



# Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions Meetings

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# NADI 2022

Strategic Studies Center





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# 01

## **NADI WORKSHOP ON**

### **“THE VALUE AND ROLE OF MILITARY HISTORY IN ENHANCING AND MAINTAINING PEACE, SECURITY AND PRACTICAL COOPERATION IN THE REGION”**

organised by  
the General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs, Ministry of  
National Defence of Cambodia  
12 -13 October 2021  
Via Video-Teleconference





## 01

**THE VALUE AND ROLE OF MILITARY IN ENHANCING  
AND MAINTAINING PEACE, SECURITY AND  
PRACTICAL COOPERATION IN THE REGION****CHAIRMAN'S REPORT****INTRODUCTION**

1. The Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) Workshop on The Value and Role of Military History in Enhancing, and Maintaining Peace, Security, and Practical Cooperation in the Region was organised by the General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Defence of Cambodia. It was held virtually at the Military History Institute, in Cambodia on the 12th and 13th of October 2021.
2. Representatives from Brunei Darussalam, Kingdom of Cambodia, Republic of Indonesia, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Republic of the Philippines, Republic of Singapore, Kingdom of Thailand, and Socialist Republic of Viet Nam attended the workshop through virtual conference, due to the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions. The full list of the participants is attached as **Appendix I**. The workshop was chaired by Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey, Deputy Director-General of Policy and Foreign Affairs, and Director of the Sena Techo Unit, Ministry of National Defence of Cambodia.

**Welcoming Remarks by the Chair of Workshop, Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey, Advisor to Samdech Pichey Sena TEA BANH, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence, Deputy Director-General of General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs (GDPFA), Director of Sena Techo Unit, Ministry of National Defence of Cambodia.**

3. In her opening remarks, Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey welcomed all heads of delegation of NADI, distinguished guests and delegates, and expressed her sincere gratitude for their attendance.
4. Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey outlined the expected outcomes of the workshop being 1) To seek for the sharing of intellectual exchanges of practical experience, knowledge and lessons learned throughout the study and research of military history in the building of peace and nation-building pioneered and implemented by the ASEAN Members States (AMS); 2) To seek innovative approaches in building ASEAN defence cooperation based on each member state's military history and; 3) To encourage more research cooperation among NADI institutions and discussion on the military history and past participation of the armed force of the AMSs in promoting peace and stability in the region.



5. Taking opportunity to reflect on the role of armed forces in addressing the COVID-19 pandemic as an empirical example; she highlighted the significant role of armed forces of the AMS, including Cambodia, in supporting the whole-of-government effort to address and mitigate the COVID-19 pandemic challenges. They always have presence at the high-risk areas and in almost every high-stake situation and these commitments will soon become another history in the making for the future to dwell on.
6. The workshop's objective is sought after the outcomes of discussion and recommendations, and to duly report to the ADMM for their information and consideration through ADSOM and the ADSOM Working Group.

#### **ADOPTION OF AGENDA**

7. The workshop adopted the agenda and the programme, which are attached as **Appendix II** and **Appendix III** respectively.

**Special Remarks by His Excellency General Dr. Nem Sowath, Advisor to the Royal Government of Cambodia on History; Special Advisor to Samdech Pichey Sena TEA BANH; and Director General of the General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Defence of Cambodia.**

8. His Excellency General Dr. Nem Sowath began his special remarks by stressing the importance of the study of military history in reflecting on the actions and significant roles of the armed forces in conflict, nation building efforts, and the sustainment of peace. The understanding and appreciation of military history is substantial in promoting sustainable peace and security within the region, AMS can reflect on the lessons learned that can potentially become practical strategic considerations for implementation in today's geopolitical context and into the future.
9. General Nem Sowath proposed that it is in the best common interests of the AMS to establish closer cooperation in promoting mutual understandings and sharing experiences in relations to the challenges they have faced in promoting sustainable peace. It is essential to truly understand the source of peace and how the AMS can best utilise this understanding. Therefore, having an open discussion among ASEAN think tanks on the topic of mutual interest such as military history is necessary, as there are commonalities that can be drawn upon for consideration.
10. Lastly, General Nem Sowath acknowledged the importance of this workshop as it will further clarify common directions in enriching regional defence cooperation through mutual understandings. He stated that although it is evident that there has been increasing influence from major powers in Asia-Pacific, the path to peace and stability within the region is inevitably based on the capacity and unity of AMS to cultivate and sustain strategic equilibrium with all dialogue partners.



## **SESSION I: KEYNOTE ADDRESS ON THE “VALUE AND ROLE OF MILITARY HISTORY IN ENHANCING AND MAINTAINING PEACE, SECURITY, AND PRACTICAL COOPERATION IN THE REGION**

### **Speaker: Lieutenant General Meas Sina, Undersecretary of State, Ministry of National Defence of Cambodia.**

11. In his keynote address, Lieutenant General Meas Sina shared with NADI participants a brief history of Cambodia since the Cold War era, including the social destruction and suffering that Cambodian people had gone through due to long decades of internal conflicts. He also highlighted the merit of the Win-Win policy of Samdech Prime Minister Hun Sen, and the indispensable role of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces (RCAF) in implementing this policy to end three-decades of civil war and brought about total peace and sustainable development in Cambodia.
12. Lieutenant General Meas Sina added that in order to commemorate the values of Win-Win policy and the role of the RCAF in civil war termination, the Royal Government of Cambodia has preserved former battlegrounds, military camps, and historical sites of events that took place, as protected military history zones, to conserve vivid historical evidence for generations to come. Lastly, he emphasised that these historical sites would serve as research centres for Cambodia's military history, and history altogether.

### **Speaker: Dr. Chheang Vannarith, President of the Asian Vision Institute (AVI)**

13. Dr. Chheang Vannarith presented on “Military History and Peace Building”, in which he stressed critical role of military history in informing the presence and the future, promoting mutual understanding and reconciliation, and preventing the past mistakes from occurring. He mentioned that the role of the armed forces in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding needs to be further studied. Although it is hard to reach consensus among the AMS on common history in general, there is a room for dialogue and consultation on certain historical experiences that AMS can share and learn together. Dr. Chheang Vannarith believed that by sharing such experiences, ASEAN can promote mutual understandings, mutual trust, empathy and foster a shared identity based on the principle of mutual respect and non-interference.
14. Dr. Chheang Vannarith elaborated that within the framework of the ADMM, the scope of the relationship between military history to sustainable peace can be reduced by focusing on the role of the armed forces in peacebuilding and civil-military relations in strengthening the foundations of positive peace. The ADMM can establish platforms for dialogue and knowledge sharing on the role of the armed forces in peacebuilding. Dr. Chheang Vannarith stated that peacebuilding refers to all those activities and initiatives that are intended to create the conditions necessary for a sustainable peace in the aftermath of violent and destructive conflict. The experience from Cambodia on ending war and building peace, especially under the Win-Win policy can be shared with other AMS, as such had been



done through the construction of Win-Win Memorial and ASEAN park to honour the Win-Win Policy and to educate ASEAN people about the value of peace.

## **SESSION II: THE ROLE OF MILITARY HISTORY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN MAINTAINING PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE REGION**

### **Republic of Indonesia**

**Presenter: Major General Jhonny Djamaris, Head of Centre for Strategic Studies, Research and Development of Tentara Nasional Indonesia (CSSRD-TNI)**

15. Major General Jhonny Djamaris highlighted that the role of military history and its significance in maintaining peace and security in the region, lies in the memory of struggle to be free from colonialism. It is important for AMS to remember the embryo of their military strategy, namely the strategy of guerrilla warfare against colonialism. Then, it is necessary to enhance Military History Centre in each AMS, to remind us of past experience of colonialism and its strategy towards freedom.
16. Therefore, it is recommended
  - i) To enhance the synergy of the regional countries
  - ii) To build friendship among AMS and avoid repeating conflicts that has happened in the past. This is the essence of AMS historical tasks which cannot be forgotten at all.

### **Socialist Republic of Viet Nam**

**Presenter: Colonel Hoang Van Canh, Researcher, Institute for Defence Strategy (IDS), Ministry of National Defence**

17. Colonel Hoang Van Canh emphasised that the armed forces play a vital role in building confidence with aim to promote cooperation among countries which is reflected as follows; relations among countries can only be deepened and developed sustainably when mutual trust has been built and it is a necessary condition for shaping and promoting cooperation. There are some concepts of understanding in confidence-building among states as: (i) narrowing the gap between words and deeds; (ii) strengthening cooperation to create motivations and trust; (iii) creating monitoring and supervising mechanisms to entirely fulfill the commitments; (iv) settlement disputes and disagreements by peaceful means on the basis of international order and law.
18. The ASEAN states' armed forces should, therefore, closely cooperate among each other to manage and prevent every conflict and dispute which can cause tensions in relations among states and that may probably lead to confrontation and conflict. Besides, some mechanisms should also be set up within the defence diplomacy framework as dialogue, information sharing, working visit, workshops, seminars, institutional exchanges to further understanding and strengthening ASEAN's centrality role as a platform for expanding and deepening relations among states.



**Republic of the Philippines**

**Presenter: Dr. Archimedes H Viaje, MNSA CESE, President, National Defence College of the Philippines (NDCP)**

19. Dr. Archimedes H Viaje stated that in support of the United Nations (UN) efforts to promote peace and security across the globe, the Philippine military participated in previous operations and contributed to target countries' stability. They include being members of expeditionary forces in support of the UN in the Korean War in the early 1950s, as well as the first UN peacekeeping operations in Congo in 1963. In Korea, the Philippine military sent both combat and humanitarian personnel, known as Philippine Expeditionary Forces to Korea (PEFTOK), to support the UN. The Philippines' participation in the UN Operations in the Congo (or ONUC) in 1963 was the country's first UN peacekeeping deployment, as well as its second substantial military assistance to a foreign country. The Philippine military's presence in Congo was an opportunity to contribute air support and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief operations.
20. Dr. Archimedes H Viaje also highlighted the Philippine military's history of contributing to international peace and security efforts demonstrates the country's positive role in the international community, most especially when its national interests and values align with each other. The Philippine military's promotion of international norms and responsibilities coincide with the country's commitment to the ideals and aspirations set forth in the ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint. Military history can also serve as an important tool by which countries can explore areas of cooperation and understanding towards avoidance of violent conflicts.

**Lao PDR**

**Presenter: Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit, Director General of Military Science and History Department (MSHD), Ministry of National Defence**

21. Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit stated that while regional and global situations continue to evolve in a more complicated and unpredictable manner, military is not only accountable for its primary role; defending the nation and fighting wars, but it is also involved in a number of areas from national economic, infrastructure and people's livelihood development to international cooperation as well as maintaining regional and global peace and security.
22. Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit also highlighted that like others, while maintaining its primary and historical role in defending national sovereignty and security, the Lao People's Army (LPA) plays a crucial role in creating conducive environments for the country development. With this noble task, LPA is one of the main actors contributing to unexploded ordinance clearance and rural infrastructure development. In addition, LPA also consistently implements foreign relations policies with its neighbouring countries, AMS as well as other friendly countries worldwide. Similarly, LPA actively participates in the framework of ADMM and ADMM-Plus according to its rights and obligations in order to contribute to the promotion of not only practical cooperation, but also trust and confidence amongst the



member countries. He concluded by emphasising that armed forces play a pivotal role in maintaining national peace and security, yet due to complexity of unpredictability of contemporary security environment, collaboration and cooperation amongst regional and global armed forces are even more needed in order to ensure regional and global peace and security which are a fundamental driver for development and prosperity.

### **SESSION III: NEW AND INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TOWARDS ENHANCING COOPERATION THROUGH THE STUDY OF MILITARY HISTORY**

#### **Kingdom of Thailand**

**Presenter: Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit, Director of Regional Studies Division, Strategic Studies Center (SSC), National Defence Studies Institute, Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters**

23. Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit stated that studying history allows us to understand our society in terms of what it was in the past, what it is today and what will continue to happen in the future clearer. Military history is a branch of history that provides insight into all aspects of military evolution consisting of important events in various periods which has changed or evolved sequentially in each period. The study of military history is important because it make us know the lesson learned from both success and failure in the past which considered as a tool to reflect the pattern of future events that may happen. One of the key characteristics which specified by the ASEAN Political-Security Community blueprint 2025 is "a rules-based, people-oriented, people-centred community bound by fundamental principles, shared values and norms, in which our peoples enjoy human rights, fundamental freedoms and social justice, embrace the values of tolerance and moderation, and share a strong sense of togetherness, common identity and destiny". Understanding and appreciation of the political and legal systems, culture and history of AMS is an opportunity to study military history among NADI in helping to promote mutual understanding and enhance cooperation. However, with the growing of digital technology, cyber threats, disinformation together with nationalism potentially bring challenges to AMS in increasing cooperation towards confidence building, non-traditional security, and border management.
24. In order to enhance defence cooperation among AMS through the study of military history, Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit recommended that:
  - a. Strengthen confidence building and preventive diplomacy by encouraging the people and civil society's participation in the processes of security, peace, and stability together with using defence diplomacy to strengthen understanding and relationship.
  - b. Increase academic exchange cooperation among ASEAN researchers, scholars, youths, and students, especially in the field of technology.
  - c. Promote shared cultural and characteristics together with common history of ASEAN.

**Brunei Darussalam**

**Presenter: Ms Hajah Siti Diana binti Hj Othman, Research Officer, Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (SHHBIDSS), Ministry of Defence, Brunei Darussalam**

25. In her presentation, Ms Diana Othman highlighted the value of cooperation and how the success of ADMM has been attributed from the distinctive military history of each AMS. She shared the history of RBAF that began with its formation in 1961. Conceptualised by the security and political climate that took place over the years, has transformed the RBAF to what it has become today - a formidable armed forces and a reliable partner. She also explained how RBAF met the challenging demand of the evolving threats and dynamic security architecture, which led to deep appreciation towards collaborative efforts with neighbouring countries and regional partners. Brunei Darussalam's Defence White Papers highlighted the increasingly complex security environment, and how it has shaped the RBAF. As the operating environment changed bringing current global challenges, the RBAF need to adapt and remain flexible, particularly in being a reliable regional partner it sets out to be.
26. Regional cooperation, specifically under the ADMM, has manifested from each member's past and future understanding of the value and role of military history. From this, several recommendations have been identified to continue the success of the ADMM in its role towards enhancing cooperation, as follows:
  - a. Highlighting the study of military history through practical collaborative activities, such as establishing a network of ASEAN Military Museum and integration and sharing of resources of AMS' libraries and archives. Military history can also be included in education, training and courses of armed forces and defence personnel, as well as in ADMM documents such as SOPs, legal frameworks and joint declarations.
  - b. Using existing platforms to finesse interoperability and confidence-building measures and avoiding miscalculation and misinformation by strengthening available communication initiatives.
  - c. Broadening cooperation in line with evolving security challenges, including promoting cross-sectoral cooperation at the regional level and supporting minilateral initiatives.

**Republic of the Union of Myanmar**

**Presenter: Major General Myint Kyaw Tun, Deputy Chief of the Armed Forces Training (Strategic Studies), Office of the Chief of Armed Forces Training (OCAFT), Myanmar Armed Forces**

27. Major General Myint Kyaw Tun in his presentation mentioned that through history, the region can learn how past societies, systems, ideologies, governments, cultures, and technologies were built, how they operated, and how they have changed. He highlighted the importance of learning history which enables us to develop a better understanding of the world and helps avoid repeating the mistakes and misdeeds our ancestors have already committed. He pointed out that learning military history is the only mean to know about the conflicts in the past and at the present. Besides,



the military historical knowledge could sharpen our professional skills of how to prevent, wage and end a war smartly. He argued that the value of military history is hard to gauge.

28. In addition, he also mentioned that the study of military history is a kind of an examination of military conflicts, including the analysis of participating nations, technological advancements, and tactics used in battle, helps us learn why they took place and provides lessons to help prevent them from happening again. The most important part of the study of military history is applying lessons learned that helps us avoid past mistakes and precludes us from trying things that have not been proven by our experiences. He mentioned that in order to promote mutual understanding, enhance cooperation, interoperability, and explore new areas of cooperation in the future among AMS, it is crucial to understand, trust, and respect each other, and to study military history of AMS. He also mentioned that most of the outsiders have very few understandings on Tatmadaw, Myanmar Armed Forces, and many of their opinions on Tatmadaw are shaped by the frequently highlighted phrases of the world leading media. He suggested the need for comprehensive studies in military histories of the individual nations in order to understand the history of the nations they have passed, the way they think about their country and their standing within it.

#### **Malaysia**

**Presenter: Professor Dato' Dr BA Hamzah, Director, Centre for Defence and International Security Studies (CDiSS), National Defence University of Malaysia (NDUM)**

29. In his presentation, Professor Dato' Dr BA Hamzah stated that history is an accumulation of past knowledge that can guide the future. He made no distinction between military history and history in general. The former is a subset of the latter and it usually documents violence and destruction in wars and conflicts between nation states. In fact, the contemporary concept of nation state that provides the foundation of international relations, is a product of thirty-year of religious war in Europe, which ended with the Peace of Westphalia, concluded in 1648. AMS could trace the origin of the current concepts of state sovereignty, independence, sanctity of boundaries, territorial integrity, mediation between nations, and diplomacy in contemporary international relations to this Treaty.
30. One of the biggest challenges in today's regional security architecture is how to manage the US-Sino rivalry, the contest for primacy. Both sides are pushing the envelopes to their extremes that in the event a war were to break out between the two, the region will suffer the consequences of their folly. So, the challenge to us is to prevent a war between the two rival powers. There is a saying that when the elephants fight the grass suffers and when they make love the grass also suffers.
31. What the region can learn from history of wars - too many of them to remember - is peace matters more than war because the consequences of conflicts are far reaching. Secondly, neither war or the military can on



their own resolve the underlying political, economic, or social problems that in the first place cause the conflict. Hence, the idea that "if we want peace, prepare for war", is not a feasible consideration.

#### **SESSION IV: BUILDING ON MILITARY HISTORY TO STRENGTHEN COOPERATION AND CONFIDENCE AMONG ASEAN DEFENCE ESTABLISHMENTS**

##### **Republic of Indonesia**

**Presenter: Colonel Wayan Nuriada, Republic of Indonesia Defense University (RIDU)**

32. Colonel Wayan Nuriada stated that ASEAN has a long history in security collaboration in various issues, namely combatting terrorism, cooperation in disaster relief, conducting peacekeeping operations, and organising military medicine cooperation.
33. ASEAN needs to prioritize defence diplomacy and defence cooperation through information exchange activities within the framework of intelligent sharing, increase regional synergy through military joint operations, improve the ability of peacekeepers through training of trainers in carrying out conflict preventions more effectively.

##### **Malaysia**

**Presenter: Kol Nik Amir, Director of Defence Diplomacy, Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS)**

34. Kol Nik Amir mentioned that by and large, battles, wars and conflicts are part of the history of Southeast Asia. The region's military history should not be forgotten as it will enable us to understand further how conflict begins and ended and the various intersections during such period, namely, political, economic, society, and culture. ASEAN's present defence cooperation has been built upon past experiences. The cooperation between the Malaysian Armed Forces and the Royal Thai Army in the mid-70s was a testament of two countries working together to achieve certain objectives that benefits both parties. While facing security challenges, Malaysia applied the concept of Keselamatan dan Pembangunan (KESBAN) or security and development. This concept propelled Malaysia to become a developing nation, and the concept is still relevant today.
35. The Konfrontasi is an important part of the region's military history, ASEAN could not be established without the end of that 'undeclared war'. For the last 60 years, the defence establishment within ASEAN members had cooperated and collaborated in various engagements that benefited many parties. Therefore, Kol Nik Amir suggested that present generation must leave a history of ASEAN full of cooperation working towards peace and stability in the region. In doing so, the future generation will know that war or conflicts are not necessarily a prerequisite for peace.



### **Republic of the Philippines**

**Presenter: Brigadier General Edgardo C Palma PA, Chief of the Office for Strategic Studies and Strategy Management, Armed Forces of the Philippines**

36. Brigadier General Edgardo C Palma PA built on military history coincides with the military activities in the past, followed by bolstering defense capabilities and assessing the areas of improvement based on the experiences and best practices of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) in times of crises. Brigadier General Edgardo C Palma PA's presentation covered the highlights of AFP's response on three major events - Typhoon Haiyan in 2013, Marawi Siege in 2017, and COVID-19 Pandemic Response. These major events became an optimum source of strong foundation of the Philippines' armed forces. These events could somehow develop and improve military regional partnership in strengthening cooperation and confidence building by examining the different past experiences and best practices of military activities.
37. The presentation provided a hindsight of how these events could shape the alliance within regional level of ASEAN defence establishment and the significance of regional dialogues in creating channel for AMS to become fully aware of the non-traditional threats it could face in the future. Awareness from the military history could amplify the ability of ASEAN to possess defence capability measures.

### **Republic of Singapore**

**Presenter: Mr. Eddie Lim, Senior Fellow, and Head of Executive Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore**

38. In his presentation, Mr. Eddie Lim shared the role RSIS plays in the Professional Military Education (PME) of the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF). Mr. Lim introduced the Military Studies Programme (MSP), a component part of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) in RSIS, that is responsible for the education of the SAF officers in the areas of international relations, political science, and military history since 2011. He emphasised that the MSP ensures the current and relevant content of the military arts and sciences are shared with the officers as part of the professionalisation on the armed forces. Given the unique context of Singapore and the SAF, Mr. Lim highlighted how the MSP focuses on contextualised and comparative studies of historical events to ensure the SAF officers are ready for future operations. He underscored that the SAF officers' benefit from the lessons learnt by others, particularly in today's hybrid and grey zone environment of security concerns. Using one lesson taught in the SAF Officer Cadet School (OCS), Mr. Lim showed how military history is contextualised for the young SAF officers, and how this lesson fulfils multiple lesson objectives. He described how the Malayan Campaign, seen through the national education lens of Total Defence, showed that the SAF is an important component of national defence, but also that every Singaporean has a role to play in the defence of the nation, as seen through the 6 pillars of Total Defence.



39. Mr. Lim offered two recommendations. Firstly, NADI institutions could come together to share on how military history is taught in the individual ASEAN countries. Secondly, NADI institutions could come together in a seminar or conference, online or physically, when possible, to commemorate key events in military history, particularly if they are of common interest.

## **SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS**

40. During the presentation and discussion session, the workshop acknowledged that the understanding of military history is very important for the region to deepen trust and cooperation. History in general and military history in particular enables us to understand past events, both negatively and positively that AMS can use as lessons to inform and help avoid reoccurrences of mistakes and misdeeds of the past.
41. By reflecting on military history, the workshop sees that the role of military is not just an instrument of war, but also an important actor of peace and national identity building.
42. The presentations touched on the significant roles of armed forces in peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. In particular, the past participation of the armed forces of each AMS in regional and international peacekeeping missions as well as their role in maintaining stability and security, contributes to the government's approaches in dealing with traditional and non-traditional challenges such as mines and UXO clearance, HADR and COVID-19 responses.
43. The workshop highlighted the significance and values of defence cooperation in the region, and how military history of each AMS has contributed to the emergence of regional defence cooperation, such as the ADMM. The awareness of military history in the region can serve as a foundation for ASEAN to build on. The workshop also sees that to promote mutual understanding, enhance cooperation, interoperability, and explore new areas of cooperation in the future among AMS, it is crucial to have mutual understandings and respect, and to understand the military history of each AMS.
44. The workshop highlighted that history helps us understand the paradigm shifts and geopolitical situations, to better prepare ourselves to avoid actions that can be detrimental to peace and security in this region. The workshop also stressed the importance of ASEAN unity and centrality amidst the uncertain regional strategic environment.
45. The workshop also raised some challenges, including the negative aspects of nationalism that can arise from misinformation, and the challenges of major powers influence within the region.
46. The workshop highlighted the significance of utilising the 4th Industrial Revolution and technological advancements, as platforms for new and innovative ways to further enhance cooperation through the study of





military history. Furthermore, it is crucial to establish the study of military history 'side by side' with the history of ASEAN's diplomacy, to achieve a more comprehensive and peace-orientated approach to promote regional peace and security.

47. Overall, NADI delegates exchanged views on the value and role of military history and its significance in maintaining peace and security and how the study of military history can lead to new and innovative approaches towards enhancing cooperation as well as strengthening cooperation and confidence among ASEAN defence establishments.

#### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

48. The NADI workshop on "The Value and Role of Military History in Enhancing and Maintaining Peace, Security and Practical Cooperation in the Region" discussed numerous issues concerning the study of military history in the region, the contributions of the armed forces in promoting peace and safeguarding security, as well as regional military history as a foundation to enhance cooperation and confident building among AMS.
49. Based on the presentations and discussions, NADI participants recommended the following:
  - a. Encourage the study of military history through practical collaborative activities, such as establishing a network of ASEAN Military Museums, and the integrating and sharing of resources of AMS military libraries to enhance regional cooperation and broaden AMS's mutual understanding.
  - b. ADMM can establish platforms for dialogue and knowledge sharing on the role of the armed forces in peacebuilding to exchange best practices and lessons learned on conflict resolution, through seminars or conferences.
  - c. AMS should enhance the common appreciation of the rich diversity of military history in the region as a whole-of-ASEAN approach to deepen trust and confidence-building in the region.
  - d. AMS could come together to share on how military history is taught in the individual ASEAN countries to enhance professional military education in the region.
  - e. Encourage the conduct of activities under the framework of defence diplomacy such as defence dialogue, information sharing, workshops and seminars, institutional exchanges to enhance military history understandings and strengthen ASEAN's centrality.
  - f. The military history collaboration and joint research may focus on the relationship among AMS militaries in peacebuilding and civil-military relations in strengthening the foundation of peace.
  - g. Establish military history network to enrich common understanding regarding the value of regional military history for potential cooperation. Enhance ASEAN peacekeeping centre network (APCN) effort to provide guidance for the conduct of cooperation activities from the





lessons learned from military history through the cross-sharing of expertise and experiences on peacekeeping operation (PKO).

