

THE 3RD GERMANY-MALAYSIA SECURITY DIALOGUE

*The 3rd Germany-Malaysia Security Dialogue, held on 13–14 October 2014 at Kuala Lumpur, was organised by ISIS Malaysia and Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. The two-day Dialogue served as a platform for security experts and related area specialists from Germany and Malaysia to exchange views on international security issues of mutual interest. This report was compiled with the assistance of ISIS Researcher **Mr Woo Hon Weng** and ISIS Intern **Mr Abu Bakar Badruddin**.*

Session One: Towards an ASEAN Community — Consolidation, Coordination and Centrality

The session was chaired by **Tan Sri Ajit Singh**, Advisor, IJM Corporation Berhad. The speakers were **Dato' Sharul Ikram Yaakob**, Director-General, ASEAN Secretariat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia; **Dr Knut Kirste**, Political Officer, Political Affairs and Security Policy Division, NATO, Brussels; and **Brig-Gen Rainer Meyer zum Felde**, Defence Advisor, Permanent Delegation, Federal Republic of Germany to NATO, Brussels.

Progress of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is based on the Roadmap for an ASEAN Community 2009–2015 where the action lines are implemented under three pillars: (i) the ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint has implemented 84 per cent of the action lines; (ii) the ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint has implemented 82 per cent; and (iii) the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint has implemented 97 per cent.

What then will be the role of Malaysia when it assumes the chairmanship? **Dato' Sharul Ikram Yaakob** said that Malaysia has two important tasks. First is to ensure that Malaysia will strive to implement all of the action lines under the three pillars. Second is to work with other ASEAN states on the Post-2015 vision.

There are challenges for ASEAN as it tries to consolidate and coordinate its programmes. One of the major obstacles to unity is the issue of nationalism and regionalism. Indeed, national interests can run contradictory to regional interests. Another obstacle is the varying political system in each of the ASEAN countries.

ASEAN-led mechanisms like the East Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) Plus do not seem to have good working mechanisms to coordinate their respective functions. Malaysia hopes to review the modality, especially of the EAS, when it assumes the chair. Though the Secretariat has started to take stock of the functions, further work is still needed.

Dr Knut Kirste went on to discuss the European Union (EU) and The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as examples of regional cooperation and integration. Both institutions have been regarded as relatively successful, achieved high levels of institution and regarded as beneficial to their members by solving crucial and critical problems. Although there are a number of structural and historical differences between ASEAN and the two organisations, it is still worthwhile to study some of the key features of the EU and NATO.



Rainer Meyer zum Felde



Knut Kirste



Ajit Singh



Sharul Ikram Yaakob

Brig-Gen Rainer Meyer zum Felde further expanded on the experience of NATO to draw lessons for the Asian security. NATO was created under a very simple and compelling idea — collective defence. It was established in the context of the Cold War and was not initially a multifaceted organisation. It was founded in 1949 and, by 1952, the organisation was quite well established with a proper secretariat and permanent delegations. The regular consultation created a powerful mechanism which contributed to the success of a security community.

Despite its continuity, NATO has changed quite a bit through the years. NATO has had to constantly reinvent itself so that it remains relevant to the changing security atmosphere and continues to provide benefits to its members at different times. Indeed, the European security situation has changed fundamentally. The shaky situation in Afghanistan, the rise of the Islamic State (ISIL/ISIS), instability in North Africa, the potential threat of Russia, and the challenge of Ebola as a pandemic are some examples of security situations currently affecting Europe.

Undoubtedly, lessons can be learnt from the EU and NATO experiences. However, Southeast

To see a strong and vibrant ASEAN, its members need to start talking to each other and doing things together on a more routine and regular basis.

Asia has to develop its own security and economic cooperation. To see a strong and vibrant ASEAN, its members need to start talking to each other and doing things together on a more routine and regular basis.

Session Two: Militant Extremism, The State and National Security: The Case of Afghanistan

Session Two was chaired by **Mr Nils Wörmer**, Representative to Afghanistan, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. The speakers were **Lt Gen (R) Dato' Seri Zaini Mohamad Said**, former Malaysian Army Field Commander, and **Dr Ralf Brauksiepe, MdB**, Parliamentary Secretary of State, Federal Ministry of Defence and Member of Parliament, Germany.

