

PUTRAJAYA FORUM

2016 REPORT

18 -19 April 2016, Kuala Lumpur

Theme:

**Strengthening Security and
Regional Stability**



Malaysian Institute Of Defence And Security

Defence and Security Forum for Peace

PUTRAJAYA FORUM 2016 REPORT

Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security
Jalan Padang Tembak
50634 KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA
<http://midas.mod.gov.my>

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The Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS) was established in April 2010 under the purview of the Ministry of Defence, Malaysia. It is poised to become a centre of excellence for the Ministry of Defence and Government of Malaysia in the defence and security field through comprehensive research and sharing of knowledge. In generating new ideas it shall include various activities such as forums, debates, seminars and publishing of journal on defence and security. MiDAS is premised at the Ministry of Defence in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Contents

Foreword

Executive Summary

Chapter 1

Opening Address by the Right Honourable Prime Minister of Malaysia

Chapter 2

Keynote Address Regional Cooperation in Addressing Security Challenges

Chapter 3

Session 1

Major Power Influence and Regional Security Architecture

Chapter 4

Session 2

50 Years of ASEAN Cooperating For Peace

Chapter 5

Session 3

Institutional Response to Transnational Security Threats

Chapter 6

Closing Address by The Right Honourable Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia

Chapter 7

Photo Gallery

This report summarizes the proceeding of the conference as interpreted by the assigned rapporteurs and editor appointed by the Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS).

This conference adheres to a variation of the Chatham House Rule. Accordingly, beyond the paper presenters cited, no other attributions have been included in this conference report.



Foreword



The defence community continues to work on ensuring the stability of the region. Through the Ministry of Defence, Malaysia remains committed to the course through continuous engagement at various platforms that have been set through the wisdom of our forefathers at the ASEAN level. In particular, the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) and the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting Plus have evolved to an increasingly important mechanism in addressing the regional defence and security challenges. We have witnessed over the years since its inception in 2006 and 2010 respectively, ADMM and ADMM Plus have been able to strike the delicate balance of major and middle power influence across the region. It is indeed timely that the Putrajaya Forum 2016 being held with the theme "Regional Cooperation in Addressing Security Challenges". With ASEAN became a community in 2015 there couldn't be a better time for us in the defence community to discuss the matter at hand.

I am happy with the ability of very prominent speakers and Subject Matter Experts from various parts of the globe to share knowledge, thoughts and experiences sincerely and wisely with great sensitivity and respect without compromising on certain important ideas and resolutions that are difficult to convey openly, especially in the region that religiously upholds the value of respecting territorial integrity and sovereignty. Without fail Putrajaya Forum continues to bring the best out of the speakers to nonchalantly express their wise views on the subject related to regional defence and security interest. The three sessions that covered ASEAN's next 50 years strategic outlook against the backdrop of continuous major power influence and the ever increasing non-traditional security challenges in the region, had made this year's forum as one of the most memorable one.

I sincerely hope that, whatever have transpired at the Putrajaya Forum 2016 would be put to good use and considerations as it had certainly touched on certain difficult issues plaguing the governments around the region, in which if, we maintain the level of trust and confidence with each other, up keeping the regional peace and stability will be our natural business. As Malaysia's Defence Minister and Chairman of MiDAS, I am pleased to present you the Putrajaya Forum Report 2016.

Thank you.

Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein,
Chairman of MiDAS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF PUTRAJAYA FORUM 2016



The Putrajaya Forum 2016 was successfully organised by the Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS) at Sunway Putra Hotel, Kuala Lumpur from 18 - 19 April 2016. This year, the Putrajaya Forum had run concurrently with the 15th Defence Services Asia Exhibition and Conference (DSA 2016) at Putra World Trade Centre (PWTC). As it was an informal platform for government officials, policymakers, security experts, defence and security practitioners, think tanks as well as academicians to promote better understanding of the current regional and global defence and security issues, this Forum had successfully gathered over 1500 participants from ASEAN and dialogues partners as well as other European and Asia Pacific nations. The forum had brought together Ministers of Defence, Secretary Generals, and Chiefs of Defence Forces in one platform. It was a perfect avenue for all participating Forum members to exchange opinions, experiences and best practices as well as establish networking with the forum speakers and participants.

The essence of Putrajaya Forum was formulated in line with the current security threats around the globe. It also provided an informal platform which directly gave the participants an insight on their understanding on the issues discussed. With the theme ***“Regional Cooperation in Addressing Security Challenges”***, this Forum had emphasised on addressing the growing threats of non-traditional security challenges across the region and beyond. There were 3 sessions which highlighted on regional security architecture; influence of the major power; institutional response to transnational threats; and evaluating ASEAN's peace cooperative achievements and future endeavours in maintaining regional peace and stability. This forum demonstrated Malaysia's efforts and initiatives to promote mutual trust and confidence as well as to strengthen cooperation amongst the countries involved.

The forum was officiated by the Honourable Dato' Sri Mohd Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak, the Prime Minister of Malaysia. In his opening address, he emphasized that the theme “Regional Cooperation in Addressing Security Challenges” was timely as countries around the world had been increasingly challenged by potential conventional and non-conventional threats. In his remarks, the Prime Minister asserted on ASEAN had to work in tandem with neighbours and friends beyond national boundaries and across continents in dealing with the present demands of borderless security threats and trans-boundary crime. He further suggested that the successful Malacca Straits Patrol initiative mechanism should be emulated to address maritime security challenges in other strategic waterways in this region. Furthermore, he believed that ADMM Plus had played a critical role in balancing major power influence in the region, being a platform that allowed practical military cooperation between the middle and super-powers of the world in addressing significant regional defence and security challenges. Nevertheless, in concurrence to the above development, the ZOPFAN principle as the fundamental pillar for the establishment of ASEAN Political and Security Community had remained relevant.

The Opening Address was followed by the session discussing “Major Power Influence and Regional Security Architecture”. His Excellency Dr Ng Eng Hen, the Minister of Defence, Singapore and His Excellency Mr. Suay Alpay, the Deputy Minister of National Defence, Turkey were the speakers. This session was moderated by Honourable Tan Sri Razali Ismail, the Chairman of Global Movement of Moderates Foundation. In this session, the distinguished panels had discussed on the ever-changing regional and global security landscape which demanded great perseverance from nations and all stakeholders. The dynamics and complexity of security challenges today required a comprehensive and extraordinary counter approach, cutting across various government agencies regionally and extra-regionally. The existing regional security mechanisms in the form of ADMM, ADMM



Plus and ASEAN Regional Forum would continue to remain relevant in the equation, particularly in striking the balance of major powers' influence in the region. Constant review on major powers' influence towards the region was deemed critical as it had bearings on regional security and stability.

Dr Ng believed that ADMM since its inception in 2006 had made good progress through embarking on cooperation to build confidence and capabilities. ADMM had been guided by principles enshrined in two major instruments, namely the ASEAN Charter and Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia. He believed that on the occasion of the ADMM's 10th anniversary, it was timely for the ADMM to establish a set of key principles specific to defence cooperation within the ADMM. He articulated three principles for consideration. First, the ADMM shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each ASEAN member state. Second, cooperation shall be on a voluntary and non-binding basis. Third, ADMM must be open and inclusive with ASEAN at the centre. He further suggested that new areas of cooperation should be explored and highlighted ADMM-Plus's next initiative which was cyber security. In addition, he touched on the Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea (CUES) that was promoted by China at the 14th Western Pacific Naval Symposium in April 2014. Dr Ng believed that these principles and goals will help the ADMM and the ADMM-Plus in tackling security challenges in the region.

The session was proceeded by the second distinguished speaker, His Excellency

Mr. Suay Alpay, Deputy Minister of National Defence, Turkey. He talked about "The Effects of the Big Powers on the Establishment of Regional Security." He shared Turkey's experience in combating terrorism and claimed that Turkey had no hesitation in combating terrorism as it was a crime against humanity. Mr Alpay estimated that Asia will surpass the Western world in terms of population size, gross domestic product, military spending and technological investments in the next two decades. Therefore, the economic centre of power was shifting from North-West to South-East and the Asia-Pacific region has become an important centre of power and attraction since the last half century with its remarkable social and economic development. He stressed that sustainable development in Asia requires robust and comprehensive regional security architecture, thus intensifying and sustaining international commercial ties are essential for maintaining regional security and stability. Therefore, he advised that the most significant duty and test for decision makers today was to keep up with the pace of this changing environment and developments taking place in the world and to take timely steps.

On the second day, Session 2 of Putrajaya Forum entitled "50 years of ASEAN: Cooperating for Peace in the Region" was presented by 4 speakers and moderated by Professor Ruhanas Harun, a Fellow of MiDAS. The session reminisced ASEAN's achievement since its inception, progressing on the three main pillars namely economics, socio-culture and security. ASEAN was arguably an outstanding regional grouping in the world. The adoption of ASEAN Community vision in 2015 by its member states had boosted the momentum of regional cooperation and community building. The expansion of military capabilities and activities with the intense challenges posed by non-traditional security threats had underscore the importance of regional security mechanism. The moderator emphasized on the significance of preserving ASEAN as a regional community to enhance unity, peace and prosperity. The session focussed on laying out the trajectory image of ASEAN development in the near future.

The first speaker, Tan Sri Rastam Mohd Isa, the Chairman and Chief Executive of ISIS Malaysia had presented on the historical experiences and background of ASEAN since it was first established in 1967. The rising political tensions among major powers and economical infatuations have affecting ASEAN member states. Today, massive migration of refugees had involved many parts of the world and states are now confronting with non-traditional security issues where there was greater demand for democracy, freedom and human rights by the people around the world. Technological advancement and innovation were tremendously influencing the development of modern communication and commerce. Therefore, the Southeast Asian and Asia Pacific region were experiencing mixture of calm and tensions. Rastam eloquently expressed his optimism in the regional economic trend which involves China, Japan and India. ASEAN economy was

apt to broaden greater in the future as the ASEAN Economic Community was established. The social pattern of Southeast Asia was rather at the stable level and there was a rise of emerging middle class in Southeast Asia. It was expected that our young people would dominate the population percentage in the near future. He further highlighted on the current regional security architecture of ASEAN and the changing of global strategic and economic landscape which will also influence ASEAN's policies in the future. The speaker had also mentioned several ASEAN characteristics that had developed over the years. The most outstanding characteristic was the ASEAN Way of conducting matters which relied on making decision based on consensus. ASEAN needed to have a clear vision for unity and prosperity to be embraced by the leaders, officials and decision makers as well as the people on the ground.

The second Speaker, H.E Dr. Kobsak Chutikul, from Asian and Reconciliation Council, Thailand highlighted that ASEAN had gained world recognition for its ability in convening the setting of power agenda through its central role in the emerging regional strategic architecture. Dr. Chutikul further expressed on the effectiveness of the ASEAN Way which encouraged informal discussions whilst pointing out the challenges remained up ahead. He further anticipated that in 2050, top ten economies in the world will include five developing countries and three of them located in this region. Moreover, he assumed that there was a need for ASEAN to determine its own future rather than waiting for some "big brothers" to act from the outside. Dr. Kobsak Chutikul concluded his speech by addressing the expectation for the next generations of ASEAN.

This session was continued by Major General Ashok Hukku (R) from India as the third speaker. He began his speech by giving an overview of today's security issues that were also connected to climate change, water, energy, migration, food, cyber world, space and terrorism. He believed that ASEAN would have to play an important role in the years ahead where these regional countries should jointly strengthen multidimensional cooperative efforts and needed to take measures to combat the growing scourge on high seas. Furthermore, ASEAN may have to form an "Anti-Piracy Operations Centre" and this would enhance and stabilize SLOCs along which most of the world trade moves. He concluded that ASEAN had held together for half a century and it had to continue to keep re-inventing, adjusting and promoting its own capabilities, as the time changes.

The last speaker, Dr. Tang Siew Mun, Head of the ASEAN Studies Centre, Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore expressed that academicians hardly could forecast or crystal gaze issues that exist with ASEAN. He believed there would be two visible trends and argued that ASEAN could not be compared to the structure of European Union (EU). ASEAN's trajectory and policy path was different especially in terms of its evolution patterns within the Southeast Asia (SEA) region context. Therefore,

Dr. Tang outlined several observations and highlighted the need for a stronger community building amongst ASEAN members. In addition, he prompt that ASEAN had been successful and needed to gear up and focus on conflict resolutions. On the other hand, Dr. Tang stressed on the need to understand and contemplate the role of each body of ASEAN and discussed on the major power rivalries and its impacts. He not only upraised that ASEAN centrality would continue to be tested but also argued that the SEA region would be observing new centre of powers within ASEAN. In short, ASEAN was driven both by internal and external processes. As can be seen, Dr. Tang concluded by stressing that ASEAN should remain poised and make a stronger attempt in ensuring the relevance of these major powers to the region.

The high point of the Forum was conveyed by the Keynote Address from Honourable Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein, Minister of Defence Malaysia. This session was moderated by Tan Sri Mohamed Jawhar Hassan, the Distinguished Fellow of MiDAS. In his Keynote, he began by briefly surveying the state of security in Southeast Asia and the number of developments which had been threatening the peace and stability of Southeast Asia. The most momentous threats were terrorism, radicalism and violent extremism in which the dominant was "DAESH" terror movement. He then stressed on the complexity and the importance of unity and stability so as to ensure the South East Asia region remained prosperous and successful. It was important for ASEAN to remain the master of the region in managing its affairs or risk upsetting the regional balance. The Malaysian Defence Minister projected a challenging future in the regional defence and security sphere despite it progressing positively in economy and culture. He added that whilst traditional threats had been closely associated with ASEAN of late, and for that, the region must not let its guard down.

In response to these challenges, Hishammuddin suggested that a clear definition of 'regional security integration' was paramount. He stressed that the existing ASEAN architecture would be instrumental in responding to Southeast Asia security challenges. Consequently, the Minister mentioned that the cause of ASEAN integration cannot be solely left to states and members of the elite. Hence, the security cooperation would only take root in ASEAN with the participation of civil society and business through good leadership that put the good of the future ahead of short term gains. After all, he summarized that while the challenges towards regional security integration were potent, the opportunities and pathways were just as substantive. ASEAN must continue to strive for a safer and more stable region through security integration to maintain a long lasting regional peace and prosperity.

The final session of Putrajaya Forum entitled "Institutional Response to Transnational Security Threats" was presented by 3 speakers and moderated by

Prof Dato' Dr Zakaria Ahmad, a Distinguished Fellow of MiDAS. In this session, the Moderator had underlined that over the years, this region continued to be manifested with non-traditional security challenges in a form of disaster and transnational crime such as terrorism, human trafficking, illegal migration and etc. These challenges have imposed upon various governments across the region, on the need to face these challenges in a non-traditional manner. While it was acknowledged that some organisations are better equipped than others in dealing with security challenges, it remains a fact that none of these organizations can remain effective on its own to deal with the ever changing nature of the security environment of today and tomorrow. A considerable amount of overlap among certain organisational functions exacerbates the shortcomings.

