

Conference Report

CALD Conference 2015 and CALD Executive Committee Meeting



Regional Integration in Asia: What Can We Expect from the ASEAN Community?

24-27 April 2015 | Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Concept Note	1
Programme	4
Profiles of Speakers and Session Chairs	14
Executive Summary	28
Conference Report	
Welcome Session	32
Session I: Intergovernmentalism vs. Supranationalism	35
Jules Maaten	36
Rajiva Wijesinha	37
Open Forum	40
Session II: The ASEAN Political-Security Community	41
Rosario Manalo	42
Myo Aung	44



CALD Conference 2015 and CALD Executive Committee Meeting

Regional Integration in Asia: What Can We Expect from the ASEAN Community?

24-27 April 2015 | Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia



Council of
Asian Liberals
and Democrats



Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

Son Chhay	45
Open Forum	46
Session III: The ASEAN Economic Community	48
Chee Soon Juan	49
Kiat Sittheamorn	50
Wan Siaful Wan Jan	52
Open Forum	56
Session IV: The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community	59
Mu Sochua	59
Ratna Osman	60
Bulgan Bayasgalant	61
Open Forum	62
Keynote Address	
Mah Siew Keong	64
World Café on the Statement on the ASEAN Community	66
CALD Statement on ASEAN Community	67



Regional Integration in Asia: What Can We Expect from the ASEAN Community?

**CALD Conference 2015 and CALD Executive Committee Meeting
24-27 April 2015 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia**

CONCEPT NOTE

"ASEAN's Community-Building must be accelerated, and we will need more and more resources to develop our cooperation around the world. Moreover, we must build an ASEAN Community based on the values of freedom, democracy, human rights, human dignity and human security."

Surin Pitsuwan

Former ASEAN Secretary General (2008-2012)
Founding CALD Chairperson (1993-1995)

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is at the crossroads of its evolution. As the Association enters its fifth decade of existence, scholars, policy analysts and even political decision-makers agree that the regional grouping must change in order to be relevant to the needs of the 21st century. They claim that while ASEAN has been heralded as the most successful regional grouping of its kind in the past, the complexity of present and future challenges offers no guarantee that it will continue to be so in the coming decades.

ASEAN is aware of the enormous challenges that it has to surmount – and it has tried to address them accordingly. At the height of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, for example, the Association came up with ASEAN Vision 2020, which envisions ASEAN “as a concert of

Southeast Asian nations, outward looking, living in peace, stability and prosperity, bonded together in partnership in dynamic development and in a community of caring societies.” A few years after, the 2003 Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II) moves regional cooperation to a higher plane when it proclaimed that ASEAN would establish an ASEAN Community resting on the three interrelated pillars of political security cooperation, economic cooperation, and socio-cultural cooperation. Knowing that the task of community-building would need a change in its present organizational arrangements and processes, ASEAN also passed an ASEAN Charter in 2007. Two years after, the Blueprints for ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) were adopted to define concrete steps towards regional security engagement, economic collaboration, and people-to-people interaction among member states.

The timing for the adoption of these Blueprints is in-line with the goal of realizing the ASEAN Community by 2015 (previously set at the beginning of the year but later on moved towards the end). Originally scheduled in 2020, the shorter time frame for the establishment of the ASEAN Community was the Association’s response to a growing number of regional challenges, and an attempt to reinforce ASEAN’s centrality and role as the driving force in Asian regionalism. The ASEAN Community, therefore, signifies the Association’s “determination to create a stronger, more united and cohesive ASEAN that can better manage the challenges posed by the evolving regional architecture and economic climate.”

Will ASEAN be able to forge an ASEAN Community by end of 2015? Scholars and policy analysts suggest that while progress has been made in the past few years, more needs to be done before Southeast Asia becomes truly a “community”. Others argue that ASEAN Community should not be viewed as a “deadline” but as a continuing “process of regional integration.” Even this early, for example, ASEAN is already in the process of crafting a “post-2015” ten-year roadmap. But assuming that an ASEAN Community can be forged, are the ASEAN member states ready for it? What can they really expect from this regional, community-building project?

This is the fundamental question that inspires the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD) to organize the conference “*Regional Integration in Asia: What Can We Expect from the ASEAN Community?*” This regional gathering will take place on 24-27 April 2015 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Malaysia, a founding member of the ASEAN, is also the Chair of the Association this 2015, and it has chosen as this year’s theme, “Our People, Our Community, Our Vision”. According to Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak, the theme reflects the goal of Malaysia’s chairmanship – bringing ASEAN closer to the people. The

ASEAN Summit will take place at the same time as the CALD Conference, providing a perfect opportunity for CALD members to raise important issues about the future of regional cooperation and integration.

Hosted by one of CALD's founding member-parties, Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (PGRM), the Conference, and the accompanying CALD Executive Committee Meeting, hopes to achieve the following objectives:

- To situate ASEAN's integration process with other regional projects in Asia and in other parts of the world;
- To understand the specific issues and problems that accompany the establishment of the three pillars of ASEAN Community;
- To identify the opportunities and threats presented by the formation of ASEAN Community by end of 2015;
- To tackle possible liberal solutions to the problems confronted by ASEAN and by other regional organizations/networks in the region;
- To formulate a CALD Statement on ASEAN Community which can be handed over to the ASEAN 2015 Chair, through the host party PGRM;
- To provide the means of cooperation, exchange of ideas, interchange of information and network-building among – and between – liberal parties, networks and organizations with a liberal orientation and vision; and
- To discuss and sort all administrative matters concerning CALD with the Executive Committee members, particularly the schedule and themes of other CALD activities for the year.

The Conference is divided into five (5) sessions – a session that tackles the theory and practice of regionalism in Southeast Asia and the broader Asian region and beyond; three sessions that cover the pillars of the ASEAN Community; and a world café session that synthesizes the participants' viewpoints on the future of this regional project. The line-up of activities also includes a university conference, which is CALD's way of contributing to the goal of bringing ASEAN closer to the general public.



CALD Conference 2015 and CALD Executive Committee Meeting

Regional Integration in Asia:

What Can We Expect from the ASEAN Community?

24-27 April 2015 | Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia



PROGRAMME

Friday, 24 April 2015

Arrival in Kuala Lumpur / University Conference / Welcome Dinner

Variable

Arrival in Kuala Lumpur

Check-in at the hotel of international delegates

DoubleTree by Hilton

The Intermark, 348 Jalan Tun Razak, 50400 Kuala Lumpur

T: +603 2172 7272

University Conference on the ASEAN Community

Venue: Seminar Room 1, Wawasan Open University, Regional Centre, Level 3 Menara PGRM, 8 Jalan Pudu Ulu 56100 Cheras, Kuala Lumpur

ASEAN's community-building efforts, and even ASEAN itself, have been criticized as too elitist and too distant to the realities of the Southeast Asian populations. While there had been region-wide surveys in the past indicating positive attitudes and awareness toward the ASEAN, there is still a lingering perception that the Association is primarily a creation of political leaders and diplomats oblivious to public opinion.

In line with the objective of Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak to bring ASEAN closer to the people, this University Conference aims to promote greater awareness on the Association's recent community-building efforts. It will feature a panel discussion with key personalities of CALD member-parties.

15:00	Assembly at the hotel lobby and leave for university venue
-------	--

15:20	Registration
-------	--------------

15:30	Welcome Remarks
-------	-----------------

Tan Sri Dr. Chin Fook Weng
Member of the Board of Governors
Wawasan Open University

Hon. Demberel Sambuu, MP
Secretary General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Co-Chair, Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia

15:50 Panel Discussion

Session Chair

Hon. Mu Sochua, MP
Chairperson, CALD Women's Caucus
Cambodia National Rescue Party

Panelists

Hon. Kasit Piromya
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand
Democrat Party of Thailand

Dr. Chee Soon Juan
Secretary General
Singapore Democratic Party

Hon. Son Chhay, MP
Founding Member, ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights
Cambodia National Rescue Party

16:40 Open Forum

17:00 End of the university conference and return to the hotel

18:30 Assembly at the hotel lobby and leave for dinner venue (by foot)

Welcome Dinner Hosted by the Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia
Venue: Colonial Restaurant, G-13 The Intermark, 348 Jalan Tun Razak,
50400 Wilayah Persekutuan, Kuala Lumpur

19:00 Welcome Remarks

Hon. Liang Teck Meng
National Secretary General
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Tan Sri Dr. Chin Fook Weng
Member of the Board of Governors
Wawasan Open University

19:20 Dinner

21:00 End of dinner and return to the hotel

Saturday, 25 April 2015

CALD Executive Committee Meeting / CALD Conference Day 1

CALD Executive Committee Meeting (closed session, CALD members only)

Venue: Pine Room, Level 10, DoubleTree by Hilton

08:30 Registration

09:00 CALD Executive Committee Meeting

Presided by

Hon. Demberel Sambuu, MP

Secretary General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Co-Chair, Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia

12:00 Lunch
Venue: Makan Kitchen, Level 11, DoubleTree by Hilton

CALD Conference on the ASEAN Community and Regional Integration – Day 1

Venue: Pine Room, Level 10, DoubleTree by Hilton

13:30 Registration

14:00 **Opening Session**

Session Chair

Ms. Ng Yeen Seen

Chief Operating Officer

Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute

Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Welcome Remarks

Hon. Demberel Sambuu, MP

Secretary General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats

Co-Chair, Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia

Dr. Lim Thuang Seng

Former State Assemblyman, Selangor

Central Committee Member,

Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Mr. Jules Maaten

Country Director, Philippine Office

Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

SESSION I

Intergovernmentalism vs. Supranationalism: Comparing ASEAN with other Regional Projects

Regional integration models are oftentimes categorized into two: intergovernmentalism and supranationalism. Intergovernmentalism recognizes the state as the main driver of regional cooperation, and regional processes as reflective of national interests. Supranationalism, on the other hand, “allows the existence of politics above the level of the state and argues that such a community, as a political actor in its own right, plays a more important role than its member states.”

This session looks at the dynamics of intergovernmentalism and supranationalism in ASEAN community-building processes, and in other regional projects in Asia and beyond. The goal is to share experiences and best practices that can guide ASEAN in its community-building efforts.

14:30

Session Chair

Mr. Mark Ho

Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan

Speakers

Mr. Jules Maaten

Country Director, Philippine Office
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom
Former Member of European Parliament

Prof. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Leader, Liberal Party of Sri Lanka

16:00

Coffee / Tea Break

SESSION II

The ASEAN Political-Security Community: Diversity in Democracy?

Among the ASEAN Community pillars, the Political-Security Community is arguably the most controversial, considering the diverse political systems and levels of political development of the ten member-states of the ASEAN. Despite this political diversity, key ASEAN documents such as the ASEAN Charter and the ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint (APSC) made it clear that ASEAN countries should move towards the adoption of democratic principles and establishment of democratic institutions. This step is deemed important for ASEAN to maintain its centrality in the evolving regional political-security architecture.

This session looks into the extent ASEAN been able achieve the objectives of the APSC Blueprint, particularly in relation to democracy-building and political development. It also examines and issues and problems that confront the Blueprint's realization, as well as its implications for ASEAN's role in various security arrangements in the region.

16:30

Session Chair

Hon. James Huang

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan
Director, Department of International Affairs,
Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan

Speakers

H.E. Ambassador Rosario Manalo

Special Representative, ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission
on Human Rights, Philippines

Dr. Myo Aung, MP

Member, Central Executive Committee

National League for Democracy of Myanmar (Burma)

Hon. Son Chhay, MP

Founding Member, ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights

Cambodia National Rescue Party

18:00

End of Conference Day 1

Free Night

CALD Youth Chairmanship Turnover*

**CALD Youth delegates only*

Sunday, 26 April 2015

CALD Conference Day 2 / Farewell Dinner

CALD Conference on the ASEAN Community and Regional Integration – Day 2

Venue: Pine Room, Level 10, DoubleTree by Hilton

SESSION III

The ASEAN Economic Community: Progress and Impediments

The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) envisions the ASEAN member-states to form a single market and production base, allowing the free flow of goods, services, investments, and skilled labor, and the freer movement of capital across the region. ASEAN claims that as of October 2013, 279 measures (79.7%) of the AEC Blueprint have already been implemented. While significant progress has been made, some controversial issues remain such as the development gap, non-tariff barriers and slow liberalization of trade in services.

This session examines the AEC in terms of its four pillars: (i) creating a single market and production base, (ii) increasing competitiveness, (iii) promoting equitable economic development, and (iv) further integrating ASEAN with the global economy. It also looks at the appropriate policy mix that could take the AEC to the next level of economic integration.

08:30

Registration

09:00

Session Chair

Mr. Ramon Yuen

Honorary Treasurer

Democratic Party of Hong Kong

Speakers

Dr. Chee Soon Juan

Secretary General

Singapore Democratic Party

Hon. Kiat Sittheamorn

Deputy Leader, Foreign Affairs and Economics

Democrat Party of Thailand

Mr. Wan Saiful Wan Jan

Founding Chief Executive

Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS), Malaysia

10:30

Coffee / Tea Break

SESSION IV

The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community: Towards an ASEAN Identity?

The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) aims to contribute to realizing an ASEAN Community that is people-centered and socially responsible with a view to achieving enduring solidarity and unity among the nations and peoples of ASEAN by forging a common identity and building a caring and sharing society. One of the ways ASEAN tries to achieve this is by increasing engagements with policy networks or think tanks (Track II) and civil society organizations (Track III).

This session also looks into the importance of regional identity in ASEAN community-building efforts. In particular, it assesses the current strategies of ASEAN to foster people-to-people interaction and a people-centered ASEAN.

