

9 May 2018

Mr Heng Swee Keat
Minister for Finance
#10-01 and #06-03 The Treasury
100 High Street
Singapore 179434

By Email, Fax (6337 4134) & Hand

Dear Sirs,

APPEAL AGAINST REJECTION OF NAME APPLICATION BY "OSEA PTE LTD"

1. We refer to the rejection of the abovementioned name application (transaction no. [REDACTED]) (the "**Application**") by the Registrar of Companies, under the purview of the Accounting and Corporate Regulatory Authority ("**ACRA**") on 11 April 2018.
2. The Application was made by the director designate of OSEA Pte Ltd, Dr Thum Ping Tjin, on 8 February 2018. OSEA Pte Ltd was to be a wholly-owned subsidiary of Observatory Southeast Asia Limited ("**OSEA UK**"), a company incorporated in the United Kingdom. At present, OSEA UK owns and manages the New Naratif website (www.newnaratif.com).
3. OSEA Pte Ltd's planned activities would have included organising discussion fora, workshops, and other events in Singapore, such as "Democracy Classroom" sessions. OSEA Pte Ltd would also have provided editorial services to New Naratif.
4. We make our appeal against the rejection of the Application pursuant to Section 27(12C) of the Companies Act.
5. In its rejection email dated 11 April 2018 to the registered filing agent for the Application, ACRA cited Section 27(12A) of the Companies Act as its basis for doing so, in the following terms:

"Your application for OSEA PTE. LTD. [REDACTED] has been rejected due to s27(12A) of the Companies Act. Thank you."

6. We note that the Section 27(12A) of the Companies Act states:

"The Registrar must refuse to approve an application to reserve a name [...] as the name of an intended company if the Registrar is satisfied that —

- (a) *the name is for a company that is likely to be used for an unlawful purpose or for purposes prejudicial to public peace, welfare or good order in Singapore; or*
- (b) *it would be contrary to the national security or interest for the company to be registered.”*

7. We wholly, firmly, and categorically deny and reject any suggestion that OSEA Pte Ltd would either:
- a. have been *“a company that is likely to be used for an unlawful purpose or for purposes prejudicial to public peace, welfare or good order in Singapore”*; or
 - b. that it would have been *“contrary to the national security or interest for the company to be registered”*.

ACRA’s stated reasons confined to “national interest” only

8. As a preliminary point, we note that in its media statement dated 11 April 2018 (the **“11 April ACRA Media Statement”**), ACRA stated that OSEA Pte Ltd’s application was rejected *“on the grounds that the registration of OSEA Pte Ltd would be contrary to Singapore’s national interests”*,¹ and that *“[t]he registration of OSEA Pte Ltd would therefore be contrary to Singapore’s national interests.”*²
9. Subsequently, in its rejoinder dated 12 April 2018 (the **“12 April ACRA Rejoinder”**), ACRA also stated that its rejection of the Application was on *“national interest grounds”*.³
10. Neither the 11 April ACRA Media Statement nor the 12 April ACRA Rejoinder stated or suggested that OSEA Pte Ltd’s application was rejected because it would have been *“a company that is likely to be used for an unlawful purpose or for purposes prejudicial to public peace, welfare or good order in Singapore”* (per Section 27(12A)(a) of the Companies Act), or on national security grounds (part of Section 27(12A)(b) of the Companies Act).
11. Only *“national interest”* (part of Section 27(12A)(b) of the Companies Act) was cited as the basis for rejection in the 11 April ACRA Media Statement and the 12 April ACRA Rejoinder.
12. In this appeal, we will therefore deal only with ACRA’s reasons as to why OSEA Pte Ltd’s Application would have been against Singapore’s *“national interest”*, and show why ACRA’s reasoning is misguided.

¹ Paragraph 1, 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement

² Paragraph 10, 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement

³ Paragraph 5, 12 April ACRA Rejoinder

ACRA's reasoning

13. Our understanding of ACRA's reasoning as to why OSEA Pte Ltd's Application was rejected is as follows:

- a. OSEA Pte Ltd intended to conduct political activities in Singapore, such as "Democracy Classrooms". New Naratif (a website to which OSEA Pte Ltd would provide editorial services), has published articles critical of politics in regional countries. OSEA Pte Ltd's purposes would therefore be political.⁴
- b. Singapore's politics should be for Singaporeans alone to determine. Singaporeans should not allow foreigners to interfere in how Singaporeans govern Singapore.⁵
- c. Singaporeans should not allow any group of Singaporeans to lend themselves to being used by foreigners to pursue political activities in Singapore.⁶ Foreign philanthropies and groups are therefore prohibited from funding Singaporean organisations or individuals participating in Singapore's domestic politics.⁷ Subsequently, ACRA also seemed to object to funding from foreign individuals.⁸
- d. Even if all of New Naratif's foreign donors may not be involved in the day-to-day running of New Naratif's website or its other activities, permitting the registration of OSEA Pte Ltd would be tantamount to allowing foreign entities or foreigners to fund and influence political activities in Singapore.⁹
- e. The grant of USD\$75,000 from Foundation Open Societies Institute ("**FOSI**"), Switzerland, to fund OSEA UK is of concern in any event. This is because FOSI (apparently) pursues "*a political agenda the world over, and has a history of involvement in the domestic politics of sovereign countries*".¹⁰

