 26, 2005, the ASEAN leaders signed the 'ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response', which outlined the principles, obligations, preparedness, and policies to be put in place. Crucially, the ASEAN leaders agreed to establish the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on disaster management (AHA Centre), and the ASEAN Disaster Management and Emergency Relief Fund. The new centre was slated to act as a focal point for HADR operations in the region. [120] Furthermore, during the 12th ARF Meeting in Vientiane, Laos on July 29, 2005, the ministers underscored the importance for enhancing cooperation and capacity in responding to natural disasters. The ministers expressed their sympathy and solidarity to all those affected by the natural disaster, and how this tragic event underlined the importance of cooperation. The ministers welcomed a larger role for the UN in establishing stand-by

[119] Phuket Ministerial Declaration on Regional Cooperation on Tsunami Early Warning Arrangements, January 29, 2005.

[120] ASEAN (2005) ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response. July 26, 2005.

arrangements for disaster relief. [121] Soon after the meeting, the Philippines and Australia co-hosted an ARF Workshop on Civil Military Operations (CMO) in Makati City, Philippines from September 12-13, 2005. Not only was the workshop extremely timely and necessary, but put forth recommendations to address the gap in capabilities and areas for further regional cooperation. The recommendations stressed the need to utilise existing regional mechanisms, the standardisation of operating procedures, establishment of a ARF regional standby arrangement, and continuing to conduct workshops and training exercises. [122]

After a five-year hiatus, the 5th ARF ISM on DR was held in Bandung, Indonesia from November 30- December 2, 2005, and was co-hosted by Indonesia and China. The goal of the ISM was to assess the capabilities of regional countries, bolstering civil-military cooperation and assets in deploying to affected areas, and sharing information and best practices in handling the aftermath of a natural disaster. The participants of the meeting continually stressed the importance of a coordinated civil and military response, bolstering the ASEAN Standby Arrangements on Disaster Relief Management and Emergency Response (ADMER), and that an early warning system is a critical tool in disaster preparedness and mitigation. During the meeting, Malaysia, Indonesia, Australia, and the U.S. volunteered to become the co-lead countries on ARF disaster

[121] ARF (2005) Chairman's Statement The Twelfth Meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum. July 29, 2005.

[122] ARF (2005) Co-Chairs' Summary Report Of The ASEAN Regional Forum Workshop On Civil Military Operations. September 12-13, 2005.=

relief activities, and the participants began drafting the ARF Statement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response. [123]

Following the earthquake and tsunami disaster that struck Jogjakarta and Central Java, Indonesia in May and July 2006, the ministers at the 13th ARF Meeting in Kuala Lumpur on July 28, 2006, expressed condolences and stressed the importance of the ARF to continue working on HADR operations. [124] Concomitantly, the ministers at the meeting release the ARF's Statement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response on the same day. The ministers proposed several key recommendations including the development of a ARF virtual task force on multi-hazard disaster response management, supporting the work of UNESCO Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission in developing an Indian Ocean Tsunami Early Warning System, continue to develop the ARF regional standby arrangements and standard operating procedures, improving communication protocols, and promoting networking and joint exercises. [125]

During the Sixth ISM on DR in Qingdao, China from September 18-20, 2006, which was co-hosted by China and Indonesia, the Indonesian representative provided insight into how to improve HADR response in

[123] ARF (2005) Co-Chairs' Summary Report The Fifth ASEAN Regional Forum Intersessional Meeting on Disaster Relief. November 30 – December 2, 2005.

[124] ARF (2006) Chairman's Statement of the Thirteenth ASEAN Regional Forum. July 28, 2006.