In responding to the topic, the first speaker, General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin, the Chief of Defence Force, Malaysia had presented the views of the Malaysian Armed Forces and experiences. The 1990's had witnessed the South East Asia unprecedented economic and social growth among the nations. Along with the positive development came the threat of non-traditional security challenges that had devastating effect on humanity across the region. In response,



the Malaysian Armed Forces had formed multilateral and bilateral arrangements to face transnational Non-Traditional Security challenges through close collaboration with neighbouring Armed Forces. It's only through such mechanism that these challenges could be met, as it was very apparent that the magnitude of the problem and its complexity made it impossible for one nation to deal with alone. The Malaysian Armed Forces remain current through constant observation on the trend of these non-traditional challenges ahead and its modus operandi. Regular exercises were being in the form of Command Post Exercises (CPX) and Field Training Exercises (FTX) with the Armed Forces within or beyond the region. General Zulkifeli concluded that it was vital to mobilise military diplomacy to encourage people interactions at all levels of hierarchy to ensure a sense of belonging existed despite of wearing different uniforms.

The second speaker, Commissioner of Police Dato' Abdul Samah Bin Mat, the Selangor Police Chief, emphasized on drug trafficking, human trafficking, smuggling of immigrants and terrorism as the major non-traditional security challenges. He further mentioned that the Royal Malaysian Police (RMP) had established bilateral security cooperation with Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, China and few others in enabling mutual cooperation among drug enforcement agencies, exchanging intelligence information and conducting simultaneous operations in the respective countries based on the information gathered and acted on the relevant drug laws in respective country. As for human trafficking and people smuggling, since Malaysia had been listed on "Tier 2 Watch List" by the US State of Department based on the Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report in July 2015, the Royal Malaysia Police (RMP) had been working together with five local agencies to carry out an investigation and enforcement operations to manage and mitigate the issues. The RMP had also engaged in MoU cooperation with Australia, UK, Bangladesh, Netherlands, USA, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, China and Turkey in combating Human Trafficking and other related security concerns. In countering the terrorism issues, the RMP had established a Special Counter Terrorism Unit under the Special Branch Department and collaborated with SEARCCT (Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter Terrorism) and JAKIM (Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia). With regards to this, The Government of Malaysia had also signed an MoU with the United States to strengthen bilateral security co-operation.

The final highlight for this Forum is from Admiral Harry B. Harris JR, Commander of the US Pacific Command. In his presentation, he pointed some challenges to this region were not only global in nature, but also prevalent in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region. Furthermore, The United States Pacific Command, or PACOM worked to support institutions and the initiatives were critical to addressing regional challenges. Admiral Harry said the United States Strategic Rebalance to the Indo-Asia-Pacific was to strengthen economic connective tissue through diplomatic

and security partnership. Uniquely, one of the great success stories of the on-going Rebalance strategy was the bilateral relationship with Malaysia. In addition to natural disasters, the region also had other challenges including terrorism; unresolved historical tensions; militarization of the South China Sea and the Arctic; transnational sea-borne crime, piracy; and threats in the space and cyber domains. Since ASEAN was founded on common principles like respect for international law, free trade and peaceful resolution of disputes, it's a natural partner for the United States and from day one has been a core focus of the Rebalance. He added that the impetus behind America's Rebalance policy was to forge a network of partners throughout the Indo-Asia-Pacific to sustain a rules-based international order.

The Putrajaya Forum 2016 was officially close by the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato' Seri Ahmad Zahid Hamidi. In his closing remarks, he expressed his gratitude and congratulated MiDAS for the success of organizing the 4th Putrajaya forum. The Deputy Prime Minister articulated that it was vital to heighten our commitment and efforts in maintaining the peace and stability that the region had enjoyed. The dynamic and complexity of the security threats, both traditional and non-traditional, demanded for multiple responses. He highlighted that the geopolitics of the region was also changing rapidly with the competing interest of major powers contesting for primacy. In furtherance, ASEAN had been recognized as a platform for maintaining regional peace and stability and continued to engage regional and extra regional powers constructively. Prior to officially ending the Putrajaya Forum 2016, he took the opportunity to express his gratitude and heartfelt appreciation to the distinguished moderators and speakers for their commitment and frankness in sharing their views, perspectives, knowledge and experiences.





Chapter 1

Opening Address by Prime Minister of Malaysia



Dato' Sri Mohammad Najib bin Tun Razak,
Prime Minister of Malaysia

OPENING ADDRESS



The Prime Minister conveyed his warm welcome and gratitude to the ministerial guests who would be delivering their respective countries' valuable perspectives in the discussions. He felt the theme "Regional Cooperation in Addressing Security Challenges" was timely as countries around the world were being increasingly challenged by potential conventional and non-conventional threats. He added that both forms of threats such as the recent attacks in Paris, Istanbul and Brussels as well as territorial disputes and freedom of navigation, the potential for nuclear escalation in the Korean Peninsula and de-stabilisation in the Middle East, remain the global concerns.

The Prime Minister asserted how working together with neighbouring countries amplifies the rate of success of locating two Malaysian hijacked vessels off the coast of Sabah in the middle of last year. That was the manifestation of how such communication, coordination and cooperation in the region must continue. He proceeded to highlight how successful the Malacca Straits Patrol initiative had been, by bringing together Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand in this cooperative mechanism to safeguard the Straits. He further suggested such mechanism could be emulated to address maritime security challenges in other strategic waterways in the region.



The Prime Minister proclaimed that the regional stability must be appreciated, given how our forefathers have laboriously established and built via the formation of ASEAN that contributed enormously to peace. He expressed that ZOPFAN principle as the fundamental pillar for the establishment of ASEAN Political and Security Community remained relevant. ASEAN collective capabilities were further strengthened with the establishment of a regional forum through the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM) in 2006 as a result of the ASEAN Security Plan of Action adopted in 2004 in Vientiane. ADMM had helped tremendously in promoting practical military-to-military cooperation across the region, and building trust and confidence among each other's forces.

He stated that ADMM Plus was formed four years after, in the spirit of friendliness, openness and inclusiveness of ASEAN towards its dialogue partners. He further stressed that ASEAN on its own cannot guarantee peace in the region, and therefore needed the support of friends and partners. Furthermore, he believed ADMM Plus played a critical role in balancing major power influence in the region, as a platform that allowed practical military cooperation between the middle- and super-powers of the world, addressing regional defence and security challenges namely Maritime Security, Counter Terrorism, Peace Keeping Operations, Humanitarian and Disaster Relief, Military Medicine, Humanitarian Mine Actions, and Cyber Security, without compromising the regional interests and values. He further stressed ASEAN had to work in tandem with neighbours and friends beyond



national boundaries and across continents in dealing with the present demands of borderless security threats and trans-boundary crime, for these had become a mutual global business.

The Prime Minister also expressed that in this challenging time of economic uncertainty, governments were forced to optimise the use of resources through inter-agency cooperation and collaboration and pronounced that Malaysia had set an example by adopting the National Blue Ocean Strategy which expanded the Malaysian Armed Forces and the Royal Malaysian Police collaboration beyond the Communist insurgencies era. This had been extended to include the private sectors such as an enterprise with Malaysian International Shipping Corporation (MISC) in a cost saving initiative in which civilian purpose vessels were converted to grey hulls carrying military personnel to provide protection along troubled waters of the Gulf of Aden between 2008 and 2013. He added that another recent successful enterprise involved PETRONAS and the Malaysian Armed Forces on the sea basing concept, in which old oil rigs owned by PETRONAS were converted as forward operating bases for security forces to monitor Malaysian Maritime Zone.

He concluded that recent defence and security challenges needed a comprehensive approach underscored by spirit of openness and inclusiveness as they had become mutual common responsibilities of governments and stakeholders that had common interests and goals. After all, regional security and stability were prerequisites for prosperity, safety and growth. He then declared the Putrajaya Forum 2016 officially opened.

Chapter 2

Keynote Address : Regional Cooperation in Addressing Security Challenges



The Honourable Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein
Minister of defence Malaysia

Tan Sri Mohamed Jawhar Hassan
Moderator

KEYNOTE ADDRESS



The Honourable Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein, Minister of defence Malaysia, began his speech by briefly surveying the state of security in Southeast Asia and said that the number of developments were threatening the peace and stability of Southeast Asia. The first was the most obvious, namely the threat of terrorism, radicalism and violent extremism. The most potent of this was the so-called "DAESH" terror movement. He said that while this gang of thugs had been most prominent in the Middle East, we should not dismiss the possibility that they could someday strike in our region. As reported earlier he said, there was evidence of the unification of terrorist battalions in the Southern Philippines with the DAESH under the leadership of Al Baghdadi. The mushrooming of affiliated terrorist organizations in the region were creating "hotspots" and "flashpoints" especially in the Southern Philippines and Southern Thailand, should not be taken lightly.

The Honourable Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein reminded the forum on the bloody incident cause militants from the Southern Philippines in the Eastern State of Sabah, which left Malaysia keeping its vigil around the area. He claimed that terrorism transcended race and religion and suggested that ASEAN to remain wary of the fact. He further expressed that the threat posed by DAESH or IS were more complex in nature and appeared to be appealing for young Muslims, and seemed to be thriving over the society's most vulnerable people group. Thus, he said that defeating the IS therefore must involve cutting off the very source of its hold over their imaginations and its funding.

Secondly, The Honourable Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein touched on the relations between the states within and beyond the region remain complex and at times fraught, exacerbated by growing great power rivalry, as its strategic geographical location intersects with strategic and economic interests of major global players. With the combined economy worth USD 36 trillion, makes both China and the US important to ASEAN's economic growth. He further reminded the importance of peace and stability so as to ensure that South East Asia region remained prosperous and successful.

He warned that territorial disputes whether on land or at sea stating South China Sea as an example, may be the source of tension and if not managed appropriately may in turn upset the regional balance. Therefore it was important for ASEAN to remain the master of the region in managing its affairs. He specifically mentioned that Malaysia is working with her neighbours such as the Philippines, Vietnam and Brunei to find ways to forge ahead in the issue of the South China Sea. He singled out the little progress made in the process to conclude the Code of Conduct was a cause for concern.

The Malaysian Defence Minister projected a challenging future in the regional defence and security sphere despite progressing positively in economy and culture. This was due to the vast diversity of ASEAN in terms of geographic, cultural and political, that more often than not invites conflicts between national and regional interest, which in turn made workable practical cooperation a scarce commodity in the region. He further reminded that, whilst traditional threats had been closely associated with ASEAN of late, the region must not let its guard down in the area of non-traditional threats. He singled out natural disasters as a common security concern for the region which ought to be continuously worked on.

In response to these defence and security challenges, the Malaysian Defence Minister suggested that a clear definition of "regional security integration" is paramount – promoting regional stability, conflict avoidance and communal viability. He stressed that the existing ASEAN architecture would be instrumental in responding to Southeast Asia security challenges. ADMM, ADMM Plus and other Track One regional forum possess the strategic and political stature to bring the world together as a solid security community. He added that ADMM had embarked on the development of a Regional Standby Arrangement to be ready for deployment and to respond in the case of disasters along with the more established mechanism of ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (ADMEER). He also said that ASEAN had strengthened the cooperation with civil society organizations and other international partners through the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Centre).

Despite all these successes however, there was still more to be done towards



greater regional security integration. He reminded that the region must continue to work together relentlessly in order to prosper together. In doing so, the regional mechanism must not be side-tracked by over ambitious and complex regional security plan. He suggested that the most immediate item on the agenda should be to continue and ramp up confidence building initiatives between the countries of this region and outside it. He believed in the efficacy of military diplomacy as way to wage peace between nations, and believed that joint exercises and exchanges not only forge friendships but also push militaries in the region to do better.

Separately, the risk of over reach in regional integration can be addressed through the adroit use of sub-regional groupings to address security concerns. For instance he said, great good can be done towards improving the Southern Philippines and Sabah issue through cooperation between Brunei, the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia. In fact, earlier this year, The Honourable Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein had led a delegation of his counterparts from Indonesia and Brunei to Saudi Arabia to discuss greater cooperation in the Muslim world issues confronting the Ummah such as terrorism, and these sub-regional efforts should not be seen as detracting from the wider goal of greater integration as a whole but rather as building blocks to the ultimate prize of a united Southeast Asia.

The Honourable Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein mentioned that the cause of ASEAN integration cannot be solely left to states and members of the elite. Indeed, peace and cooperation would only be sustainable and lasting if it involved all members of the various societies. He said the security cooperation would only

take root in ASEAN with the participation of civil society and business through good leadership that put the good of the future ahead of short term gains.

Wrapping his speech, The Honourable Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein concluded that while the challenges towards regional security integration were potent, the opportunities and pathways were just as substantive. He said stability and prosperity required patience and hard work. There can be no economic growth without peace. The Honourable Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein mentioned that his life's quest was to ensure that future generations inherit a Southeast Asia that is blessed with both stability and prosperity. He stressed that ASEAN must continue to strive for a safer and more stable region through security integration, so as to ensure a long lasting regional peace and prosperity.



Chapter 3

Session 1

Major Power Influence and Regional Security Architecture



Speaker

H.E Dr Ng Eng Hen

Minister of Defence, Singapore

H.E Mr. Suay Alpaly

Deputy Minister of National Defence, Turkey

Moderator

Tan Sri Tan Sri Razali Ismail

Chairman of Global Movement of Moderates Foundation

Session 1: Major Power Influence and Regional Security Architecture



The Honourable Tan Sri Razali Ismail – Chairman, Global Movement of Moderates Foundation moderated the first session of Putrajaya Forum 2016. He first welcomed the two distinguished speakers for this session. “Regional Cooperation in Addressing Security Challenges” has been an issue that occupies the mind of lots of people in every region on the globe, taking into account the concern that have developed in the context of regional cooperation and the structures available so as to determine its relevance. He briefly explained on Turkey particularly on its pivotal position to the world either in the context of history or geography. Turkey tried to put in effect its national imperative in the contact of the structures that are attended in that region in cognizance of Russia’s presence. The turmoil attributed to the situation in Syria and Iraq had brought thousands of refugees and migrants into Europe. As the case in the ASEAN region, Singapore in particular, along with other ASEAN members have been able to operationalize many of the cooperation that were almost taken for granted in South East Asia. Singapore could be credited for its long far sightedness and pragmatism that had enabled them to effectuate their national interest whilst positioning the major power presence in the region to

their advantage. The South East Asia region is by large the most pluralistic society as compared any other part of the world. With its vast experience in dealing with major powers before, there's no cause of concern on failure to strike the balance between the interest of the region and the interest of the major powers towards the region.



Speaker 1: H.E Dr Ng Eng Hen, Minister of Defence, Singapore

The first speaker was H.E Dr Ng Eng Hen, Minister of Defence, Singapore presented few key points for consideration and issues related to ASEAN, starting with the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) mechanism. He believed that ADMM since its inception in 2006 had made good progress through embarking on cooperation to build confidence and capabilities in areas such as humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR), maritime security, peacekeeping, and crisis management.

Despite the convincing progress, he claimed that the ADMM is still relatively very young in comparison to other security mechanisms like NATO or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). He believed it will do well for ASEAN in this stage of development - the ADMM to learn from the strengths and weaknesses of other groupings if it to continue its important work in strengthening defence ties between its members. He highlighted the importance of having to remain relevant and reminded the forum of the fact that not many regional groupings have withstood the test of time to remain intact or relevant. He believed that those that have succeeded have done so because they were able to anchor their organisation deeply on a set of goals and principles. These goals

and principles provide for the common good of all and were able to withstand or surmount episodic challenges by continuing engagement between the members and with other partners.

