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## **CICP Policy Brief No. 5**

**Our common security requires our common responses**

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Although our region has achieved remarkable economic growth with high stability and resiliency, we, in the field of security, still face with increasing traditional and non-traditional securities ranging from flood in Pakistan, mudslides in China, continued violence and terrorism in Afghanistan to security tension in the Korean Peninsula, South China Sea, and Cambodia-Thailand border.

Allow me to bring your attention to various emerging regional security issues and what we can do as a group to cope with these issues.

## **I. Non-traditional security issues**

### ***1. Natural Disasters***

In such a connected and interdependent world, particularly our Asia Pacific region, natural disasters have far reaching repercussions that are felt beyond the geographic boundaries of where the natural disasters hit. We have experienced the increasing trend of natural disasters over the last decade. Many environmental scientists link natural disasters with climate change and global warming and some spiritual leaders consider natural disasters as supra-natural events.

Whatever camp of believe we are in, what we need to do now is to find common root causes of the disasters and try to determine systemic approach to deal with them. Natural disasters believed to have a number of root causes and global warming and climate change is one of them. We experience more floods, drying leading to fire-storms, high winds, unseasonal freezes, ice-pack break up and meltdown, super hurricanes and rising sea levels that are a significant proportion of natural disasters today.

In such high vulnerability to disasters, we need to design a comprehensive adaptation mechanism to disasters. Lessons learnt must be shared with each other in order to find common strategy. So far Cambodia has less natural disasters with other countries in the region. Flood and droughts are the most frequent disaster events in Cambodia. But due to the lack of capacity and effective mechanism to cope with disasters, the impact is large.

We need to assist each other to set up early warning system and emergency preparedness, disaster risk assessment, prevention and mitigation mechanism, post-disaster needs assessment for the reconstruction process of areas struck by disasters, and post-disaster response and recovery planning.

Good practices and lessons learnt need to be shared among the countries in the region in order to more effectively deal with disasters. Such knowledge transfer and cooperation is necessary for a small and poor country like Cambodia. We need both technical and material support from other countries in the region. The ministry of defense of Cambodia is trying to set up disaster relief team and we are looking for the support for this initiative. The RCAF is in the process of reassessing the military's role in both internal and external disaster responses. Various activities that may help the RCAF enhance HA/DR capabilities include

Pacific Angel, MEDRETE, CARAT, civil military projects, and various other MEDCAPs and ENCAPs. Cambodia has agreed to co-host the multinational planning augmentation team Tempest Express (MPAT 19) in 2011.

## **2. Water Security**

Water is crucial to life and all forms of social, economic, and environmental development. According to the UN Task Force on Water and Sanitation (2005), safe water and sanitation is a prerequisite for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and for sustaining good health and quality of life. It is safe to say one of the root causes of poverty and conflicts is driven by the scarcity of water resources.

With declining water tables, water pollution and shifting development priorities, human “mis-use” and “over-use” are the twin causes of water scarcity in Asia Pacific region. In addition, water availability is threatened by rapidly changing contexts with population growth and movements, food demand and climate backdrops. Overall water available for development across the region is on steep decline.

Pollution, urbanization and climate change is sucking Asia dry with experts predicting that the continent’s megacities will face an unprecedented water crisis in the coming decades. One out of five people in the region do not have access to safe drinking water while half of the population in the Asia-Pacific region, equating to a staggering 1.6 billion people, are still without adequate sanitation. According to US Secretary General Ban Ki-moon stated at the first Asia Pacific Water Summit that “Water scarcity threatens economic and social gains and is a potent fuel for wars and conflict...This planet faces a water crisis that will hit Asia especially hard”.

The actions needed to move towards achieving water security need to be embedded into national development plans, such as poverty reduction strategies and comprehensive development frameworks. There is a need to bring together fragmented institutional responsibilities and interests in water, such as finance, planning, agriculture, energy, tourism, industry, education and health.

Achieving water security thus requires cooperation between different water users, and between those sharing river basins and aquifers, within a framework that allows for the protection of vital eco-systems from pollution and other threats.