[125] ARF (2006) ASEAN Regional Forum Statement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response. July 28, 2006.

light of the recent natural disasters. The delegated highlight five elements that could ensure a more effective joint response, which emphasised preplanning and how to coordinate foreign assistance. Focusing on the development of standard operating procedures, the ARF Unit noted that the ARF Defence Officials Meeting had began discussing this topic, and that ASEAN would hold the second disaster emergency response simulation exercise in Cambodia soon after the ISM. While many of the recommendations remain the same, Indonesia and Australia had jointly proposed to hold an ARF disaster relief desk-top exercise, which would seek to improve the speed and effectiveness of joint operations and support the development of standard operating procedures. Additionally, the participants highlighted the formulation of ARF general guidelines for disaster relief cooperation and would be the first document putting the basic principles together. In concluding the meeting, the participants attended a field trip to the Qingdao Fire-Fighting Brigade and witnessed a demonstration on their exercises. [126]

Demonstrating the progress being made in implementing and bolstering cooperation, there were several key takeaways from the 7th ARF ISM on DR held in Helsinki, Finland, co-hosted by the European Union and Indonesia, on October 11-12, 2007. Some of the developments include the adoption of the General ARF Guidelines on Disaster Relief, that Singapore would host the 2007 ASEAN Regional Disaster Emergency Response Simulation Exercise (ARDEX), and that the planning for the

[126] ARF (2006) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the Sixth ASEAN Regional Forum Inter-Sessional Meeting on Disaster Relief (ISM-DR). September 18-20, 2006.

ARF Disaster Relief Desktop Exercise initial planning conference had taken place in Darwin, Australia in September. The goal of both ASEAN and ARF exercises were to test the operability of the guidelines and procedures adopted. While evidently progress had been made in bolstering cooperation on HADR activities, implementation and the ratification of agreements was still a challenge. For example, during the discussions, the ASEAN Secretariat explained that due to the pending ratification of the ADMER by ASEAN countries, the AHA Centre had yet become fully operational. In this light, Thailand suggested that participants should further utilise existing regional centres, such as the ADPC based in Thailand, to bolster capacity building and training. [127]

One of the critical milestones for the ARF ISM on DR and HADR activities in the forum was the ARF Desktop Exercise on Disaster Relief that was held at the Indonesian Naval Command and Staff College in Jakarta from May 1-2, 2008, and co-hosted by Indonesia and Australia. "The primary objectives of the exercise were to improve civil and military coordination in disaster relief and to promote understanding and cooperation among ARF participants in situations in which a coordinated multinational response would be required." [128] The participants were tasked with addressing the challenges associated with a natural disaster and how to plan a regional emergency response, and to provide input and decisions at four different points during the exercise, which were

[127] ARF (2007) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the Seventh ASEAN Regional Forum Inter-Sessional Meeting on Disaster Relief (ISM-DR). October 11-12, 2007.

[128] ARF (2008) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the ARF Desktop Exercise on Disaster Relief. May 1-2, 2008.

the point of the initial crisis, the request for assistance, stabilisation, and the transition to recovery. [129] In concluding the exercise, the participants noted that the next exercise would be co-hosted by the Philippines and the U.S.

In further providing impetus to enhancing cooperation on HADR, the natural disasters in China and Myanmar, the Sichuan earthquakes and Cyclone Nargis respectively, the ministers at the 15th ARF Meeting on July 24, 2008 in Singapore expressed their condolences and commitment to HADR activities. The ministers emphasised the need to do more and to bolster its relationship with the UN and its mechanisms. The ministers called to strengthen civil-military coordination, formulate a ARF disaster relief work plan, and supported the U.S. and Philippines proposal to conduct an ARF Disaster Relief Exercise, Voluntary Demonstration of Response (VDR) in 2009. [130] In highlighting how impactful the ARF's ISM on DR and activities on HADR have been, during the 8th ARF ISM on DR in Indonesia, the Governor of Nanggore Aceh Darussalam province expressed his gratitude to the ARF participating countries for their work during and after the tsunami disaster in 2004. Additionally during the meeting, representatives from both Myanmar and China gave presentations on their experiences in the aftermath of the natural disaster events both countries had endured. One of the common themes, one that has continued throughout the multiple ISMs, was the need to

[129] Ibid.

