CO-CHAIRS' SUMMARY REPORT THE ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM TRAINING COURSE ON PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY

Beijing and Nanjing, China, 13-19 October 2014

Introduction

- 1. Pursuant to the decision of the 21st Ministerial Meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) held in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar in September 2014, the ARF Training Course on Preventive Diplomacy ("Course") was held in Beijing and Nanjing, China, on 13-19 October 2014. The Course was co-chaired by the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Government of the Royal Kingdom of Thailand, the Government of New Zealand and the Government of the United States of America.
- 2. 36 representatives from 23 ARF member states and the ASEAN Secretariat took part in the Course. The List of Participants is attached as Annex 1.
- 3. With the aim to enhance the capacity and capabilities of ARF and its participants in the area of PD, the Course focused on the principles and theories as well as practice of PD in the Asia-Pacific. Renowned scholars and experienced practitioners from ASEAN countries, China, New Zealand, Russia, the United States and the United Nations (UN) convened courses in multiple forms including lectures, workshops and field trip. The major part of the Course was held in Beijing on 13-17, followed by a field work in Nanjing on 18 and 19. The programme is attached as Annex 2.

Opening Ceremony – Welcome and Opening Remarks

- 4. Prof. Qin Yaqing, President of the China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), welcomed all the participants of the Course and thanked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China for entrusting CFAU with the organization of the Course. He expressed the willing by CFAU to make more contributions to ARF activities in the future.
- 5. Mr. Hong Liang, Deputy Director-General, Department of Asian Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, extended welcome to all participants and expressed gratitude to co-chairs from Thailand, New Zealand and the United States. He noted the positive efforts by ARF members in PD including the Round-table on Training Resources for PD and ARF Seminar on PD Mediation Training and looked forward to success of the Track 1.5 PD Symposium next year. He summarized China's position on PD in three Cs: First C is Confidence-building Measures (CBMs), which enables us to enhance mutual trust, and create favorable conditions for the bright future of PD process. Second C is consensus. Since ARF PD is kind of collective action or endeavor, we should hold up the ARF PD Concepts and Principles adopted in 2001, in

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which consensus is one of the most important principles. Third C is centrality of ASEAN. As ASEAN plays the central role in advancing regional dialogue and cooperation, we also expect that ASEAN continues to play its leading role in advancing PD along the right track.

- 6. Ms. Busadee Santipitaks, Deputy Director-General, Department of ASEAN Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, highlighted the diversity of co-chairs and that their presence reflected the consensus and mutual comfort among ARF participants to make progress in PD. Nevertheless, the ARF must pay heed to the Asia-Pacific's unique characteristics, particularly its diversity and lack of an overarching regional security architecture. Given the diverse historical experiences of ARF participants and the lack of "one size fits all" model of PD, therefore, coming up with a common core curriculum of PD training would be challenging. Through interaction and discussions, participants of the ARF training course would be testing and learning about the pace and comfort level of participants when it comes to implementing PD in the ARF. It would then be possible to evaluate what kind of PD skills and capabilities would be practical and appropriate for the Asia-Pacific region.
- 7. H.E. Mr. Carl Worker, Ambassador of New Zealand to China, congratulated China for putting together the training course, and linked it the ARF Roundtable on Preventive Diplomacy Training Resources which was held in New Zealand in March 2014. Both the training course and the Roundtable demonstrated the strong appetite for the establishment of an ARF training programme on PD, which was tailored to the Asia-Pacific region. Designing a PD training approach that fits with this region's needs and characteristics would be an ambitious goal for the ARF to work towards. However, there could be no one-size-fits-all approach. The focus should be on learning from each other, and improving the way that PD is applied in practice. Ambassador Worker also drew attention to New Zealand's initiative on a Track 1.5 symposium on PD, which would be delivered in 2015.
- 8. Mrs. Kaye Lee, Political Minister-Counselor of the Embassy of the United States in China, thanked China for hosting the ARF Preventive Diplomacy training, as well as co-chairs Thailand and New Zealand. She noted that, given the myriad challenges facing the Asia-Pacific region ranging from longstanding disputes over territory and maritime zones to trafficking in persons, drugs and arms it is important that we hone the region's capability, through our efforts in the ARF, to conduct PD so that we can work productively and peacefully to address security challenges early on, in order to prevent them from escalating into conflict. She noted that ARF members should seek to foster greater communication and establish response, cooperation, and resolution mechanisms for crisis situations. She also urged ARF members to build the capacity of the organization to carry out PD and advance agreements on principles and criteria that empower the ARF to increasingly take on this role. The United States applauded Brunei and the European Union for the