11:00

Session Chair

Mr. John Tan

Vice Chairperson

Singapore Democratic Party

Speakers

Hon. Mu Sochua, MP

Chairperson, CALD Women's Caucus
Cambodia National Rescue Party

Ms. Ratna Osman

Executive Director, Sisters In Islam
Malaysia

Ms. Bulgan Bayasgalant

Secretary General, CALD Youth

12:00

Luncheon Session

Introduction of the Keynote Speaker

Ms. Jayanthi Devi Balaguru

Vice Chairperson, CALD Women's Caucus
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Keynote Address

Hon. Mah Siew Keong, MP

Minister in the Malaysian Prime Minister's Department
President, Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Conference Group Photo

Lunch

Venue: Makan Kitchen, Level 11, DoubleTree by Hilton

SESSION V

World Café on the CALD Statement on the ASEAN Community

The World Café is "a creative process for facilitating collaborative dialogue and the sharing of knowledge and ideas to create a living network of conversation and action. In this process a café ambiance is created, in which participants discuss a question or issue in small groups around the café tables. At regular intervals the participants move to a new table. One table host remains and summarizes the previous conversation to the new table guests. Thus the proceeding conversations are cross-fertilized with the ideas generated in former conversations with other participants. At the end of the process the main ideas are summarized in a plenary session and follow-up possibilities are discussed."

In this session, World Café will be utilized to gather inputs for the draft CALD Statement on the ASEAN Community. The session chairs in the previous three sessions will also serve as the table hosts in this session.

14:00

Session Chair

Ms. Jayanthi Devi Balaguru

Vice Chairperson, CALD Women's Caucus

Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Table Hosts

ASEAN Political Security Community

Hon. Maricar Zamora, MP

Member of the Philippine House of Representatives

Liberal Party of the Philippines

ASEAN Economic Community

Hon. Saumura Tioulong, MP

Vice-Chairperson, Committee on Foreign Affairs

Cambodia National Assembly

Cambodia National Rescue Party

ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community

Dr. Lim Thuang Seng

Former State Assemblyman, Selangor

Central Committee Member,

Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

16:00

World Café Reports and Discussion

17:00

Closing Session

Session Chair

Ms. Jaslyn Go

International Liaison

Singapore Democratic Party

Closing Remarks

Ms. Vera Jasini Putri

Programme Manager, Malaysia
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

Mr. Gan-Ochir Zunduisuren

Head, Foreign Relations
Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia

Ceremonial Handover of CALD Statement on the ASEAN
Community to ASEAN Chair through the PGRM

Tan Sri Dr. Chin Fook Weng

Member of the Board of Governors
Wawasan Open University

18:00 End of Conference

18:30 Assembly at the hotel lobby and leave for dinner venue

Farewell Dinner and Cultural Show

Venue: Saloma Restaurant 109 Jalan Ampang, 50250 Kuala Lumpur

19:00 Dinner

Cultural Show

21:00 End of dinner and return to the hotel

Monday, 27 April 2015

Check-out / Departures



CALD Conference 2015 and CALD Executive Committee Meeting

Regional Integration in Asia: What Can We Expect from the ASEAN Community?

24-27 April 2015 | Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia



PROFILES OF SPEAKERS & SESSION CHAIRS

University Conference on the ASEAN Community

Welcome Remarks



Tan Sri Dr. Chin Fook Weng

Member of the Board of Governors
Wawasan Open University

Tan Sri Dr. Chin Fook Weng currently serves as a Governing Member in the Wawasan Open University's Board of Governors, and is the Director of both DistEd College and Wawasan Open University, two institutions of tertiary education owned by the Party's Wawasan Education Foundation.

With regard his career in politics, he was elected to serve in the Upper House of the Parliament of Malaysia for 2 terms, representing his home state of Penang. Dr. Chin has also served as Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia's (PGRM) National Speaker for fourteen (14) years, and continues to sit in the Central Committee and Central Working Committee – the party's highest decision-making body.

For his services to the nation, he was conferred awards by the King of Malaysia and the Governor of Penang carrying the honorific titles of "Tan Sri" and "Dato" respectively. Dr. Chin holds a doctorate in chemical engineering from Scotland, United Kingdom. He has lectured in the Science University of Malaysia for 30 years and continued as President and Chief Executive Officer of DistEd College for 3 years.



Hon. Demberel Sambuu, MP

Member of the Parliament of Mongolia
Secretary-General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Co-Chair, Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia

Hon. Demberel Sambuu is an incumbent Member of the Parliament of Mongolia, and is the Co-Chairman of the Civil

Will Green Party. Since 1997, he has also been the Chairman and CEO of the Mongolian National Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Additionally, he is the Vice President of the Confederation of Asia Pacific Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and also the Chairman of the National Business Council for Sustainable Development.

Hon. Sambuu holds a degree in Economics from the Mongolian National University. He then went on to study in Australia, the United States of America and Japan to pursue further studies and complete advanced training courses in Economics.

Panel Discussion

Session Chair



Hon. Mu Sochua, MP

Chairperson, CALD Women's Caucus
Cambodia National Rescue Party

A February 2010 New York Times article titled 'Crusader Rowing Upstream in Cambodia' explained that Sochua is *"part of a new generation of women who are working their way into the political systems of countries across Asia and elsewhere, from local councils to national assemblies and cabinet positions."* For more than 25 years, Hon. Mu has been a leading human rights advocate.

She has worked forcefully to prioritize women's issues in the wake of Cambodia's decades of tragedy. Joining with local and international actors, she has been working to stop human trafficking, child abuse, domestic violence, worker exploitation, corruption and government oppression.

Panelists



Hon. Kasit Piromya

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand
Democrat Party, Thailand

Hon. Kasit Piromya began his political career as the 3rd Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1968 and later in 1979 went on to become the 1st Secretary in the Office of the Director-General of the Economic Affairs Department. Before becoming the Ambassador of Thailand to Mongolia in 1991, he was the Ambassador to the Russian Federation in 1992-1993; Papua New Guinea and Indonesia in 1994-1996; and to Germany in 1997-2001. More recently, he was ambassador of Thailand to Japan in 2001; and also the United States of America from 2004-2005.

Other positions he held were advisor to the Senate Committee, and advisor to the Democrat Party (DP), and PAD Movement from 2006-2008. He was also a DP Party-List Candidate in 2006 and Democrat Shadow Deputy Prime Minister in 2008.

Hon. Piromya completed his tertiary education at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand. He pursued further studies in International Affairs at Georgetown School of Foreign Service in the United States, and as well as in International Relations at the Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands.



Dr. Chee Soon Juan

Secretary General, Singapore Democratic Party

Former Chairperson, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats

Dr. Chee Soon Juan is the leader of the opposition Singapore Democratic Party (SDP), and a vocal opponent of the ruling People's Action Party – which has held power since 1959. In 1992, the National University of Singapore sacked him as a lecturer when he joined the SDP and took part in an election.

Dr. Chee was a Research Associate at the Monash Asia Institute (1997); a Human Rights Fellow at the University of Chicago (2001); a Reagan-Fascell Fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy (2004); and a visiting fellow of the Sydney Democracy Network (2014).

He is also recipient of the Defender of Democracy Award (2003) awarded by the Parliamentarians for Global Action; and the Prize for Freedom (2011) by the Liberal International. He was also awarded the Hellman/Hammett Writers Grant by Human Rights Watch (2003).



Hon. Son Chhay, MP

Founding Member, ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights
Cambodia National Rescue Party

Hon. Son Chhay is one of the highest ranking members of the Cambodia National Rescue Party. His stint in politics began in parliament in 1993, where he was elected representing Siem Reap. In 1998 he was re-elected in the same office. From 2003 to the present, he has been serving as a Member of Parliament in the National Assembly of Cambodia representing the city of Phnom Penh.

He is well-respected for his tireless efforts in fighting against corruption, and is lauded for promoting liberal democracy and human rights in Cambodia. In 2010, he was awarded the Order of Australia Award for his public service in Cambodia and the Cambodian-Australian community in Australia.

Hon. Son holds a bachelor's degree in Mathematical Science from the Flinders University in Australia. He has also completed a Diploma in Education from the Adelaide University.

Welcome Dinner Hosted by the Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Welcome Remarks



Hon. Liang Teck Meng
National Secretary General
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Hon. Liang Teck Meng is the current National Secretary General of the Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia. Since 2008, he has been in office as a Member of Parliament for Simpang Renggam.

Hon. Meng holds a Bachelor of Science Degree in Electrical Engineering from Tohoku University, Japan.



Tan Sri Dr. Chin Fook Weng
Member of the Board of Governors
Wawasan Open University

CALD Executive Committee Meeting (closed session)

Presided by



Hon. Demberel Sambuu, MP
Secretary-General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Co-Chair, Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia

Opening Session

Session Chair



Ms. Ng Yeen Seen

Chief Operating Officer, Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Ms. Ng Yeen Seen is the Chief Operating Officer of the Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute (ASLI), and as well as the Senior Director of the Centre for Public Policy Studies (CPPS). Prior to joining ASLI/CPPS, she served as the Deputy Director-General of the Wawasan Open University and SEDAR Institute, a political think tank.

Ms. Yeen holds a postgraduate degree in Education Policy from the Warwick University, United Kingdom. She is also accounting graduate from Cardiff University.

Welcome Remarks



Hon. Demberel Sambuu, MP

Secretary-General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Co-Chair, Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia



Dr. Lim Thuang Seng

Former State Assemblyman, Selangor
Central Committee Member,
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Dr. Lim Thuang Seng is currently an elected Central Committee member of the Parti Gerakan, a position he has held since 1987. Since his party membership in 1983, he has served as District Councilor for four (4) years; Municipal Councilor for six (6) years; and State Assemblyman for nine (9) years. He has also been appointed as the State Executive Councilor for Health, Tourism, and Consumer Affairs.

Subsequently, he joined the United States Army Medical Research Unit and was

stationed in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, at the Institute of Medical Research for ten (10) years.

Dr. Lim spent and earned his tertiary education from North Carolina, Tennessee, and Oklahoma, United States. After obtaining his doctorate degree at the University of Oklahoma, he worked for two (2) years at Mission Hill Memorial Hospital, before joining the teaching staff at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana for two years.



Mr. Jules Maaten

Country Director

Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

Philippine Office

Since 2010, Mr. Jules Maaten has been serving as the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF) Country Director for the Philippines of the, where he works on good governance, human rights and free market projects and on the "It's All About Freedom"-campaign.

From 1992 to 1999 he worked in London as the Secretary General of Liberal International, the world union of liberal parties. And beginning 1999 to 2009, Mr. Maaten was a Member of the European Parliament, dealing amongst other issues, with EU-ASEAN relations. He was the Parliament's Rapporteur on the EU-Asia Strategy.

Mr. Maaten was also a leading parliamentarian in the field of environmental protection, public health and consumer affairs, and the introduction of the euro currency.

SESSION I

Intergovernmentalism vs. Supranationalism: Comparing ASEAN with other Regional Projects

Session Chair

Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Speakers



Mr. Jules Maaten

Country Director

Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

Philippine Office



Prof. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Former Chairperson, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Liberal Party of Sri Lanka

Prof. Rajiva Wijesinha is a Member of the Parliament of Sri Lanka. He also serves as the Sri Lankan Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation; and the Leader of the Liberal Party Sri Lanka.

Prof. Wijesinha holds Bachelor and Doctor of Philosophy degrees from the Oxford University, United Kingdom.



Hon. Demberel Sambuu, MP

Secretary-General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Co-Chair, Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia

SESSION II

The ASEAN Political-Security Community: Diversity in Democracy?

Session Chair



Hon. James Huang

Director, Department of International Affairs
Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan

Hon. James Huang is currently the Director of the International Affairs Department of the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan. Previously, he served as a senior consultant for the Taiwan Association of Public Issues Studies.

From 2004 to 2006, he was a board member in the International Crisis Group, and concurrently served as Deputy Secretary General to the President. Beforehand, he was also the Director-General of the Department of Public Affairs, the Spokesman to the President, and a Foreign Service Officer at the Department of North American Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

From 2006 to 2008, he served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and concurrently served as the chairman of the International Cooperation and Development Fund, and Vice Chairman of Taiwan Foundation for Democracy (TFD).

Hon. Huang holds a Bachelor's of Arts degree in Political Science from the National Taiwan University. He also pursued further studies at Pitman College in London, United Kingdom, and at the Academy of International Economic Affairs.

Speakers



H.E. Ambassador Rosario Manalo

Special Representative
ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights
Philippines

Ambassador Rosario G. Manalo is the first Filipina who, straight from her university studies, took and passed the competitive Foreign Service examination for Philippine career diplomats. She accomplished this feat at the very young age of 24.

Amb. Manalo has served as Philippine Ambassador in various Philippines Embassies in the course of her 42 years of Philippine diplomatic service. These posts were: in Brussels and Luxemburg (concurrently) to the EEC, in Paris (concurrently) to Lisbon and UNESCO; and in Stockholm (concurrently to the four other Nordic States and the three Baltic States).

Notably, she was the adviser to Philippine President Fidel V. Ramos in 2006 when he was the Philippine Eminent Person in the negotiations of the ASEAN Charter. Amb. Manalo chaired the actual negotiations of the charter in 2007 and then became the Philippine negotiator on the Terms of Reference of the ASEAN Human Rights Body. She is currently serving as Philippines Representative to the ASEAN Inter Governmental Commission on Human Rights.

Amb. Manalo is a holder of a BS in Foreign Service degree, a Bachelor of Laws and Jurisprudence degree, and holds a Masters of Public Administration, all obtained from the University of the Philippines (UP). In addition, she graduated from Long Island University at Zeckendorf Campus, New York, with a Master's Degree in International Relations and Diplomacy. Currently, she is pursuing her doctoral degree in Social Development at PWU.



Son Chhay

Member, Cambodia National Rescue Party

Son Chhay is one of the highest ranking members of the Cambodia National Rescue Party. He graduated in 1984 from Flinders University in Australia with a Bachelor's Degree in Mathematical Science. This was followed by a Diploma in Education from Adelaide University in 1985.

Mr. Son was first elected to parliament in 1993 representing the province of Siem Reap, and was later re-elected in 1998. From 2003 to the present, he has been serving as Member of Parliament representing Phnom Penh in the National Assembly of Cambodia. He is well-respected for his tireless efforts to fight against corruption, promoting liberal democracy and human rights. On 14 June 2010, Mr. Son was awarded the Order of Australia award for his public service to Cambodia and the Cambodian-Australian community in Australia.