[130] ARF (2008) Chairman's Statement of the Fifteenth ASEAN Regional Forum. July 24, 2008.

facilitate greater cooperation between civil and military assets, and in coordinating with foreign partners. Further demonstrating ASEAN's resolve to institutionalise cooperation, Thailand highlighted the results of the fourth ARDEX in August 2008 that was held in Pattaya. One issue arose highlighting the challenge of establishing the AHA Centre was the fact that the AADMER had yet been ratified and had not entered into force. This prompted participants to seek clarification on the relationship between the ARF and ASEAN in disaster relief activities and operations. [131]

2009 represented a milestone year for the ARF ISM on DR as the forum held to key meetings, first, the ARF seminar on laws and regulations on the participation in international disaster relief by armed forces, and second, the ARF VDR. On April 22-25, 2009, the China and Singapore co-hosted the ARF seminar on laws and regulations on the participation in international disaster relief by armed forces in Beijing. The goal of the seminar was the development of laws and regulations and to examine some of the regulatory and legal challenges and hurdles to HADR operations both domestically and regionally. While domestic laws differ, the seminar noted that the UN provided a comprehensive cooperation framework under its Guidelines on the Use of Military and Civil Defence Assets in Disaster Relief, the Oslo Guidelines. The seminar stressed that in order for regional and international assistance to be effective, ARF participants should implement the ARF General Guidelines on Disaster Relief Cooperation. The seminar underscored the ARF's commitment to

[131] ARF (2008) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the Eighth ASEAN Regional Forum Inter-Sessional Meeting on Disaster Relief (ISM-DR). December 5-6, 2008.

addressing the legal issues impeding enhanced cooperation. On May 4-8, 2009, the U.S. and the Philippines co-hosted, the first ARF VDR, which was the first-ever field exercise held by the forum. The VDR "served as a civilian-led, military supported activity involving the demonstration and execution of medical, engineering, land, air, and maritime capabilities of ARF's participants." [132] This represented a major step for the forum in "developing concrete and tangible contributions to a transnational security issue like disaster relief." [133] The benefits including developing interoperability at the tactical level between civil and military agencies, training opportunity, benefitting the forces of the Philippines, and testing the regional protocols. In concluding the meeting, they identified numerous exercises that can be held in the future under the ARF VDR banner. [134]

Recognising the progress following the ARF VDR, the ministers during the 16th ARF Meeting in Phuket noted the significant and success of the exercise and welcome the proposal by Japan and Indonesia to hold the next field exercise on disaster relief. During the meeting, the ministers adopted the ARF Work Plan on Disaster Relief and requested that the ISM continue efforts to develop an ARF Voluntary Model Arrangement for Use of Foreign Military and Civilian Defence Assets (MCDA). [135] Highlighting

[132] ARF (2009) Co-Chairs' Summary Report ASEAN Regional Forum – Voluntary Demonstration of Response (ARF-VDR). May 4-8, 2009.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Ibid.

[135] ARF (2009) Chairman's Statement of the Sixteenth ASEAN Regional Forum. July 23, 2009.

the progression in implementation and creation of new mechanisms, during the 9th ARF ISM on DR, co-chaired by Thailand and the U.S., the Australian and Singaporean defence representatives updated the meeting on the ARF Disaster Relief Mapping Service Initiative. "The initiative was a voluntary geospatial data-sharing and data mapping service which seeks to bring together available geospatial data required to expedite planning and delivery of aid." [136] Additionally, the meeting highlighted that the ARDEX annual exercises were open to non-ASEAN ARF members to participate as observers.

2010 would prove to be an eventual year for ARF HADR activities, as the forum held two planning meetings for the ARF DIREX 2011 in Indonesia, and a second ARF Seminar on Laws and Regulations on the Participation in International Disaster Relief by Armed Forces for the second year in Beijing. Critically, at the 17th ARF Meeting in Hanoi in July 2010, the ministers announced the entry into force of the ADDMER agreement and the operationalization of the AHA Centre, which paved the way for further cooperation with international organisations and relief agencies including the ADPC in Bangkok. [137] At the 10th ISM on DR in Bangkok, co-hosted by Thailand and the U.S., in September 2010, two of the themes were continued progression and further synergy. The ASEAN Secretary-General Surin Pitsuwan emphasised that the ARF should

[136] ARF (2009) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the Ninth ASEAN Regional Forum Inter-Sessional Meeting on Disaster Relief (ISM-DR). September 16-18, 2009.