#### OTHER MATTERS

Date	Activities	Country	Via
15 – 17 November 2021	NADI Workshop: <i>Research and Development in the Region as a Momentum in Strengthening Defence Cooperation</i>	CSSRD-TNI, Indonesia	VTC
16 – 17 December 2021	NADI Workshop: <i>ASEAN Centrality in Era of Great Power Competition</i>	NDPC, Philippines	VTC
21 – 22 March 2022	15th NADI Annual Meeting / 7th NADI Retreat	GDPFA, Cambodia	VTC
26 - 27 April 2022	NADI Workshop: <i>Climate Change (TBC)</i>	SHHBIDSS, Brunei Darussalam	VTC
End of June 2022	NADI Workshop: TBC	SSC, Thailand	VTC
End of July 2022	NADI Workshop: <i>Strengthening ASEAN CBR Cooperation</i>	RSIS, Singapore	VTC
TBC	NADI Workshop: <i>Cyber Threat and Its Impacts to National and Regional Security in Southeast Asia</i>	RIDU, Indonesia	VTC/ Physical
November 2022	TBC	CSSRD-TNI, Indonesia	Physical

#### CONCLUSION

**Closing Remarks by the Chair of the NADI Workshop, Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey, Advisor to Samdech Pichey Sena TEA BANH, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence, Deputy Director-General of General Department of Policy and Foreign Affair (GDPFA), Director of Sena Techo Unit, Ministry of National Defence of Cambodia.**

50. In her concluding remarks, Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey expressed sincere appreciations for commitments of NADI members in their contribution towards the constructive discussion in this Workshop.
51. NADI congratulated GDPFA for hosting a substantive workshop that is a key contribution to the NADI milestone in ensuring sustainable peace and development in the region.



02

**NADI WORKSHOP  
ON  
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE REGION  
AS A MOMENTUM IN  
STRENGTHENING DEFENCE COOPERATION**

organised by  
Center for Strategic, Research and Development (CSSRD),  
Indonesia National Armed Forces (Tentara Nasional Indonesia /TNI),  
Republic of Indonesia  
15 -17 November 2021  
Via Videoconference





## 02

**RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE REGION AS A  
MOMENTUM IN STRENGTHENING DEFENCE  
COOPERATION****CHAIRMAN'S REPORT****INTRODUCTION**

1. The Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) Workshop on Research and Development as a Momentum in Strengthening Defence Cooperation in the Region was organised by Center for Strategic, Research and Development (CSSRD), Indonesia National Armed Forces (Tentara Nasional Indonesia /TNI), Republic of Indonesia. It was held at the Office of Center for Strategic Studies, Research and Development, Indonesia virtually on Monday, 15 November 2021 to Wednesday, 17 November 2021.
2. The representatives from Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Viet Nam attended the Workshop through virtual conference due to current COVID-19 pandemic restrictions. The list of the participants is at **Appendix I**. The workshop was chaired by Major General Jhonny Djamaris, S.IP., M.IP., Head of CSSRD TNI.

**Opening Remarks by the Chairman, Major General Jhonny Djamaris, S.IP., M.IP., Head of CSSRD TNI.**

3. In welcoming all NADI Head of Delegations (HODs) and delegations to the NADI Workshop, Major General Jhonny Djamaris, S.IP., M.IP. highlighted the importance to participate in the development of ASEAN Political and Security Community for the ASEAN Centrality; through focusing on research and development as crucial matter specially in the field of military.
4. He further admitted that although such topic would have made impression of sensitivity, however, it cannot be avoided if ASEAN wanted to form mutual community as one of the goals that drive NADI members, is to strengthen ASEAN centrality, in the face of great power presence in this region. He pointed out that to accomplish that, we need defence industrial independence, as important factor to prevent outside forces of intervention. Research and development are among the keys to achieve that.
5. He pointed out that the topic of research and development is not far from the bigger context, namely defence industrial cooperation, which have started with the establishment of ASEAN Defence Industrial Collaboration (ADIC) at the 5th ADMM meeting, 2011, in Jakarta. ADIC was established to drive interdependence among defence industry from ASEAN Member



States (AMS), with facilitating supply chain network for defence, industry. Nevertheless, ADIC still can't influence much on defence, industry independence, because of various reasons, one of things is the inequality of technology capabilities.

6. For the workshop, Major Genera Jhonny Djamaris, S.IP, M.IP hoped there will be dynamic, academic and explorative discussion, but with respect for each other, and emphasize, that togetherness and mutual trust are the main objectives of this workshop.

#### **ADOPTION OF AGENDA**

7. The Meeting adopted the agenda and the programme, which are attached as Appendix II and Appendix III respectively.

#### **Keynote Speech by Dr. Ir. Adhi Dharma Permana, Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology (Badan Pengkajian dan Penerapan Teknologi/ BPPT) Indonesia on Developing an approach in Joint R&D to support ASEAN Defence and Security Collaboration**

8. Dr. Ir. Adhi Dharma Permana highlighted that AMS have cooperated in the Defence Sector, namely engagements in the high-level meetings, namely ADMM, which has been established in 2007, and ADIC which has been established in 2011.
9. He emphasized the importance of the Defence Industries (DI) that is strategically vital to a nation, strategically, to secure the supply chain, alleviating arms/parts embargo and providing strength of the armed services. Economically, DI plays the role of spearheading, developing and supporting industries. Besides, it is used as a locomotive to advance the technology of other industrial sectors, create new industries and in the outcome of expansion, modernization and economic spin off. DI provides a stable platform to launch Self-reliance, Security, and Sustainability, which strives to maintain Sovereignty, while aimed at reducing imports, increasing intra-trade among AMS, creating stronger economic resilience.
10. In order to develop a joint Research, Development, Engineering, Operation Program, he proposed that it is important to formulate common interest towards a mutually shared goal/objective; establish a mechanism by which the parties involved can work together towards that shared goals or objectives, define a cooperation/collaboration towards working in a conducive environment, whether that be at the G to G, or B to B domain; and establish a consortium or cooperation for a specific joint R&D.

#### **Keynote Speech by Colonel Army Oktaheroe Ramsi, Directorate of Defence Strategy, Ministry of Defence, Republic of Indonesia, on Cooperation on research and development (R&D) among AMS dealing with current challenges in order to support Indonesian defence strategy**

11. Colonel Army Oktaheroe Ramsi highlighted the cooperation on R&D among AMS, dealing with the current challenges in order to support Indonesian defence strategy. He present Indonesia defence strategy and



explain the mechanism of Indonesia defence strategy which is related to total defence strategy orientation supported by Indonesia regulation, norms and values.

12. He brought the understanding of Indonesia Defence Strategy refer to Indonesia Strategic Culture which is certainly different with other countries strategic culture. In Indonesia, the defence and security of the state is undertaken through a total people's defence and security system with the Indonesian Military and the Indonesian National Police as the main elements of force, and the entire people as the supporting element. He emphasized the value of "people-centered" that places the importance of people at the heart of national defence; the value of "territorialbased" emphasizes the preparedness of a self-reliant territorial defence posture in accordance with the distinct features of each territory; while the value of "totality" underscores the integration and unity of efforts across all national defence components in defending the nation-state against any military, nonmilitary or hybrid threats.
13. He raised the questions in relation to five domains in which R&D in Indonesia - and AMS - is shaped by national and then regional policymaking, institutional norms, and the practices of system actors responding to those policies: first, the quality of research and development policy - how research and development as a national asset contributes to national development; and then reaching the regional commitment; second, Indonesia's research and development ecosystem, third, the role of research funding, ASEAN and its impact on research capacity; how domestic and international research networks, links between research institutions and industry; and research accountability to the public matter for research outcomes.
14. He then recommended, to develop and pilot a scheme to professionalize management of research within government research institutions and universities; to undertake a study of how research management has been professionalized in 2-3 comparison systems (i.e., Thailand, Vietnam, Singapore); to allocate some of the national and ASEAN research funding available for this purpose; to demonstrate that some of their institutional funding is being invested in effective research management; and to reduce the compliance burden on individual researchers and research teams.

#### **ROLE OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN STRENGTHENING DEFENCE TECHNOLOGY CAPABILITIES IN THE REGION**

##### **Malaysia**

**Presenter: Mr Wan Mustafa bin Wan Hanafi of Science and Technology Research Institute for Defence (STRIDE), Ministry of Defence, Malaysia**

15. Mr Wan Mustafa bin Wan Hanafi highlighted the fostering nation's self-reliance capability by local industry is prominent factor in supporting and sustaining defence capabilities during peacetime and conflict. The



development of Malaysian defence industry requires concerted efforts between R&D institutions and private sectors in order to stimulate and enhance defence ecosystem. Hence, the implementation of the whole-of-government and the whole-of-society approach as well as the willingness of all parties to collaborate in synergy is mooted.

16. To support this endeavor, Science and Technology Research Institute for Defence (STRIDE) has become the leading government research agency in formulating and implementing of defence science and technology research programmes for Ministry of Defence Malaysia. Besides R&D activities, STRIDE also providing technical services in a wide range of defence technology areas which include electronics, communications, surveillance, personal protective equipment, food, rations, chemical, biological, aeronautics, vehicular technologies, weapons, propulsion, ballistics; underwater technologies as well as aircraft accident investigations.
17. Considering the availability of the facilities, capabilities and expertise, STRIDE is looking forward to explore opportunities for potential defence science and technology collaborations with the ASEAN Member States, specifically in the areas of Tropical Testing and Chemical Security. STRIDE's Tropical Testing Centre (TTC) aims to be the reference centre on material profiles and provides various testing services on equipment and asset. STRIDE believes that such collaborative programs will mutually benefit all parties in supporting the effective operations of our troops and preserving of military assets.

## **Indonesia**

**Presenter: First Admiral Joni Sudianto, Director of Strategic Studies, CSSRD TNI, Republic of Indonesia**

18. First Admiral Joni Sudianto, highlighted that the role of R&D in strengthening defence technology in AMS is important to encourage the independence of the defence industry, in the midst of political challenges from great power in the region that have the potential to disrupt stability and security. The potential for cooperation between R&D among AMS already exists in ADIC, namely by creating interdependence among regional countries. Its potential has not been fully materialized due to the high competitive level of defence technology, as well as differences in interests among AMS. Research and development in the field of military technology is effective and efficient for AMS, where based on the form of threats that may be faced in the future, it is necessary to determine the concept of defence, as well as the type of strength and quality of defence capabilities that are able to ward off and overcome these threats appropriately.
19. Therefore, he recommended for a beneficial political policies of AMS through ADIC to support R&D in order to improve defence industry independence in ASEAN; improvement of the materialization of cooperation in ADIC, through the realization of mutual benefit and equal cooperation; adoption of technology by transfer of technology and transfer of knowledge



defence R&D technology from developed countries outside ASEAN, to accelerate the authorization of AMS; and realization of R&D cooperation in the field of military technology by observing the threats that may be faced in the future.

### **Myanmar**

**Presenter: Major General Myint Kyaw Tun, Deputy Chief of the Armed Forces Training (Strategic Studies), Office of the Chief of Armed Forces Training (OCAFT), Myanmar Armed Forces**

20. MG Myint Kyaw Tun in his presentation mentioned that defence and security research plays a vital role in building the capability and readiness needed to ensure the national security, and advanced technologies, coupled with highly trained personnel, are perceived as the sine qua non of a modern military. He mentioned that many countries have been spending a considerable share of their defence budgets on R&D activities. China is expected to be the leading country worldwide in terms of spending on research and development although the United States uses the largest amount of military expenditure in the world.
21. In addition, he also mentioned that cooperation among AMS in defence R&D is limited because of different defence R&D structures and governance arrangements within AMS. He hinted that defence research and development should usher in personnel and equipment innovations that can be used together by AMS, for both security and humanitarian assistance purposes. He also pointed out that rapid developments in artificial intelligence, autonomous and unmanned systems, digital infrastructure, networking and social media, and disinformation are profoundly altering the national security landscape. The major powers increasingly invest in R&D with the purpose of becoming extraordinary technological superpowers. He suggested that AMS should pay more attention to the role of research and development and cooperation among AMS in defence R&D.

### **Brunei Darussalam**

**Presenter: Mr Md Umair Akmal bin Hj Noor Ahsffian, Research Officer, Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Ministry of Defence, Brunei Darussalam**

22. Mr Umair Akmal identified key processes involved in R&D in defence that allows the military to deliver a robust, responsive and resource efficient armed forces by highlighting the role of its R&D units, the Defence Lines of Development (DLoDs), and its thematic requirements to ensure any procurement and acquisitions can contribute to the development of the country's assets and human performance and consequently meet the strategic objectives of the country. Further, with growing access to artificial intelligence and unmanned systems, as a country with a relatively small armed force, capitalising on these platforms would act as a force multiplier and allows Brunei Darussalam to better integrate its weapons systems and allows the learning of new technologies.



23. Therefore, as a way forward SHHBIDSS proposed the following recommendations for consideration:
- a) ASEAN-led forum on R&D to share best practices and undertake joint research projects. This can be accomplished through utilising and expanding existing platforms such as the ASEAN Defence Industry Collaboration (ADIC).
  - b) To promote technological information sharing and cooperation through dialogue and practical cooperation.
  - c) External partners to be identified and provide expert advice to R&D.

### **Singapore**

**Presenter: Mr Christopher Chen, Associate Research Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore**

24. Mr Christopher Chen underscored the research and development (R&D) efforts by Singapore's defence agencies in enhancing humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR) and COVID-19 pandemic responses. For example, collaboration between the Defence Science and Technology Agency and the Republic of Singapore Air Force had enhanced the capabilities of Singapore's next-generation A330 Multi-Role Tanker Transport in aeromedical operations and HADR missions. Meanwhile, R&D efforts by Singapore's defence agencies to assist in the national COVID-19 response included support for front-line operations, contributions towards developing COVID-19 treatments, and improving mass testing and contact tracing capabilities. These examples illustrated how defence research agencies could provide technological solutions to be used at the whole-of-government level and for the public good. Mr Chen also emphasised the importance of regional collaboration on proactive practices and pre-emptive strategies to deal with future pandemics or shocks. He indicated that the COVID-19 outbreak provided a unique opportunity to foster defence cooperation to deal with non-traditional security threats.
25. Mr Chen put forward the following recommendations to promote defence cooperation in R&D: (i) The ADMM could identify and share best practices and proven technological solutions from within and outside the region, to better equip defence establishments of ASEAN Member States (AMS) to support whole-of-government responses to pandemics and other health crises; (ii) The defence establishments of AMS could promote collaboration with academia and scientific communities to develop technological solutions for future non-traditional security challenges; (iii) The ADMM could identify future non-traditional security challenges to facilitate more proactive and collaborative R&D to tackle these issues. Further, the ADMM could work with other external partners to facilitate R&D on such issues.





## REGIONAL COUNTRIES IN SUPPORTING DEFENCE STRATEGY

### Indonesia

**Presenter: Prof. Dr. Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, M.A., Ph.D, Lecturer of the Defence Strategy Faculty, Republic of Indonesia Defense University (RIDU), Ministry of Defence of Indonesia.**

26. As has been stated previously, defence cooperation has a very crucial role in reducing the level of regional and international security uncertainties. Further, strengthening and expanding defence cooperations among AMS should also involve the engagement of any research and development institutions to further support defence strategy in dealing with multidimensional threats both in the national and regional context. Thus, this kind of cooperation should not only involve defence institution of the AMS, but it should also engage the participation of any Research and Development Institutions.
27. Success in empowering research and development institutions, increasing the joint research, exchange of students and lecturers, budget sharing and the creating pool of shared resources to deal with non-traditional security threats might become the best way for ASEAN to further anticipate a more complex security environment in the future. Arguably, the road ahead for ASEAN will be much tougher, but if ASEAN can show its cohesiveness and improve its centrality to the world, it can stand united against COVID 19 pandemic and any other possible conventional and non conventional threats, it can surely overcome the challenges and the uncertain future holds of ASEAN.

### Lao PDR

**Presenter: Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit, Director General of Military Science and History Department (MSHD), Ministry of National Defence of Lao PDR**

28. Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit stated that it is undeniable that ADMM is one of the top cooperation mechanisms within the framework of ASEAN Political-Security Community. Since the inception of ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) back in 2006, a number of documents: concept papers, SOPs, ToRs, Protocols, excluding Joint Declarations or Joint Statements have been adopted by ADMM and the areas of cooperation have embraced from the areas that exclusively for AMS such as HARD, defence industry, communications, education, counterterrorism, Cybersecurity, military education, border management, illegal and unregulated fishing just to name some, as well as the 7 areas of cooperation with the plus counties under the framework of ADMM-Plus EWGs, namely HARD, CT, MS, PKO, MM, CS and HMA. These cooperation mechanisms are based on two important documents of ASEAN Charter and ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint.
29. Therefore, the consideration of the possible areas of cooperation among AMS research and development institutions in supporting defence strategy should be in-line with the scopes and principles of the ASEAN Charter as



well as APSC Blueprint 2025 to ensure the feasibility of implementation and practicality of the initiative. Thus, the possible areas of cooperation shall ensure the promotion of trust and confidence within and among AMS. It is important to note that the sharing and exchanging views on the possible areas of cooperation are as important as the voice is heard by the concerned parties, especially ADMM. We, therefore, need to ensure that all the outcome of the NADI's handwork could be delivered to the concerned bodies in order to increase the possibility realisation of the suggestion.

### **Cambodia**

**Presenter: Major General Sophea Sam, Deputy Director of Department of ASEAN Affairs, General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs (GDPFA), Ministry of Defence, Cambodia**

30. Major General Sophea Sam started his presentation by providing a brief overview of Global Research and development (R&D) and its central role in advanced economies in areas such as economic development and job creation, industrial competitiveness, energy, agriculture, and defence sector, as well as expanding the frontiers of human knowledge understanding. He also stressed the strategic importance of R&D in the defence portfolio in developing military innovation, science and technology and capability, creating force multiplier and producing new combat concepts. In discussing ASEAN defence R&D, he noted the joint Research and Development concept under ASEAN Defence Industry Collaboration (ADIC) framework. He also highlighted some challenges that might prevent the advancement of joint Defence R&D, such as capacity gaps in defence innovation, science and technology, and engineering among AMS; different priorities in capabilities requirements, the sensitivity of technology and information transfer, and the allocation of budget to other priorities of different countries. In responding to how R&D cooperation supports defence strategy, he stated that such collaboration will:
  - a) Deepen trust and confidence-building in the region;
  - b) Provide a greater chance to AMS to develop indigenous technology capability with appropriate R&D budget;
  - c) Assist regional countries to achieve national defence strategic goal to become self-reliant or self-sufficiency in defence as well as enhance regional supply chain resilience; and
  - d) Enhance AMS defence capabilities and provide analytical solutions to address future challenges.
31. Major General Sophea Sam also provided some recommendations, as follows:
  - a) ASEAN should have some form of institutionalization for R&D cooperation. The motivation to cooperate is to address issues of common interests and urgent or critical issues, especially in HADR, climate change, and pandemics.
  - b) Cross-sectoral R&D collaboration within ASEAN should be encouraged to provide a systemic framework for the generation, diffusion and exploitation of knowledge in the region. Such cooperative platforms



and databases can be used by regional agencies and institutes to promote and exchange findings.

- c) ADMM/ADMM-Plus should enhance practical cooperation on Defence R&D. Under the ADMM-Plus cooperative framework, AMS can benefit from the knowledge and expert sharing of the Plus countries. However, ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (AOIP) must be a guiding principle for such cooperation.

### **Philippines**

**Presenter: BGen Archimedes H Viaje Afp (Ret), PhD, MNSA, CESE, President, National Defence College of the Philippines**

- 32. In his presentation, BGen Viaje discussed defence diplomacy in ASEAN through education and research. Noting that multilateral defence diplomacy in the Southeast Asia is led by ASEAN, he pointed out that the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) has a number of areas of cooperation, such as humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR), maritime security, peacekeeping operations, military medicine, counter-terrorism, logistics support, defence industry collaboration, interaction and communication, and cybersecurity. He discussed two major ADMM initiatives related to education and research: a) "Principles for ADMM Wide Education and Training Exchanges"; and b) "Concept Paper on Enhancing the Linkages Between the ADMM and NADI."
- 33. BGen Viaje also shared the experience of the NDCP in education and research collaboration. He noted that education and research are important in strategy development. In conclusion, he underscored how education and research can support peace and security efforts in the region. First, education and research promote understanding among the security officials of various countries. After all, the worldview of defence and military officials are shaped in part by educational institutions. Second, education and research serve as means of establishing networks with counterparts. With the opportunity to study abroad, military and defence officials can create channels for engaging their counterparts and, in the process, broaden their own perspectives. Third, education and research are important confidence-building measures. The goodwill generated through education and research may eventually spill over on other possible areas of cooperation. Indeed, education and research are important avenues to promote peace and stability. As the region faces a whole range of security challenges, all avenues that will promote cooperation between and among nations must be explored.

### **Thailand**

**Presenter: Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit, Director of Regional Studies Division, Strategic Studies Center (SSC), National Defence Studies Institute (NDSI), Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters (RTARF HQ)**

- 34. The Covid-19 pandemic exposed the vulnerabilities of the defence-industrial complex in super-powers and major-power states across the Indo-Pacific region. Trade tensions and technological competition between great powers also have disrupted global supply chains. The import-based



procurement model has not been immuned to this disruption. It is important to transit away from an import-based defence procurement using foreign manufacturers by building a resilient, indigenous defence industrial base. Various steps would be taken in this respect, including technology transfer to facilitate localized production and further research and development as well as supporting research and development and defence manufacturing through collaborative programs.

35. The Defence Technology Institute (DTI) is a research and development agency operating as a public organization under the oversight of the Thai Ministry of Defence. The main objective is to encourage systematic development of defence technologies, from the beginning of research to production and utilisation of the technologies and cooperate with other state and private sectors. DTI push forward all research and development of defence technologies and promote self-reliance of the defence industry in compliance with the government's policy through 1) jointly establish a legal entity for produce and sale purpose/ service or other purpose. 2) Co-Investment: business joining, share holding and partnership.
36. It is important for AMS to work together to increase ASEAN technology and industrial competitiveness in order to reduce dependencies in technologies from outside the region. In this regard, 1) ASEAN should analyze the common threats and work together to counteract these threats e.g., pandemic, climate change, HADR. 2) Finding the ASEAN's technological solutions for mitigating and resolving the threats. 3) Enhancing ASEAN Defence Industry Collaboration (ADIC) in dealing with those common threats. ADIC is a vehicle to make AMS more integrated through standardization of defence equipments which will lead to interoperability to counter those threats that disrupt the regional stability.

#### **Viet Nam**

**Presenter: Major Le Huu Hai, Researcher, Institute for Defense Strategy (IDS), Viet Nam.**

37. The Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) is putting the defence sector under revolutionary pressure for change, driven by technological developments, changes in modern warfare, increasing costs, economic restrictions as well as changes in the international political environment. The rapid development of emerging technologies means that not any individual country can successfully adapt and maintain the technical capability of the defence forces due to limitation of resources, such as: a highly skilled workforce, modern facilities, finance and logistic system. In addition, more restricted defence budgets make it increasingly difficult for any country to maintain, solely by themselves, the traditional range of technological capabilities that their armed forces are required to have. In order to cope with the new environment, retaining and developing overall capabilities, the defence sector needs to go through radical structural changes and more intensive international cooperation. Deepening international cooperation in R&D will be an irreversible trend to allow countries to maintain necessary defence capabilities.



38. International cooperation in R&D will help to form a platform for exchanging knowledge, new technologies as well as other resources, reduce the technological gap and provide the authorities with a better understanding about the impacts of 4IR on defence sector, facilitating the process of formulating capability building strategy of the defence forces. Cooperation in R&D will also allow small, developing countries to access advanced technologies and high quality military capabilities, saving on maintenance, repair, and overhaul cost through joint exercises and training. Enhancing R&D cooperation will foster an innovative and competitive defence industrial market; bring benefits in terms of growth, jobs and innovation to the industrial sector and bolster defence cooperation in the region. Moreover, cooperation in R&D can help countries to better prepare in dealing with non-traditional security issues such as: climate change, new emerging infectious diseases, cybercrime, disinformation, illegal migration, people smuggling, drug trafficking and transnational crime; facilitate the digital transformation process of the defence sector; and build a solidary community, promote peace and prosperity in the region.

