

PUTRAJAYA FORUM 2018 REPORT

16 - 17 April 2018, Kuala Lumpur

Theme:

Recalibrating Regional Security Architecture



Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security

PUTRAJAYA FORUM 2018 REPORT

Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security

Ministry of Defence, Jalan Padang Tembak, 50634 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

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The Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS) was established in April 2010 under the purview of 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.

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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 variation of the Chatam House Rule. Accordingly, beyond the paper presenters cited, no other attributions have been included in this conference report.



Foreword



The Putrajaya Forum 2018 with the theme **"Recalibrating Regional Security Architecture"** was successfully organised by MiDAS at MATRADE Exhibition and Convention Centre (MECC), Kuala Lumpur on 16 and 17 April 2018. This forum was held concurrently with the 16th Defence Services Asia (DSA) to attract as many participants from industry professionals and key players who are involved in defence and security.

The Forum offers an excellent avenue for regional and global academics as well as defence and security analysts to share their views on contemporary security issues affecting the region and beyond. I have no doubt that this Forum, in its 5th edition this year has allowed defence policy makers, researchers, think tanks, as well as academicians to present their views and discussed issues relevant to regional security. The Putrajaya Forum 2018 has helped in providing an informal environment to highlight and explore insights in achieving lasting peace, stability and sustainable regional development.

The Forum was divided into four sessions. In the first session, three Ministers of Defence from ASEAN member states approached the issue of regional security and its implications for stability. In the second and third sessions, the discussions focused on the issues of terrorism and cybersecurity threats in the region respectively. While in the last session, three senior military commanders shared their views on the topic of "Smart Power: Hybrid Approach Towards Multidimensional Security". The speakers shared their perspectives and analysis on the issues and later proposed some recommendations for practical solutions.

This Forum is very significant to Malaysia, reflecting her strong commitment towards defence and security not only within the ASEAN region but beyond. In addition, the Putrajaya Forum 2018 acted as an exclusive Track II intellectual discourse with academic discussions in providing relevant inputs, fresh ideas and forward looking recommendations to the ADMM for their considerations.

Lt Gen Dato' Suhaimi bin Hj Mohd Zuki
Chief Executive
Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security



Executive Summary of Putrajaya Forum 2018

The Putrajaya Forum 2018 was successfully conducted on 16-17 April 2018 with the theme **Recalibrating Regional Security Architecture** at the Matrade Exhibition And Convention Centre (MECC). The Forum which was the fifth in its series traditionally organized in conjunction with the established Defence Services Asia Exhibition and Conference. The two-day- forum started with the opening and keynote address dillivered by Dato' Sri Najib Tun Razak, Prime Minister of Malaysia followed by four plenary sessions and subsequently concluded by Dato' Seri Dr Ahmad Zahid Hamidi, The Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia. The four plenary sessions involved speakers of various backgrounds ranging from defence ministers, military leaders and practitioners as well as renowned academia across the region and beyond.

In cognizance of the recent development across the region and beyond, the theme **Recalibrating Regional Security Architecture** was deemed timely as it was critical for the region to ensure its on-going mechanisms remain relevant and adequate to meet its present and future security challenges. At the Opening and Keynote Address, Dato' Sri Najib Tun Razak reminded the forum of how important the subject of defence and security was to ASEAN. The very existence of the concept Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) revolved around the subject of defence and security and shall remain relevant towards ensuring Southeast Asia's regional peace and stability.

In the First Session entitled "**Regional Security Crescendos and its implication on Stability**" an overview of the regional security scenario were shared by the regional defence ministers. Amongst others, the discussion revolved around the existing initiatives under the ADMM Plus which were said to be very instrumental and expected to remain relevant for a significant period of time as the region set its future defence and security trajectory.

With the subject of regional terror continuing to dominate the headlines, the forum dealt with the subject deeper in the Second Session entitled "**Southeast Asia: The New Frontier of Terror?**". The discussion involved panellists from subject matter experts of various renowned institutes which dealt with the possibilities that may arise out of certain security development either within the region or beyond, particularly the Rakhine State in Myanmar

and the Middle East respectively. The recent military defeat of ISIS in Syria and Iraq had resulted in the return of well-trained fighters to the region, particularly in the Southern Philippines while the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Myanmar had been widely argued as a potential hotspot for violent extremism and terrorism activities to flourish. The session also covered on the international network of terror that may or may not have a direct link to the regional homegrown terrorist groups.

Subsequently in Session 3 with the theme “**Coherent Regional Cyber Security Approach Towards a Resilient ASEAN Regime**”, a wide array of security concerns and challenges were discussed as a result of the exponential growth of network connectivity and emerging technologies as the world embraced Industrial Revolution 4.0, Cloud-based services, FinTech, Block Chain etc. ASEAN had acknowledged the existence of increasing cyber threats across the region which may change the whole defence and security landscape altogether.

In response to this ever changing non-traditional security environment that had now become increasingly complex as a result of technological advancement, defence and security forces should no longer be developed in a traditional way. Session 4 entitled “**Smart Power: Hybrid Approach Towards Multidimensional Security**” discussed thoroughly on the emerging defence and security challenges in a volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous (VUCA) environment, to strike the balance between hard and soft power as to prepare a more adaptable and effective force.

The Forum had indeed managed to lay the challenges that lie ahead on the table and had brought out the best suggestions and resolutions from various subject matter experts with regards to the regional defence and security scenario. It had provided a clear way forward for the region which was to embrace new ways and approaches with the help of technological advancement so as to ensure that existing regional mechanisms remain workable, practical and relevant.

Chapter 1

OPENING AND KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE DATO' SRI MOHD NAJIB TUN RAZAK, PRIME MINISTER OF MALAYSIA

Recalibrating Regional Security Architecture

The Prime Minister stressed that ASEAN had always considered regional security as paramount and a *raison d'être* for the formation of ASEAN. He emphasized that the ASEAN concept of ZOPFAN (Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality) remained as relevant as ever and further reminded that in order to broaden ASEAN strength, solidarity and close relations, the association should remain free from any manner of interference by outside powers. Najib believed that Malaysia had been instrumental in boosting security cooperation between nations in the region and he highlighted a few exemplary initiatives such as the Malacca Straits Patrol (MSP) and the Trilateral Maritime Patrol (TMP). He believed such cooperation was critical for the region as ASEAN appeared to be far from immune to the horrors of violent extremism.



Whilst connectivity was a critical element of economic progress it came with a price. Events that took place far away across the world would impact the ASEAN regional security. The defeat of DAESH in Syria and Iraq had attracted more sympathizers from around the world towards their violent cause, in which the Southeast Asia region is no exception. Such organization like the DAESH could be appealing to the deprived people and communities. Therefore, Najib expressed concern over the Rohingya Muslim minority predicament in the Rakhine State, Myanmar and warned if left unchecked, the military elements of DAESH could infiltrate the vulnerable refugees. The Prime Minister called for the Myanmar government to address the issue urgently by facilitating the safe and dignified return of these refugees to their homes and communities.

The Prime Minister also said that Malaysia stood ready to actively contribute to regional security as Third Party Facilitator and highlighted the ongoing work done in Southern Thailand and the Philippines as examples. He then explained that moderation had been a crucial shield against extreme ideologies, radicalization and terrorism as he had proposed during the 65th Session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in September 2010. Since then, in Malaysia, the Global Movement of Moderates Foundation (GMMF) had been the key centre for the gathering and dissemination of information and materials to promote moderation, and to fight against extremism and terrorism. He proudly announced that on 9 December 2017, Malaysia's resolution on moderation was adopted at the 72nd Session of the UNGA.