[137] ARF (2010) Chairman's Statement of the Seventeenth ASEAN Regional Forum. July 23, 2010.

further their collaboration with ASEAN and the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM) Plus groupings in HADR activities. In this vein, the EU and Thailand proposed to host an ARF Training Workshop on developing a common framework for post disaster needs assessment, recovery, and reconstruction with cooperation from the World Bank and the UN Development Programme (UNDP). Additionally, the recommendations focused on advancing synergy between ARDEX and ARF DiREX through the opportunity to observe the former and the development of standard operating procedures. As a concrete HADR mechanism, the participants announced that the Australia-Singapore Disaster Relief Mapping Service, which is linked to the ARF website, became operational in July 2010. [138]

On March 15-19, 2011, the ARF DiREX 2011 was held in Manado, Indonesia and co-hosted by Indonesia and Japan. There were three main activities conducted during the exercise, the Table Top Exercise (TTX), Field Training Exercise (FTX), and Humanitarian Civic Action (HCA). The ministers acknowledged the continued importance of these exercises especially in light of the Great East Japan earthquake tragedy that struck the country. The FTX consisted of urban, land, maritime, and air operations, the TTX addressed operational issues and procedures based on a earthquake scenario, and the HCA brought together numerous participants and agencies in delivering aid. The participants noted the benefits of the exercise and noted the challenges in hosting it especially in light of the recent events,

[138] ARF (2010) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the Tenth ASEAN Regional Forum Inter-Sessional Meeting on Disaster Relief (ISM-DR). September 2-3, 2010.

and held that the next ARF DiREX should seek to continue to improve. [139] In noting the numerous natural disasters during the first half of 2011, the ministers at the 18th ARF Meeting in Indonesia were encouraged by the ARF DiREX 2011 and welcomed South Korea's offer to host the next event. The ministers additionally noted that further synergy was necessary between ASEAN and the ARF, and between the ARF and regional centres such as the ADPC and the Utapao airport facilities in Thailand. [140]

Following the numerous tragic natural disasters in Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, the 11th ARF ISM on DR held in Brisbane, Australia on April 16-17, 2012, provided an opportunity for the countries to present the respective lessons learned in handling the disasters. Thailand, the then-chair of the ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management (ACDM), noted the establishment of the ASEAN Emergency Rapid Assessment Team (ASEAN ERAT), which was deployed during the floods in Thailand in 2011. Additionally, the U.S. proposed during the meeting that the ARF should establish an ARF Rapid Disaster Response (RDR) Agreement. Highlighting the utilisation of mechanisms, representatives noted that the disaster relief mapping service had been utilised during the Christchurch earthquake in New Zealand. While progress had been made, challenges remained. This included the challenges facing the AHA Centre, finding lead countries both ASEAN and Non-ASEAN for priority areas under the DR work plan, and having a co-sponsor for the next ARF

[139] ARF (2011) Co-Chairs' Summary Report ASEAN Regional Forum Disaster Relief Exercise (ARF DiREX) 2011. March 15-19, 2011.

[140] ARF (2011) Chairman's Statement of the Eighteenth ASEAN Regional Forum. July 23, 2011.

DiREX, which Thailand would agree to host later on. [141]

The next ARF DiREX was held in Cha-Am, Thailand on May 7-11, 2013 and was co-hosted by Thailand and South Korea. As with the previous exercise, the ARF DiREX was composed for three main activities, TTX, FTX, and the After Action Review (AAR). The FTX scenarios included "building collapse, chemical leakage, rock slide, maritime SAR operations, and air SAR operations. Medical assistance exercises were held in conjunction with the scenarios, and an evacuation camp also was set up for training purposes." [142] The AAR provided insights into developing further synergy between the ADMM Plus and the East Asia Summit (EAS) HADR activities going forward. In concluding the exercise, the participants highlighted how the exercise had been improved over the years and presented several recommendations to be taken into consideration for the next ARF DiREX. In responding to the natural disasters in the Philippines with Typhoon Haiyan/ Yolanda and the impact of Typhoon Rammasun in China, Vietnam, and the Philippines, the ministers at the 21st ARF Meeting in Myanmar in August 2014, welcomed the Post-Haiyan Tacloban Declaration. The declaration stressed the necessity to increase practical cooperation, promote a more integrated approach, and the further synergise the activities of the ARF with other foras such as the EAS and ADMM Plus. [143]

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[141] ARF (2012) Co-Chairs' Summary Report of the Eleventh ASEAN Regional Forum Inter-Sessional Meeting on Disaster Relief (ISM-DR). April 16-17, 2012.