## **3. Food Security**

Food security is defined by FAO as: *Food availability* – The availability of sufficient quantities of food of appropriate quality, supplied through domestic production or imports, including food aid. *Food access* – Access by individuals to adequate resources – entitlements -- for acquiring appropriate foods for a nutritious diet. Entitlements are defined as the set of all commodity bundles over which a person can establish command, given the legal, political, economic and social arrangements of the community in which s/he lives, including traditional rights such as

access to common resources. *Utilization* – Utilization of food through adequate diet, clean water, sanitation and health care to reach a state of nutritional well-being where all physiological needs are met. *Stability* – To be food secure, a population, household or individual must have access to adequate food at all times. They should not risk losing access as a consequence of sudden shocks, such as economic or climatic crises, or cyclical events such as agricultural seasons. Stability is thus needed in both availability and access.

Although Asia Pacific Region has the highest economic performance, food security is always one of the comprehensive security concerns in the region. In Southeast Asia, there are about 15 percent of the total population facing with undernourishment and there are about 25 percent of children are underweight. Cambodia is among the highest proportion of population undernourishment (25%).

Food price crisis in 2008 has impacted the region in almost all sectors including political stability and security. Several efforts have been taken at global, regional, and national level. The United Nations (UN) Secretary-General set up a High Level Task Force on the Global Food Security Crisis which produced a Comprehensive Framework for Action. The G-8 called for greater investment in the agricultural sector. Countries such as Cambodia, China, Indonesia and Korea imposed price controls and introduced consumer subsidies, while others such as Bangladesh, Indonesia and India distributed food rations and stamps. At the regional and multilateral levels, several steps were taken. The World Bank set up the Global Food Crisis Response Program while the ADB initiated a plan of assistance and financial help for the poor impacted by rising food prices which included food subsidies, incentives for agriculture and investments in improving infrastructure. In addition, food aid was pledged and social safety nets strengthened as well as efforts made to bolster agricultural produce.

At the regional level, Cambodia proposed to create an organization of rice exporting countries (OREC) in order to cope with the price fluctuation of the rice products. Recently ASEAN has created Rice Millers Association. Such regional mechanism can stabilize and better manage the food production, reservation, and price in the region. An effective response may come not just from sub-regional groupings such as ASEAN, ASEAN+3 or the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) but also effective interaction and coordination amongst these groupings. At the international level, the multilateral donors which pledge funds and assistance have to also ensure that these are effectively implemented and do not go to waste. Food security can only be achieved if food becomes available and accessible to the most vulnerable sections of society.

#### **4. Climate Change**

According the findings of the study group of CSCAP (Council for Security Cooperation and Asia Pacific) in 2009, climate change poses significant security risks to the Asia-Pacific region, including: decreasing energy access, decreasing access to food, increased frequency and intensity of hydro meteorological disasters, population displacement, increased public health problems, and water stress.

The primary drivers of climate security risks in the region are changes in mean temperature and precipitation, increasing climate variability, and sea-level rise and coastal change. The following climate security risks arise from these primary drivers:

**Energy availability.** Climate change is likely to impact on the supply of climate sensitive energy sources, in particular biomass and hydroelectricity. It is also likely to impact on infrastructure used to extract and distribute energy, for example oil and gas platforms and pipelines. The effects of these impacts on security include: disruption of supply of energy needed for the health and wellbeing of the rural poor, and disruption of supply of energy needed by industries, households, and critical public services.

**Food access.** Climate change is likely to undermine agro meteorological conditions in the region, and coastal and marine fisheries, leading to declining yields and short term food production failures. It may also damage food transport and storage systems, and lead to rising food prices. These changes are likely to lead to widespread hunger and malnutrition, and social unrest.

**Hydro meteorological disasters.** Climate change is likely to increase the frequency and intensity of extreme events, which will have catastrophic outcomes on social systems that are sensitive to and lack the capacity to plan for and respond to these hazards. Such events may be immediate, and lead to widespread social disruption, including loss of life, injury and illness, damage to critical infrastructure, disrupted agricultural and industrial production, and livelihood shocks.