Dr. Myo Aung, MP

Dagon Seikkan Constituency
Member, Central Executive Committee
National League for Democracy of Myanmar (Burma)

A doctor by training and a political activist at heart, Dr. Myo Aung was active in government duty as a medical officer from 1976-1988. He then became a medical officer for the Government Health Department until 1992. His developing political activism since 1990 prompted his joining the NLD in 1996. He was detained twice, adding up to four years in camp.

Dr. Aung is now an elected member of the Lower House of Burma, representing Dagon Seikkan.

CALD Conference on the ASEAN Community and Regional Integration – Day 2

SESSION III
The ASEAN Economic Community: Progress and Impediments

Session Chair



Mr. Ramon Yuen

Treasurer
Democratic Party of Hong Kong

Mr. Ramon Yuen, a financial planning manager by profession, is the Treasurer of the Democratic Party of Hong Kong. He also serves as the party's Deputy Spokesperson for Health Care (2014-present); Deputy Spokesperson for Finance (2013-present); and Central Committee member (2012-present).

Mr. Yuen holds a BBA (Hons) in Accounting and Finance; and BEng (Hons) in Industrial and Systems Engineering from the The Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

Speakers



Dr. Chee Soon Juan

Secretary General, Singapore Democratic Party
Former Chairperson, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats

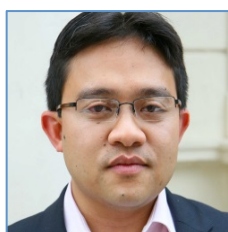


Hon. Kiat Sittheeamorn

Deputy Leader, Foreign Affairs and Economics
Democrat Party of Thailand

Hon. Kiat Sittheeamorn is a former Member of Parliament, the former president of Thailand Trade Representative, and former Chairman of International Chamber of Commerce (ICC-Thailand). In the past 10 years, he has played a crucial role at the Board of Trade of Thailand in proposing policies and strategies to various governmental organizations related to trade and investment.

Hon. Sittheeamorn received his Bachelor's Degree in engineering from the Chulalongkorn University, Thailand. He then pursued a Master's Degree in International Affairs from Fletcher School USA and MBusiness Management from Harvard Business School (OPM25).



Mr. Wan Saiful Wan Jan

Founding Chief Executive
Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS),
Malaysia

Mr. Wan Saiful Wan Jan is the Chief Executive of the Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs. He is also the Director of CfBT Education Malaysia; a member of the Advisory Board at Laureate International Malaysia; a member of the Advisory Board of the University of Nottingham's School of Politics, History and International Relations; and a member of the Ministry of Education – PEMUDAH Group on Education. Since May 2011, he has been the only Malaysian to be a member of the Mont Pelerin Society, an international association of classical liberals founded by Nobel Laureate, Friedrich von Hayek.

Previously, Mr. Wan served as a member of the Razak School of Government's Academic Working Group; Director of ASLI Centre for Social Enterprise; and adjunct faculty at UCSI University's Faculty of Economics and Policy Science.

Mr. Wan lived in the United Kingdom between August 1993 and October 2009. There, he worked for several organizations, including the think tank Commonwealth Policy Studies Unit, the British Conservative Party's Research Department, and Social Enterprise London. He was also Vice Chair of the Luton Conservative Association (2007-2009) and a Governor at Waulud Primary School, Luton (2006 – 2008). Mr. Wan was also a British Conservative Party candidate for the May 2007 local government elections in Luton.

SESSION IV

The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community: Towards an ASEAN Identity?

Session Chair



Mr. John Tan
Assistant Chairman
Singapore Democratic Party

John Tan is the Vice Chairperson of the Singapore Democratic Party (SDP). Under SDP, he ran as Member of Parliament in Sembawang GRC in the 2011 General Elections. He holds a masters degree in Psychology from the University of Wisconsin, and spent ten (10) years in the United States of America doing research and writing on intrinsic motivation and empowerment. He has taught in several universities in the US and Singapore.

Speakers



Hon. Mu Sochua, MP
Chairperson, CALD Women's Caucus
Cambodia National Rescue Party



Ms. Ratna Osman
Executive Director, Sisters in Islam
Malaysia



Ms. Bulgan Bayasgalant
Secretary General, CALD Youth
Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia

Ms. Bulgan Bayasgalant currently serves as the Secretary General of the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats Youth, and as well as the President of the Youth Wing of the Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia. Prior to her position in CALD Youth, she worked as the Foreign Relations officer at the Civil Will Party. She has also held positions at the Parliament of Mongolia and Ministry of Environment and Green Development of Mongolia. Ms. Bayasgalant holds a degree in International relations, Political Science and Business Administration from the American University in Bulgaria, and Butler University, Indiana, United States respectively.

SESSION V

World Café on the CALD Statement on the ASEAN Community

Session Chair



Ms. Jayanthi Devi Balaguru

Vice Chairperson, CALD Women's Caucus
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Ms. Jayanthi Devi Balaguru is the vice chairperson of the CALD Women's Caucus.

She is a lawyer by profession, and is an active member of Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia – where she previously served as an elected member of the Central Committee; secretary general of the Women's Wing (Wanita); vice chair of the Central Law and Human Rights Bureau; and chair of the Federal Territories State Women's Wing.

Table Hosts

ASEAN Political Security Community



Hon. Maria Carmen Zamora, MP

Congresswoman, Philippine House of Representatives
Liberal Party of the Philippines

Hon. Carmen Zamora is currently in her second term as the representative of the first district of Compostela Valley to the Philippine House of Representatives. In 2007-2010, she was a member of the Sanguniang Panlalawigan of Compostela Valley. Earlier, she served as the Representative District Chief of Staff, and Political Affairs Officer at the House of Representatives.

Hon. Zamora holds a degree in commerce from St. Mary's College. She later pursued her further studies in public administration at the University of Southeastern Philippines.

ASEAN Economic Community



Hon. Saumura Tioulong, MP

Vice-Chairperson, Committee on Foreign Affairs
Cambodia National Assembly
Cambodia National Rescue Party

Hon. Saumura Tioulong is currently the Vice-Chairperson of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Cambodian National Assembly. She also represents the capital city of Phnom Penh – a post that she has held since 1998.

From 1993 to 1995, she also served as Deputy Governor of the National Bank of Cambodia.

Hon. Tioulong obtained her MBA and as well as her Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from the University of Paris. In Paris, she later started her successful business career. This, however, did not stop her from supporting democratic development in Cambodia. She is a signatory of the Win with Women Global Initiative and has been actively involved in CALD projects.

ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community



Dr. Lim Thuang Seng

Former State Assemblyman, Selangor
Central Committee Member,
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Closing Session

Session Chair



Ms. Jaslyn Go

International Liaison and Assistant Treasurer
Singapore Democratic Party

Ms. Jaslyn Go has been active with the SDP since 2007. Besides playing a key role in fundraising for the party, she is also in charge of networking for SDP. Ms. Go has spearheaded the "Friends of SDP" on Facebook, a web-based social networking tool.

Keynote Address



Hon. Mah Siew Keong

President, Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Hon. Mah Siew Keong is currently the President of the Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia – where he also previously served as Secretary General and Vice President from May 2013 to October 2013. In government, from 2004 to 2006, he was the Deputy Minister for International Trade and Industry. Subsequently, from 2006 to 2008, he was the Deputy Minister for Agriculture and Agro-based Industry.

Hon. Mah holds a BS Management Science degree from the London School of Economics; an MBA and MBA (in Manufacturing) from the City University of London; and an LLB from the University of East London.

Closing Remarks



Ms. Vera Jasini Putri

Program Manager-Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Malaysia

Program Officer-Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Indonesia



Mr. Gan-Ochir Zunduisuren

Head, Foreign Relations

Civil Will Green Party, Mongolia

Mr. Gan-Ochir Zunduisuren is the Head of Foreign Relations of the Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia. He is also a member of the Advisory Board of Ministry of Environment and Green Development, and serves as the President of the Liberal Club.



CALD Conference 2015 and CALD Executive Committee Meeting

Regional Integration in Asia: What Can We Expect from the ASEAN Community?

24-27 April 2015 | Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia



Freiheit-Stiftung **FÜR DIE FREIHEIT**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Welcome Session

- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) integration is still an abstract concept to many. The challenge is to make it more relevant by making it more people-centered.
- The three pillars of ASEAN Community that form the ASEAN approach are the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), and ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC). Building a community is an ongoing process - new agreements and declarations are needed to address current global challenges.
- While government-to-government form of cooperation is important, it is equally essential to discuss the factors that would affect business-to-business and people-to-people cooperation as well.

Session I

- The European Union (EU) and ASEAN are two unique institutions, but comparisons between them are inevitable. It is relevant to look at the mistakes of the EU in order for ASEAN to assess itself and not repeat the same mistakes.
- EU Mistakes: 1. The EU has been secretive; 2. The EU has become a feast for bureaucratic rules; and 3. The EU lacks communication to the people.
- Factors that contributed to EU's success: 1. Established institutions such as the European Commission and the EU Court; 2. EU being a union of democracies; and 3. The balance between the national governments and the interests of the European citizens.
- The EU continues to evolve because its design and structure are flexible.
- Inter-governmentalism is essential "to preserve and encourage individuality, and the distinct identities of the different countries and cultures within a region."
- The best way of moving forward in ASEAN is in areas where no one can feel threatened. Economic cooperation, though vital, can worry some elements in each country, and so it needs to be addressed slowly and tactfully.
- Language, education, and cultural activities are some of the areas where people can come together to exchange ideas and work on projects in fields where synergies can bring positive results.

- ASEAN should expand its Secretariat to further improve operations and the handling of regional issues. The ASEAN Secretary General must serve ASEAN as a collective entity.
- ASEAN's effort on the visa issue is a great achievement because it showed how its member states surpassed the difficulties of mistrust.

Session II

- ASEAN countries should move towards the adoption of democratic principles and the establishment of democratic institutions.
- The APSC is the most challenging among the three Community Pillars of ASEAN because of the "differing political and values systems as well as politico-security alignments and interests."
- The APSC Blueprint shared values and norms are democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms, good governance, and the rule of law.
- In the field of human rights and women's participation, two bodies play a critical role in advancing human security: the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) and the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR).
- If every ASEAN member state truly works in line with its principles and policies and adopts its plan of action accordingly, the region will be politically secured.
- The APSC must go beyond the normal ways of dealing with member states. Mechanisms must be established to monitor member states that are lagging behind the Community-building efforts.
- Progress in forging constructive dialogue reflects that problems and challenges can be addressed peacefully. If peace does not exist within nations, then it would be hard to forge peace in the region.
- The three ASEAN Community pillars have programs to address current regional issues, but the problem that prevails is the lack of funding.

Session III

- Integration is not viable without democratic-political progress in member states.
- Securing labor laws in countries promotes not just a member states' values vis-à-vis human rights, but also capability to integrate in the ASEAN regional cooperation, which upholds protection of fundamental freedoms.
- Civil society can play a role in pushing for a people-centered ASEAN. The whole model of AEC falls apart if there are no avenues for the civil society to discuss human rights, openness, transparency, and democracy.
- The AEC's goals are economic integration, reducing trade barriers, and increasing investments.

- Data produced from economic world indices can help look at the impact of economic freedom on real life and on the ground, and can help measure whether this is good or bad.
- The mechanism for ASEAN economic integration is not quite there yet in terms of the legal framework and infrastructure of the ASEAN secretariat.
- In pushing for a single market in the region, it is equally important to talk about the software and the hardware. It is important to discuss the physical connectivity aspect, which refers to roads and even the upgrading of highways.
- There should be a collective framework that is competitive and sustainable in order to facilitate the division of work in ASEAN. Economic integration is a full time process.
- Integration and liberalization via AEC will help the region grow, but there are challenges to face and unfortunately not many people are working together to address the challenges.
- Having a single currency is impossible until macroeconomic coordination and respect on certain ground rules come into play. Asia will not stop working with the West, but trade engagements must be seen as interdependence, not dependency.
- Having a real ASEAN think tank is beneficial because it will work continuously on developing the next step in the integration process.
- The Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) and the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD) could both potentially play significant roles and they need to work closer with the people through training programs, political dialogues, political education through seminars and workshops, exchange of information through publication and research.

Session IV

- The ASCC focuses on forging common identity and building an inclusive caring society that promotes and protects the welfare of the people. Its aim is to nurture the cultural and natural resources to sustain development in ASEAN.
- Engagement with the ASEAN civil society group promotes people participation at all levels so decisions are made inclusively and transparently.
- ASEAN must observe elections and must not tolerate the dictators who abuse power through electoral institutions.
- It is important to focus on the diversity of wealth and religions that form the ASEAN people. Any engagement or assessment to strategize on ways to build an ASEAN community must also give attention to the views of Muslim majority leaders in countries like Malaysia, Indonesia and Brunei.
- The push for reform in gender equality has a long way to go in ASEAN, but small practices of reform can help solve it. Sustainable awareness and engagement efforts with religious and community leaders can help eradicate traditional cultures that allow discriminatory practices.

- In the region, the youth have mutual problems and struggles, but they have what it takes to build the identity of Southeast Asia. Among the challenges that ASEAN needs to address is the increasing unemployment rate of the youth, the hate and discrimination issues between and among neighboring countries, the lack of access to education and employment.
- The youth needs constant engagements with think tanks, civil society groups, and youth movements to stay connected both locally and regionally.
- Unity in diversity is crucial. The more diversity there is, the better for self-expression. The more diversity there is, the more cooperation and understanding needed.



CALD Conference 2015 and CALD Executive Committee Meeting

Regional Integration in Asia: What Can We Expect from the ASEAN Community?

24-27 April 2015 | Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia



CONFERENCE REPORT

Welcome Session

The conference commenced with the Welcome Session chaired by Ng Yeen Seen, Chief Operating Officer at the Asian Strategy & Leadership Institute (ASLI) and the Senior Director at the Centre for Public Policy Studies (CPPS). Ng briefly explained the status of ASEAN in terms of building an integrated community. She said the discussions on ASEAN political community and regional security among the ASEAN members and their dialogue partners highlight the interlinked nature of political security cooperation. However, ASEAN integration is still an abstract concept to the majority and the challenge is to make it more relevant by making it more people-centered.