14. We deal with each of these points in turn.

The "Democracy Classroom" activities

15. ACRA cited OSEA Pte Ltd's planned "*discussion fora, workshops, and other events in Singapore, such as "Democracy Classroom" sessions*"¹¹ as proof of OSEA Pte Ltd's intended political purposes.

16. We want to take this opportunity to explain the nature of our "Democracy Classrooms".

⁴ Paragraph 2, 3 and 4, 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement

⁵ Paragraph 10, 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement

⁶ Paragraph 10, 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement

⁷ Paragraph 9, 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement

⁸ Paragraph 3 and 5, 12 April ACRA Rejoinder

⁹ Paragraph 5, 12 April ACRA Rejoinder

¹⁰ Paragraph 7, 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement

¹¹ Paragraph 2, 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement

17. New Naratif has held three “Democracy Classroom” sessions on the issue of fake news, and one “Democracy Classroom” session on protest and public order.
18. “Democracy Classrooms” are structured as open sessions for dialogue, and are part of New Naratif’s community-building efforts. Participants sit in groups and discuss a current affairs issue for an hour. Each group then presents a summary of their discussion to the others—other participants are then welcome to ask questions or make further comments. Annex A encloses a copy of the discussion sheet used for our last “Democracy Classroom”.
19. The “Democracy Classroom” is designed to be open-ended and participant-led. The tenor of each session is driven by the participants themselves. Engagement is emphasised over consensus—participants are told at the beginning of the session that different perspectives and opinions are welcome as long as discussions are held in good faith.
20. New Naratif’s “Democracy Classroom” sessions are not unlike the Public Policy Exercise conducted by Facebook and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy with local, regional and international participants on 4 May 2018 at their workshop “*Building an Informed Community: Principles for Cross-Sector Collaboration in Southeast Asia*”. Annex B encloses a copy of the program agenda for the workshop.
21. New Naratif’s “Democracy Classrooms” are therefore quite similar to other programs already organised by businesses, academic institutions, and think-tanks in Singapore.

New Naratif’s political reporting

22. In its 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement, ACRA stated that “*New Naratif has been publishing articles critical of politics in regional countries. For example, its articles have claimed that certain regional governments are using violence to maintain political control, had manipulated events or framed them for political gain, and have “rigged” their electoral systems.*”¹²
23. ACRA did not cite any specific examples of articles that had led them to their assertion that New Naratif’s articles “*have claimed that certain regional governments are using violence to maintain political control, had manipulated events or framed them for political gain, and have “rigged” their electoral systems*”.
24. Our best guess as to the articles that ACRA was referring to include “*The Duterte Playbook*” published on 9 September 2017,¹³ and “*How Malaysia’s Election is Being Rigged*” published on 19 March 2018.¹⁴ We would like to point out that these articles were written by researchers who have done extensive work on the issues. The authors provided data and citations to substantiate their arguments and conclusions. They are nationals of the countries they are writing on. Their

¹² Paragraph 3, 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement

¹³ <https://newnaratif.com/research/the-duterte-playbook/>

¹⁴ <https://newnaratif.com/research/malysias-election-rigged/>

arguments might be critical of regional governments, but also provide perspectives and insights into important issues that add to public understanding and discussion. These articles were also by-lined with names set out at the top of the articles and a brief biography set out at the bottom of the articles.

25. More broadly, we are alarmed by any suggestion raised by ACRA's point, that just because New Naratif publishes critical political content about regional countries that our work is somehow against Singapore's "national interests".
26. An independent press is important to any country and region—the stories that journalists tell inform public discourse and debates on important topics, or highlight communities or issues that might otherwise be overlooked. It is a crucial part of the process to get citizens to co-create the future that they want for their country, as highlighted by Mr Chan Chun Sing in 2016.¹⁵
27. It is in this spirit that we created New Naratif as a platform for Southeast Asian journalism, research, art and community-building. We publish feature stories, research papers and comics, and state in our manifesto that we strive to publish "without fear or favour".
28. New Naratif's content is, as much as possible, produced by contributors who are nationals of, or based in, the country that they are reporting on. We cover a wide range of subjects, from stories on the ruby trade in Myanmar to issues of identity and ethnicity in Indonesia.
29. Publishing articles critical of local or foreign governments is not unique to New Naratif. In fact, it is fairly standard fare for most news publications covering regional and global affairs. Annex C of this letter encloses a table and copies of a sample of articles in Channel News Asia and the Straits Times (both based in Singapore) that take a critical look at other governments or issues. We have highlighted portions critical of foreign governments and leaders in these articles.