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Preventive Diplomacy Mediation Training workshop that they held the week prior in Bandar Seri Begawan, and expressed interest in combining the outcomes of both of these efforts to develop the next steps for PD in the ARF. The United States closed by noting that it is honored to be a part of this groundbreaking process and long-awaited journey to advance the ARF.

Lectures and Workshops

- 9. Ms. Trisha Riedy from the United Nations Institute for Training and Research introduced the theories and practices of the UN in peacemaking and PD. She attached great importance to strengthening practice through training and knowledge sharing. She emphasized on four aspects of training: analysing and addressing the root causes of conflict, strengthening listening skills, going beyond positions to discover interests and evaluating various approaches.
- 10. Prof. Alexander Nikitin of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations presented on the role of regional interstate organisations in PD. He argued that the occurrence and scope of international interference from the international community is more frequent and broader in today's world politics. Use of force on behalf of the world community through UN and regional interstate organisations became a field for conflict of great powers' interests. He suggested that a coordination council of regional organisations should be created to combine the conflict-resolution potentials of different regional organisations, which may be on opposite sides of the conflict, to work jointly for common interests.
- 11. The initial session presented by the United States Institute of Peace was intended to link the importance of conflict analysis and early warning with PD. It was important to give the participants a strong sense of the value of good conflict analysis and what effective conflict analysis and early warning is. The presentation emphasized conflict analysis skills and tools, most especially, the importance of good, active listening and understanding the context and the drivers of violent conflict. Strong analysis is critical to creating necessary PD approaches such as developing effective monitoring and fact finding practices; working at local, national and regional levels and engaging with multiple actors; anticipating consequences and doing no harm; and developing conflict sensitivity and empathy. The presentation also focused on effective methods of analyzing conflict and the development of a framework that can help order and prioritize information and determine what gaps in information and understanding exist, all of which are critical for early warning. Ultimately, good analysis must be relevant and reflective of local conditions, in order to inform programming and strategy. The presentation concluded with a discussion of metrics and assessment. Metrics help us anticipate and understand problems while assessment brings a level of judgment about planning, possible intervention, and recognition of potential consequences.

- 12. The second component of USIP's session was an interactive exercise intended to apply the key themes and skills highlighted in the previous presentation. The activity was designed so that the participants could work collaboratively in small teams and engage in conflict analysis. The teams of 4 or 5 were given a scenario based upon escalation of tensions in a fictional country with the facts based upon ongoing conflict in Kyrgyzstan. The participants were tasked with being part of a newly-formed UN regional center for preventive diplomacy and developing a strategy of diplomatic actions that could help prevent the escalation of violence and prevent any violence from spilling across the country's borders. The exercise forced the teams to determine the nature of the conflict, who the key stakeholders were and their relationships, as well as understand the key drivers of the conflict in order to develop and recommend the most effective steps to stabilize the situation. The exercise also led the participants to consider what regional diplomatic efforts might be appropriate, whether scheduled elections should be held and what attempts at national reconciliation might be effective.
- 13. Thailand's presentation titled "Development of ASEAN Preventive Diplomacy Cooperation and the ASEAN Way" was presented by Ms. Busadee Santipitaks, Deputy Director-General, Department of ASEAN Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand. She gave an overview of the establishment of ASEAN, which was in itself a regional PD measure. effectively prevented conflicts among its politically ASEAN ideologically diverse Member States, which had the common goal of achieving political stability, economic development, and social progress. Overall, ASEAN was successful in ensuring peace and security even though it was never intended to be a military alliance. ASEAN's principles as enshrined in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC), for example, non-interference in internal affairs of others, peaceful resolution of disputes, and non-use of force, have served their purpose and are still relevant as ASEAN's practice. Since the establishment of ASEAN, there had been no open conflicts between Member States. Even though ASEAN has confidence-building provisions and dispute settlement mechanism under the TAC, ASEAN never invoked them and preferred to use informal and bilateral channels, with emphasis on quiet diplomacy and consultations. This became known as the "ASEAN Way." ASEAN Way has been prominent when Member States were dealing with complex and sensitive issues, for example democracy and human rights, for which they had to take into account the differences in political systems of each Member State. However, with the current geopolitical landscape whereby major powers have shown increasingly competing interests that could potentially impact regional peace and security, ASEAN needed to evolve to keep up with the changes. Therefore, ASEAN may need to re-consider the principle of non-interference, and the emergence of new challenges and PD issues may need to be addressed through the ASEAN Inter-governmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) and the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR).