Ng noted that building a community is an ongoing process and that new agreements and declarations are needed to address the current global political and socio-economic challenges. Ng briefly explained the three pillars of ASEAN Community that form the ASEAN approach, namely: the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community, ASEAN Economic Community, and ASEAN Political Security

Community. She added that ASEAN faces different levels of development, and an introduction of these developments to free trade agreements (FTAs) could help redefine the balance of economic power through government-to-government form of cooperation. Ng explained that the growing number of such arrangements symbolize not only greater economic opportunities, but also looser political ties within the region.

Ng introduced the three speakers for the session, which included Hon. Demberel Sambuu, MP, Secretary General of CALD and Co-Chair of the CWGP of Mongolia; Dr. Lim Thuang Seng, former State Assemblyman of Selangor and Central Committee Member of PGRM; and Mr. Jules Maaten, Philippine Country Director of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom and former Member of the European Parliament.

Hon. Demberel Sambuu, MP

Secretary General, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats

Co-Chair, Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia



Sambuu thanked FNF and PGRM for supporting and hosting the event. He said the conference would provide useful information on how integration is developing in this region. The discussions on the challenges, problems, and the expectations that emanate together with integration are crucial in order to understand the contexts and processes involved in forging new connections between and among countries. While government-to-government form of cooperation is important, it is equally essential to discuss the factors that would affect business-to-business cooperation as well. And while discussing the factors that contribute to building integrated communities, it is also important to discuss and determine the actual benefits that people would receive from an integrated ASEAN. Sambuu welcomed everyone to the conference and concluded his remarks with an invitation to the next CALD conference, which will be held in Mongolia in November 2015.

Dr. Lim Thuang Seng

Former State Assemblyman, Selangor

Central Committee Member, PGRM

Lim welcomed the CALD delegates to Malaysia and said that he felt honored to represent PGRM to address the conference. He said the CALD event is very timely because the world economy is slowing down, and there are pressing uncertainties that leave countries to think about the future. Fortunately, there are regional efforts to forge greater economic ties and promote greater development. Lim said the ASEAN community is a step forward to further promote prosperity and cooperation among the ASEAN countries.

Lim explained that there are some concerns as to what form of organization will take form in forging the ASEAN community. The CALD conference can provide a good starting point regarding this organizational structure as it discusses inter-



governmentalism, supranationalism, among others. Lim said it is an opportunity to explore the idea of these systems and the needs of the AEC. He briefly discussed the European Union (EU) as the best example to study about integration, and to look into the challenges it went through in establishing its integrated institutions and systems. It is also a springboard on analyzing the demographics, economic structures, and political systems of ASEAN nations and how similar and different they are from the EU. The Asian-African Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia on 24 April 2015 had some very interesting perspectives on the creation of a new world order that can revive cooperation between and among nations, which ASEAN can use as guide for the structural order of the new AEC.

Lim noted that the discussions and contributions in the international arena, including that of CALD conferences, help strengthen the progress of democracy, liberalization of governments, and the upholding of human rights in the ASEAN region.

Jules Maaten

Philippine Country Director

Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

Maaten proudly said he is a fan of ASEAN. He said if it does not exist now, he thinks it should now be developed because it is a good idea. There is an enormous potential for ASEAN especially in the era of globalization. Maaten reminded everyone that globalization is happening and it is here to stay. Though a lot of struggles and the risks go with it, Maaten said there are ways to harness the globalization processes. There were other good ideas that emerged into international organizations: Asia-Europe Meeting, ASEAN+3, APEC, among others. Some, however, are only venues where leaders meet and take pictures. Maaten said ASEAN is different. It is more than just a good idea. It is a necessity.



ASEAN 2015 faces a lot to work on especially on the issue of trade. There are no guarantees if big steps will happen. What are currently happening are small steps, and these are irreversible small steps forward. Maaten noted, "You have to start somewhere." In the field of human rights, he said who would have thought that ASEAN would come up with a Declaration on Human Rights? It was hard to imagine that it would happen, but it happened. Maaten said the only way to go is to move forward because it can always get better.

ASEAN is developing towards a very good direction, Maaten believed. It would always be in a positive direction as long as ministers meet together in the ASEAN context. "Is the glass half empty or half full?" - Maaten said what is important is with every drop of hard work being done the glass gets fuller each time. There is an incredible amount of work to do in CALD and in ASEAN. A lot of ideas can

emerge from this event in order for CALD to help ASEAN be the organization that it is meant to be.

He ended by sending the greetings of Sigfried Herzog, FNF Regional Director for East and Southeast Asia.

Ng Yeen Seen

Ng complimented the speakers and agreed that ASEAN is a work-in-progress. It is important to talk about more initiatives for the ASEAN Community to grow and to narrow the gap between and among all the ASEAN countries. Ng explained that for an ASCC to be ready, which in fact is the most important segment in the whole ASEAN Community, member states must synchronize more their regional efforts with national plans and priorities. This is not an easy job to do, however, it is workable.

SESSION I

The session focused on the dynamics of two regional integration models, inter-governmentalism and supranationalism, in ASEAN community-building processes and in other regional projects in Asia and beyond. The aim was to share experiences and best practices that can guide ASEAN in its community building efforts.



Mark Ho from the DPP Taiwan facilitated the session. Speakers included Jules Maaten and Prof. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP, from the Liberal Party of the Sri Lanka. Ho said globalization has been in existence ever since and with the rise of technology and human capital, it keeps evolving and becoming more complex. Because of politics and the different perspectives on the way we see the world,

we are faced by new challenges. The discussions and inputs on this session, Ho added, provide ideas on what integration can do for the future and how it could protect the people.

Jules Maaten

Philippine Country Director

Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

Maaten focused on the EU and the lessons learned vis-à-vis ASEAN's quest toward community building and integration. The EU, unlike the US, was not founded according to a blueprint. With the US, there was nothing. The founding fathers sat together and talked about a system and it is a brilliant system. With the EU, it is entirely different, Maaten said. The countries were already there and there was no way to undo the fact that they were already uniquely present. ASEAN needed to build on a given situation. The EU and ASEAN are two unique institutions, but comparisons of them are inevitable. Maaten said that it is relevant to look at the mistakes of the EU in order for ASEAN to assess itself and not repeat the same mistakes.



Maaten was a Member of the European Parliament (MEP) for ten years. He said he was a skeptic when he first worked in the EU and knew most of the arguments against it. While working as an MEP, he saw not only the things that were wrong in the EU, but at the same time, witnessed a lot of progressive things that resulted in a lot of benefits.

Maaten enumerated some of the mistakes that happened and currently happening in the EU as well as the good things that make the EU work. First mistake: the EU has been secretive. Maaten explained that while it is a union of countries, in reality, it is a union of people in a meeting room. When they sit together, other dynamics start to play a role. The repercussion is that sometimes good decisions are taken, but they cannot understand why they are taken and the people are left puzzled. For example, the negotiations with Greece about the Euro are evidently happening, but nobody has a clue what is really happening with all these negotiations with the Ministers of Finance. Maaten said the problem actually started with the Ministers of Finance who started talking about Greece joining the Euro even though it should not have joined. The second mistake is that the EU has become a feast for bureaucratic rules. The civil servants, who are intelligent and know what is good, make the rules. Maaten said their function is to make rules and those rules currently operate the EU. While rules are inevitable in any complex organization, over-reliance on these rules can sometimes impede the decision-making process. The third mistake is that the EU failed to take the people with them in the whole integration process. This happened since the start, Maaten said. The failure was not the bad policy or decision - the failure was the lack of communication to the people.

Maaten also explained the good factors that contribute to the successes of the EU. First, it is rule-based, which means it is not based on power within the EU. The



EU has the European Commission, which is a euphemism for the European government. It is a neutral body with the purpose of looking after the decisions made. The decisions were not left to the national governments to agree on. Whether it's a big powerful government like Germany or a tiny country like Luxemburg, what matters is that rules exist. This is a way to protect the small member states and at the same time all the others what they have promised to do. Moreover, the EU has a court. If the government would not carry out the provisions of a treaty, other parties could go to the European Court and the body could tell the government what to do. Second, the EU is a union of democracies. A country can only join the EU if it is a democracy. Finally, there is a balance between the national government and the interests of the European citizens. There are checks and balances, albeit imperfect. In most of the issues right now, the Parliament has a say, which leads to more debates. The governments can make decisions but it has to be put to the Parliament, which can sometimes disagree.

In conclusion, Maaten said it has been a long process for the EU and progress happens only in times of crisis. Real progress only happens when you really have to make a decision. In the EU, there is no design and structures are flexible. People sometimes add to it or take something out from it. It is how the EU is evolving and in many areas such as peace and economic growth, it works.

Prof. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Leader, Liberal Party of Sri Lanka

Wijesinha provided a background on culture, influences, and the tough challenges that South Asia is facing in forging a more integrated regional identity. He also discussed the possible initiatives that the South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) must consider to make it more dynamic in bringing the South Asian communities together.



Wijesinha said that it is essential "to preserve and encourage individuality, and the distinct identities of the different countries and cultures within a region." He also said that it is important to "build up mechanisms to increase understanding of each other" in order to realize more the commonalities and not the differences. In understanding identities, the concept of national identity could lead to separatism because of the concentration on differences. The sub-Indian continent was divided because of religion. When language became a factor, Bangladesh was born. The struggle for separation of states in Sri Lanka is due to race. Wijesinha also explained irredentism, "any political or popular movement intended to reclaim and reoccupy a lost homeland," which tries to justify its territorial claims on the basis of historic or ethnic affiliations. He said this was prevalent in European politics for a century, but is more deceptive in other parts of the world. "We are full of suspicions of Muslims in a predominantly Hindu state, of Tamils in a predominantly Sinhala

state, of Shias in a predominantly Sunni state, of what are termed Aryans in a state that seems predominantly Mongol,” he added.

“We are still obsessed by classifications,” Wijesinha said. The concept of “other,” which was defined by Hindi writer Nirmal Verma based on the European notion as “an inalienable entity external to oneself, which was both a source of terror and an object of desire” continues to prevail in the West and is used as a tool to dominate rather than “thought and action as a fundamental premise. Without a doubt, the EU has set the pace in bringing countries together, but other alliances such as the South American and African Unions, the ASEAN, and the SAARC have also followed. SAARC, however, lags far behind and still seems divided.



SAARC achieved very little. Its meetings, though held regularly, are mired by postponements. Its trade cooperation and talks on common regulations move at a slow pace. While there are initiatives to develop people-to-people contacts, little has been achieved in terms of developing a sense of common identity. Wijesinha said, “The best way of moving forward is in areas where no one can feel threatened. Economic cooperation, though vital, can worry some elements in each country, and so it needs to be taken forward slowly and tactfully. But with regard to education and cultural ties, there can be no fears.”

In terms of competing identities based on language, Wijesinha noted, “In South Asia we have had no such luck, and indeed India, with its many languages, also faces the problem of speakers of one language finding difficulties sometimes in reading scripts even when the languages themselves are similar.” Fortunately there is English, a common language in South Asia that can help move forward cooperation in education. The connections that can be done through exchanges in learning and teaching, especially in English, can break barriers and translate into wider attitudinal change. Wijesinha also said they will benefit from

developing testing services in English to establish common standards, and then train their students to reach those standards.

Wijesinha emphasized the importance of education in regional cooperation. He said, “there is simply not enough public awareness of possibilities, and insufficient encouragement in the form of scholarships, and of subsidies for enough students. The SAARC University is a sad example of our failure to build on the resources we have...Establishing campuses of the university all over the region, with opportunities for staff exchanges, permitting institutions in the region to teach for qualifications offered by the SAARC university, developing collaborative research through SAARC university funding for publication by the university, are all initiatives that would help to establish a vibrant culture of academic exchanges and cross-fertilization.”

The other area in which South Asia can develop a common vision is the field of cultural activities. Wijesinha shared that Sri Lanka provides a home for the SAARC Cultural Centre, but hardly anyone knows what it does. He said an inspirational approach to art is vital to develop better understanding between peoples through writing and performance. At least, he said, there should be “engaging in an activity based approach, performances that showcase not just the range of talent our countries possess, but the common features of our artistic heritage...We should be thinking in terms of South Asian Drama Centres, South Asian Dance Centres, South Asian Centres for the Visual Arts, where the brightest of our young people can work together and generate productions that build on common traditions but relate them to the common experiences of the modern age.”

SAARC would function best if it has administrators with long service careers, like in the EU, who will develop visionary concepts and work towards their fulfillment. Moreover, Wijesinha said that if SAARC continues to exist as a political grouping, South Asia would not be able to go forward. “Given political sensitivities in the region, we will not want to empower a collegiate entity,” he added. What is vital is to focus on bringing people together to exchange ideas and work on projects in fields where synergies can bring positive results - to work towards introducing the concept of a South Asian identity.

“Cooperation within regions has become increasingly vital, in a globalized world, where money and information and people, including dangerous people, move with few limitations between countries.” Wijesinha shared what the liberal stalwart Count Lambsdorff said that liberals do not believe in weak governments. Liberals want limited government, but it needs to be strong, since constant vigilance is the price of liberty. This means there must be clear laws and regulations, enforced consistently and with transparency.

Open Forum

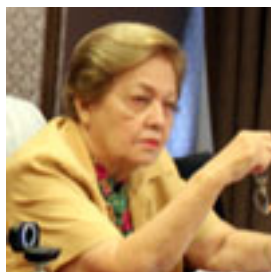
Challenges of ASEAN

Hon. Kiat Sitttheamorn, Deputy Leader for the Foreign Affairs and Economics of the DP Thailand, asked Maaten regarding what ASEAN has done right and wrong and what is left to be accomplished. Maaten said that he is hesitant to tell Asians what to do because as a member of the EU, and they don't have a good record either. Maaten said that starting ASEAN is a big step already because it is unique. Other groupings such as Mercosur, the sub-regional bloc with Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela as full members, and NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) never came off the ground. "They were not a big success," Maaten added.