The last US marines unit and final British combat troops left Camp Bastion in late October 2014, officially ending their operations in Afghanistan. However, there were serious concerns about the effects of the Coalition's campaign in Afghanistan. The withdrawal of the Coalition's force from Afghanistan led to the rise of a new threat to the country's national security. **Lt Gen (R) Dato' Seri Zaini Mohamad Said** said that the increase of insurgents in Afghanistan was like Malaysia's experience during the Malayan Emergency (1948–1960).

The fight in Afghanistan is not only against militants or terrorism but also countering insurgency. He felt it was vital for Afghanistan to strengthen its government's legitimacy and, at the same time, separate the insurgents from the general population. He outlined some lessons learnt in Afghanistan:



Zaini Mohamad Said



Nils Wörmer



Ralf Brauksiepe, MdB

1. The level of competency of forces in counter insurgency (COIN) is still low. Moreover, the lack of cultural awareness and consideration of the complexities of Afghanistan's multiethnic society make things worse. Missteps have angered the local people and such situations have been exploited by the Taliban and Al-Qaeda.
2. Intelligence is a vital tool and resource; it is necessary to understand the environment in which one is fighting.
3. The indiscriminate and careless use of force, killing innocent civilians particularly women and children, has caused a lot of damage to COIN efforts. Trust and confidence in the government have deteriorated, causing many to become disillusioned and sympathise with the Taliban or Al-Qaeda. Collateral damage cannot be accepted.
4. Although Afghanistan is a conservative Muslim country, one must engage women in the society in COIN efforts.

Zaini observed that small unit operations were more successful in COIN efforts compared to a large force operation. Nevertheless, the protection of the population is still paramount in any operation. In order for conventional forces to counter insurgents effectively, they have to go

Successful counter insurgency efforts have to aim at winning the hearts and minds of the population

into COIN mode and be guided by COIN doctrine. All in all, the military must work alongside the Afghan government and its agencies.

Dr Ralf Brauksiepe, MdB, shared that Afghanistan provided a valuable experience in counter extremism. Indeed, the German armed forces learnt a lot during their thirteen year engagement in Afghanistan — Germany invested nine billion Euros and 55 German soldiers lost their lives.

Brauksiepe revealed that the Germans fought in Afghanistan because of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. He highlighted some lessons learnt from Germany's perspective:

1. To achieve tangible and lasting effects, a comprehensive approach that integrates both national and international tools to work for a common goal is required.
2. Military forces alone were unable to solve the complex challenges in Afghanistan; a well-tailored military pillar within the framework of a wider and comprehensive strategy is required.
3. Creating a safe and secure environment for the population is key in counter insurgency missions. Therefore, the local security forces must be well equipped, trained and assisted appropriately in order to provide effective and credible security.
4. Successful counter insurgency efforts have to aim at winning the hearts and minds of the population; such efforts are related to good governance.



From left: Peter Roell, William Stevenson and B A Hamzah

5. A political pillar that addresses reintegration and reconciliation effectively is of great importance.
6. Isolate the insurgents from internal and external support. Brauksiepe admitted this is difficult to accomplish in Afghanistan because of its geographical condition. In fact, the Taliban's financial support has not been cut off effectively. These were some major weaknesses which hindered strategic success.

Session Three: South China Sea — Current Issues and Developments in Maritime Security

Session Three was chaired by **Lt Gen Dato' Pahlawan Dr William Stevenson**, Chief Executive at the Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security. The two presenters were **Dr Peter Roell**, President of the Institute for Strategic, Political, Security and Economic Consultancy, Germany, and **Prof Dato' Dr B A Hamzah** from the Department of Strategic Studies, National Defence University of Malaysia.

