

KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG

REGIONAL PROGRAMME

POLITICAL

DIALOGUE

ASIA

ACTIVITIES IN 2017



Konrad  
Adenauer  
Stiftung





## EDITORIAL

717 participants in 21 workshops and conferences which took place in 11 different countries – these three figures sum up a very eventful and busy 2017 for Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s Political Dialogue Asia. With growing security challenges and the decline of multilateralism, these figures reflect at the same time how important the dialogue between stakeholders from Asia and Europe has become. In a year which saw intensified efforts of China’s Belt and Road Initiative and the rise of “Rocket Man” as well as several humanitarian and political crises in Asia, we continued to build bridges and platforms, enabling our participants to exchange arguments and explain different perspectives.

Aside from the daily business, there were also reasons to celebrate in 2017. ASEAN turned 50 this year, marking five decades of stability and growth for the region. Many jubilee events gave the opportunity to reflect on the organisation’s successes, but also to discuss reforms that are necessary in order to improve ASEAN’s effectiveness. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation celebrated the opening of its office for Australia and the Pacific, which also caused a change in the directorship for our Political Dialogue Asia Programme, when Dr. Beatrice Gorawantschy took over her new responsibilities in Canberra in April.

While we continued to work in our established focus areas – enhancing security, empowering leaders and fostering transnational collaboration – we also put a stronger emphasis on understanding the digital impact that influences everybody’s lives, from Berlin to Beijing. In doing so, we also worked on improving our own digital output, from a very active Facebook page ([facebook.com/KAS.PDA](https://facebook.com/KAS.PDA)) to our monthly briefing “Insights Asia” ([kas.de/insightsasia](https://kas.de/insightsasia)). Please feel free to take a closer look at those channels of communication.

All of our work in 2017 would have been much less effective without the wonderful work of our partners. Their expertise and knowledge are valuable inputs for our projects, their capacities help us to realize our events, and their feedback gives us the opportunity to further improve our work. As the team of KAS Political Dialogue Asia, we are looking forward to continue those partnerships in 2018!

Christian Echle  
Director KAS Political Dialogue Asia

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# POLITICS & GOOD GOVERNANCE – EMPOWERING LEADERS

## INTRODUCTION

In the context of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's (KAS) international mandate and with the aim of promoting greater participation by youth and women in politics, the Political Dialogue Asia programme has been organising capacity-building training, thematic studies, information trips and policy discussions since 2010 via two regional projects – the Konrad Adenauer School for Young Politicians (KASYP) and the Asian Women Parliamentarian Caucus (AWPC). The main impetus for these projects is to plug the gaps in advancing youth and female leadership in politics.

Asia remains the most youthful of populations around the world but there is often an intergenerational conflict that persists. This barrier hinders effective engagement with the youth sector and limits their representation in decision-making and consultation on issues that affect youth directly, for example. As such,

an important spin-off of the KASYP is the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Young Political Leaders Caucus (KASYP-LC). This network offers alumni members who are mid-senior-level political actors to come together to discuss regional-level policy issues that affect youth in development, politics and good governance. This provides an important platform since there is also a lack of a regional network working within the region to lobby youth issues.

Regional networks help to build on existing strategic knowledge and solidarity systems, especially for countries that lack adequate representation of youth or women in politics. Women caucuses, for example, help to unite women across party lines, offer opportunities to mainstream gender issues through legislation and provide oversight of government action in the work of parliament. A women caucus is also a platform to inform and encourage

parliamentarians to use and benefit from the laws passed in their respective countries for stronger enforcement.

In most instances, women caucuses do not receive parliamentary support such as financial resources or dedicated meeting venues. This is where Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung comes in to support an annual initiative where female parliamentarians from the region can meet to address the gaps in political decision-making and what women can do about it. Research shows that the presence of more women in parliament generally contributes to greater attention to women's issues and gender-sensitive governance reforms. Additionally it promotes greater inclusivity and women's direct engagement in public decision-making, providing better accountability to women.

# THE Q-QUESTION: QUOTAS IN POLITICS?

There is an age-old question: Why do women need quotas when it comes to politics or any other arena for that matter?

At one of this year's Asian Women Parliamentarian Caucus (AWPC) meetings, there was an interesting discussion that took place at the dinner table and it brought together both veteran and young political leaders – what is the relevance of quotas in Asia and, some may argue, even in developed countries like Australia and Germany?

The context for this question was introduced during a panel discussion at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (LKYSPP) where a student studying trends in political developments in the region questioned the female political leaders on the panel about the importance of quotas and whether they helped to bring more women to the forefront of politics. The panel, which was made up of veteran female politicians, agreed that a critical mass of women was essential to make women's representation in politics substantive. Quotas helped to ensure that this was achieved, at the minimum.

At the dinner, as a follow-up discussion, Sajina Karki, a young promising female politician from Nepal, excitedly related how Nepal had successfully achieved a women's representation of 33% in parliament. She added that this had really helped to ensure that women can participate in politics and get elected. She hoped that soon, it would be her turn to enter into public office.

While excited for her, the dinner participants started to raise questions concerning the existence of such quotas. Does this mean that without quotas, women will simply not get elected into office? Is 33% sufficient, considering that women make up half of most populations across the globe? How long should these structural quotas last for? What are societies doing about changing mindsets and deconstructing unhealthy social constructs that deter equal opportunity for participation by women across sectors? Having female leaders as prime ministers or speakers of the house does not mean that women's issues always gain prominence in bills' discussions. Thus, it should not be considered as a determinant of success for increasing the representation of women in politics.

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What it does, nevertheless, is inspire other women to join politics and to strive to lead in as significant a role as possible. This inspirational factor cannot be understated. Often times, women are less likely than men to join politics or aspire to senior leadership positions because of systemic as well as personal barriers. The importance of removing personal barriers first, before joining politics, is pertinent. Also, developing a strong motivation to join politics is necessary and staying true to that will help propel one forward.

It is also important for veteran political leaders and political institutions to reach out to potential female leaders and offer mentorship, especially in relation to navigating the tricky terrain of party politics. This has to go hand-in-hand with grooming and encouraging young female leaders to consider leadership roles in any sector. Globally, gender parity is shifting into reverse this year for the first time since

the World Economic Forum started measuring it.<sup>1</sup> While no single measure can capture the complete situation, the Global Gender Gap Index aims to measure one important aspect of gender equality – the relative gaps between women and men across four key areas: health, education, economy and politics.

## Quick Facts:

- Instead of taking a mere 170 years to close the gap at our current rate of “progress”, it will now take 217 years before we achieve gender parity. The most challenging gender gaps remain in the economic and health spheres.
- Research by Unilever and other leading authorities suggests that some of the strongest forces behind persistent gender gaps are harmful social norms and stereotypes that limit expectations of what women can or should do. These outdated norms that discriminate against women are all around us – and they are deeply ingrained.
- Progress on education has not resulted in equivalent gains for women in earning opportunity, economic independence and leadership.

The United Nations (UN) Secretary General’s High-Level Panel on Women concluded, “Changing norms should be at the top of the 2030 Agenda.” We all have a role to play in challenging these adverse social norms and reshaping stereotypes. Gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls must happen across all the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to ensure their success, from poverty to sanitation to climate change. Therefore, applying a gender lens – focused in particular on social norms – to all programmes will help counter the implicit consequences of gender-blind policy implications on women. Ultimately, however, if we are to get there, it will require men and women, at all levels, to embrace and promote diversity and inclusion.



### Dilpreet Kaur

Dilpreet Kaur is the Programme Manager for Konrad Adenauer School for Young Politicians (KASYP) and the Asian Women Parliamentarian Caucus (AWPC). A political scientist by training, Dilpreet graduated from the National University of Singapore with an Honours degree in International Relations and Political Theory. She received an EU-funded scholarship for a full-time Master’s programme at the University of Sydney, specifically for her work in Southeast Asia in the fields of regional social protection policy and international human rights law advocacy. She also spent a semester in Nepal for her field trip research, working with the national human rights institution and local stakeholders.

Interested in working with political actors on intersectional issues of democratic leadership and governance, women empowerment and sustainable development, she has experience in project management and multi-sectoral partnerships in Singapore and abroad.

<sup>1</sup> For more details, see: <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2017>.

# EVENTS

## KONRAD ADENAUER SCHOOL FOR YOUNG POLITICIANS (KASYP)

Political parties are the link between state and society. Ideally, political parties are responsible for selecting political candidates, forming government leadership, representing civic interests and developing the national agenda. Parties play a crucial role in sustaining and consolidating the democratic political order.

With the aim of strengthening political parties, we started the Konrad Adenauer School for Young Politicians (KASYP) as a regional project in Asia. KASYP is a two-year training programme for young members of political parties. The regional project seeks to groom young political leaders who will take the lead in advancing the responsiveness and accountability of political parties. The training programme is designed to enable participants to enhance their theoretical knowledge of political theories and concepts and their practical skills for political action and responsibilities, as well as to professionalise their respective political parties. With increased skills and competencies, KASYP participants shall make a difference within their political parties and ultimately in their respective countries.



## ***KASYP 8.1 Training Programme***

# **POLITICAL PARTIES, FUNCTIONS AND ORGANISATION IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES**

**PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA | 5-10 February 2017**

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Dr. Romero reviewing the logframe of Indonesian KASYP fellow Mr. Muhammad Pradana Indaputra.



Mr. Erdenebulgan Beejin from Mongolia, hard at work.

Every new KASYP batch begins with a week-long programme that provides an overview on “Political Parties, Functions and Organisation in Democratic Societies”. In early 2017, we ushered in the 8th batch of fellows from eight countries – Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, Philippines and Sri Lanka. The group met in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, and engaged in discussions with expert resource persons and fellow peers. Organised in collaboration with the KAS country office in Phnom Penh, the group also visited pertinent political stakeholders, such as the National Election Commission and the National Assembly, and exchanged views on bilateral and regional issues with parliamentarians, development work professionals and alumni members. The inaugural training programme also involved a two-and-a-half-day course on “Political Project Management”, a course that is unique to KASYP, which trains the individual in all relevant tools required to be an effective project manager in the sector of good governance, politics and development. These sessions were facilitated by KASYP’s in-house trainer, Dr. Segundo Romero of the Ateneo de Manila University in the Philippines.



Group photo with Hon. Sous Yara of Cambodian People’s Party and Hon. Chea Poch of Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP).

## KASYP 8.2 Training Programme

# LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT

PENANG, MALAYSIA | 23-25 August 2017

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The second instalment of the training programme often takes place a few months after the first programme, so as to give the fellows an opportunity to execute and follow up on the ideas they had conceptualised in the first workshop. Also, as the programmes are thematically focused, the second training programme aims to look at sustainable development and good governance issues, highlighting the best initiatives of local institutions and politics in the host country, which was Malaysia this time round. The three-day programme adopted a mix-format structure with discussion lectures by invited expert persons, short country presentations by KASYP participants, and political dialogue sessions at various local development units and relevant agencies. The programme then wrapped up with a review session of political projects by Dr. Romero. In the area of inclusive development and the need for bottom-up approaches when it comes to democratising political participation, a lot of the projects refer to the youth segments of respective country populations as important target actors in achieving this goal. Furthermore, along with youth, some projects look at organisational development issues and how to improve them, while some take on quantitative research that can help better inform the role of political parties in providing certain services such as voter education.