Maaten also said that ASEAN should have tried to expand its secretariat in its earlier years to further improve operations and the handling of regional issues. H.E. Ambassador Rosario Manalo, Special Representative of the Philippines to the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights, explained that the problem with the ASEAN secretariat is a secretary general who does not identify himself as an ASEAN, but that of his country. The secretary general is supposed to work with ten member states and not just for his own country.

Single foreign policy



Manalo asked about the single foreign policy created under the Lisbon Treaty that carries out an element of commonality among 27 states. Maaten explained, the EU has a common foreign policy and the people making the rules are the foreign ministers. The only way to move forward is for the big states such as Germany, France, Great Britain, among others, to have substantial foreign policy direction. However, the smaller states such as Slovenia, Luxemburg, Denmark, and the rest still have to agree. Theoretically, they all have their foreign offices, but they have absolutely nothing to say. Maaten said that it would be more beneficial if the European foreign policy would be balanced with the US foreign policy where there is more soft power than military power. "We only make progress when there is crisis," Maaten reiterated.

Regional targets and efforts

Chin noted that if ASEAN would set smaller targets, things would be more achievable. He said an example of an ASEAN success is the visa waiver for ASEAN citizen travelling in ASEAN countries. There is no need to apply for visa, which gives flexibility in travelling. Another success story is the setting up of the Regional Recreation Center for Science and Mathematics (RECSAM) by the Education Ministers of ASEAN. The center is located in Penang, Malaysia and is focusing on training ASEAN teachers on just two subjects, Science and Math. Chin

explained that the strategy of taking on less ambitious approach to have more achievable goals can provide lessons, experiences and the confidence to move on to bigger things and ultimately achieve what the EU has achieved so far.

Maaten explained how he hates visa and apologized on behalf of the EU for the way they treat Asians in terms of visa issues. Wijesinha added that ASEAN's effort on the visa issue is indeed a great achievement because that showed how its member states surpassed the difficulties of mistrust. But Paul Scott, an English novelist and poet, showed how the British concentrated on the differences rather than similarities. Wijesinha said people are still stuck in the mindset where differences are more important. "When the British gave us democracy, it is something to be grateful for, but they also enhanced the sense of separate identity," Wijesinha added.

Manalo corrected Chin regarding the freedom of movement in the ASEAN space, particularly in relation to the labor sector. She said in the ASEAN charter, freedom of movement of people is allowed in principle but that is not the case in reality. Malaysia and Singapore, particularly with ASEAN nationals in search of jobs and labor, would go through the requirements with inhibitions. Manalo said this challenges need to be addressed. It is understandable that national interest comes into play because more labor will be loaded in a small country such as Singapore, for example. She said this matter must be discussed among ASEAN ministers in charge of migration. The question is why is it not being discussed? Is there sufficient pressure? Are the leaders not aware of these? CALD members must seize the opportunity to bring up this particular issue to the parties in power of ASEAN states. This is one of the issues political parties need to focus on whether on opposition or in power. Manalo believes issues in the ASEAN are not being dealt with not because there is no desire to address it, but simply because of oversight.



SESSION II

This session focused on the APSC, the most controversial among the ASEAN pillars because of the diverse political systems and the levels of political development of the ten ASEAN member states. Despite the political diversity, key ASEAN documents such as the ASEAN Charter and the APSC Blueprint made it clear that the ASEAN countries should move towards the adoption of democratic principle and the establishment of democratic institutions. This step is deemed important for the ASEAN to maintain its centrality in the evolving regional political-security architecture.

This session looked into the extent of how much ASEAN has achieved vis-à-vis the objectives of the APSC Blueprint, particularly in relation to democracy-building and political development. It examined the issues and problems that confront the Blueprint's realization, as well as its implications for ASEAN's role in various security arrangements in the region.



Hon. James Huang, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Taiwan, and current Director of the Department of International Affairs of the DPP, served as the chair of the session. The speakers were H.E. Ambassador Rosario Manalo, Special Representative of the Philippines to the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights; Dr. Myo Aung, MP, member of the NLD Central Executive Committee; and Hon. Son Chhay, MP, founding member of the ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights from the Cambodia National Rescue Party. Huang said that this session is a great opportunity to review ASEAN's progress in terms of its democracy and security agenda. "This is not just an academic issue, but a lifetime commitment," he added. This is what distinguishes CALD from academic conferences because its members are democracy fighters and democracy does not come as a gift from kind-hearted leaders, Huang said. "One must fight for it, earn it, defend it, consolidate it and review it from time to time so as not to deviate from the just cause", he added. As far as CALD is concerned, Huang said we should look at what CALD can do in terms of ASEAN's democracy agenda and what impact it can have on this process.

H.E. Ambassador Rosario Manalo

Special Representative, ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights
Philippines

Manalo discussed the crucial steps that helped ASEAN push for the Community pillar initiatives currently being completed. Since its establishment in 1967, ASEAN has come a long way in promoting peace and stability as well as acceleration of economic growth among its members. What started with five members (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand), ASEAN has now grown to ten with the addition of Brunei Darussalam in 1964, Vietnam in 1995, Lao PDR in 1997, Myanmar in 1997, and Cambodia in 1999. The Community building initiative started during the 1997 ASEAN Informal Summit

in Hanoi through the ASEAN 2020 Vision then the Cebu Declaration in 2007 accelerated the establishment of the ASEAN Community to 2015. The enforcement of the ASEAN Charter in 2008 provided ASEAN a legal personality and it served as its backbone in all Community-building efforts. The APSC is the most challenging among the three Community Pillars of ASEAN according to Manalo because of the “differing political and values systems as well as politico-security alignments and interests.”



Manalo also presented updates on the APSC Blueprint where 127 out of 145 action lines have already been implemented. The APSC Blueprint shared values and norms namely: democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms, good governance, and the rule of law. “The establishment of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) in 2009, implementation of the 2012 ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (AHRD), and the adoption of the 2013 Declaration on Elimination of Violence Against Women and Children in ASEAN comprise key achievements in support of advancing human rights and fundamental freedoms,” Manalo said. There were forums facilitated that strengthen cooperation on transnational crimes, which led to the advancing of the rule of law. This year, the finalization and the adoption of the ASEAN Convention and Regional Plan of Action against Trafficking in Persons, are expected and this involved the cooperation of dialogue partners on combating transnational crime and non-traditional security issues.

In the field of human rights and women’s participation, two bodies play a critical role in advancing human security: the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) and the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR). AICHR is the *only* regional human rights body in the Asia Pacific. There were already initiatives done through workshops and consultations that aimed to mainstream human rights and women’s participation in the Political-Security pillar. The AICHR’s adoption of the *Guidelines for AICHR’s Relations with Civil Society* and the *Guidelines for Alignment Between AICHR and ASEAN Sectoral Bodies Dealing with Human Rights* is a welcoming development because this means increase cooperation with grassroots, which reflects the improvement of the welfare and well-being of the people. This step forward encourages a Community where people are not only beneficiaries, but also active contributors to the process.

Manalo said the ASEAN efforts are not free from critics. ASEAN’s human rights standards are viewed below acceptable international standards and while progress maybe slow, Manalo noted that, “it is moving towards a common direction and at a pace that is comfortable to ASEAN member states.”

“Non-interference as one of the guiding principles of AICHR, pursuant to its Terms of Reference (TOR) and the ASEAN Charter, has repeatedly been called attention to over its seeming inconsistency with AICHR’s overall mandate to protect human rights.” Manolo added that it is already a non-issue in ASEAN and

is enshrined in its Charter, which the AICHR and the whole of ASEAN respect. "AICHR employs a consultative and consensus-based approach towards gradually cultivating trust and building partnerships between and among the AMS on human rights issues." When the Cyclone Nargis hit Myanmar, for example, the military junta declined offers of humanitarian assistance by the international community with the suspicion that it would intervene in the internal politics of the country. It was through the persuasion of the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN member states that encouraged Myanmar to allow humanitarian assistance in the country.

Manalo said a closer interaction and cooperation is needed among the three Community pillars. The lessons learned from the implementation of the Community Blueprints can help ASEAN set the direction of the Community pillars beyond 2015.

Dr. Myo Aung, MP

Member, Central Executive Committee

National League for Democracy of Myanmar (Burma)

Aung thanked CALD for the opportunity to share his point of view. He said he is presenting not necessarily NLD's perception, but he believes Daw Aung San Suu Kyi (DASSK) shares his views. Aung said he agrees with the APSC in principle. It incorporates all the norms of liberal democracy such as rule of law, good governance, human rights and fundamental freedom. These are the same principles that helped his party during the 2012 by-elections when NLD won 42 out of 44 seats in parliament. NLD's campaign manifesto that time contained three main policies: rule of law, amendment of the constitution, and the reconciliation of ethnic nationalities. In accordance to these policies, Aung said they have been working hard in parliament to achieve these goals.



A constructive dialogue among the ASEAN member states must continue to discuss every country's present situation, Aung explained. Myanmar, currently, is in the transition phase and its political situation is not secure. The amendment of the current constitution of Myanmar is a huge factor that could help provide political stability in the country. Majority of the Burmese supports DASSK, but they are concerned because she will not be able to run based on a provision of the present constitution. It is about the people's desire to amend the constitution and by amending it, the political security situation in the country would improve.

There are also strides that reflect optimism in the country. Myanmar, a country with a record of insurgency, armed conflicts, and rebellion, has finished drafting the National Ceasefire Accord. A National Peace Assembly will be held as well and political issues will be discussed, Aung said.

If every ASEAN member-state truly works in line with its principles and policies and adopts its plan of action accordingly, the region will be politically secured. APSC must go beyond the normal ways of dealing with member states.

Mechanisms must be established to monitor member states that are lagging behind the Community-building efforts.

The future of Myanmar depends on the results of the 2015 general elections on the condition that it is conducted timely, freely and fairly. The developments in Myanmar would benefit not only its people, but also the regions. The political stability of Myanmar could result to more work being done in the APSC.

Hon. Son Chhay, MP

Founding member of the ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights
Cambodia National Rescue Party



Son's presentation focused on the addressing the member state's internal problems in order for the states to be more united as a regional bloc. He said it is important to look within a nation's security issues and encourage democracy and social justice to prevail. By understanding the ASEAN Blueprint, member-states could understand that a lot of things still need to be attended to locally and regionally. In Cambodia, Son narrated the recent dialogue developing between Prime Minister Hun Sen and Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP, leaders of the opposition. This progress in forging constructive dialogue reflects that problems and challenges can be addressed peacefully. If peace does not exist within nations, then it would be hard to forge peace in the region. By implementing democracy and social justice, popular will is respected and people's participation is encouraged.

ASEAN is an integral component of Asia's regional cooperation. ASEAN has been instrumental in promoting common values that are vital to integration. ASEAN must also find a way to address conflicts and tensions between and among states. Member states and ASEAN cannot afford to make mistakes in addressing the territorial disputes such as the Cambodia-Thailand border issue and the West Philippine Sea and South China Sea issue. It is a sensitive issue, thus careful and continuous dialogue must endure to come up with a peaceful solution. The issue with the Cambodia-Thailand border went through a difficult period when two member-states struggled to find a common solution until the matter was raised to the International Court. With ASEAN dealing with individual countries, it would be hard to deal with China because individual member-states are not in equal terms to negotiate with China. However, if members would unite more through ASEAN, then there can be more leverage to negotiate with a powerful nation.

Son agreed with Manalo that meetings could bring some kind of understanding to reduce tensions. Nothing can be solved through confrontation. It has to be a solution through dialogue.

Open Forum

ASEAN and China

Mr. Ramon Yuen, Honorary Treasurer of the Democratic Party of Hong Kong (DPHK), asked a question about what Son said about countries uniting to balance China. He wanted to know if uniting would be feasible despite China's status as an economic power. He said China has a mindset that if countries cooperate with it, they would benefit economically.

Son said it is a test. ASEAN member-states must ensure that this union would have a voice not just for economic gains, but also for political and security interests. It's a challenge for ASEAN to find solution to this kind of crisis, and it would be a great disaster if it would not work on the issue. Manalo, on the other hand, disagreed with Son explaining that there are many facets to the issue at hand. She said ASEAN is united in working towards a code of conduct on the South China Sea with China. The problem is that every time the issue would be raised, China's reply is that they are not yet ready to sit down with ASEAN.

Manalo also pointed out that of the ten member-states, six states have claims to the South China Sea areas and the fact that other ASEAN countries would not like to be involved in bilateral discussions is very rational. Manalo emphasized, "The whole issue there is why should an ASEAN country which is not geographically, physically involved, be part of bilateral negotiations?" She added that to have a code of conduct, and for China to respect the various claims, is the ASEAN approach - to settle issues peacefully, fairly, and in the most expeditious way possible.



The South China Sea is a very crucial area for the passage of the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean and back. The wealth of oil in South China Sea is really not the main concern why non-ASEAN countries such as the US are very much interested in the issue. The US is already cracking for oil for the next three generations and has developed a technology to do so. They don't need to look for oil in the South China Sea, Manalo explained. "What they want is a freedom of passage from the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean, from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific...to allow that passage, which is called innocent passage." As of this moment, China calls the shots there on innocent passage and would inspect if they suspect other countries carrying something that is not allowed in South China Sea. The US does not want this situation and would push to internationalize the passageway, in the same way the Panama Canal and the Suez Canal have been internationalized. It is a rivalry between two superpowers, Manalo noted.



Chin shared his view that it's important to focus more on the solvable. He said involving China would involve the US and with that, it would be hard to solve a lot of things. For example, the issue between Malaysia and Singapore over the lighthouse along the Strait of Malacca was resolved when they both agreed to go for arbitration for solution. But a lot of problems still persist: the Abu Sayyaf group kidnapping tourists and owners of fish farms in Sabah; the Myanmar citizens in Malaysia killing each other because of religion; as well as the pirates from Indonesia robbing fishermen, hijacking oil tankers, kidnapping the crews in the Strait of Malacca. Chin elaborated that these problems are within the scope of ASEAN and they should take center stage at the moment.