The Prime Minister took pride in explaining the establishment of King Salman Centre for International Peace in Malaysia (KSCIP). KSCIP would be a joint effort between Malaysia and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to rectify internal misconceptions about Islam as well as to counter the pernicious online narratives put out by DAESH and other extremist groups.

The Prime Minister emphasized that the very foundations of international security would be weak when countries failed to properly address the safety of their own citizens. Proper tools were needed for enforcement agencies to be effective. That had brought about the existence of the National Security Council Act, Security Offences (Special Measures) Act (SOSMA), and the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) and the Security Offences Act, as the case for Malaysia, and more recently the act to combat fake news was passed by Malaysia's Parliament. Responding to the political development in the country, the Prime Minister stressed that the future of the country was for Malaysians to decide, and they should do so on the basis of the facts and not

the fake news of lies, propaganda, false promises and illusions. Before concluding his speech the Prime Minister highlighted several initiatives undertaken by the Malaysian Government with regards to enhancing national security as follows:

- Increasing control posts and monitoring system along the borders to prevent smuggling and human trafficking as well as terrorist threats.
- Enhancing the weapons capability of the security forces stationed in the Eastern Sabah Security Zone (ESSZONE).
- Increasing the monitoring of land borders in Sabah and Sarawak through the Border Control Agency Malaysia.
- Expanding the community security role through the People's Volunteer Corps, RELA, in order to prevent crime in the security zone.
- Increasing government cooperation with the local defence industry players to develop Malaysian-made defence technologies.
- Establishing a Cyber Defence Operation Centre (CDOC) under the Ministry of Defence to defend critical national assets from cyber attacks.
- Continuing efforts to resolve regional conflict, especially in southern Mindanao, southern Thailand and the Rakhine state in Myanmar.
- To transform PDRM elite corps such as the special tactics and intelligence narcotic group, the special task force on organized crime and the special task force for anti-vice, gambling and gangsterism in order to increase the effectiveness of efforts in eradicating drug-trafficking, gambling, triad gangs and organised crime.
- To increase the number of high definition closed-circuit television cameras in high-crime areas.
- To establish a 1000-person capacity special prison with an integrated electronic security system for detainees under the Prevention of Crime Act (POCA) and The Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA).



Chapter 2

Session 1

Regional Security Crescendos And Its Implication On Stability



Moderator: Tan Sri Mohamed Jawhar Hassan - *Former Chairman and Chief Executive, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia, Distinguished Fellow of MIDAS*

Speakers:

Hon. Dato Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein
Minister of Defence, Malaysia

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

H.E General Ryamizard Ryacudu (Rtd)
Minister of Defence, Republic of Indonesia

General Ricardo A. David, Jr (Rtd)
Undersecretary of Defence, Department of National Defense, Republic of The Philippines

Speaker 1: Honourable Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein
- Minister of Defence, Malaysia



Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein said in order to achieve the stability of the regional security, ASEAN must put greater efforts together, integrate its capacities and capabilities in paving a stronger working relationship down to the lowest level. He mentioned that meeting traditional and non-traditional security threats would require the region to be bold and ingenious. He added that the S.E.A.L approach: Strategy, Engagement, Anticipation and Leadership were necessary to meet the threats posted by DAESH.

He further emphasized the importance of leadership in the region and acknowledged that it had become an increasingly rare commodity in this present age. He claimed that ASEAN had never before been in a dire need of a sense of leadership with regards to addressing the current security challenges which involved a long and arduous process that required patience and hard work.

Speaker 2: H.E Dr Ng Eng Hen - *Minister of Defence, Republic of Singapore*

Dr Ng highlighted the need for continued security cooperation among ASEAN countries in order to ensure the region's stability and progress, in light of the increasing dangers and pitfalls that exist in Asia, such as terrorism and

the instability on the Korean Peninsula. He emphasized the relevance of ASEAN in the “regional security framework” and stressed that *“ASEAN would have to step up measures to address the security challenges in the region. The ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus) in particular as the most important defence and security platform for this region. Efforts must be redoubled towards building its resilience and enhancing its relevance”*.



He further highlighted that among the ADMM 2018's focus were to enhance counterterrorism cooperation through leveraging militaries' niche capabilities; strengthening regional capability against chemical, biological, and radiological threats; and establishing practical confidence building measures and code for unplanned encounters at sea and in the air.

Speaker 3: H.E General Ryamizard Ryacudu (Rtd) - Minister of Defence, Republic of Indonesia

The Indonesian Defence Minister said that it was pertinent to promote the equality that exists among the ASEAN countries and minimize the differences that could weaken the fraternal relations, which would further strengthen the existing cooperation with the spirit of peace and unity.

Ryamizard emphasized the importance of communication in solving the problems and differences that had arisen among the ASEAN countries. He mentioned that togetherness and unity as the main modality of the region's

strength in navigating the various potential threats and challenges that had been haunting the region. He added that ASEAN's commitment and culture is also known as the "ASEAN Way" was also the main foundation in building defence cooperation as well as the main direction in re-calibrating the region's security architecture to maintain stability, security and peace in the region.



He listed down the serious security issues in the region, particularly the North Korean Peninsula, South China Sea dispute, trilateral issues of securing the Sulu Sea and the Rohingya crisis. These issues required a comprehensive approach through the existing regional mechanisms which will only be effective if all countries in the region work in unity.

He further added regarding the threat of terrorism and radicalism which required collective handling through capabilities, collaboration as well as intensive, constructive and concrete interstate interaction. He gave an example of the Trilateral Cooperation Agreement initiative in the Sulu Sea through coordinated patrols both on sea and air, to be further enhanced by joint exercises on the land in the near future.

He had launched a new collaborative platform initiative, which facilitated strategic intelligence exchange cooperation – “Our Eyes” which was expected to further strengthen the system of early monitoring and detection of potential terrorist threats in the region. He stated that the ASEAN region had at least 3 areas of maritime cooperation, namely Malacca Straits Patrol (MSP), maritime cooperation of countries in the Gulf region of Thailand and the Trilateral Maritime patrol (TMP) in the Sulu Sea which were expected to be expanded by involving other ASEAN countries and ASEAN partner countries such as United States, Australia and Japan. He concluded by expressing his confidence that all the existing threats and problems could be solved with good intentions, clear minds, and sincere efforts by all involved.

Speaker 4: H.E Mr. Ricardo A. David, Jr. - Undersecretary for Defence Policy, Ministry of National Defence, Republic of the Philippines



According to General Ricardo A. David Jr.(Rtd) traditional security concerns continued to persist within the region with territorial disputes being the primary concern. Political rivalry could also potentially cause instability within the region. He mentioned that to face the pressing security challenges in the Philippines, allies and partners need to be engaged through various platforms with emphasis on maritime security and counterterrorism. The Philippines chose not to be paralysed by differences with their neighbours and preferred to focus on shared interests towards a peaceful region.

He stressed that to strengthen traditional and non-traditional maritime security challenges; the Philippines would join hands with Malaysia and Indonesia in order to achieve a synergistic security foundation. This had helped to consolidate cooperative measures and work within limited resources.

Ricardo also added that they were looking forward to a more productive discussion during the upcoming ASEAN Defence Senior Officials Meeting (ADSOM) in Singapore. He emphasized that the increase in sub-regional cooperation should complement the efforts of ASEAN, where this cooperation had enabled direct stakeholders to address immediate concerns whilst ASEAN addressed broader regional security issues.

He reminded the forum on the importance of having an optimal collaboration and cooperation among the regional security forces that are adaptable to significant changes in the domestic, regional and global environment as to ensure peace and stability in the region. He concluded by stating that close cooperation, synergistic efforts and coordinated responses would yield a successful outcome in addressing the current and emerging security challenges.