Hesbul Bahar, from Indonesia, reviewing project implementation challenges with Dr. Romero.



Ankita Gautam, KASYP fellow from India, looking on.



Group photo at the Penang Women Development Corporation to discuss Gender-Responsive Participatory Budgeting (GRPB).



Christian Echle facilitating team bonding session with the participants.

## **LEADERSHIP IN CAMPAIGNING**

**COLOMBO, SRI LANKA | 2-5 April 2017**

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Group photo with Prof. Norbert Lammert, President of the German Bundestag, fellow parliamentarians, COSATT board members and KASYP fellows.

The third instalment of the KASYP programme – “Leadership in Campaigning” – is often cited as being the most politically interesting of all. This is because we have had the honour of building the programme alongside two of Germany’s youngest parliamentarians – Mark Hauptmann, MdB and Prof. Dr Mario Voigt, MdL. They bring with them on-the-ground experience of the topic and having previously interacted with earlier batches of the KASYP programme, they are no strangers to Asia!

The 7th and graduating batch of 2016-2017 met for their third training session in April 2017. Set in Sri Lanka, a first for KASYP in organising a meeting in South Asia, the three-day programme went by quickly with an interactive political communications workshop facilitated by Mark and Mario as well as important political dialogue sessions with esteemed local and German interlocutors.

The group also had the honour of meeting the President of the Deutscher Bundestag (German Federal Diet) at a luncheon discussion. Prof. Norbert Lammert shared his perspectives on the role of parliaments, electoral systems and democracy in the world and the growing need for agendas to be more majoritarian than polarising. Following his special address, five selected KASYP representatives presented their political projects and country scenarios to Prof. Lammert, highlighting the role of KAS in political education and capacity building across Asia. The luncheon discussion was also attended by board members of the Consortium of South Asian Think Tanks (COSATT), and, representing them, Dr. Nishchal Pandey of the Centre for South Asian Studies (CSAS), introduced the regional project and thanked KAS for promoting regional synergies in South Asia. The KASYP delegation was also hosted for lunch by the Sri Lankan parliament. The delegation had the privilege of meeting and discussing current political issues with the Honourable Speaker of Parliament, Karu Jayasuriya, with issues ranging from national integration policies to the role of parliaments and political parties.



MP Mark Hauptmann covering German electoral trends in their workshop series on political communications.



Group photo with Hon. Karu Jayasuriya, Speaker of Sri Lankan Parliament.

## **KASYP 7.4 Training Programme**

# **MODERN POLITICAL PARTIES AND CAMPAIGNING ON LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS**

**BERLIN, ERFURT & JENA, GERMANY | 10-16 September 2017**

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The final instalment of KASYP brings the group to Germany as a fitting conclusion to the two-year programme that sees them bonding across borders, and learning about different regional and national best practices related to good governance. This time, the group of 18 from eight Asian countries experienced German election campaigning in Berlin, Erfurt and Jena. This also provided them with the opportunity to meet a diverse group of German dialogue partners from the political and media communities as well as civil society. The aim was to share experiences and best practices with regard to modern party politics and campaigning, especially with the advent of social media and digitalisation. With their field trip being held right before the national election this year, the KASYP group experienced German campaigning first-hand. In addition to their on-the-ground experience, the 7th batch of KASYP fellows also learned about theoretical details in a number of talks, lectures and site visits.

Certainly one of the highlights of the Berlin part of the programme was a visit to the so-called #fedidwugl Haus. This hashtag is an acronym for the Christian Democratic Union's (CDU) campaign slogan: "Für ein Deutschland In Dem Wir Gut und Gerne Leben" ("For a Germany in which we can live well and gladly"), which was also the name for the walk-in centre, where themed rooms brought the CDU manifesto to life. Participants also thoroughly enjoyed a very engaging presentation by Danny Freymark, MdL, member of the Berlin state parliament, on his role, his use of social media and his constituency work. Great interest was aroused by a presentation by two developers of the CDU campaign app for MPs and their associates, connect17. Among other helpful support features, the app enables more specific targeting in door-to-door canvassing, relying on specific social and statistical local data.

During the second part of their study trip, participants experienced the local political scene in Erfurt and Jena in the German state of Thuringia. The group met state- and city-level political stakeholders, such as politicians, public service providers and media representatives, to discuss politics and public organisation on the local level. The group was taken great care of by long-standing programme partner Dr. Mario Voigt, MdL, member of the Thuringian state parliament. Dr. Voigt gave the group the chance to have insightful political meetings with the President of Thuringian Parliament, Christian Carius, MdL, the CDU Councillor Guntram Wothly, and the young Mayor of the town of Bürgel, Johann Waschnewski. At the height of campaigning to keep his seat at the national parliament, the Bundestag, Albert Weiler, MdB took time off his busy schedule to introduce his strategies to be successful.

Though the programme concluded in Germany, engagement with course participants continues by way of an active alumni network. The subsequent pages highlight this initiative!



Final certificate presentation at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung headquarters in Berlin.



KASYP fellows at the #fedidwugl Haus.

# KONRAD ADENAUER STIFTUNG YOUNG POLITICAL LEADERS CAUCUS (KASYP-LC)

The Konrad Adenauer School for Young Politicians was first conceptualised in 2010 and has since completed seven batches of participants (as of 2017). As a result, over 140 political projects have been implemented across at least 10 Asian countries. A network of KASYP alumni members has been meeting since 2012 in a series of annual meetings, as follows:

- **KASYP Asian Youth Forum**, 12-14 July 2012, Bangkok (Thailand)
- **KASYP International Workshop on "Youth And Politics"**, 27-29 May 2013, Singapore
- **KASYP Alumni Meeting 2014 "Regional Integration, Good Governance and Democracy in Asia"**, 27-30 November 2014, Penang (Malaysia)
- **KASYP Alumni Meeting 2015 "Devolving Power in Asia: Experiences in Good Governance"**, 29-31 October 2015, Davao City (Philippines)



The alumni list continues to grow and with limited resources, the challenge of providing effective follow-up mechanisms for those who are committed to politics persists. It has therefore been crucial to select representatives from various political parties and countries who remain politically engaged and have shown growth in their political careers since graduating from the programme. It is with this intention that the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Young Political Leaders Caucus was established.

## ***Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Young Political Leaders Caucus (KASYP-LC) Launch***

# FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS | #KASYP4SDGS

**SIEM REAP, CAMBODIA | 2-4 February 2017**



Opening speech by Hon. Dr. Fadli Zon, Chair of the Global Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC) and Deputy Speaker of the Indonesian House of Representatives (Coordinator of Political, Law and Security Affairs).

Thirty mid-level young leaders in politics/governance from eight Asian countries met from 2-4 February 2017 to discuss the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), specifically goal number 16 in regard to strengthening the role of political parties and actors in promoting stronger accountability, transparency and participation in formal and informal processes of governance.

The keynote speech was delivered by Hon. Dr. Fadli Zon, Chair of the Global Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC) and Deputy Speaker of the Indonesian House of Representatives (Coordinator of Political, Law and Security Affairs). Dr. Zon stressed the importance of the Global Agenda, especially goal number 16 as a cornerstone in implementing the SDGs.

He also shared the imperative for political actors, including the young leaders present in the room, to adopt this framework and adapt it to their local realities because otherwise the document would be lost in translation. Dr. Zon also shared many good practices from GOPAC, a global network of political leaders committed to good governance and combating corruption throughout the world.

The excellent keynote speech was followed by a stimulating panel discussion on “Impetus for Political Leaders to Lobby for SDGs”, chaired by Dr. Beatrice Gorawantschy, former Director of KAS Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia, Singapore. The panellists included Arndt Husar, Deputy Director at the UNDP Global Centre for Public Service Excellence in Singapore. Mr. Husar discussed the specifics of goal number 16 and its global policy development post-Millennium Development Goals. He, too, presented on the many avenues of intervention and adoption of these global goals in various arenas of governance, along with major challenges to its implementation, such as the lack of data. Nevertheless, he encouraged the alumni members in the audience to adopt strategic foresight and visualise alternative futures. This provided a useful segue to the more philosophical discussion presented by Dr. Lai Choo Malone-Lee, Director at Centre for Sustainable Asian Cities in Singapore. Dr. Malone-Lee probed the dialectic between governance and government. This built upon the conceptual understanding of governance as one that is bigger than government but not governing, yet an approach to society. She went through the opportunities for young leaders to operationalise governance, from strengthening leadership and political commitment to policy integration to public participation, to name but a few. All speakers stressed the importance of multi-stakeholder approaches in tackling cross-sectoral issues as represented by the SDGs.

The meeting then concluded with a one-day public policy integration crash course and national action plan workshop facilitated by Ms Joy Acheron, Director, Political and Democratic Reform (PODER) Programme / Government Watch (G-Watch) and Action Research Fellow, Accountability Research Center, the Philippines, and Mr. Francis Issac. Alumni members discussed in respective national caucuses, reflecting on the processes of public policy in their country, state of adoption of the SDGs in reference to indicators of goal number 16 and plausible national action plans that could be undertaken to adopt SDGs 16 in their respective party/organisation.

The next KASYP-LC meeting will take place in 2018, where we look forward to updates on various national action plans adopted at this meeting, along with global updates on the adaptation of the SDGs by expert resource persons.



Myanmar and Nepali delegations exchanging views during a brainstorming session on their respective national public policy issues.

**Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Young Political Leaders Caucus (KASYP-LC)  
Experts' Meeting**

# FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS | #KASYP4SDGS

**BANGKOK, THAILAND | 4-5 August 2017**

Committed to discussing good governance practices within the Sustainable Development Goals framework, a core group of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Young Political Leaders Caucus met from 4-5 August in Bangkok to discuss the roadmap moving forward.

It was concluded at an earlier meeting, where the KASYP-LC was launched, that the significance of integrating the alumni activities within the framework of the SDGs was relevant and crucial, especially in the areas of ensuring widespread participation; accountability in monitoring, design and implementation; and scrutiny of governance practices. As such, 14 KASYP alumni representatives from batches one to six met in Bangkok to discuss the roadmap forward for the regional caucus. Christian Echle, Director, Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia, opened the meeting by highlighting the importance of developing young talents in politics, especially in Asia, and discussing the good governance frameworks available within the SDGs framework. KASYP-LC representatives from seven Asian countries were then invited to present and share their country reports respectively. These presentations provided perspectives on the latest political trends and developments in adapting and implementing the SDGs in various contexts, along with highlights of certain best practices in policy and partnership aspects as well as impending challenges.

The roundtable discussions that ensued allowed for better understanding of these country experiences, especially in regard to operationalising the SDGs related to digital infrastructure. Examples included: the Indonesia case highlighted SDG number 9 on "Build resilient infrastructure, promote sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation"; and the marketing successes of public campaigns towards normalising SDG number 3 on "Good health", in the case of curbing tuberculosis cases in India. Other presentations on SDG number 16 provided policy possibilities to support peace processes in prevailing conflict areas in Asia, highlighting the significance of on-going political dialogue and monitoring to building more secure societies.

The one-and-a-half-day meeting concluded with a strategy discussion on adapting the SDGs within the greater KASYP framework. Concrete outcomes of this meeting will shape the upcoming KASYP-LC meetings in 2018 and beyond. These meetings will be aimed at fostering greater regional coordination of policy developments and youth political participation in supporting the SDG policy and social project interventions in the respective countries in Asia.