ADMM has been guided by principles enshrined in two major instruments, namely the ASEAN Charter and Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia. While these instruments have served the region well, he believed that on the occasion of the ADMM's 10th anniversary this year, it is timely for the ADMM to establish a set of key principles specific to defence cooperation within the ADMM. For the security communities, principles are necessary because they provide clear boundaries, so that the common space is delineated. Initiatives that fall within this space can be actively pursued, while initiatives that transgress boundaries can be earlier and more easily identified, before they cause unhappiness and discomfort among member states. He recapped The Straits of Malacca Initiative as an example. The initiative, began in 2005, was actually a result of a discussion at the Shangri-La Dialogue (SLD) as piracy and sea robbery were at its high in the region at that time. He highlighted on the consensus derived from the members of the initiative that on the principles that: the primary responsibility lies with the littoral states; the international community, organisations such as the International Maritime Organisation and major user states have a role to play; and any measures taken must be in accordance with international law and must respect the sovereignty of the littoral states. He further stressed that having these principles articulated, gave comfort to the international community, set boundaries of responsibility and sovereignty for the littoral states, and provided a framework. These principles articulated the clear lines of primary responsibility, out-of-bound markers for the individual states, as well as space for member states to provide assistance. They, in fact, laid the foundation for an overall framework where all members were clear on how they could contribute or could not. These principles were also translated into tangible initiatives for cooperation. It was PM Najib who proposed then the proposal for joint air patrols above the Straits of Malacca and Singapore (SOMS). This led to the launch of the Malacca Straits Patrols "Eyes-in-the-Skies" initiative in September 2005. Singapore believes that similarly, a set of principles for the ADMM would be timely in this stage of our development.

He again articulated three principles for consideration. First, the ADMM shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each ASEAN member state, even as the ASEAN community is built. This includes deployment of the militaries of individual ASEAN member states (AMS). He made it clear that while the region operates or cooperates in partnerships, sovereignty of nations should never be compromised. As an example, this principle would give assurance that even if ASEAN supported any security initiative, it could not assume or override the authority of that member state in the deployment of its security forces. Second,

cooperation shall be on a voluntary, non-binding and flexible basis. This principle is important because there may be specific circumstances when all AMS can reach an agreement as the interests of individual countries are aligned. But there could very well be instances where there are differences, and this provision allows members to observe their individual rights and obligations. The third principle that must be maintained is open and inclusive regional security architecture with ASEAN at the centre. He further stressed that ASEAN could not tackle many of the security challenges alone. ASEAN must be ready and willing to work with partners from around the world who also have a stake in the security and stability of the region. The Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea are clear examples.

Besides principles, he suggested two areas to focus on there ought to also be common goals and objectives for the ADMM and its partners. Firstly, there is a need to enhance regional peace and stability through dialogue and practical cooperation. He highlighted the success of the ADMM-Plus mechanism involving ASEAN 10 and 8 Plus Countries. He claimed the ADMM-Plus had achieved significant results by fostering mutual trust and practical cooperation to tackle non-traditional security issues, citing the ADMM-Plus HADR and Military Medicine Exercise hosted in 2013 by Brunei as an example. The exercise had involved more than 3,000 personnel, seven ships and 15 helicopters. Such exercise would continue and approximately 18 naval vessels and 20 Special Forces teams had already been committed to the Maritime Security and Counter-Terrorism (MS&CT) Exercise that Singapore, Brunei, Australia and New Zealand would co-host in May 2016. He further suggested that new areas of cooperation should be explored and further highlighted on ADMM-Plus's next initiative which was on cyber security.

Secondly, there's a need to come together to create and abide by a common set of mechanisms, protocols and norms that guide behaviour in this region. This will help to defuse tensions as well as reduce the risks of miscalculations and mistakes. He further suggested that the conclusion of the Code of Conduct is of immediate importance so as to address the situation in South China Sea. He further said that it is important that the channels of communications were kept open, and he was glad that Direct Communication Link for all ten ASEAN members is underway. He was also of the view that the initiative be expanded to the Plus countries.

He further highlighted that during the 3rd ADMM-Plus in Kuala Lumpur recently, Singapore suggested expanding the Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea (CUES) that was promoted by China at the 14th Western Pacific Naval Symposium in April 2014, for white shipping, coast guards and fishing vessels, as it's widely known encounters took place between them and military vessels. Regional navies could work towards creating a code of conduct to guide submariners on manoeuvring to prevent accidents during an unlikely encounter. Rules of behaviour can be established to regulate air encounters between military aircraft, similar to the ones

established between China and the United States in September 2015.

Dr Ng concluded that these principles and goals will help the ADMM and the ADMM-Plus in tackling security challenges in the region. These principles will also help ADMM to work with other multilateral platforms and dialogues such as the East Asia Summit and the ASEAN Regional Forum.

He reminded that the region had enjoyed substantial growth and prosperity for the past decades and it continues to demonstrate tremendous potential and promise. To keep it that way, ASEAN must work together with other partners to strengthen the regional security architecture. Establishing key principles gives a common starting point while setting goals helps steer the region in clear directions for the benefit of all the people in ASEAN.



Speaker 2: H.E Mr. Suay Alpay, Deputy Minister of National Defence, Turkey

The third speaker was H.E Mr. Suay Alpay, Deputy Minister of National Defence, Turkey. He delivered a speech entitled "The Effects of the Big Powers on the Establishment of Regional Security."

H.E shared his view on Turkey's efforts on combating terrorism for the last three decades intensively. Turkey is decisive for the comprehensive combat by considering human as a basis, it is trying to strike a balance between freedom and security. However, Turkey pays high prices because of terrorism, on one hand Turkey suffers from financial lost, on the another hand, human lost is such a tragedy. He stressed that Turkey does not hesitated in fighting terrorism, be it ethnical, sectorial, or other reasons. He further pointed out that terrorism is a negative activity which

targets on humanity. In his view, terrorism could occur everywhere, nobody could escape from terrorism. Therefore, it is the responsibility and duty of the whole world to fight against terrorism. He made the point that one needs to be sincere and decisive when combating the elements in terrorism.

Besides that, H.E also pinpointed an additional problem derived from terrorism, i.e the Syrian refugees. Syrians have been escaping from the violence outburst in their country since April 2011. In this regards, Turkey implements an open door policy in providing healthcare, training, and education services, and other social facilities to the Syrian refugees. He stated that Turkey has spent a total of USD 10 billion for the Syrian refugees. He expressed his disappointment when the international community refused to response to the crisis in an efficient manner.

H.E Mr. Suay Alpay explained that change of threat perceptions is known by all the parties due to an extensive transformation in regional and international threat perceptions. He believed that the Putrajaya Forum is timely organised as dialogues and cooperation in the fields of security and defence are important. He added that in this era of fast transformation while the world is passing through the history of humanity, international balance is strongly distorted.

H.E estimated that Asia will surpass the Western world in terms of population size, gross domestic product, military spending and technological investments in the next two decades. Therefore, the economic centre of power is shifting from North-West to South-East.

On the other hand, he mentioned that interactive social and political turmoil and internal conflicts experienced in some countries in North Africa, Middle East and Arabian Peninsula are destroying the state structures, rendering some political borders indistinctive, increasing the competition among the groups, countries and centres of power, which eventually brings along instability.

H.E advised that the most significant duty and test for decision makers today is to keep up with the pace of this changing environment and developments taking place in the world and to take timely steps. He further explained the events in such an atmosphere show that international legality, reciprocal economic dependence, respect for human rights, a sustainable environmental policy and harmony among individuals from different religions and ethnicity are the crucial needs of the forthcoming era for the establishment of long lasting peace, stability and prosperity. Therefore, it becomes inevitable that international dynamics should be analysed through a perspective of global peace with correct tools.

He elaborated that in such a world resembling a vessel drifting to the unknown in a stormy weather, countries are revising their defence structures and there is an increasing trend in the importance attached to defence organisations and cooperation among countries with common threat perceptions. He agreed that asymmetric risks that may arise from illegal activities such as terrorism, human

trafficking, spread of weapons of mass destruction, and risks emerging in economic field and social structure in the struggle of sharing resources, and environmental disasters as well as state-led/supported threats further extend the range for risks/threats. H.E stated that globalization facilitates interaction in the field of security as well. Local crisis can easily become regional, and regional crisis can turn into global. This, inevitably, makes the countries sensitive to potential crisis not only in their region, but also in other ones.

Regarding the Asia-Pacific region, he emphasized that the region has become an important centre of power and attraction since the last half century with its remarkable social and economic development. Following the successful economic leap of Japan and South Korea, the Southeast Asian countries, including Malaysia, together with China and India are among the emerging economies.

He stressed that sustainable development in Asia requires robust and comprehensive regional security architecture. He further pointed that instability, uncertainty and conflicts will threaten economic and commercial relations Asia's rise. Southeast Asia has attracted the attention from other regions with its young and dynamic population, and strategic position between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. This attention and trend are also reflected in recent foreign policies of the USA, Japan, India, Russia, Australia and the European Union. He noticed that this "tendency towards Asia" brings along important opportunities as well as some risks. He commented that intensifying and sustaining international commercial ties, necessitates the responsibility for maintaining regional security and stability. Mentioning about the atmosphere of changing regional and international security, he requested the world to work together towards prevention of nuclear armament, peaceful settlement of conflicts and fighting against global terrorism. He strongly stated that as there is no regional alliance similar to the security network in Europe provided by NATO in the Asia-Pacific region, all the countries in the region should share responsibility in the establishment of a regional security architecture.

H.E said that Turkey is situated in an extremely important region at the crossroads of the Balkans, Caucasasia and the Middle East, he however observed that this region is suffering from instability which requires continuous update of effective security needs. He further pointed that Turkey is situated at the centre of the Afro-Eurasian Region, where global competition is intensely present, in a critical zone open to the effects of geostrategic interactions in the north-south and east-west axes. He noticed the actions of radical terrorist groups have rendered the political borders in the region indistinctive, and started negatively affecting the relations between the West and the Muslim communities. This has elevated the perception of terror in a vast geographical area, including Europe. As he mentioned earlier, irregular migration has rendered both Turkey and other countries, hence these countries are exposed to threats. Therefore, it is almost impossible for the countries in this

globalized world to combat terrorism alone. For that reason, he said that Turkey has been participating with all capacities in international peacekeeping operations and other efforts in order to safeguard the land and maritime borders.

Furthermore, he revealed one of the crucial elements of Turkey's security strategy is the Turkish Armed Forces has created dissuasive impacts in the environment of instability and uncertainty in this geographical area where risks and threats are hosted, such as international terrorism, ethnic and sectarian conflicts. He added that the Forces too plays important roles in peaceful settlement of disputes in the region, relieving tension, preventing them from developing into armed conflicts as well as limiting the aggressors.

H.E illustrated that Turkey is determined to play a constructive role in the region and beyond to achieve the balance between the universal and long-lasting values that they defend, and Turkey's national interests. As a result, Turkey has become a leading country aiming to establish a growing circle of peace and prosperity in this region with increasing potentials and capabilities, providing stability and security, spending great efforts to establish an order that would pave the way for prosperity, human development and long-lasting stability. He justified that the key factors to Turkey's success lay in the deep-rooted state and democracy tradition, advantages stemming from history and geography, young and productive population, as well as dynamic economy.



On the meanwhile, H.E asserted that Turkey strengthens its relations with the USA and European countries within the framework of transatlantic relations that are deemed highly important. Then, he explained clearly that Turkey furthers its relations with the countries in the Balkans, Middle East and North Africa, South Caucasia, South Asia and Central Asia, which Turkey has close relations and historical and cultural ties with. Moreover, Turkey is the leading actor of the hope for a stable, secure and prosperous future in the region surrounded by crisis and various risks.

Finally, he affirmed that Turkey practises its foreign policy based on the principle of "Peace at Home, Peace in the World" as propagated by Turkey's Great Leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, with an extensive and constructive vision, taking full advantage of all the opportunities we have.

At the end of his remarks, he thanked and congratulated the organizer who have made Putrajaya Forum a great success. He strongly believed that the Forum would serve the global peace and stability by facilitating the exchange of information by high level participants on both regional and global issues.

Chapter 4

Session 2

50 Years of ASEAN Cooperating for Peace in The Region



Speaker

Tan Sri Rastam Mohd Isa

Chairman & Chief Executive ISIS, Malaysia

H.E. Dr. Kobsak Chutikul

Secretary General of Asian and Reconciliation Council, Thailand

Major General Ashok Hukku (R)

Y.S.M. Member Advisory Committee UNESCO – IHP, India

Dr. Tang Siew Mun

Head of the ASEAN Studies Centre, Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

Moderator

Professor Ruhanas Harun

Fellow of MiDAS

Session 2: 50 Years of ASEAN Cooperating for peace in the region



SESSION 2: 50 YEARS OF ASEAN, COOPERATING FOR PEACE IN THE REGION

The second session of the Putrajaya Forum 2016 discussed on the development of ASEAN since it was inaugurated in 1967, almost five decades ago. The moderator recognised the significant progress of the ASEAN where it is known as one of the most successful regional grouping in the world. The recent launching of ASEAN Community last year remarked one of the greatest achievements of the organisation. The adoption of ASEAN Community vision in 2015 by its member states has boosted the momentum of regional cooperation and community building. The moderator emphasized on the significance of preserving ASEAN as a regional community to enhance peace and prosperity. The session focussed on laying out the trajectory image of ASEAN development in the near future.

Objectives of the session were:

- To discuss on how ASEAN would look like in the future, which is 50 years from now
- To analyse on ASEAN's behaviour whether it would remain as a solid regional architecture or change
- To understand on the threats of ASEAN positive development



Speaker 1: Tan Sri Rastam Mohd Isa, Chairman & Chief Executive ISIS, Malaysia

The speaker introduced the historical experiences and background of ASEAN since it was first established in 1967. He then shared his critical analysis on the future look of ASEAN 50 years from now – 2067. It is crucial to understand the evolvement of ASEAN since it was born in order to develop a hypothesis on where ASEAN will stand in the future. 2017 is an important year for the regional organisation as it remarked the 50th year of ASEAN's existence. Tan Sri Rastam informed the participants that ASEAN would be chaired by the Philippines in 2017.

ASEAN was inaugurated in 1967 during the years of Cold War where the environment of US-USSR rivalry remained as the main political agenda in almost every part of the world. The situation was very intense including South East Asia. The establishment of ASEAN was a reaction to overcome the member states from involving in the political competition between US and the Soviet.

During those years, the US involvement in Vietnam had gradually dragged many other Southeast Asian countries into the war. Thailand, Philippines and Korea supported the US whilst the Soviet and China supported North Vietnam in the Vietnam War. The proxy war initiated brought negative consequences towards regional unity and resilience.

Tan Sri Rastam explained on the current geopolitical trends that the region is facing. He asserted that there were similarities in the geopolitical trends between the years ASEAN was established and current environment since ASEAN Community formed in 2015. He claimed the regional situation today rhymed similarly with the rhythm in the past.