Chapter 3

Session 2

Southeast Asia: The New Frontier of Terror?



Moderator: Prof Dato' Hamzah bin Ahmad - *Professor, National Defence University of Malaysia (UPNM), Distinguished Fellow of MiDAS*

Speakers:

General Tan Sri Dato' Seri (Dr) Haji Zulkifeli bin Mohd Zin (Rtd)
Director General, National Security Council Malaysia

Prof Greg Barton
Chair in Global Islamic Politics, Alfred Deakin Institute, Deakin University, Australia

Ms Sidney Jones
Director, Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), Jakarta, Indonesia

Dr Kumar Ramakrishna
Head of Policy Studies and Coordinator, National Security Studies Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore

Session 2: Southeast Asia: The New Frontier of Terror?

Speaker 1: General Tan Sri Dato' Seri (Dr) Hj Zulkifeli bin Mohd Zain (Rtd)
- Director General, National Security Council Malaysia



Tan Sri Zulkifli briefly described the history of terror in the region claiming that the region was no stranger to the scourge of radical violence, extremism and terrorism. He further claimed that the region had witnessed terrorist groups such as the Japanese Red Army Radical Group, the Palestinian Militant Group, the God Army of Myanmar, Indonesia's Commando Jihad and the Philippines' People Army.

He then explained on how the countermeasures by governments evolved from localized responses to a more consolidated international one as a result from the rise of radical violent extremism after the end of the Soviet Union occupation in Afghanistan during the early 1990's. He claimed that returnees from the conflict area that originated in Southeast Asia established numerous terrorist organizations with vast networks between them to operate effectively. Hence, the Al-Qaeda movement had its surrogates in the form of Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia, Al-Maunah and others that collaborated extensively to launch a region of terror in the Southeast Asia region.

Similar to the situation in the 1990s, the failing DAESH's fighting cause in Iraq and Syria would have certain ramifications on the fate of more than 40,000 foreign terrorist fighters from 110 countries. Though many had been either killed or captured, a significant number of them had survived in affray from the conflict zone. The list included a substantive group from Southeast Asia. These fighters would possibly join existing radical terrorist groups in the region and re-establish alumni linked with their fellow returnees or continuing DAESH struggle in the newly led Southeast Asia *Wilayat*. Whichever direction these returnees opt to follow, Southeast Asia must be prepared for a turbulent period ahead.

In explaining the challenges ahead for the region, General Zulkefli highlighted the alarming statistics of Southeast Asians involvement in various militant groups. DAESH had attracted 350 Malaysians by 2016 both in Iraq and Syria, and the Royal Malaysian Police had arrested 600 members of various militant groups in the period between 2001-2018 in which 37 of them were DAESH. In addition, the regional militant groups with the likes of Jonah Assahru Daulah and Mujaheden as well as Ansar Khalifah from Indonesia, Bangsa Moro Islamic Freedom Fighters and the Abu Sayyaf from the Philippines had all pledged allegiance to DAESH. To date, JI remains under the orbit of Al-Qaeda. He further reminded the forum that the Marawi incident was a clear indication of DAESH's future intention in Southeast Asia and as the condition worsened for DAESH in Syria and Iraq, more jihadists in Asia were likely to regard Mindanao as a legitimate alternative.

In response to the situation, Malaysia had a two-pronged approach, the hard and the soft power which Malaysia took pride in overcoming the menace of communist insurgency in the period 1948-1989. Quoting Sir Gerald Templer, the soft power approach had three main components, namely; active collation of intelligence and exchange of information within and outside the country, efficient and effective counter-messaging strategy, as well as assistance and collaboration towards conflict, inflicted neighbouring countries.

As for the hard power, it involved the tightening of certain policies and introduction of new laws in the form of National Security Policy, Prevention of Crime Act and Prevention of Terrorism Act respectively. This had led to an effective enforcement of laws implicating 653 people from various militant groups between 2001 until 2016. From 2013 until 2018, a total of 371 people or sympathizers with DAESH were arrested by the Royal Malaysian Police.

Sharing the Malaysian experience in counter-insurgency, the Speaker quoted Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer who had said *"in insurgency the*

shooting part constitutes only 10%, while the other 90% is to win the minds and hearts. As such the application of soft power efficiently and effectively to separate the fish from the water while the hard power acts to eliminate the threat of radical violent extremism. Before concluding his thoughts, he reminded the forum of the need for a whole government approach towards addressing contemporary security challenges by capitalizing all relevant resources across the board. He highlighted the National Blue Ocean Strategy (NBOS) applied by the Malaysian Government as to ensure effective and comprehensive response towards the problem at hand and the strategy believed to have firmly served to eliminate parameters which might attract radical violent extremism groups from returning and resuming their fight in the country and the region as a whole.

Speaker 2: Prof Greg Barton - *Chairman, Global Islamic Politics Alfred Deakin Institute, Deakin University, Australia*



The emergence of the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq (IS) presents a new and dangerous challenge to regional security and global security. IS has proven successful in luring young people to its rank with polished propaganda, sophisticated online messaging and an increasingly complex network of terrorist group alliance. Thousands of young people from around the world had travelled to Syria and Iraq to join the IS campaign to establish a caliphate in the Middle East, committing atrocities with a vicious inhumanity.

In subsequent explanation, Prof Greg Barton provided brief statistics of the Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTF) / Jihadist Foreign Fighters) origin country who travelled to Iraq and Syria. He highlighted the top listed countries were Nigeria, Somalia, Iraq, Pakistan and Yemen. It was estimated that in the period of 1980-2010 between 10,000 and 30,000 foreign fighters left their countries to participate in Islamist armed conflicts. He added that the Syrian civil war and the associated expansion of IS influence clearly intensified the movement, and attracted more fighters than ever before, estimated to exceed 25,000 people.

Next, he tracked the history of Islamic Radicals / Extremist in Southeast Asia, which was largely influenced by Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Indonesia, where it gave extensive support to Al Qaeda and sought to establish an Islamic Caliphate in Indonesia. He listed out the number of infamous incidents such as the Bali bombings in 2002 and 2005 and the Marriott Hotel attack in Jakarta in August 2003.

He claimed that Al Qaeda also still had ties to other regional extremist groups such as the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the *Abu Sayyaf Group* (ASG), both in the Philippines. While in Malaysia, Al Qaeda had connections to the *Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia* (KMM), which was formed in 2002 as a direct consequence of Malaysians returning home from fighting the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Professor Barton added that DAESH utilized a variety of general recruitment tactics in all its operations, including those in Southeast Asia being a major method was a large Islamist publication industry in the region to distribute newsletters, magazines, and periodicals advocating DAESH's ideology.

The speaker also highlighted the issue of the Philippines is a long significant source of Islamist extremism in Southeast Asia. He claimed that the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) as one of the largest militant groups along with ASG and Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF). Nonetheless, the MILF appeared set to sign a peace deal with Manila, whilst two other established entities remained active. There were also disturbing indications that the so-called Islamic State had been seeking to extend its presence in the country by co-opting elements in Mindanao and its surrounding islands.

Besides MILF, ASG, and BIFF, there were at least three smaller groups that had emerged in the Philippines in the last few years: Jamaal al-Tawhid Wal Jihad Philippines, Ansar Khalifah Sarangani (AKS, or Supporters of the

Caliphate), and Khilafa Islamiyah Mindanao (KIM). Jamaal al-Tawhid Wal Jihad Philippines (JaTWJP, sometimes also referred to as Tawhid and Jihad Group in the Land of the Philippines and Pride) emerged sometime in 2012. The organization espoused a Jihadist ideology, and it had claimed responsibility for a number of sporadic assaults against the military.