### **SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS**

39. NADI delegates exchanged views on Research and Development as a Momentum in Strengthening Defence Cooperation in the Region:
- a) Acknowledged the importance of the principles of the ASEAN Charter and the APSC Blueprint 2025, to support the R&D cooperation.
  - b) Acknowledged that Indonesia has a total defence strategy. In this strategy, Indonesia involves many institutions to minimize the impact of any threats. The TNI has succeeded in overcoming the situation, including in dealing with the two waves of the pandemic that occurred in Indonesia.
  - c) Acknowledged and encouraged the exchange of students, officers, and lecturers among defence universities in AMS. These exchanges reflected the spirit of defence cooperation, particularly in defence R&D.
  - d) Recognised the value and importance of each delegations' presentation in R&D topics and the need for AMS to promote defence R&D cooperation, to fill the gap in technology capabilities, human and financial resources in AMS.
  - e) Acknowledged that there are challenges in building R&D independence in ASEAN, but we also acknowledged that there are differences in AMS R&D policies.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

40. NADI agreed the following recommendations for consideration of the ADMM:
- a) To foster national resilience by enhancing capacity in defence industry in supporting and sustaining defence capabilities during peacetime and conflict.
  - b) To promote ASEAN efforts on R&D through sharing best practices and undertaking joint research projects. Such cooperation, should be



flexible, nonbinding, and voluntary, could be based on existing platforms such as ADIC and initiatives of common interest in HADR, climate change, and pandemics. This could involve technological information sharing and cooperation.

- c) To improve collaboration with academia and scientific communities to develop technological solutions for future non-traditional security challenges.
- d) To promote joint research and new initiatives among AMS to help address the current COVID-19 pandemic.
- e) To promote cross-sectoral R&D collaboration within ASEAN to provide a systemic framework for the generation, diffusion, and exploitation of knowledge in the region by using cooperative platforms and databases by regional agencies and institutes to promote and exchange findings.
- f) To enhance practical cooperation on Defence R&D, under the ADMM-Plus cooperative framework, to benefit from the knowledge and expert sharing of the Plus countries, with the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (AOIP) as the guiding principle.

## OTHER MATTERS

### Future NADI Activities

41. The meeting noted the following future NADI activities:

Date	Activities	Country	Via
16 – 17 December 2021	NADI Workshop: <i>ASEAN Centrality in an Era of Great-Power Competition</i>	NDCP, Philippines	VTC
21 – 22 March 2022	15 <sup>th</sup> NADI Annual Meeting / 7 <sup>th</sup> NADI Retreat	GDPFA, Cambodia	VTC
27 - 28 April 2022	NADI Workshop: <i>Climate Change (TBC)</i>	SHHBIDSS, Brunei Darussalam	VTC
28 - 30 June 2022	NADI Workshop: <i>ASEAN Security Challenge in the Next Five Years (2023-2027)</i>	SSC, Thailand	VTC
End of July 2022	NADI Workshop: <i>Strengthening ASEAN CBR Cooperation</i>	RSIS, Singapore	VTC
Early September 2022	NADI Workshop: <i>Cyber Threat and Its Impacts to National and Regional Security in Southeast Asia</i>	RIDU, Indonesia	VTC/Physical
15 - 17 November 2022	NADI Workshop: <i>Strengthening Border Management Cooperation in the Region</i>	CSSRD TNI, Indonesia	Physical/VTC



## CONCLUDING REMARKS

**Closing Remarks by the Chair of the NADI Workshop, Major General Jhonny Djamaris, S.IP, M.IP, Head of Center for Strategic Studies, Research and Development (CSSRD), Indonesia National Armed Forces (Tentara Nasional Indonesia/ TNI).**

42. In his concluding remarks, Major General Jhonny Djamaris, S.IP, M.IP expressed sincere appreciations for the Dynamic, Academic, and Explorative Discussion. He congratulates all of NADI Members for their excellent presentations and inspiring discussion.



03

**NADI WORKSHOP  
ON  
ASEAN Centrality in an Era of Great-Power Competition**

organised by  
National Defence College of the Philippines (NDCP)  
16 -17 December 2021  
Via Videoconference







# 03

## ASEAN CENTRALITY IN AN ERA OF GREAT-POWER COMPETITION

### CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

#### INTRODUCTION

1. The Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) Workshop on "ASEAN Centrality in an Era of Great-Power Competition" was organised by the National Defense College of the Philippines (NDCP). It was held via videoconference on 16-17 December 2021.
2. The representatives from Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Viet Nam attended the Workshop. The list of the participants is at **Annex I**. The workshop was chaired by Brigadier General Archimedes H Viaje AFP (Ret), PhD, MNSA, CESE, President, NDCP.

#### **Welcome Remarks by Brigadier General Archimedes H Viaje AFP (Ret), PhD, MNSA, CESE, President, NDCP**

3. Noting that the pandemic has yet to end, as the virus continues to evolve with new, more infectious variants, Brigadier General Viaje pointed out that rapid change also characterises the evolving security environment. These developments include the formation of the Australia-United Kingdom-United States (AUKUS) security pact, the continuing advancement of the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN), as well as the maritime and territorial disputes in the South China Sea (SCS). In this context, the topic of the workshop, "ASEAN Centrality in an Era of Great-Power Competition," is very timely and relevant, given ongoing developments in the region's strategic milieu.
4. Brigadier General Viaje stressed that the region stands at a crossroad as great powers have begun to engage in an increasingly intense competition that spans economic, military, and even cultural, medical and scientific dimensions. Whilst competition is inevitable and may be beneficial in some cases, third parties such as ASEAN Member States (AMS) must be prepared to preserve their sovereignty and uphold their security. In this regard, the NADI is well positioned to discuss such issues. Founded in 2007, NADI was established as a "Track II think tank group to support the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM)." This track II character allows NADI to discuss defence and security issues that the ASEAN Summit and the



ADMM have raised, as well as fresh ideas and issues that are ahead of the curve, and can contribute to further enhancing ADMM and its cooperation with the external countries through the ADMM-Plus

#### **ADOPTION OF AGENDA**

5. The meeting adopted the agenda and the programme attached in Annex II and Annex III respectively.

#### **Session One: The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) and the International Rule of Law**

##### **Brunei Darussalam**

***Presentation by Muizzah binti Haji Harun, Research Officer, Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (SHHBIDSS), Ministry of Defence, Brunei Darussalam***

6. The presentation provided an overview of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), key historical strategic contexts which led to its establishment, as well as its evolvement. As a rules-based international organisation, the fundamental principles outlined in the TAC, such as mutual respect of all nations and non-interference, remains highly relevant for ASEAN in upholding the region's sovereignty, identity and centrality. The presenter also highlighted Brunei Darussalam's continued commitment towards advancing ASEAN's fundamental principles and in promoting international and regional engagement, since its membership into ASEAN in January 1984.
7. Under the ambit of the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM), Brunei Darussalam remains committed towards sustaining the momentum of defence cooperation amongst AMS and with its Plus partners, amidst challenges such as major power rivalry and the emergence of non-traditional security threats. For instance, the ASEAN Direct Communications Infrastructure (ADCI), spearheaded by Brunei Darussalam, aims at providing a communications platform during emergencies and crises. The hotline's expansion to Plus Countries in 2019, provides further opportunity for peaceful resolution and is key for the mitigation of potential disagreements and in resolving disputes. In moving forward, several recommendations were highlighted for consideration of the ADMM and NADI members:
  - a. Firstly, continue to advance and strengthen AMS and Plus Countries' commitment towards ASEAN values and principles, amidst great power rivalry in the region. Such efforts have been championed by AMS through various initiatives and documents, such as the Concept Paper on The ADMM's External Engagements.



- b. Secondly, to enhance opportunities for cross-sectoral collaboration, particularly for the use of confidence and security building measures (CSBMs) amongst AMS and Plus Countries. For instance, the ASEAN Direct Communications Infrastructure (ADI) may be an avenue to optimise information sharing and cooperation, and help promote trust, peaceful resolution and synergy.
- c. Lastly, for NADI Members to consider the development of activities on an ad-hoc basis, which engages think-tanks within and outside of ASEAN specialising on defence and strategic issues of importance to AMS, and particularly the ADMM. For example, as a follow-up of the NADI Workshop on "Emerging Technologies and its Impacts on Defence and Security", NADI members may consider conducting an event centred around identifying ASEAN-led mechanisms to enable AMS in overcoming national and regional technological disparities.

### **Indonesia**

**Presentation by Lt Col Aviation Engineering Novky Asmoro, ST, MSi (Han),**

**Lecturer of Defense Economics Study Program, Republic of Indonesia Defense University (RIDU)**

8. The proposed measures that can be submitted in increasing the effectiveness of ASEAN cooperation based on The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) principles should adapt to a new paradigm to deal with internal and external challenges of ASEAN. The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation should be able to become the main instrument of centrality, unity and solidarity in strengthening the existence of ASEAN and develop effective cooperation not only through information sharing but also to the intelligence exchange level.
9. There are several points that we can take into account on the development of ASEAN in the last fifty four years, such as the adoption of the TAC. The treaty has not only been widely recognised as a code of conduct and international law for interstate relations in Southeast Asia but also in the wider region. Moreover, the TAC has successfully prevented any major outbreak of open conflict and war in Southeast Asia in the last fifty four years. In addition, the TAC has also become the hallmark of ASEAN's existence, centrality and engagement amongst its members with the non-regional states in the world.

### **Singapore**

**Presentation by Dr Joel Ng, Research Fellow, Centre for Multilateralism Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore**

10. Dr Joel Ng described how ASEAN had developed the rule of law since the signing of the ASEAN Charter. He underscored that this organic process involved incrementally building on past precedents that included statements of values, the Charter, formal summit decisions, as well as other



treaties and agreements to ensure consensual participation and support for the rule of law. Dr Ng affirmed that this task was more challenging with external partners who had fewer commitments aside from ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, but a similar process was being attempted that had seen tangible results such as the ADMM-Plus adopting the Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea. Dr Ng stressed that the challenge now for ASEAN was that increased geostrategic competition would make external consent harder to obtain, whilst rival frameworks were emerging that would threaten ASEAN centrality.

11. ASEAN therefore needed to strengthen its own structures and institutions to promote the rule of law. Dr Ng recommended that: (i) AMS should consider ways to move from general statements to specific mechanisms to narrow the space for arbitrariness and ambiguity; (ii) The ADMM should persist in efforts to create regional norms, best practices, and codes of conduct to respond to emerging non-traditional security issues such as cybersecurity and artificial intelligence; and (iii) The ADMM should work towards strengthening implementation mechanisms so that best practices may develop.

#### **Session Two: ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) and Individual Country Relations with Major Powers**

##### **Indonesia**

***Presentation by Major General Jhonny Djamaris, S.I.P., M.I.P., Head, Center for Strategic Studies, Research and Development (CSSRD), Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI)***

12. Major General Jhonny Djamaris, S.I.P., M.I.P. highlighted that the rivalry between the United States and China has been deeply entrenched politically and economically, as well as defence and security, thus affecting the stability of ASEAN. In this regard, he pointed out the importance of using the views of the AMS' Chiefs of Armed Forces, for the importance of maintaining peace, security, stability, safety, and freedom of navigation in the region.
13. Therefore, he recommended minimising potential conflicts due to the competition for the influence of great powers in ASEAN by utilising relations with emerging powers to influence great powers; playing a transformative role through adaptive policies in addressing conflictual issues, not only in the calculation of profit and loss, but also on the consideration of cultural and historical factors; and responding to this competition, not only relying on a rationalistic-mechanistic approach such as dialogue at the regional level, but also through back-door diplomacy.



## Myanmar

**Presentation by Major General Myint Kyaw Tun, Deputy Chief of the Armed Forces Training (Strategic Studies), Office of the Chief of Armed Forces Training (OCAFT), Myanmar Armed Forces**

14. Major General Myint Kyaw Tun, in his presentation, mentioned that China proposed to upgrade its relations with ASEAN to “Comprehensive Strategic Partnership” as part of its Neighborhood Diplomacy, although South China Sea disputes between China and some AMS are not yet resolved. He also mentioned that the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) strategy of the United States and the activities of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) and the Australia-United Kingdom-United States (AUKUS) security partnership are believed to counterbalance China's growing power in the region. At the same time, some regional powers are also increasing engagement with the region through trade, investment, and deepening political and security ties. He raised his concern about Southeast Asia becoming a hotbed of strategic rivalry between major powers since they are trying to expand their influence in the region through various efforts. He also expressed his opinion that the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) is perceived to be an attempt to enhance ASEAN's community building process and to strengthen the existing ASEAN-led mechanisms.
15. He suggested that the ASEAN does not need to take sides and can overcome the current challenges by strengthening ASEAN centrality. He also expressed his doubt that major powers are manipulating ASEAN centrality. Moreover, he suggested that ASEAN should assert its role as a regional consensus-builder, and encourage building a multi-polar regional order to avoid undermining the value of ASEAN Centrality.

## Philippines

**Presentation by Mr Mico A Galang, Defense Research Officer II, Research and Special Studies Division, NDCP**

16. In his presentation, Mr Galang noted that the regional security environment is increasingly being defined by great power competition. Whilst ASEAN was founded during the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, the current geostrategic competition between Washington and Beijing is different in at least two ways. First, Washington and Beijing—as well as other countries in the region—are much more economically interdependent with each other. Second, with such economic interconnectedness, it is more difficult for most countries to have clear-cut strategic alignment, as many states did during the Cold War. He noted that for many years, ASEAN has been the driver of multilateral diplomacy in the region. The fact that major powers continue to engage and participate in ASEAN-led platforms suggest ASEAN's continued diplomatic role. However, the strategic milieu of the 1990s when ASEAN's centrality in multilateral



diplomacy began to emerge is different from the current geopolitical context. In this regard, the emergence of new platforms, like the Quad or AUKUS, that also aim to manage or address security challenges, could be seen as complementary rather than in competition with ASEAN. After discussing the risks and opportunities of great-power competition for Southeast Asia, he underscored that ASEAN's primary role is to manage the relations between and amongst its members. If ASEAN manages Southeast Asian relations well, great powers would have minimal opportunities to exploit the organisation's internal divisions. A more coherent and peaceful ASEAN will enhance the organization's agency, as well as that of its member-states.

17. In moving forward, Mr Galang pointed out that there is an imperative to bridge the development gap amongst AMS. Strengthening the capacity of AMS to address various security challenges is another key imperative. The ADMM-Wide Education and Training Exchanges (AETE) can be used in this regard. In both areas, ASEAN can leverage its long-standing relations with Dialogue Partners to advance security and development. There is also a need for ASEAN to enhance its current platforms and initiatives. Despite criticisms, ASEAN – the ADMM in particular – has adopted measures to help manage traditional security concerns, such as ASEAN Direct Communications Infrastructure (ADI), Guidelines for Maritime Interaction (GMI), and the Guidelines for Air Military Encounters (GAME). The implementation of the Concept Paper on the ADMM's External Engagements will reinforce ASEAN centrality in regional defense diplomacy. Moreover, there is also an imperative for ASEAN to continuously adapt to the evolving security environment, as well as to contemplate and help address emerging security concerns such as cybersecurity, and coercive actions which fall below the threshold of armed conflict.

#### **Thailand**

**Presentation by Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit, Director, Regional Studies Division, Strategic Studies Center (SSC), National Defence Studies Institute (NDSI), Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters (RTARF HQ)**

18. Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit stated that ASEAN was established in 1967 to protect the region from the great power competition during the Cold War, and prevent the region from being divided or engaging great powers. ASEAN has managed itself well in terms of intra-regional issues for decades. The concept of ASEAN centrality was then formalized in the ASEAN Charter which was adopted in 2007, and ratified by member states in 2008. According to the ASEAN Charter, one of the purposes of ASEAN is to maintain its centrality as the primary driving force in its relations and cooperation with external partners in a regional architecture that is transparent, open, and inclusive. Under the APSC Blueprint 2025, there is an emphasis on the importance of strengthening ASEAN unity, cohesiveness,



and centrality in shaping the evolving regional architecture built upon ASEAN-led mechanisms, as well as deepening the cooperation with dialogue partners and other external partners including the new potential ones. However, with the current changing global order and emerging tensions from major powers, particularly between the United States and China, ASEAN's role in the multilateral architecture has faced challenges, particularly from multilateralism driven by major powers rather than ASEAN and the proliferation of non-ASEAN-centric minilateral arrangements. The advent of US-led initiatives such as the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) strategy, the Quad, and AUKUS, underscore the fact that extra-regional powers are seeking minilateral options outside the multilateral framework led by ASEAN. On the other hand, China, whilst still participating in the ASEAN-led mechanism, has developed its own direction through Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI).

19. In conclusion, Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit recommended the following: a) ASEAN should be more cohesive and make sure that the pattern of great power rivalry is more cooperative than competitive; and b) ASEAN should take advantage and engage with think tanks to come up with new creative ideas to strengthen the effectiveness of ASEAN-led mechanisms.

## **Vietnam**

### ***Presentation by Colonel Hoang Van Canh, Researcher, Institute for Defence Strategy (IDS), Ministry of National Defence, Viet Nam***

20. Located in the central part of the Indo-Pacific, Southeast Asia is recognised as an important geostrategic area in the region. The ASEAN Community, after more than five years of foundation, is increasingly cohesive and constantly growing, becoming an indispensable factor in the region as well as in the strategies of major countries. Despite some shortcomings and limitations, the role of ASEAN centrality in regional security management through promoting dialogue and cooperation is undeniable. ASEAN-centric security cooperation mechanisms such as ADMM, ADMM-Plus, ARF, and EAS have increasingly proven effective and their influence has been beyond the region, attracting the attention and involvement of many countries as well as international organisations. ASEAN's status in relation with major countries is increasingly enhanced.
21. The international political and security environment in the region keeps changing rapidly and profoundly, bringing both opportunities and challenges to the consolidation and strengthening of the role of ASEAN centrality in the regional security architecture. In particular, the impact of competition amongst major powers may lead to the division and disunity within ASEAN, as well as increasing the risk of conflicts and arms race. The emergence of new cooperation mechanisms initiated by major powers such as Quad, AUKUS, and Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)





can potentially compete for influence with the central role of ASEAN. To further consolidate and strengthen its central role in the regional architecture, ASEAN needs to persistently build trust amongst its member states, strengthening internal solidarity and creating collective strength in addressing international issues. Intra-block cooperation should be maintained practically and effectively, promoting mutual development whilst proactively preventing and responding to traditional and non-traditional security risks in the region. Tackling relationships flexibly, especially those with great countries, ensures harmony with interests and common stance of ASEAN's principles, including ADMM's external engagements.

### Malaysia

*Presentation by Professor Dr BA Hamzah, Director, Centre for Defence and International Security Studies, National Defence University of Malaysia (NDUM)*

22. Prof Dr Hamzah chastised ASEAN's lack of centrality in managing regional security especially amongst the major powers. ASEAN centrality refers to the ability of the organisation to influence the behaviour of major powers not to undertake policies that could undermine or injure the interests of the AMS.
23. As the convener of regional security mechanisms, ASEAN encourages major powers to do its bidding. Whether in ASEAN-Plus Three (APT) that was formed in 1997, which includes China, Japan, and South Korea, the much-enlarged East Asia Summit (EAS) which held its first summit in 2005, or other ASEAN-led forum such as the ASEAN Regional Security Forum (ARF), ASEAN expects to set the agenda on regional security and in other regional economic forums including the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) and the connectivity infrastructure mechanism. Recent studies show that ASEAN centrality in these institutions has been on the decline.
24. The involvement of Quad and AUKUS has further complicated the geopolitical dynamics and balance of power in the region. With its domestic problems, ASEAN is no longer the preferred choice for Washington that seeks to engage Quad and AUKUS to challenge China, its rival in the region. Although the consequence of sidelining and bypassing ASEAN will not be immediate, it has taken a toll on ASEAN's centrality.

### Session Three: National Economic Interests and ASEAN Cooperation

#### Cambodia

*Presentation by Lieutenant Colonel Mel Kunpiseth, Deputy Chief of Office of Social Services, Department of Policy and Planning, General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs (GDPFA), Ministry of National Defense, Cambodia*

25. In his presentation, Lieutenant Colonel Mel Kunpiseth noted the emergence of new financial and economic initiatives and how these can contribute





to regional and international development and prosperity. In the context of the current development of Asia and its future needs, the formation of new economic and financial projects—such as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)—is considered timely and relevant. Moreover, these initiatives have somewhat complemented the existing international financial institutions such as World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) in fostering regional connectivity and economic development projects.

26. Lieutenant Colonel Mel Kunpiseth emphasised that whilst ASEAN engages in these economic and financial projects, ASEAN centrality and its leading role in regional economic architecture must be maintained. He suggested the following points to ensure ASEAN centrality amidst geopolitical competition:
  - a. ASEAN should strengthen its commitments to narrow the socio-economic disparity, to reduce poverty and socio-economic disparity amongst AMS and between ASEAN and the rest of the world. This can be done through the full and effective implementation of the Initiative for ASEAN Integrations (IAI) and its Work Plan.
  - b. The role and implementation of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) must be encouraged. In terms of strategic significance, RCEP is a major accomplishment for ASEAN since it signifies another significant step forward of regional integration in line with the ASEAN Economic Community. It also contributes to enhancing ASEAN centrality in regional frameworks and strengthening ASEAN cooperation with regional partners

#### **Lao PDR**

**Presentation by Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit, Director General, Military Science and History Department (MSHD), Ministry of National Defence,**

#### **Lao PDR**

27. Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit stated that the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic has severely affected most countries worldwide, especially in people's livelihood and economic development. Whilst many countries in the region are working towards economic recovery and resilience, the rivalry of major powers is testing ASEAN centrality whilst worsening its economic recovery and development.
28. In this regard, Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit suggested that in order to address the challenges of economic and trade competition, ASEAN should enhance comprehensive cooperation amongst its members and its dialogue partners in economy, trade and investment, and promote the realisation of the integration and connectivity mechanism to strengthen the national economic recovery under the ASEAN centrality for mutual



benefits. ASEAN Comprehensive Recovery Framework (ACRF), RCEP, the Master Plan for ASEAN Connectivity 2025 (MPAC 2025) are just a few examples of existing practical cooperation mechanisms that the region should take into account in order to strengthen the regional economy by integrating AMS and its dialogue partners. Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit also stressed that whilst connectivity plays an important role in supporting economic and investment cooperation, supply chains and regional and international financial institutional cooperation are also essential factors in driving the action plans, programs, projects, activities and other initiatives of ASEAN and its dialogue partners. Thus, ASEAN should also attach importance to the discussion and cooperation with all financial institutions which are interested in cooperating with ASEAN.

### **Malaysia**

**Presentation by Lt Col Dr Maimunah Omar, Assistant Director of Contemporary Security Study Centre, Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS), Ministry of Defence, Malaysia**

29. Increasingly, ASEAN is facing major power competition. The US rebalance to Asia, China's rise, and Japan's re-engagement with the region have the potential to weaken ASEAN's unity and solidarity due to their rivalry for influence in the region. With the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, it has also contributed to the change of economic transformation and growth of AMS. The impacts of this crisis are unthinkable extensive and severe. The rivalry between the powers could reshape the stability and economy of ASEAN. Therefore, ASEAN's unity and solidarity need to enable it to play the centrality role in the region.
30. To enhance ASEAN centrality, there is a need to think and understand collectively towards a common goal. Some initiatives that could be considered are contributing technical expertise and resources to assist ASEAN in building up its collective human and technical capacities, exchanging best practices and transparency, enhancing confidence, and capacity building. Apart from information exchange, it is critical to share experiences and lessons learned through seminars, workshops, or dialogues not only at a strategic level but also at various levels. In dealing with a regional power that could potentially disrupt regional stability, some mechanisms that ASEAN should look into are to deepen and strengthen its cooperation and connectivity amongst its members, strive to maintain ASEAN centrality in dealing with external powers, and avoid being drawn into major power rivalry that might undermine regional stability.
31. ASEAN can continue to be a central player in the region despite changes in the dynamics of major power rivalry and other issues. The challenge for ASEAN would be the management of external relations. If ASEAN cannot preserve its centrality, it would run the risk of becoming irrelevant and might



open possibilities for the external powers to steer the situation to their advantage.

### **SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS**

32. The participants discussed the need to uphold human rights in Southeast Asia. There should be no discrimination on the basis of race, language, or religion in furtherance of respecting diversity amongst the peoples of ASEAN. Some participants underscored that advancing human rights in the region can further strengthen ASEAN's stature in its relations with external countries.
33. In the context of the principle of non-interference enshrined in the ASEAN Charter, the participants also discussed backdoor diplomacy as one of mechanisms in addressing disputes in the region.
34. On the issue of ASEAN centrality, some participants noted that the concept, although not formally defined, refers to the organisation's efforts to be at the driver's seat of multilateral diplomacy in the region. Indeed, ASEAN is at the centre of regional mechanisms like ARF, EAS, and ADMM-Plus. Some participants pointed out that geopolitical competition has affected ASEAN centrality with the rise of other regional groupings like Quad and AUKUS. In this context, internal cohesion of ASEAN must be strengthened.
35. The participants also discussed how ASEAN should respond to the rise of AUKUS. Mindful of the different national interests of AMS, some participants raised that ASEAN could explore some form of coordinated response to the emergence of new regional platforms. Some participants noted that the emergence of new security architectures and the contestation of major powers could affect the balance of power in the region. In this regard, there is a need to adhere to the Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty (SEANWFZ), Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), and the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

### **Recommendations to the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM)**

36. The NADI Workshop on "ASEAN Centrality in an Era of Great-Power Competition" recommends the following for ADMM's consideration:
  - a. Strengthen relations and cooperation amongst AMS. Bridging the development gap, addressing disputes, and supporting capacity-building efforts can help promote ASEAN's internal coherence and stronger consensus on regional security issues. In this regard, the operationalisation of the ADMM- Wide Education and Training



Exchanges (AETE) could further achieve the goal of strengthening the capacities of AMS in addressing defense and security challenges.