**Population displacement.** Climate change is likely to contribute to the movement of people within and across borders, over short and long periods of time, through its effects on livelihoods, health, and the sustainability of settlements. Large scale unplanned migrations may lead to social disruption by increasing: pressure on public goods and services, rivalry over resources, and problems of border control.

**Public health.** Climate change is likely to increase the number of people exposed to vector borne diseases such as dengue fever and malaria, water borne diseases such as cholera and gastrointestinal disorders. It is likely to increase mortality due to heat stress, and cardiovascular illness due to smoke haze. These may lead to increasing mortality and morbidity, epidemics that may cross borders, impacts on economic growth, and problems of border control.

**Water stress.** Climate change is likely to reduce runoff in major catchments, increased pollution of surface water, depleted and contaminated groundwater resources, and coastal subsidence. These are likely to undermine livelihoods, industrial and agricultural production, and lead to tensions over the management of transboundary water resources. Other, lesser security risks arising from climate change include disputes over regional fisheries, land and maritime boundaries, and increased human trafficking.

The kinds of responses that could help manage these climate security risks include: policy and institutional strengthening; regional and international cooperation; monitoring, research and technology; public awareness, education and training; and finance and resource mobilization. It would be prudent to begin implementing these responses in the near term, recognizing that there is uncertainty about the timing of these security risks, some of which will emerge gradually, and some of which may be rapid onset and catastrophic in nature.

## **5. Terrorism**

Terrorism remains a pre-eminent national, regional and global security threat. To fight terrorism effectively, governments should invest a multi-prolonged response. Terrorism is very complicated issue; terrorists have their systematic and well organization; they can move and act quickly. Terrorism is no longer a single issue of a country or nation but it is international So far, there is no individual country has fought successfully against terrorism.

For Cambodia, so far various assessments by the Cambodian Armed Forces (RCAF) Security Assistance Assessment had suggested that the threat of terrorism in Cambodia is not significant at present. However, rationally it was concluded that there are currently no organized domestic terrorist groups of any significance operating in Cambodia; the country does not currently offer transnational terrorist groups the kind of support networks, exploitable assets and anonymity required to operate effectively; and Cambodia is not a significant transit route for international terrorists and their resources.

Despite this positive assessment, it was found that in the past terrorist groups had attempted to act in the country but their attempts were not successful, for example, Hambali attempted to conduct terrorist attacks against British embassy in Phnom Penh in 2002 was failed. There is evidence of increasing radicalization within Cambodian Muslim community (Cham community) resulted from the teaching of radical form of Islam, such as Salafism, in various religious schools in Cambodia. Despite this, there are concerns about terrorist threats in the region and the close proximity to the regional terrorist network's areas of operation (Philippine, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia), which could make Cambodia a terrorist safe heaven objective; situation in Southern Thailand; challenges to our land and sea border security; and threats from cross-border criminal activities and potential relationship with terrorism.

In response to growing threats of terrorism, the Royal Government of Cambodia has taken a number of important steps, which include:

- Establishing the National Counter-Terrorism Committee (NCTC) in late 2004 and the NCTC Secretariat (SNCTC) in mid 2005;
- Creating various departments within the SNCTC including the National Headquarters of Counter-Terrorism Special Forces (NHQCTSF) in early 2008;
- Drafting a CT Planning Book, which will be submitted to the Parliament in the near future;
- Adopting the Counter-Terrorism Law in 2007;

- Working with our partners on various counter-radicalization initiatives such as seminars and other educational programs;
- Initiating the plan to improve maritime security via the establishment of National Committee for Maritime Security; and
- Implementing measures to improve land and sea border security as well as cooperating closely with partner countries in tackling transnational criminal activities.

## II. Traditional Security

### 6. Maritime security

It is true that the maritime security is vital key for national security, peace and social and economic development. Particularly the maritime security contributes to the regional and global security in the war against the piracies, illegal drug smuggling, human trafficking, all other regional and international security concerns, and terrorism as well. It is real if the maritime security is really in a big trouble, the national, regional and international security, and the economic growth inevitably face with disasters and difficulties, too. Therefore, it is necessary that we all do our best to work together and enhance closer cooperation than before to participate in a better peace operation of maritime security.