He mentioned the Marawi Battle as the most significant terrorist event in Southeast Asia since the Bali bombings in 2002. It was said to be the biggest and most successful display of Jihadist Force by pro-IS fighters in the region to date. At the centre of the Jihadist, operation was the commander of the Abu Sayyaf Group, Isnilon Hapilon. Hapilon led a diverse array of Jihadists; among them were several hundred fighters from the locally based Maute group, perhaps a similar number of his own Abu Sayyaf group, and several dozen foreign combatants and middlemen including Indonesians, Malaysians and Arabs from the Middle East.

Hapilon's fighters, especially those from the Maute group, had been far more resourceful and well prepared for urban operations than originally anticipated. They had proven to be an expert at using IEDs, ambush techniques and snipers to kill and unnerve the Philippines Armed Forces. They had also stockpiled large quantities of food and ammunition, and had been able to get more fighters and supplies into their Marawi stronghold despite the government's attempts to seal off the area.

He added that the post Marawi Battle showed a critical need to initiate a mapping of university-based recruitment into extremist based both on detainee data as well as research in tertiary institutions by researchers who understood the distinctions among the different streams of Islam. Secondly, a compilation of the narratives used to draw recruits into pro-IS activity, both in religious study discussions as well as during military training - extremist recruitment.

The speaker also pointed out the impact of IS's military landscape 2016 which had resulted in the displacement of its foreign fighters from Iraq and Syria. It was estimated that there were about 31,000 Foreign Terrorist Fighters from 86 different countries from Africa, Asia and the West. Many had been killed, but those who survived were returning to their home countries or IS Wilayat like IS Khorasan and IS Philippines. These returnees pose a significant threat to the countries concerned as they had been ideologically-hardened and experienced combatants who will strengthen IS in conflict zones.

Finally, Prof Barton claimed that the Islamic State group's physical caliphate in Iraq and Syria had been destroyed but not defeated. ISIS fighters had spread out across Iraq, holding onto small pockets in the Jazeera desert in Anbar province, and the group could still use this terrain to launch large-scale attacks against major population centres. The group also may now be looking to reconstitute itself in ungoverned spaces in Africa, Yemen and East Asia.

Overall, it was critical for each country, to combat the threat stemming from extremist ideologies, the growth of propaganda, and domestic recruiting. As terrorism had been closely linked to politics, good governance was central to threat management. The dynamic and transnational nature of terrorism made it essential to crafting new laws, build a new institution, capabilities and platform, as well as to renew and expand partnership in the fight against Islamic radicals and extremists.

Speaker 3: Ms Sidney Jones - *Director, Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, Jakarta, Indonesia*



Ms Jones started her presentation by stating that she did not believe that the region was facing a major escalation of terrorism as a result of the defeat of ISIS in the Middle East. She thought the region had an ongoing terrorism problem that came largely from groups which predated ISIS in their region. She underscored a few issues that led to her findings. First, Southeast Asia was deemed geographically too far for ISIS leadership which made the Middle East, North Africa and Europe more appealing. Second, ISIS Central had never officially acknowledged the existence of the Southeast Asia *Wilayat* even though that was what the people who took over Marawi would like to call

themselves. Third, the motivation for joining ISIS was different from the motivation of joining the fight in Afghanistan in the past. Those who joined ISIS were more likely to continue fighting in another jihad in the Middle East region rather than returning home with certain acquired skills and to start a different war.

Most of the people who went to join ISIS had no intention of coming back and many went there as family units. Malaysians and Indonesians as well, when the fighter in the family had died the widows had often remarried and had remarried people who were not Southeast Asians. Hence, it has been absolutely critical not just to look at the men, but to also look at the women to understand how the dispersion of family in ISIS and in Syria and Iraq would take place. Moreover, there were reports of Malaysian women marrying Iraqis and Syrians, and Indonesian women marrying West Africans and so on.

To further support her argument of Southeast Asia was far from being the frontier of terror, Jones claimed that the statistic in terms of fatality and terrorism incidents, Indonesia and Malaysia was in fact below the United States and many countries in Europe. In 2009, Indonesia only had single digit casualties from terrorism, despite the fact that there had been hundreds of arrests.

Nevertheless, Jones acknowledged that the region may have problems to manage in the future as there were about 400 or 500 Indonesians still in Syria and Iraq who may be returning soon with some experience in fighting. She further suggested that the bigger concern for the region was not on the returnees, instead of on the homegrown groups in which the membership had been extended as the result of the ISIS connection. Nevertheless, it would probably revert to more local goals as the ISIS brand deteriorated. Therefore, most of the groups in Indonesia would revert to trying to establish an Islamic State in Indonesia.

Dr Jones had singled out the Philippines as the country that the region should be concerned about, as compared to Indonesia and Malaysia, claiming there were still potential problems despite the crisis in Marawi being contained, as the ISIS cells in the Philippines had appeared to be a nationwide network, stretching beyond Mindanao to the Visayas and Luzon including Manila. Adding to the Marawi problem, Dr Jones highlighted on the revamped recruitment process where it was revealed that it had attracted people of the middle class

not just the poor and the deprived groups, stating the attack on September 2016 as an example which was conducted by students from well-known universities in Cotabato. She further added that the problem in the Philippines was also due to the lack of knowledge and understanding of how the international element had worked in the country. As an illustration of that, she described a terror network led by Dr Mahmood a Malaysian who served as strategist, recruiter and financier for ISIS in the Philippines. His network extended throughout the Middle East and Southeast Asia, including Thailand despite not being part of the global JIHAD. So long as this equation could not be understood there could never be a clear understanding of what the threat in the region could be.

Moving into Indonesia, Dr Jones raised her concern about how easy it was for young Indonesian to be recruited as extremist or terrorist. This had been the problem for the Indonesians Government on top of the problems posed by returning fighters. She named the Daulah Islam Network along with several factions had been recruiting members and believed the organisation would outlast ISIS. Another area of concern with regards to Indonesia was the prison management, particularly on the short sentencing of terrorists involving a large group of prisoners from Poso. Essentially, this group must be supported by a robust reintegration program as to avoid Poso erupting into violence.

Dr Jones also highlighted the Rohingya crisis as a potential ignition of terror in the region. She was of the view that Malaysia would mostly face the problem because of the large diaspora community living in the country. She suggested that there was enough evidence of this diaspora community being recruited into the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA). Even though the likelihood of attacks in Malaysia from the Rohingya Militants would be rather low, there were concerns on possible retaliating attacks in Malaysia and Indonesia against Buddhists from extremists who wanted revenge for the violence against Rohingya and other Muslims in Myanmar. Fortunately, that had yet to happen, but it would keep the authority on their toes.

In her concluding remarks, Dr Jones expressed that there was a need for greater regional collaboration and cooperation. However, it was rather unfortunate that the corporation did not work as well as it should. She identified many reasons for that in which the most significant was the distrust among different partners in the region particularly between Malaysia and the Philippines. She called for the region to find ways to develop trust among the

countries, so as to avoid for a crisis such as the one in the Philippines to escalate across the region.

Speaker 4: Dr Kumar Ramakrishna - *Head of Policy Studies and Coordinator, National Security Studies Program, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore*



The speaker opened his speech by highlighting that the terrorism threat to Singapore in 2017 was at its highest in recent years, according to a June 2017 report by Singapore's Ministry of Home Affairs. The report noted the targeting of Singapore by terrorists and the increase in Islamic State's (IS)-linked terrorist attacks and activities in Southeast Asia. It cited the 2016 suicide bombing in Jakarta (Indonesia), the nightspot attack in Puchong (Malaysia) in 2016, and the siege of Marawi City (the Philippines) in 2017. Singapore's geographical proximity to these countries raised the threat of a spill-over. Furthermore, Singapore remained an iconic target for terrorists, with IS identifying it as part of its East Asia territory.