Responsibilities within and outside ASEAN

Son said, in the internal security within the APSC framework, it is not logical to have a healthy regional security with unhealthy local security. There must be better institution-building mechanisms within member-states to provide better services and social justice to the people. With good institutions in place, there will be less oversight on the crimes being committed. Extending social justice by providing the basic needs of the people like housing, education, decent jobs, among others, after all, is part of the responsibility of the ASEAN as one community. Cambodia, for example, is currently facing issues on refugees from Vietnam and even Australia.



Son added that it is the responsibility of the more developed nations within the ASEAN to support those in need. He believes that the solution is for ASEAN to also come up with more realistic and concrete ways to deal with these issues.

Manalo shared that the APSC has an expanded maritime forum among the navies and coastguards of the ten ASEAN member-states. Moreover, there are maritime discussions as well with the US and the ASEAN + 3 (Japan, China, and Korea). Piromya added that the joint coastguard initiatives of the EU shows that it is

working on a more permanent basis and there are more and more integrated European body working on migrant workers and immigrations issues. ASEAN, he further explained, usually works in a committee basis or in groups as instructed by ministers of member-states. Piromya suggested that CALD should encourage ASEAN ministers and countries such as Sri Lanka, India, and Bangladesh to work on this issue on a permanent basis.

As for the talks on security issues in Strait of Malacca, the discussions can be expanded to the US and Japan in addition to Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. Piromya emphasized that cooperation and dialogue on a more permanent basis could help address the security issues on piracy, minorities, cross-border crimes and territorial disputes, among others.

Weakness of ASEAN

Piromya shared that the ASEAN Secretariat handles a lot of work with less funding. Manalo agreed that ASEAN has insufficient funds from member-states as represented by the lowest level compulsory payment of annual fees. What happens is that non-ASEAN partners compensate for the lack of funding. Australia, for instance, provides significant amount of financial assistance to tackle the trafficking of women and children. The three ASEAN Community pillars have programs to address the current regional programs, but the problem that prevails is the lack of funding. ASEAN always rely on external cooperation, Manalo stressed. And this is where China, the US, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries come in. "There is nothing gratuitous in this world. You always have to pay for something in return," Manalo said.



SESSION III

Session III talked about the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) that envisions the ASEAN member-states to form a single market and production base allowing the free flow of goods, services, investments, and skilled labor, and the freer movement of capital across the region. ASEAN claims that as of October 2013, 279 measures (79.7%) of the AEC Blueprint have already been implemented although controversial issues remain such as development gap, non-tariff barriers, and slow liberalization of trade in services.

The session examined the AEC in terms of its four pillars: 1) creating a single market and production base, 2) increasing competitiveness, 3) promoting equitable economic development, and 4) further integrating ASEAN with the global economy. Mr. Ramon Yuen, Honorary Treasurer of the Democratic Party of Hong Kong (DPHK), served as the session chair. Dr. Chee Soon Juan, Secretary General of the Singapore Democratic Party (SDP); Hon. Kiat Sittheamorn, Deputy Leader for Foreign Affairs and Economics of the Democrat Party of Thailand; and Mr. Wan Saiful Wan Jan, Founding Chief Executive of the Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS) of Malaysia gave their input on the AEC.



Dr. Chee Soon Juan
Secretary General
Singapore Democratic Party

Chee described the complexities of migration and the labor system in Singapore and how it could affect the ASEAN Economic Community. He said integration is not viable without democratic-political progress in a member-state. Open flow of labor is not necessarily a good idea, Chee implied, because Singapore is held up as the prime economic development in this region. In Singapore, there are very few laws that protect labor. There are no independent unions, no minimum wage, no protection of human rights law, and no protection of fundamental freedoms. Because of these, labor productivity has been hovering at around 0%, which means labor productivity level has not grown in ten years or so.

The Singaporean government is unresponsive to the needs of the people and to the infrastructure. Currently, the city-state is grappling because Singaporeans are leaving to look for jobs elsewhere while foreigners are occupying the local job market. Chee said, "Almost 40% of the population in Singapore are not Singaporeans" and 80% of the people in the region have indicated that they prefer to work in Singapore. Moreover, Singapore has the lowest birthrate in the world at 1.2 births per woman, thus the government uses this as a reason to infuse the population with foreigners. "The strange credibility is that in spite of all these, we are talking about creating a single market with a free flow of labor," Chee said. Singapore's Foreign Minister, Mr. K. Shanmugam, said that in the AEC framework, Singapore could become the New York of ASEAN. However, he seems unaware that New York, unlike Singapore, has strong labor laws and trade unions that protect its workers. New York also has a minimum wage, free media and can vote out people if they go against their wishes.



Chee also shared the importance of the role that civil society can play in pushing for a people-centered ASEAN. He said, “We want to have a serious conversation about integrating ASEAN and bringing the people together in an economic and political framework, we cannot afford to have foreign ministers talking amongst themselves about people whose lives and well-being they have little regard for.” The whole model of AEC will fall apart if there are no

avenues for the civil society to discuss human rights, openness, transparency, and democracy. Chee concluded that it is important not to rush into developing economically across the region. By not neglecting the political development of member-states, ASEAN could bring the people forward and develop holistically.

Hon. Kiat Sittheamorn

Deputy Leader, Foreign Affairs and Economics
Democrat Party of Thailand

Kiat presented how the AEC scorecards are helping us assess where we need to go next. But it is important to understand and analyze the setback that happened in 2011 when only 49.1% of the goals were accomplished. In discussing how the economic community will work, Kiat said it is equally important to talk about the software and the hardware. We cannot talk about forging a single market without the physical connectivity aspect, which refers to roads and even the upgrading of roads to Class 3. “Without such physical connections, it is impossible to think of a single market which is production based,” he added.



Kiat also tackled the challenges that AEC needs to face. He said ASEAN needs 8 trillion US dollars to fund electricity, transportation, telecommunication, and water sanitation, among others. A minimum of 50 billion US dollars is needed for

the energy and transportation sector alone. “Where is the money?” asked Kiat. It is important to discuss how funds will be raised for cross-border projects and how this money will be spent within the parameter of two countries and more.

Another challenge is how to catch up as quickly as possible with the mandate that ASEAN’s supposed to accomplish in 2011. In terms of trade, Kiat said new forms of non-tariff barriers have sprung up and because of these government regulations, the spirit of AEC is in danger. This matter should be a top priority of all governments in the region. It is also worth noting that in the game of economic integration, adjustment programs are a must, not attitude adjustment programs. In trade agreements, if tariffs on goods are reduced, the big and small sectors are affected. Without adjustment programs, Kiat explained, those who win big will be much bigger and those who lose out will lose a lot more. This issue is huge and could lead to instability of the economic program, Kiat added.

Another big challenge is the settlement of about 90% of trade transactions in US dollars. It is beneficial if ASEAN would reduce dependency on the US dollars because it is “cost burden” to ASEAN’s trade transactions. Kiat shared the experience of some ASEAN states when it became part of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), which he described as “getting nowhere at this point...we start seeing TPP as a factor that is dividing ASEAN.” It is because of the high quality agreements, which translates to high expectation in intellectual properties in all areas that is difficult for developing countries to follow. TPP is not competing with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) where China is part of, and it’s becoming a political wall in terms of economic programs between the two rivals. Kiat also mentioned China’s Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), a multilateral development bank, which can be used as a tool for political conflict. A total of 57 countries already signed up to be members and it includes European countries. Since World Bank and the Asian Development Bank cannot do cross-border financing, Kiat said, “If we make this (AIIB) vehicle a workable vehicle, we stand to gain. But if we use this or make this [as] another political wall, among various international organizations or countries, then it will be [an] impediment to our own development within the region.”



“And unless and until we change the way we think about economic integration, we are going to be continuing on the same path that will be leading us to very little progress,” Kiat emphasized. It is important to make integration beneficial to the real people (the farmers, SME’s, etc.) that represent the majority in the region. They should have tangible programs to help them sustain their businesses. There should be a collective framework that is competitive and sustainable in order to facilitate the division of work. “We have to make economic integration a full time job,” Kiat added. Lastly, he said having a real ASEAN think tank is beneficial because it will work continuously on developing the next step in the integration process and will continue developing a common position for each country vis-à-vis the international community.

Mr. Wan Saiful Wan Jan

Founding Chief Executive

Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS), Malaysia



Wan briefly introduced IDEAS, a liberal think tank based in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia that is dedicated to promote market-based ideas solutions to public policy challenges. IDEAS is not bound by party politics, race or religions. He said they highly support the idea of economic legalization and integration. They are currently bringing together like-minded organizations from across ASEAN countries to converge under an umbrella called Southeast Asia Network for Development. This is a possible response to the earlier discussions on the need to have a regional ASEAN think tank.

The AEC's goals are economic integration, reducing trade barriers, and increasing investments. AEC is clearly pushing for economic growth, but there are challenges that need to be addressed, Wan said. Among them are:

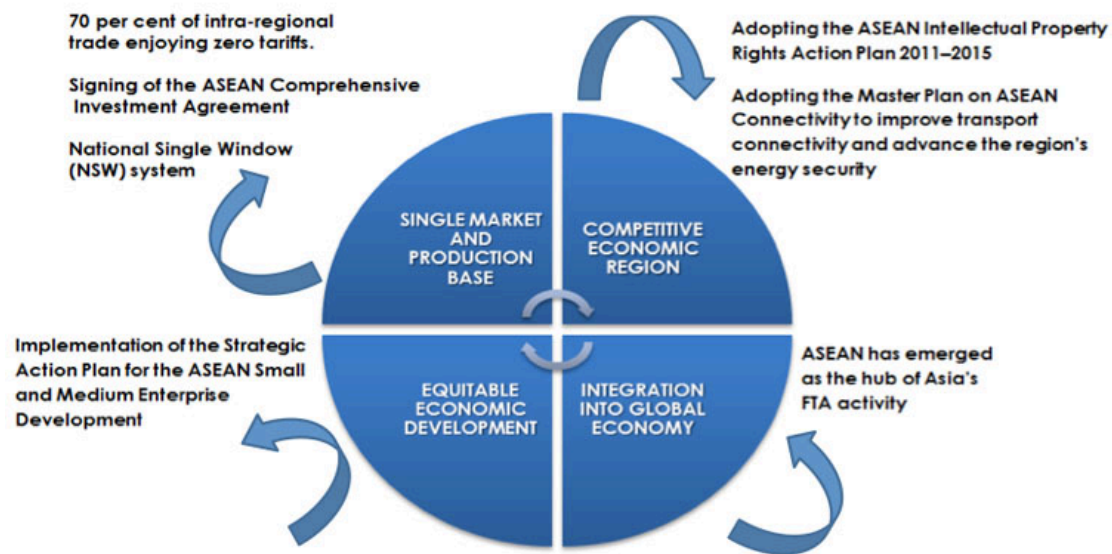
- Variations in domestic regulations are still formidable hurdles to intra-ASEAN services, investments and trade.
- Mobility of skilled people means the benefits are not for everyone.
- Financial and capital market integration including harmonization of taxation standards are still not fully achieved.
- Weak central secretariat



According to Datuk Seri Nazir Razak, Co-Chairman of the ASEAN Business Club (ABC), "The master plan and the framework for the AEC were not set out in stone...The mechanism for ASEAN economic integration is not quite there yet in terms of the legal framework and infrastructure of the ASEAN secretariat." Moreover, Prof. Kishore Mahbubani of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy said, "Ownership of ASEAN has been primarily with the leaders and has not percolated down to the people of ASEAN." The mobility of skills of people and the issue of migration is a contentious one in the region. Wan said "this is not a region where everybody is receiving everyone...The free movement of people is

a good thing, but there are things that we need to deal with when we talk about those policies.” The words “skilled labor” is quite discriminatory in practice, Wan shared. This is a policy that will only make the rich become richer because they have access to travel and the poor are really get stuck because they cannot go anywhere and no one wants to accept them.

AEC Pillars Performance

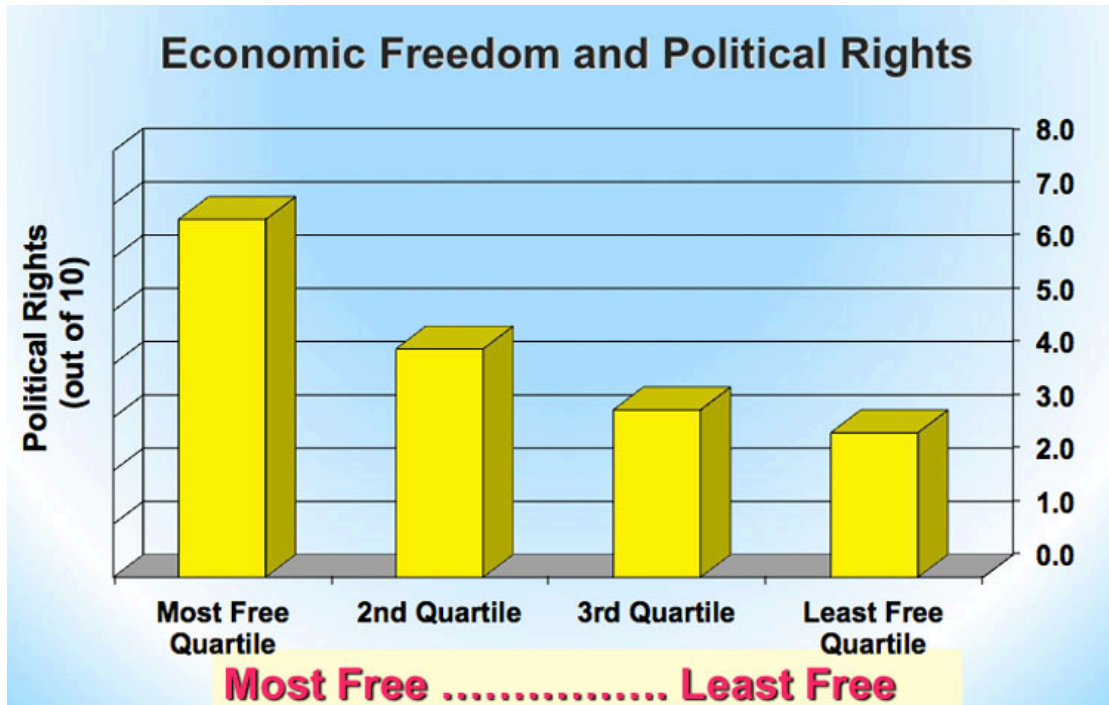


Wan thinks that the equitable economic development is the one that needs more focus and work to make it happen. “It is already on paper, we just need to make sure that the policymakers deliver everything that they put on paper,” he added.