Maritime security remains one of the top priorities for regional cooperation, even though the overall threat has been significantly reduced. Security in the Strait of Malacca has improved remarkably as the result of security measures by Indonesia, Singapore and later joined by Thailand in September 2008. Since the implementation of the Malacca Strait Patrols (MSP) the annual figure on piracy and armed robbery incidences has been on a downward trend. In recent month, the Malacca Strait no longer seems to be the hotspot in Southeast Asia.

Regarding to the maritime security, Cambodia agreed with any initiatives to create the partnership between Cambodia and fellow countries in the purpose of upgrading the understanding on challenges and also finding out common idea to set up appropriate measures for effectively managing the maritime security. For example, strengthening the role and capacity of navy, close co-operation between involved authorities, security maintenance for enhancing the economic potentiality, prevention and getting rid of terrorism, sea transnational crime immediately, and managing sea environment as well as opening access to any visit of warship of fellow countries.

Thus, Cambodia must strengthen its capacity to protect the maritime security even its sea territory is not big but great potentiality especially oil exploration. Several foreign oil companies are now investing their business on oil exploration in the Cambodian Sea. Thus, Cambodia must guarantee their security and safety.

In order peace keeping actions of maritime security goes smoothly and complies with national and international law in the upcoming day the Royal Government of Cambodia had established the **National Committee for Maritime Security (NSMS) in December 2009** composing of a secretariat as headquarter which is full of outstanding lawyers/law experts to manage their future

great work's responsibility. The Committee acts as a central consolidating authority to enhance security in Cambodian maritime areas (in response to present tendency and based upon our own actual need.) The NCMS has two main roles—ensuring maritime defense and coordinating maritime law enforcement. Five principles for our national maritime security--*awareness, protection, prevention, deterrence and intervention* will be implemented.

Furthermore, in order this independent institution can co-operate with other countries and assure the affairs of maritime security in productive and effective way, we shall continue to discuss on legal procedure/framework, human and material resources, and political affairs.

## **7. Border Conflict and Territorial Disputes**

Border conflict and territorial disputes are still the main security risks in Asia Pacific Region. It is the most complicated issue between and among states. For Cambodia we have serious border conflict with Thailand near the Preah Vihear temple. The tension has lasted from 2008. Bilateral mechanism has been conducted through various meetings at different level. However, the negotiation does not produce any fruitful results. It is therefore rational for Cambodia to seek third party to engage in this bilateral dispute. ASEAN is the main actor that can bring peaceful settlement for this.

Regarding the conflict resolution on the border/territorial disputes with its neighbors, the Cambodian government holds a position that “Cambodia is the country that possesses a virtue and culture of non invasion on another country territory but, Cambodia strongly determines to reserve her rights to self-defense.” The conflict must be resolved by peaceful means and mutual benefits.

## **8. Military exercises**

Military exercise is necessary but it should be conducted for the defensive purpose only not to create tension with other countries which can lead to further arm racing and competition in the region. Cambodia has been conducting several military drills recently but with the purpose to defense herself not to deter or threaten any other country.

Military drills/exercises should be conducted to serve in humanitarian relief mission. The modern military equipment and technology can cope with natural disasters at sea and land. The civilized and modern army forces should be trained not only to kill their enemies but also to save the people. Saving people is getting more important for the philosophy of Cambodian armed forces.

## **9. Peacekeeping Operations (PKO)**

Cambodia has moved from the recipient of peace keeping forces to the sender of peace keeping forces. Cambodia, under the United Nations framework, has sent hundreds of armed forces especially in demining mission to various conflict zones in the world. Recently, with the support from the United States, Cambodia has become one of the training grounds of peace keepers. Building on the recent success of Angkor Sentinel, Cambodia is interested in further activities such as developing the Multinational Peacekeeping Training School in Kampong Speu into a regional peacekeeping training center, participating in regional PKO training, and achieving operational capability in eight demining companies and one peacekeeping battalion. USARPAC has expressed interest in continuing Angkor Sentinel on an annual basis but on a smaller scale. A formal request will be submitted to MoND for coordination approval.