Tensions and suspicions among some countries have heightened recently over the disputed maritime boundaries and territories in the South China Sea (SCS). China, which lays claim to a large part of the SCS, has been at a standoff with the Philippines as well as with Vietnam in separate disputes, while other disputes involve Taiwan, Brunei and Malaysia. At the same time,

the US policy to move 60 per cent of its naval assets to the region could also potentially further complicate the issue. What are the risks of open conflict erupting in the SCS, and what are the best ways to reduce tension and reach peaceful solutions?

For the first speaker, **Dr Peter Roell**, the sovereignty disputes in SCS arise from its strategic importance as a major transit route within the larger context of US-China regional competition and rivalry. Around USD 5.3 trillion in trade flows through the region in and around the SCS annually, one-fifth of which is of US commerce. As for energy flows, approximately 80 per cent of China's crude oil imports as well as 66 per cent of South Korea's, and 60 per cent of Japan's and Taiwan's energy supplies, are transported through the SCS. Therefore, control of the SCS by China would facilitate its dominance of Asia, since US ships and aircraft as well as those of Japan, South Korea and other countries would have to obtain China's permission to transit the area.

While there are mutual interests and opportunities for cooperation between Washington and Beijing, both sides face fundamental conflict of interests. According to China, the United States should disengage militarily from Asia, while the United States has, for its part, demonstrated the determination to stay in the region.

... it is clear that disputes in the SCS cannot be solved unilaterally or by a group of small states.

From the military perspective, while the West reduces its defence spending, Asia rapidly modernises its armed forces following rapid economic growth and strategic insecurity. Nominal defence spending in Asia has risen by 23 per cent since 2010 from USD 261.7 billion to USD 321.8 billion in 2013. China's official defence budget amounted to USD 112 billion in 2013, an increase of 10.7 per cent over 2012. Both China and its neighbours invested heavily in anti-access/area denial (A2/AD) capabilities.

To counter China's force projection, Secretary of Defence Chuck Hagel in a speech at the 13th Shangri-La Dialogue, stated that the United States will aid nations in building their respective humanitarian and disaster relief capabilities. The United States also gave clear indication that it is still a Pacific power and will continue to stay in the region.

Besides the protection of sea lines of communication (SLOC), disputes also involve energy security with the pursuit for hydrocarbon resources in the SCS. Whatever the case may be, it is clear that disputes in the SCS cannot be solved unilaterally or by a group of small states.

At the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Myanmar held on 10 May 2014, ministers expressed serious concern about the ongoing developments in the SCS which have exacerbated tensions in the area. While sharing this concern, Roell believes that the risks of open conflict in the SCS are limited and can be contained. Military conflict between China and the United States is in neither country's interest. But should provocation by regional claimants, including China, continue to grow, accidental military clash with the subsequent spiral of events is conceivable. Therefore, cooperation between partners remains the key to success not only with regard to the protection of SLOC, but as a means of providing a stable maritime environment and constancy in energy production and delivery.

Continuing the thought, **Prof Dato' Dr B A Hamzah** stated that regional maritime security has to account for geopolitical reality based on the inevitable strategic decline of the United States, the economic rise of China and the economic decline of Japan. China has become more assertive over the years and has been willing to use force when necessary, especially against Vietnam and the Philippines. Moreover, China views the SCS as its internal lake which it must secure and defend due to past experience whereby it was attacked by Western powers from the direction of that area in the 19th century wars of imperial aggression. Therefore, the US Pivot/Rebalancing policy stiffens instead of weakens China's resolve against Japan and other claimants in the SCS. It has also led to the hardening of positions by other claimant states such as Vietnam and the Philippines. Hence, provocations at sea are likely to increase.

The US Pivot/Rebalancing policy also complicates the military balance in the SCS which will lead to the likely scenario of political and military re-alignment in the region. States will take sides — supporting either the United States or China — in a return to the Cold War-like era which can be dangerous. Deterioration in US-China relations can impact ASEAN by diluting its political cohesiveness. As a result, ASEAN's role in mitigating big power competition, for example, through the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties (DOC) in the SCS, is limited due to intra-ASEAN bickering.