Dr Kumar also highlighted on threats posed by lone wolves. These threats were deemed as difficult to detect and prevent as they occurred swiftly without much warning. As attacks in other countries had shown, such attackers could resort to everyday items for weapons, like trucks, cars and knives. For

instance, Omar Mateen - the lone wolf attacker of the Orlando nightclub had called the emergency hotline 911 and iterated his allegiance to the Islamic State, even though it was not clear that he was formally connected to the group.

In his explanation on Singapore's response to the dynamic environment of terror, he stressed that Singapore had strengthened its community-driven approach by expanding the SG Secure movement which was launched in 2016 to train and mobilise the community to counter terrorism. Singapore had also incorporated more full-time and operationally ready national servicemen in the armed forces into its counterterrorism training operations, which included the establishment of ISD Counter Terrorism Centre hotline expected to be the channel to identify the potential candidates to join IS. The Centre also carried out field investigations of suspected terrorist-related activities. Dr Kumar also stressed the importance of engaging youth and women, social media companies and religious leaders to counter the threats of IS.

He further added that the media platforms which frequently used in IS propaganda, not only to recruit other Southeast Asians, but also to demonstrate IS' global appeal and reach. IS had developed a slick and professional social media strategy that had attracted followers around the world and convinced thousands of Muslims - professionals as well as restless youth – to travel to Iraq and Syria to fight for ISIS. The propaganda was very well made, well edited, and had far higher production value than the ham-fisted response of governments. It was broadcasted across multiple media platforms, especially with the proliferation of 4G smart phones. ISIS had proven extremely adept at exploiting social media, controlling their message, recruiting, and indoctrinating. Dr Kumar also stressed the concept of taking IS without associating it with any religion. He claimed that the driving factor was power, and their appeal was political. It strongly mingled between technologies, recruitment, and targets; they wanted the world to witness and to see the result and the kind of punishment if the world had gone against them. IS agendas were pursued by adopting radical elements, exploiting religious teaching and promoting hatred, violence and intolerance.

Dr Kumar had warned the forum that "Ending IS' physical caliphate would not necessarily lead to the end of ISIS. The IS may also shift its focus to Asia and target the region's troubled spots as it would attempt to "revive its brand and rebuild its influence. It could re-emerge in a different form of threats with many faces.



Chapter 4

Session 3

Coherent Regional Cyber Security Approach Towards a Resilient ASEAN Regime



Moderator: Prof Ahmad Ghazali Abu-Hassan
Professor, National Defence University of Malaysia (UPNM)

Speakers:

Lt Col Sazali bin Sukardi (Rtd)
Senior Vice President, Strategic Research Division, Cyber Security Malaysia

Dr Rudi Lumanto
*Chairman, Indonesia Security Incident Response Team on Internet
Infrastructure / Coordination Centre*

Dr Dmitry Mikhaylov
*Head of the International Expert Council of The Eurasian Association of
Experts on the Cyberspace Protection Russia*

Speaker 1: Lt Col Sazali bin Sukardi - *Senior Vice President, Strategic Research Division, Cyber Security Malaysia*



Lt Col Sazali emphasized that his presentation focused on three areas: the nature of the cyber environment; the importance of cybersecurity; and, the regional construction of a collaborative approach in dealing with cybersecurity in the ASEAN region. He stated that ASEAN countries had already implemented their own different agendas in terms of cybersecurity. The technology revolution in ASEAN had been quite dynamic and could be considered to be the most rapidly changing.

Research by A.T Kearney showed that a digital revolution would transform ASEAN by 2025 and the catalyst for the transformation would be none other than digital technology. Lt Col Sazali explained that ASEAN had the potential to enter the top five digital economies in the world by 2025. However, this technology would inadvertently open up possibilities for cyber crimes as criminals would follow the money trail. He also dwelled on the concept of *smart city* as being the vision of the ASEAN, where smart devices would collect and process information, monitor activities, and manage services. Sazali gave a brief explanation on the Industrial Revolution 4.0 where it circulated on smart manufacturing; where all the smart devices do all

the smart activities (machine-to-machine communication). This explained the bigger picture on the complexity of digital environment. He asserted that security threats revolution would evolve as a direct result of technological revolution where cyber crimes would replace traditional crime methods. Criminals benefited from the advancement of technology as they could refine their schemes, and enhance their knowledge. He emphasized that security matters had evolved from the physical dimension to the cyber dimension. It had breached the 5th dimension which was the cyber dimension. It was critical to address cybersecurity as part and parcel of developing national security policies.

Sazali further stressed that cyber crimes did not only affect the virtual world, but also the physical world (eg. the cyber attack on the airport). It ought to be noted that cyber crimes offered more money as opposed to armed robbery (Carbanak Cyber Attack with USD 1 Billion loss). He emphasized that global financial loss through cybercrime would grow from USD 3 trillion in 2015 to USD 6 trillion annually by 2021. One of the most dangerous forms of cyber attack would be 'advanced attack' where the criminal would study the pattern and behaviour of their intended or targeted victim and not randomly. He further claimed that terrorist misused the internet for activities such as planning and coordination, publicity and propaganda, data mining, fundraising, recruitment, mobilization, networking, and information sharing.

In response to this scenario, there was a need for a regional and global collaboration as cybersecurity challenges had no borders. Being part of the global, ASEAN state members could not stand alone in the fight against cybercrime. Among the 12 mechanisms and initiatives by ASEAN where ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), Asia Pacific Computer Emergency Response Team (APCERT), CSCAP, OIC-CERT, FIRST, ASEAN-CERT. He stressed that these would not be sufficient as these mechanisms lied on the strategic level. There should be progressive effort to channel them into enterprise level (business) and operational level (people).

In his conclusion, Lt Col Sazali claimed that through relevant policies and strategies, intelligence sharing, formulation of the suitable legal approach, public-private partnership, regional response teams, technical assistance and capacity building programs would be the solutions to the overall cybersecurity approaches that could and should be implemented by ASEAN countries.

Speaker 2: Dr Rudi Lumanto - *Chairman, Indonesia Security Incident Response Team on Internet Infrastructure / Coordination Centre*



Dr Rudi emphasized two key points in his presentation which were an ASEAN cyber threat and challenges and the way to reduce the impact of a cyber attack. He supplemented the previous speaker's point in a way that ASEAN countries would be a prime target for cyber crimes. The ASEAN digital economy was expected to grow to about US \$200 billion (S\$277 billion) over the next 10 years, with e-commerce accounting for US\$88 billion. Undeniably, ASEAN would be more connected towards SMART ASEAN 2020 (1st and 2nd ASEAN ICT MASTERPLAN). He firmly mentioned that this connectivity attracted more threats.

He described the cycle of cyber as follows: Cyberspace → cyber → threat → cyber attack → cybersecurity → cybercrime → cyber law. He mentioned the three tiers of cyber threat; first tier (exploit known vulnerabilities), second tier (discovered unknown vulnerabilities) up until third tier (creates vulnerabilities using full spectrum). In countering cyber threats, Dr Rudi opined that the security system need not be perfect but adequate to complete the mission. The strategy adopted could and should provide enough confidentiality, integrity and availability.

Dr Rudi suggested four areas for ASEAN to work on towards building a resilient regime. The first one would be the preventive action in which to make

it difficult in the early stage of an attack. Apart from that, would be to build technological capability or utilizing trusted technology in reducing threats. Reconnaissance would be the beginning stage of cyber attacks. This would be the stage where the process of gaining information occurred before launching an attack. Nevertheless, a random recon could also inflict serious consequences, such as the case in Australia, where malware-infected USB flash drives were dropped inside people's letterboxes.