### **III. ASEAN's Roles**

Regional security architecture in the Asia Pacific region has been developed in many layers in which ASEAN is by and large stays at the center. ASEAN are regarded as the successful regional institutions in providing peace, stability, and development to the region. However, we must not ignore the current and potential security threats around the world and especially in the region. What we need to do is to keep strengthening regional and global institutions together with national capacity building to cope with security risks.

Although trust and confidence have been improved and collective fears have been reduced, the state's foreign policy is still strongly dominated by domestic political changes which can lead to conflict if self-regarded nationalism is applied to get domestic political support. It is therefore necessary to have a strong and effective regional system that can bind nation states together and constraint political attitudes of national leaders from damaging regional cooperation and interests.

At the national level, strong and effective institution with good governance has to be in place to check and balance political leadership from violating national and regional interests. The stronger people participation in national and regional policy is necessary in this regard.

ASEAN Charter paves the way for the people of ASEAN to actively engage in regional integration process through awareness and voices. The People of ASEAN have to right to be informed and get involved. The States have the responsibility to facilitate this engagement process especially through the Member of Parliament and relevant ministries and agencies.

Regarding the ASEAN Political Security Community, we are still facing with several challenges such as the lack of effective and responsive mechanism to deal with especially inter-state conflicts over sovereignty and territorial integrity. To implement the rules based regionalism with democratization is still at very slow pace.

The ASEAN Summit and other related meetings hosted by Vietnam in 2010 have proven to be more action oriented approach. The summit focused on accelerating the realization of the Roadmap for an ASEAN Community and implementation of the ASEAN Charter; promoting ASEAN connectivity; enhancing cooperation to deal with global challenges affecting the region;

strengthening ASEAN's external relations and ASEAN's role; exchanging views on regional and international issues of mutual concern.

Also at the Summit in Vietnam, ASEAN has shown proactive role in pushing regional integration and ASEAN community construction through concrete action plans and efforts. It was said that the Summit has proven ASEAN role with certain political willingness and cautionary steps in extended and open regionalism in the Asia Pacific region. ASEAN continues to play a relevant role as the driving force in shaping regional architecture in the Asia Pacific region.

Dispute Settlement Mechanism for ASEAN Charter is one of the most important documents for ASEAN to deepen its security cooperation and conflict resolution. The signing of the Protocol to the ASEAN Charter on Dispute Settlement Mechanisms signifies the determination of ASEAN in transforming ASEAN into a rules-based organization. In addition several other important documents were produced including ASEAN declaration on sustainable recovery and development and the declaration on responses to climate change.

ASEAN has shown its political commitment to reduce the development gap between the rich and poor countries in the region especially to assist Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar in poverty reduction and sustainable macroeconomic performance. The limitation for this is the lack of necessary resources especially financial and technical resources to help poorer ASEAN member countries. It is strongly recommended that ASEAN Development Foundation should be created for this Endeavour.

Stronger cooperation between the executives and legislatives in ASEAN member countries are encouraged. AIPA can play a significant role in realizing ASEAN Community. It is within the vision of people oriented ASEAN when the members of parliament of ASEAN actively engage in ASEAN community building process. The Member of Parliament is the bridge between ASEAN at the regional and national levels to grassroots level.

In this region, we have two important regional mechanisms to deal specifically with regional security issues namely: ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting (ADMM) Plus.

### **ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)**

ARF was established in 1994. Now it has 28 member states (Australia, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Canada, China, European Union, India, Indonesia, Japan, Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Mongolia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Russian Federation, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Timor Leste, United States, Vietnam).

The objectives of the ASEAN Regional Forum are outlined in the First ARF Chairman's Statement (1994), namely:

1. To foster constructive dialogue and consultation on political and security issues of common interest and concern; and

2. To make significant contributions to efforts towards confidence-building and preventive diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific region.

The 27th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (1994) stated that "The ARF could become an effective consultative Asia-Pacific Forum for promoting open dialogue on political and security cooperation in the region. In this context, ASEAN should work with its ARF partners to bring about a more predictable and constructive pattern of relations in the Asia Pacific." At the tenth year of the ASEAN Regional Forum, the ARF Ministers met in Phnom Penh on 18 June 2003 and declared that "despite the great diversity of its membership, the forum had attained a record of achievements that have contributed to the maintenance of peace, security and cooperation in the region."