Wan also presented the Economic Freedom of the World Index produced every year to provide a rank of which country is the most economically free and which country are at the lower end of economic freedom. The Fraser Institute in Canada functions as its central coordinating body and also has a conglomeration of think tanks from 180 participating countries. He said the components of the Index include the size of government and taxation, private property and the rule of law, soundness of money, trade regulation and tariffs, and regulation of business, labor, and capital markets. According to Economics Professor James Gwartney, et al., “Individuals have economic freedom when [the] property they acquire without the use of force, fraud, or theft, is protected from physical invasion by others and they are free to use, exchange, or give their property as long as their actions do not violate the identical rights of others.” Wan said the data produced can help look at the impact of economic freedom on real life and on the ground and can help measure whether this is good or bad.



This data shows that the least economically free a country is, the less income per capita there is. As a country goes up the level of economic freedom, people actually earn more money on the ground as well. Similarly, the more free countries are, the higher the rate of GDP growth year by year.



There is also a clear relationship between economy and freedom and democracy. The higher the level of economic freedom, the higher the level of political rights enjoyed by the people in those countries. The higher the level of economic freedom, the higher the level of civil rights is. Wan explained that Hong Kong and

Singapore are outliers and a discussion in greater detail is needed on the level of their political freedom, even though economically they're free. The higher the level of economic freedom, the lower the level of corruption. Also, life satisfaction goes up, literacy rate goes up, life expectancy, and the overall quality of life goes up.



Wan said there is no real relationship between the level of economic freedom and the share of income of the poorest. However, in actual monetary terms, “the poorest 10% in a free country earns ten times more than those in unfree countries.” Wan said it is better to be poorer in a country that is economically free than in the country that is not economically free. The poorest in the US, for instance, is about the same as the upper-middle class in Malaysia. The data shows that to cause an impact on the life of the people on the ground, one needs to focus on economic integration.



Wan concluded by providing the key points for discussions. He said integration and liberalization via AEC will help the region grow, but there are challenges and unfortunately not many people are actually working to address those challenges. Moreover, the proponents are not working collectively, but separately. The ASEAN People’s Forum (APF) recent statement with the theme is “Reclaiming the ASEAN Community for the People” stated in paragraph three, “The failure of ASEAN to meaningfully address the people’s issues is deeply rooted in the organization’s continued adherence to a neoliberal model that prioritizes corporate interests and elite group, including state-owned enterprise over the interest of the people.” He added that there is no real engagement of the people happening on the ground among those who live in the liberal ideas. As a result, there are rejections at people’s network. Politicians

need to respond to those demands. But Wan said there is no need to reinvent the wheel. FNF and CALD could both potentially play significant roles. In the CALD's charter, it says, "The purpose or objective of CALD is to foster the growth of society based on personal liberty, personal responsibility, social justice, rule of law, and free market economy." Wan said this is about defining what the AEC is. CALD in its charter is supportive of free market economy. And the Economic Freedom Network Asia (EFN Asia), also in partnership by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, believes in private property, personal choice, voluntary exchange, competition and also free market access, and rule of law. CALD and EFN Asia organize leadership training programs, political dialogues, political education through seminars and workshops, exchange of information through publication and research. Wan emphasized on the need to have bigger integration on "ourselves" first. To shape the AEC forward CALD and EFN Asia needs to work closer with the people. And the ideas that percolate through discussions need to win support in order to get those ideas implemented.

Open Forum

On ASEAN's dependency on the West

Dr. Safira Machrusah, Vice General Secretary of the Nation Awakening Party (PKB), asked Kiat about the reasons Asia continues to use US dollars in trade transactions. Is single currency still possible in the region? How can ASEAN reduce its dependency on the West in terms of financial assistance and aid?



Kiat said we continue trade transactions in US dollars because the national banks of each country do not keep reserves in regional currencies. While it can be done, it will not be easy because there must be secondary markets and financial instruments. For commercial banks to keep reserves in big blocks, it is also a question of policy and drive. With regard to single currency, it is impossible until there is macroeconomic coordination and respect on certain ground rules. He also explained that it is very difficult to disassociate with the West because trade with the West is significant. However, we can reduce dependency in financial assistance, and in reserved currency. "If we are smart enough to organize ourselves, they [West] would want to come here...they want to put their money here," Kiat added. He said Asia is still the highest growth area in the next 20 years in the world.

Wan added that Asia would not stop working with the West. He stressed that trade is not dependency, but interdependence. "They are dependent on us, just as we are dependent on them." They come to Asia because they know they will benefit from it. Wan explained, "The main idea here is we should not be dependent on aid on help...We should work our way to stop receiving aid...even if you think from a non-economic perspective, sorry but it is quite shameful to be continuously receiving aid." The solution to get real money coming in is to strengthen the institutions, open up the market, and reduce protectionist measures.

NGOs, ASEAN, Capitalism and Liberalism

Kasit asked Wan on how to explain to the public that there are groups, such as CALD, FNF, and IDEAS, which support “moralistic capitalism” and “responsible liberalism” given that there are NGOs like APF that stands up against unfettered capitalism and liberalism.

Wan said the main focus should be engagement. The APF started in Malaysia ten years ago under the premiership of former Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi and through the years, it became dominated by anti-trade groups with no groups lobbying on the pro-side. The result of which was issues were ignored. Wan said it is important to continue to engage with NGOs and to discuss more with politicians. An increase of the level of engagement in existing platforms is crucial. “We need to persuade, we need to engage,” Wan added.

Kasit asked about how to find a joint common policy specific for example on certain agricultural produce. He said there are been attempts on coordination among ASEAN members on rice, rubber, and palm oil, but somehow, they decrease over the years. Kiat said there are several ways to address this vis-à-vis the WTO guidelines, but currently, maybe ASEAN is only utilizing one. He said, “You have to coordinate in terms of production. You don’t collude on price and you have to make yourself sexy.” Kiat said usually, it is the trader from the West, based in Singapore for instance, who controls the price when Asia produces most of the supply in the market. At the moment, the most well organized sector in ASEAN has already started working in terms of clusters and areas and this is coordinated by private sectors themselves.

On Producing ASEAN’s Own Car

Kasit asked about the possibility of pushing for ASEAN technology and production of ASEAN cars. At the moment he said, the industrial manufacturing plants and the division of labor are controlled and directed by Toyota, Honda, Mercedes, etc.

Wan said he does not care where the car is manufactured. He puts value more on the price and quality. Cars must be cheap and in very good quality. Consumers must not be prevented by the state to receive good quality products at affordable prices because the common people do not have access to government funds. State industries must still compete in an open market.

Kiat said he has always seen the car industry as “one plus one equals three” because of the opportunities on electronic industry, design industry, other than manufacturing and sales. These are tremendous opportunities for ASEAN to coordinate with among its members, from production to innovation. It is important to look at the sustainable competitive advantage of each country.

The Emergence of AIIB

Manalo agreed with Kiat with regard to the financial needs for connectivity infrastructure and recently, China has been offering loans under the Asia Investment Infrastructure Bank (AIIB). AIIB seems to be competing with IMF and the World Bank, but the difference is in AIIB, loans are offered without the conditions that are imposed when loans are made through IMF and World Bank. Manalo's question was, "How will you approach the offer of China that may or may not be beneficial for us in creating greater connectivity in the region?" Kiat said there are voluminous ways to mobilize available liquidity in the world to finance infrastructure development in ASEAN. With AIIB, it can result in political fights so it is important to allow banks to setup. If Japan can, it should start its own. "The more the merrier," Kiat stressed. Wan shared that AIIB is going to happen. Countries should participate, but they have to make sure that standards will not be lowered and tools will be utilized for the region. "If we are to join, the goal is to push up the standards to make it realistic to the region," Wan said.

Are We Ready for the AEC?



John Tan, Vice Chairperson of the SDP asked if we (the ASEAN people) are really ready for the AEC. Wan responded, "We'll never be ready if we won't start doing anything."

He believed that all the ingredients to do AEC are available and all that needs to be done is for the leaders and their governments to pay attention and follow through to reap real and more equitable benefits. The AEC is a journey. One has to start somewhere to be able to move forward from there.

Institutionalizing ASEAN Values

Chin asked if institutionalizing the ASEAN core values is possible in order to boost confidence and look good and to encourage and attract private initiatives. Kiat said he would not be thinking of institutions first until he knows what has to be done and who will do it because it will be a waste of money and time.

Exploring the Possibility of ASEAN Parliament

Chin also asked if having an ASEAN Parliament would help push for the success of the AEC. Kiat thinks ASEAN is not ready for that, but each country could contribute and could work full time to discuss and drive that agenda. Wan, on the other hand, said that instead of focusing on having an ASEAN Parliament, ASEAN should just focus on the economic community. Not enough work has been done on policies at the ASEAN level. He said, "I think as we liberalize the economy, if you look at the back up, there is a lot of analysis that has been done and it shows that in order to achieve political freedom and stronger political institutions, including reduction of corruption, we need stronger economic growth first. That is why focusing on economic development is really important."

SESSION IV

This session talked about the ASEAN Socio-Cultural (ASC) Community and how the ASEAN community can forge a common identity and build a caring and sharing society. The discussions also looked into the importance of regional identity in ASEAN community-building efforts and the current strategies to foster people-to-people interaction and a people-centered ASEAN.



Mr. John Tan, Vice Chairperson of the SDP, chaired the session. The speakers were Hon. Mu Sochua, MP, Chairperson of the CALD Women's Caucus and a member of the CNRP, Ms. Ratna Osman, Executive Director of the Sisters In Islam, and Ms. Bulgan Bayasgalant, Secretary General of CALD Youth.

Hon. Mu Sochua, MP

Chairperson, CALD Women's Caucus
Cambodia National Rescue Party



Before she presented, Mu asked for a moment of silence for Ms. Chut Wutty, a Cambodian environmentalist who was assassinated on 26 April 2012 while she was trying to block deforestation. Until now, justice has not been served. Her death reminded Cambodia that true environmentalists still live and this is one of the issues being discussed on ASC. The ASC focuses on forging common identity and building an inclusive caring society that promotes and protects the welfare of the people. Its aim is to nurture the cultural and natural resources to sustain development in ASEAN.

Mu narrated her participation at the ASEAN People's Forum where society groups, NGOs, indigenous people, vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, etc. converged to discuss and promote the agenda for a social ASEAN, a reflection of the aspirations of the people of ASEAN toward a strong social dimension of the current integration process in the region. This agenda puts people first, Mu explained. It has the principles of solidarity wherein people collectively identify and recognize common struggles and interests and take an active role in making sure inter-relationships in society at the national and global levels are secured. It embodies social justice and human rights, which coordinate state policies and actions to help fulfill the purpose of the ASC. And it promotes people participation at all levels so decisions are made inclusively and transparently.

The agenda also highlights the people's rights to choose their leaders in the electoral process. She said there must be systematic electoral process in the ASEAN region. Mu said CALD should take part in the reforms on the electoral process and on the monitoring of elections in ASEAN countries. In Cambodia, for example, an independent and neutral election was taken away from them, but her party under the leadership of Sam Rainsy, still wants to participate in the elections. ASEAN must look into elections and not tolerate the dictators who abuse powers by using electoral processes.

Ms. Ratna Osman

Executive Director

Sisters In Islam, Malaysia



Osman is the Executive Director of Sisters in Islam, an NGO calling for law reform within the framework of religion to recognize gender equality and to understand that Islam recognizes human dignity and fundamental guarantees of human rights, and at the same time, promotes the principles of democracy in the modern nation state. In her presentation, Osman shared about the work of her organization, the issues relating to Muslim women, gender equality, and human rights. She said they were part of the conveners of the group called ASEAN Progressive Muslim Movement composed of Southeast Asia Muslim human rights advocates who met with other civil societies from Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, and Thailand and Southern Mindanao, Philippines in 2009 in Jakarta to examine how certain interpretations of Sharia laws are affecting the rights of women in Muslim contexts. The group also expressed concerns on the growth of politicized Islam in the ASEAN region.

In discussing the ASEAN Communities, integration and regional cooperation, Osman said it is truly important to focus on the diversity of wealth as well as the religions that form the ASEAN people. There are 240 million Muslims in Southeast Asia and that makes about 40% of the world's population. "Therefore, any engagement or assessment to strategize on ways to build an ASEAN community must give attention to the trends of Muslim majority countries like Malaysia, Indonesia and Brunei," she explained.

Muslims believe that Islam is a universal peaceful message like other religions in ASEAN. It has laws known as Sharia laws that are interpreted in varying degrees, conservatively most of the time, by other ASEAN countries. Muslims go through challenges as well. She said it is a reality that problems such as threats of terrorists arise and use religion as their platform (i.e. ISIS) and this is alarming because there are ASEAN Muslims involved and that threatens peace and security in the region. And in the interpretation of the Sharia laws, Muslim women's participation should be included in the development process and they should be treated as equal citizens. There are cases where intimidation is used to silence women who spoke up for their rights. In Malaysia, Osman shared, there is a law in the Islamic family law that a woman cannot leave her matrimonial home without the permission of her husband otherwise she could be subjected to arrest and punishment in the Sharia Court. But Osman stressed that the fundamental tenets of Islam are compatible with human rights principles and they emphasize that part of women's rights is to practice religion as equal believers. These rights also include their rights of access to equal education, employment, entrepreneurship, and political participation.