The fact that the ASEAN population liking free stuff (apps, online services) was quite worrisome. According to a study, Dr Rudi, explained that four out of the ten top countries in terms of Facebook users in the world were from ASEAN. Similarly, four out of top ten cities of Facebook users in the world were also from ASEAN. He gave an example that Google would be the largest advertising agency despite being a free search engine. Dr Rudi also paid serious attention to the need for the user to be educated in considering what they would post online in terms of documents or web content. Users should also be aware of the potential risk from discussing work-related topics on social media, and the risk of being subjected to phishing attacks.

The second area of implementation would be strengthening defence in depth by domestically pursuing a holistic cybersecurity approach. By achieving a good domestic cybersecurity standard, countries will be better able to contribute to the regional efforts besides ensuring that Critical Information Infrastructures (CIIs) would be resilient from cyber-attacks, and having relevant capabilities and skills to maintain cybersecurity at home.

Subsequently, the third area would be building regional capabilities, for example, the ASEAN Cyber Capacity Programme (ACCP) which would currently be implemented in Singapore apart from the recognition of Thailand to become an ASEAN cyber hub. Before concluding, Dr Rudi mentioned the fourth area for ASEAN to explore which would be the strengthening of international partnership, especially in intelligence sharing and collaborative action to combat malware with INTERPOL.

Speaker 3: Dr Dmitry Mikhaylov - *Head of the International Expert Council of The Eurasian Association of Experts on the Cyberspace Protection Russia*



Dr Mikhaylov began his presentation with a more specific topic of cybersecurity, namely marine cybersecurity, which he claimed to be a new type of cyber threats. He gave an example on incidents in 2017 where civil ship collided with a warship (the cases of USS John S. McCain and Alnic MC Tanker and between USS Fitzgerald with ACX Crystal Container). He also mentioned that the perpetrators were not only targeting ships, but also the port infrastructure as being witnessed in the port of Rotterdam in 2015 (17 terminals being paralysed with \$300 million loss to the company) and Antwerp in 2012 (cyber criminals intercepted 9-character PIN codes used to conduct operations with containers in DP World systems).

Dr Mikhaylov claimed that Cybersecurity Intelligence Index conducted by IBM in 2016, revealed that the maritime information infrastructure took the 5th place in the ranking of hacker attack targets. He briefly mentioned within the theory aspect that if hackers have the intention to hack, they must first need to connect online before proceeding to the next phase of hacking. **(Connect → Hack)**. All systems would have flaws and this means that they could be hacked.

He explained that within the marine cybersecurity, ships typically work on Integrated Bridge System, which still operates on Windows XP. All these bridges systems are connected to the internet under the unsecured satellite

channel. He gave an example that the British aircraft carrier HMS Queen Elizabeth launched in 2017 ran on Windows XP.

He further added that the current bridge systems expose serious vulnerabilities and opportunities for hackers to easily penetrate the system, i.e., Automatic Identification System (AIS), Voyage Data Recorder (VDR), Emergency Position Indicating Radio Systems (EPIRB). The fact that the radio beacon could be easily hacked, the transfer of the virus through USB drive by ship crews, the gullible or irresponsible crew members uploading pictures of their workplace in social sites explained the open possibilities for the attacker to understand and study their victim. For example, the attackers could interfere with the radar system of the ships (false ships), attacks on GLONASS/GPS positioning systems, and attacks on the AIS system (false data).

On the causes of cyber attacks on marine critical infrastructure, Dr Mikhaylov mentioned, in statistic, only 12% of the ship crew had sufficient computer literacy to understand the capabilities of cybercriminals and only 43% of the ship crew had sufficient computer literacy and in this case, there were no classes for the crews to have certain skills in cybersecurity which demanded new methodology of education, i.e., training with the use of virtual reality, the need for centre for operational response to cyber incidents at sea, the concept of “honey pot” – imitation of a real ship being put online intentionally for any attacks by the hackers.

In conclusion, Dr Mikhaylov claimed that there were key security elements to be developed in the near future. For example, a system of trusted software for the maritime infrastructure (operating system, navigation systems, etc), a security system for data transmission at sea using domestic cryptography, and a system of trusted controllers for marine automated control systems for blocking cyber attacks.



Chapter 5

Session 4

Smart Power: Hybrid Approach Towards Multidimensional Security”



Moderator: Prof Ruhanas Harun - National Defence University of Malaysia (UPNM), Fellow of MiDAS

Speakers:

General Tan Sri Raja Mohamed Affandi Bin Raja Mohamed Noor
Chief of Defence Force, Malaysia

General Zubair Mahmood Hayat
Chairman, Joint Chief of Staff Committee, Pakistan Armed Forces

General Robert B. Brown
Commanding General of US Army Pacific (USARPAC)

Speaker 1: General Tan Sri Raja Mohamed Affandi bin Raja Mohamed Noor - *Chief of Defence Force, Malaysia*



General Tan Sri Raja Mohamed Affandi started his presentation with the view that smart power was not an entirely new subject of defence and security. He claimed that the term smart power, though may sound rather foreign and contemporary, in actual fact it had been in practice for a significant period of time. He then explained that smart power was merely a balance of hard and soft power, especially applied in addressing security issues. He further claimed that smart power would evolve with the advance of technology and artificial intelligence, hence would make smart power become smarter in due course. Relating it to the Industrial Revolution 4.0 in which technological advancement would evolve exponentially, the element of smart power would apply in the new battleground called the cyberspace.

General Affandi further elaborated on the importance of balancing hard and soft power in order to address the current and future security challenges. He described on the shortcomings of military hard power intervention on unresolved long broad modern days conflict, stating the crisis in Iraq, Syria and Palestine as examples; which had brought about the phenomenon of radicalism, extremism, violent extremism and terrorism across the globe in the form of DAESH and other similar groups. He further claimed that, while it was important to balance the hard and soft power, to face the current and future conflict, soft power must be applied first as to avoid escalation of tension which would make matters more complex. He highlighted the legendary

gesture of soft power by Salahudin Ayubi for pardoning the enemy for the sake of greater peace.

He then described the regional effort and cooperation which had been instrumental in sustaining peace and stability. He said despite the South China Sea issues, countries in the region continue to accommodate each other through dialogues and discourses for the sake of friendship. Malaysia took pride in promoting dialogues for many decades, which had largely contributed in ensuring the regional peace and harmony. Nevertheless, hard power elements would remain critical in defence construct, especially as a sense of deterrence. General Affandi reminded the forum of the future geostrategic environment that would be marked by volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity, thus shaping the future warfare.

Sharing Malaysia's experience, Affandi claimed that the Lahad Datu invasion by militants who claimed themselves as Sulu Army on February 11, 2013 was an illustration of these uncertainties. The Lahad Datu intrusion gave valuable lessons to the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) in facing a wider spectrum of challenges. Malaysia had been consistent in combating the challenges of terrorism and extremism as well as mitigating other transnational crimes, attributed to the valuable experience of The Malaysian Emergency where the concept known as KESBAN (Security and Development) had proven to be very successful. Under KESBAN, measures were undertaken by all government agencies to protect and strengthen the society from subversion, lawlessness and insurgency with security and development as fundamentals. This had led to the end of communist insurgency in Malaysia. He summarized the importance of winning the hearts and minds of the local population in fighting insurgency by quoting Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer; ***“shooting part in the insurgency is only 10%, the other 90% is winning the heart and mind of the people”***.