- b. Advance ASEAN centrality by strengthening platforms of cooperation and implementation of initiatives. AMS can reinforce the commitment and engagement of external countries to mechanisms such as the ARF, APT, EAS, and ADMM-Plus, which are inclusive platforms for dialogue and cooperation. These arrangements can promote more specific cooperative efforts to narrow the space for arbitrariness and ambiguity. The ADMM, in particular, can sustain its efforts in implementing initiatives which are aimed to bolster ASEAN's central role in regional defense diplomacy, and to play a role in managing regional security concerns. Amongst others, these initiatives include the ASEAN Direct Communications Infrastructure (ADI), Guidelines for Maritime Interaction (GMI), Guidelines for Air Military Encounters (GAME), and the Concept Paper on the ADMM's External Engagements.
- c. Enhance the commitment of AMS and Plus Countries towards ASEAN's norms and principles, amidst the era of great-power competition. Cognisant of the need to uphold the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty (SEANWFZ), Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and the principles of the ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC), AMS should advance efforts to create regional norms, best practices, and codes of conduct to respond to a whole range of security challenges.
- d. Leverage the relations with Plus countries in order to advance cooperation on post-COVID-19 recovery efforts. As the region transitions into a new normal, collaboration amongst AMS and Plus countries is critical in shaping the trajectory of peace and prosperity after the pandemic. Mindful of the ASEAN Comprehensive Recovery Framework (ACRF), Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI), and the Master Plan for ASEAN Connectivity 2025, the Plus countries can also support the AMS efforts in addressing economic disparities and building capacity.
- e. Continue to explore emerging areas of defence cooperation including, but not limited to, cybersecurity, artificial intelligence, and coercive actions below the threshold of armed conflict.
- f. Consider, for NADI members, the development of activities on an ad-hoc basis and keeping ASEAN in the driver's seat, when we engage with think-tanks within and outside of ASEAN specialising on defence and strategic issues of importance.



## OTHER MATTERS

37. Brunei Darussalam provided updates on the NADI joint publication initiative on emerging technologies.

38. The participants discussed the NADI activities for the year 2022:

Date	Activities	Country	Via
21 - 23 March 2022	15th NADI Annual Meeting / 7th NADI Retreat	GDPFA, Cambodia	Physical / VTC
27 - 28 April 2022	NADI Workshop: Addressing Climate Change Holistically: Way Forward for Defence-Focused Contribution	SHHBIDSS, Brunei Darussalam	VTC
28 - 30 June 2022	NADI Workshop: ASEAN Security Challenges in the Next Five Years (2023-2027)	SSC, Thailand	VTC
19 - 21 July 2022	NADI Workshop: Strengthening ASEAN CBR Cooperation	RSIS, Singapore	VTC
Early September 2022	NADI Workshop: Cyber Threat and Its Impacts to National and Regional Security in Southeast Asia	RIDU, Indonesia	VTC / Physical
15 - 17 November 2022	NADI Workshop: Strengthening Border Management Cooperation in the Region	CSSRD TNI, Indonesia	Physical / VTC

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

**Closing Remarks by Brigadier General Archimedes H Viaje AFP (Ret), PhD, MNSA, CESE, President, NDCP**

39. In his remarks, Brigadier General Viaje congratulated the participants for the successful conduct of the NADI workshop. Although the issues discussed in the workshop may not be typical of the non-traditional security discussions, it is important that these issues be discussed because they are extremely relevant to the overall peace and security of the region.

40. The discussion of ASEAN's centrality is crucial, for it is a potential source of strength in helping Southeast Asia to navigate, if not manage, great-power competition in our region. Over the course of our workshop, the delegates discussed ways that this centrality could be strengthened, including economic cooperation within ASEAN, and continuing to operationalize the ASEAN Political Security Community. In closing, the NDCP President thanked all the delegates for their active participation in the NADI Workshop.



**CLOSING REMARKS by Mr Jolkipli Bin Haji Hidop, Acting Director, SHHBIDSS, Ministry of Defence, Brunei Darussalam**

41. Closing the remarks in his capacity as the NADI Chair 2021, Mr Jolkipli bin Haji Hidop first expressed condolences and sympathies to respective NADI colleagues and member states for the losses and devastation caused by the eruption of Mount Semeru in Indonesia, Typhoon Rai that hit the Philippines, and the COVID-19 pandemic across the region.
42. In partnership with RSIS as the NADI Secretariat, SHHBIDSS is reviewing the NADI Terms of Reference (TOR) and hopes to circulate the updated TOR to all NADI members before the 2022 NADI Annual Meeting. Mr Jolkipli bin Haji Hidop expressed hope that the updated TOR will be endorsed by all NADI members during the said meeting.
43. After commending the NDCP for successfully hosting the last NADI workshop for 2021, the SHHBIDSS Director noted the NADI members' unwavering commitment to achieve the objectives of NADI as a Track II platform, starting with the conduct of the 14th NADI Annual Meeting and followed by five (5) workshops through virtual mode under Brunei Darussalam's chairmanship.
44. After highlighting the various security issues and concerns raised during the NADI activities for 2021, Mr Jolkipli bin Haji Hidop expressed appreciation to all NADI members for supporting Brunei Darussalam's NADI chairmanship and looked forward to further enhancing cooperation under Cambodia's upcoming chairmanship.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

45. The delegates conveyed their appreciation for the excellent arrangements by the Philippines in chairing the NADI Workshop on "ASEAN Centrality in an Era of Great-Power Competition."



**04 - 05**

**15<sup>th</sup> NADI Annual Meeting  
and  
6<sup>th</sup> NADI Retreat**

organised by  
General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs (GDPFA)  
Ministry of National Defence, Kingdom of Cambodia

21 - 23 March 2022  
Via Videoconference





# 04

## 15<sup>th</sup> NADI ANNUAL MEETING

### CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

#### INTRODUCTION

1. The 15th Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (15th NADI) Annual Meeting was organised by General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs (GDPFA), Ministry of National Defence, Kingdom of Cambodia. It was held via videoconference on 21-22 March 2022.
2. The representatives from Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Viet Nam attended the Meeting. The list of the participants is at **Appendix I**. The meeting was chaired by Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey, Deputy Director-General of Policy and Foreign Affairs, Director of SENA TECHO Unit, Ministry of National Defence.

#### **Welcome Remarks by Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey, Deputy Director-General of Policy and Foreign Affairs and Director of SENA TECHO Unit, Ministry of National Defence**

3. In her welcoming remarks, she highlighted that NADI has continued to serve an essential role in bringing together policy analysts specializing in defence and security issues, academics researching in defense and security cooperation, and defense officials to address security cooperation concerns presented by the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM). In addition to the annual meeting and retreat, various workshops were also held on security issues that are posing challenges in the present and the foreseeable future, on both of transnational and non-traditional natures.
4. She highlighted that Track II NADI is a platform that provides suitable environment for the unfettered discussion of ASEAN defence and security cooperation. Track II thinks ahead of the curve and anticipates potential security challenges. She expressed high appreciations for the commitments and efforts of the NADI institutions, that have made tremendous progress, in addressing the challenges and tapping into potential contemporary security issues. She stated that as long as we muster our courage and strong solidarity, together we can tackle any challenges.

#### ADOPTION OF AGENDA

5. The meeting adopted the agenda and the programme attached in **Appendix II** and **Appendix III** respectively.





## SESSION I: EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH CAMBODIA ADSOM WG LEADER

6. The meeting had exchanges of views with ADSOM WG leader, Lieutenant General Lay Chenda, Deputy Director General of Policy and Foreign Affairs, Director of ASEAN Affairs Department, Ministry of National Defence. In his remarks, Lieutenant General Lay Chenda, acknowledged the important role of NADI in contributing to the ADMM process by thinking ahead of the curve and anticipating future security challenges, new ideas and recommendations for the ADMM's consideration. He also stated that the practical cooperation in the ASEAN defence sector has grown steadily in the areas of maritime security, cyber security, counter-terrorism, peacekeeping operations, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, military medicine, and the defence industry.
7. As Chair of ADMM 2022, under the theme "Solidarity for Harmonised Security", Cambodia sets out priorities to deepen ASEAN cooperation, which includes (1) Concept Paper on Enhancing Cooperation Amongst Defence Forces of ASEAN Member States (AMS) in Cross-Border Pandemic Containment; (2) Concept Paper on Enhancing Support Mechanism for ASEAN Women Peacekeepers; (3) Concept Paper on the Establishment of ASEAN Defence Educational Institutes' Collaborations; (4) Discussion Paper on Establishing a link between SEAMLEI and ADMM-Plus in the area of Maritime Security; and (5) Discussion Paper on Reflecting Military History to Promote Sustainable Peace. In addition, under its ADMM Chairmanship, Cambodia also focuses on strengthening ASEAN Centrality and ASEAN Unity for both regional mechanisms and external partner cooperation based on ASEAN Way and Principles stipulated in the ASEAN Charter, Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, and ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific.
8. Towards the end of his remarks, Lieutenant General Lay Chenda highlighted the challenges the region is currently facing. The development of a regional security environment such as the emergence of new security cooperation such as AUKUS, the revival of QUAD, the security situation development in Korean Peninsula, South China Sea, Myanmar, and Russia-Ukraine crisis indeed requires deliberation and further study from AMS, especially the ASEAN Defence and Security research institutions - such as NADI.

## SESSION II: ASSESSMENT ON THE PROGRESS AND ACHIEVEMENT OF NADI OVER THE PAST 15 YEARS

### Brunei Darussalam

***Presentation by Nor Azriah Binti DSS Haji Abdul Aziz, Research Officer, Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (SHHBIDSS), Ministry of Defence, Brunei Darussalam***

9. Ms Nor Azriah Binti DSS Haji Abdul Aziz provided an overview of the role of NADI. Over the years, NADI has made strides in its capacity as an ASEAN think tank group supporting ADMM. The concept paper on 'Enhancing the Linkages between the ADMM and NADI', adopted at the 11th ADMM,



which took place at Clark, the Philippines on 23 October 2017 is the most significant achievement for NADI as it institutionalises the formality of the modes of communication between the two platforms of Track I and Track II. The birth of the concept paper revolved around the need to harness the fullest potential of NADI, and that in order to do that, linkages between the ADMM and NADI have to be enhanced (improved) so that policy recommendations generated at NADI can be considered by the ADMM. Appropriately, this concept paper should serve as a benchmark for NADI members to regulate their standards. SHHBIDSS recommends looking into this particular concept paper to stock take whether the purpose and objectives have been attained.

10. As the only defence network between ASEAN countries, NADI is in a position to be the main Track II network of defence think tanks to support the ADMM. The upcoming fifteen-year anniversary of the NADI establishment is a significant milestone in itself as it continues to remain active in its activities and discussions. However, it is timely for NADI to look back and reconsider ways to better enhance its role and strengthen its contributions to the defence and security discourse. More importantly, it must ensure it remains relevant and become a more effective Track II network of think tanks for ASEAN and the ADMM in particular.

### **Cambodia**

#### ***Presentation by Lieutenant Colonel Suon Witu, Deputy Director of Policy and Planning Department, General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Defence***

11. In his presentation, Lieutenant Colonel Suon Witu highlighted that over the last 15 years, NADI has played significant roles as a forum to network, build confidence and familiarity among the ASEAN strategic think tanks. It has functioned as a forum for policy analysts to discuss issues of security cooperation that the ASEAN Summit and ASEAN Defence Ministers have raised, and a forum for participants to think beyond their governments' positions, and to provide timely ideas and relevant recommendations for Track I. Indeed, the evolution of global as well as regional security issues have presented the needs for strategic think tanks to project forward and to think ahead on contemporary security challenges, and how these issues can be addressed, in the efforts of maintaining peace and security within the region and promote cooperation among AMS. NADI has built closer relations with Track I, and has encouraged deeper cooperation and collaboration among NADI core institutions as well as partnering institutions. This also includes the presence of Track I officials in NADI annual meetings and workshops. It has also promoted confidence and better understanding to enhance cooperation among the militaries of the AMS in responding to non-traditional security (NTS) challenges and transnational issues (TI). In terms of the scope for studies and research, NADI has seen wider coverage of diverse topics. It is also important to note that traditional security issues



remain prevalent, and this requires NADI to conduct comprehensive studies and research on how these issues can be addressed.

12. NADI faces multiple challenges such as shortages of joint research and collaboration, and the lack of follow up mechanisms and collaboration with Track I. As such, it is recommended that NADI increases its joint research initiatives and collective recommendations. It is also crucial for NADI to increase communications with Track I and the mechanisms to follow up on given recommendations, to gauge the level of success, and better convey future recommendations. Moving forward, NADI must recall that Track II acts as an independent entity, free to research and recommend relevant ideas that NADI sees fit to present to Track I. Lastly, it is recommended that NADI increases the conduct of joint training courses, seminars, and forums in collaboration with Track I.

### **Indonesia**

***Brigadier General Dr. Erry Herman, M.P.A., Lecturer of Defence Strategy Faculty, Republic of Indonesia Defence University (RIDU)***

13. Assessment and evaluation commence from 2013 to 2021 or over 8 years period. The chairman's report has provided an positive input for ADMM forum. There are several topics, which can be assessed its effectiveness from 2013 to 2021. The average of effectiveness of NADI products is 78% which is considered moderate. The quality of of the next NADI activities and products can be improved by making a robust roadmap as a reference for NADI member to discuss current strategic issues. The roadmap can be developed wisely and it can sustain from year to year. It is necessary to establish a joint central research institution as a means to discuss current issues comprehensively.
14. There are several recommendations, as follow, establish a permanent NADI joint central think tank with expertise scholars in defense and security under the auspices of the NADI institution permanently in order to plan research road map, establishing an agency to analyze potential threats due to changes in the strategic environment. The goal of NADI think tank permanent institution are strengthening civil military scholars among NADI members, producing the variety of academic research, such as, journals, magazines, flyers, podcast, socializing all products at social media platforms for international readers and policy makers alike and submitting Policy Papers for ASEAN Defense Minister and it can also run Executive Education and Scholarship. Establish a NADI research institute consisting of experts from NADI member countries, so that they are able to discuss every topic raised in a comprehensive and in-depth manner and produce useful recommendations to be discussed in the ADMM forum and various stakeholder.



## **Lao PDR**

***Presentation by Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit, Director General of Military Science and History Department, Ministry of National Defence (MSHD),***

## **Lao PDR**

15. Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit highlighted that the regional and global environment has evolved in a complex and unpredictable manner. At the present, the region continues to face more complex traditional and non-traditional security challenges with increasing extent of severity. Given these challenges, it has caused world economic crisis which could be seen in the rise of inflation and the cost of living. The shortage of energy that is pushing up the global oil price is also adding up to the challenges to the global and regional security.
16. He also noted that the achievement and activities of the NADI throughout 15 years since its inception. NADI has grown to be a platform for integration and mutual trust between ASEAN defense research institutes and NADI has proven that it has become an intellectual institution to contribute and provide useful ideas on defense and security for ADMM. Moreover, he has mentioned about the traditional and non-traditional issues that will continue to pose the challenges to the region's security, especially on defense and economy. He sincerely hopes that NADI will continue to be a central forum for the exchange of views of the Intellectual Property Institutes, which dedicates all its capabilities and joint efforts, based on consultations, to find solutions and address security challenges for peace, stability and security of the ASEAN region.

## **SESSION III: IDENTIFYING EMERGING SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE NEXT 5 YEARS AND DIRECTION FOR FUTURE ADMM AND ADMM-PLUS COOPERATION**

## **Malaysia**

***Presentation by Mr. Noor Hisham bin Rosle, Acting Chief Executive, Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS), Ministry of Defence***

17. Mr. Noor Hisham bin Rosle stated that identifying emerging security challenges has always been both tricky and puzzling. We have to rely on visible signs and insights from renowned scholars to develop our judgements. Among the emerging issues are: the present Russia-Ukraine issue must not spill to other countries; further tension relations between China and Taiwan; possible aggression in the South China Sea; the emergence of proxy wars; and possibly more political groupings in the future.
18. ADMM and ADMM Plus should be able to withstand future tests. There is a need for the regional body to have an action plan for possible worst-case scenarios. Such a plan would guide the right course of action that should be undertaken if an inevitable event occurs.



## **Myanmar**

**Presentation by Major General Myint Kyaw Tun, Deputy Chief of Armed Forces Training (Strategic Studies), Office of the Chief of Armed Forces Training (OCAFT), Myanmar Armed Forces**

19. Major General Myint Kyaw Tun in his presentation mentioned that the COVID-19 pandemic is much more than a health crisis and it still poses threats to our regional security. He also highlighted climate change is affecting every country on every continent, disrupting national economies, affecting lives and it threatens people with food insecurity, water scarcity, flooding, infectious diseases, extreme heat, economic losses and displacement. He stressed that climate change is a threat we can no longer ignore and it is one of the most urgent and complex challenges. He also mentioned that terrorism, spread of infectious diseases, illegal migration, arms trafficking, drug trafficking, and human trafficking will remain as regional security challenges and threats in the next 5 years.
20. He expressed his concern that strategic situation in the region will become more complicated and potentially affect ASEAN's stance as a zone of neutrality since the powers are looking to expand their engagement with new and emerging partners throughout South and Southeast Asia. Power rivalries and complexities of interests continue to pose great challenges to regional stability, which also impacts ASEAN Centrality and Unity. He reminded that the ADMM-Plus is established as part of the ADMM and the ADMM-Plus should uphold ASEAN's principles. He suggested AMS should collectively weigh the benefits of engaging extra-regional countries and assessing the impact of power competition and the emergence of military-political alliance in the region whether they will affect the future role and centrality of ASEAN.

## **Philippines**

**Presentation by Brigadier General Edgardo C Palma PA (MNSA), Chief, Office for Strategic Studies and Strategy Management (OSSSM), Armed Forces of the Philippines.**

21. The coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19) teaches us that the hierarchy of global security threats is changing rapidly, and we are dealing with radically new enemies. That calls for a fundamental change in our security priorities. National security should no longer be defined solely by a country's military capabilities. Nuclear arms and other modern weapons are unable to combat pandemics, climate change, uncontrollable migration, and other challenges faced both by humanity as a whole and each country individually. There are many emerging security challenges in the next five years, namely: Cyber Threat (Visual Threat), Terrorism (Physical Threat), and future pandemics (Health Threat).



22. First, on cyber threats, the costly attack on several high profiles in 2021 and in 2022 such as on colonial pipeline, JBS, and other attacks on sovereign government and officials may result to an attack on regional armed forces that may breach sensitive information and files which will make the military vulnerable. Second, on terrorism, as stated by Professor Brahma Chellaney, a geostrategist, the recent blow from America' War on Terror may cause the rise of terrorist super-state and lay the foundation for a new caliphate or rule of a Muslim ruler sought by the late Al-Qaeda leader, Osama bin Laden and the hijackers who carried out the 9/11 attacks. Last, is on future pandemics where the presence of 1.4 million zoonotic viruses may jump into humans from time to time which may cause an increase of severity and frequency of infectious disease.
23. Based on the emerging threats of cyber, terrorism, and future pandemics in the next five years, direction for future cooperation for ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting (ADMM) and ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting (ADMM) plus should focus on (1) Information sharing and collaboration, (2) Joint Planning, (3) Joint Report, (4) Joint Workshop; and (5) Joint Training, which will equip the region with combined skills in dealing with these three threats.

#### **Indonesia**

***Presentation by First Admiral Joni Sudioanto, M.Tr.(Opsla), Director of Strategic Studies, Center for Strategic Studies, Research and Development of Tentara Nasional Indonesia (CSSRD TNI)***

24. First Admiral Joni Sudioanto, M.Tr.(Opsla), highlighted that changes in the dynamics of the global and regional strategic environment have direct implications for the response of each country in the Southeast Asian region in viewing the changes in the strategic environment, based on the estimation of threats, challenges, and risks in the implementation of national defence, so that the role of the NADI is needed. NADI should be able to support ADMM and ADMM Plus through identifying security challenges for the next 5 years, namely handling the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, energy scarcity, cyber-attacks, climate change, terrorism, issues of weapons of mass destruction, arms race, national borders and transnational crime. This becomes a guideline in determining the plan for the direction of cooperation for ADMM and ADMM-Plus.
25. It is recommended to continue to improve defense cooperation in the Southeast Asia region based on mutual understanding and trust, so that it is hoped that it will contribute to the development of defence capabilities in the region and as a forum for high-level dialogue among its member countries facing various challenges. security challenges and practical cooperation in several areas of expertise (Expert Working Groups/EWGs) in line with the identification of challenges in the field of defense and security in the next 5 years, namely: handling the impact of the covid-19 pandemic, energy scarcity, cyber-attacks, climate change, terrorism, issues weapons



of mass destruction, arms races and national borders and transnational crimes.

#### **SESSION IV: WAY FORWARD FOR NADI IN SUPPORT OF ASEAN DEFENCE COOPERATION**

##### **Philippines**

***Presentation by Brigadier General Archimedes H Viaje, AFP (Ret) PhD, MNSA, CESE, President, National Defense College of the Philippines (NDCP)***

26. In his presentation, Brigadier General Viaje underscored the significance of ASEAN defence diplomacy in an evolving security environment. The multiple frameworks for cooperation that were established under ADMM and ADMM-Plus as multilateral defence diplomacy platforms are considered as a key strength. Mindful of its accomplishments, Brigadier General Viaje noted that ASEAN defence diplomacy faces two challenges. First, there is a refocus towards traditional security issues in the Asia-Pacific region as a result of the great-power competition. As the long-standing focus of ADMM and ADMM-Plus is non-traditional security issues, these platforms may need to consider how to address emerging security challenges such as gray zone coercion and increasing armament and utilization of coast guard and paramilitary forces. Second, the growing Plus-one engagements and minilateral arrangements may challenge ADMM and ADMM-Plus as the main platforms for dialogue and cooperation on defence and security matters. Therefore, it is important that ASEAN defence diplomacy adapts to the evolving geostrategic environment.
27. Cognizant of ASEAN defence diplomacy's strength and challenges, Brigadier General Viaje put forward several recommendations. First, major power rivalries between or among ADMM and ADMM-Plus countries must be recognized and managed to ensure that key initiatives are pursued. Second, there is a need to strengthen ADMM and ADMM-Plus through the enhancement and review of previous agreements, including those concerning traditional security issues. This includes the ASEAN Direct Communications Infrastructure (ADI), the Guideline for Maritime Interaction (GMI), and the Guidelines for Air Military Encounters (GAME), among others. Third, it is important to promote the resilience of ASEAN defence diplomacy by addressing emerging security concerns. Fourth, the principles espoused by the Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (SEANWFZ) Treaty and the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) declaration must be advanced. Finally, the positive and complementary roles of minilateral arrangements in the future of ASEAN defence diplomacy must be explored. Brigadier General Viaje concluded his presentation by saying that NADI, as a Track II platform, has a unique privilege and opportunity to contribute to the attainment of peace, security, and stability in Southeast Asia.

##### **Malaysia**





**Presentation by Professor Dr Adam Leong Kok Wey, Director of Centre for Defence and International Security Studies (CDiSS), National Defence University of Malaysia (NDUM)**

28. Dr Adam Leong Kok Wey emphasized that the NADI institutions serve as an excellent network for academic research collaboration and joint knowledge-sharing sessions to build cohesive and resilient cooperative and collaborative measures. As NADI is constituted of various think-tanks among ASEAN members, the think-tanks can build two different strategic approaches to enhance academic research and building new knowledge on defence cooperation in the region. The two strategic approaches are: building research clusters among the NADI institutions with each research cluster focusing on particular research areas, and the setting up of an open access NADI Journal. By conducting joint research via these two strategic approaches, NADI institutions and their members will continue their research collaboration beyond official NADI meetings. The research topics can encompass issues such as the use of military power in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief operations, countering-nuclear-proliferation, countering-terrorism, anti-piracy, defence medicine, cyber security and other research areas.
29. These research activities will also involve researchers that are not taking part in the official NADI meetings building more comprehensive networking and peer-ship among NADI members. The joint research can be presented to wider audiences through webinars and virtual conferences (physical if Covid-19 pandemic conditions allow it). These knowledge sharing activities will be enhanced later with the publication of research findings through a proposed NADI journal. As NADI meetings are classified, academic research on non-classified areas via the research clusters can publish its findings and knowledge-sharing as well as policy recommendations via a neutral academic channel in the proposed NADI academic journal. This collaborative approach will enable NADI members to continue close interaction and cooperation beyond official NADI meetings, creating new network of knowledge, build new knowledge in an academic research setting, and make NADI a visible and reputable research institution via the proposed NADI Journal.