Foreign involvement in Singapore Politics?

30. We would agree that Singapore's domestic politics should be controlled by Singaporeans. We recognise that there are legitimate concerns with attempts by foreign powers to interfere in the politics of other nations.
31. At the same time, assertions such as "*Singapore's politics should be for Singaporeans alone to determine*" or that "[w]e should not allow foreigners to interfere in how we should govern our country"¹⁶ sets up an over-simplified straw-man argument that does a disservice to the nuanced manner in which domestic policy is constructed.
32. For starters, Singapore has been a highly open society and economy for hundreds of years. Singaporeans travel, work, play, and study in many countries across the globe. This makes

¹⁵ <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/singapore/sgfuture-should-spur-citizens-to-co-create-singapore-s-future-ch-7867956>

¹⁶ Paragraph 10, 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement

Singapore not just a hub for trade, but also of ideas, ideologies, and faiths across the world. As Ms Han Li Ying, Kirsten (“**Kirsten Han**”), Editor-in-Chief of New Naratif, pointed out in New Naratif’s Facebook note dated 18 April 2018, “*No person is an island (even if many of us literally live on one). Like it or not, our lives and realities are intertwined.*”¹⁷

33. ACRA routinely permits foreign media organisations which publish stories on Singapore to register subsidiaries or foreign branches in Singapore. These include The Economist (print media),¹⁸ the BBC (broadcast media),¹⁹ Yahoo (internet media),²⁰ and Mashable Asia (which has since closed down).²¹ The Singapore government itself boasts about Singapore’s openness from time to time, with Singapore’s ambassador to the United States recently asserting that “*more than 60 international media organizations are accredited in Singapore, and we debate issues vigorously, online and off.*”²²
34. This makes it practically impossible to suggest that Singaporeans are somehow (or should be) shielded from ideas from abroad.
35. Furthermore, it is simply not true that foreigners do not already participate in processes that affect domestic politics.
36. The Singapore government routinely creates advisory panels whose members include foreigners. Just to name a few, these include the Monetary Authority of Singapore’s International Advisory Panel²³ and Cyber Security Advisory Panel,²⁴ the National Research Foundation’s Scientific Advisory Board,²⁵ the Agency for Science, Technology and Research’s Health and Biomedical Sciences International Advisory Council,²⁶ and so on.
37. Foreigners also sit on the boards of various international chambers of commerce (such as the Singapore International Chamber of Commerce).²⁷ Such organisations routinely make representations to the government on various issues, such as the budget.²⁸

¹⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/notes/new-naratif/a-thank-you-to-our-members-and-supporters/428283460933610/>

¹⁸ The Economist Group (Asia/Pacific) Limited, Singapore Branch (UEN: S97FC5325J), The Economist Group Singapore Pte. Limited (UEN: 200808042K)

¹⁹ BBC News (Asia Bureau) Pte Limited (UEN: 200100400Z)

²⁰ Yahoo! Asia Pacific Pte. Ltd. (UEN: 199700735D)

²¹ Mashable Asia Pte. Ltd. (UEN: 201527077W)

²² https://www.mfa.gov.sg/content/mfa/overseasmission/geneva/press_statements_speeches/2018/201804/press_20180426.html

²³ <http://www.mas.gov.sg/About-MAS/Overview/Advisory-Panels-and-Committees/International-Advisory-Panel.aspx>

²⁴ <http://www.mas.gov.sg/About-MAS/Overview/Advisory-Panels-and-Committees/Cyber-Security-Advisory-Panel.aspx>

²⁵ [https://www.nrf.gov.sg/about-nrf/governance/scientific-advisory-board-\(sab\)](https://www.nrf.gov.sg/about-nrf/governance/scientific-advisory-board-(sab))

²⁶ <https://www.a-star.edu.sg/About-A-STAR/Biomedical-Research-Council/Health-and-Biomedical-Sciences-International-Advisory-Council>

²⁷ <https://www.sicc.com.sg/SICC/About Us/Board and Secretariat/Board of Directors/SICC/AboutUs/Board of Directors 2017.aspx?hkey=ef73ab78-6b15-4503-8cd8-e4c28d09f6b5>