Discussing good governance practices.



The members of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Young Political Leaders Caucus (KASYP-LC) experts.



# ASIAN WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIAN CAUCUS (AWPC)

Democratic development cannot take place without the equal participation of women in all spheres of life, especially politics. Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung acknowledges the need to promote female political leadership training and empowerment in Asia and is committed to pursuing programmes to narrow the political gender gap in the continent. With the support of KAS, a network of Asian women parliamentarians has been meeting regularly since 2011 to promote, strengthen and develop female political leadership in the region through policy discussions, capacity-building workshops and networking.

In 2013, KAS organised an International Women Parliamentarian Conference in Naypyidaw, Myanmar. It was inaugurated by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and attended by female politicians from both Asia and Europe as well as women's rights organisations from across Myanmar. The conference concluded with an emphasis on the serious need to foster women's political participation in a region where socio-cultural and normative barriers against women still persist.

As a result, in 2014, KAS partnered with the Singapore Committee for UN Women in organising an Asia-focused regional conference in Singapore, attended by delegates from 18 Asian countries. This conference established a regional network called the Asian Women Parliamentarian Caucus (AWPC). Invited members include parliamentarians who have had many years of women's rights advocacy experience from a variety of backgrounds: from legal practitioners to social workers to founders of community initiatives/non-governmental organisations to advocates for better women's rights in the respective countries.

Since its inception, the caucus has tackled low women's political participation rates along with policy issues impacting women's rights in Asia, such as migration involving feminisation of labour and trafficking of women and children, gender-based violence, and anti-corruption measures, with a focus on the role of women in power in tackling these issues. The caucus also brings together expert resource persons who contribute to knowledge building, especially in the post-Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals context.

KAS has also published *Women in Politics: Regional Perspectives in Today's World*, which provides a detailed overview of global and regional indicators affecting women's rights, political participation and empowerment within and across continents.



AWPC members as panellists at Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, Singapore.



AWPC members in a dialogue session with Minister Grace Fu, Singapore.

**AWPC 2017**

## **THE WORLD IN 2030: WOMEN, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY**

**SINGAPORE | 8-11 November 2017**

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“Changing norms should be at the top of the 2030 Agenda. We all have a role to play in challenging these adverse social norms and re-shaping stereotypes.” This was the conclusion from the UN Secretary General’s High-Level Panel on Women, and one that was also reaffirmed during the Asian Women Parliamentarian Caucus meetings that took place in Singapore. A group of 25 female political leaders from the Asia-Pacific met on 8 November. Three of our esteemed parliamentarians formed the evening talk panel at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, where the discussion centred on “Arising Issues in Women, Development and Policy in Asia Pacific”. Senator Linda Reynolds of Australia, Hon. Dr. Dipu Moni of Bangladesh and Rep. Emmi De Jesus of the Philippines covered the top policy concerns for their respective countries and regions. It came as no surprise that despite the varying growth trajectories of the countries and regions represented in the presentations of the panellists, much still remains to be done to achieve gender parity across many sectors, not just in politics.



Hon. Ledia Hanifa from Indonesia with Minister Grace Fu (in the foreground).

Following a stimulating panel discussion, the delegation had the honour of meeting with Hon. Grace Fu, Minister for Culture, Community and Youth, Singapore, and her colleagues, young parliamentarians Hon. Tin Pei Ling and Hon. Rahayu Mahzam, the following day. What is women’s role in society? What are the government reforms in providing adequate work-life balance in Singapore? What is Singapore’s approach to countering human trafficking? These were some questions addressed in the engaging political dialogue session.

AWPC members were eager to continue discussing the topic with a one-and-a-half-day strategic foresight workshop on “The Future of Human Trafficking” at the UNDP Global Centre for Public Service Excellence. Strategic foresight enables public planners to use new ways of thinking about, talking about, and implementing strategic plans that are compatible with the unfolding future. Strategic foresight is the umbrella term for those innovative strategic planning, policy formulation and solution design methods that do not predict or forecast the future, but work with alternative futures. AWPC members therefore underwent a series of brainstorming activities utilising the tools from the Foresight manual and engaged in developing preferred, probable and negative future scenarios related to tackling human trafficking. The meetings then concluded with a timely policy panel on current approaches to anti-human trafficking in Asia by experts from around the region. It was surmised that although there were many existing organisations and key initiatives to tackle human trafficking in Asia, one central problem that persisted was the continuous lack of collaboration among different sectoral actors since it was not a one-dimensional topic. Furthermore, the need to consolidate gender-aggregated data and the adequate interpretation of this data was crucial, alongside sufficient political will.



Group photo with Minister Grace Fu, Hon. Tin Pei Ling and Hon. Rahayu Mahzam with AWPC members.

# E-LECTION BRIDGE ASIA

GERMANY | 18-25 September 2017

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37 percent – that was the predicted result for the CDU in the general election in the internal prediction game of a group of Asian campaign experts who watched the last days of the election campaign at the invitation of KAS in Hamburg and Berlin. Unfortunately, the actual result of the election did not hold up to that prediction, but 32.9% still made the CDU the strongest party in the election.

The somewhat-too-positive assessment was based not least on the fact that the visitors had seen a very professionally led CDU election campaign with many exciting innovations – from the “killer app” connect17 to the #fedidwugl Haus in Berlin. Even CDU Federal Managing Director Klaus Schüler spent half an hour in the last few days prior to the election to give an up-to-date overview of the status of the campaign to the colleagues of the E-lection Bridge Asia.

From Angela Merkel’s speech in Schleswig-Holstein’s Kappeln to the visit to the election bus of Thomas Heilmann in Berlin-Steglitz, the study tour offered a comprehensive overview of the CDU’s campaign. But the CDU’s political competitors also found their way into the programme, for example, in the form of the final rally by Martin Schulz in Berlin. On election day, the group, with participants from Myanmar, Mongolia, South Korea and Sri Lanka, attended the election party of CDU Brandenburg.

At a talk to analyse the elections, *Tagesspiegel* editor Sebastian Turner and KAS expert Paul Linarz concluded the programme confidently: Both assessed that the formation of a “Jamaika” coalition government would take long negotiations but that in the end there would be a stable government for the next four years. While the German parties will risk a new political experiment at the federal level, the visit participants will certainly diligently experiment with campaign ideas gleaned from the German election campaign in their home countries.



Visit to an Angela Merkel rally in Kappeln.



The Asian campaign experts with representatives of Team Asia at KAS headquarters.



Visit to the #fedidwugl Haus, CDU’s event space during the campaign.



Group photo with two candidates for the German Parliament, Astrid Damerow and Petra Nicolaisen.

## Panel Discussion

# GERMANY HAS DECIDED – WHAT'S NEXT?

SINGAPORE | 30 October 2017

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On 24 September 2017, the CDU remained the strongest party. But the people's parties had convinced less voters than expected, whereas the so-called "race for the third place" was won by the AfD, a European Union-critical and right wing populist party, which has not even been in existence for five years.

Thus, Germans found themselves to be in a very different political situation than what they had been used to: The political competition has widened and for the first time in 60 years, the new German Bundestag has six factions, ranging from far-left to far-right. For the first time since the establishment of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, a party with a clearly European Union-critical profile has entered the parliament. With more than 700 MPs, it will be the world's biggest democratic lower house of parliament for a single country, posing a serious challenge to the interior designers of the Bundestag's plenary hall as well as the parliament's administration in general. And lastly but most importantly: at the end of 2017, it is still not quite clear which coalition will govern Germany. Given all these "firsts", a valid question remains: What's next?

To answer this question, KAS Political Dialogue Asia invited three speakers to the panel discussion "Germany has decided – What's next?". Member of the German Bundestag Mark Hauptmann pointed out that this year the voters did not vote based on their economic situation. With topics like immigration and the state of the social welfare system it was rather a gut decision. Looking at the political landscape of Germany we can see a shift from the left to the right radical spectrum while the centrist parties are losing popularity. Hauptmann stated that it was thus important not to grant too much attention to deliberate provocations but to focus on policies tackling the people's fears and dealing with challenges like immigration and terrorist attacks.

From the perspective of the European Union (EU), Germany is now only one among several EU countries where EU-sceptical parties are powerful. But despite Brexit and the rise of populist parties, the member states have committed to strengthening the EU and with 2% annual growth and declining youth poverty, the EU is on a path of recovery. Ambassador Barbara Plinkert, Head of the EU Delegation to Singapore, stated that the EU had to place emphasis on reaching out to its citizens and communicating its successes more clearly. The new German government now has to form a position on propositions that have been put forward, such as an EU Minister for Finance and a common Eurozone budget.

Dr. Tim Philippi, Executive Director of the Singaporean-German Chamber of Industry and Commerce, highlighted four tasks for the new government in order to create the right framework for businesses to grow and be competitive: reducing bureaucracy, advancing digitalisation, enhancing transport infrastructure, and allowing flexible arrangements to bring family and career together through better childcare and flexibility in work laws.



MP Mark Hauptmann analysing the German Federal Elections.



# SECURITY – ENHANCING CONFIDENCE AND TRUST

## INTRODUCTION

The Asian security landscape is highly volatile and constantly evolving. The challenges to security have taken various forms and are manifold, involving traditional actors as well as new ones.

Territorial questions and matters of national sovereignty have reappeared at the top of the agenda after years in which non-traditional security issues have dominated the discussion. Conflicts in the South and East China Sea, the increasing assertiveness of the North Korean regime and advancements in its nuclear missile programme highlight the limitations of UN sanctions as well as non-compliance with international rules. They are not the only, but certainly among the most prominent, examples that show that, despite prevailing challenges, the security architecture in Asia is at least in parts ineffective - and this indicates a very high potential for further escalation. Another complication in the current strategic situation is the more nationalistic, inward-looking and less predictable foreign and security policy of the US. This approach not only raises questions about the role of the US

as the principal security guarantor in the region and the reliability of the long-standing US security partnerships, but also decreases trust in concessions made by the US in general.

All these developments have to be viewed in the context of great-power competition. Particularly in times of a rebalancing of power, acceptance of international rules and norms is crucial. The lack of such standards or their enforcement hinders any governance of currently contested areas between states, such as the maritime domain or cyber and digital space. As a consequence of these missing norms, distrust and lack of confidence have increased. Countries involved in a dissonance try to argue from a position of strength rather than use multilateral tools or work towards diplomatic conflict resolution. This can also be seen in the growing armament in the Asia-Pacific region.

Besides these tensions between states, the threat of international terrorism is high and increasing through growing extremist tendencies. A number of Asian countries

have a long tradition of Islamist insurgencies and well-established infrastructures that are used by Daesh-linked groups.

Given these immediate threats and insecurities, it is important to note that non-traditional security threats and intrastate conflicts must not be forgotten. Issues of energy, climate, arms smuggling and refugees have a direct impact on the security environment and can further destabilise and cause the situation to deteriorate.

Despite the huge geographic distance to Asia, Germany and the European Union are also directly and indirectly affected by the security threats in this region and vice versa. This offers vital opportunities for collaboration and dialogue between Europe and Asia. Countries in both regions are strong supporters of a rules-based multilateral system and should work together in order to establish a cooperative security environment with preventive arrangements to contain these insecurities, build confidence and increase predictability.