The push for reform for gender equality has a long way to go in ASEAN, but small practices of reform can help solve it. Sustainable awareness and engagement efforts with religious and community leaders can help eradicate traditional cultures that allow discriminatory practices. On the international level, the media can help launch gender equality awareness in Islam. On the regional level, Sisters in Islam took part in the ASEAN Women's Focus on September 2008. On the national level, as the longest running civil society coalition in Malaysia, the Sisters in Islam can continue to focus on gender equality advocacy vis-à-vis lobbying measures and policies with the government.

Osman recommended steps to help the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community: 1. Create a strong media campaign especially among regional media and not just local to explain what is ASEAN identity; 2. Set up effective and strategic roadshow programs with artists, NGOs, and grassroots leaders among the ASEAN members to highlight political, cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity; 3. ASEAN members must have a common phase in overcoming obstacles; and 4. ASEAN member must recognize their responsibilities to provide strong funding for programs to promote awareness about it.

Ms. Bulgan Bayasgalant

Secretary General, CALD Youth

Bayasgalant provided an overview of the struggles and challenges of the youth in the Asian region. According to her, the youth have mutual problems and struggles, but they are trying to build the identity of Southeast Asia. She also mentioned that the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community are packed with so much areas to focus on such as culture, arts, sports, environment, education, health, labor, information, poverty, science and technology, social welfare, women and youth. This gives a sense that the youth occupies a tiny part



in the overall scheme, unlike how the political and economic pillars grab the most attention because of the focus on income and its distribution. The youth issue, however, is being discussed at the ministerial level in the ASEAN Community though it meets only once every two years.

Among the challenges that ASEAN needs to address is the increasing unemployment rate of the youth, the hate and discrimination issues between and among neighboring countries, the lack of access to education and employment, among others. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), 300 million youth is living under \$2 a day. There is a lack of social security for the youth. Opportunities are scarce and poverty is an immense hurdle that the youth needs to break free from to prevent discouragement and failure. Hate and discrimination is another challenge of the youth where they can be both the perpetrators and victims at the same time. In order to forge common identity amidst cultural and historical diversity, respect for each other is needed. In terms of education and employment opportunities, Bayasgalant said the youth have fewer skills in order for them to seek opportunities in other countries unlike in the European Union, which provided a base for the youth to move around the EU and seek opportunities to learn and develop skills. There are also instances where ASEAN students are not satisfied with the education they receive. In Indonesia, for example, less than 10% were satisfied with their education, less than 5% were extremely satisfied, and the remaining 90% were not happy with their education and were not confident that they will find a job.

ASEAN has to address these challenges. Are ASEAN's goals for the youth being delivered? Are they inclusive? The youth needs constant engagements with think tanks, civil society groups, and youth movements both locally and regionally. As a member of the CALD Youth, Bayasgalant said that while young liberals are focusing on specific areas such as climate change, strategic political communications, and leadership training, increased interaction is crucial in order to sustain youth involvement and growth.

Open Forum

Conservatism and Islam

Piromya commended Osman for surviving “conservatism” and the “denial of the role of women” in Malaysia. He asked Osman what she has done against the more Islamic-conservative trend and if she has been networking with fellow Muslims in Brunei in line with the new Fatwa by the new Sultan.

Osman said she is happy to be a Muslim living in Malaysia. “If you come to Malaysia with the skyscrapers and there is no regulations on Muslims to wear black. You’ll really think that Malaysia is having a very progressive brand of Islam. Unfortunately, the problems will start once you try to access the Sharia Courts wanting divorce then that’s when you will see that the court looks at you as a lesser [person] than your husband or male Muslim,” she explained.



Malaysia is liberal in terms of being progressive in economy, finance, agriculture and Sharia compliance. “We are the most liberal when it comes to the dollar sign,” she added. When it comes to gender relations, it is not as progressive. She also said the Sisters in Islam has been consistent in speaking out against the implementation of Hudud since 1993. Hudud is an Islamic concept defined as “crimes against God” and punishments to those crimes are specified in the Quran as “amputation, stoning, flogging, beheading or crucifixion.” She explained that they have resources indicating that Hudud is not as divine as some politicians thought it is. Osman recognizes that Brunei has a different setup and they have tried to approach women there through NGOs, but unfortunately it does not really work unlike their approach in Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, southern Philippines and a few areas in Thailand where the resistance to harsh interpretation of Islamic Jurisprudence has been quite successful.

Youth in ASEAN

Manalo commented on the presentation of Bayasgalant noting that “violence and the youth” is one of those challenges that needs to be overcome. She also said, the Socio-Political Pillar is as important as the other two ASEAN Community Pillars. It is not reasonable to criticize one pillar because “if people are conscious with socio-cultural problems and challenges, then we need a pillar to handle that,” Manalo stressed. Indeed, unity in diversity is crucial. The more diversity there is, the better for self-expression. The more diversity there is, the more cooperation and understanding needed. That is the essence of ASEAN, Manalo said. “If there are common problems, we work together to resolve them. If we cannot, we let anyone adjust in accordance to their way of life and culture.” In ASEAN, with a population of 600 million, challenges are a given. However, despite all the challenges, Manalo said we still find ways and means to work together as a whole.

Keynote Address

Hon. Mah Siew Keong, MP

Minister in the Malaysian Prime Minister's Department

President, Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Mah extended his warmest welcome to the participants and dignitaries attending the CALD conference. He said the discussions in the conference and the CALD Executive Committee meeting are ideal platforms that could contribute to the success of ASEAN community. In his speech, he shared Malaysia's vision as Chair of ASEAN for 2015 and the programs that could help ASEAN in its quest to be more integrated and harmonized as community and as an economic bloc.



As chair of ASEAN, Malaysia is operating on the theme “Our People, Our Community, Our Vision” and envisions greater integration and advancement of the region as one ASEAN community. The theme is a “reflection of a common wish amongst ASEAN people to move forward as a strong and united community,” Mah explained. ASEAN is being seen as the world's greatest emerging economy with USD 2.5 trillion marketplace and 625 million people. “Collectively ASEAN would boast a combined GDP of US\$3 trillion in 2015, and will be closer to US\$4 trillion in 2020 according to estimates by the International Monetary Fund.” Mah said it is important to increase the connectivity within the group “to ensure unencumbered movement of goods, services and people, as well as free-flow of funds” and prepare for the challenges that could emanate from a diverse range of economies. The people must be informed as well of the importance of developments within ASEAN in order to facilitate understanding and adaptation to the progressive changes that will take place.



Innovation is a crucial ingredient for growth, Mah noted. Besides harmonizing laws and financial frameworks in the region, it is important to create an eco-system for innovation. For a long time, he said, indigenous innovation has taken a back seat. In order for ASEAN to emerge as an economic and manufacturing powerhouse, the push for innovation is essential for new ideas to thrive. Innovation has been the ultimate priority of the Malaysian government with its creation of the Special Innovation Unit (UNIK) by Prime Minister Dato' Seri Mohd Najib Tun Abdul Razak. UNIK was a precursor to the Agensi Inovasi Malaysia (AIM) or the National Innovation Agency, established under the Agensi Inovasi Malaysia Act of 2010. Institutionalizing innovation is needed to remain relevant in the global market and to develop a competitive edge in the ever-changing global economic landscape. Mah said innovation became an integral part of Malaysia's national agenda and strategy and through AIM, the Malaysian government "has created numerous initiatives to generate a new wave of wealth through knowledge, technology and innovation, while stimulating the innovation eco-system." The initiatives under AIM are used as tools to catalyze innovation in four areas: the government sector, people, academia, and industry. AIM is pushing for the "development of a thinking culture, innovative organizations, closer relationship between industry and academia as well as the commercialization of innovations with the aim of transforming strategic sectors." It also stimulates innovation at the grassroots level, an innovation by the people and for the people.

Mah also presented the collaborative ventures of small and medium industries through PlaTCOM Ventures Sdn Bhd that further enhances industry to academia collaboration and commercialization of Malaysian Intellectual Property Rights (IPR). With PlaTCOM as a vehicle, AIM plans to establish 1ASEAN platform for Intellectual Property (IP) that will "enable technology providers to promote their innovations whilst creating an ideal Intellectual Property Rights marketplace for technology hunters and investors to identify the right one to fit their business requirements." And an ASEAN-wide platform "will be a hallmark in enabling the flow of IP amongst the member states as well as its flow in and out of the ASEAN. The platform is aimed at improving the level of awareness on available IPRs for industry take-up amongst ASEAN countries and providing an IP trading promotional e- platform to facilitate licensing and product commercialization." Mah said platforms such as this could pave the way for entrepreneurs, businesses, and investors to step forward and work towards creating value from inventions. He said it is time for ASEAN members to re-commit to the common understanding and aspiration that brought ASEAN together. "We are writing history by opening a new chapter of regional integration in multi aspects of ASEAN," Mah concluded.

World Café on the CALD Statement on the ASEAN Community

The World Café is "a creative process for facilitating collaborative dialogue and the sharing of knowledge and ideas to create a living network of conversation and action. In this process a café ambiance is created, in which participants discuss a question or issue in small groups around the café tables. At regular intervals the participants move to a new table. One table host remains and summarizes the previous conversation to the new table guests. Thus the proceeding conversations are cross-fertilized with the ideas generated in former conversations with other participants. At the end of the process the main ideas are summarized in a plenary session and follow-up possibilities are discussed."



In this session, CALD was able to gather input and discuss the draft of the CALD Statement on the ASEAN Community. The participants were able to share and exhaust essential arguments by going through three café tables that represent the three ASEAN Community Pillars. With the help of the table hosts, the statement was finalized and submitted to the Office of the Prime Minister of Malaysia through the PGRM, a party member of the ruling coalition, Barisan Nasional. The World Café table hosts were Hon. Maricar Zamora, MP, from the LP Philippines, who chaired the ASEAN Political Security Community, Hon. Saumura Tiouloung, MP, Vice Chairperson on the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the CNRP, who chaired the ASEAN Economic Community, and Dr. Lim Thuang Seng, former State Assemblyman of Selangor and current member of the PGRM Central Committee, who focused on the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community.

CALD Statement on ASEAN Community



We, the representatives of the Democrat Party (Thailand), Democratic Progressive Party (Taiwan), Liberal Party (Philippines), Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia, Singapore Democratic Party, Liberal Party (Sri Lanka), Cambodia National Rescue Party, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, Civil Will Green Party (Mongolia), National League for Democracy (Myanmar), Democratic Party of Hong Kong, Nation Awakening Party (Indonesia), together with our partners and guests, on the occasion of *CALD Conference on Regional Integration: What Can We Expect from ASEAN Community?* held on 24-26 April 2015 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia;

Aware that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), in its Declaration of ASEAN Concord II adopted in Bali Indonesia on 7 October 2003, decided to establish by 2020 an ASEAN Community of three pillars namely security (subsequently named political-security) community, economic community and socio-cultural community;

Noting that in the 12th ASEAN Summit in Cebu, the Philippines on 13 January 2007, ASEAN pledged to accelerate the establishment of the ASEAN Community by 2015;

Recognizing that in line with these commitments, ASEAN adopted in 2009 the Blueprints for the ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) to define concrete steps towards regional political-security engagement, economic collaboration, and people-to-people interaction among member-states;

Sharing the goals of enduring peace, stability and shared prosperity in Southeast Asia and the broader Asian region;

Do hereby call on the ASEAN to:

On ASEAN Political Security Community

1. Ensure that all its member-states adhere to the principles of democracy, rule of law, and promotion and protection of human rights – principles which are enshrined in the ASEAN Charter ratified by all member-states;
2. Support more activities for government officials, think-tanks and civil society organizations, including networks of political parties, to share experiences and best practices in the promotion of democratic principles and strengthening of democratic institutions;
3. Welcome the statement of the military government of Thailand to come up with a clear roadmap to democracy that manifests its commitment to immediately return political power to the people;
4. Take steps to hasten the negotiation with China for a Code of Conduct on the South China Sea especially because of the increasing assertion of China over areas claimed by some ASEAN states;
5. Call on ASEAN to establish a research and planning agency which will study the commonalities among ASEAN member states and facilitate ASEAN approaches in addressing the needs and challenges of the region;
6. Urge ASEAN for transparency in the military procurement, more cooperation on cross-border crime prevention and work together within the UN peace-keeping and humanitarian efforts;

On ASEAN Economic Community

1. Harmonize relevant domestic rules and regulations to facilitate intra-ASEAN services, investments and trade;
2. Accelerate the elimination of non-tariff barriers to trade and the establishment of an effective surveillance mechanism to ensure compliance;
3. Call for the harmonization and standardization that promote greater mobility of skilled and unskilled labor across ASEAN countries;
4. Speak as one voice in global trade negotiations;
5. Hasten the process of communication, connection and physical infrastructures;

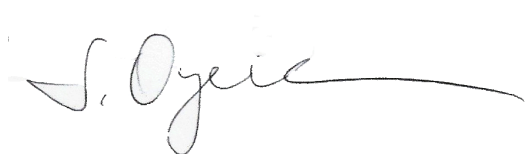
6. Ensure that small and medium-scale enterprises (SMEs) and farmers truly benefit from ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) integration through assistance, access to information and the market;
7. Reduce the involvement of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) except in areas of national security, special concern and/or in times of crisis;

On ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community

1. Promote ASEAN identity consisting of unity in diversity and the ASEAN Way through education, the media, cultural exchanges, tourism and sporting events, and other mechanisms that encourage people-to-people interaction;
2. Broaden its civil society linkages by engaging with other regional and national civil society networks apart from those where ASEAN already has institutionalized relationship, including sports events;
3. Train the labor force in ASEAN member states so they can be more qualified, competent and suited for regional and global integration, which create greater mobility of employment in ASEAN;
4. Urge each ASEAN member state to ensure effective implementation of the ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers, and to develop a legally binding instrument that monitors compliance; and
5. Enhance ASEAN member states' efforts on climate change through increased sharing of information and technology.

Adopted in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia this 26th day of April 2015.

For the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats:



Oyun Sanjaasuren, MP

Chairperson

Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats



**Council of
Asian Liberals
and Democrats**

www.cald.org