Despite the gloomy outlook, US-China rapprochement is more likely and the competition for control of the SCS will be muted in future. This is due to the convergence of larger geo-strategic interests with the development of common strategic concerns on the issue of climate change and others. Also, US involvement in the Middle East against the Islamic State as well as in Europe in the Ukraine crisis may reduce tension between China and the United States in the Asia Pacific. Hamzah stated that there is no zero-sum struggle for supremacy, and cited Hugh White's argument in *The China Choice: Why America should Share Power* that the region is big enough for two powers.

In conclusion, an open confrontation between the United States and China will not happen and there will be no war with China. The United States



From left: Mohd Azumi Mohamed, Bunn Nagara and Marco Gercke

is gradually coming to terms with China's inevitable rise. China does not seek conflict since it can achieve most of its goals through adroit diplomacy, economic power and cultural power. However, China will not avoid conflict either. There lies the danger that a conflict may be sparked by miscalculations by all parties.

Session Four: Freedom versus Security in Cyberspace — Striking a Better Balance between Rights and Responsibilities

Session Four was chaired by **Mr Bunn Nagara**, Senior Fellow at the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia. The two speakers were **Gen (R) Tan Sri Mohd Azumi Mohamed**, Former Chief of Army and Chairman of CyberSecurity Malaysia, and **Prof Marco Gercke**, Director of Cybercrime Research Institute Germany.

Globalisation has made the world smaller, as explained by Thomas Friedman in his book *The World is Flat*. Cyberspace has intensified the speed and scope of communication and interaction

between people all over the world. Access to the internet is now considered a fundamental human right because it is related to other basic human rights such as freedom of expression and right to education. Indeed, governments and individuals are becoming more dependent on cyber technologies and online systems. **Gen (R) Tan Sri Mohd Azumi Mohamed** said that this reliance and the vulnerabilities that come with it need to be addressed because the impact of cyber attacks on both the state and individual is immense.

There is also a growing concern with issues related to the freedom of expression and liberal democracy. Balancing between the right to freedom of expression and responsibility is no easy task for the government. What is beneficial for the state may not necessarily be good for its citizens, and vice versa. Hence, a robust and effective system of checks and balances should be put in place to wisely manage national security issues and human rights. The state, after all, has an obligation to protect its citizens. At the same time, the people of the state should also behave in an ethical and responsible manner.

The state has an obligation to protect its citizens. At the same time, the people of the state should also behave in an ethical and responsible manner.

Moving on, **Prof Marco Gercke** raised concerns over the development of non-state actors acquiring equipment and capacity that only associate with the state. Citing recent situations, he pointed out that non-state actors have used such equipment against the state. Without a doubt, cyber security is important because cyber



From left: Claas Knoop and Mohamed Jawhar Hassan

security incidences can cause great loss to the business sector and affect economies.

Gercke believed that the simulation of cyber attacks would help the state to be better prepared when an actual cyber attack occurs. Some questions to consider included: what measures should be taken? Are the states going to take cyber attack threats seriously? Who should get involved in crisis management?

Session Five: The Third Party in Conflict Resolution — As Facilitator, Mediator or Arbitrator

The session was chaired by **Tan Sri Mohamed Jawhar Hassan**, Chairman of ISIS Malaysia, and the speakers were **Amb (R) Dr Claas Knoop**, Lecturer, Jacobs University Bremen, Germany and **Tengku Datuk Abdul Ghafar Tengku Mohamed**, Facilitator, Southern Philippines Peace Process, Malaysia.

According to **Amb (R) Dr Claas Knoop**, third parties often become involved in conflict resolution today. Two common forms of third party intervention are arbitration and mediation. In arbitration, the third party listens to both sides, and then renders a decision which can either be binding or advisory. Most mediation consists of third party assistance with negotiations. When the conflict is severe and disputants have difficulty talking directly to each other, mediators can put

the disputants into contact and help them as facilitators to develop, for instance, a ceasefire.

However, in most cases, these diplomatic tools of arbitration and mediation are not sufficient to resolve or prevent conflict. Past experiences have shown that additional measures such as financial, economic and developmental support are essential to underpin the results of mediation and facilitation efforts. Without such measures, the risk of failure in mediation or facilitation is very high.