**Singapore**

**Presentation by Mr Henrick Tsjeng, Associate Research Fellow, Regional Security Architecture Programme, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore**

30. Mr Henrick Tsjeng highlighted how the Russia-Ukraine war, and the resulting humanitarian catastrophe, has sharply demonstrated the importance of peace and security throughout the world. Mr Tsjeng outlined how the war will have implications for Southeast Asia's peace and prosperity. He affirmed that ASEAN should maintain the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of ASEAN Member States (AMS), as well as the peaceful resolution of differences or disputes, as laid out in the Treaty





of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) and the ASEAN Charter. AMS should also be mindful, when dealing with extra-regional (including Plus) countries, to keep ASEAN in the driver's seat and maintain ASEAN unity and centrality at all times.

31. Turning to the South China Sea, Mr Tsjeng underscored the importance of maintaining existing confidence building measures (CBMs) and developing new ones as part of tension mitigation and conflict prevention efforts in Southeast Asia. One potential CBM that could be considered is one for coastguards, which Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea (CUES) does not cover. He also suggested that cross-sector collaboration between coastguards and navies could be strengthened. He underscored the importance of the continuation of ADMM-Plus maritime security exercises despite the mounting tensions between Russia and China on one hand, and the US on the other. In this regard, Mr Tsjeng also called on NADI members to consider the ramifications of the Russia-Ukraine war on the ADMM-Plus.
32. Mr Tsjeng made the following recommendations: (i) NADI should continue promoting the adherence of the principles of the TAC and the ASEAN Charter, both among AMS as well as with external countries, and in so doing, always ensure that ASEAN is in the driver's seat.; (ii) NADI could make further suggestions on how the ADMM and ADMM-Plus could practice the usage of CBMs in coordinated exercises, as well as new CBMs to manage tensions and prevent conflict, especially in flashpoints like the South China Sea; and (iii) NADI institutions could study the implications of the Russia-Ukraine war on ADMM-Plus cooperation.

#### **Thailand**

***Presentation by Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit, Director, Regional Studies Division, Strategic Studies Center (SSC), National Defence Studies Institute (NDSI), Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters (RTARF HQ)***

33. Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit mentioned that the current global and regional security environment have a rapid change, growing complexity, and critical uncertainty. Bringing various new security challenges to the world including the ASEAN region as the unprecedented challenge posed by the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID19) pandemic, power states competition and other non-traditional security threats such as threats from the climate crisis, technology advancement, etc. In dealing with rapid change and uncertainty, it is important to prepare for the unexpected by having multiple future possibilities and strategic foresight offers the means to do that.
34. The key for any unified or common response to any strategic development is to have a common threat perception. Moreover, a common threat perception is also important for cohesive and resilient ASEAN defence cooperation to achieve the vision of solidarity for harmonized security. To discuss, shared information and exchange views on common security



issues in the region are the ways to have a common threat perception that ASEAN defence cooperation activities can be prioritized. For example, the commitment and contribution of defence sectors to ASEAN's collective response to the COVID-19 pandemic, including through the ASEAN Centre of Military Medicine (ACMM), the Network of ASEAN Chemical, Biological and Radiological Defence Experts, and the ASEAN Military Medicine Conference (AMMC) as acknowledged by ASEAN during the 38th and 39th ASEAN Summits.

35. In order for the ASEAN defence track to build more cohesive and resilient cooperation in the vision of solidarity for harmonized security, Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit recommended that: 1) ADMM should have a common threat perception in order to respond to the threats collectively 2) NADI should support ADMM to have a common threat perception in (2.1) define the themes of NADI workshops together during NADI Annual Meeting each year. (2.2) During NADI workshops, NADI participants should be divided into groups for brainstorming and the results of the discussion represent groups' ideas. (3) Foresight could be used as alternative tool to identify plausible future security scenarios.

#### **Viet Nam**

**Presentation by Colonel Vu Cao Dinh, Deputy Director for International Studies Department, Institute for Defence Strategy (IDS), Ministry of National Defence (MOD)**

36. The year 2022 marks an important milestone in the history of the Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) as we are celebrating the 15th anniversary of the founding of NADI. It is the time that NADI has made concrete contribution to the strengthening of ASEAN defence cooperation through recommendations to the ASEAN Defence Senior Officials' Meeting (ADSOM) and the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) as well as policy recommendations to governments of ASEAN Member States (AMS). The foundation of NADI is a useful and timely supplement to the formal track I, ASEAN defence cooperation. Serving as a channel for exchange of ideas among scholars and experts in defence and security in the region, NADI meetings, workshops, and activities have always been a source of reliable information and proposals on innovative approaches to ASEAN defence cooperation, thereby contributing to increased defence cooperation within ADMM as well as with dialogue partners.
37. ASEAN defence cooperation is further expanded in many aspects and reaping more and more practical outcomes. In the time to come, NADI is to provide effective support for ASEAN defence cooperation. To do so requires NADI to bring into play its key role in studying, analysing, and forecasting risks to defence and security and proposing remedies to problems. It is necessary to improve the effectiveness of cooperation in researching and proposing solutions to tackle common security challenges in the region as well as in each country. The scope for cooperation should



not be narrowed to non-traditional security issues but may be widened to cover traditional security issues and geopolitical competition. Models of cooperation and collaboration should be diversified to include not only meetings, workshops but also joint research projects, exchange of finding of studies. It is necessary to enhance the linkage between NADI and the track I, increase the involvement of NADI representatives in track I activities. NADI may consider expansion of exchange and cooperation with defence, security research institutes of ASEAN dialogue partners. This does not necessarily broaden NADI, but cooperation between NADI and certain partners in specific fields and themes, at specific periods of time.

### Summary of Discussions

- a) The meeting acknowledged the important role of NADI as a forum for discussions providing policy analysis and recommendations in supporting for ASEAN Defence Track I and II Cooperation.
- b) The meeting noted the achievements of NADI in supporting the ADMM in the past 15 years. NADI has become a platform for integration and mutual trust among ASEAN Research institutions and in providing crucial inputs to support the ADMM.
- c) The meeting recognised that defence and security issues remain prevalent to regional peace and stability. As such, it is important for NADI to emphasise its research efforts into these issues.
- d) The meeting also discussed how NADI can enhance its analytical role in supporting the ADMM and ADMM-Plus framework. The meeting discussed the potential establishment of joint research endeavors. One way to do it is to consider the establishment of a joint central research institution. Another proposal is to consider establishing research clusters followed by a NADI journal with its own products and deliverables. Finally, it is also suggested that NADI members prepare 1500-word essays to be compiled by the host country based on a theme.
- e) NADI participants exchanged views on the Russia-Ukraine conflict and its impact on ASEAN and the region.

### Recommendations

- a) NADI should ensure that it remains relevant and become a more effective Track II network in support of the ADMM.
- b) NADI should conduct joint courses, seminars, and fora in collaboration with Track I in order to encourage a deeper understanding between Track I and Track II.
- c) The meeting recommended that the ADMM and ADMM-Plus framework should continue to focus on information sharing and collaboration, joint planning, joint reports, joint workshops, and joint training. This will enhance the capacity of AMS to deal with emerging issues.
- d) NADI should continue promoting the adherence to the principles of the TAC and the ASEAN Charter, both among AMS as well as with external countries. In addition, NADI could make further suggestions on how the



ADMM and ADMM-Plus could practice the usage of CBMs, through coordinated exercises to manage tensions and prevent conflict.

#### **Other Matters**

38. The meeting discussed NADI Term of Reference (TOR) and agreed on all proposals raised by NADI institutions. The final outcome of the TOR will be shared by the NADI secretariat in due course.

39. SHHBIDSS provided updates on the NADI joint publication initiative on emerging technologies. This joint publication is now in the final stage and will be ready for publication on the NADI website by the end of March.

40. Future NADI Activities

<b>Date</b>	<b>Activities</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Via</b>
TBC	NADI Workshop: Climate Change	SHHBIDSS, Brunei Darussalam	VTC
28 - 30 June 2022	NADI Workshop: ASEAN Security Challenges in the Next Five Years (2023-2027)	SSC, Thailand	VTC
19 - 21 July 2022	NADI Workshop: Strengthening ASEAN CBR Cooperation	RSIS, Singapore	VTC
5 - 7 September 2022	NADI Workshop: Cyber Threat and Its Impacts to National and Regional Security in Southeast Asia	RIDU, Indonesia	VTC / Physical
15 - 17 November 2022	NADI Workshop: Strengthening Border Management Cooperation in the Region	CSSRD TNI, Indonesia	Physical / VTC

#### **Concluding Remark**

**Closing Remarks by Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey, Deputy Director-General of Policy and Foreign Affairs and Director of SENA TECO Unit, Ministry of National Defence**

41. In her concluding remarks, Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey expressed sincere appreciations for commitments of NADI members in their contribution towards the constructive discussion in this annual meeting.

42. NADI participants congratulated GDPFA for an excellent arrangement of a productive and substantive NADI annual meeting, that is a key contribution to the NADI endeavors in supporting the ADMM in order to promote solidarity and harmony of the region.



## 05

6<sup>th</sup> NADI RETREAT

## “Exchange of Views on Defence and Security Outlook”

## CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

## INTRODUCTION

1. The 6th Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions Retreat (6th NADI Retreat) was organised by General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs (GDPFA), Ministry of National Defence, Kingdom of Cambodia. It was held via videoconference on 23 March 2022.
2. The representatives from Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Viet Nam attended the Meeting. The list of the participants is at **Appendix I**. The meeting was chaired by Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey, Advisor to Samdech Pichey Sena Tea Banh, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence, Deputy Director-General of Policy and Foreign Affairs, Director of SENA TECHO Unit, Ministry of National Defence.

**Welcome Remarks by Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey, Advisor to Samdech Pichey Sena Tea Banh, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence, Deputy Director-General of Policy and Foreign Affairs and Director of SENA TECHO Unit, Ministry of National Defence**

3. Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey began her remarks by welcoming and expressing her gratitude to all NADI members for their presence and commitment to sharing a frank and candid discussion in the Retreat. She also underlined the importance of peace, which is the pillar for development and prosperity of every society and that requires every nation to safeguard peace at all cost. While recognizing the impact of COVID-19 on human security and society, she emphasized the important role of the military in containing and mitigating the spread of the pandemic in the Cambodian community. She stressed that, under the direction of SAMDECHPICHEY SENA TEA BANH, RCAF had played an important leadership role in joining the Royal Government in the fight against COVID-19 to launch vaccination campaigns for Cambodians and foreigners legally residing across the country-especially within the red zones and high-risk transmissive areas.
4. Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey shared with all NADI delegates about Cambodia's experiences in peacebuilding and national reconciliation. Cambodia's peace-building and national reconciliation processes, particularly the Win-Win Policy of Samdech Prime Minister Hun Sen, came from within with national ownership in decision-making of peace solutions.



In a national reconciliation process, independence and self-determination are key to the success and are thus more valuable than anything else. The proof of the twenty years road to full peace accomplishment is shown by the construction of Win-Win Memorial for continuing to protect this peace and stability in Cambodia's society. Lastly, she highlighted that the Win-Win Memorial was built based on three mottos: (1) Gratitude, (2) Harmony, and (3) Participation.

**Keynote address by Dr Chheang Vannarith, President of the Asian Vision Institute (AVI)**

5. In his keynote address, Dr Chheang Vannarith proposed four points for consideration. Firstly, ASEAN must thrive to be at the core of the evolving regional architecture or order. ASEAN Centrality and Unity must be continuously promoted and earned, and respected by all dialogue partners, not only in words but also deeds. Secondly, we need to operationalise ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) and invite dialogue partners to align their engagement and partnership with ASEAN based on the principles and cooperation areas stipulated in the AOIP. Thirdly, under the framework of ADMM and ADMM Plus, international law and principles must be stressed, never tolerate "might is right", and work together to uphold rules-based international order. Lastly, Defence diplomacy and practical cooperation will need innovative ideas and approaches.
6. Dr Chheang Vannarith emphasized that ASEAN defence cooperation mechanism need be continuously strengthened amidst unfolding new World Order. ASEAN needs to find and secure its place in the complex and ambiguous international system. ASEAN should work toward building a resilient integrated deterrence strategy against future threats and risks. ASEAN must recognize that it is a medium size bloc and ASEAN neither has the capability nor the will to dominate others by force. ASEAN's power is normative and it is not given to ASEAN; ASEAN must earn it. As a result, ASEAN will need a smart strategy to achieve this goal. ASEAN must ensure its unity and solidarity as well as emphasizing ASEAN centrality when dealing with external power.

**ADOPTION OF AGENDA**

7. The meeting adopted the agenda and the programme attached in **Appendix II** and **Appendix III** respectively.

**EXCHANGE OF VIEWS**

8. NADI members discussed and exchanged views on the contemporary regional and international defence and security environment and how ASEAN defence establishments could enhance solidarity and togetherness in response to common challenges. The highlights of the discussions are as follows:
  - a. The change in the regional strategic environment coupled with great-power competition remains the huge challenges to the security of the



region. This has implications for ASEAN Centrality and unity in the evolving regional architecture.

- b. The COVID-19 pandemic remains a major threat. Thus, it is important that ASEAN enhance cooperation to deal with the socio-economic problems resulting from this pandemic. While the region has been striving to recover from this major disaster, the great-power rivalry has threatened to usher in an era of arms race and division within ASEAN which is certainly not in our interests.
- c. Regarding the interactions with plus countries, ensuring responsibility of respecting ASEAN neutrality, centrality and adherence to key document such as ASEAN charter is very important. ASEAN Centrality is a major principle which can help ASEAN to resolve or manage security challenges such as great-power rivalry and other emerging issues. Thus, ASEAN Centrality and leading role of ASEAN in regional architecture must be enhanced.
- d. While our region deals with the impact of traditional threats such as the Russia-Ukraine war and other conflicts outside the region, other emerging issues continue to plague regional and global security. This is occurring against the backdrop of the impacts by the COVID-19 which has been affecting the region for more than two years.
- e. The role of NADI is important as it meets frequently and its discussion agenda can go beyond the positions of the government. Thus, there is a need to enhance a closer link between NADI and Track 1 such as ADMM. ASEAN encourages joint research and bilateral discussion in order to try to find effective solution to the common security concerns.

### **Concluding Remarks**

- 9. Lieutenant General Nem Sowathey, Chair of the 6th NADI Retreat extended her appreciation and gratitude to all NADI delegates for the comprehensive and insightful discussions during the 6th NADI Retreat.
- 10. The delegates conveyed their appreciation for the excellent arrangements by the GDPFA in chairing the Track II 6th NADI Retreat.



06

**NADI WORKSHOP  
ON  
ADDRESSING CLIMATE CHANGE HOLISTICALLY: WAY FORWARD  
FOR DEFENCE-FOCUSED CONTRIBUTION**

organised by  
Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies  
(SHHBIDSS), Ministry of Defence, Brunei Darussalam  
17 - 18 May 2022  
Via Video-Teleconference







# 06

## ADDRESSING CLIMATE CHANGE HOLISTICALLY: WAY FORWARD FOR DEFENCE-FOCUSED CONTRIBUTION

### CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

#### INTRODUCTION

1. The Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) Workshop titled as “**Addressing Climate Change Holistically: Way Forward for Defence-Focused Contribution**” was organised by the Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (SHHBIDSS), Ministry of Defence, Brunei Darussalam. It was held virtually at SHHBIDSS, Brunei Darussalam from Tuesday, 17 May 2022 to Wednesday, 18 May 2022.
2. The representatives from Brunei Darussalam, Kingdom of Cambodia, Republic of Indonesia, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Republic of the Philippines, Republic of Singapore, Kingdom of Thailand and Socialist Republic of Viet Nam attended the workshop through virtual conference due to COVID-19 pandemic restrictions. The full list of the participants is attached as **Appendix I**. The meeting was chaired by Mr Abdul Malik Kamis, Acting Director of SHHBIDSS.

#### **Welcoming Remarks by the Chair of NADI Workshop, Mr Abdul Malik Kamis, Acting Director of SHHBIDSS, Ministry of Defence, Brunei Darussalam**

3. Mr Abdul Malik Kamis in his remarks underscored the significance of addressing climate change and working collectively towards mitigating its impacts as it has greatly affected the region. This subject is not a novelty for the members of NADI as it was once discussed during a NADI workshop by the Institute for Defence Strategy (IDS), Ministry of National Defence of Vietnam in 2019.
4. In advancing the climate change agenda in the region, there is a need to acknowledge how the impacts of climate change have affected the defence and military sector in many ways, first on the military's readiness and operations and secondly, in their roles as first responders in areas of Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR).

#### ADOPTION OF AGENDA

5. The workshop adopted the agenda and the programme, which are attached as **Appendix II** and **Appendix III** respectively.



## SESSION I: KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Delivered by: **Mr Ahmad Zaiemaddien bin Pehin Datu Lailaraja Major General (Retired) Dato Paduka Seri Haji Awang Halbi, Head of Brunei Climate Change Secretariat, Ministry of Development, Brunei Darussalam**

6. Mr Ahmad Zaiemaddien highlighted that climate change is a key issue that impacts everyday lives. 2018, 2019 and 2020 were observed as the warmest years since records began. On a global level, no reduction in emissions will result in a temperature increase of up to 4 degrees by the end of the century, and it is imperative that global temperature rise should be limited to 1.5 degrees. In such a scenario, food security will be compromised as droughts will aggressively impact agriculture and resilience of crops – placing people from vulnerable backgrounds further at risk. Further, the melting of polar ice caps will result in global sea level rise to at least 1.3 metres by 2100. Southeast Asia is particularly at risk to sea water intrusion as sea level rise is projected to rise faster than any other parts of the world – placing 450 million people living in coastlines at risk.
7. Brunei Darussalam has not been exempted from the impacts of climate change. Mean temperatures have been increasing in Brunei Darussalam at a rate of 0.25 degrees per decade and may reach 4 degrees by the end of the century. The country has also experienced an increase of rainfall and saw an upward trend in floods, forest fires, major landslides and strong winds.
8. The speaker further emphasised that as climate change continues to impact daily livelihoods, the effects will transcend to the defence sector and militaries. The strategic location of military bases will be at an immediate threat from sea-level rise. Additionally, as climate change alters the geo-strategic environment, it will further increase the complexity of forces engaged in conflicts especially in unfamiliar territories and unpredictable environments. As such, it is important to:
  - a) Ensure defence can operate under changing climate conditions through integration of climate-informed strategic planning and decision making;
  - b) Train and equip climate-ready forces to operate effectively in all anticipated climatic conditions;
  - c) Develop resilient and natural infrastructures necessary for successful mission-preparedness, military readiness, and operational success in rapidly changing conditions; and
  - d) Safeguard stability through supply chain resilience and innovation – ensuring uninterrupted access to key supplies, materials and services.

**SESSION II: CLIMATE CHANGE AND CHALLENGES FOR STABILITY****Brunei Darussalam**

Presenter: **Mr Muhammad Umair Akmal bin Haji Noor Ahsffian, Research Officer, SHHBIDSS, Ministry of Defence**

9. Mr Muhammad Umair Akmal presented that climate change is increasingly reshaping the geostrategic, operational and tactical environments with significant implications for security and defence. The threats of the modern world made worse by rising seas, extreme weather and creeping desertification, will almost certainly affect geo-politics and can lead to more conflict. Existing hotspots such as the South China Sea may see a change in its security landscape through fishing and an influx in foreign vessels such as by China's pseudo-military instruments. Further, a new frontier in the Arctic may also pose a threat to the international world order as countries strive for control over new trade routes and untapped natural resources. As such, the defence and security sector will have to adopt new political and security measures to ensure it stays on top of operational readiness.
10. The Southeast Asian region will not be exempted from the effects of climate change especially as it is located directly along the equator and will be most susceptible to climate change. More importantly, it will be vulnerable to sea level rise. In a scenario where the world exceeds climate targets beyond 1.5 degrees, the region may see further inundation of at least 79 million of its population and estimates from the International Monetary Fund and the ASEAN Central Bank predicts that climate change could further decrease Southeast Asia's overall GDP by over 11 per cent. As such, it is necessary for ASEAN to invest in measures to limit its impact to climate change. This can be undertaken through the adoption of new technologies, the 'greenification' of the armed forces and switching to a more alternative energy source.

**Republic of Indonesia**

Presenter: **Major General Jhonny Djamaris, S. IP, M. IP, Head of Center for Strategic Studies, Research and Development of Tentara Nasional Indonesia (CSSRD-TNI)**

11. Major General Jhonny Djamaris highlighted that the effects of climate change on the challenges for regional stability lies in the climate change adaptation framework, which is inseparable from the aspect of political interest in the climate change adaptation policy-making mechanism. Therefore, ASEAN member states (AMS) need to act immediately to implement the decarbonisation programme, including by providing greater funding. In addition, it also establishes a carbon market boundary programme with high standards combined with technology. Thus, ASEAN must immediately reduce carbon emissions.
12. Therefore, the presenter recommended that ASEAN needs to:



- a) Commit to the ASEAN taxonomy for sustainable finance. The ASEAN taxonomy emphasises all the AMS finance sustainable economic activities, as well as represents the collective commitment of ASEAN states towards the transition to a sustainable region;
- b) Promotes green energy programmes such as encouraging new renewable energy projects in ASEAN, mass tree planting and reducing plastic consumption;
- c) Strengthen AMS military and civil cooperation for disaster relief management that caused by climate change;

### **Malaysia**

Presenter: ***Lieutenant Colonel Dr Maimunah binti Omar, Assistant Director Contemporary Security, Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS)***

- 13. Lieutenant Colonel Dr Maimunah underscored climate change as one of the greatest threats to long-term regional stability in Southeast Asia. It is estimated that by 2050, daily high tides will flood some areas where over 48 million people in Southeast Asia now live, while predicted average annual flood levels would inundate the homes of over 79 million people. At the same time, the direct threats of sea-level rise and superstorms will compound food and water insecurity throughout the region. All of these impacts, which will disproportionately affect the communities, will contribute to political instability and damage local and national economies and also pose a threat to human security
- 14. For future improvement on our action regarding climate change, MiDAS proposed three main elements as follows:
  - a) Establishing climate change research team-utilising science and technology institutions;
  - b) Sharing of information between experts through seminars, forums and others;
  - c) Activating and strengthening ASEAN cooperation on climate change that is guided by ASEAN socio-cultural community (ASCC) Blueprint 2025 and others (environmental sustainability issues). Under this umbrella, ASEAN could strengthen cooperation on environmental protection with a more integrated and directed approach such as utilising technologies, focus on awareness promotion and improve the understanding of climate change, review and revisit some of the policies if needing new inputs and/ or amendments, enhanced coordinated community engagement, and monitor and evaluate the output of its implementation.

### **Republic of the Union of Myanmar**

Presenter: ***Major General Myint Kyaw Tun, Deputy Chief of the Armed Forces Training (Strategic Studies), Office of the Chief of Armed Forces Training (OCAFT), Myanmar Armed Forces***

- 15. Major General Myint Kyaw Tun mentioned that greenhouse gas emissions are more than 50 per cent higher than in 1990, global average temperature has increased, and global warming is causing long-lasting



changes to the climate system. There is an urgency in focusing on, not only human-induced climate change but also in addressing the impacts of this climate variability on the global populations, especially millions of vulnerable people that will be directly or indirectly affected. He also noted that climate change worsens existing social, economic and environmental risks that can fuel unrest and potentially result in conflict.

16. He further highlighted that competition for access to essential natural resources such as water and arable land, which will be constrained in some regions due to climate change, can lead to instability and even violent conflicts. The increased insecurity of people who rely on natural resources for their livelihood is likely to induce climate related migration. He also mentioned that climate change will reduce grazing land, dry up water resources, and threaten jobs connected to climate-sensitive economic sectors, which could also push people to turn to illegal sources of income. Climate change alters the world's physical and geopolitical landscapes. He stated that the risks of conflict and instability will increase, and become more difficult to manage if governments are unable to mitigate climate change.

#### **Republic of the Philippines**

Presenter: ***Brigadier General Edgardo C Palma PA (MNSA), Chief, Office for Strategic Studies and Strategy Management (OSSSM), Armed Forces of the Philippines, Department of National Defense***

17. Brigadier General Edgardo C Palma PA's presentation was divided into four parts: The first part revolved around the role of climate change in politics in three different time frames. In the past, the impacts of climate change had resulted to political upheavals and the collapse of empires and civilisations; whereas in the present climate change has led to severe catastrophic natural events and brought about social and environmental implications; and in the future will likely bring endless natural disaster events and mass displacement of people. Here, the role of Kyoto Protocol is crucial in establishing an environmental mitigating policy. Next, the presenter emphasised how climate change has affected several sectors in the Philippines such as the sectors of water resources, energy, coastal ecosystems, urban infrastructures, and human health. These sectors are supported under the Philippine Development Plan for 2017-2022 and participation to various international initiatives such as the Paris Agreement.
18. In the third part of the presentation, he further underscored how climate-induced crisis affects societal stability on three areas of focus. First is food security, where malnutrition and increase in food prices will have an effect to the poorest and most vulnerable of people. Second is the issue on water security, where extreme drought may cause water scarcity and water resource conflict that will likely affect global migration. Final emphasis was placed on emergency response security, where the absence of a super coordinating body, lack of information sharing protocols, and absence of communication platform will lead to further institutional problems. For the



final part, as part of the recommendations, for food security there is a need to update the ASEAN Integrated Food Security framework, sustain agriculture and food cooperation, and operationalise climate change responses to ensure food security. As for water security, there is a need to pursue effective disaster governance, engage in more participatory dialogue, and prepare regional contingency plans. Lastly, to address emergency response security, there is a need to ensure a comprehensive and robust disaster management and emergency response system, strengthen partnership and innovation with counterparts, and forge strong relationships with international community.