The speaker reminded the participants that the ASEAN Community was formed in a rather critical environment. Rising political tensions among major powers and economical infatuations was rather evident due to the unstable oil prices affecting many countries including ASEAN member states. Apart from that, the US economy was performing positively with the increment of US Dollar strength compared with other currencies. In the Middle East continuous tensions and armed conflict remained. Terrorism posed threat to the global security and counter terrorism was one of the paramount policies concerning almost every sovereign states. Daesh or IS was the most prominent threat jeopardising the Middle East as well as the world's security and peace. Massive migration of refugees also involved many parts of the world, especially the Europe. States are now confronting with non-traditional security issues such as climate change and pandemic diseases. There was greater demand for democracy, freedom and human rights by the people around the world. Technological advancement and innovation were tremendously influencing the development of modern communication and commerce.

Narrowing down to the regional trend, Tan Sri Rastam explained that the Southeast Asian and Asia Pacific region were experiencing mixture of calm and tension. The ASEAN region enjoyed a relatively peaceful political and economical environment. For instances, Myanmar had seemed to develop better with the new government in place. Laos was expected to experience a change in governmental structure as well. Besides that, the forthcoming presidential election in Philippines would be taking place in a peaceful manner.

The source of tension was arguably the issue of South China Sea disputes and China's policy towards the US. China was acting more aggressive in relation with the South China Sea issues. North Korea's nuclear weapon development was identified as another major concern of the ASEAN as it posed a threat towards regional prosperity and peace. Another important trend was the assertiveness of Russia in global politics. Russian involvement in Europe and also the Middle East, especially in Syria was growing gradually.

Tan Sri Rastam eloquently expressed his optimism in the regional economic trend. He explained that the economic sector was growing at a relatively high pace. The world's largest economic power China and Japan were geographically situated in the region. In addition, India as the fastest growing economic power was influencing the trend as well. The speaker explained that the US strategic and economic dominance would still continue its existence in the region without undermining the economic strength of China. Tan Sri Rastam understood that China may surpass the US in terms of economy in the next 5 decades but it would still remain as the second best with regard to military and political strength. ASEAN economy was apt to expand greater in the future as the ASEAN Economic Community was established last year. ASEAN was inhabited by 625 million people

who constitute the overall GDP of 2.4 to 2.5 trillion. ASEAN was developing tremendously due to its continuous practise of rapid and strong cooperation among member states. Despite the positive development, Tan Sri Rastam was concerned on the issue of ASEAN economic sustenance in the next 50 years.

Nevertheless, the speaker noted on the persistence of trust deficit among states in the region. The conflict involving China, Japan, Korea and ASEAN as a whole or its individual member states will impact the prosperity of the region particularly, in investments and trade sector. Other issues worth focussing on are the emerging threats of human trafficking, environmental issues such as climate change and globalized terrorism should be addressed by ASEAN to ensure its future success.

The social pattern of Southeast Asia was rather at stable level. There was a rise of emerging middle class in Southeast Asia and it was expected that young people would dominate the population percentage in the region. The US exhibited similar social trend and this strengthen the preposition made earlier that the US's strategic and economic power would remain strong in the next 5 decades. Japan and China were producing aging and older population due to government policies practises at home.

Technological advancement was prevalent and it imposed critical challenges to the states including the ASEAN. Destructive technologies, IT and social media put ASEAN political, economic and social development at stakes if it was not handled resiliently.

Tan Sri Rastam further highlighted on the current regional security architecture of ASEAN and explained on the challenges and opportunities that the regional grouping has to enhance greater cooperation and regional peace. The multiple layered of organisations namely the East Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Defence Ministerial Meeting (ADMM) and ADMM Plus played major role in addressing regional issues and security problems. There were also ASEAN-non-centred fora which as the APEC, CSAP, NAPCI initiated by Korea and SCO, which China was focussing on. There were possible issue of duplication and overlapping roles of the fora which would stifle a resilient and formidable cooperation in addressing prevalent threats in the region. Other than that, the question of uneconomical use of resources was a major concern since ASEAN was facing resources inadequacy.

Admittedly, other than the European Union, ASEAN was one of the most successful regional organisations in the world since it was established in 1967. The ASEAN had placed itself at the international arena and signify positive image. The Europeans acknowledged the fact too. The European Union offered room for ASEAN to emulate and improve concurrently the EU could learn much from ASEAN. The EU was facing critical issues, most importantly the question of BREXIT. Campaigns were going on in UK to decide on Britain's membership in EU. He hoped that ASEAN

would not encounter this situation in the next 50 years where a member would vote to leave the organisation as it would produce negative consequences in the region.

The speaker underscored several ASEAN characteristics that it had developed over the years. The most prominent was the ASEAN Way of conducting matters which relied on making decision based on consensus. The decision making process that ASEAN adopted involved many stages of discussion as it was to ensure total consensus among member states. Nevertheless, this process was time-consuming and relatively inefficient in addressing unanticipated threats. The idea of ASEAN centrality had also developed and it sought to develop greater among the member states of ASEAN. The organisation should focus on how to put forward in building its regional resilience without disregarding the perseverance of individual national interests.

The challenges that ASEAN was encountering or would be encountering in the future were outlined clearly by the speaker. The foremost crucial issue was the notion of ASEAN centrality. The definition of ASEAN centrality was not comprehensive and the subjects related such as on how to maintain and perpetuate ASEAN centrality were ambiguous. Some scholars introduced ASEAN centrality as the power to convey and provide a platform (ASEAN) for major powers to discuss together. The chairman of ISIS asserted that ASEAN centrality should not only focus on its external relations but also look at the relations within the member states.

Major power relations and its impact on the ASEAN rapport was identified as another growing challenge. The US-China relation was forecasted to be the most important set of relations in the next few decades. Other powers such as Japan, India, Russia and Australia continued seeking interests in the region. The ASEAN cohesion and unity would remain as the big question in the future. The Philippines filed an arbitration case against China with regard to the South China Sea dispute. Tan Sri Rastam believed that the decision of the tribunal would put ASEAN centrality into test.

The changing global strategic and economic landscape was also influencing ASEAN's policies in the future. Trade agreements such as the TTP and RCEP provide unclear projection of the time ahead. For instance, the TPP does not include all the of ASEAN member states as it involved Malaysia, Vietnam, Brunei and Singapore only. This situation would complicate the mission of ASEAN Community in the next 50 years.

The speaker explained on the success of implementation of Vision 2025 as one of the challenges that ASEAN is facing. He concerned on the manifestation of the ASEAN 3 pillars blueprints namely the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and ASEAN Sociocultural Community.

The challenge of changing values and expectation over the years would remain as one of ASEAN's fundamental tasks. The role of youth was very important due to the rise of the emerging middle class in the region. It was predicted in 2030 the society of ASEAN Community would be dominated by people from the middle class. The government had been advised to address the needs and expectations of the people. These pull and push internal factors could intimidate the progress and development of ASEAN as a whole.

Finally, the speaker emphasized on the areas that ASEAN should focus and further develop in order to perpetuate regional resilience and cooperation in the region. ASEAN should contribute continuous commitment to regional integration within its member states without disregarding the support and significance of the external partners. The next point was member states should be politically willing to cooperate within the framework of ASEAN as well as constant confidence building measures and trust among states in the region. Besides that, ASEAN needed to have a clear vision for peace and prosperity to be embraced by the leaders, officials, decision makers as well as the people on the ground. Therefore, there need to be a potent conviction in promoting and protecting peace, security and stability of the region.





Session 2, Speaker 2: H.E Dr. Kobsak Chutikul, Secretary General of Asian and Reconciliation Council, Thailand

H.E Dr. Kobsak Chutikul started his speech by greeting the distinguished guests and audience. H.E mentioned that his ministry was currently drafting a constitution to outline the future of Thailand in the next five years. However, he expressed his concern and the difficulty of the task as the outlines of the future were unknown. He added that to provide a project of 50 years forward would be a daunting task. Nevertheless it would be possible if ASEAN had worked together.

H.E. was sad about the death of the last founding father of ASEAN, Dr. Thanat Khoman. He believed that if he and the other co-founder, Tun Abdul Razak were still alive, they would be proud of ASEAN's achievement in the last 50 years. He highlighted that ASEAN had gained world recognition for its ability in convening the setting of power agenda, through its central role in the emerging regional strategic architecture. In the matter of general peace, progress and sense of stability, he emphasized that Southeast Asia is no longer regarded as a playground of big power rivalry that was subjected to manipulations. Bilateral and bloc confrontations in Southeast Asia no longer exist. He expressed his disappointment over lack of appreciation and acknowledgement offered towards ASEAN's achievement in the past 50 years.

Dr. Chutikul further expressed the effectiveness of the ASEAN Way which encouraged informal discussions whilst pointed out the challenges remained up ahead. He registered his disappointment towards the low key celebration of ASEAN Community which commenced on 31 December 2015, and translated it as an ignorance of the people in ASEAN that their life had changed for the better as these

changes would enable them to look at the future with more confidence for the next generations.

On the other hand, H.E mentioned about the blind children had performed a song when he paid a visit to the orphanage at the Thai New Year, Songkran Festival. The song said, "Close your eyes and you will see a different world; close the eyes and see the world as you would like it to be; don't be sorry for me because I can feel, therefore I can see; I see with my heart." Despite all the theories and projections about the future, he encouraged the audience to close their eyes and try to imagine about the future of ASEAN in 2020.

Dr. Kobsak Chutikul anticipated that in 2050, top ten economies in the world will include five developing countries, with China at the top rank, India at the 3rd, Indonesia at the 4th, Brazil at number 8th, and Mexico at 10th. In this regards, he pointed that five from the top ten are developing countries, with three of them located in this region. He added that the year 2049 will mark the 100th anniversary of the Communist Party of China assuming power in the People Republic of China. In his opinion, China leadership would pronounce its re-emergence not only economically and politically, but also militarily. However, this would not create any fear in ASEAN as it was something too far ahead to see.

H.E analysed the trend of population according to the UN Statement. First, he mentioned that India's population will supersede China by year 2022. Meanwhile in 2050, 40 percent of Japan's population will be over 65 of age, and the total population of Japan will shrink by one third from the current 180 to 120 million, which will be lesser than the Philippines. He was concerned if the trend continues, Japan would disappear by 2100 because population will not be generated. On the other hand, he mentioned that Africa's population will have doubled to 2.4 billion, with majority of them are young people, with 3.5 million infants born a month. Nigeria alone has population over 400 million.

In addition, Dr. Kobsak Chutikul mentioned that due to technology advancement, sub-orbital spaceflight would be subsequently created which led to compression of time and space. He revealed that in 2050, travel time would be shorten. Which means the journey from London to Sydney will take 2.5 hours, Kuala Lumpur to Los Angeles 2.5 hours, Kuala Lumpur to Tokyo 30 minutes. He stressed that whatever affects the world will certainly affect ASEAN. Hence, this scenario will be faced by the new generations. At this present time, he added, to reserve a seat of sub-orbital spaceflight is USD 250,000. Nevertheless, the cost will be reduced to only £750 for such a sub-orbital flight travelling between the space and the earth in 2050.

Dr. Kobsak Chutikul, again, urged the audience to imagine what ASEAN would be at that time. He then underlined the three pillars which were formulated for the ASEAN Community, namely the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), the ASEAN

Political-Security Community (APSC), and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). He further connected AEC with the good people services, travel between countries as well as work opportunities. He expressed his opinion that although the ASCC has been formed, the Community was still illusive for the people. Finally, he described the criteria of the APSC which embraces an identification of common threats, common strategic posture, common foreign and defence policies.

In this regards, H.E. asked the audience if they understand ASEAN although there are 600 meetings each year. He gave two examples of two major presidential elections this year, the Philippines on 9th May and US in November. Then, he pointed out that many would know the president candidates for the US, but not the Philippines candidates. He wanted to know about the US candidates' opinions regarding the future would hold and the action that would be taken. He foresaw that Mr. Donald Trump would say, "Build a wall around ASEAN and get China to pay for it." Mrs. Hillary Clinton may say, "Make a speech about the dangers of the future and get the banks to pay for it." Meanwhile for Dr. Kobsak Chutikul, Mr. Bernie Sanders might be saying, "Break up China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and by that matter break up the banks created by Hillary Clinton." Subsequently, Ted Cruz might say only one word, "Pray." He further stated that these candidates of the superpower had guided and overseen ASEAN's destiny for the past 50 years.

He highlighted that the people living in ASEAN had been living under that one major big umbrella and had adjusted themselves to it. In his opinion, it would change. He said that there was a need for ASEAN to determine its own future rather than waiting for some "big brothers" to act from the outside. He said that his good friend Ambassador Tan Seng Chye of Singapore, quoted Mr. Lee Kwan Yew saying, "The future is what you make of it." Additionally in an interview before he passed away, Mr. Lee Kwan Yew responded to a question from the US journalists of what he thought of the future the China-US competition. Mr. Lee indicated that ASEAN could go along, progress, go prosper with China for the time being, and China would not demand anything more. Mr. Lee, however, presumed that China would force ASEAN to make a choice one day by saying, "You are with me or against me?" Mr. Lee further predicted that this day will come. Dr. Kobsak Chutikul doubted if ASEAN was ready for that day. With all the data and information, he said that perhaps the root of the trees could not be seen. Hence, he urged the audience to close their eyes and imagine of the future in 50 years ahead.

Besides ASEAN, Dr. Kobsak Chutikul also offered his views on the African Union Commission (AUC) as a model for ASEAN. He mentioned that at the first meeting of the African Union in 2003, the leaders set up the Peace and Security Council of the African Union. H. E. said that the council was supported by a commission, the Panel of the Wise (PoW), a Continental Early Warning system, an African Standby Force (ASF) which consisted of civilian and military units, as well as a special fund.

He further described that the AU Peace and Security Council had the rights to intervene any member countries facing genocide or crimes against humanity. They also had the duty to harmonise continental efforts to fight terrorism, prevent and resolve conflicts. In addition, he mentioned that the AU Charter put on hope automatically the membership of any countries whose government had been changed by extra constitutional means, specifically by coup d'états. That was the African Peace and Strategic Architecture (APSA). Whereas on the sub-regional basis, the South African Development Cooperation (SADC) which consisted of 14 countries, embraces the SADC Brigade to support regional peace operations. In this regards, they had been operating in many environment. He also pinpointed that there was a regional peace keeping training centre located in Harare, Zimbabwe. Its main objective was to train people to join the UN Peacekeeping forces, as in the African ZADC unit contribution to UN global peacekeeping.

H.E. raised the implementation issues regarding ASEAN. He questioned in 50 years of time, would it be too far ahead, too much of aspiration, or too idealistic for ASEAN to achieve its objectives. Within such a mechanism structure and aspiration, he added, should ASEAN have a bit more aspiration? He wasn't too certain whether ASEAN would be able to turn its dreams into reality.