The speaker highlighted that Malaysia had taken many steps further through smart security measures with special emphasis on its foreign policy in which conflict prevention and de-escalation of tension are paramount. He then shared the four perspectives to be considered while recalibrating the multi-dimensional security architecture over the region in the context of smart power: First, promoting the culture of moderation, given religious, ethnic and cultural diversities internally and regionally, promoting a culture which prevents radical ideologies from flourishing in the present security dynamics. In this context, Malaysia continued to propagate the true teachings of Islam through moderation or '*wasatiyyah*'. Counter narratives had been disseminated to underpin religious extremism and pluralism. This concept had brought positive

impact regionally as a key value in promoting peace and stability. The Malaysian Armed Forces had been taught of this concept and shall apply them in their day to day operation.

Another significant milestone with regards to promoting moderation and wasatiyyah, Affandi proudly mentioned on the setting up of the King Salman Centre for International Peace (KSCIP). This centre aimed to rectify the many misperceptions about Islam and generate initiatives towards addressing the issues of common concerns between Muslims and non-Muslims across the globe particularly the Southeast Asia region. Most importantly, it aimed to counter the narratives that DAESH and other extremist ideology placed online. DAESH online propaganda could reach out to millions of Muslims across the world. The obligation to win the heart and mind of the society towards social media was the key element in countering this propaganda. In addition to that, Malaysia had also been part of the Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition (IMCTC) a 41-member pan-Islamic anti-terrorism coalition.

Secondly, there was a need for a collective approach to addressing threats, so as to provide a just and durable conflict resolution. Since conflicts were naturally contagious, General Affandi was of the view that it should not be a business of one nation alone. Towards that end, Malaysia had been actively involved in peace building process in the region, particularly in the neighbouring countries like the Philippines, where for many years, MAF has been an honest broker in the peace process between Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the Government of Philippines. The government of Malaysia also took the initiative to provide rehabilitation and intelligent assistance as well as socio-economic development program. Similarly, the Rohingya issue had become a regional problem with regards to influxes of refugees into certain countries. Malaysia had established a field hospital in Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh to provide medical assistance and humanitarian aids to Rohingya refugees. Such gesture may send a rather positive vibe to the Rohingyas as ignoring them will only worsen their state of hopelessness in the Rakhine State, which may be exploited by the terrorist organization or extremist group.

Thirdly, acknowledging the need to increase visibility of defence cooperation which could be illustrated through dialogues and discourses between leaders. Affandi believed that effective counter-threat measures required strong action-oriented cooperation between regional countries. He further claimed that the Trilateral Cooperation Arrangement (TCA) by Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines was a significant move towards effective enforcement against non-traditional security threats. Initially, the objective of TCA was limited to counter piracy, which was similar to the renowned Malacca

Straits Patrol (MSP) in the Malacca Straits, but the scope had been expanded to include not only enforcement against criminal activities, but most importantly to guard against the movement of militants and terrorist groups in the Sulu Sea. He believed that this initiative could be viewed as the initial stage of hard power in the region that could facilitate deterrence against non-traditional threats.

Lastly, he suggested the need to strengthen regional roles in the 5th Dimension of warfare or rather the Information Warfare. He highlighted how technological advancement had assisted non-state actors in pursuing their agenda. Cell phones, emails, satellite communications, internet and other channels of communication through the social media network had allowed militants, terrorists and criminal organizations operate more effectively. In response to the situation, he also suggested for a multilateral cooperation in cyberspace security. Malaysia had recently established the Regional Digital Counter Messaging Centre in Kuala Lumpur. Such cooperation should be established among regional militaries which in turn would promote greater connectivity and further strengthen the already established friendship across the region.

Speaker 2: General Zubair Mahmood Hayat - Chairman, *Joint Chief of Staff Committee, Pakistan Armed Forces*



General Zubair highlighted that in the 21st century the world would undergo a critical transformation as nations grappled with political and socio-economic issues. Since these challenges were global in nature, it would significantly affect the policies of many countries as they individually

addressed their own concern over the future of their power and influence in the world. This is especially significant in light of the growing geopolitical tensions, as well as the diffusion of power among global actors.

General Zubair further added, states opted for hard power tools in the framework of real politics until scholars and practitioners started to recognize that the world was in need of a shift from old assumptions and rigid distinctions about 'hard' and 'soft' power, as economic and political challenges became rather more complex which could no longer be simply resolved by military power or policy innovation. He further elaborated that Smart Power referred to the combination of soft and hard power strategies, defined as "an approach that underscores the necessity of a strong military, but also invests heavily in alliances, partnerships, and institutions of all levels to expand one's influence and establish the legitimacy of one's action".

Evidently, most effective strategies in a foreign policy of any state required a mix of hard and soft power resources to meet the ever-growing, multidimensional security requirements. Thus, employing only hard power or only soft power alone in a given situation would usually prove inadequate. For instance, combating terrorism demands both smart power strategy and hard power strategy. Likewise, simply utilizing soft power resources to change the hearts and minds of the terrorists, the government would be ineffective either. Hence, a hard power component would be required. Zubair further reminded the forum that applying 'smart power' these days would be difficult, since it would be expected to operate in an environment of asymmetric threats, ranging from 'cybersecurity' to 'terrorism', which may be called as a hybrid threat. Since these threats existed in a dynamic international environment, it would add another challenge to the application of smart power strategy.

The speaker shared Pakistan's experience in fighting terrorism and extremism through smart power approach. Describing the threat as multi-dimensional nature which had manifested in the form of 'terrorism' and 'hybrid war', General Zubair claimed that the national strategy applied in addressing it had correspondingly evolved and matured. Pakistan would remain committed to fighting terrorism and violent extremism till its logical conclusion. He added their success stories and sacrifices would be the reflection of their commitment and seriousness in the campaign, and for a campaign to be successful and to yield the desired results, the balanced approach mixed with soft and hard power would be critical.

Zubair further elaborated in the comprehensive policy framework of the smart power approach called National Action Policy (NAP), where all elements of national power, particularly political, socio-economic and military were being effectively articulated within the national and international context in order to eliminate the menace of terrorism. NAP had been formulated through political consensus across the country with the very understanding that terrorists could only be defeated through such a comprehensive approach. Pakistan's Counter Terrorism campaign would be synergistic & broad-based, encompassing both military & non-military prongs, in which terrorism would be confronted in entirety, including its finances, abettors, supporters and sympathizers through countrywide intelligence based operations (IBOs). More importantly, the campaign would be carried out with the main counter narrative that *'Terrorism is not related to religion: most definitely not related to Islam'*.

In addition, he shared Pakistan's National Policy for combating terrorism, which was based on three Ds i.e. "Dialogue, Deterrence and Development" which focussed on defeating the ideology of hate and regression with that of hope, justice and progress. Subsequently, this policy framework would be translated into two-pronged military strategies (hard and soft) together with the followings:-

- i. Military operations should be acceptable to the public with political ownership. Encourage local participation in maintaining law and order, under the local or tribal responsibility, in support of military operations.
- ii. Convergence of military and political components of the strategy.
- iii. Deep regards for geography, history and culture of the area.
- iv. Conduct effect based operations to establish writ of the Government.
- v. 'Sequential' rather than 'concurrent' operations.
- vi. 'Reduce own' and 'exploit terrorists' vulnerabilities.
- vii. The end objective is to achieve 'sustained peace' through 'military strategy' of clear, hold, build and transfer.