# 40 YEARS OF ASEAN-EU PARTNERSHIP – MOVING IT TO THE NEXT LEVEL

2017 was a year of milestones for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the European Union (EU) – it marked 60 years since the signing of the Treaty of Rome, which created the European Economic Community and paved the way to the EU; 50 years since the foundation of ASEAN; and 40 years since the EU and ASEAN became official dialogue partners.

Over these years, both regional organisations have made significant progress, thus fostering peace and stability within their respective geographic areas. They have lifted bi-regional cooperation to a new level and developed converging interests. After many years of a somewhat imbalanced relationship in which the EU was perceived as the organisation providing lessons for ASEAN, they now focus on what they can achieve together. These jubilees, however, occur at a time when ASEAN and the EU face common security dilemmas and the geopolitical situation threatens the basis of their successes.

## Geopolitical Situation and Implications on the EU and ASEAN

The increasing political volatility within the international community (see introduction to this chapter) has direct implications on the EU and ASEAN. Both are generally supporters of open trade and see the threats from rising protectionist as well as nationalist sentiments. Yet they also understand the need to manage the socio-economic challenges arising from globalisation. They view the growing importance of China as an opportunity, but also fear that this development comes with certain risks and might result in one-sided dependencies. Under the current administration, the traditional partner, the US, is turning less predictable and relying significantly more on unilateral measures. Additionally, immediate risks from non-traditional security threats such as climate change, migration, natural disasters and terrorism require quick responses as well as long-term mitigation strategies. Within this environment, both regional organisations have been in a constant mode of crisis for several years, which has resulted in a focus on crisis management, losing sight of long-term visions and concepts. The strongest impact of these crises and new challenges has been on the unity of the organisations. Besides securing peace and stability, the regional integration process in Europe and regional cooperation process in Southeast Asia were initiated based on the understanding that the individual countries needed to work together and form a coherent bloc in order to become not too dependent on the great powers as the latter will abolish multilateralism and act unilaterally if they deem it necessary. Unity is therefore the basis for the power of the two blocs and defines their ability to act. The external developments and internal struggles, however, pose a severe threat to precisely this cohesiveness and intra-regional solidarity.

In order to maintain this unity the member states and outside observers have to remain realistic and manage their expectations. The more advanced regional integration and cooperation get, the more low-hanging fruits will have already been picked. This should not be confused with a lack of ambition, though, but changes will rather be incremental in nature and take time to produce results. Due to the higher complexity of issues and not always converging interests, strategic patience is required. Members should also acknowledge if there are differences and identify areas where they can find common ground to move ahead. In order to champion this, it is necessary to change the current narrative of being in crisis towards one that is highlighting what has been and can be achieved together. Regional organisations must show that this is more than what individual states can achieve, either alone or by bandwagoning with a great power. A coherent and determined regional bloc, speaking with one confident voice, can give its member states the necessary leverage vis-à-vis the great powers. Finally, in order to change this perception of being in crisis, the organisations need to develop a strategic approach with a vision as was done in the previous decades. Both organisations have taken important steps in this direction, with ASEAN reflecting on whether some of its core principles are still practicable and timely, and the EU developing the White Paper on the Future of Europe, several reflection papers and the new Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy.

If the unity of both organisations can be secured, the current volatile international environment actually provides a unique opportunity for the ASEAN-EU partnership – especially in the area of political-security collaboration. It is therefore imperative that the two organisations understand the impacts of these geopolitical developments and embrace their cooperation further.

## Achieving Effective Multilateralism through the ASEAN-EU Partnership

In light of the internal and external challenges the EU and ASEAN face, their continued relevance have been questioned – especially due to the increasing attempts by the great powers to use unilateralism over multilateral approaches. Both regional bodies are, however, not only relevant to their specific region and member states, but have the potential to be of strategic relevance in the international system. This can be achieved if they do not only look at their own and mutual benefits, but form a partnership to contribute to a rules-based international order and multilateral solutions. Due to the size and strength of their individual member states and the fact that current security challenges – be they traditional or non-traditional – cannot be resolved by any one state alone, ASEAN and the EU should strive to provide pragmatic solutions with tangible outcomes in areas in which they have converging interests. This can create a resilient environment that will in turn help to balance great-power competition and limit the space for them to resort to unilateral measures with disproportionate gains. In a first step, the EU and ASEAN need to understand and respect their different priorities, and should focus on identifying their common interests. Based on that, they can engage with each other on differentiated and multiple levels, such as inter-regionally, member state to member state, EU as a whole to individual ASEAN member states or clusters and vice-versa as well as jointly in multilateral fora. The 2016 EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy (EUGS), the Joint Statement released at the 40-year ASEAN-EU anniversary and the new ASEAN-EU Plan of Action 2018-2022, replacing the previous Bandar Seri Begawan Plan of Action, underline that the two organisations are on track to achieve this.

Of the five priorities of the EUGS, two provide a direct connection point with ASEAN. The fourth priority states that the EU wants to cooperate with other regional organisations to manage security, achieve economic gains and project influence without preaching one single model of regional cooperation. As one of the most important regional organisations, ASEAN will be a natural partner for the EU in this context and the partnership can benefit greatly from this change in rhetoric on the EU side as many have previously criticised the EU for promoting only its own unique style of regional cooperation. The fifth priority of the EUGS is to promote global governance for the 21st century. It underscores the importance of the rule of law and wants a strong UN – which is the prime institution of multilateralism – as the bedrock. On multiple occasions, ASEAN has echoed its support for the UN and multilateral approaches. The EU has further emphasised that it has a strategic interest in Asia since instability there will ultimately have an effect on Europe. The Europeans also acknowledge that Southeast Asia could become a testing ground for the future international order created by great-power relations as it is the region where the interests of the US and China meet. The EU has therefore highlighted that it wants to support the ASEAN-led architecture, peaceful settlement of maritime disputes and ensuring of freedom of navigation in accordance with international laws. Counter-terrorism, migration, maritime security and crisis management were identified as concrete topics of collaboration with Asia and in which the two regions have common interests.

The Joint Statement and revised Plan of Action released in 2017 provide a substantial basis for an enhanced ASEAN-EU partnership as both documents reaffirm the organisations' commitment to regionalism, multilateralism and the rules-based order. In particular, the chapter on political and security cooperation emphasises the shared values and converging interests. The EU and ASEAN want to enhance the strategic dialogue and deepen political and security cooperation, in particular by strengthening cooperation in regional and multilateral fora such as the UN, Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and G20. They further want to develop joint positions where appropriate and push for them in these initiatives. Second, they aim to enhance the ASEAN-EU cooperation in the ASEAN-led security architecture by cooperating on specific issues areas that are outlined in the Plan of Action 2018-2022 and reflect the

above mentioned topics identified by the EU. They strive to further enhance cooperation with the ASEAN Regional Forum and foster exchange of views between the ASEAN Political-Security Blueprint 2025 and the EUGS. A third important aspect is practical collaboration on combating terrorism, cyber threats, transnational crime, and addressing other non-traditional security challenges. These areas have an individual subchapter, showing their importance, and both organisations target to improve operational cooperation, especially between law enforcement units.

The documents outline further areas of cooperation and are a true example of the new momentum in the ASEAN-EU relations since the 2000s. The two regional organisations have taken necessary steps towards achieving strategic relevance and need to now deliver tangible outcomes. However, these might not be achieved in the short term and it is again important to remain realistic, be patient and avoid a negative narrative of underachievement.

## Conclusion

The current globally challenging times offer a great opportunity for ASEAN and the EU to cooperate more closely on areas of common interest, and promote regional governance and multilateralism. They should do this by embracing a hybrid form of cooperation and have the necessary flexibility to choose the form which is most promising to achieve results on the specific issues being addressed. They should invest strategically in those fora in which they can make a difference and focus their attention as well as non-indefinite resources. This is especially the case for the EU, which should not force itself into every single initiative but instead focus on delivering results and proving its added value, which it certainly has, but is often not acknowledged for. For the time being, the EU will not and should not aim to be a security actor in the traditional sense. It simply lacks the military power and would then compete with other states on hard security. Instead, the EU should focus on a niche and be a security actor in a modern understanding. This niche is in non-traditional security, quiet diplomacy and multilateralism as well as the promotion of a rules-based international order. With ASEAN, which subscribes to all these values as well, the EU might have already found the ideal partner to achieve strategic autonomy, relevance, and a network of pragmatic global partnerships, and ultimately, be the constructive force it called for in the EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy.



### Patrick Rüppel

Patrick Rüppel is Senior Programme Manager for "Foreign and Security Policy, Geopolitics". He also oversees all projects of the office. Patrick moved to Singapore in 2012 to lead the three-year "EU-Asia Dialogue" project of the European Union and Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, which was a preparatory action for the EU Partnership Instrument and Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy.

Prior to that, he was a member of the board of directors of the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research, for which he has been analysing the conflicts in the Philippines and Myanmar since 2009. He has also worked at the German Parliament, in the private sector, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute in Singapore and KAS Philippines.

Patrick holds a Master's degree in Geography, Political Science and Sociology with a specialisation in Political Geography, Security and Asian Studies from the University of Heidelberg. He held a scholarship from KAS and is an alumnus of the foundation's College for International Politics and Economics – a special programme for the advancement of German young professionals for leading jobs in International Organisations and Politics. His main research interests include security developments in the Asia-Pacific, counter-terrorism, EU-Asia relations and geopolitical dynamics in both regions.

# EVENTS

## *Asia-Europe Counter-Terrorism Dialogue*

# GREAT POTENTIAL FOR COUNTER-TERRORISM COOPERATION

BERLIN, GERMANY | 17-19 May 2017

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From 17-19 May 2017, KAS Political Dialogue Asia, in cooperation with the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), organised this year's Asia-Europe Counter-Terrorism Dialogue in Berlin.

This year's Dialogue, "The Decentralisation of Daesh", was opened by Dr. Ole Diehl, Vice-President of the Bundesnachrichtendienst, and Parliamentary State Secretary of the Federal Ministry of the Interior of Germany Dr. Günther Krings, MdB. Looking at the similarities in the threat landscape and modus operandi of terrorists, their remarks immediately emphasised that transnational terrorism demands cooperative efforts by all states and that, in particular, Asia and Europe have a great potential for such collaboration.

The closed-door dialogue was attended by members of the diplomatic corps and the chief counter-terrorism experts of Germany, Singapore, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Belgium, Europol, Indonesia, Malaysia, OSCE, Pakistan, Philippines, the United Kingdom, European Union and the UN Security Council. The Asian delegates also had bilateral meetings with high-ranking representatives of the German government, law enforcement units and analysts.

In light of the recent spread of Daesh-inspired and -directed terrorist activities in Europe as well as Asia, it is necessary to enhance international cooperation and dialogue among all stakeholders involved in countering terrorism and violent extremism. The experts agreed that even the military defeat of Daesh in Syria and Iraq would not see an end to the very existence of the organisation, but might instead result in an exodus of fighters to Europe and Asia and a further decentralisation of the group. It is therefore imperative to enhance the dialogue and exchange between the two regions and develop effective de-radicalisation programmes.

KAS and ICPVTR started their cooperation to foster such exchanges between Asian and European countries in 2015. The result of this has been the establishment of the annual Asia-Europe Counter-Terrorism Dialogue, which takes place in Asia and Europe in alternating years. The Dialogue offers a unique opportunity for policy makers, representatives of ministries as well as law enforcement units and experts from the academia to have an exchange on current developments and collaborative activities.