[142] ARF (2013) Co-Chairs' Summary Report ASEAN Regional Forum Disaster Relief Exercise (ARF DiREX) 2013. May 7-11, 2013.

[143] ARF (2014) Chairman's Statement of the Twenty First ASEAN Regional Forum. August 10, 2014.

The ARF ISM on DR would continue to enhance practical and concrete cooperative activities through holding several workshops and exercises. The ARF DiREX 2015 was co-hosted by Malaysia and China in May 2015. Similar to past exercises, it consisted of three main activities the TTX, FTX, and AAR. This year for the first time and noticeable regarding this year's exercise was that ASEAN members operated as a unit in operations. In 2016, Thailand and the U.S. co-hosted the first ARF Workshop on Climate Change Adaptation and Disaster Management in Bangkok from May 31 – June 1, 2016. The workshop had three specific goals; "1) share experiences in disaster risk management and climate policy and planning processes; 2) identify needs and opportunities of national and regional coordination on disaster risk management and climate resilience; and 3) identify and develop examples of best practices aligned with the above themes." [144] Additional discussions included how to further bolster cooperation between ARF participants and international organisations and relief agencies.

The ARF's activities on HADR have been in comparison to other issue areas within the ARF extremely effective, specifically in strengthening interoperability, cooperation, and building trust. HADR activities, as one of the foundational CBM albeit being placed on the back burner from 2001-2005, the forum committed to HADR operations following the tsunami and earthquake disaster in Southeast in December 2004.

[144] ARF (2016) Co-Chairs' Summary Report ARF Workshop on Climate Change Adaptation and Disaster Management. May 31 –June 1, 2016.

The continued numerous natural disasters in the region and internationally only further harden the forums participants resolve to making HADR a key priority area. One of the key demonstrations of the success of these operations has been the holding of multiple ARF DiREX exercises and workshops. Multiple ARF participants noted the usefulness of these operations in responding to their own or other member natural disasters. Thailand highlighted this during a discussion of how they and ASEAN members responded to the floods in Thailand in 2011. While issues, such as the South China Sea, cooperation, had marred regional cooperation, HADR activities have progressed regardless of the difficulties surrounding the relationships. In the face of these issues, it is even more important to continue HADR operations in the forum, especially with the growing threat of climate change.

CONCLUSIONS, LESSONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

There is no question that NTS issues present a severe and present danger to Thailand's national security and to regional security in ASEAN as a whole. Thailand faces several challenges in dealing with NTS threats. These include mobilsing resources, implementation of policies, ensuring effective regional cooperation and external assistance. There is also a need to reconcile NTS and human security concerns. As noted, human security implies security for the people, rather than that of the state. Sometimes, efforts to mitigate NTS can undermine human security, and vice versa.

Thailand has been involved in, many regional groups such as ASEAN, ARF, EAS, SAARC and APEC have shown increasing interest and role in NTS cooperation. The role of ASEAN is especially important in the Southeast Asian context. While ASEAN has made considerable progress in NTS cooperation, there remains several obstacles to more effective cooperation. There are several reasons for this. Aside from lack of resources, and varying levels of capacity to cope with and provide assistance against NTS threats, ASEAN's non-interference principle also creates obstacles to more effective NTS cooperation.

> *"Due to the organization's strict adherence to the principle of non-interference into the member states' domestic affairs the association lacks the institutional prerequisites to effectively and efficiently respond to the changing dynamics of regional security."* [145]

[145] Jörn Dosch, "The Concept and Management of Non-traditional Security in Southeast Asia." Sicherheit Und Frieden (S F) / Security and Peace 24, no. 4 (2006): 179-84.

Another obstacle to NTS cooperation in ASEAN is the gap between official policy statements and implementation. While:

> *"policy-makers within ASEAN have put increasing emphasis on identifying and addressing NTS issues which affect or even may destabilize the region. This commitment to NTS, however, does not go beyond the declaratory or rhetorical level."* [146]

A third obstacle is the difference in security perspectives and threat perceptions between governments and parties to the conflict. Hence, "human security will have limited applicability in dealing with internal conflicts in Southeast Asia because of the huge gaps between what governments and other groups within Southeast Asian societies regard as threats." [147]

Given the paucity of resources, it is natural and important that ASEAN countries including Thailand have traditionally relied on support from external powers. At the same time, organizations such as ASEAN and ARF have become major conduits for interactions with external powers on NTS issues. A major issue for NTS in ASEAN is how much support it can get from outside powers, which have better expertise and resources in handling such issues. As such, "the role of multilateral diplomacy afforded to strategic partnerships under regional arrangements such as ASEAN," in addressing NTS challenges assume importance.