Such organizations reflect how ASEAN is evolving in response to new regional dynamics.

- 14. Prof. Kevin Clements, Chair and Director of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago, New Zealand, presented on Confidence Building, Communication, Conflict Prevention and Cooperative Security in East and South East Asia. Professor Clements focused on the importance of embedding in PD and conflict resolution the concept of cooperative security. Professor Clements noted that cooperative security favoured a multilateral approach over a bilateral approach, and emphasised reassurance as a basic for security policy, rather than deterrence.
- 15. H.E. Mr. Wang Yingfan, Special Envoy on Asian Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, recalled the process of approval of the Responsibility to Protect by the UN and held that diplomacy is preventive in nature. Ambassador Wang pointed out that China has never been against PD and in fact has carried out PD. Ambassador Wang introduced the role of China in conflict resolution in Asia and also other areas in the world, such as peacekeeping. He mentioned China has played a constructive role as the mediator in the northern Myanmar conflicts, even though China's approach is different to humanitarian intervention.
- 16. H.E. Mr. Sun Yuxi, Special Envoy on Afghan Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, introduced the origin of the Afghan issue and the latest progress of international cooperation on the Afghan issue, and forecasted that this issue would become less hot in 3 to 5 years. Ambassador Sun emphasized the role of China in solving the Afghan issue and briefed the preparatory work by China on hosting the fourth Ministerial meeting of the Istanbul Process on Afghanistan in Beijing at the end of October. He believes that even though China did not contribute combat troops, it is playing a leading role in the reconstruction of Afghanistan.
- 17. Dr. Mingjiang Li of the Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, considered the tools and techniques for conflict resolution. He believes there are already several institutions in place in the region for conflict resolution. However, the members of ARF have different attitudes to and understanding about PD. The ASEAN way and the principles of sovereignty and non-interventionism could become a constraint for the efficiency of conflict resolution. Dr. Li also facilitated a discussion on the tools for conflict resolution in which participants discussed the major conflicts in the region and effective conflict-resolution measures.
- 18. Prof. Su Hao of the China Foreign Affairs University introduced general theories on security, as well as the Asian Security Concept. In particular, he discussed the meaning and contents of China's new security concept featuring mutual confidence, mutual benefit, equality and collaboration. He pointed out

that Asian PD has a different approach from Western PD. PD in Eastern cultures is holistic and dialectic, stressing complex interdependence among states; the interaction between security, economic and societal factors; the formation of a community with joint destiny, interests and responsibility; and, finally, the aim of constructing a harmonious region and harmonious world.

- 19. Mr. Xiao Jianguo, Representative for Boundary and Oceanic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, gave a lecture on major border demarcation negotiations between China and its neighbours. Mr. Xiao introduced the background and processes of China's border demarcation since the foundation of the People's Republic of China and explained China's principles and policies concerning demarcation issues. Mr. Xiao pointed out that China consistently adheres to the policy of friendly relations with its neighbouring States, and strives for fair and equitable solutions to disputes of territorial sovereignty and maritime delimitation by way of negotiations on the basis of equality and the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. He mentioned that after years of diplomatic efforts and negotiations, China has successfully resolved land boundary disputes with twelve out of its fourteen neighbours, delimiting and demarcating some 20,000 kilometres in length of land boundary in the process, which accounts for over 90% of the total length of China's land boundary.
- 20. Prof. Wang Yizhou from Peking University introduced his theory of 'creative involvement', which, he believes, is the new direction of China's diplomacy. China's creative involvement is constructive, preventive and selective. In particular, China's creative involvement is legitimised through coping with UN Chapter as the base of its active approach; inherited from Mr. Deng Xiaoping's outlook on peace and development, as a cornerstone of foreign policies; and acceding to Chinese ancient wisdom on the use of hard power with caution.
- 21. Mr. Xu Bu, Deputy Special Envoy on Korean Peninsula Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, introduced the developmental trajectories of the North Korean nuclear crisis and five rounds of the six-party talks. Mr. Xu also explained China's role in solving the North Korean nuclear crisis issue and the Peninsular issue. He believes that China's initiation and development of the six-party talks mechanism is an important page in the country's diplomatic history and this mechanism is still the most practical and effective tool for solving the issue.
- 22. Mr. Shahrul Anaz of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Brunei, gave a summary report on the ARF PD Seminar and Mediation Training held in Bandar Seri Begawan on 7-10 October, 2014, to ensure that the key messages/lessons learned from the Brunei course could be fed into the Beijing event.