Dr. Kobsak Chutikul mentioned that he had adopted a 12 year old Ghanaian boy during the UN Conference at Ghana, Africa. After the boy obtained permission, he attended the conference every day in a three-piece suit with a little bag. He listened to the speeches and jotted down notes carefully because he had to send it to his school. The president of the Conference took him for dinner, and asked him about his statement of the day. The boy would complement on his improvement. The delegation was fascinated by him. H.E. said that the US delegation invited him to attend the Congress of the Future World Leaders at Washington DC. At the end of the conference, the delegates offered him a laptop, nevertheless was rejected by the boy. In fact, he rejected all the offers for he himself manage to earn them in the future. The boy urged the government leaders and senior officers to perform their duties in order to create stability, security and peace. He added that the empty bag is to be instilled with hopes. Finally, Dr. Kobsak Chutikul concluded his speech by addressing the expectation for the next generations of ASEAN. He urged that, "Don't ask whether you can, just believe that you must."



Speaker 3: Major General Ashok Hukku (R), Y.S.M. Member Advisory Committee UNESCO – IHP, India

Maj Gen Ashok Hukku (R), the third speaker for this session began his speech by giving an overview of today's security issues that were also connected to climate change, water, energy, migration, food, cyber world, space and terrorism. Peace had been sought through complex mechanism of trade and sociocultural bonds. Towards that end ASEAN had played a significant role in a troubled world. It was to the credit of ASEAN that it held together through difficult times and contributed to peace and stability in the region. Economically it prospered and continued to do so. He added that, ASEAN had come a long way since the first summit held in Bali in 1976. The question now is "What is it for ASEAN in the next 50 years". In order to make an assessment it was necessary to take stock of the challenges posed by the strategic environment in Asia in which ASEAN would have to play an important role in the years ahead.

He briefly explained on ASEAN and The Strategic Environment in Asia. Giving an example of China, which has emerged has a leading challenger to the US's economic and military might. Some of China's strategic priorities in the 21st century were:

- a) It sees 21st century as a "strategic window of opportunity" to become a global power.

- b) To change the present uni-polar world to a multi polar one in which it will be the other super power.
- c) Expand military power, doctrines and activities. This suggests that in due course of time it plans power projection within the region and later trans-region.
- d) Assimilation of Taiwan.
- e) China looks forward to resolving disputes with Japan in the East China Sea; and over Spratly and Paracel Islands with Brunei, Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and Vietnam.

These islands lie in the South China Sea through which strategic SLOCs passed. China's determination and aggressive policy to dominate the SLOCs would continue to raise tensions in the years ahead. Therefore, China's strategic objectives posed a great challenge to ASEAN and would continue to do so in the foreseeable future.

The silk route. He drew attention on the Chinese initiative of "One Belt and One Road", backed by an extensive China-led funding of infrastructure would have a tremendous economic and geopolitical impact globally. Chinese President Xi Jinping has stated that the trade volumes among the Silk Road economies would touch \$ 2.5 trillion over the next 10 years. The "One Belt and One Road" are expected to connect the vibrant East Asia economies at one end and developed European economies at the other. The economic prospects of the initiative were immense, ASEAN would stand to benefit economically, if the project were successful. However, its strategic calculus can have consequences for the existing global balance of power. It could shift the centre of geo-economic power towards Eurasia, and have a direct impact on the US strategy of "Re-balancing". ASEAN would have to factor this possibility in its vision for the next 50 years to cope with the resultant challenges.

US Concept of Re-Balancing. He stated that the US had been promoting the concept of "Pivot to the East", also known as "Re-Balancing". It is a direct challenge to China's new foreign policy of "fu xing" which sought to restore China's status as the major world power. The US has been strengthening political and military relations with Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Australia and New Zealand. Although Washington denies that these measures were anti-China, China believed they were just that. This strategic power play not designed to be short term. It would continue for decades as the US and China jostle for dominance in the region and along the sea lanes of communication, inexorably drawing the countries in route into the complexities of the power play. The nerve centre of this power play passed through ASEAN countries; where the heat of friction would be felt in the decades ahead.

Sunny Lands Summit Points to Future. He highlighted that President Barack Obama had hosted ASEAN leaders in the US in February 2016. The convening

of the first-ever meeting with Southeast Asian leaders in the United States were both a powerful indication of Washington's commitment to Southeast Asia and a clear signal by the Obama government to the next US administration about the importance of ASEAN. The 17-paragraph joint statement listed out principles for respect for freedom of navigation and sustainable and inclusive economic development, terrorism, human trafficking and climate change. Three of the seventeen paragraphs in the U.S.- ASEAN joint statement dealt with maritime security; this was really significant. It indicated how important maritime security was to the stake holders. On the security side combating the Islamic State (IS) and contending with China's growing assertiveness in the South China Sea were also discussed. ASEAN could look forward to continued engagement by the US on security and trade issues in the decades ahead. But ASEAN would have to chart its diplomatic moves taking great care not to upset China on the one hand, and on the other continue to benefit by its relationship with the US. Not an easy call by any measure.

Regional Nuclear Powers. With regards to this issue, he emphasized on the flanks of ASEAN lie three nuclear powers, China, India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan had tense relations over territorial claims and terrorism issues. These had already led to four wars and continuing problems of terrorism. While a nuclear war remains unlikely, a limited conventional conflict could be sparked under certain circumstances. In the case of China and India there had been considerable progress in reducing tensions, borders had remained peaceful and trade had prospered. The dynamics of nuclear power play and use of non-state actors would continue to haunt the region in the foreseeable future. ASEAN's outreach and economic initiatives with the neighbourhood countries could be affected by the resultant tensions in the environment. However, Indian support and cooperation with ASEAN is likely to increase in the decades ahead. This would strengthen ASEAN's ability to achieve its stated goals and deal with difficult situations.

Nuclear North Korea. He stated that North Korea had made visible efforts to break out of diplomatic isolation by improving relations with South East Asian countries. It had improved trade with ASEAN, in the process it had also reduced its dependence on China. In the years ahead this trend would likely continue and ASEAN would benefit from good ties with North Korea. However, if international pressure continued to grow on North Korea and matters come to a head, ASEAN may have to re-evaluate its position and relations with that country. When North Korea launched 3 ballistic missiles in May 2015, ASEAN foreign ministers expressed "concern" at their annual summit meeting. However, when North Korea tested its nuclear device on 6 Jan 2016, drawing strong worldwide criticism including from its allies China and Russia, ASEAN's response was muted, though Vietnam and Thailand wanted ASEAN to issue a strong statement. ASEAN will have to tread the diplomatic

route with great care and maturity so as to remain a stabilizing force in the region. Other countries could hope that ASEAN's ties with North Korea would contribute in keeping the latter's leadership calm and help avert escalation of tensions.

Internal Dissent in ASEAN. He further explained that ASEAN had been known for its consensus approach to issues. That did not mean there was no internal dissent. While dissent was an essential feature of a democratic organization, such as ASEAN, it also suggests that the majority view may not be of advantage to all. Within ASEAN views regarding China may vary from one country to another. Dissent, therefore, could cast a shadow over the principle of consensus as each ASEAN country tried to meet its own strategic priorities, which may differ from those of others in the organization. This trend is to be expected in future as US & China jostle for power in this region. The strength of ASEAN as a cohesive organization would be repeatedly tested in the decades ahead. Success would depend on the leadership of ASEAN for ensuring that dissent would not weaken the cohesiveness of the organization.

Climate Change & ASEAN. This issue had become prominent of late as Southeast Asia was highly vulnerable to climate change as a large proportion of the population and economic activity was concentrated along the coastlines. Due to Climate Change heat waves, droughts, floods, and tropical cyclones had become more intense and frequent creating socioeconomic problems. An Asian Development Bank study projected a 4.8 degrees Celsius rise in mean annual temperature, and a 70 centimetres rise in mean sea level by 2100 in Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam. Rise in sea level would result in major problems for many of ASEAN's largest coastal cities, such as Jakarta, Bangkok and Manila. Millions of people may have to be resettled and massive expenditures incurred to protect the coastal cities. Projections of economic losses by the ADB study "include a decline up to 50 percent of rice yield potential by 2100 and a loss of 6.7 percent of combined gross domestic product each year by 2100". ASEAN Member States had taken actions to address effects of climate change through various environmental, economic and social activities over the years. Several ASEAN Member States had announced voluntary mitigation targets, including Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, and Singapore. Other measures were also in hand in cooperation with India and China. ASEAN would move ahead with a constructive approach to meet the challenges of Climate Change in accordance with the joint declaration signed during COP21 held in Paris in November/December 2015. However it would have to remain prepared for unavoidable impacts of Climate Change in the future.

Energy Security & ASEAN. Taking into account that Asia was a relatively energy poor region, particularly with respect to oil. "Projections to 2035 show that Asia would produce less than half its energy needs while representing nearly half the

world GDP" (ADB 2011). This was obviously a very worrisome perspective. Many countries would only produce a fraction of their needs. ASEAN was overall an energy surplus area. But the energy resources of its countries differed very much. However, by 2035, except for Brunei, all ASEAN countries would likely to be energy deficient. For ASEAN, energy issues would represent a huge challenge. Internally, energy would be a major challenge to ASEAN integration itself as it could either push the countries towards strong regional unity, or lead to serious differences. Energy demand from China and India and other countries will put competitive pressure on ASEAN unity. Some members of ASEAN might prefer trading with non-ASEAN countries rather than within ASEAN. Many border areas of ASEAN, particularly offshore, have overlapping claims by both ASEAN and non-ASEAN countries. These sovereignty issues posed a threat to ASEAN unity and integration. Also, many internal ASEAN borders had not been defined, including in areas where energy sources may be present. In the decades ahead energy issues would pose serious problems for ASEAN. It would have to remain alert and resilient to possible fissiparous developments that could take place as individual countries prefer to direct their actions towards national priorities, rather than those of ASEAN.

ASEAN Regional Forum. He emphasized that ARF was a vitally important arm of ASEAN. It had lived up to its original mandate, had bolstered interstate co-operation and had contributed to build a more secure regional environment. A prime example of this could be seen in the area of humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR). Since the 21st ARF meeting (Aug 2014), the range of activities encompassed a much wider scope, including counter terrorism, cyber security, HADR, transnational crime and drug trafficking, non-proliferation and disarmament, maritime environmental protection and maritime security. The range of ARF's activities indicated its growing role and capacity to make meaningful impact on global issues. While the ARF may not be able to directly solve some regional security issues, the forum had played a critical role in enhancing co-operation and trust. Undoubtedly it had contributed to a more secure regional environment. In the future ASEAN would be faced with increasing challenges in HADR and was well positioned to play a leadership role. Towards that end it would need to enlarge its capabilities as the challenges in the next 50 years were likely to be of greater magnitude.

Piracy Problem Continued. Looking on the piracy trend, according to the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) Piracy Reporting Centre, there was a sharp rise of incidents in Southeast Asia. Approximately 83 percent of all cases had been registered in this region, with the majority taking place in Indonesia (86 incidents), followed by Vietnam (19), Malaysia and Bangladesh (11 each). The South China Sea and the Straits of Malacca were among the world's most dangerous waters with far too many incidents of piracy. This had been identified as an increasingly

worrisome security issue along the sea lanes of Southeast Asia. Unless there had been a coordinated effort to combat this scourge, sea borne trade would continue to suffer. ASEAN could play a major role in providing safe passage to ships through the region in the years ahead.

ASEAN and regional countries should jointly strengthen multi-dimensional cooperative efforts such as information sharing, coordination of sea patrols, conducting of cross-border and multi-agency operations and regional training, as well as the swift prosecution and extradition of pirates. In the decades ahead the problem of piracy would likely to be exacerbated by human trafficking, drug menace, poverty, crime and lack of a coordinated joint effort to tackle it effectively. ASEAN needed to take measures to combat the growing scourge on high seas before it becomes unmanageable. ASEAN may have to establish an “Anti Piracy Operations Centre”, increase intelligence sharing and carry out rigorous joint patrols so as to bring the situation under control. In future decades joint endeavours would strengthen ASEAN and stabilize SLOCs along which most of the world trade moves.

ASEAN 2025. ASEAN was proclaimed a Community through a Declaration signed by its leaders at their 27th Summit in Kuala Lumpur on 22 November 2015. The possibilities for ASEAN over the next 50 years are indicated by the statement articulated in “ASEAN 2025-Forging Ahead Together.” It said, “The focus for the ASEAN Community over the next ten years would be guided by but not limited to the following broad goals that will further consolidate and strengthen the regional grouping:

- Greater emphasis on the people of ASEAN and their well-being;
- Enhance awareness of ASEAN and its Vision of a politically cohesive, economically integrated and socially responsible Community;
- Engage all nationals of ASEAN Member States through effective and innovative platforms to promote commitment and identification with ASEAN policies and regional interests;
- Ensure fundamental freedom, human rights and better lives for all ASEAN people;
- Strengthen capacity to deal with existing and emerging challenges while maintaining ASEAN centrality;
- An outward-looking and global player;
- Implement the ASEAN agenda while pursuing national aspirations which contribute to ASEAN Community building; and
- Strengthen ASEAN Organs and the ASEAN Secretariat.”

ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM). In his last point, he believed that another crucially important function of ASEAN had been undertaken by ADMM Plus (10 countries). In keeping with ADMM's objectives of promoting regional peace and stability through dialogue and cooperation in defence and security, ASEAN has worn the mantle of a peace keeper regionally. As the under currents of regional peace disturbances have global actors, the magnitude of ASEAN's responsibilities is enormous. They far exceed the regional dimension; instead they will involve ASEAN in the turbulence of global geo-politics.

Over the next 50 years ASEAN will face these challenges as it pursues its own objectives and also gets inexorably drawn into the said turbulence. The significance of ADMM's work will increase many fold in the future, towards that end ASEAN will have to constantly reassess and increase its capabilities to perform its role. At the end on his speech, he concluded that ASEAN will have to protect itself from exogenous threats, over which it will have very little control. It will also have to take care not to be weakened by endogenous threats. Both types of challenges will demand strong leadership, non-partisan strategy and solidarity within the organization. ASEAN has held together for half a century. In the forthcoming decades it would have to continue to keep re-inventing itself, adjusting and promoting its capabilities under strong leaders, as per the changing times.





Speaker 4: Dr. Tang Siew Mun, Head of the ASEAN Studies Centre, Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

In analysing the future of ASEAN in the next 50 years, Dr. Tang Siew Mun, expressed that academicians hardly could forecast or crystal gaze issues that had lain with ASEAN.

He believed that in the next 10 to 20 years, there would be two visible trends. First and foremost, he argued that ASEAN could not be compared to the structure of European Union (EU). ASEAN's trajectory and policy path was different especially in terms of its evolution patterns within the Southeast Asia (SEA) region context. The 'ASEAN Way' approach would remain centric in this case. In line to this, he added that ASEAN's role would continue to exist and remain relevant in the region. But the roles and challenges for government at both national and regional level were expected to change vastly. The issues may not be forefronting in the current environment but the level of operation would evolve differently in the long run. This could be observed on head-on issues such as climate change, changing demographic and ageing society, which would require closer attention. Hence, the major challenge would be seeking cooperation within the region along with these evolving new trends of issues.

He argued that in the past 49 years, ASEAN had been successful and benefiting the achievement through this regional cooperation and unity. Nevertheless, ASEAN

would be facing more acute test and different stress points due to the changes in strategic environment as well as the mentality of ASEAN communities.