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[146] Dosch, "The Concept and Management of Non-traditional Security in Southeast Asia".

[147] Yukiko Nishikawa, "Human Security in Southeast Asia: Viable Solution or Empty Slogan?." Security Dialogue 40, no. 2 (2009): 213-236.

In this context, China's role is especially important. It is noteworthy that China has expressed a strong desire to cooperate with ASEAN on NTS issues. According to one observer:

> *"The institutionalization of China-ASEAN non-traditional security cooperation is underappreciated, even though its significance should be apparent to Western analysts. Appreciating China-ASEAN non-traditional security cooperation leads to the realization that it has strategic significance, and that the broader China-ASEAN multilateral process is the most institutionally developed expression of East Asian regionalism today."* [148]

Japan is also a major partner of ASEAN in dealing with NTS challenges. It was "only in the wake of the March 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake that Japan turned its interest to furthering collaboration with ASEAN in the area of disaster relief and humanitarian assistance." [149], Since then mechanisms such as the ASEAN-Japan dialogue on disaster management cooperation have emerged.

Analysts warn that too much reliance on external support can be counterproductive in addressing NTS challenges since it detracts from

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[148] David Arase, "Non-Traditional Security in China-ASEAN Cooperation: The Institutionalization of Regional Security Cooperation and the Evolution of East Asian Regionalism," Asian Survey, Vol. 50 No. 4, July/August 2010: pp. 808-833.

[149] Moe Thuzar, "Disaster Management and Humanitarian Action in Southeast Asia: Opportunities for an ASEAN-Japan Coordinated Approach," in Rizal Sukma and Yoshihide Soeya, eds., Beyond 2015: ASEAN-Japan Strategic Partnership for Democracy, Peace, and Prosperity in Southeast Asia (Japan Center for International Exchange, 2013)

the goal of self-reliance. Some NTS challenges such as terrorism, become more complicated especially when the external partners seek to impose their strategic designs on the aid-receiving nations. Examining US-ASEAN cooperation on counter-terrorism after 9/11, De Castro observed that:

> *"During the initial stage... the United States was pragmatic and circumspect as it cooperated with its Asian allies in neutralizing terrorist groups and other transnational criminals. The campaign generated a positive trend towards cooperative security as Washington provided military and intelligence assistance to several countries threatened by homegrown and international terrorist movements. However, this paper contends that the Bush administration's 2002 national security strategy has radically transformed the war on terror in Southeast Asia and might create a major problem in America's efforts to foster cooperative security since states in the region seem averse to the strategy of pre-emptive defence."* [150]

This lesson should not be lost as the US remains a key player in counterterrorism cooperation in ASEAN and a new US administration under Donald Trump is entering office. As Trump has adopted a less interventionist approach than its predecessors, it may alter the nature and scope of US-ASEAN cooperation. This, along with the tilt of some ASEAN

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[150] Renato Cruz De Castro, "Addressing international terrorism in Southeast Asia: A matter of strategic or functional approach?," Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol. 26, No. 2 (August 2004), pp. 193-217.

members towards China, may lead to greater China-ASEAN cooperation on NTS challenges and lesser US involvement in counter-terrorism in ASEAN.

Among other regional organizations whose role on NTS issues can be useful for ASEAN to look, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) stands out. Formed in the 1990s, "the focus of the SCO on tackling the so-called 'three evils' (terrorism, extremism, separatism) has won it favour with the prevailing leaderships of its member states." Hence, "the SCO is best characterised as a regional organisation concerned with non-traditional security and not as a hostile new 'Warsaw Pact' as suggested by some." [151]

Further Research

This report has considered the definition of NTS, and the related concept of human security. It has then offered a detailed examination of two key NTS challenges and considered Thailand's response at national and regional levels. But further research is necessary to examine all aspects of the NTS challenge to Thailand and ASEAN and their responses.