### SESSION III: CLIMATE CHANGE AND ITS IMPACT TO DEFENCE AND SECURITY

#### Republic of Indonesia

Presenter: **Colonel Engineer Helda Eisman, M. Han., CIQaR, Secretary of Total War Strategy Study Program, Defense Strategy Faculty, Republic of Indonesia of Defence University (RIDU)**

19. Colonel Engineer Helda Eisman stated that the climate change impact on the military can be seen in two main aspects, through military planning and military asset management. From the planning aspect, climate change has increased the defence budget to anticipate (mitigation and adaptation) that climate change impacts war and other than war military operation. While from the military asset management aspect, the impact has disrupted the function of military assets, such as infrastructures, equipment, and facilities.
20. To respond to the phenomenon, the military needs to have some efforts at the policy, strategy, and operational levels to achieve desired future military capabilities. Due to the climate change characteristics transcending beyond state boundaries, there will be a need for multilateral cooperation to minimise the impacts of climate change to military institutions. The multilateral framework can be reached by cooperation in research, training and education, joint operations, and strengthening defence diplomacy.

#### Malaysia

Presenter: **Lieutenant General (Retired) Dato·Fadzil Bin Mokhtar, Teaching Fellow at Centre for Defence and International Security Studies (CDISS), National Defence University of Malaysia (NDUM)**

21. Lieutenant General (Retired) Dato·Fadzil highlighted that climate change poses two types of impacts to the military. Firstly, its impact on the readiness and operations as climate change will take a toll on military bases, installations, personnel and equipment. Coastal military bases and those located in low lying areas inland will be prone to flooding as the sea level rises – damaging military real estate, assets and infrastructure. Flooding can also damage critical civilian infrastructure supporting those bases, disrupting military activities and hindering the rapid mobilisation of resources from those areas. Rising temperature, on the other hand, can



undermine the health and fitness of troops, making it challenging for field training and degrading readiness for mission performance. Extreme heat can similarly affect the functioning of weapons platforms and other mechanical/electronic equipment, placing burdens on logistical capacity and subjecting the operational life of those systems to greater stress. Secondly, climate change will see a demand for the military to be the first responders in natural disasters, and the increase in the frequency of such events will place more pressure on the military, hastening the wear and tear of critical military assets and degrading the military's ability to maintain a high combat readiness.

22. The impact of climate change on military readiness and operations might be slow and gradual, necessitating detailed scientific studies for the formulation of mitigation and adaptation measures. Meanwhile, the military should focus on reducing its carbon and ecological footprint. This may include changing the energy source of military bases and installations, or reducing consumption of electricity and natural resources. Further, the reduction of the environmental footprint of future systems must be given priority, the easiest of which is by switching to an electric non-tactical vehicle fleet. For tactical vehicles and other primary platforms, efforts must be exerted to achieve fuel efficiency and to source for alternative fuels. Although options for naval assets are limited, biofuels and alternative propulsion systems, that are already experimented, should be seriously considered. For military aircraft, energy-optimisation initiatives can be implemented to reduce fuel consumption and fuel waste pending the introduction of alternative fuels. Further, alternative energy, that is already available in the market, can be used for autonomous devices, electronics and sensor networks. In other ways, the use of simulation for military training should be emphasised to reduce consumption of fossil fuels. The prospects for reducing its environmental footprint are enormous, but there is currently a lack of pressure for the military to measure its carbon emissions. Environmental considerations must therefore be incorporated into military planning to promote awareness and inducing behavioural change amongst military personnel. Still, another biggest challenge facing the military in its efforts to adapt to, and mitigate the impact of, climate change is budgetary constraints.

### **Socialist Republic of Viet Nam**

Presenter: **Colonel Vu Cao Dinh, Deputy Director of International Studies**

**Department, Institute for Defence Strategy (IDS), Ministry of National Defence**

23. Colonel Vu Cao Dinh stated that climate change is exerting an adverse influence on the defence and security of many nations and regions around the world. It increases the risk of war and armed conflict by exacerbating competition for scarce resources such as land, water, and minerals triggering social, political, and economic unrest. The impacts of climate





change, most notably extreme weather conditions, sea level rise, and climate induced migration may cause many difficulties and challenges for the build-up and mobilisation of defence capability (people and assets) to deal with defence and military situations, should they arise.

24. To mitigate impacts of climate change on defence and security, it requires countries to adopt holistic measures synchronously, such as:
  - a) By carrying out propagation and education to raise awareness and responsibility of ministries, localities, and people to cope with impacts of climate change;
  - b) By enhancing the effectiveness of research, prediction, and development of plans to cope with challenges posed by climate change to defence and security;
  - c) By leveraging the role of militaries and armed forces in responding to climate change;
  - d) Promoting international cooperation in coping with climate change.

**Republic of Singapore**

Presenter: **Ms S. Nanthini, Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief**

**Programme, Senior Analyst, Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, S.**

**Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University**

25. Ms S. Nanthini gave an overview of the increases in the frequency and intensity of extreme weather and the impacts of climate change in Southeast Asia, as temperatures and sea levels continue to rise. By highlighting the status of climate change as both a direct security threat in the form of natural hazards as well as a "threat multiplier" that exacerbates the underlying political, social and economic conditions behind instability, she showed that militaries are likely to face more pressure to develop and enhance their HADR capabilities while also maintaining traditional defence capabilities. Ms Nanthini then described the implications of climate change on militaries including potential deployments into new climate scenarios, interrupted military operations and the danger to military bases. Militaries in ASEAN therefore need to regard themselves as agents of change in order to prepare for the new climate landscape.
26. Ms Nanthini recommended that:
  - a) Militaries should 'go green' by incorporating climate change considerations into defence planning, capability development, and civil preparedness and exercises allowing them to significantly reduce greenhouse gas emissions arising from their activities and installations;
  - b) ASEAN militaries could plan for the future by creating scenario-based planning to assess military readiness and eventually, integrate climate security into national security strategies;
  - c) ASEAN militaries should broaden the mandate of the region's platforms for multilateral defence cooperation, ADMM and ADMM-Plus, to include climate security, within the Experts' Working Group on HADR.





Such efforts could adopt a human security perspective to enhance current efforts in developing a framework for climate disaster response. Track I and/or Track II could also organise workshops or seminars for further discussion on this issue.

#### **SESSION IV: WAY FORWARD: AMS DEFENCE SECTOR COLLABORATION ON CLIMATE CHANGE**

##### **Kingdom of Cambodia**

Presenter: **Captain Cheng Sereyvireak, Deputy Chief Secretariat, Sena Techo Unit, General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Nation Defence, General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs (GDPFA), Ministry of National Defense**

27. Captain Cheng Sereyvireak stated that the world is enduring a process of profound changes. Traditional and non-traditional threats coupling with the turn of a new industrial evolution, exist alongside the issues of climate change that are of concern worldwide. Climate change is having irrevocable and devastating effects on humanity, bringing challenges that are just on the corner, if not already here. "Climate change has emerged as one of the most serious threats to humanity and a top priority for global concern in the twenty-first century." He also expressed the concern about climate change because it is the military's responsibility to confront all credible risks to their various national security. These risks can be direct or indirect, such as direct threats to military installations, operations, or strategies.
28. To contribute to addressing climate change issues, He laid out some strategic principles for strengthening the capacity and knowledge to respond to the challenges of climate change. This includes to enhance the education, training, awareness, participation, and access to information by the people and international cooperation for climate change, strengthen existing channels for promoting awareness on climate change through government service providers, lectures, press, religious leaders and community elders, facilitate public access to information on climate change through social network, sensitise the private sector on threats and opportunity of climate change, develop a public-private partnership for community and strengthen the capacity for collection and sharing information of climate data. Additionally, to strengthen collaboration and active participation in regional and global climate change processes, there is a need to implement commitments under the UNFCCC, cooperation under the ASEAN framework and through the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), carbon market mechanisms, as well as other relevant carbon credit schemes. Mainstreaming climate change knowledge and information into formal and non-formal education is the key principle to sustaining climate change awareness for green, equitable and climate-resilient society.



### **Lao People's Democratic Republic**

Presenter: ***Lt. Col Souksan Khaiphom, Deputy Head, Office of Military Science and History Department (MSHD), Ministry of National Defense***

29. Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit highlighted that ASEAN has set strategies to address climate change based on international cooperation mechanisms. In addition, ASEAN has been cooperating closely in promoting environmental cooperation focusing on 10 key areas outlined in the 2009-2015 ASCC Blueprint. Furthermore, the defence sector should share lessons learned through best practices to pave the foundation for a long-term vision for ecological sustainability, promote ownership in the implementation of existing ASEAN environmental mechanisms.
30. He also emphasised the need to focus on improving technical knowledge, including raising awareness, building capacity, and building information sharing networks through the Joint HADR in both bilateral and multilateral forms and between the military and civilians on a regular basis to build capacity and prepare for practical action. By the end, he expressed his perspective on the exchange of information on natural disasters in the ASEAN region as a good lesson for all since each AMS have different geographies and are threatened by different natural disasters.

### **Kingdom of Thailand**

Presenter: ***Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit, Director of Regional Studies Division, Strategic Studies Center (SSC), National Defence Studies Institutes, Royal Thai Armed Forces***

31. Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit stated that climate change is a global concern, and it is the direct collective result of rapid industrialisation and economic expansion over the last few decades. This has resulted in the global temperature increase by approximately one degree Celsius over pre-industrial levels. ASEAN is one of the regions that are highly vulnerable to the climate change impacts such as droughts, floods, typhoons, sea-level rise, and heatwaves. According to the Global Climate Risk Index 2021, three countries in Southeast Asia – Myanmar, the Philippines and Thailand – suffer the greatest long-term risks of climate change and were listed among the top ten most affected countries from 2000 to 2019. ASEAN Disaster Information Network (ADInet) recorded a total of 1,899 disaster events in the 10 AMS from July 2012 to May 2020. These disasters affected more than 147 million people, displacing more than 18 million, resulting in almost 84,000 casualties (dead, injured, and missing), and amounting to at least 17 billion USD in damages. During the past eight years, hydrometeorological hazards (floods, winds, storms, landslides, and droughts) have consistently accounted for at least 90 per cent of annual disasters in the ASEAN region meaning that climate change can exacerbate them.



32. The ASEAN Working Group on Climate Change (AWGCC) was established to facilitate ASEAN cooperation on climate change. The role of the AWGCC is to implement relevant actions set out in the ASCC Blueprint 2025, through the formulation and implementation of AWGCC Action Plan. While climate change issues have become cross-cutting and involve various ASEAN sectoral bodies, the AWGCC's role, however, is still limited to the environmental mandate. In order to deal with climate change, recommendations are as follows:
- a) ADMM should consider climate change as an existential threat that militaries and governments in the region are responsible to work together.
  - b) ASEAN should focus on joint exercises on disaster emergency response based on regional relevant risk foresight and disaster scenarios.
  - c) Strengthening ASEAN's existing mechanisms to cope with challenges of climate change in the region.

### **Republic of the Philippines**

Presenter: **Brigadier General Archimedes H Viaje AFP (Retired), PhD, MNSA, President, National Defense College of the Philippines (NDCP)**

33. In his presentation, Brigadier General Viaje noted that climate change has taken a toll on the security and socio-economic well-being of people around the world. To be able to deal with climate change, the phenomenon should first be understood from the perspective of human security, which has aspects, namely, economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security. From the perspective of human security, one will have a better understanding of the breadth and depth of the impacts of climate change on the lives of ordinary individuals. Statistics from the United Nations demonstrate the staggering and fatal consequences of climate change in terms of lives lost and economic damages sustained.
34. Actions in dealing with climate change should cover a wide range of thematic areas. In response to what has essentially become a global crisis, the Philippine government has enacted the Republic Act 9729 also known as the Climate Change Act of 2009 and RA 10121 or the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management System Act. The Climate Change Act of 2009 and the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management System Act is an accessible document that can provide steps that ASEAN can also undertake in making the region more resilient and adaptive to climate change. In moving forward, Brigadier General Viaje pointed out that ASEAN defence establishments must promote training for immediate and effective response to disasters, as well as supporting coordinating centres to facilitate international offer of assistance. ADMM and ADSOM should also call for more involvement from civilian government agencies, private sector, and civil society in disaster risk reduction and management. There



should also be information exchange and scenario simulation that involve the interplay between natural disasters and difficult political/ security circumstances. ADMM and ADSOM in particular, and the ASEAN Political-Security Community in general, should support the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community as the lead in ASEAN in dealing with climate change.

#### **Brunei Darussalam**

Presenter: ***Ms Siti Diana Othman, Research Officer, SHHBIDSS, Ministry of Defence***

35. In her presentation, Ms Siti Diana stated that looking through climate change from the lens of non-traditional security threats, the impacts of climate change necessitate cooperation; within the nation – whole-of-government approach with multiple stakeholders is needed, while in the international arena, a unified approach must be undertaken. At the national level, Brunei Darussalam's climate change effort is led by Brunei Darussalam Climate Change Secretariat, with the Ministry of Defence and the Royal Brunei Armed Forces supporting the whole-of-government approach towards mitigating the impact of climate change and increasing the climate resilience in the country. On the global scale, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is the main body tasked to drive the global responses to the threats of climate change. Regionally, ASEAN is working on ASEAN Climate Vision 2050 to outline its cooperation towards climate change targets in line with the Paris Agreement.
36. The defence and military sectors are not exempted from the impacts of climate change. While there are direct and obvious impacts, climate change also causes indirect security implications such as political instabilities, economic loss, conflicts and forced migration. However, the link between climate change with the defence and military sectors are mostly limited to HADR, especially towards climate change-induced disasters. In advancing the climate change agenda in the defence and military sectors, several recommendations have been identified towards enhancing cooperation for the defence and military sectors to undertake:
  - a) Exploring a suitable and dedicated platform for discussing and addressing climate change matters. This can start as an ad-hoc platform or riding along existing platforms such as in the various HADR collaborative activities. NADI can also be a useful platform to tap on as its Track II nature allows a more flexible setting for conversations, including engaging expertise from international and civil society organisations.
  - b) Issuing collective ASEAN defence statement on climate change. Defence and military leaders may consider adopting a joint statement or declaration to highlight the importance of climate change in the region's security landscape. This can be followed by deeper



commitment such as pledging for greener initiatives, carbon neutrality targets and more sustainable developments. To emphasise the urgency of climate change, the ADMM can also hold meetings specifically in addressing climate change and creating defence roadmap or strategy paper.

- c) Furthering cohesive effort on defence contribution with other sectors. ASEAN defence and military sectors can work with other sectoral agencies including ASEAN climate change institutions, in order to have a more holistic approach towards climate change mitigation efforts. The Strategic and Holistic Initiative to Link ASEAN Responses to Emergencies and Disasters (ASEAN SHIELD) can be used to advance the climate change agenda in a wider platform.

## SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

- 37. NADI delegates exchanged views on climate change and its challenges for stability, impacts to defence and security, as well as the way forward for AMS Defence Sector collaboration on climate change:

### Threat Multiplier

- a) Acknowledged that impacts of climate change could threaten political, economic and societal stability.
- b) Highlighted that changing geostrategic landscape resulting from the impacts of climate change could exacerbate conflicts in certain areas.

### Human Security

- c) Recognised that climate-induced disasters could lead to mass displacements, resource competition and damage of public infrastructure.
- d) Recognised that climate change could affect food, water, and health security.

### Impacts to Defence and Military

- e) Identified how climate change could affect military planning and operations, assets, infrastructure, and personnel.
- f) Recognised that military planning needs to adapt to the changing operating environments, in particular the heightened expectation of the role of military as first responders in addressing climate-related events.
- g) Acknowledged that emerging climate-induced developments might necessitate revision or prompt new policy planning measures for the development of future military capabilities.
- h) Recognised that while the defence establishments are at the forefront of response to climate change-related disasters, the wide spectrum of climate change mitigation and risk management requires efforts and intervention largely from civilian government, private sector agencies and other non-military entities.



### **International and Regional Collective Efforts**

- i) Recognised the importance of the United Nations Climate Change Conference of Parties in Glasgow (COP26), the Paris Agreement, the Kyoto Protocol and other climate-related documents in aligning respective efforts, priorities, and future planning.
- j) Recognised that ASEAN's existing platforms and mechanisms in the region, such as the ASEAN Working Group on Climate Change (AWGCC) and the ASEAN Taxonomy, could be used to tackle issues related to effects of climate change.
- k) Identified that there are gaps and limitations in the existing platforms that could be further reduced to advance the agenda for addressing climate change in the region.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

38. In moving forward, NADI recommends the following for ADMM's consideration:

- a) The need to address the expanding role of militaries in responding to climate change by incorporating climate change considerations into defence planning, capability development, civil-military coordination, training and exercises.
- b) To ensure that the defence sector could maintain its resilience and operate under the changing climate conditions by enhancing its planning, infrastructure development, assets acquisition, personnel development and future preparedness.
- c) To underline the importance of adopting green policies in the defence sector through energy-optimisation initiatives, alternative energy sources, and decarbonisation programmes.
- d) To enhance science and technology-related research to further tap into potential areas of cooperation in addressing climate change, such as through forecasting mechanisms, scenario-based planning and simulation training.
- e) To encourage better sharing of information and Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) at all levels, enhance joint exercises and training, as well as educate and promote awareness on issues of climate change.
- f) To produce an ASEAN defence statement on climate change such as a joint declaration or strategy paper.
- g) To broaden existing mechanisms in the defence sector, such as the ADMM-Plus Experts' Working Group (EWG) on HADR, the ASEAN Militaries



Ready Group (AMRG) on HADR, and the Concept Paper on the Use of ASEAN Military Assets and Capacities in HADR.

- h) To support the ASEAN Socio- Cultural Community and the ASEAN Economic Community as they lead in efforts to mitigate climate change and manage the risks associated with it.

## OTHER MATTERS

### Future NADI Activities

39. The workshop welcomed and agreed to the following activities:

Date	Activities	Country	Via
28 - 30 June 2022	NADI Workshop: ASEAN Security Challenges in the Next Five Years (2023 – 2027)	SSC, Thailand	VTC
20 - 21 July 2022	NADI Workshop: Strengthening Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) in the Region	RSIS, Singapore	VTC
5 - 7 September 2022	NADI Workshop: Cyber Threats and Its Impacts to National and Regional Security in Southeast Asia	RIDU, Indonesia	VTC
15 - 17 November 2022	NADI Workshop: Strengthening Border Management Cooperation in the Region	CSSRD TNI, Indonesia	VTC / Physical (TBC)*

\* CSSRD-TNI will confirm the format of the workshop during RSIS' NADI Workshop in July 2022.

## CLOSING SESSION

### Concluding Remarks by the Chair of NADI Workshop, Mr Abdul Malik Kamis, Acting Director of SHHBIDSS, Ministry of Defence Brunei Darussalam

40. Mr Abdul Malik Kamis underscored climate change as an important security matter. The impacts of climate change threaten human, economic and food security with permanent ramifications to the security architecture. In his remarks, he highlighted the significance of cooperation in addressing climate change and hope the NADI platform could continue to advance the climate change agenda in the defence and military sector. Lastly, he expressed his sincere appreciation to NADI colleagues for their continuous support.
41. NADI members congratulated and expressed their words of appreciation to SHHBIDSS, Brunei Darussalam for the conduct on the NADI Workshop on the theme of climate change.



07

**NADI WORKSHOP  
ON  
ASEAN SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS  
(2023-2027)**

organised by  
Strategic Studies Center (SSC), National Defence Studies Institute  
Thailand  
28 - 30 June 2022  
Via Video-Teleconference







# 07

## ASEAN SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS (2023 – 2027)

### CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

#### INTRODUCTION

1. The Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) Workshop on “**ASEAN Security Challenges in the Next Five Years (2023-2027)**” was organized by Strategic Studies Center, National Defence Studies Institute (NDSI), via Zoom Meeting, from 28<sup>th</sup> – 30<sup>th</sup> June 2022.
2. Representatives from Brunei Darussalam, Kingdom of Cambodia, Republic of Indonesia, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Republic of the Philippines, Republic of Singapore, Kingdom of Thailand and Socialist Republic of Vietnam attended the Workshop. The list of participants is attached in Annex I. Major General Pratuang Piyakapho, Director of Strategic Studies Center, The National Defence Studies Institute (NDSI), Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters, chaired the Workshop.

#### **Opening Remarks by Major General Pratuang Piyakapho, Director of Strategic Studies Center, The National Defence Studies Institute (NDSI), Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters.**

3. Major General Pratuang welcomed all participants to the Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) Workshop organized via video teleconference. At the recent years, the global and regional strategic environment has rapidly changed in all dimensions, including social, technological, environmental, economic, political, and military aspects. Additionally, the new security threats have become more complex and brought concerns to many countries around the world, including ASEAN region. Furthermore, threats, such as pandemics and emerging infectious diseases, great powers competition and regional political conflicts, climate change, poverty and inequality, trade protectionism, technology disruption, supply chain disruption, and food and energy security, would even be more challenging to the ASEAN security in the next five years (2023-2027).
4. Because those security situations in the ASEAN region have affected ASEAN's stability, it is important for ASEAN to foresee the common security challenges in the next five years (2023-2027) to prepare itself, find a relevant cooperation, and respond to challenges. Thus, the NADI Workshop on “ASEAN Security Challenges in the Next Five Years (2023-2027)” was organized to find ASEAN's common security challenges and future



scenarios for the its security in the next five years. It also aimed to provide recommendations effectively for the consideration of ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting.

### **Adoption of Agenda:**

5. The workshop adopted the agenda and the programme, which are attached in Annex II and Annex III respectively.

### **SESSION I: Keynote Speakers**

**Keynote speech on the “Prospects and Challenges to ASEAN Security” by Mr. Kavi Chongkittavorn, Bangkok Post Columnist and Senior fellow, Institute of Security and International Studies of Chulalongkorn University.**

6. ASEAN is a unique region, with diverse views and actions. It is known as “Disneyland of World Politics” because 10 member states have unique political systems. Consequently, it is not easy to manage. Furthermore, ASEAN has the world's largest congregation of religious communities, such as Muslim, Christian, and Buddhist, within its 656-million community. However, ASEAN people have lived harmoniously and peacefully since its founding in 1967. ASEAN's diverse views are reflected in global and regional issues. When it comes to difficult situations, ASEAN always chooses the lowest denominator or “consensus” to maintain the region's resilience and ability to engage major powers effectively in an ASEAN way. Despite the criticism that ASEAN is weak in terms of military power, the weakness has become its strength because ASEAN attracts no enemy and it is an organization for peace and prosperity.
7. ASEAN has initiated many mechanisms, leading to regional architecture. The regionwide discussion is ASEAN Regional Forum, starting in 1991 thanks to Singapore's suggestion. It has grown since then and deepened intersectional cooperation among 27 members across Indo-Pacific. Furthermore, East Asia Summit (EAS) is the region's only premium strategic forum for leaders to discuss important issues and attracts many countries. Another important mechanism is ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting Plus. Moreover, ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific is in the process of operationalization. Thailand proposed a new mechanism called ASEAN Plus Two Forum, the platform for ASEAN and China to discuss cooperation. Since ASEAN has convening power to have rivalries talk in a friendlier way, it can start by having working groups from China and US work with ASEAN. These group can discuss the cooperative framework, relieve the tension of China-US rivalry, and stabilize the relationship.
8. Regarding challenges, High-Level Task Force (HLTF) worked on ASEAN security issues for the next 10 years (2025-2035). It was called ASEAN Vision Beyond 2025. ASEAN's important element to face future challenges is to maintain a common vision of unity and solidarity as a non-military bloc. Security strategies to meet future challenges must refer to BKK Declaration to initiate possible peacekeeping cooperation, such as policing.



Furthermore, ASEAN should maintain balance of power between major powers. Each ASEAN member has its own style or techniques of balancing that fits its circumstances. Regarding global conflicts, ASEAN statements confirmed that the region sought peace and had humanitarian assistance available. Recently, ASEAN discussed future relations with India on Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative (IPOI) and ASEAN outlook. ASEAN upgraded India's strategic status to "Comprehensive Strategic Partnership". In total, there are four major powers with this status, namely US, China, Australia, and India. From now on, ASEAN will have a very good relations with major powers and more countries will join many tiers of partnership.

9. Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) is a crucial instrument for ASEAN to win friends and prevent wars. Currently, there are 50 signatories as of June 28, 2022. ASEAN should explore a legal binding of TAC so it can work out some form of binding. It will help the superpowers to accept ASEAN's code of conduct, which represents collective of thinking, governance, and rule of law. Then, it can be applied to a broader context, such as sub-regional Mekong cooperation.