Hence, Dr. Tang outlined several observations in terms of the challenges ASEAN would have to face as a regional cooperative grouping. On this front, he highlighted the need for a stronger community building amongst ASEAN members. He stressed at the current trajectory, ASEAN was at the first phase of its Asian community-building process. He suggested that these process show focus on the people of ASEAN and in addition, the steps taken should remain relevant for the people and not merely focusing on multinational companies and huge business markets. The major thrust should be people-centric. He argued that most ASEAN state members had muted level of understanding of the gist of ASEAN itself for a start let alone promoting ASEAN in region. He further added that at the current state, ASEAN was an inter-govern organisation which was also elite driven community and this scenario was gradually hauling the civil society into the framework. Thus, ASEAN would need to learn to synergise and balance both these elements in order to build a stronger ASEAN community without affecting the original arrangement and effectiveness of the regional organisation.

Dr. Tang prompt that ASEAN had been successful in confidence building measures and concurrently shifting towards pre-emptive diplomacy. ASEAN needed to gear up and focus on conflict resolutions to reduce criticism imposed against delaying with hard decision on security matters. He emphasised on a vital need for all ASEAN countries to be able to communicate and interact without barriers. He pointed out that most of the secretariats and headquarters offices were based in Indonesia. As a result, there was a huge lack of visibility in other ASEAN countries. He called the forum to take United Nation's (UN) model in understanding this scenario, where the UN agencies were places in various locations such as Geneva, Tokyo, and Bangkok. In this way, he stressed that ASEAN could generate stakeholder ship. In short it was fundamental for the regional institution to be ASEAN centric in order to anchor firmly in the region.

On the other hand, he stressed the need to understand and contemplate the role of each body of ASEAN in providing substantial security to ASEAN. The establishment of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Defence Minister Meetings (ADMM) was aimed at fostering regional cooperation for ASEAN but it did not provide security individually to the member state or rather collectively to the region. In this case, ASEAN for instance, Thailand and Philippines were still relying against external powers, predominantly the United States of America (US) for security umbrella. Hence, the hub and spoke system and US led security architecture was still the mainstream in terms of security provider in the region. In the future, ASEAN would face a more acute test in providing significant security to the region. The role of ARF and ADMM were not to be abandoned and shall remain

more significant in years to come but member states should explore ways and measure to shape comprehensive security framework for the benefit of its people and directly take more responsibility for the security of the SEA as whole.

Secondly, he discussed on the major power rivalries and its impacts against a possible shaping of proxies within the SEA in support of the big powers. He stressed firmly that the SEA region to never again be a battlefield for these powers like during the period of Cold War. At the current stage, ASEAN had been able to manage this scenario harmoniously through the ADMM Plus and ARF platforms to continue engage vis-à-vis big powers. Confining engagements on joint exercises and humanitarian and disaster relief (HADR) will not be sufficient enough to make these big powers relevant in ASEAN. In line with the strategic interest of these powers, the real task would be its ability to overcome its hamstrings and handle contingency plans beyond confidence building measures.

Thirdly, he upraised that ASEAN centrality would continue to be tested. However, he argued that the word 'centrality' was still elusive and indefinable in ASEAN and was an on-going concept. However he put it firmly that ASEAN centrality had positive inclinations because without this direction, he believed that ASEAN would be divided. Therefore this concept would place the region on a stronger front. He added that in order to achieve this, member states should continue making major powers relevant in line with this idea. If this had not taken position, ASEAN's strategic context in the region and its relevant in the overall geopolitics would be faded. In this context, he then stressed the role of ADMM Plus as a platform bridging SEA and the external powers. However, in order to avoid major power rivalries and proxies building, ASEAN should remain inclusive whilst adopting an open door policy and balancing between vital powers such as the US, China, Australia and EU. By taking sides, ASEAN centrality and cohesion would break and the international system would face a new era of Cold War dynamics in the region.

Fourthly, he argued that the SEA region would be observing new centre of powers within ASEAN, with Indonesia at 7th place in world economy, Vietnam at 15th, and Philippines at 17th out of the top 20 economy in the world by 2050. From the maritime perspective for instance, this scenario would provide a default leadership along the littoral states. With Vietnam rising as an economy power in the region, it would demand political influence. Hence, a different refinement could be expected and a shift in strategic weight would take place giving direct implication towards regional leadership and political security dynamics in the region.

Finally, ASEAN's future would not only rely on community building process but also on external power such as China, Japan, US and EU, as dialogue and trading partners and a major contributor in tourism industries which generated high economic income for the region. In short, ASEAN was driven both by internal and

external processes. The future remained unpredictable; whilst ASEAN should continue to remain neutral as it had been effective in facilitating both intra-regional and inter-regional operation and friendship, ASEAN should also stand firm on major decisions and speak in one voice for better cohesion and unity.

He concluded by stressing that in responding to the strategic shifts taking place globally, ASEAN should remain poised and to provide space for engagement with emerging powers in the likes of China and India. Rather than being sandwiched between the two, ASEAN should instead make a stronger attempt in ensuring the relevance of these major powers to the region. Clear understanding of their roles in the region was a prerequisite so as to minimise the possible tension that may arise from the Sino-Indo rivalry.

Chapter 5

Session 3

Institutional Response to Transnational Security Threats



Speaker

General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin
Chief of Defence Force, Malaysia

Commissioner of Police Dato' Abdul Samah Bin Mat
Selangor Police Chief, Royal Malaysian Police

Admiral Harry B. Harris JR
Commander, US Pacific Command

Moderator

Prof Dato' Dr Zakaria Ahmad
Distinguished Fellow of MiDAS

SESSION 3: “INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE TO TRANSNATIONAL SECURITY THREATS”



Speaker 1: General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin

The first speaker for session 3 was General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin, the Chief of Defence Force, Malaysia. He presented the views of the Malaysian Armed Forces on the topic “Institutional Response to Transnational Security Threats” as part of the theme “Regional Cooperation in Addressing Security Challenges” for the Putrajaya Forum 2016.

He first noted that the South East Asia region has since the 1990's seen unprecedented economic and social growth among the nations in the region, and by no small measure, was due to the pragmatic policies adopted, vibrant trade and economic activities coupled by the advent of industrialisation, and the increasing movement of its people across the borders which not only encouraged trade but enhanced people-to-people interactions. He said that, although these changes afforded increased wealth and stronger bonds, it also left nations vulnerable to the proliferation of transnational Non-Traditional Security challenges.

General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin addressed that these threats which derived from terrorists groups, transnational crime organisations, human trafficking syndicates and piratical or sea robbery bands had not only affronted the law and order but also challenged human security across national borders in the Region. The acknowledgement of the quantum of threat posed by these illegal activities not only to national but regional stability has compelled institutional responses from within and beyond the national borders. He added that the increased complexity in the demography of population residing along the border and the need to ensure free movement of people and goods across the frontier has created a formidable challenge to Governments, especially in Malaysia.

General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin mentioned that as parts of the strategy to promote international trade and enhance people-to-people interactions, Malaysia had facilitated easy movement of goods and people across its borders to meet this end. Despite the endeavours, it came with challenges especially in the form of Non-Traditional Security tests which transcended national borders where these organisations operated in a complex and diverse structure across boundaries. Geographically, Malaysia was exposed as it constituted the southernmost tip of the Asian continent, which afforded excess to the two main Sea Lines of Communication, namely the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea. On the same note, Malaysia's pragmatic and trade friendly policies were seen to be opened to exploitation by these unscrupulous groups, many of which masquerades as legitimate entities.

The Chief of Defence Force, Malaysia then said that in the Malaysian Security context, Transnational Non-Traditional Security challenges could be categorised into activities such as Terrorism, Piracy or Sea Robbery, Human Trafficking, Smuggling, and Transnational crimes. He then added that the sophistication, complex and vast networks which these illegal entities operated would afflict not only Malaysia but also its neighbours. Not only would these challenges threaten human security but could also launch a wave of instability in the region if no concerted and comprehensive architecture is put in place.

General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin stressed that Non-Traditional Security challenges had been defined by the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia as "challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of non-military sources" would warrant a 'Whole-of-Government' approach in formulating holistic and comprehensive measures responses. He added that the transnational nature of these challenges would necessitate bilateral and multilateral collaborations with the afflicted countries, especially the enforcement agencies. Hence, any measures taken to engage Non-Traditional Security challenges must begin at the Home Front before involving bilateral or multilateral arrangements.

He added that Malaysia's incalculable experienced in engaging Non-Traditional Security challenges could be traced in the Counter-Insurgency Warfare against Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) and North Kalimantan Communist Party (NKCP) during the First Emergency (1948-1960) and Second Emergency (1968-1989). The Communist Party of Malaya laid down their arms in 1989 while the North Kalimantan Communist Party surrendered in 1990. The speaker noted that the primary platform in engaging the Communist Terrorists was the formation of the National Security Council (NSC) on 23 February 1971 with the aim was to coordinate policies governing national security and formulate instructions on security measures including security operations, public order and other matters related to security at Federal, State, District and Village levels. The coordinated responses designed by the National Security Council was the proverbial 'straw that broke the camel's back' in our fight against Communist Insurgency.

He said with the demise of the Communist Insurgency threat in 1989, the National Security Council was retained and repackaged to face the more challenging Non-Traditional Security tests that the country faced. In this sense, the Malaysian Armed Forces continued to play a prominent albeit diverse role in preserving national security. He mentioned that by utilising the KESBAN or Security and Development strategy of providing development while facilitating security, the Malaysian Armed Forces in tandem with other Government agencies continue to secure the border areas through continuous surveillance while undertaking development projects with other Ministries. All these measures were conducted through close coordination provided by the various National Security Council Instructions. Another important function of the National Security Council is the overseeing of the Border Management Committees between Malaysia and Thailand, and also between Malaysia and Indonesia.

General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin said the functions of these Border Committees were to enhance cooperation and build confidence through the conduct of programs agreed by both parties. The Border Management Committees function in a multi-tiered structure with the General Border Committee (GBC) jointly chaired by both Defence Ministers, the High Level Committees jointly chaired by both Chiefs of Defence Force and the Regional Border Committee jointly chaired by operational commanders from both military forces. The engagements would treacle down to unit level where Commanding Officers of units located along the border would meet and interact. These committees would also include representatives from all Government agencies responsible for Border Management.

General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin stated that outside the purview of the National Security Council, the Malaysian Armed Forces had established multilateral and bilateral arrangements to face transnational Non-Traditional Security challenges through close collaboration with neighbouring Armed Forces.

These collaborations came in the form of coordinated joint patrols on land, at sea or in the air. Further to that too, he mentioned that there were constant exchanges of information and continuous enhancements of liaison between the various Armed Forces. Similarly, numerous multilateral or bilateral exercises have been conducted with Armed Forces within and beyond the region to further develop competencies, streamline common Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), build confidence and enhance camaraderie between the forces.

According to General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin, the Malaysian Armed Forces had been involved since 2006 in a multilateral coordinated aerial patrol over the Straits of Malacca with its counterparts from Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand, designated Eye in the Sky (EiS). These patrols were conducted by air within the boundaries of the respective countries over the Straits of Malacca. Another similar arrangement, but by sea, would be the Coordinated Maritime Patrols by both the Royal Malaysian Navy and the Indonesian National Armed Forces along the Straits of Malacca initiated since 1993. He added that both initiatives had assisted in reducing the number of pirate attacks and sea robberies along this important Sea Lines of Communication. On land, both the Royal Thai Army and the Indonesian National Armed Forces with the Malaysian Army also conducted periodical coordinated patrols along the respective borders between both countries. The Malaysian Armed Forces maintained a strong liaison with the Armed Forces within and beyond the South East Asia region. On the same note he said that, information especially on the shifts in Non-Traditional Security challenges and its Modus Operandi are constantly exchanged. Similarly, meetings and forums, whether within the ambit of ASEAN or bilaterally were regularly conducted to enhance awareness and afford exchanging of views.

The Chief of Defence Force also stated that Malaysian Armed Forces regularly conducted exercises in the form of Command Post Exercises (CPX) and Field Training Exercises (FTX) in multilateral and bilaterally forms with Armed Forces within or beyond the region. These activities were either conducted under the purview of ASEAN (ADMM Plus EWG activities) or bilaterally. The aims of these manoeuvres were to enhance inter-operability, assimilate common Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) in relation to the various Non-Traditional Security challenges faced and to further develop the spirit of camaraderie among personnel of the various Armed Forces.

General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin claimed that these activities had afforded positive results in formulating a common response towards transnational Non-Traditional Security challenges. These programs had also created a sense of kinship and formed a sense of interdependence towards a common destiny, especially among members of the various Armed Forces. In his speech also, General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin highlighted that many

countries in the region had identified their interdependent nature and vulnerability to escalation due to Non-Traditional Security challenges since the 1990s, and some much earlier. Since then, fruitful and commonly beneficial collaborations had been established especially between the Armed Forces, either under the ambit of ASEAN or bilaterally. He said the shifts experienced in the global and regional geo-strategic landscape may leave some arrangements obsolete or incompatible with challenges ahead. As such, these were some points to ponder so as to ensure that institutional responses against Non-Traditional Security challenges remain relevant, decisive, comprehensive and sustainable.

General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin agreed that realistically, nations were driven by national interests and all measures were applied to fulfil that requirement. However he said, in a closely intertwined region such as South East Asia where the degree of interdependence was high, it was inevitable that the advance towards a common destiny would be successful if common threats were faced collectively. In this sense, he said the transnational Non-Traditional Security challenges had been accepted as the common affliction faced by all countries in the region.

He also added that it was critical to ensure that continuous shared awareness maintained. This would not only afford the creation of a Common Operational Picture (COP) to formulated comprehensive responses but help build confidence through transparency. Shared awareness would also ensure that the measures taken were proactive, timely, in accordance to national jurisdiction and not redundant. Despite operating within the jurisdiction of its national territory, a high degree of inter-operability was required to ensure decisive responses to Non-Traditional Security challenges, he said. This would call for continuous engagements and exercises to ensure that common Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) were formulated, assimilated and tested by all personnel. It is pertinent to also understand the method of operations applied by the various Armed Forces in order to facilitate stronger collective responses.

General Tan Sri Dato' Sri (Dr.) Haji Zulkifeli Mohd Zin summarized that the institutionalised procedures creating responses to engage Non-Traditional Security challenges were like the skeleton which was constant and cold. The meat, on the other hand, was derived from the intangible spirit of common ownership, camaraderie, esprit d'corps and the desire to walk the extra miles that was consistent with the military code universally adopted. Thus, it was vital to mobilise military diplomacy to encourage more people-to-people interactions at all levels of hierarchy to ensure a sense of belonging existed despite donning different uniforms. This believed to be the most important added value in any collaboration.



Speaker 2: Commissioner of Police Dato' Abdul Samah Bin Mat, Selangor Police Chief, Royal Malaysian Police

Next speaker was Commissioner of Police Dato' Abdul Samah Bin Mat, the Selangor Police Chief. He talked about four types of security threats that he claimed as transnational organized crimes that was faced by Malaysia namely drugs, human trafficking, smuggling of immigrants and terrorism. He commenced his talk by explaining that the Royal Malaysia Police as the leading agency that enforced Law and Order related to drug offences in Malaysia, specifically under Narcotics Criminal Investigation Department headed by a Director with the rank of Commissioner of Police; in collaboration with National Anti-Drug Agency and Royal Malaysia Customs (RMC) as law enforcement agencies.