Dr. Ole Diehl, Vice President of the German Bundesnachrichtendienst.



MP Günther Krings.



The international participants of the Counter-Terrorism Dialogue.

# DIGITALISATION LIKELY TO RESHAPE THE COOPERATION BETWEEN ASIA AND EUROPE

YANGON, MYANMAR | 15-16 November 2017

Digitalisation is already and will continue to impact key elements of politics and society – namely, state-society relations, economics, education and international diplomacy. Developments in the digital space will increase connectivity in the world – with both positive and negative consequences. Since connectivity is the main theme of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), the question of digitalisation was at the heart of this year’s 19th Asia-Europe Think Tank Dialogue on 15-16 November in Yangon, Myanmar. At the conference, “Addressing the Impact of Digitalisation – What Role for ASEM?”, think tank representatives from 18 countries analysed expectations for the 13th ASEM Foreign Ministers’ Meeting, the current status of ASEM and the effects of digitalisation on the above-mentioned spheres. The Myanmar Institute for Strategic and International was the local partner in the host country.

The Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia has been organising the annual “Asia-Europe Think Tank Dialogue”, in close cooperation with the EU Centre in Singapore, since 1998. The aim of this dialogue is to offer representatives of think tanks from Asia and Europe the opportunity for an exchange of perspectives and ideas on issues of bi-regional and international relations. The dialogue forum also serves to facilitate the sharing of information and enhances cooperation among institutes from both continents. In recent years, this Dialogue has developed a strong focus on issues related to the Asia-Europe Meeting in order to support the process, raise awareness and foster discussion among think tanks on ASEM.



Representatives of Asian and European think tanks at the Think Tank Dialogue.



Panel discussion on the impact of digitalisation.

## **“WE HAVE TO BE REALISTIC”: EXPERT WORKSHOP ON MULTILATERAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE IN EAST ASIA**

**HONG KONG | 28 July 2017**

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Reports on the threat of military conflicts in East Asia occur almost daily in the news. Competition among major powers, ambiguity related to the US administration’s East Asia policy, maritime and territorial disputes, attacks in cyber space, terrorism, increasing armament as well as progress in the North Korean nuclear programme indeed create a highly volatile security landscape. Despite these prevailing challenges, attempts to establish a cooperative security environment to contain these insecurities and build trust have been limited in their success. In light of this situation, the question arises as to whether the existing architecture is still able to contribute to effective conflict prevention and resolution.

The expert workshop “East Asian Security Architecture – The Status of Multilateral Fora”, jointly organised by the Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia, Department of Asian and International Studies (AIS) and Southeast Asia Research Centre (SEARC) of the City University of Hong Kong on 28 July 2017, addressed this question. Security experts from eight Northeast and Southeast Asian countries discussed current threats, the lack of multilateral approaches in Northeast Asia and possible solutions. The role of multilateral fora like the ASEAN Regional Forum, East Asian Summit and ASEAN Defence Ministers’ Meeting Plus, the contributions they have made, their potentials and the challenges they face were of particular interest. When analysing the likelihood of a reform of the security architecture, the participants also looked at the European experience and examined whether there were opportunities for the European Union to contribute to security in East Asia in light of its new Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy.



Security experts from Asia and Europe discuss the role of multilateral fora at the workshop on East Asian Security Architecture.

## 7TH NATO-ASIA/PACIFIC DIALOGUE UNDERLINES BENEFITS OF REGULAR EXCHANGE

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM | 16-17 October 2017



NATO's Deputy Secretary General Gottemoeller analysed security dynamics and threats in Asia and Europe.

"In today's world partnership is a necessity, not a luxury". This statement made by The Honourable Rose E. Gottemoeller, Deputy Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), at the 7th NATO-Asia/Pacific Dialogue underlines the spirit of this year's dialogue programme in Brussels. Over the course of two days (16-17 October 2017), a high-ranking Asian delegation had bilateral briefings at the NATO Headquarters on NATO's current agenda and the relations with Russia and the EU, and engaged in a closed-door dialogue.

This exchange addressed questions of great-power politics, projecting stability, cyber security, and perceptions of NATO in the Asia-Pacific. The highlight was a roundtable discussion with Deputy Secretary General Gottemoeller on "Creating Predictability in Asian and European Security Dynamics" on 16 October 2017.

Despite the geographic focus on the North Atlantic and the immediate neighbourhood of its members, the dialogue once again showed that NATO cannot afford to ignore developments in the Asia-Pacific. Likewise, countries in Asia must be aware of security dynamics in Europe and the role NATO plays in this. Insecurities in one of the two regions – be it in the maritime domain, cyber space, due to growing armament or attempts by great powers to influence other states through unilateral actions – will eventually have an impact on developments in the other region. It is thus imperative to improve the sharing of experiences, multilateral approaches, capacity- and confidence-building.

The Asian delegation consisted of representatives from NATO partners across the globe in Asia – namely Australia, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, New Zealand, and Pakistan – as well as key security actors, such as China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore.

The "NATO-Asia/Pacific Dialogue" has been jointly organised by the Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia and NATO's Public Diplomacy Division since 2011. It offers a unique opportunity for exchanges on areas of common concern, networking, confidence-building and the sharing of analyses as well as information on issues of regional and international security.



International participants at NATO Headquarters in Brussels.

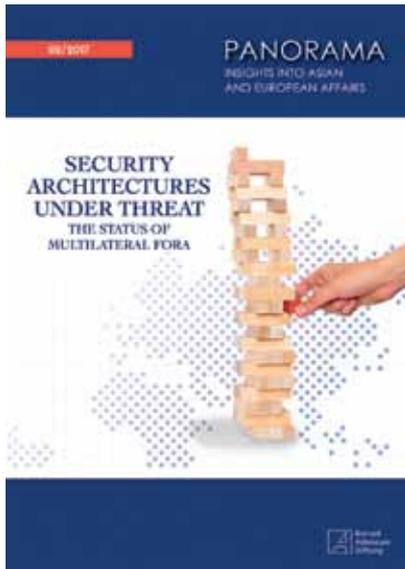
# PUBLICATION

*Panorama: Insights into Asian and European Affairs*

## SECURITY ARCHITECTURES UNDER THREAT

### THE STATUS OF MULTILATERAL FORA

(Issue 2/2017)



In this issue of our biannual journal *Panorama: Insights into Asian and European Affairs*, the papers provide an insight into the current security landscape in the context of the new global security challenges. Based on analyses of the different threats and dynamics, the papers also look at ways to strengthen cooperative security arrangements. They argue that such collaborative initiatives are ultimately the most promising avenues to contain the transnational insecurities and build trust in order to develop a regional security architecture that will ensure regional stability and peace.



## ABOUT US

# KAS POLITICAL DIALOGUE ASIA IN A NUTSHELL

Bringing stakeholders from different countries and regions together and opening platforms for discussion and exchange – this is the core of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung’s “Political Dialogue Asia” programme. Based in Singapore, a team of ten colleagues is working on several topics that are especially relevant for the political exchange within Asia as well as between Asia and Europe. With over 20 events and several new publications every year, the programme reaches over 3,000 decision-makers, academics and experts. In its work, KAS Political Dialogue Asia focuses on four main objectives:

### 1. Enhancing Confidence and Security

Traditional and non-traditional security threats are on the rise, both in Asia and Europe. None of these threats can be solved unilaterally or even bilaterally. The main challenge in finding multi-lateral solutions is building trust between the different stakeholders. KAS Political Dialogue Asia contributes to instituting trust-building measures by inviting security operatives, think tankers and policy-makers to discuss strategies and to share

insights in a confidential and constructive atmosphere.

### 2. Empowering Leaders

Women and youth are still the two most underrepresented groups in most parliaments around the world. With its “Konrad Adenauer School for Young Politicians” and the “Asian Women Parliamentarian Caucus”, KAS Political Dialogue Asia supports two networks that bring young political talents and strong female leaders from Asia together. In sharing their experiences and improving their skills and knowledge, the members of both networks increase their chances of running for public office and becoming responsible decision-makers.

### 3. Fostering Transnational Collaboration

While more and more leaders in Asia and Europe are trying to establish a desire for strong national states, regional integration is facing multiple challenges. At the same time, transnational collaboration has been a guarantee for peace and growing prosperity in both

regions for many decades. This is why KAS Political Dialogue is supporting stronger regional integration in Asia, in particular by supporting think tank networks in the region. Two strong and influential partner organisations in this endeavour are the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute (ISEAS) in Singapore and the Consortium of South Asian Think Tanks (COSATT), which is run from Kathmandu.

### 4. Understanding Digital Impact

How will our work look like 20 years from now? How will our societies be influenced by the digital change? Which new security challenges arise from the digital sphere? These are only a few of the critical questions that KAS Political Dialogue Asia is attempting to answer by highlighting interesting digital developments in both Asia and Europe, and by bringing together experts to collaborate on building a better understanding of our digital future. Risks and chances of digital developments are discussed in order to provide inputs for new digital policies and regulations in both regions.



# 11

Countries where our events took place

# 2

Cats owned by KAS PDA staff



# 311

Flights booked to bring policy makers, researchers and practitioners together



## INSIGHTS ASIA

### NEWSLETTER DECEMBER | 2017

A very busy and eventful 2017 comes to an end, and unfortunately, the headlines in our last briefing of the year are not contributing to a positive outlook towards 2018. The political situation in Cambodia has become more and more concerning in the course of the year, India has lost ground in its efforts to close the gender gap, and in its 50th year of existence, ASEAN has to mourn the loss of Surin Pitsuwan, one of the greatest supporters that the organisation has ever seen. Still, we are convinced that the upcoming Year of the Dog will have a fair share of positive developments in the region as well. This is in particular true for its economical growth. We share a closer look at two of the main drivers in this area - China and India - with an analysis from the Lakshman Kadirgamar Institute in Sri Lanka.

The editorial team of Insights Asia wishes you a wonderful festive season and a good start into a succesful 2018, in which we are looking forward to feed you with more relevant news and studies from the region!

Christian Echle  
Editorial Team

# 4

Issues of Insights Asia published

Famous last words of...



# 12

Kilogrammes  
of coffee beans  
consumed at the  
office per year



# 717

Participants



# 22

KAS  
offices in  
Asia

# 21

Conferences  
organised in  
2017



# 195

Alumni members of  
Konrad Adenauer School  
for Young Politicians



# 2704

KAS PDA Facebook fans

## OUR ADMIN TEAM



### Rita Seet

Rita has been working as a Regional Project Executive for the Foundation since 2002, and has been assisting young politicians in KASYP programmes for the last six years. She has a degree in Mass Communications from the University of Oklahoma, United States of America. In her 15 years with the Foundation, Rita has worked with local and regional partners. Her current role includes coordinating and accounting of events. Rita also handles the corporate matters of the Office and is responsible for the Human Resources Department. She speaks and writes fluently in English and Malay



### Kanokporn Suriya

Kanokporn Suriya Roth has been our Regional Programme Executive since 2006. Her various roles involve finance management, accounting for KAS PDA as well as our two collaborative partners ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute and Consortium of South Asian Think Tanks, and event planning. Holding a degree of MA in German as a Foreign Language, she speaks German besides her mother tongue Thai and English.