## **SESSION II: Presentation on the "Common Security Challenges to ASEAN in the next five years (2023-2027)"**

### **Kingdom of Cambodia**

*Presentation by Colonel Suon Witu, Deputy Director of Policy and Planning Department, General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs. Ministry of National Defence*

10. ASEAN in the next five years can potentially encounter multiple security challenges such as pandemics, geopolitical shifts, climate change, transnational security threats. Firstly, in a more interconnected world, pandemics have become a major threat to the ASEAN community as well as the world. Emerging and evolving diseases such as the COVID-19 and Monkeypox virus have and will continue to challenge ASEAN's economy and political stability. Secondly, geopolitical shifts amongst major powers, creating a multi-polar world, will continue to influence ASEAN's regional security and stability. It is inevitable for ASEAN to address the mutual issues of climate change. This can potentially impact environmental security within the region, such as more frequent and destructive natural disasters. Lastly, transnational security threats such as transnational crimes, terrorism, cybersecurity/artificial intelligence will remain as an important area of focus for ASEAN member states.
11. As such, it is absolutely crucial for ASEAN community to address these issues collectively through strengthening existing cooperation mechanisms. In addition, ASEAN should also focus on new areas of cooperation to effectively respond to emerging security issues related to climate change. It is vital to enhance military cooperation among ASEAN member states, so that ASEAN community can be well-prepared for future security issues posed by climate change. Finally, ASEAN should hold on to its centrality in



order to effectively and appropriately respond to future geopolitical changes.

### **Lao People's Democratic Republic**

*Presentation by Lieutenant Colonel Souksan Khaiphom, Deputy of Office, Military Science and History Department, Ministry of National Defence*

12. Lieutenant Colonel Souksan Khaiphom highlighted that controversy over the political system has had a devastating effect, especially on the security. Political differences in other regions seems to be a concern of misunderstandings and it may lead to the conflict or the desire to separate an independent state, these issues may have become a challenge to the future stability of ASEAN. Moreover, the world is facing severe shortages of energy, oil and food because of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Rising oil prices are causing many countries around the world to experience sluggish economies, rising inflation and rising living costs.
13. He also emphasized Transnational crime is often carried out as a large process, and influential groups within each country are involved in. By the end, he stated that cyber challenges will inevitably be an issue for ASEAN security in the next five years, as the more technology is developed, the greater the challenges. Information hacking, especially financial and military information, cyber threats have caused a lot of damage in many countries in the region and around the world.

### **Republic of Indonesia**

*Presentation by First Admiral Joni Sudianto, M.Tr. Opsla, Director of Strategic Studies, Center for Strategic Studies, Research and Development (CSSRD) of Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI)*

14. First Admiral Joni Sudianto highlighted that in the next five years, the common security challenge for ASEAN, is a combination of traditional and non-traditional threats culminated in the threat of transnational crime. This can be seen from the increasing relationship between crime and terrorism, which utilize crime to support separatism and terrorism movements. The handling of this movement has been hampered by the focus of countries' priorities on traditional issues. This makes traditional and non-traditional issues difficult to separate from each other, because of these interrelationships.
15. Therefore, he recommended the following recommendations: (i) ASEAN Member States need to increase their commitment and implementation in cooperation in tackling transnational crime; (ii) AMMTC (ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime) need to review the ASEAN Declaration on Transnational Crime (1997) mentions various crimes such as terrorism, drug smuggling, arms smuggling, money laundering, and piracy by adding (human trafficking), illegal logging, internet crime (cyber-crime), and various other international economic crimes; (iii) ASEAN Member States need to improve the management of borders, as a form of efforts to combat transnational crime that makes use of many loopholes in the



border between States; (iv) ASEAN Member States need to increase cooperation in tackling transnational crime by simplifying extradition policies, and (v) ASEAN Member States need to increase cooperation in rejecting illegal goods entering their countries such as illegal mining products.

### **Malaysia**

*Presentation by Lieutenant Colonel Juma'in Saadon RMAF, Assistant Director of Defence Diplomacy Center, Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS)*

16. For the past two years, COVID-19 has impacted lives and livelihoods of millions around the world. The ongoing conflict between the Ukraine-Russia further affected our perception toward peace and stability of the world. Currently ASEAN is facing emerging security environment on a more serious scale and scope that it has never experienced before. There are three common security issues that have been identified. Firstly, uncertain big power relations refer to the United States and China and their relations with other power. Regionally, the intensifying power competition is concentrated more in Southeast Asia. Parallel to these developments is the revival of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) by Australia, India, Japan and the US in 2017. Emergence of the Australia-UK-US (AUKUS) technology-sharing agreement has cause considerable various ASEAN responses. Several AMS have warned the agreement could trigger an arms race, undermine regional stability and weaken nuclear non-proliferation regimes whereas some AMS have welcomed AUKUS.
17. Secondly, complex Southeast Asian neighbourhood especially to Malaysia due to the only country that shares borders with the vast majority of Southeast Asian countries, either land or maritime. Besides territorial and sovereignty disputes, there are other bilateral issues affecting Malaysia's interests in the neighbourhood. These include: (1) conflicting interests extended from territorial disputes (2) contentious spill over from internal conflicts of neighbouring countries; and (3) refugee crises sparked by regional states' domestic issues. Thirdly, non-traditional security threats (NTS) issues involve non-state actors and trans-border crime with an asymmetric character, which have direct as well as indirect impacts to social, political, economic and environmental sectors. Common threats as nations recover from pandemic COVID-19 and reopening their borders, the threat of illegal immigration, migration and trans-border crime is expected to increase. Another emerging common security threat is food security, maritime security and cyber security.

### **Republic of the Philippines**

*Presentation by Brigadier General Edgardo C Palma PA (MNSA), Chief, Office for Strategic Studies and Strategy Management (OSSSM)*

18. The discussion was divided into four parts: First is the introduction, second is the enumeration of the common security challenges, third is addressing the



security challenges, and lastly is the conclusion. In the introduction, the basis of the security challenges is the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) which Brunei chaired in 2021 and a 304-page report on the Annual Security Outlook Report 2021 was presented. Here, 10 common security challenges were identified in no particular order, first is climate change where the region is among the hardest hit. Second is terrorism where the emergence of lone wolf terrorists and groups remains to be a major concern for ASEAN members. Third is Cyber Security where our reliance on the internet exposes us to cyberthreats individually and as a group. Fourth, HADR where the rising intensity and frequency of disasters resulted to greater economic loss. Fifth, Maritime Security where illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing and armed robbery have been a challenge for the region. Sixth, Food security where the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic worsened the disruption in the region, resulting to increasing food prices. Seventh, Water Security which was driven by population growth, rapid urbanization and climate change will result in water shortage, pollution, and flooding, notwithstanding that drought is still a threat in the region. Eighth, Energy Security, which may suffer in energy deficiency by 2035. Ninth, Great Power Rivalry, where the relationship of ASEAN and the great powers such as China and the US are under pressure in a world that is changing dramatically. Lastly, Transnational crimes have been expanding and becoming more organized, thus the need to capacitate on combatting transnational crimes such as terrorism, drug trafficking, arms smuggling, among others.

19. To address these common challenges, there is a need to continue and enhance the ASEAN pillars and ASEAN led mechanisms namely: the ARF, the ADMM-Plus, the East Asian Summit (EAS), and the NADI. In conclusion, the next five years may face, but not limited to ten common challenges as enumerated under the ASEAN Security Outlook Report 2021. Moreover, these challenges can be addressed by maintaining and enhancing the ASEAN led mechanisms.

### **Republic of the Philippines**

*Presentation by Jun Karlo T Laroza, Training Specialist, National Defense College of the Philippines (NDCP)*

20. COVID-19 and other infectious diseases pose global security threats, and no single country's efforts will be enough to mitigate their destruction. The collective effort of ASEAN member-states would be extremely valuable in combating future non-traditional security challenges, particularly infectious diseases. While the ASEAN health sectors are responsible for a regional response to infectious diseases, AMS defence establishments can collaborate closely with other sectoral bodies and existing mechanisms to form a multi-sectoral, whole-of-ASEAN approach to infectious diseases and public health emergencies. It is necessary for ASEAN and its defence institutions to take preliminary steps today in order to prepare for a more robust response to future infectious diseases or public health emergencies.



21. It is recommended that ADMM and ADSOM support the operationalization of ASEAN Centre for Public Health Emergencies and Emerging Diseases (ACPHEED), which will serve as a regional hub and center of excellence to strengthen ASEAN's regional capabilities to prepare for and respond to public health emergencies and emerging diseases. It is also recommended that ADMM and ADSOM promote the incorporation of pandemic response capabilities into individual AMS military for a more robust response against infectious diseases in the future. Lastly, it is recommended that ADMM and ADSOM consider information-sharing via open-source military software for AMS militaries' interoperability in detecting, monitoring, and mitigating infectious diseases. This will allow AMS militaries to collaborate on infectious disease reports, transmit real-time data, and maintain situation awareness.

### **Kingdom of Thailand**

*Presentation by Group Captain Choosak Kasatewit, Director of Regional Studies Division, Strategic Studies Center (SSC), National Defence Studies Institutes, Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters*

22. Global and regional security environments become increasingly complex as a result ASEAN faces an increasingly complex strategic environment. There are three security challenges to ASEAN as follows: First, The competition between Major Powers. A rising China and attempts by the US and its allies to seek to slow down China will continue to dominate the strategic environment in Southeast Asia. The region will face an increasingly complex geopolitical situation as a result of more intense competition between the US and China in various fields, including trade, technology, and defence. Second, Climate changes. ASEAN is one of the regions that are highly vulnerable to climate impacts such as droughts, floods, storms, and sea-level rise. According to a study by the Asian Development Bank (ADB), climate change has a high impact on sea-level rise in the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, and Vietnam. the Global Climate Risk Index 2021 also reported that three countries in Southeast Asia – Myanmar, the Philippines, and Thailand –are among the top ten countries that have suffered the greatest fatalities and economic losses because of climate-related disasters. The impact of climate change additionally poses a danger to people's lives through food insecurity, adverse health impacts, and population displacement. Third, Cyber threats continue to increase with a higher degree of interconnectedness among countries. Cyber threats have become more sophisticated and wide-spreading due to technological advancement and the growing need to rely on Internet as a daily necessity and platform for communications as well as financial transactions.
23. In order to cope with those challenges, it is recommended that: First, ASEAN should utilize the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) as an inclusive set of guidelines to facilitate impartial cooperation with major powers. second, ASEAN should try to find a united approach supported by shared threat perceptions, strategic interests, and a common purpose in





responding to regional challenges. Third, ASEAN defence establishments should strengthen cooperation in response to threats in the cyber domains.

**SESSION III: Presentation on “Future Scenarios for ASEAN Security in the next five years (2023-2027)”**

**Brunei Darussalam**

*Presentation by Md Umair Akmal bin Hj Noor Ahsffian, Research Officer, Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (SHHBIDSS), Ministry of Defence*

24. It is important to note that most security initiatives within the framework of ADMM are implemented under the ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC) Blueprint, which aims to “prioritise strengthening and deepening the integration process in order to realise a rules-based, people-oriented and people-centred ASEAN Community”. The previous APSC Blueprint 2015 has successfully cemented its foundation, as, in essence, it helped to deepen and expand ASEAN Political and Security cooperation with its frameworks. However, the recent Blueprint also outlines the concerns regarding initiatives and mechanisms in the sense that initiatives must have “clear objectives and be forward-looking in order to be consistent with the present Blueprint and capable of addressing existing and future security threats”.
25. The lists of threats and challenges may be endless, but what important is to stock take previous initiatives and mechanisms and taking time to reflect to check if objectives and/or visions have been met. In essence, SHHBIDSS' recommends: Stock taking ASEAN-led initiatives by reassessing and prioritising relevant cooperation areas of ADMM's seven EWGs to further focus and streamline efforts of cooperation. It necessitates co-chairs of EWGs to look into creative means to improve interoperability and contribute to respond to shared security concerns.

**Republic of Indonesia**

*Presentation by Prof. Drs. Anak Agung Banju Perwita, M.A., Ph.D., Republic of Indonesian Defense University (RIDU)*

26. The current security environment in Southeast Asia is incredibly complex, with multiple actors, issues and trends coming from within the region and outside the region. This changing security environment in Southeast Asia has led to two important challenges, those are the change from an exclusive concern on traditional security to a greater focus on human security and the change from security through armaments to security through sustainable development.
27. In order to deal with those challenges, it is more than necessary for ASEAN to prepare scenarios for the foreseeable future. First, ASEAN needs to think more systematically and comprehensively through common and shared interests, goals, and the challenges/threats to them. Second, ASEAN should





assess its resources and capabilities including those that come through leveraging security cooperation in the region pertinent to common interests and regional threats. Third, ASEAN must formulate a common security strategy and review more comprehensive and integrated collaboration platforms designed to maximize common regional concerns and interests consistent with resource availability.

### **Republic of the Union of Myanmar**

*Presentation by Major General Myint Kyaw Tun, Deputy Chief of Armed Forces Training (Strategic Studies), Office of the Chief of Armed Forces Training (OCAFT), Republic of the Union of Myanmar*

28. Major General Myint Kyaw Tun mentioned that major powers are competing to shape security architectures, as well as norms and practices worldwide, including trade and investment regimes and the development and regulation of new technological infrastructures. The Indo-Pacific region is now a significant arena for competition from major powers, and major powers are increasing their presence and influence in any country in the region. He said the world is changing rapidly today, resulting in unprecedented uncertainty. In his presentation, he outlined three possible ASEAN security scenarios over the next five years: (i) the ASEAN Centrality is in danger as a result of major power rivalry; (ii) climate change is a threat to the security and stability of the region; and (iii) ASEAN is struggling to deal with cyber threats.
29. He expressed his concern about the situation of Southeast Asia that has become a hotbed of strategic rivalry between major powers since they are trying to expand their influence in the region through various efforts. He also expressed his doubt that the major powers are manipulating the ASEAN Centrality. He suggested that ASEAN should assert its role as a regional consensus-builder, and encourage building a multi-polar regional order in order to avoid undermining the value of ASEAN Centrality. He mentioned that climate change can contribute to instability, lead to displacement and migration, worsen existing conflicts and threaten global security. He suggested that ASEAN Member States should consider more effective measures to deal with the consequences of climate change. He argued that cyberthreats will be one of major challenges to ASEAN security in the next five years. He suggested that there should be greater coordination and training and exchange of views to respond to cyberthreats at the regional level.

### **Malaysia**

*Presentation by Professor Dato' Dr. Jesbil Singh, Research Fellow, National Defence University of Malaysia (NDUM)*

30. Security challenges in ASEAN, both traditional and non-traditional, will not only continue over the next five years, but in some cases, are expected to increase in intensity and complexity. In the context of the traditional security domain, border and territorial disputes between the ASEAN nations will likely continue but certainly not lead to armed conflicts, finding resolutions through negotiations and peaceful means. Separatist



movements will continue to be active in some ASEAN nations. Even more challenging will be the continuing territorial and maritime disputes with overlapping claims in the South China Sea, as well as the growing military build-up of islands by China. Added to this will be the growing tensions in the Indo-Pacific region between China and the Western nations over China's growing economic and military power being pushed through various means, including the use of soft power, which could have ramifications for ASEAN. Alliances such as QUAD and AUKUS will certainly be on the radar of ASEAN.

31. In the non-traditional security domain, the challenges to ASEAN will be many and varied, and will continue over the next five years. These include sea piracy, arms smuggling, drugs trafficking, transnational crime, cyber threats and terrorism, all of which will stretch the ASEAN security organisations and limited resources, both at the national and regional level. Added to this will be the challenges brought on by climate changes such as rising sea levels, floods and storm surges, and in some cases even drought, leading to significant economic losses. The threat to the environment, as well as land and sea degradation, brought about by industrial pollution, discharge of plastics that find their way into rivers and the sea, unplanned development, open burning and the opening up of huge areas of virgin jungle for commercial cultivation, are only likely to become more serious. Action plans and initiatives undertaken by ASEAN nations at the local and regional level will still leave much to be desired. Food security, aggravated by the Ukrainian-Russian war, will be an issue of grave concern. Added to this will be energy security challenges, brought on by increasing global energy demands, inadequate output of fossil fuels and supply disruptions. So is the issue of health security brought on by infectious diseases, such as SARS and Bird Flu in the past, and now, COVID-19 and its newly evolving subvariants, that are unlikely to go away any time soon.

### **Republic of the Philippines**

*Presentation by Mr. Erick Nielson C Javier, Defense Research Officer II, National Defense College of the Philippines*

32. Mr. Javier argues that the future security environment is constantly changing and evolving, as modes of warfare that emphasize the 'indirect approach' merge with new technologies which enables the conduct of coercive actions without triggering more forceful responses from the international community. Technology-enabled threats both from states and non-state actors will characterize the scenarios of future conflict by 2027. Elements of this kind of conflict are already being observed in Russia's war in Ukraine and its exercise of cross-domain coercion against the West, and should be expected with possible flashpoints here in the Southeast Asian region.
33. ASEAN must anticipate the further deterioration of the global security environment, as ASEAN has yet to stress-test its institutions to withstand the



conflicts of this scale and magnitude. ASEAN must therefore urgently implement measures to uphold its regional centrality through the enhanced evaluation and implementation of regional security agreements, as well as strengthening interoperability between ASEAN defense forces via exchanges and exercises.

### **Republic of Singapore**

*Presentation by Mr. Lawrence Anderson, Senior Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University*

34. Mr. Lawrence Anderson provided two possible scenarios that ASEAN will face in the next five years, based on his conversations from colleagues and friends from ASEAN and its Dialogue Partners at the recent Shangri-La Dialogue. The first scenario is one in which the United States and China are on a collision course likely to end in war. The second is the maintenance of the current status quo, which nonetheless will see the same geopolitical tensions that would still have dire consequences for ASEAN in terms of maintaining regional peace, security and prosperity. Mr. Anderson highlighted that ASEAN Member States (AMS) will face increasing pressure from the US and China to choose sides, and this would lead to greater divisions within ASEAN and greater instability in Southeast Asia. He suggested three actions for AMS to ensure that ASEAN remains resilient enough to meet these challenges and inject true substance to claims of ASEAN Centrality. First, AMS should persuade the US and China to recognise that a strong, united, and even-handed ASEAN is of better value to both of them. Second, ASEAN platforms enable leaders to meet bilaterally on the sidelines; it is crucial to receive views that might be quite different from what some leaders might hear from their trusted advisers. Third, AMS need to decide what all are prepared to do together, as well as what AMS are not prepared to do with the big powers, and agreeing on areas where AMS must stand firmly together despite intense outside pressure.
35. Mr. Anderson highlighted that NADI and the ADMM have an important role to play to ensure conflict may be averted in the region. To that end, he recommended the following: (i) ASEAN and its institutions should make all efforts to maintain ASEAN Centrality; (ii) ASEAN should emphasise its role as a bridge between the two superpowers, China and the US and their respective spheres of interests. The defence establishments of ASEAN can play this role through the conduct of defence diplomacy in the ADMM and ADMM-Plus, as well as at the Track II level; and (iii) ADMM and ADMM-Plus could look at conflict prevention in areas within Southeast Asia where major power conflict is likely to blow up, particularly the South China Sea.

### **Socialist Republic of Vietnam**

*Presentation by Colonel Vu Cao Dinh, Deputy Director, Department of International Studies, Institute for Defence Strategy, Vietnamese Ministry of National Defence*



36. In the coming years, there are several risk factors for ASEAN security. First are development trends in Southeast Asia. Peace and security in the region are dependent on how ASEAN Member States (AMS) tackle both existing and emerging traditional and nontraditional security challenges. The second factor that has influence on ASEAN security is balance of power and major powers' strategies. U.S.'s effort to form coalitions to counter a rising China and other major powers' strategic adjustments will impact ASEAN centrality in the regional security architecture. ASEAN security also comes from its resilience and centrality in the regional security architecture. A resilient ASEAN will enable AMS to successfully overcome difficulties and challenges.
37. On the basis of development trends and mutual interaction between risk factors for ASEAN security, there are at least three scenarios for ASEAN security in the next five years. The most probable scenario is that a resilient and united ASEAN enables this Association to overcome challenges and successfully maintain its centrality amid difficulty. This scenario occurs when both the U.S. and China feel the need to be involved with ASEAN and ASEAN becomes more and more robust and capable of managing disputes and addressing nontraditional security challenges in the region. In the second scenario, ASEAN's resilience is greatly strengthened, and major powers truly support ASEAN centrality. This most expected scenario is likely to unfold when AMS attain remarkable developments in many fields and both U.S. and China need ASEAN as an intermediary to balance and reconcile their relations and interests. The third scenario envisions an armed conflict or compromise between U.S. and China as a result of intensifying competition. Both cases have an adverse influence on ASEAN centrality.

#### **Summary of Discussions:**

The meeting discussed common security challenges, both traditional and non-traditional issues, in ASEAN and future scenarios for the regional security in the next five years.

38. NADI delegates exchanged views on "Common Security Challenges to ASEAN in the next five years (2023-2027)"

##### **a) Great Power Rivalry**

Participants expressed their concerns on the growing tension between China and the United States and major powers' strategies.

##### **b) Climate Change**

Climate change can potentially impact environmental security within the region, such as more frequent and destructive natural disasters which may also lead to food, energy and water crisis and insecurity.

##### **c) Pandemics**

Pandemics have become a major threat to the ASEAN community as well as the world. Emerging and evolving diseases, such as the COVID-19 and Monkeypox virus, have challenged and will continue to challenge ASEAN's economy and political stability.

##### **d) Cyber Security**

Cyber threats continue to increase with a higher degree of interconnectedness among countries. Cyber threats have become



more sophisticated and wide-spreading due to technological advancement and the growing need to rely on Internet as a daily necessity and platform for communications as well as financial transactions.

**e) Transnational Crime**

Transnational crimes have been expanding and becoming more organized, thus the need to capacitate on combatting transnational crimes, such as terrorism, drug trafficking, arms smuggling, among others.

**f) Food security and Energy Security**

The impact of COVID-19 pandemic and Ukraine-Russia conflict disrupted Food and Energy supply chain.

**g) Water Security**

Water Security, driven by population growth, rapid urbanization and climate change, will result in water shortage, pollution and flooding, notwithstanding that drought is still a threat in the region.

**h) Border Conflict**

The traditional security domain, border and territorial disputes between the ASEAN nations will likely continue but certainly not lead to armed conflicts.

**i) Separatism and Terrorism Movements**

Interrelationships between crime and terrorism, which utilize crime to support separatism and terrorism movements. Political differences in each country seems to be a concern of misunderstandings and it may lead to border conflicts or the desire to separate an independent state,

**j) Maritime Security**

Maritime Security where illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing and armed robbery have been a challenge for the region.

39. NADI delegates exchanged views on "Future Scenarios for ASEAN Security in the next five years (2023-2027)"

**Scenario 1: Conflicts and chaos in ASEAN region**

The United States and China are on a collision course that is likely to end in more serious conflict. ASEAN no longer upholds its centrality in the regional security architecture. At the same time, ASEAN will likely have to deal with one or more of the non-traditional security threats as described in the discussion above. This situation is also likely to happen in scenario 2 and 3.

**Scenario 2: Status Quo**

None of the great powers desire war in the region. However, the deterioration of the political tensions would still have dire consequences for ASEAN in terms of maintaining regional peace, security and prosperity.

**Scenario 3: A resilient, united and neutral ASEAN is able to overcome challenges and succeeds in maintaining its centrality.**

In this scenario, ASEAN's resilience is strengthened and the major powers truly support ASEAN's centrality. Both the U.S. and China respect ASEAN as an intermediary to reconcile their relations and interests.



### **Recommendations**

40. ASEAN should address challenges collectively and holistically. AMS need to ensure ASEAN centrality is maintained when dealing with major powers. In this regard, AMS must decide what all members are prepared to do together and what they are not prepared to do with the big powers. They must stand firmly together despite intense outside pressure.
41. Facing increasing pressure from China-US rivalry, ASEAN needs to formulate common strategies and agree among member states on areas where the member states will stand together to resist the pressure from outside and maintain its centrality. AMS should persuade the US and China to recognise that a strong, united and even-handed ASEAN is of better value to both of them.
42. ASEAN should emphasize its role as a bridge between the two superpowers and their respective spheres of interest. The defence establishments of ASEAN can play this role through the conduct of defence diplomacy in the ADMM and ADMM Plus, as well as at the Track II level.
43. Moreover, ASEAN, as a neutral institution, should work on initiatives that will promote peace, security and prosperity in the region. At the same time, it should bring superpowers to work together on ASEAN platforms.
44. To mitigate the climate change impact and build the region's resilience, ASEAN militaries must enhance their cooperation and ADMM should incorporate this issue into its cooperative mechanism. Moreover, ASEAN should enhance multilateral cooperation with external partners based on robust internal unity and centrality.
45. ASEAN can respond to challenges by building up on its success and existing framework. Open and flexible approaches are required to find a solution.
46. AMS should strengthen cooperation, coordination, training and exchange of views in response to cyberthreats at the regional level.
47. ADMM and ADSOM should support the operationalization of ASEAN Centre for Public Health Emergencies and Emerging Diseases (ACPHEED). It will serve as a regional hub and center of excellence to strengthen ASEAN's regional capabilities to be prepared for and respond to public health emergencies and emerging diseases.
48. ASEAN Member States need to improve the border management, as a form of efforts to combat transnational crime that uses many loopholes in the border between states.
49. ASEAN Member States need to increase their commitment and deepen their cooperation in tackling transnational crime. AMMTC (ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime) needs to review the ASEAN Declaration on Transnational Crime (1997). It mentions various crimes, such



as terrorism, drug smuggling, arms smuggling, money laundering, and piracy. It also includes human trafficking, illegal logging, internet crime (cyber-crime) and various other international economic crimes.