He stated that Malaysia was also a transit point for organized drug traffickers due to the huge and lucrative profit. This illicit production and demand for narcotic and psychotropic drugs posed a serious threat to the well being of the people and this had adversely affected the socio-economic standing of the nation. He then categorized four different periods of time as the era of different types of drugs production and usage. The first era was in the 19th century with the introduction of Opium or Candu, a plant-based drug brought into the country by immigrants from China and later legalized during the colonization era. The second era was during the end of the 60s, when Heroin was brought into Penang by the American

Ground Infantrymen from the Vietnam War and also used by the local population and the Hippies who were popular culture at that time. The third era was during the mid- 90's, when new forms of drug such as Amphetamine, Methamphetamine (Syabu), Ecstasy, Ketamine, WY Pills (Yaba or Pil Kuda) were introduced into the country. These synthetic drugs became widely used and popular among the users who were frequent patrons of disco, night clubs etc. The fourth era was marked with the invention of the New Psychoactive Substance (NPS) introduced in 2012 by the drug syndicates. The chemical ingredients in this drug are not listed under the Schedule of Dangerous Drugs Act 1952; therefore the syndicates manufactured this drug manage to avoid arrest from the relevant authorities. It came in the form of liquids added in soft drink and also in the form of sweets. He went on stating the list of drug producing countries especially those in the Golden Triangle comprising of Asian countries such as Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam which are the main producers of Cannabis and Heroin; the Golden Crescent comprising of the Middle East countries such as Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan as the producers of Heroin, Syabu and Ketamine; as well as the Emerald Triangle comprising of South American countries such as Columbia and Mexico as the producers of Cocaine.

According to the Selangor Police Chief, in dealing with the alarming development of drug related crimes, statutes had been put in place for instance the Dangerous Drug Act 1952, the main law for the prevention, arrest, detention and prosecution of drug criminals which included the maximum capital punishment leading to mandatory death sentence under section 39B depending on the weight of the drugs in custody or in possession. The Drug Addicts Act (Treatment and Rehabilitation 1983) had been solely used for those abusing drugs for their personal use. Those arrested would be detained for a maximum for 14 days under Section 3(1) of this same Act and the urine would be sent to the laboratory for analysis. If the urine had been found positive of drug, the Magistrate could send the drug addict to the rehabilitation centre for a maximum period of two years for treatment followed by two years supervision in the society.

He mentioned that , there were 28 rehab centres throughout the country known as *Pusat Serenti*. The Dangerous Drug Act (Special Preventative Act 1985) was specifically for those involved in drug trafficking and due to the lack of evidence to prosecute the suspects, they were being placed under detention for two years or restriction without trial. Another statute mentioned was the Dangerous Drug Act (Forfeiture Of Property Act 1988) for those involved in drug trafficking and their ill-gotten gains or assets (i.e. money or property) would be forfeited. Also mentioned was the Poison Act 1952 (Revised 1989) for any offence that did not fall under any schedule of the Dangerous Drug Act 1952 i.e. abuse of cough mixture etc.

The Selangor Police Chief explained that there were existing MoUs and bilateral meetings conducted between Police to Police/Drug Agencies frequently.

Besides that, unscheduled working group meetings were also held as and when specific intelligence needed to be shared among drug agencies. Amongst the MoUs and bilateral meetings conducted were Malaysia – Indonesia (Narkotika Ubatan - NARCOBA) on 19 May 2005, Malaysia – Saudi Arabia (General Directorate of Narcotics Control) on 6 August 2008, Malaysia – Singapore (Central Narcotics Bureau) on 26 June 2012, and Malaysia – China (National Narcotics Control Commission) on 11 September 2015; with the purpose of enabling mutual cooperation among drug enforcement agencies on drug related matters, exchange of intelligence, and conducting simultaneous operations in the respective countries based on the information gathered and acted on the relevant drug laws of the country. He also mentioned a few conventions that facilitated cooperation among signatory countries, namely the United Nation Convention on Narcotic Drugs 1961, United Convention on Psychotropic Substances 1971 United Nations, and United Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances 1988.

Dato' Abdul Samah continued to talk about the challenges of dealing with drug-related crimes with the advent of drugs in a form of New Psychoactive Substances (NPS) in the market since 2012. This drug had the same effect of Synthetic Drugs such as Amphetamine Types Stimulant (ATS). To date, this drug had yet to be listed or gazetted under the Dangerous Drugs Act 1952 and the United Nation Office On Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) reported 540 NPS had been detected worldwide and Synthetic Cannabinoid formed the largest group of NPS. Another challenge was the abuse of Electronics Cigarette or Vaping. Some establishments had resorted to include drugs in a form of liquid concealed in the vape liquid. He asserted no Federal Law available to ban these devices except for some states which had made a bold move to ban it.

Online drug trafficking has also emerged and posed a challenge to the RMP as they had limitation in detecting it, as well as limitation in legislation. The Police Chief added that it was also impossible to regulate Internet or the social media. The involvement of international drugs syndicates namely from Nigeria, Iran, India, and Pakistan created another issue as foreigners are paid handsomely thus they were willing to transport drugs into the country. Enforcement had been enhanced to curb this activity especially at main airports, specifically Kuala Lumpur International Airport (KLIA). The Selangor Police Chief also brought up the activity of smuggling drugs by land, sea and courier service, which is tricky to control because of its modus operandi, involved fictitious names and addresses receivers.

The strategies taken by the RMP to detect and eliminate all drug syndicates, eradicate all types of drug abused activities and addiction, eliminate all sources of financing by drug syndicates, enhance and enforce all actions relating to detention under preventive law (DDA Special Preventive Measures Act 1985) as well as to

strengthen and enhance cooperation and networking among related government agencies domestically and internationally. The establishment of Special Tactical and Intelligence Narcotic Group (STING) had brought about successes. A total of 10 labs and a store had been raided or apprehended successfully from 2015 until March 2016. In 2014, 17.68 ton of various drugs, 2,197,955 pills, 47,056 litre of liquid drugs, 72 Cannabis Plant/Tree with the total value of Malaysian Ringgit 238.54 million were seized, whilst in 2015, 33.46 ton of various drugs, 2,971,548 pills, 84,976 litre of liquid drugs, 52 Cannabis Plant/Tree worth Malaysian Ringgit 238.87 million had been seized.

The Police Chief purported that in the period of 2014, 44 accused (17 Malaysians and 27 foreigners) had been convicted under the death penalty, 951 people were put under detention and 78 people had been restricted. A total of RM 67.59 million had been forfeited which included properties. In 2015, 29 were convicted (17 Malaysians and 12 foreigners), 744 people had been put under detention and 69 were restricted. A total of RM 73.4 million had been forfeited which included property.

The second transnational crime mentioned by Datuk Abdul Samah was Human Trafficking and People Smuggling. Malaysia was identified as a destination and, to a lesser extent, a source and transit country for men, women, and children subjected to forced labour and women and children subjected to sex exploitation. Malaysia had been placed on "Tier 2 Watch List" by the US State of Department based on the Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report in July 2015. The majority of trafficking victims were among the estimated two million documented and more than two million undocumented foreign workers in Malaysia. They originated primarily from Indonesia, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Nepal, Myanmar and other Southeast Asian countries; often voluntarily migrated to Malaysia in search of greater economic opportunities.

The Selangor Police Chief elucidated that people smuggling is internationally acknowledged as a transnational crime and as far as Malaysia was concerned, this problem had been addressed under the purview of the Anti-Trafficking in Persons and Anti-Smuggling of Migrants Act 2007. The Criminal Investigation Department (CID) of Royal Malaysia Police (RMP) had been specifically tasked in tackling human trafficking activities, especially on the aspect of labour or sexual exploitation and smuggling of migrants. People smuggling issue however, had been tackled by the Special Branch (SB) Department particularly to procure intelligence on the identification and the syndicates involved in the movement of human cargo across international border affecting Malaysia. A few legislations were put in place to combat this and the Malaysian Anti-Trafficking in Persons and Anti-Smuggling of Migrants Act 2007 (Act 670) (ATIPSOM) came into force on 28 February 2008 covering all aspects of offences related to trafficking in persons including the

removal of human organs. The Act provided for the protection and support of trafficked persons; the offence of trafficking in persons; the establishment for the Council for Anti-Trafficking in Persons (MAPO); and matters connected therewith. The Act was latest amended in 2015 whereby 16 clauses had been reviewed and added as the result of the recommendation of 2016 Tier Report.

Datuk Abdul Samah stated that to exercise all powers of enforcement and to adopt a holistic approach to this issue, five enforcement agencies were appointed to carry out an investigation for any offence under this Act, namely the Royal Malaysian Police, Immigration Department of Malaysia, Royal Malaysia Custom Department, Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency and the Labour Department. On 13 May 2009 RMP signed an MoU with Australian Federal Police on Combating Transnational Crime and Developing Police Cooperation. This MoU would strengthen and consolidate cooperation in information sharing and coordinated operations to combat terrorism, illicit drug trafficking, illegal firearms, trafficking, piracy and sea robbery, money laundering, cyber-crime, transnational economic crime, trafficking in persons, people smuggling and identity fraud. The Malaysian Government had also signed a few MoUs in regards with Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Migrant matter with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Island (MoU on Migration) on 14 July 2011, with Bangladesh (MoU on Migration and Foreign Workers) on 26 November 2012, with Netherlands (MoU on Migration), MoU on Capacity Building with United States of America and established Working Group on TIP and People Smuggling with Australia. Another MoU among the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, China and Turkey and the Government of Malaysia on Bilateral Cooperation in Combating Trafficking in Persons is underway.

Datuk Abdul Samah added that the RMP have taken necessary actions to prevent trafficking and smuggling in Malaysia. RMP has been appointed as the Lead Agency for the Enforcement Agencies. The Criminal Investigation Department (CID) in Royal Malaysia Police Headquarters Bukit Aman have established a Special Task Force in 2014 known as STAGG as an additional effort to combat Anti-trafficking in Person and Smuggling of Migrants Units (ATIPSOM) and have continuous doing operations and raids to prevent this crime. Besides that, information and intelligence are shared through international and regional "Police to Police" network through INTERPOL, as well as working closely hand-in-hand with the foreign embassies in Malaysia through bilateral/multilateral framework. The enforcing agencies also provide assistance and cooperation to member countries through "Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters 2002" (MACMA Act 621). Amendment of ATIPSOM Act in year 2015 allowed victims of TIP to work outside during interim order with allowances allocated, compensation given to the victim for back-dated wages and more active and effective involvement from NGO in TIP issues.

The Selangor Police Chief stated the third transnational crime and it came as no surprise that the threat posed by terrorist groups continue to escalate and refuses to show signs of decline. As a matter of fact, terror attacks outside the conflict zones of SYRIA and IRAQ have been on the rise. The ISLAMIC STATE (IS) remains the biggest threat not only in SYRIA and IRAQ but has spread its tentacles into neighbouring countries such as LIBYA, TUNISIA, YEMEN and territories in West Africa. These alleged terrorist groups started to spread their ideology through form of communication to reach their target group and start recruiting Malaysians to join IS. Although the numbers are relevantly low but it should not be taken for granted. It is assessed that the IS threat in Malaysia is possible thus the RMP is always on the balls with our foreign counterparts in sharing intelligence to curb this threat ahead before they could strike. Since 2013, Malaysian Special Branch successfully failed nine attempts by IS elements to conduct domestic attack in Malaysia. Of the nine plots, three were at phase two, where the IS operatives had procured chemicals, ammunitions and other related bomb making materials. The other six plots remained at phase one where only discussions and delegation of tasking. Some of these plots were the brainchild of local IS elements without instructions or coordination from Syria. There were several attack plots ordered by senior Malaysian IS members based in Syria with only two were the result of directives from the IS leadership in Syria. There was however one plot that was lone wolf in nature, where a 16 year-old teenager was instructed to murder a non-Muslim using a knife. The suspect had never travelled to Syria but was motivated by communications with IS elements in Syria via social media.

Datuk Abdul Samah mentioned three important pieces of legislation drafted to give impetus to anti terrorism move, i.e. Security Offences (Special Measures) Act (SOSMA), to provide for special measures relating to security offences for the purpose of maintaining public order and security and for connected matters as a replacement to the 1960 Internal Security Act (Malaysia). The act was approved in parliament on 17 April 2012, given the Royal Assent on 18 June 2012 and gazetted on 22 June 2012. This act may carry the death penalty to the perpetrators. This act is necessary to stop action by a substantial body of person both inside and outside Malaysia. Another legislation put in place was the Prevention Of Terrorism Act (POTA), an anti terrorism law that was passed by the Malaysian authorities to detain terror suspects without trial for a period of two years. POTA also does not allow any judicial reviews of detentions. Instead, detentions will be reviewed by a special prevention of terrorism board. Anti Money Laundering, Anti Terrorism Financing & Proceed Of Unlawful Activities Act 2001 amendment 2014 (AMLATFPUA) is an act to provide for the offence of money laundering, the measures to be taken for the prevention of money laundering and terrorism financing offences and to provide for the forfeiture of property involved in or derived for money laundering and

terrorism financing offences, as well as terrorist property, proceeds of an unlawful activity and instrumentalities of an offence, and for matters incidental thereto and connected therewith.

The Selangor Police Chief stated the updated statistics on arrest of IS members in Malaysia as being 179 suspects arrested since February 2013 (152 locals and 27 foreigners) (148 male and 31 female); 55 charged under Penal Code for offences related to terrorism (31 convicted and 24 awaiting trial); 2 indicted under Firearms Act; 29 implicated under POCA (Prevention of Organised Crime Act) ; 5 placed under police supervision; 4 were issued with Detention Order; 10 detained under POTA (Prevention of Terrorism Act); 16 foreigners investigated under Immigration Act and deported subsequently; as well as 14 convicted and imprisoned between two to 18 years.

He went on to declare that serious counter terrorism effort by Malaysia started as a result of recruitment of Malaysian for the Islamic State causing fear of national de-stabilization by returning militants. To date, 8 Malaysians have returned after serving the IS in Syria. Malaysian CT legislation prohibits any form of violent participation in the Syrian conflict. All 8 have been arrested and prosecuted. Arrest of these returnees is mandatory. Before banishing them from society, it is important to establish their ideology, networking and expertise to facilitate future operations. There are countries which do not subject these returnees to any form of legal action and alternatively monitor them. These countries have paid a heavy price for adopting such an approach. Monitoring of returnees is tough and requires massive resources, a luxury which many do not enjoy.

He concluded his session with the list of responses taken by the RMP to curb and stop terrorism related with the IS. The RMP had established the Special Counter Terrorism Unit under the Special Branch Department and collaborated with SEARCCT (Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter Terrorism) in the area of training to enforcement officers. JAKIM (Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia) declared IS as an illegal entity and thus they play important role with the RMP Special Branch to engage and educate society on issues pertaining to the right Muslim teaching and understanding of Islam. The government of Malaysia had also signed an MoU with the United States to strengthen bilateral security co-operation.