Who could play the role of a third party? The United Nations (UN) plays the distinguished role. In the past, many UN interventions were either to restore peace or support peacekeeping operations by national or international actors based on the mandate of the UN Security Council (UNSC). Many of these actions are still going on, mainly in the African continent.

A third party can also be a single country or a government or a coalition of countries willing to participate in a coordinated effort to mediate between conflicting parties. The current crisis in Ukraine is a recent example for such a coordinated approach among the EU member countries, the European External Action Service, the European Commission and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in offering a platform for dialogue to the conflicting parties and to facilitate a solution for the conflict.



Abdul Ghafar Tengku Mohamed

The role of the third party is not restricted to international organisations, nations or governments. A third party could also be the International Court of Justice that may act as an arbitrator between conflicting parties, as seen in Southeast Asia.

A single personality can also act as a mediator. A famous example is the border dispute between Argentina and Chile over the Beagle Channel. An arbitration tribunal was agreed between the two countries where the borderline was accepted by both parties in 1971, but later declared null and void by the Argentina military junta in 1978. Pope John Paul II intervened as mediator in this conflict and appealed to the two Catholic countries to listen to him as the supreme head of the Catholic faith and was thus able to get both countries to sign the agreement.

Next, **Tengku Datuk Abdul Ghafar Tengku Mohamed** shared his experience as a mediator and negotiator for seven years in the peace process of Southern Philippines. Third party mediation is a very sensitive issue in Southeast Asia due to national security issues. It is important to note that Malaysia was invited by the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) to be involved in the mediation.

***In conflict management,
the process must be layered
and accumulative in trying
to build confidence, trust
and understanding.***

The conflict in the Southern Philippines was one of the world's longest conflicts in the region dating back to the Spanish presence in the Philippines. The Philippine government's management was through counter insurgencies and military forces, making it difficult to solve the conflict through political negotiations.

It took Tengku Ghafar one year to convince the Philippine government to change its conflict management from a military approach to a political dialogue. He also had to convince the MILF that their armed struggle for more than forty years had not produced any result. They had to change their concept of management and he was able to convince them that a political resolution was the best solution to the conflict.

In conflict management, the process must be layered and accumulative in trying to build confidence, trust and understanding. Every process of the negotiations was set for public review so that transparency was established. International support was essential to ensure that the peace process was recognised and made known internationally. The EU, the United States and the United Kingdom were involved in supporting this peace process.

In the management of a peace process, one also has to look for milestones. The Framework Agreement signed in October 2013 was a milestone and every annex signed thereafter was another milestone achieved. An election in Mindanao, to be held in 2016, will be its final milestone.

Session Six: Challenges and Opportunities in Search and Rescue Operations, Post-MH370

Session Six was chaired by **Tan Sri Rastam Mohd Isa**, Chief Executive of the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia. The two speakers were **Vice-Admiral Datuk Seri Panglima Hj Ahmad Kamarulzaman Ahmad Badaruddin**, Deputy Chief of Navy, Royal Malaysian Navy, and **Col (R) Ralph D Thiele**, Chairman of Political-Military Society (Berlin) and Chief Executive Officer of StratByrd Consulting, Germany.

Vice-Admiral Datuk Seri Panglima Hj Ahmad Kamarulzaman Ahmad Badaruddin began the session with a brief chronology of the missing flight MH370. The Boeing 777-200 departed from Kuala Lumpur International Airport (KLIA) early on



From left: Ahmad Kamarulzaman Ahmad Badaruddin and Rastam Mohd Isa

8 March 2014, ferrying 239 people on board with 14 different nationalities. It was scheduled to arrive in Beijing at 6.40 am on the same day but failed to check in as scheduled while flying between Malaysia and Ho Chi Minh City. Its last known location was over the Strait of Malacca based on military radar. Until now, the search and rescue (SAR) operations are still on.