First, more NTS challenges should be studied. These should include: human trafficking, illegal migration, transboundary pollution and

[151] Stephen Aris, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: 'Tackling the Three Evils'. A Regional Response to Non-traditional Security Challenges or an Anti-Western Bloc?," Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 61, No.3 (2009): 457-482.

environmental degradation more generally, beyond natural disasters. The next stage of this project should take up these themes. One can then be in a better position to devise a comprehensive strategy for dealing with NTS threats by Thailand and ASEAN.

Second, the next stage of research should look in more detail at the implementation capacity of national and regional agencies in dealing with NTS challenges.

Third, the next stage should aim to develop more specific and concrete policy measures to enhance national capacity and regional cooperation in dealing with NTS challenges.

Policy Recommendations

1. Develop greater awareness of NTS and human security issues among the population through their inclusion in school, college and university curricula.

2. Develop more national research capacity in NTS and human security. To this end establish a national center for the study of Non-Traditional and Human Security Issues. There is such a center now in Singapore, but it takes a Singapore perspective.

3. Develop a regional network for research and action on NTS and human security issues, similar to the Consortium of NTS in Asia, which I established in 2007 with funding from the Ford Foundation but

which has since lapsed. The headquarters was in Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore, but RSIS has since then established its own center. The NTS Consortium is no longer active. It will be good for Thailand to establish its own national center and use it as the foundation for developing a regional and international network on NTS and human security.

4. Offer more training to government officials on NTS and human security issues. The KPI should develop and incorporate such training modules into its activities. Various defence and police colleges should also develop and expand their training in these areas.

5. Organize an international conference on NTS in Thailand in 2018, inviting leading experts from ASEAN, East Asia and around the world to examine the changing nature of NTS and human security challenges in an era of rapid globalization.

6. Last but perhaps most important, develop a NTS and human security monitoring system, and index for Thailand and its various provinces most affected by NTS threats. Such a framework is already available for India, out of a Japanese funded project which I was involved in leading, and which can be used as the basis for Thailand. [152] I presented its finding to the UN General Assembly in 2011. [153]

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[152] This study was published as Amitav Acharya, Subrat Singhdeo and M. Rajarethnam, ed., Human Security: From Concept to Practice (Singapore and London: World Scientific, 2011).

[153] For text, see: http://www.un.org/en/ga/president/65/initiatives/Human%20Security/Amitav%20Acharya%20UNGA%20Human%20Security%20Debate%20Presentation.pdf)

In this project, we propose three policy tools: (1) Human Security Governance Index and Ranking; (2) Human Security Mapping in Conflict Zones; and (3) Human Security Impact Assessment. All of these tools can be developed for addressing NTS threats Thialand and ASEAN in the next stage of this KPI-led project.

(1) Human Security Governance Index and Ranking: We now have Human Development Reports (under the auspices of the United Nations Development Program) for countries and increasingly states/provinces within countries, our innovation has been to extend it to regions and districts (within states/provinces) to allow for more micro-studies and of the local context in which human security assessments and policies must be carried out. Moreover, we include governance, not just threats, in our measurement, since bad governance is a fundamental cause of human insecurity and good governance is key to ensuring the realization of human security.

(2) Human Security and NTS Mapping in Conflict Zones: People who live in the constant shadow of conflict may have more specific and acute perceptions of human security challenges and needs than people who live in relative peace and order. Hence, a methodology for relating to people in conflict zones and analyzing their concerns and attitudes is vital. Our project presents such a template.

(3) Human Security and NTS Impact Assessment: We have environmental impact assessments for some time, but it is time to extend it and cover the entire gamut of human security concerns. Some projects intended for promoting development, such as large infrastructure projects undertaken by donor agencies, multilateral institutions like the World Bank, national/provincial governments, and corporations, no matter how well-intentioned, may end up aggravating insecurity and conflict in the area. A HSIA enables governments, foreign donors, multilateral institutions and corporations, to better anticipate the impact of their projects not just on development and environment, but also on security as a whole, from a broader perspective. And by necessity, such assessments have to be localized and micro-analytic. Our project has provided the template and methodology for such a HSIA, which can be easily adapted to all parts of the world.