### **Other Matters**

#### 50. Forthcoming NADI activities

<b>Date</b>	<b>Activities</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Via</b>
20 - 21 July 2022	NADI Workshop: Strengthening Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) in the Region	RSIS, Singapore	VTC
5 - 7 September 2022	NADI Workshop: Cyber Threats and Its Impacts to National and Regional Security in Southeast Asia	RIDU, Indonesia	VTC
15 - 17 November 2022	NADI Workshop: Strengthening Border Management Cooperation in the Region	CSSRD TNI, Indonesia	VTC

### **Consideration of NADI Workshop Chairman's Report**

51. The meeting considered the draft Chairman's Report of the NADI Workshop on ASEAN Security Challenges in the Next Five Years (2023-2027). After examining the Chairman's Report carefully, the meeting endorsed the report.
52. The NADI Workshop Chairman will submit the Report to the ADSOM Chairman for consideration at the ADMM Track and a copy to the NADI Chairman.

### **Concluding Remarks by Major General Pratuang Piyakapho, Director of Strategic Studies Center, The National Defence Studies Institute (NDSI), Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters.**

53. In his concluding remarks, Major General Pratuang expressed sincere appreciations to delegates and all NADI member for their dedication in participating this NADI Workshop. All contribution will be useful in supporting the ADMM in order to deal with any possible scenarios of ASEAN security Challenges in the Next Five Years (2023 – 2027).



08

**NADI WORKSHOP  
ON  
STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES  
IN THE REGION**

organised by  
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang  
Technological University, Singapore  
20 - 21 July 2022  
Via Video-Teleconference







# 08

## STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES IN THE REGION

### CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

1. The Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) Workshop on "Strengthening Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) in the Region" was organised by the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, from 20 to 21 July 2022.
2. Representatives from Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Viet Nam attended the Workshop. The list of participants is attached in Annex I. Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS, chaired the Workshop.

#### **Opening Remarks by Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS; and Chairman of the NADI Workshop**

3. Ambassador Ong Keng Yong warmly welcomed all delegates and distinguished speakers to the NADI Workshop. He noted that the theme of the Workshop is a timely one, especially since the strategic rivalry between China and the US continues to mount. He highlighted hotspots in the region. If these are not managed carefully, they could blow up into more serious conflict.
4. Ambassador Ong underscored that it was therefore imperative that all parties adhere to existing CBMs, and it was crucial for the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) to chart the way forward for CBMs in the region, with the discussions also taking place at the ADMM-Plus level and ADMM taking the lead on these discussions. Ambassador Ong also indicated that NADI has a major role to play to facilitate this process. He urged the NADI Workshop participants to discuss substantively the current state of CBMs, propose ideas for improving existing CBMs and consider if we need new CBMs.

#### **Adoption of Agenda**

5. The Workshop adopted the agenda and the programme, which are appended in Annex II and Annex III respectively.

**Keynote Speaker: Ms Yeo Seow Peng, Director (ASEAN & International Affairs),  
Defence Policy Office, Defence Policy Group, Ministry of Defence, Singapore**



6. Ms Yeo Seow Peng highlighted that CBMs are useful in building a safe and stable operating environment for the region's peace and prosperity, as they help reduce the risk of miscalculations – whether at sea or in the air. Ms Yeo said that the ADMM and ADMM-Plus had made good progress in developing and practising CBMs. For example, the ADMM-Plus adopted the Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea (CUES) in 2017 and practised it through the ADMM-Plus Experts' Working Group on Maritime Security Exercise in 2019. The ADMM adopted the Guidelines for Air Military Encounters (GAME) in 2018 and operationalised it within ASEAN through discussions and a table-top exercise. Going forward, the ADMM and ADMM-Plus should continue practising CUES and GAME to ensure that airmen and seamen in the region remain familiar with them. The Plus countries which are interested in GAME can also practise it alongside the ADMM member states. Ms Yeo also stressed that CBMs can take many forms; CBMs can be any initiative or idea that promote trust and confidence building. The ADMM and ADMM-Plus should remain open to new CBMs or to updates to existing CBMs, to ensure that practices on the ground remain relevant.

## **SESSION I**

### **Brunei Darussalam**

#### **Presentation by Ms Siti Diana Othman, Research Officer, Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (SHHBIDSS), Ministry of Defence**

7. In her presentation, Ms Siti Diana Othman stated the fundamental role of CBMs in mitigating tensions and preventing disputes from arising between or among ASEAN Member States (AMS), specifically in defence establishments. ASEAN has succeeded in reducing tensions among its member states, by promoting regional cooperation and creating an environment conducive to peace and prosperity since its inception. In the defence sectors, ASEAN defence officials have been involved in security dialogues and CBMs since 1996 under the framework of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). In 2006, the ADMM was established, further solidifying efforts toward increasing confidence in the region. Under the ADMM, there are 23 initiatives across 12 areas of security cooperation (as stated under the ADMM Stocktaking Paper). These have been created to increase CBMs in the region. Ms Siti Diana also updated on one of Brunei Darussalam's CBMs – the ASEAN Direct Communications Infrastructure (ADI).
8. Overall, the CBMs opened up cooperative endeavours for the ADMM and created invaluable efforts in strengthening trust and confidence of the region's defence establishments. Although CBMs are viewed in abundance in ADMM cooperation mechanisms, in order for these mechanisms to function more effectively, effort needs to be streamlined to ensure full utilisation of the existing CBMs. As such, SHHBIDSS put forth the following recommendations:
  - a. Streamline current CBMs. Instead of conceptualising new CBMs, the consolidation of current CBMs can contribute to existing ASEAN



arrangements. The ADMM Stocktaking Paper has listed the various CBMs and initiatives, and this can be further analysed to streamline these efforts to avoid wastage, identify shortages and make it more efficient.

- b. Expand CBMs to other countries and stakeholders. ADMM can utilise its existing initiatives to further expand its membership to countries beyond ASEAN. This will broaden and strengthen the CBMs as well as make it more inclusive and wide-reaching. With ADMM (ASEAN) at the driving table, this could help maintain and promote ASEAN Centrality and values and ensures it remains in the driving seat for defence and security concerns of the region.
- c. Strengthening accountability of existing CBMs. To have existing CBMs as legally binding documents would ensure participating countries comply with the measures that have been set out. However, understanding there may be long processes to comply with any legality measures, such existing CBMs may need to find ways to increase its accountability and ways to encourage participation. This can be done through a system of verification or rewards / recognitions to ensure active participation and the CBMs are on course.

## **Cambodia**

### **Presentation by Captain Phan David, Research Officer, Department of Policy and Planning, General Department of Policy and Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Defence of Cambodia**

9. Captain Phan David indicated that the CBMs such as CUES, GAME, and ADI are essential tools in preventing incidents and other potential issues that could lead to escalation and tension within the region. In order to increase the effectiveness of these mechanisms, it is important to be cautious in regard to the use of the terms and definitions to minimise ambiguity. For instance, in GAME, the use of the term "military aircraft" can become vague and pose a challenge to the application of GAME, such as in the case of encounters with UAVs. Specifically for Cambodia, there has not been any scenarios in which the use of CBMs is required. Nevertheless, these CBMs remain effective tools for AMS as well as other nations in maintaining a safe environment.
10. Cambodia encourages that AMS as well as other countries incorporate the CBMs such as CUES and GAME into the ADMM and ADMM-Plus military exercises to identify strengths and weaknesses, and to further enhance the effectiveness of the CBMs. Furthermore, these CBMs can potentially be expanded to be used in other areas, such as civilian vessels as well. Therefore, these CBMs have the potential to be further enhanced.

## **Indonesia**

### **Presentation by Brigadier General A.Z.R. Dondokambey, S.E., M.Han., Head of Center for Strategic Studies, Research and Development, Tentara Nasional Indonesia**

11. Brigadier General A.Z.R. Dondokambey, S.E., M.Han, Head of Center for Strategic Studies, Research and Development, Tentara Nasional Indonesia,



highlighted that CUES and GAME are part of CBMs as instruments in international relations for suppressing, preventing, or resolving uncertainties among the AMS and their partners. CBMs are designed to prevent the escalation of hostilities and build mutual trust, so implementing CBMs is "a must" for achieving stability in regional security. CUES and GAME as part of CBMs for AMS have not yet been maximally implemented. CBMs implementation related to CUES and GAME must refer to their main aspects so that each party may implement them. CBMs as a collective agreement requires consensus from AMS to comply with the initiative. Currently, CBMs are well implemented at the operational level and must be gradually enhanced to gain further regional security and stability.

12. Therefore, he recommended the following: (i) AMS needs to encourage the completion of the formulation of the Code of Conduct (COC) in the South China Sea (SCS) in implementing CUES and GAME as part of CBMs to improve and maintain regional security; (ii) AMS needs to socialise CUES and GAME to practitioners at the operational level through the preparation of references to the Rules of Engagement (ROE) used by elements in the field; (iii) AMS needs to carry out multilateral joint exercises as part of the socialisation of the implementation of CUES and GAME; and (iv) AMS needs to utilise the hotline that has been agreed to in anticipating emergency situations which occur in the field, so that any issues regarding incidents at sea can be handled swiftly.

**Presentation by Colonel Dr Ir Hikmat Zakky Almubaroq, S.Pd., M.Si., Secretary of the Defense Management Study Program, Defense Management Faculty, Republic of Indonesia Defense University**

13. Colonel Dr Ir Hikmat Zakky Almubaroq underscored that communication is the most important gateway for building trust between countries and individuals, therefore, implementing and maintaining effective integrated communication and transparency in actual and real-time data is needed so as to integrate the conditions of each state.
14. ASEAN must open up opportunities for such integration to build trust and maintain regional security and stability. Transparency must be underlined while still maintaining the boundaries in each country, thus a country may withhold information that it deems important to withhold.

**Lao PDR**

**Presentation by Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit, Director General, Military Science and History Department, Ministry of Defence, Lao PDR**

15. Brigadier General Viengxay Somvichit highlighted that CBMs are important tools that can build trust because it is a prerequisite for effective negotiation. CBMs can help initiate or deepen negotiations to prevent violence or escalation of conflict instead of confronting it directly and can help improve relationships and collaboration and help promote the sustainable peace process. Additionally, the principle responding to the CUES and GAME are effective and adaptable to address the internal situations of many countries.



16. He also emphasised that Laos commits to promoting all existing mechanisms and always gets ready to work with AMS to increase the cooperation on CBMs. In particular, CUES and GAME would help to reinforce the spirit of the ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint 2025.

### **Malaysia**

#### **Presentation by Colonel Dr Nizlan bin Mohamed, Director Contemporary Security, Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security**

17. Colonel Dr Nizlan bin Mohamed highlighted that, in applying CBMs, AMS have proven to be able to put their differences aside and focus on common goals and concerns. Undeniably, CBMs play a role in maintaining peace and prosperity in ASEAN. Many CBMs projects that were undertaken have proven to increase relations, friendship and trust within ASEAN and its partners. With the current security challenges, there is a pressing need to reduce miscommunications and miscalculations.
18. Malaysia firmly adheres to the CUES mechanism and believes it is time to discuss and further clarify some specific grey areas in CUES and to gauge its effectiveness through an evaluation process. Such an evaluation process could be done academically. With regard to GAME, it warrants fresh directions from the ASEAN Chiefs of Air Force, the need to establish a secretariat and identify the effectiveness of GAME.

#### **Presentation by Lieutenant Colonel Abdul Rahman bin Alavi (Retired), Head of Peace Study Centre, Centre for Defence and International Security Studies (CDISS), National Defence University of Malaysia**

19. Lieutenant Colonel Abdul Rahman bin Alavi (Retired) highlighted that CBMs have been found to be an effective tool in improving interstate relationships and cooperation during the Cold-War era, and it has been practiced ever since to reduce tensions and prevent accidental wars and unintended escalation in strife-ridden regions like in the SCS. In order to enhance and strengthen CBMs, it cannot be negotiated within the military sphere, but with other possible options promoting economic, cultural, and respect for human rights exchanges instead. The pragmatic CBMs in-place in the region were CUES and GAME, which were non-ASEAN originated products to reduce tensions in the SCS.
20. Since the establishment of ASEAN, which was the only international organisation that has a regional impact in tackling the SCS dispute, it has played to an extent a role in ensuring dialogue, expansion of overlapping regional interests, and development of trust and cooperation between the parties of the region. Despite the efforts and implementation of "ASEAN-way" regional-based CBMs through political and regional cooperation, the security in the SCS is still fragile and unstable. ASEAN should remain relevant and on top of the situation in the SCS by formulating its own narrative of code of encounters at sea. In mitigating the geopolitical tensions in SCS, one specific area that the regional CBMs should emphasise is to further strengthen the trust among the AMS. Trust and confidence should be built



to support diplomatic efforts in strengthening cooperation by upholding the principle of freedom of navigation and the resource-sharing mechanisms for areas like fisheries and hydrocarbons.

## **SESSION II**

### **Myanmar**

#### **Presentation by Major General Myint Kyaw Tun, Deputy Chief of Armed Forces Training (Strategic Studies), Office of the Chief of Armed Forces Training (OCAFT), Republic of the Union of Myanmar**

21. Major General Myint Kyaw Tun mentioned that uncertainties between states, including military and political components, can be addressed, prevented, or resolved through CBMs, both formal and informal, and whether unilateral, bilateral, or multilateral. CBMs help reduce uncertainty, misunderstandings, and distrust, and thus reduce the likelihood of accidental or unintended war. He pointed out that the CBMs will not work without the willingness to cooperate on the part of the parties involved and those measures must be seen as “win-win,” not “win-lose.”
22. He argued that CBMs should have achievable, specific goals that are clearly defined, and that they will be most effective if they build on or follow the ASEAN Way. Furthermore, he cautioned that CBMs are not institutions; rather, they are stepping stones or building blocks that may be useful prerequisites for effective institution creation. He said that in order to maintain peace and stability in the region, AMS must act in a strong, consistent manner toward one another, strengthen CBMs, improve communication and close cooperation to address the region's emerging internal security issues, broaden the scope of cooperation between AMS, and strengthen multilateral meetings in each dispute settlement with nations outside of ASEAN.

### **The Philippines**

#### **Presentation by Mr Aldrin C Cuña, Executive Vice President, National Defense College of the Philippines**

23. In his presentation, Mr Aldrin C Cuña noted that the Asia-Pacific region's security environment is largely underpinned by major power competition, principally between the US and China. Unlike the US-Soviet Union Cold War rivalry, the US-China competition is characterised by the economic interconnectedness of the two countries, as well as the difficulty of other countries in having clear-cut strategic alignment. Hence, being forced to choose sides is a decision that may not necessarily be in line with the national interests of many countries in the Asia-Pacific, including in Southeast Asia. For ASEAN, the strategic competition has implications for the organisation's centrality in multilateral diplomacy, as well as certain geopolitical issues such as the South China Sea dispute. The evolving regional security environment also suggests that ASEAN must adapt to the changing times. The strategic milieu of the 1990s when ASEAN's centrality in multilateral diplomacy began to emerge is different from the geopolitical context of 2022. In this regard, ASEAN could still play a modest role in promoting CBMs.



24. Mr Cuña proposed the following initiatives for consideration. First, review and assess current CBMs in accordance with the 2019 Concept Paper on Guidelines for the Assessment of ADMM initiatives, and the 2017 Concept Paper on ADMM and ADMM-Plus Initiatives. Second, encourage cross-sectoral synergies between the ADMM and ARF, particularly in the context of discussing the former's CBMs in the defence-oriented platforms of the latter, specifically the ARF Security Policy Conference (SPC), and the ARF Heads of Defence Universities / Colleges / Institutions Meeting (HDUCIM). Another possible area of synergy is consultation and information sharing among the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting (AMM) and the ADMM regarding CBMs, particularly in the context of the ongoing negotiations for an ASEAN-China COC. Third, continuation of existing CBMs such as educational visits and exchanges. The NDCP Executive Vice President also shared the possibility of exchanging best practices vis-à-vis online/hybrid learning in view of the experience under the COVID-19 pandemic. Mr Cuña also shared the College's efforts to promote confidence by inviting foreign military officers to study at NDCP, as well as the recently launched English Language Course (ELC) under the ambit of the ADMM-Wide Education and Training Exchanges (AETE).

**Presentation by Brigadier General Edgardo C Palma PA (MNSA), Chief, Office for Strategic Studies and Strategy Management, Armed Forces of the Philippines**

25. Brigadier General Edgardo C Palma focused on seven areas that need to be improved. These are: regional defence and security, natural disasters, transnational crimes and terrorism, food security, energy security, health, and cyberspace. First, on regional defence and security, there is a need to strengthen and enhance regional cooperation efforts especially on maritime and air CBMs. On natural disasters, there is a need to enhance and strengthen the region's humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR) capacity and capabilities. On transnational crimes and terrorism, there is a need to strengthen capacity building efforts through best practices sharing as well as enhance bilateral connections through exchange visits between military training institutions. On food security, there is a need to deepen multilateral agreements within AMS and organise collaborative research on food security. In terms of energy security, there is a need to enhance ASEAN energy cooperation and conduct joint research projects on energy security. On health, since we are heading towards a post-pandemic world, there is a need to strengthen the ASEAN Comprehensive Recovery Framework (ACRF) and support the region's whole of government efforts. Lastly, on cyberspace, there is a need to strengthen the ASEAN Cybersecurity Cooperation Strategy (2021-2025) and engage more in various capacity building activities related to cybersecurity.
26. Brigadier General Palma then focused on possible cross-synergies among different CBMs. Utilising the seven focus areas, there is the need to enhance and deepen areas of cooperation and capacity building with other international organisations such as the United Nations (UN). Also, increased





collaborative efforts should be sought to be able to further improve the region's CBMs. In the discussion of a possible new CBMs, ASEAN can look to learn and adopt with its counterpart in Europe, the European Union (EU). Thus, the ASEAN can look to: Establish a CBMs programme; launch a grant competition among different state institutions; organise peace building cultural, educational, medical, and political meetings and seminars; and further develop comprehensive CBMs.

### **Singapore**

#### **Presentation by Ms Jane Chan, Senior Fellow, Coordinator of the Maritime Security Programme, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, RSIS**

27. In her presentation, Ms Jane Chan indicated that there was increasing concern regarding the proliferation of unmanned systems, both aerial and subsurface, being deployed in regional waters by navies, enforcement agencies and private individuals. These had led to worries about a lack of rules regulating the use of these systems. As such, Ms Chan suggested the creation of a study group to contribute to the region's understanding of these systems, the responses towards the challenges these systems pose, and whether some of these systems would be deemed a threat. She underscored that such a study group would be useful if it is able to promote mutual trust and confidence, reduce misunderstandings and miscalculation in the air and at sea, and hence lessen the number incidents and accidents in the region.
28. Ms Chan therefore suggested that NADI convene a study group on "Regulating the Unmanned Systems in Regional Waters", which should bring together maritime and legal experts, as well as operational practitioners. The findings from the study group can be submitted to ADMM and should include recommendations on whether there is a need for regional protocols on the operation of unmanned systems in regional waters. As such, Ms Chan gave the following recommendations:
  - a. ASEAN/ADMM should reaffirm its commitment to existing CBMs that are relevant and vital to mitigate tensions and build trust among the defence establishments of AMS.
  - b. ASEAN/ADMM should support the NADI study group on "Regulating the Unmanned Systems in Regional Waters" to investigate and recommend appropriate regional protocols that are voluntary and, where necessary, legally binding, for the operation of unmanned systems in regional waters.

### **Thailand**

#### **Presentation by Flying Officer Siwalee Sirojborirak, Researcher, Studies Division, Strategic Studies Center (SSC), National Defence Studies Institute (NDSI), Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters (RTARF HQ)**

29. Flying Officer Siwalee Sirojborirak highlighted that over the past decade, the regional geostrategic landscape has changed dramatically. These





trends are growing intense and may potentially bring mishaps or miscalculations. Therefore, CBMs are one of the principles that can reduce the causes of mistrust and strengthen confidence between each other. For ASEAN, the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 and the ASEAN Political-Security Community have emphasised the region as one that resolves differences and disputes by peaceful means, while strengthening CBMs, promoting preventive diplomacy activities, and conflict resolution initiatives. Our region has had some success in promoting CBMs with the objective of crisis management and incident prevention such as (i) Codes of conduct and guidelines which are documents that improve the predictability of our actions and activities in the air and at sea, such as CUES, the ADMM's GAME and the ADMM's Guidelines for Maritime Interaction (GMI); all 18 ADMM-Plus navies signed on to CUES in 2017; and (ii) Crisis communication; the ADI is the primary mechanism for providing means by which any two ASEAN Defence Ministers may communicate with each other to arrive at mutual decisions in handling crises or emergency situations.

30. In order to strengthen CBMs in the ASEAN region, recommendations are: (i) Promote the implementation and key ASEAN mechanisms, such as the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC), as a principle of action to build relationships and build trust-building measures among ASEAN member countries; (ii) Promoting CBMs and preventive diplomacy in the framework of the ASEAN Conference on Political and Security Cooperation in the ARF; (iii) Strengthening ASEAN Centrality in regional security and expanding the scope of cooperation to cover new security challenges, such as food security, energy, water, disasters, pandemic, transnational crime, and cyber threats under the ASEAN-led mechanisms such as ADMM-Plus and ARF, etc.; and (iv) ADMM should be more strategic in the design agenda and activities to promote CBMs.

#### **Viet Nam**

#### **Presentation by Colonel Vu Cao Dinh, Deputy Director, Department of International Studies, Institute for Defence Strategy, Ministry of National Defence, Viet Nam**

31. Colonel Vu Cao Dinh highlighted that, although many CBMs have been implemented, the regional security environment has not been much improved. There are several reasons why the CBMs have failed to meet expectations of the signatories. First, parties concerned lack a willingness to settle disputes and do not pay due regard to common interests. Second, some CBMs, especially the maritime CBMs, have exposed certain limitations during implementation. Third, the process of drafting, consultation, and application of CBMs is often slow, especially when they aim to address sensitive issues that have far-reaching implications for the national interests and strategic interests of parties concerned.
32. Upholding peace and security in the region requires ASEAN to make every effort to improve current CBMs. Accordingly, ASEAN needs to engage in dialogues to promote mutual understanding and overcome distrust; combine CBMs in the politics, diplomacy, and military domains with



national defence; promote willingness to collaborate while paying due regard to legitimate interests of one another; consider expanding the scope of CBMs to ensure their effectiveness in actual practice; and harmonise national interests and common interests.

### **Exchange of Views**

33. The workshop was generally positive about the usefulness of CBMs, such as CUES, GAME, GMI, and the ADI. Nevertheless, several delegates highlighted the need for strengthened cooperation to fully exploit the potential of existing CBMs. Delegates noted that more could be studied about unmanned systems given their recent technological development and their impacts on regional security. Views were also expressed on the importance of ensuring and aligning ASEAN CBMs to the concerns and priorities of AMS. The workshop agreed that CBMs in ASEAN should be premised on trust, transparency, and togetherness (3 Ts), as well as technology.
34. The value of cooperation and dialogue between the ADMM, ADMM-Plus, and ARF tracks was also highlighted. This was related to the broader point that a whole-of-government approach should be taken towards confidence building. Such an approach would be useful to address emerging non-traditional security issues which may require the support of the defence and military agencies. In this context, cross-sectoral collaboration and consolidation within ASEAN could help facilitate discussions about new CBMs or the improvement of existing CBMs. Efforts could be made to share information about CBMs across the various agencies under the ASEAN Political-Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community.

### **Recommendations**

35. In view of the foregoing, the Workshop proposed the following recommendations:
  - a. NADI recommends more military-to-military and military-civilian interactions to promote exchange of ideas on regional security issues and existing CBMs, as well as to strengthen the ADMM-wide Education and Training Exchanges.
  - b. There should be greater interaction and synergy between the ADMM and the AMM by having regular discussions among officials to better coordinate positions on regional security issues.
  - c. NADI seeks ADMM's consideration to convene a study group to explore and recommend appropriate regional protocols in the operation of unmanned systems in regional waters and airspace.

**Other Matters***Forthcoming NADI Activities*

36. The meeting noted the updates on upcoming NADI activities:

Date	Activities	Country	Via
5 - 7 September 2022	NADI Workshop: Cyber Threats and Its Impacts to National and Regional Security in Southeast Asia	RIDU, Indonesia	VTC
15 - 17 November 2022	NADI Workshop: Strengthening Border Management Cooperation in the Region	CSSRD TNI, Indonesia	VTC

**Concluding Remarks**

37. The Chairman of the NADI Workshop extended his sincere appreciation and thanks to all the delegates for their participation in and constructive contribution to the Workshop.
38. The NADI delegates expressed their appreciation to RSIS for their generous hospitality and excellent arrangements made for the NADI Workshop.
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# NADI 2022



Strategic Studies Center,  
National Defence Studies Institute

62 Vibhavadi Rangsit Rd., Dindaeng, Bangkok, 10400, Thailand.  
Tel. & Fax : +66 2275 5716, Website : [www.ssc.thailand.org](http://www.ssc.thailand.org), [www.ssc.rtarf.mi.th](http://www.ssc.rtarf.mi.th)