Speaker 3: Admiral Harry B. Harris JR, Commander, US Pacific Command

The third speaker was Admiral Harry B. Harris Jr, The Commander of the U.S. Pacific Command. He begins the session by thanking Dato' Zakaria for the kind introduction. He then acknowledged the members of the panel, the Midas fellows, and all of distinguished guests joining the Putrajaya Forum on that day. He praised Ambassador Joe Yun, who was a great friend and mentor to him. He also expressed his appreciation to Malaysia Chief of Defence Force, General Tan Sri Zulkifeli for inviting him to the auspicious forum. Admiral Harris admired the Prime Minister of Malaysia who spoke eloquently and forcefully about the challenges to this region which are important to help us all find cooperative solutions to address global challenges.

Admiral Harris said that some of these challenges were recently outlined by, U.S. Secretary of Defence Ash Carter including: the on-going fight against ISIL and terrorism; a provocative and expansionist China; a revanchist and increasingly aggressive Russia; a dangerous North Korea with its quest for nuclear weapons, and Iran. He emphasised that not only these challenges global in nature, obviously they are prevalent in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region. According to Admiral Harris, one of the first things US Secretary of State Ash Carter said to him when he took the command of PACOM less than a year ago was: "Security is like oxygen - when you have enough of it, you pay little attention to it. But when you don't have enough, you can think of nothing else."

He personally thanked all of the people who manage to present themselves and also for their commitment towards the region's security matters. He applauded their efforts to enhance the rules-based security architecture that has served this region so well for decades. He continued that, The United States Pacific Command, or PACOM worked to support institutions and initiatives that were critical to addressing regional challenges. He briefly mentioned some of the ways that the nation can help mitigate these threats that degrade the security and stability which place at risks our prosperity and well-being.

To begin with, he introduced PACOM to the audience. PACOM was known as the America's oldest and largest military combatant command which was made up of nearly 400,000 personnel – Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, Coast Guard and Department of Defence civilians who stand the watch over half of the Earth. PACOM Headquarters was located in Hawaii, and was responsible for all U.S. military operations in this vast area, including exercises and capacity building with allies as well as partners.

He said that, although many refer to this region as the Asia-Pacific, he preferred to call it the Indo-Asia-Pacific – this more accurately captures the fact that the Indian and Pacific Oceans are the economic lifeblood that links India, Australia, Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia, Oceania and the United States. Oceans that once were barriers keeping the nations apart are now super highways that bring them together.

Admiral Harris informed that the United States Strategic Rebalance to the Indo-Asia-Pacific was to strengthen that economic connective tissue through diplomatic and security partnership. It was initiated by President Barrack Obama a few years ago in order to enhance collective prosperity which clearly indicated that the United States recognized this region as the world's economic and political centre of gravity. He then quoted that in the South China Sea alone approximately \$5.3 trillion in annual global trade relies on unimpeded sea lanes of which \$1.2 trillion of the sea-based trade was destined to or from the United States. The Strait of Malacca alone sees over 25 percent of global oil shipments and 50 percent of all natural gas transits each day.

He believed that the rules-based order, anchored by like-minded nations like Malaysia, the United States and many others, has delivered the greatest run of peace and prosperity this planet has ever known. The pace and scale of economic growth in this region are two of the great success stories of modern times. In his opinion, one of the great success stories of the on-going Rebalance strategy was the bilateral relationship with Malaysia. He emphasised that the United States was committed to deepening already strong bilateral ties and nurturing interoperability between both armed forces on important issues such as humanitarian assistance and disaster response, counter-terrorism, maritime domain awareness, counter-piracy, and international peacekeeping.

He clearly stated that, Keri's Strike, which was their primary annual exercise between Malaysia and the United States of America, was expanding and becoming more complex. He recalled U.S. Army Pacific Commander General Vince Brooks said during his visit last January that they're also moving forward with the Pacific Pathways initiative to increase collaboration between both land forces. He strongly believed that the long-standing military-to-military cooperation between Malaysia and the United States has provided a solid foundation for enhanced multilateral collaboration. It signified that it's important because the combined effort of like-minded nations is critical to maintain the prosperous conditions set by the current international rules-based order.

Admiral Harris insisted that working together was the best way to address regional challenges and maintain the peace and security we desired. He said that when he got up every morning, he could see many challenges in this region because all of us lived in the "Ring of Fire". Hence we will continue to deal throughout our lifetimes with natural disasters like the earthquakes recently experienced in Ecuador and Japan". He took the opportunity to express his sympathy and prayers to all impacted areas by those tragedies.

In addition to natural disasters, he highlighted that we also have other challenges including terrorism; unresolved historical tensions; militarization of the South China Sea and the Arctic; transnational sea-borne crime, piracy; and threats in the space and cyber domains. He stressed that those threats suck oxygen from the room because they're transnational in nature and impacting the entire region, therefore require a transnational approach. With this regard, he disagreed that any nation can shoulder the task on its own.

Admiral Harris suggested the forum to seize some of the opportunities that, if better maximized could help this region in order to counter those transnational challenges. He began by saying that, he's always seeking ways to support regional institutions that engender cooperation among partners and friends. He could see this with ASEAN, the 10-state organization in the heart of the region. He recapitulated the U.S. National Security Advisor Susan Rice recently said that the impetus behind America's Rebalance policy was to forge a network of partners throughout the Indo-Asia-Pacific to sustain a rules-based international order. And since ASEAN was founded on common principles like respect for international law, free trade and peaceful resolution of disputes, it's a natural partner for the United States and from day one has been a core focus of the Rebalance.

He was also very pleased that the ASEAN Defence Ministers Summit would be hosted in Hawaii during fall, and he looked forward to supporting that important engagement. He praised U.S. mission to ASEAN, especially Ambassador Nina Hachigian, who has continually made strides in helping the region improve maritime domain awareness and combat the challenge of illegal fishing. Extending

to that he also thank and acknowledge Malaysia for hosting last year's ASEAN chair and for working to better position the organization to peacefully address maritime disputes. He emphasised that while the United States takes no position on competing sovereignty claims, they do take a lead and strong position on protecting the rights, freedoms, and lawful uses of the sea and airspace guaranteed to all countries. To protect these rights, PACOM routinely conducts Freedom of Navigation and other operations in the region.

He highlighted at the forum that when Secretary Carter and Defence Minister Hishammuddin embarked on the aircraft carrier USS Theodore Roosevelt on patrol in the South China Sea last November, it was another demonstration of America's commitment to maintain security and stability in this region. Furthermore, when Secretary Carter and Philippine Defence Secretary Gazmin embarked on the aircraft carrier USS John C. Stennis again in the South China Sea just last week, they again emphasized that the United States would continue to fly, sail and operate wherever international law allows. As PACOM military forces continued the routine and robust presence they've maintained in the region for the last 70 years, Admiral Harris encouraged all claimants to refrain from unilateral actions that would undermine regional stability and instead should take steps to create space for meaningful diplomatic solutions to emerge. He said that the one big step would be to conclude a binding Code of Conduct in the South China Sea. He also quoted that another important step to enhance regional security architecture involves the Proliferation Security Initiative, or PSI where this global effort is currently endorsed by 105 nations aims to prevent the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction or WMD, their delivery systems, and related materials.

He reminded again on some threats previously mentioned that underscore the need for all of nations to take a more proactive counter-proliferation posture and put an end to WMD-related trafficking. He emphasised that it was essential that we invited all like-minded nations to join the PSI, encouraging them to exhaust every effort within their governmental framework to support this initiative. He said that this includes examining ways to strengthen national laws, including on export control, and international frameworks, such as ongoing commitment of each endorser to undertake tangible interdiction actions in accordance with its resources and national authorities. He reminded that WMD proliferation is a shared challenge and countering the threat demands a transnational approach. Hence he applauded Malaysia for becoming one of the most recent endorsers of PSI. He then suggested the involvement of regional nations such as China, India, and Indonesia which would make a great addition to the PSI.

Finally, he talked on scourge of international terrorism that impacted all of us. He reminded that permeating the region is a tide of violent extremists including the terrorist organization ISIL, guided by false ideologies engaging in violent actions

against random targets and resulting in losses of innocent lives. He declared that many of the US friends in Asia have been victims of terrorism, and many of them are close counter terrorism partners.

Admiral Harris praised Malaysia's efforts to tackle extreme ideologies especially the steps Malaysia has taken to address the legitimate security threat resulting from the increase in foreign terrorist fighters from Southeast Asia. He quoted Prime Minister Najib who said earlier this year that the Islamic State is a "very real" threat. He indicated that such efforts by all nations in the region are not only good for the safety of people in individual countries, but they're good for the entire global community and encouraged all like-minded nations to join the United States in the counter-ISIL campaign.

He summarized the session by restating that only together can we mitigate the threats to the rules-based security architecture that has served this region well for decades. He elaborated that only together can we protect the rights, freedoms, and uses of the sea, air, space and cyberspace guaranteed to all nations under international law, and those are essential to prosperity, stability, and security of this region. He once again recapped that only together can we stop WMD proliferation and crush terrorism, including ISIL and indeed we are stronger together. He concluded the speech by making it very clear that for decades, the U.S. Pacific Command has demonstrated a strong commitment to the collective security of this region and pledged that they stand ready to work on new ideas that would continue the commitment. Once again Admiral Harris emphasised that they value their partnership with Malaysia and other like-minded nations in the region as well as this Putrajaya Forum where he believed provide a platform for collaborating and sharing ideas.



Chapter 6

Closing Address by Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia



YAB Dato' Seri Dr Ahmad Zahid Hamid
Deputy Prime Minister Cum Minister Of Home Affairs

CLOSING ADDRESS



The Right Honourable Deputy Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Ahmad Zahid Hamidi expressed his gratitude and congratulated MiDAS for the success of organizing the 4th Putrajaya forum. He was very pleased to see how the forum had progressed over the years since its inception in 2010. He believed the forum with the theme "Regional Cooperation In Addressing Security Challenges", had successfully brought various parties namely regional and extra-regional leaders, policy makers, experts and academicians to the table, to share each other's knowledge and experiences in facing the growing security threat around the world particularly around the South East Asia region.

He said it was vital to heighten our commitment and efforts in maintaining the peace and stability that the region had enjoyed. In his capacity as home minister, he expounded on the issues gravely affecting Asian communities particularly on transnational organized crime in Asia.

He admitted that the security threat from Transnational Organized Crime had kept his office and the ministry fully occupied. Equally, the dynamic and complexity of the security threats, both traditional and non-traditional, demanded and called for multiple responses. He further claimed that the region continued to be

manifested with non-traditional security threats, and singled out cyber security threat was on the rise. He stressed that no single country could face this menace on its own.

Deputy Prime Minister informed that there were still several security issues which remained a challenge in their efforts to ensure continued peace and stability in this region. He pointed out that some of the tensions in the region and beyond was the legacies of history whilst some in-particular territorial claims were still being pursued by countries in the region.

He highlighted that the geopolitics of the region was also changing rapidly with the competing interest of major powers contesting for primacy. The importance of maritime realm of Southeast Asia that host strategic and vital sea lines of communication, the straits of Malacca and the South China Sea, would continue to attract attention and interest. In particular of late, the South China Sea disputes and the intercession of external interest made the effort to maintain the peace, security and stability of the region more complex. Those possible causes of conflict required more than diplomatic efforts of our governments whereby sincere efforts to diffuse tensions might require a multitude of engagements as well as deft negotiation processes by the leaders of the nations involved.

He informed Malaysia had always advocated the importance of multi-lateralism and regional cooperation, in-particular ASEAN, as well as the network of diplomatic relations which spanned across the globe to collectively address emerging security challenges. Malaysia and ASEAN member states were strong believers of the multilateral engagements. He believed that such effective and close cooperation was vital to spawn the ability to identify and address threats of any sorts which might be detrimental to the regional security and stability.

DPM was comforted that ASEAN had been recognized as a platform for maintaining regional peace and stability and continued to engage regional and extra regional powers constructively. He figured it is known fact that since the formation of ASEAN in 1967, there had not been any open conflicts amongst its member countries. The ASEAN way of resolving problems and crises through consensus and mutual respect had indeed gone a long way towards avoiding unnecessary conflicts and tensions.

However, to protect its relevancy, he indicated that ASEAN must continue to look forward and perhaps explore additional avenues for greater growth amid the dynamic and complexity of the security environment. He then acknowledged the observation that in the forthcoming decades, ASEAN would have to continue to keep adjusting itself, revisit and enhance its capacities and capabilities with the changing times. On that score he agreed that those challenges would demand strong leadership, non-partisan strategy, unity and solidarity within ASEAN.

DPM was glad that the three sessions were able to discuss the security

challenges of common interests and shared information as well as offer some probable strategies and practical solutions to the issues discussed for a continued peace and stability of this region. He also hoped that the forum had identified the cooperative mechanism and collaborative efforts that are required to be further reinforced in facing potential emerging security issues. Those perhaps would lead towards building greater trust and confidence and enhance transparency in addressing issues of mutual interest amongst the countries in the region and beyond.

DPM expressed that Malaysia was proud to organize the forum as it managed to gather multiple players and authorities in defence and security sector onto one platform to deliberate and draw useful lessons on issues of regional cooperation and security architecture, on the importance of ASEAN as it forged forward as a community, and the mitigating factors of the increasing transnational security threats and challenges.

He believed the theme "Regional Cooperation in Addressing Security Challenges", was appropriately chosen and forward thinking, as the region might witness the enhancement in the areas of regional security cooperation and arrangement in both traditional and non-traditional security sectors. He was optimistic that it was foreseeable as the region is currently facing the shift of power and becoming the strategic interest of the major powers which demanded greater engagement and inclusivity in the regional defence and security mechanism. Nonetheless, he thought while ASEAN was adapting to the dynamics and changes of the security environment, ASEAN should continue to play a proactive role as the primary driving force and maintained its centrality in the regional architecture. He anticipated that the resolutions and strategies generated from the forum could and would provide a workable proposal in taking security cooperation to the next level. The forum which served as informal and unofficial channel could operate as a platform for the exchange of opinions and perspectives that would refine their standing of each other's security and foreign policy priorities. He had no doubt that the outcome of the forum could facilitate to improve the formulation of defence and security strategies and approaches in dealing with the current and future challenges so as to make Southeast Asia a more stable and prosperous region.

Before he concluded he took the opportunity to express sincere appreciation and kudos to Lt Gen Dato' Azizan Md Delin and his team at MIDAS for their efforts in convening the forum. DPM said he had fond memories of the forum after having pioneered the formation of MiDAS as Defence Minister then, and had the pleasure of overseeing the first and second edition of Putrajaya Forum. He also expressed gratitude and heartfelt appreciation to the distinguished moderators and speakers for their commitment and frankness in sharing their views, perspectives, knowledge and experiences. Last but not least, he thanked all the participants and hope that

the takeaways from the two days forum could be utilized for the benefit of their nations towards strengthening each other's commitment to ensure the future wellbeing of the region.

He then declared the Putrajaya Forum 2016 officially closed.



Chapter 7

Photo Gallery