Kamarulzaman explained that the first phase of SAR operations covered about 21,3000 sq km of the eastern South China Sea and an area of 4.56 million sq km from the Strait of Malacca to the Andaman Sea to the Indian Ocean. The SAR operations involved 10 countries, including China and the United States, international aviation experts and intelligence agencies. Based on INMARSAT satellite data deduction, the missing plane could have flown on either a northern or southern corridor. Later on, an analysis based on the Doppler effect suggested that the plane was travelling south.

He said that the second phase of the SAR operations was focused on the southern corridor. It was decided that the plane was travelling in the southern Indian Ocean. He added that such a complex analysis of data — based on satellite and

radar, the Doppler effect, fuel consumption and acoustic detection — had never been done before. Yet, efforts to find the missing plane have been difficult and challenging as the search area is equivalent to half of the European continent.

Kamarulzaman shared some challenges faced during the SAR operations:

1. Size of search area — the search zone in the southern Indian Ocean is approximately 60,000 sq km where weather conditions have been extreme
2. Technical — in terms of technology and expertise
3. Political — cultural sensitivities in managing the next of kin
4. Funding — a huge problem; this will be the most expensive SAR operation on record
5. Social media — managing the speed and spread of information

Col (R) Ralph D Thiele went on to point out two principles for the SAR operations. First is aircraft tracking, and second, is intelligence and knowledge sharing. He was of the opinion that an aircraft tracking system is important because the black box does not always provide the answers one is looking for. He also saw the need for a permanent exchange of data. Civil aviation authorities can learn more about intelligence and data sharing from the military's network-centric operations.

... an aircraft tracking system is important because the black box does not always provide the answers ...



Ralph D Thiele

On the downing of MH17, Thiele shared that British intelligence informed British Airways about the risk of flying over the Ukrainian region. British Airways subsequently changed its route three days before the MH17 incident took place. However, the international civil aviation has no body that will deal with such information. It is, therefore, important for intelligence and knowledge sharing to work in tandem.

Thiele stated that the civil aviation, especially Malaysia's civil aviation department, has learnt a lot since the SAR operations for MH370 and later the downing of MH17. His recommendations were as follows:

1. Legal framework and governance
 - Adopt a legal framework (Chicago Convention)
 - Improve responsiveness of the regulatory framework
 - Airline industries should adopt voluntary standards
2. Technology and equipment
 - Implement global flight tracking standards
 - Accept European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA) proposals for the extension of transmission time of underwater locating devices (ULD) fitted on flight recorders from 30 days to 90 days
 - Develop comprehensive situational awareness
 - Improve collaboration and management of access to information

- Include social media applications
 - Implement further technological innovations in the aircraft related to safety and security
3. Standard Operating Procedure (SOP)
 - Emphasise preparedness as a core element of an effective SAR
 - Ensure consistent standards
 - Test and train on SOPs
 - Enhance inter-responsibility
 - Explore opportunities for standardisation

Session Seven: Ukraine and Iraq: From National Interests to Regional Geopolitics

Session Seven was chaired by **Lt Gen (R) Dr Klaus Olshausen**, Former Military Representative in the Military Committees of NATO and EU and former Chairman of Clausewitz-Gesellschaft Germany. The two speakers were **Emeritus Prof Datuk Shad Saleem Faruqi**, Senior Professor and Legal Advisor at Universiti Teknologi Mara Malaysia, and **Col (R) Wolfgang Richter**, International Security Senior Associate at German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Germany.

The crises in Ukraine and Iraq display multiple coalitions of interests which require analysis, decision and action. **Emeritus Prof Datuk Shad Saleem Faruqi** acknowledged that a state's foreign policy is deeply influenced by national interests and geopolitics. He also noted the duplicity and hypocrisy in humanitarianism. He proceeded to highlight the following issues:



Klaus Olshausen



Wolfgang Richter



Shad Saleem Faruqi

1. Russia was provoked
Since the end of the Cold War, the United States and NATO have been encircling Russia with military forces and missiles right up to its borders. NATO has also enlisted many former Soviet republics into its fold. These circumstances present a border security issue for Moscow. Hence, Russia acted under great provocation and circumstances that even the United States would not have tolerated.
2. Unconstitutional impeachment of Ukraine's President
Under the constitution of 1996, which was restored by Yanukovich in 2010, the parliament has the right to impeach a president for treason or other crimes with three quarters of the votes. However, the impeachment of President Yanukovich did not obtain three quarters of the votes.
3. The secession of Crimea
There is no doubt that the Crimea secession was illegal. Nevertheless, can the United States explain its support for the secession of Bosnia, Kosovo, Slovakia, Falkland Islands, East Timor and Southern Sudan?
4. Crimean crisis is part of the Cold War
Ukraine could return to Russia's sphere or drift towards the United States. The best possible scenario would probably be a divided country — the western part could drift towards Europe and the southern east could remain aligned with Moscow.

5. EU's double standard
Along with the United States, EU speedily applied sanctions on Russia. EU has also 'punished' states including China, Iran, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Yemen and Cuba. Yet, EU adopts a double standard where Israel is concerned despite repeated efforts to suppress the Palestinians by the Israeli government.

In conclusion, he personally hoped that the EU, especially Germany, would stop adopting the US line on sanctions. Economic sanctions burden the people, not the government.

... the annexation of the Crimean peninsula constituted a breach of international law as well as European peace and security order.

Next, Col (R) Wolfgang Richter briefly discussed the legal implications of the situation in Eastern Europe. No interpretation could justify the intervention and interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state as well as the use of force against the country. He added that the annexation of the Crimean peninsula constituted a breach of international law as well as European peace and security order. Richter's analyses on the Eastern Europe situation were as follows:

1. Russia will have to end its cohesive policy, which uses military means. It must stop sending irregular fighters to eastern Ukraine and agree to an international or OSCE supervision of cease fire agreement.
2. Ukraine will have to recognise its own responsibility in overcoming internal conflicts. It is also responsible for its own reconciliation and state building.
3. The West could do better in its policy towards Russia. For a decade, the West believed in the concept of stabilising Eastern Europe mainly by enlargement or association policies while disregarding Russia's reservation or security interest.

Moving on to the Middle East, he pointed out that the root of Islamic State (IS) militants in the

region was firstly due to the Syrian civil war. The civil war was largely caused by a regional power struggle between the Shia' Alawite sect and the Sunni monarchy of the Gulf states. Secondly, the situation in Iraq fuelled the rise of IS militants. Former President Nouri al-Maliki had established a political system which allowed the Shia' to be politically dominant. The Kurds, on the other hand, founded a separate de facto state, whereas the Sunni population was excluded from political power sharing. Basically, Nouri al-Maliki failed to reconcile and reintegrate the people, leaving them frustrated and joining the IS.

He concluded that the fragile and intangible political and military structure in the region implied that any support to one of the various factions could tip the balance in favour of unexpected and unwelcome outcomes.



Participants of the 3rd Germany-Malaysia Security Dialogue





INSTITUTE OF STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (ISIS) MALAYSIA

The Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) was established on 8 April 1983 as an autonomous, not-for-profit research organisation. ISIS Malaysia has a diverse research focus which includes economics, foreign policy, security studies, nation-building, social policy, technology, innovation and environmental studies. It also undertakes research collaboration with national and international organisations in important areas such as national development and international affairs.

ISIS Malaysia engages actively in Track Two diplomacy, and promotes the exchange of views and opinions at both the national and international levels. The Institute has also played a role in fostering closer regional integration and international cooperation through forums such as the Asia-Pacific Roundtable, the ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS), the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) and the Network of East Asian Think-Tanks (NEAT). ISIS is a founding member of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) and manages the Council's Secretariat.

As Malaysia's premier think-tank, ISIS has been at the forefront of some of the most significant nation-building initiatives in the nation's history. It was a contributor to the Vision 2020 concept and was consultant to the Knowledge-Based Economy Master Plan initiative.

Published by
Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia
No. 1, Persiaran Sultan Salahuddin
P.O. Box 12424, 50778 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Tel: +603 2693 9366
Fax: +603 2691 5435
Email: info@isis.org.my
Website: www.isis.org.my