Although ARF creates a regional platform for security dialogue, it has been criticized to be just a mere "talk shop" which implies that ARF is not effective when it comes to solve security issues and conflict. The Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) observes that the ARF is an under-achiever. It has not achieved its mandated evolution established at the outset in 1994. While ARF has been able to undertake many confidence building measures (phase one of its mandate), it has been reluctant or unable to move to preventive diplomacy (phase two) and conflict resolution (phase three). Unless the ARF is able to move forward, its relevance will be questioned, thereby opening the way for other options and bodies to be considered for this role.

CSCAP further notices that the ARF risks irrelevance if it did not address the security challenges confronting the region because of the inability and reluctance of its members to move towards meaningful preventive diplomacy. The challenge for the ARF is that if it is unable to reenergize and rebuild itself because of the continuing grip of sovereignty-protectionist logic in traditional security concerns, then it can shift its focus from overarching regional security architectures to focus on more "as-needed" ad hoc multilateralism on specific issues. The ARF could consider making itself relevant by shifting to focus on functional cooperation on a range of essentially non-traditional security issues from climate and environmental change to natural disasters and food security among other issues.

### **ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting (ADMM) and ADMM Plus**

In order to meet dynamic security challenges, the Defense Ministers of ASEAN gathered first time in Kuala Lumpur in 2006 to create an independent track to report directly to ASEAN heads of state/government. It is the belief among ASEAN Defense Ministers that only through constructive, open, and practical cooperation among the security sector, the region can stay at peace and deal with emerging security issues effectively. Security here refers to both traditional and non-traditional security.

As an "open, flexible, and outward looking" regionalism, ADMM Concept Paper calls for the establishment of ADMM Plus to engage with dialogue partners in the region. The objectives of ADMM Plus are:

- To benefit ASEAN member countries in building capacity to address shared security challenges, while cognizant of the differing capacities of various ASEAN countries.
- To promote mutual trust and confidence between defense establishments through greater dialogue and transparency.

- To enhance regional peace and stability through cooperation in defense and security, in view of the transnational security challenges the region faces.
- To contribute to the realization of an ASEAN Security Community which, as stipulated in the Bali Concord II, embodies ASEAN's aspiration to achieve peace, stability, democracy and prosperity in the region where ASEAN member countries live at peace with one another and with the world at large.
- To facilitate the implementation of the Vientiane Action Programme, which calls for ASEAN to build a peaceful, secure and prosperous ASEAN, and to adopt greater outward-looking external relation strategies with our friends and Dialogue Partners.

There is a concern that ADMM Plus may duplicate work with the ASEAN Regional Forum or even can make ARF less relevant in terms of security dialogue mechanism. But from my point of view, the more talks and discussion can improve mutual trust and understanding. ADMM Plus and ARF can complement each others in trust building and finding common acceptable solutions to the security problems.

As we are living in an unstable and uncertain world, we have to build our capacity to adapt to changes and deal with new challenges. As conflict is mainly caused by the lack of confidence and trust, collective fears, poverty, extremism, and weak institutions, we have to cope with these causes in a holistic and integrated way in which it includes multi-track diplomacy, education, and international partnership for sustainable development and good governance.

Traditional and non-traditional security issues are increasingly posing threats and damages to us at different level and in a multidimensional way. We (nation state and people) need to join hands and heads together to address those security issues in a timely and effective manner.

We need to strengthen global and regional institutions, and state capacity to cope with the issues. To do that, we need to calculate our national interest as a function of regional and global interest. We need to prevent self-regarding nationalism and accommodate each others' interests. To realize this, regional citizenship and leadership is needed.

A multi-polar world with international cooperation and interdependency will definitely bring peace, stability, and prosperity to human kind. Global-Regional-National Partnership is the cornerstone of peace and stability while its principle and method lies on trust, confidence, openness, transparency, and accountability.

ASEAN centered regional security architecture needs to continuously developed and upgraded to meet new security challenges. ASEAN peace keeping forces and disaster relief team should be created to assist the member state to timely and effectively cope with both human and natural disasters.