He also shared Pakistan's hard power application which had involved 20,000 troops in 2001 and surged to 202,000 troops to date making it the biggest counter terrorism deployment ever recorded, in which, amongst the highlights were 'Operation Zarb-e-Azb', which was the culminating stage of 'Op-AI Mizan', launched on 15 Jun 2014; classified as the largest CT operation in 'contemporary times'. 46,378 sq/km areas cleared, over 17,614 terrorists killed, 360 tons of explosive material recovered and all training centres in FATA either dismantled or destroyed. Meanwhile, in the soft power application General Zubir highlighted certain initiatives with regards to Temporarily Displaced People (TDPs). Apparently, TDPs were being handled through a comprehensive roadmap in which out of 337,915 TDPs families, (96%) have been resettled alongside 'active operations' on de-radicalization and integration strategy which had been fully implemented across the country, with more emphasis on 'troubled areas'. Currently, 2944 individuals have been re-integrated into the society, through 39 De-radicalization programs with psychological, social and religious as well as vocational and family De-Radicalization module. The programs were completed with a proper release monitoring procedure which required cooperation from local intelligence agencies, social workers and the local populace or community. According to available records no individual had rejoined militancy after going through the programs. Out of 2944 individuals who have been de-radicalized, less than 1% were untraceable or not reported back.

Further in 'De-Radicalization' efforts, in the societal space, major steps had been taken, namely;

- i. National Action Plan (NAP)
- ii. Establishment of National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA).
- iii. Perception management of youth through electronic media and talk in education institutions.
- iv. Formulation of a census.

- v. Promulgation of Bill for the establishment of “National Centre for Countering Violent Extremism” (proposed bill - 2017); including the establishment of the Centre of Excellence for Peace & Conflict Management Studies at University Level.

- vi. Enactment of FATA Reforms, continuation of Socio-economic Efforts, Khushal Balochistan “Stability through Development” and squeezing out the residual presence of terrorist elements.

Before concluding, Zubair highlighted the challenges faced by Pakistan in exercising smart power to address the multi-dimensional threats. Amongst others were the strategic uncertainties due to the global and regional power play in the South Asia region, which involved aggressive political and military posturing in the border areas. He also highlighted in the non-resolution of unresolved political issues that had been plaguing the South Asia region would remain an obstacle towards reaching any sense of security and stability. He further added that the growing turmoil in the Middle East and its spillover effects in South Asia would also remain a significant factor influencing the overall geostrategic situation, particularly the danger posed by DAESH's militants and their threat to seek allies and recruits in South Asia.

Nevertheless, conceptually a comprehensive National Response in the form of application of smart power would be the only way forward, to manage multifaceted and multi-dimensional threats. The concept revolves around protecting the society by mitigating the vulnerabilities and enhancing its confidence. Therefore, strong political will and national solidarity would be imperative for implementation of the comprehensive national response with ready and arrayed military forces.

Speaker 3: General Robert B. Brown - *Commanding General of US Army Pacific (USARPAC)*



General Robert B. Brown highlighted on how the world today had become increasingly complex starting back in 2008 when more peoples were connected to the internet than people for the first time. He claimed by 2020, 15 billion peoples would be connected to the internet. This connectivity did not only allow for people with good intention to benefit but instead, it had become a platform for people with the bad intention to prosper such as stealing money and recruiting violent extremist groups. This problem would exponentially grow to thus become more intense along with the velocity of human direction. Solving this complex problem would require relevant authorities to address these issues rather differently.

The smart power would transform the way of doing things together through multi-domain operations, combining soft power and hard power across air, land, sea, cyber and space. Since cyber and space were rather new among those domains and for that reason greater attention should be given. Brown reminded the forum on the different type of operational manoeuvre required, which was not necessarily a manoeuvre on the ground, but instead a manoeuvre to a position of relative advantage in all domains. He further explained that smart power, hard power and soft power were multi-domain operations that had been critical in the defeat of ISIS in Iraq, ISIS in Marawi, and also in the future not just in dealing with nation states and conflict, but also

used in humanitarian assistance disaster response and violent extremist organization and militants across the border.

The use of all domains was an evolutionary concept in dealing with conflict that had been practised for so many years, which required an extremely joint force, central-agnostic and platform-agnostic. More importantly, no single service or single nation could conduct a multi-domain operation and for that information must be shared always across services and domain in order to provide multiple options to solve problems. He further added since the operation could be multi-national in nature, sharing of ideas, joint exercises and training together was critical.

Before concluding, General Brown reiterated the importance of cyber defence and space capability as these would enable the other entire domain to be effective. He further reminded the forum that people are the most important element of technology, and that element may be assisted by artificial intelligence (AI) for faster decision making. Through the command and control trust among individuals are built, they are empowered and trained in decision making at the lowest level. He further added that in multidimensional operations, people trained with confidence and empowerment are absolutely critical.



Chapter 6

CLOSING ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE DATO' SERI DR AHMAD ZAHID HAMIDI, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OF MALAYSIA

Recalibrating Regional Security Architecture



In his closing remarks, Dato' Seri Dr Ahmad Zahid Hamidi, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia had derived into a conclusion that the future of defence and security threats, had evolved into a more complex structure and mostly non-traditional in nature. This would require the region to review its approach and strategy in meeting the demand of the emerging challenges. He further stressed that the dynamics and complexity of the new security threats, both traditional and non-traditional, demand multitude responses and action.

The Deputy Prime Minister further elaborated on the complexity of defence and security challenges where the line that distinguished between traditional threats and non-traditional threats had become increasingly blurred, requiring authorities to think outside the box and work outside their comfort

zones. Further on to that, he said issues of extremism, radicalism, terrorism, and all types of transnational organised crimes, had now become the interests of both Defence and Home Ministries, and for that it required authorities to work beyond the traditional norms efficiently and effectively, cutting across agencies and sectors, public or private.

The Deputy Prime Minister enlightened the forum for the most trending threats, governments these days which was fake news. Describing Malaysia in the period of uncertainty as the general election loomed around the corner, the element of fake news spreading in the social media was at its peak. He vowed that the Government was determined to ensure the public would not be fed with fake news and he reminded the forum that the measures taken by the government should not be translated as to denying the freedom of the internet and social media platforms. He added that it was merely the responsibility of the Government to neutralise the danger that fake news had posed to society, and not intended to silence the government critics or curb the freedom of speech and the press. Instead, this was to ensure that the public would be educated to be responsible internet users and not fake newsmongers.

Furthermore, the Deputy Prime Minister shared his thoughts on security challenges posed by technological advancement in the form of cyber threats. He described it as the new security dimension and the threats were real and evolving, growing in sophistication and complexity and intangible in nature. He said that there were no physical borders and boundaries or armies to contain it. He reminded that military and defence establishments would most likely be the vulnerable targets.

In response to these new defence and security challenges as well as complex security atmosphere, The Deputy Prime Minister reiterated that the whole government approach would be critical. Military, along with other security agencies and the private sectors must combine efforts and resources to develop new mechanisms and approaches to address the matter at hand. As an example, he highlighted the Malaysian Government's successful project with PETRONAS in establishing a Forward Operating Base in the waters of Sabah as part of the national maritime security domain awareness initiative. The Deputy Prime Minister suggested that such collaboration ought to be promoted across the region.

Before concluding the Deputy Prime Minister reminded the forum that ASEAN must look beyond its borders and enhance regional initiatives and cooperation. He added a greater and higher expectation of the existing regional mechanisms can be redeemed through the organisational framework, such as the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting and ADMM Plus. He believed a close and effective cooperation was critical in order to continually be successful in addressing imminent threats to the region. For that, a robust regional security architecture was necessary to promote peaceful interaction between states and facilitate effective regional cooperation.

He then declared the Putrajaya Forum 2018 officially closed.



Chapter 7

Photo Gallery







PUTRAJAYA FORUM

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