### Rubiah Mohamed

Rubiah Mohamed joined our team in June 2014 as an administrative assistant. Her main function in the office is to coordinate travel arrangements, from flight booking to visa arrangements for all invited conference delegates and staff members. Her day-to-day tasks involve communicating with external vendors for quotations and visa-issuing authorities about the latest regulations and requirements for regional travel. She also supports the work of other staff members with ad-hoc banking matters and preparation for events, especially conferences organised in Singapore.



### Kismet Abu Bakar

Kismet has been with KAS PDA since January 2016. She provides secretarial assistance to Mr. Echle, and handles the KAS Singapore office's day-to-day office administrations, facilities management and a part of the HR component. Her administrative experiences have been cultivated through experiences in various MNCs, advertising agencies and also a Singapore statutory board. She is thankful for the experiences thus far under the wings of Dr. Beatrice Gorawantschy and currently with Mr. Christian Echle. Just like her seniors, she seeks a continuous growth in her career within the KAS family.

# MISSION: DEMOCRACY!

## THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is a political foundation of Germany. Our mission is to promote international dialogue, regional integration, sustainable development, good governance, democratic processes, and exchange of knowledge.

The aim of our work is to motivate and enable people to shape their own future by strengthening democracy, the rule of law and the social market economy. In order to secure peace and freedom, we support ongoing dialogues over foreign and security policies as well as cultural exchange. We organise national and international conferences, conduct research, offer political training, and cultivate international understanding. We collaborate with state institutions, decision makers, political parties, civil society organisations, and academics.

The foundation's headquarters are situated in Sankt Augustin near Bonn, and also in Berlin. With our worldwide networks and long-term partner structures, we shape policies domestically and globally. By training and educating young professionals, KAS promotes the development process in social groups and political parties. The foundation fosters decentralisation processes based on the values of freedom, solidarity and justice by facilitating projects for public institutions in order to enhance their technical and administrative performance.

A pillar of our political work is research and consultancy. This is more than just giving advice on current political affairs. We conduct research on the implications of political developments and support reforms in order to achieve farsighted policies that help to prevent crises from emerging.

Through our international activities and projects carried out in collaboration with local partners in over 120 countries, KAS makes a substantial contribution to international cooperation and to ensuring that Germany lives up to its growing responsibility in the world.



Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967)

## KONRAD ADENAUER

As a political foundation, KAS is associated with the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) party of Germany and is named after Konrad Adenauer. As the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, from 1949 to 1963, he decisively influenced the political landscape of the newly minted Federal Republic in its foundational years.

His main objective was to ensure Germany's post-war transition to a democratic, sovereign state which included the strategic pursuit of policies such as reconciliation with France, rapprochement with Israel, the international recognition of Germany as an independent nation as well as NATO membership.

Driven by a commitment to the principles of the social market economy, he firmly established Germany as part of the Western world during the Cold War, ultimately paving the way for European integration. As such, it is Konrad Adenauer's legacy to have set the course for Germany to become the influential and prosperous democratic nation that it is today.



## REGIONAL INTEGRATION – FOSTERING TRANSNATIONAL COLLABORATION

### INTRODUCTION

The year 2017 was a special one for regional integration in South-east Asia. During the Philippine chairmanship, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) celebrated its 50th birthday. Meanwhile, in South Asia, although less integrated than ASEAN, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is no less crucial to peaceful regional multilateralism.

Regional integration in general ought to be understood as a continuous, constantly changing, and thus never completed process, in which neighbouring states agree to upgrade multilateral cooperation, to share both burdens and rewards, and to do so via peaceful negotiation and deliberation within common institutions and rules. We are convinced

that reliable, resilient, and institutionalised means of cooperative regional engagement significantly contribute to peace, geopolitical stability, economic growth, and mutual understanding among governments and peoples who share the regional space. Regionalism offers more room for civil society, optimises problem-solving capacity in the face of common political challenges, and contributes to economic growths.

The Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS PDA) supports this endeavour wholeheartedly. Fostering regional integration is a cornerstone of the work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung not only in Europe, but also in Asia. Together with local partners, such as the

Institute of Southeast Asian Studies-Yusof Ishak Institute (ISEAS), KAS PDA organises and supports a great number of events aiming to enhance institutional strengths, mutual trust and understanding as well as specific research within the ASEAN framework.

But just as fostering regional integration is important in Southeast Asia, so too it is in South Asia. Hence, KAS PDA just as gladly supports the Consortium of South East Asian Think Tanks (COSATT) in its efforts to nurture and enhance regional cooperation and integration among the member states of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.

## ASEAN@50

When the Nobel Peace Prize Committee awarded the 2012 Peace Prize to the European Union (EU), it acknowledged the indeed outstanding contribution of European regional integration to lasting peace, reconciliation, and cooperation on the continent. The EU is without a doubt one of the great achievements of the 20th century. It is, however, not the only successful project of institutionalised regional multilateralism.

Despite much, sometimes-justified criticism, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has achieved peace and cooperation in a region where neither can be taken for granted. As is the case in Europe, Southeast Asia enjoys the most prosperous, peaceful, and stable regional order it has known in decades, perhaps centuries. The onset of stability does not coincidentally overlap with the development of institutionalised regionalism; stability and peace are effect, not cause of cooperation among regional stakeholders and institutionalised integration. Unfortunately, ASEAN does a poor job accentuating the broader context within which socio-economic and political development in Southeast Asia occurred over the past decades. Hence, criticism of ASEAN as a “talk-shop” looms large.

This is not to suggest that the association’s shortcomings – of which there are many – are negligible. On the contrary, how ASEAN confronts a myriad of present and future challenges will decide its future resilience and relevance. Going forward, ASEAN must clearly define its own role both internally and in the wider international relations of the Asia-Pacific. And yet, at its 50th birthday, ASEAN deserves appreciation for its most critical achievement: creating, maintaining and advancing an institutionalised cooperative superstructure among ten fundamentally different, proudly sovereign nation states.

### **AS IS THE CASE IN EUROPE, SOUTHEAST ASIA ENJOYS THE MOST PROSPEROUS, PEACEFUL, AND STABLE REGIONAL ORDER IT HAS KNOWN IN DECADES, PERHAPS CENTURIES.**

Its members cover almost all known systems of governance, ranging from absolute monarchies and authoritarian, to semi-democratic and democratic parliamentary or presidential systems. Some nations are officially secular, while others are Islamic, Buddhist, Taoist, or Christian. Thailand and Vietnam are ethnically homogenous, while the Philippines and Indonesia are very diverse. The socio-economic development gap is equally striking. Per capita GDP ratio between the smallest and largest member is trending around 1:45, with the EU equivalent at 1:14. While Singapore is in the top five of the most developed nations in the world, Cambodia and Laos sit as low as 143 and 138 respectively.

The greatest obstacle to smooth functioning is the so-called “ASEAN Way”, the highly informal and personal modus operandi of ASEAN, relying on consensus and non-interference in one another’s internal affairs. When on 8 August 1967, leaders of the five founding nations, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines, signed the “ASEAN

Declaration” in Bangkok, Thailand, the ASEAN Way was perhaps the only feasible, mutually acceptable procedural guideline. Following enlargement to include Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, however, ASEAN at 50 may need to revisit some of its principles. Looking back at 50 years of cordial cooperation and largely peaceful integration in a heterogeneous region, beset with conflict potential and of great strategic interest to great, sometimes hostile, outside powers, one can reach at least two conclusions. Southeast Asia minus ASEAN would be a lot less stable and prosperous. And second, ASEAN should consider reforming some of its core principles in order to live up to its ambition to be a “people-centred” ASEAN.



## Dr. Frederick Kliem

Frederick joined the Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia in Singapore in May 2017 as Senior Programme Manager. Previously, he had completed his doctorate on the role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in regional security. He holds a Bachelor and Master degree in International Relations and Security Studies from Great Britain and Hong Kong and has work experience in academia, regional government, and the private sector.

Within KAS PDA, Frederick works cross-sectoral. However, KAS PDA has supported ASEAN-led integration efforts for many years and will continue and expand this work. Frederick's expertise in regional integration and security institutionalism will specifically support this endeavour. 2018 will see KAS PDA adding further to its ASEAN project line, an effort situated in Frederick's portfolio.

## EVENTS

### *Panel Discussion*

## 50 YEARS OF THE ASEAN JOURNEY – ACHIEVEMENTS, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

SINGAPORE | 30 May 2017

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Discussing 50 years of ASEAN:  
Danny Lee, Tang Siew Mun, Lye  
Liang Fook and Yeo Lay Hwee.

50 years have passed since 8 August 1967, when the five founding member states signed the *Declaration on ASEAN* in Bangkok, Thailand. With that document, an anchor of political and economic regional engagement was born that lasts to this day. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has continued to expand in form and function ever since and remains the strongest regional organisation the region has ever had.

At its 50th birthday, it is timely to ask how ASEAN will develop in the years to come. In order to investigate that question, KAS PDA organised the panel discussion "50 Years of the ASEAN Journey – Achievements, Challenges, and Prospects" on 30 May 2017 in Singapore.

Dr. Yeo Lay Hwee, Director of the EU Centre in Singapore, Dr. Tang Siew Mun, Head of the ASEAN Studies Centre at ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, and Danny Lee, Chairman of the Association for Regional

Connectivity, discussed what ASEAN had hitherto achieved, how to situate ASEAN within the US-China rivalry, and how the ASEAN Community will and should evolve over the decades to come.

Dr. Tang Siew Mun lamented ASEAN's lack of a strategic game plan. It was more an ad-hoc inter-governmental organisation than a real community. The expert suggested improvements in order for ASEAN to live up to its promise. For example, if ASEAN was serious about building the ASEAN Economic Community, one of the three pillars constituting the ASEAN Community at large, it ought to strengthen efforts to create a single market.

Within the context of great-power rivalry, the panellists advised that ASEAN should maintain its centrality, its autonomy and its institutional leadership in external affairs, and to remain an impartial, honest broker without betraying its core principles. Dr. Yeo Lay Hwee explained how ASEAN could expand on its role as a regional broker and suggested that the European Union should have a seat at the East Asia Summit. Last but not least, greater attention ought to be paid to citizen engagement and to explaining the benefits of ASEAN to its people more consistently and enthusiastically.

This event also marked the handover from the outgoing Director of the Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia, Dr. Beatrice Gorawantschy, to Christian Echle, the new Director. With her deep understanding of Asia, Dr. Beatrice Gorawantschy addressed current topics and built up the regional programme's main focus on counter-terrorism. As of March 2017, Dr. Gorawantschy is the Director of the KAS Regional Programme Australia and the Pacific. Not only does this mean an even greater presence of KAS in the Pacific region, there is also a centralisation and coordination of KAS's work in Australia and the Pacific from our new Canberra office. This includes parliamentary and party dialogue, foreign, security, economic and social policy as well as development cooperation in the South Pacific.

The new Director, Christian Echle, is a journalist by training and an alumnus of the foundation's scholarship programme for young journalists. Before moving to Singapore, he was the director of KAS Media Africa, the regional media programme for Sub-Saharan Africa based in Johannesburg, since 2012. After joining the foundation in 2007, he first served as an online editor and social media expert at the headquarters in Berlin. Throughout his different postings, the influence of social media on political communications remains one of his main focuses. In Singapore, he is setting up an additional project line on digitalisation that will explore the benefits and challenges of the digital transformation, and its implications for societies in Asia and Europe, and for the political sphere.