- 23. Prof. Zhai Kun from Peking University facilitated a discussion on the future of PD in the Asia-Pacific and the role of the ARF. Participants of the training course shared their opinions on how to strengthen the cooperation on PD in the ARF.
- 24. After the Beijing course, participants made a trip to Nanjing. Prof. Zhu Feng, Executive Director of the Collaborative Innovation Center for South China Sea Studies, Nanjing University gave a lecture on the South China Sea issue and PD. He suggested that PD is hard to achieve with this issue because of great power competition. The dual-track approach promoted by the Chinese foreign minister opened the door for PD, which could progress alongside the COC negotiations and become the main component for a concrete and constructive COC action plan. Confidence-building measures should be the first step in PD on the South China Sea issue.

Closing Ceremony

- 25. Prof. Wei Ling, Institute of Asian Studies of the China Foreign Affairs University hosted the closing ceremony and conveyed her appreciation to all the speakers and participants.
- 26. Mr. Zhang Lizhong, Counsellor of Department of Asian Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, highly commended the efforts by all participants on the training course and wished what they learned could contribute to their daily work. He also expressed the willingness of China to make further cooperation with the ARF participants in the PD process, especially on the capacity building of regional countries on PD. After his speech, Mr. Zhang issued the certificates to all participants.
- 27. The representative of Thai Co-Chair, Ms. Chamsai Menasveta, First Secretary, Department of ASEAN Affairs of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, shared her observation that the participants of the ARF PD Training Course demonstrated positive reception to the idea of more concrete PD training within the ARF. In their work, some participants had already been engaged in PD activities in the region, but never received formal training in PD. The discussions brought to light how PD has been used successfully in ASEAN, primarily in an informal manner. In this regard, ARF PD training courses should be held regularly, with emphasis on building practical PD skills through case studies.
- 28. The representative of New Zealand Co-Chair, Ms Jemma Lala, Second Secretary (Political) at the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta, thanked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China for its efforts in hosting the Training Course, as well as the contribution of Co-Chairs Thailand and the United States. Ms. Lala emphasized New Zealand's support for PD initiatives in the context of the ARF, and expressed a hope that the skills and theories learned during the

course would be disseminated widely by participants throughout their own governments to widen an understanding of the meaning and practice of PD within the ARF region.

29. The representative of the United States Co-Chair, Ms. Morgan Courtney, Senior Advisor on Asian Affairs in the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations at the U.S. Department of State provided the final remarks during the closing session. She thanked the government of China for their excellent hospitality, and co-chairs Thailand and New Zealand for their efforts in putting together the event. She reflected on remarks made during the week: that conflict resolution is not based solely on who has the best facts, the most facts, or the oldest facts, although these are certainly important tools. It is unlikely that any party would suddenly agree that the other was right, regardless of the facts presented. Rather, conflict resolution requires being comfortable with some degree of ambiguity, and negotiating a way forward that is mutually agreeable to all parties involved. In some cases, that requires a third party mediator, such as a third country, the UN, or even the ICJ. These, and other mechanisms, should be further explored. She encouraged the ARF members to continue to advance PD efforts in the region, advance new ideas as laid out in the 2011 Work Plan on PD, and ensure that the ARF enables the development of institutions and mechanisms for PD and conflict resolution in the region. The United States expressed its keen interest in working with other ARF members to advance future ARF PD trainings and activities.