Outgoing and new Director of the KAS Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia, Dr. Beatrice Gorawantschy (left) and Mr. Christian Echle.



Then German Ambassador to Singapore, Dr. Michael Witter, presents the opening remarks.

### 31st Asia-Pacific Roundtable

# “THE FUTURE OF THE ASIA PACIFIC: ISSUES AND INSTITUTIONS IN FLUX”

KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA | 22-24 May 2017

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“The people are asking the most fundamental questions again. Questions that have not been asked in decades. ... People are questioning our political system, our basic values, and our political interests.” With a distinct European and American perspective, Nico Lange, Head of the KAS Office in the USA, advanced the traditional debate on Asian security.

KAS Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia and its long-term partners the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia and the ASEAN-ISIS think-tank network welcomed experts and politicians from 26 countries to discuss the most pressing security issues facing the Asia-Pacific region at the 31st Asia-Pacific Roundtable (APR) held in Malaysia on 22-24 May 2017. This year's APR commenced with opening remarks by the Chairman and CEO of ISIS Malaysia, Tan Sri Rastam Mohd Isa. He highlighted the Roundtable's year-on-year growth and its status as a significant regional “policy incubator”. The Malaysian government was represented by Datuk Seri Hajja Nancy Shukri MP, Minister in the Prime Minister's Office, who delivered a keynote address on behalf of the Malaysian Prime Minister, Dato' Sri Najib Razak. In this address, the Prime Minister articulated concerns related to the ostensible return of great-power politics to Asia. Small regional states were only as resilient as both their economic well-being and the security of their people. In this light, the Malaysian government welcomed 50 years of successful regional integration within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The APR fully lived up to its ambition to be one of the most important security fora in Asia as well as a platform for academic exchange and high-level networking. Participants from politics, diplomacy, academia and a wide range of civil society organisations and private enterprises discussed the most relevant regional trends. The consequences of great-power competition, the future of US engagement in the region, increasing militarisation and the institutional future of ASEAN dominated the agenda. And yet, the APR's comprehensive approach to security was reflected by the refreshingly large number of non-traditional security issues that were raised for discussion. Debated were, for instance, impacts of cybercrime, security ramifications of irregular migration, conflicts over fresh-water access, and the apparent failure of the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement.

With KAS's support, the 31st APR achieved its aim to create tangible synergies between various security institutions and organisations as well as between the academic community and policy-makers.



Minister in the Prime Minister's Office Datuk Seri Hajja Nancy Shukri MP delivers the keynote address. “Regional integration cannot be taken for granted. It requires constant effort.”



Tan Sri Rastam Mohd Isa, Chairman and CEO of ISIS Malaysia, opens the security conference in Kuala Lumpur.

## *ASEAN Security Connectivity*

# **INAUGURAL WORKSHOP: "DEFINING PROBLEM AND PROJECT"**

**SINGAPORE | 6-8 December 2017**

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At the inaugural workshop on ASEAN Security Connectivity (ASC), His Excellency Kasit Piromya, former Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, lamented how little progress ASEAN had made since the Thai chairmanship under his guidance. At the same time, he articulated his optimism and urged ASEAN to proceed on all issues of transnational relevance. "Due to the animosity of the past, regional integration is still at a stage of confidence-building. This does not mean that ASEAN should remain stuck with process. On the contrary, tangible cooperation on the ground can and must be part of confidence-building. Security as well as societal cooperation on a limited level, within existing mechanisms, is most appropriate to advance trust-building and transparency, and ultimately regional integration."

From 6-8 December, KAS Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia (KAS PDA), together with its partner the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam (DAV), gathered experts from across the region in order to embark on a 1½-year project. ASC aims to develop a concept and clear policy recommendations for enhancing security cooperation within existing ASEAN mechanisms. Over the course of three workshops, the concept will evolve and be exemplified by application to three individual case studies. The resulting policy recommendations will be fed into the Thai and Vietnamese ASEAN chairmanships.

Dr. Frederick Kliem of KAS PDA sketched the main idea of this project in his opening remarks: "Multilateralism and regional cooperation is the answer to most contemporary transnational challenges. ASEAN does not lack mechanisms and institutions per se. Yet, especially on questions of transnational security, whenever an issue of transnational relevance emerges, there is nothing but ASEAN silence and existing multilateral instruments are not exhausted." The success or failure of ASEAN Security Connectivity rests with the ability to connect challenges with ASEAN's interests and capacities. Dr. Do Thanh Hai of the DAV added that danger lies in particular in the divisive influence of and interference by external powers in the ASEAN process.

The inaugural workshop identified the main problems and aimed to provide an overview of the status quo. To that end, the working group listened to and discussed the security situation in the region from different national perspectives. The largest and most influential perspectives, such as the Indonesian, were as well represented and heard as the smaller, less noisy, perspectives, such as the Bruneian. Since ASC does not intend to add to ASEAN's institutional "alphabet soup" even further, but instead to "connect" and empower existing instruments, the ASC working group proceeded to gauge and discuss existing ASEAN capacities. Both a hands-on view from ASEAN practitioners and a theoretical view from International Relations and Political Institutionalism experts provided this workshop an excellent overview of the status quo of security cooperation, and of the challenges and opportunities.

KAS PDA is already looking forward to the second ASC Workshop, to be hosted by our partner DAV in March 2018 in Hanoi, Vietnam. There, the ASC concept will be constructed and research on practical application shall commence.



Experts from Southeast Asia at the inaugural workshop on ASEAN Security Connectivity.

# COOPERATION WITH ISEAS-YUSOF ISHAK INSTITUTE

The Institute for Southeast Asian Studies-Yusof Ishak Institute (ISEAS) is one of the most important think tanks in Southeast Asia. It nurtures a community of regional scholars and hosts established experts to engage in research on, and promotion and explanation of ASEAN and regional integration in Southeast Asia. With its analyses, debates and discussion fora, large-scale conferences, and clear policy proposals, ISEAS aims to strengthen and advance a sustainable regional integration process. Its activities and events cover multilateral engagement within ASEAN, ASEAN within the wider Asia-Pacific region as well as bilateral cooperation within Southeast Asia.

In this context, the ASEAN Studies Centre of ISEAS in particular contributes significantly to efficient and peaceful regional cooperation with country-specific programmes as well as issue clusters. KAS PDA has been a proud partner of ISEAS for over twenty years. With this engagement, KAS PDA lives up to its aspiration to foster peaceful regional integration on the basis of mutual trust among all stakeholders and of an appreciation of the benefits of institutionalised regional multilateralism.

One of the ISEAS flagship events in 2017 was the 32nd ASEAN Roundtable on “ASEAN at 50: Charting Our Future Together”, organised on 2 October 2017, at Raffles City Convention Centre. Among the many experts and eminent persons present was the ASEAN Secretary-General, Le Luong Minh, who delivered the keynote address.

The excellent discussion at the Roundtable was followed up with a closed-door dialogue on “ASEAN and Its Future” on 3 October 2017 at ISEAS, where Tan Sri Dato Seri Dr Syed Hamid Albar, former Foreign Minister of Malaysia, discussed ideas for further ASEAN reform with a small number of invited guests. Together, the group compiled a vision and clear policy proposals for the years ahead.

2017 saw also a large number of issue-specific events, such as the conference on “The Paris Climate Agreement: Issues and Implications for ASEAN”, held on 28 July at ISEAS, and the ASEAN Lecture Series on “Indonesia and ASEAN’s Changing Dynamics” by Dr. Marty Natalegawa, former Foreign Minister of Indonesia, on 4 October. The widely distributed *ASEAN Focus* is one of ISEAS’s major publications, providing concise analyses and perspectives on ASEAN matters on a bi-monthly basis.



Opening ceremony with (from left) Christian Echle, Director of KAS Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia, Tan Chin Tiong, Director of ISEAS, and Tang Siew Mun, Director of the ASEAN Studies Centre. Source: ISEAS.

# COOPERATION WITH THE CENTRE FOR SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES AND THE CONSORTIUM OF SOUTH ASIAN THINK TANKS

The Consortium of South Asian Think Tanks (COSATT) is a grouping of leading think tanks in South Asia, which meets to research and study on significant problems concerning the region. Since its establishment in 2008, COSATT as a premier track II initiative has brought together think tanks and research organisations to forge closer ties for the objective of promoting regional cooperation and building peace in the region. COSATT has established itself as a vibrant think-tank network of South Asia, focusing on strategic issues like counter-terrorism, connectivity, refugees and migration, along with issues like environment and energy, among others. COSATT conferences have been regularly attended by renowned speakers from South Asia including the SARRC Secretary General. The SAARC Secretariat has actively supported the network and has encouraged all its activities. COSATT publishes books and reports after every regional event and these publications are circulated widely across the region.

In the year 2017, the topics chosen by COSATT member institutions were terrorism and countering violent extremism. These two topics are increasingly of critical importance to the region, as South Asia continues to witness violent acts of terror being perpetuated by young fanatics under the pretext of religion, social exclusion, ethnicity and economic depravity. Along with the threat of terrorism, the issue of countering youth extremism was also looked into by experts from the region. The current state of regional integration in South Asia is very low, with the SAARC Summit getting postponed, and relations between the two largest member states at the lowest level. As a track II dialogue of the most prominent think tanks in the region, COSATT, led by the Centre for South Asian Studies (CSAS), has successfully got experts from all the eight countries to deliberate on issues and explore common threats that can be addressed at a regional level collectively.

COSATT also partnered with the Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS) to host a third conference on "Re-Energising the SAARC Process". With ISAS joining as a core member of COSATT, it will not only help to strengthen the network but also help COSATT to increase its linkages with the Southeast Asian think-tank networks.

## *International Conference*

# COUNTERING YOUTH RADICALISATION IN SOUTH ASIA

**KATHMANDU, NEPAL | 27-28 February 2017**

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South Asia has witnessed and continues to endure various types of religious and ideological radicalisation, violent extremism and terrorism, all of which have heavily impacted inter-regional relations in South Asia. In South Asia, which comprises the biggest population of youth in the world, it has become imperative to discuss the various factors that lead to the radicalisation of youth. Representatives of the eight members of SAARC gathered in Kathmandu to discuss the various common challenges facing South Asian youth and to explore strategies that will be significant in preventing the onset of radicalisation, and in reversing early radical mobilisation, while identifying the causes in the current political and ideological environment that favours the potential for recruitment into extremism.

### *International Conference*

## **PREVENTING TERRORISM AND COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN SOUTH ASIA,**

**COLOMBO, SRI LANKA | 3-4 April 2017**

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Terrorism and violent extremism in South Asia have become two of the most challenging threats in the region and addressing them is a prominent concern for South Asian countries. This conference marked the coalescing of the most esteemed think tanks in the region, in order to discuss and promote collective security in South Asia. Experts from the region engaged in the two-day conference to discuss national/regional cooperation and best practices for mitigating violent extremism in South Asia.



Dr. Nischal Pandey, Nepal; Mr. Asanga Abeyegoonesekera, Sri Lanka; and Major General (Retd) Dipankar Banerjee, New Delhi; presenting the memento to the chief guest, Eng. Karunasena Hettiarachchi, Sri Lanka.

### *International Conference*

## **RE-ENERGISING THE SAARC PROCESS**

**SINGAPORE | 21 August 2017**

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The SAARC was created with the objective to promote regional cooperation, welfare economics, and collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia, and to accelerate socio-cultural development in the region. Yet South Asia is one of the most underdeveloped and poorest regions of the world even today. In order to discuss the existing hurdles and the potential threats to South Asia as well as to reflect on how to make this region more vibrant, as expected during its inception, a regional conference on "Re-Energising the SAARC Process" was held in Singapore in cooperation with Institute of South Asian Studies, Singapore. The existing common challenges facing the South Asian region were identified and a common understanding for holistic regional growth was promoted. The participants in the conference agreed that the SAARC should provide a conducive and congenial atmosphere to build economic synergies and transform the quality of life of the peoples of South Asia.



Group photo of the delegates of the COSATT – ISAS Conference on "Re-Energising the SAARC Process" at the Institute of South Asian Studies in Singapore.



Launch of COSATT report on "Countering Youth Radicalisation and Violent Extremism in South Asia".

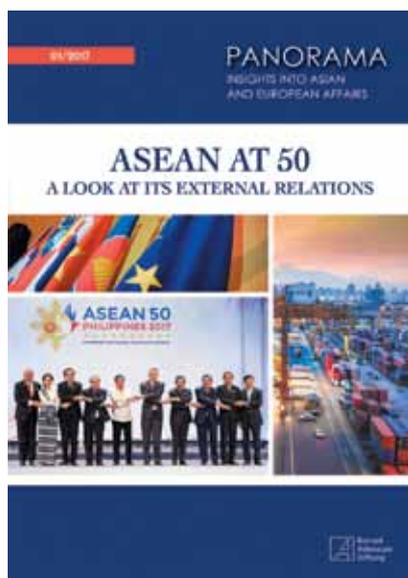
# PUBLICATION

*Panorama: Insights into Asian and European Affairs*

## ASEAN AT 50

### A LOOK AT ITS EXTERNAL RELATIONS

(Issue 1/2017)



As ASEAN marks its 50th anniversary, we have dedicated this issue of *Panorama: Insights into Asian and European Affairs* to analysing ASEAN's relations with several of its dialogue partners in the ever-changing global landscape. In addition to reviewing ASEAN's external relations, the articles also reflect on ASEAN's achievements in the last five decades, the challenges it has overcome, and the prospects ahead.



## Megha Sarmah

Megha Sarmah is research officer at the KAS Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia in Singapore. She is responsible for all the publications of the programme. She is also managing the Consortium of South Asian Think Tanks, a partner project of the foundation.

After graduating with an honours degree in Political Science from Calcutta University, India, Megha attained her Masters in International Relations from the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore. Megha has also completed a course on UNESCO-Approved Advanced Course on International Understanding for Human Unity under the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Kolkata, India.



# DIGITALISATION – UNDERSTANDING DIGITAL IMPACTS

## INTRODUCTION

Digitalisation is one of the most important issues of our time. Societies, economies and industries are being reshaped on a scale and speed like never before. Almost every sphere of life – work, finance, tourism, shopping and our social relations – has been transformed. The added value of digital technologies has become self-evident. They are regarded as a key driver for ensuring future prosperity and therefore politics as well as the business world have placed digitalisation at the top of their agendas.

At the same time, there are growing fears that this digital revolution wields a destructive power. Furthermore the novel character of the challenges means that traditional institutions, be they government departments, universities or com-

panies, often struggle to adjust. Politics has to keep pace with the dynamics of these technological developments.

At the Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia, we want to explore the benefits and challenges of the digital transformation, and its implications for societies in Asia and Europe and for the political sphere. How can we use digital technologies to improve the quality of life? What will be the role of policy makers, industries and citizens in this process? How can civil rights be safeguarded? Will digital technologies bring greater participation in the democratic process?

In this new project line, we will organise conferences and workshops on a broad range of digital topics.

We will bring together technologists, policy makers, civil society, and business leaders from around the world to identify policy solutions to the social, economic and security changes created by digital technologies. This year, we have put an emphasis on elections and election campaigns.

# INTERVIEW WITH ANDREE THIELTGES

## Member of research at the School of Politics in Munich, Department "Political Data Science"

*There has been a lot of talk about virtual reality in the last year – how long will we continue to get on a plane to visit vacation spots?*

It's already possible to do a virtual boat trip or to ride virtually on a bike through a landscape that was filmed with a 360-degree camera (e.g., with virtual headsets like Google Cardboard). But I'm not convinced that contemporary virtual reality is able to replace all the impressions or experiences you'll get from a vacation.

*In many areas, algorithms are invading our lives: they recommend us books or films, look for the right partner, and are consulted when we ask the bank for a loan. Are there any dangers hidden here?*

Of course there are many challenges on different levels. Referring to the example of asking the bank for a loan: It's getting quite dangerous if the banker himself does not know on which basis the algorithm decides. Because it is a widespread misconception that predictions based on (big) data evaluations and realised by algorithms provide objective results in any case. Non-transparency of the calculation method of an algorithm, or the data set it relies on, is always problematic.

**"WE'RE RIGHT AT THE BEGINNING OF A DIGITAL REVOLUTION THAT WILL AFFECT MANY AREAS OF EVERYDAY LIFE: AUTONOMOUS CARS OR AMBIENT ASSISTED LIVING ARE ONLY STARTING POINTS."**

*operate in every country, and the fact that Facebook is required to delete certain content in Germany. What role does the state play here?*

Since most of the corporations behind online social networks and digital sharing platforms are global players, an essential task for the legislative body of any nation state will be to force them to agree to national terms of reference. For example, relating to the discussion of banning hate-speech from the network, Facebook finally agreed to set up a clearing office in Germany. But that's only Germany! So, hate-speech in other countries will continue. On the other hand, ethical, legal and social conventions, beliefs or terms of references vary from country to country. Thus, what are the guidelines for a global digital platform and its operators?



*Many activities may soon be replaceable by machines. How do you see the world of work in 20 years?*

All of the tasks and operations that are quantifiable could theoretically be computed by machines. So the question will be: if and when machines will become more profitable than humans? It might happen that the globalised employment market will soon have to deal with machines as a new competitor.

*There is always the question of how much regulation new techniques need. Examples here include Airbnb and Uber, which cannot*

***Europe provides a very high level of data protection by international standards. Why does this theme play a less important role in Asia?***

Since I'm not really into the data protection laws of Asian states, I can only make an educated guess: As personal or private data increasingly become an economic resource for global players, free or unrestricted access to such data might be promoted as an advantage of location.

***Innovations determine the future viability of a society. Should the state facilitate as many innovations as possible or is it its job to ensure as much security as possible so that nothing goes wrong? Should governments themselves influence the direction of innovation through publicly funded research, or is it their job to pave the way for research-based companies and remove obstacles?***

In my opinion, the government is responsible for the development of its society. Therefore it is necessary to make sure that innovation has primarily a social benefit and that all citizens have equal access to those benefits. If this means that profit-oriented interest has to be restricted in favour of public research funding, then that's the way to go.

***In artificial intelligence, tremendous progress is being made, especially in the area of machine learning. In which areas of everyday life will the use of AI become natural?***

I think we're right at the beginning of a digital revolution that will affect many areas of everyday life: autonomous cars or ambient assisted living are only starting points. From my point of view, in the near future there will be a radical transformation of the media sector on the basis of AI.

***Media are the fourth power in democracies. At the same time, the media sector has changed a lot due to digitalisation. How can the function of the fourth power be preserved in times of filter bubbles and echo chambers?***

It can't. The "gatekeeper role" of the established media is undermined simply by the fact that nowadays everyone with access to social media or the internet can start her own media channel and share (alternative) information and news. Therefore the established media will become more and more disrupted. This process is also driven by technological progress: The production of news that reach a lot of recipients (e.g., via digital platforms or blogs) and provide them with information can already be done with a fraction of the costs of the big media corporations. So, TV, broadcasting, and print media are forced to react to stay in the game.

***Let's get into the field of politics and digitalisation. How has digitalisation changed political participation?***

Basically the availability of information on all (political) topics has increased: The internet and online social networks provide us with several thousands of pieces of news and information every day. Therefore, the basis for a broader or more open political discourse is already made. At the same time, trends like fake news, echo chambers or filter algorithms in online social networks lead to serious concerns about political polarisation or radicalisation. By now one has to realise that the changes in political participation driven by digital innovations are ambivalent. In this regard it is important to note that most of the online social networks like Facebook or Twitter were originally not designed for political use, but to maintain connection with friends and relatives and to share private and emotional content (this was also the basis for the economic interest behind such networks). Since at least the "Spring revolutions" in several Arabic countries one had to face the fact that online social networks have become more and more relevant for political communications. If we look ahead, there is another trend that might be problematic: The growth of data sets which include users' political interests and preferences will become more and more interesting for political actors. By now, it is already possible to evaluate such big data sets with the help of microtargeting approaches. The increased use of such forecasting methods (e.g., in ballots) might effect political participation, because political decisions and political agendas no longer rely on real conditions but on perceived models.

***And last but not least: What will become the most important topics for the next year?***

As I said before, there are many tasks and challenges that occur from the digital revolution. Nevertheless, the most important political topics for the next year in reference to digitalisation may be the further use of microtargeting, the ongoing manipulations of politics and the increasing use of cyber warfare strategies as well as the reaction of the established media to the gains of alternative news channels.



## **Katharina Naumann**

Katharina Naumann is a Programme Manager at KAS Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia in Singapore where she is looking at the effects of digitalisation on societies as a whole. After studying German language and literature, Psychology, and Media Sciences in Bamberg and Madrid, Katharina joined the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and worked as Head of the Culture and Press Section at the German Embassy in Skopje, Macedonia. Afterwards, she worked as a Public Affairs Manager for a German consultant firm until she became part of KAS Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia in February 2016. She also has a degree in Public Affairs Management.

## **EVENTS**

### ***Workshop***

## **HACKED ELECTIONS** **The importance of cybersecurity for democratic processes**

**TOKYO, JAPAN | 27-28 November 2017**

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With increasing connectivity through the digital transformation, democracies are operating in a complex cyber and information environment. Elections as well as public information flows can be subjected to manipulation. The concern that voting machines can be hacked or that voter registration databases can be tampered with has been around for years but after the latest elections in the US and in France, it is clear that cyber attacks can also play a major role in political influencing.

On social media the political debate can be manipulated through fake news, trolls and social bots, or through ads that promote divisive content focusing on politically sensitive topics. Publishing embarrassing or incendiary emails can also be a part of manipulating voters. Hacking and strategically releasing the private communications of campaigns and candidates could become a regular part of future elections, making this a cybersecurity concern. Potential targets include government institutions, political parties and political operatives who might have access to sensitive information.

At our workshop “Hacked Elections”, which was held in Tokyo on 27-28 November 2017, we analysed this multifaceted vulnerability with IT experts and representatives of political parties from the US,

Europe and Asia. The discussions focused on how political parties can create risk awareness and secure their IT systems with basic but strictly applied security measures in order to prevent future incidents on the party level. To protect election infrastructure as well as to ensure an open political debate, policy considerations need to be taken up on the national level as well.

Recommendations put forward by the experts included adding election systems to critical national infrastructure, improving media literacy, and introducing a code of ethics for politicians. On the international level, recommended measures included sharing election security threat information with international



Christian Echle, Director of KAS Political Dialogue Asia.



MP Mark Hauptmann, Member of the German Bundestag (middle).



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