²⁸ <https://sicc.com.sg/SICC/News/2017 News/SICC Budget 2018 Wish List.aspx>

38. We also want to point out that the Public Policy Exercise conducted by Facebook and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy referred to at Annex B involved foreign attendees.
39. More recently, during proceedings before the Select Committee on Deliberate Online Falsehoods, Parliament invited foreigners and foreign organisations to testify. These included StopFake.org, which was invited to submit evidence and testify before the Select Committee on Deliberate Online Falsehoods. We note that StopFake.org is funded by the “*International Renaissance Foundation of George Soros*”, which is part of the Open Societies Foundations network.²⁹
40. The idea that foreigners are absolutely prohibited by virtue of government policy from participating in Singapore domestic politics (which was the impression given by the 11 April 2018 ACRA Media Statement and 12 April ACRA Rejoinder) is therefore puzzling, given the extent to which foreigners routinely comment on and indeed, participate in the making of Singapore’s domestic political policies.
41. Furthermore, the prohibition against foreign individuals, foreign philanthropies and groups funding Singaporean organisations or individuals participating in Singapore’s domestic politics is arbitrary and incoherent. Singaporeans who work for foreign controlled for-profit enterprises may be influenced by, or even lobby for the values and agendas that those enterprises promote (such as diversity in the workplace, more favourable tax policies, etc.). Yet some of these foreign enterprises not only continue to thrive but are also major employers in Singapore.
42. We therefore submit that funding by foreign individuals, foreign philanthropies and groups is in and of itself not against the national interest, so long as the nature of such funding is publicly disclosed and the persons controlling the entities which operate in Singapore are amenable to being held accountable in Singapore. We will explain why this is the case in the next part.

The nature of New Naratif’s control and foreign funding

43. The director designate of OSEA Pte Ltd would have been Dr Thum Ping Tjin, with Ms Kirsten Han being the Editor-In-Chief of New Naratif. Control over the management of New Naratif at all times would lie with Dr Thum Ping Tjin and Ms Kirsten Han, both Singapore citizens.
44. ACRA’s view is that the fact that control over OSEA Pte Ltd and New Naratif would be exercised by Dr Thum Ping Tjin and Ms Kirsten Han is somehow irrelevant.³⁰ We strongly disagree with the dismissal of the relevance of this fact.
45. In the interests of transparency, we are enclosing a copy of the terms and conditions of grant with FOSI dated 31 January 2018 (Annex D). FOSI’s terms and conditions largely deal with accountability for the use of the grant for the purposes that OSEA UK has chosen.

²⁹ <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/explainers/understanding-ukraine> ;
<https://www.mo.be/node/54398>

³⁰ Paragraph 5, 12 April ACRA Rejoinder

46. We have been open and forthcoming regarding the sources of our funding and continue to be open and transparent about the use of funds. As our source of funding is public, Singaporeans can take our sources of funding into account and freely evaluate our published stories on that basis.

New Naratif's values, aims and purposes

47. New Naratif's values are clearly stated in its manifesto.³¹ We stand for social justice, human rights and individual human dignity. We seek to promote democracy, freedom of information and freedom of the media. These ideals of democracy, peace, progress, justice and equality, and freedom of speech and expression, are also enshrined in Singapore's flag, pledge, and constitution.

48. These values often involve the discussion of politics and political issues, but should not be seen as threatening or dangerous. It is the right of citizens to be informed, read and talk about such issues.

49. In today's globalised world, it is also important for people to acknowledge that we do not live or operate in silos, and that there are issues that transcend borders, or challenges that societies in different countries share. New Naratif seeks to highlight these regional links and shared struggles, fostering audiences who are not insular, but outward-looking and informed about wider contexts. New Naratif's website explicitly states that we seek "*stories which transcend narrow boundaries, such as political borders, race, and religion, to look at deeper connectivities in Southeast Asia*".

50. For the above reasons, it is our firm belief that New Naratif's values, aims, and purposes are firmly in line with Singapore's national interests.

Conclusion

51. We look forward to a positive response to our appeal. We reserve all our rights.

Yours faithfully,



Dr Thum Ping Tjin
Director Designate, OSEA Pte. Ltd.

CC:

Ms Han Li Ying, Kirsten
Editor-in-chief, New Naratif
Email: kirsten.han@newnaratif.com

³¹ <https://newnaratif.com/manifesto/>

ANNEX A

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POLICE POWERS, PROTESTS AND PUBLIC ORDER: A DISCUSSION

From Women's Marches to the Umbrella Movement, from Occupy Wall Street to anti-war demonstrations, protest has been an important part of recent history. People who are not in positions of power or influence to directly affect policy may mobilise over broad themes or particular incidents - to express a political ethos or to demand specific institutional action.

In Singapore, protests are highly regulated - generally requiring a police permit and/or confined to Hong Lim Park. Recently, a silent protest on an MRT train resulted in charges against the organiser. The concern is often expressed that protests can lead to inconvenience or disorder.

In late February, the administration tabled a Bill in Parliament intended to expand police powers to deal with "serious incidents", including peaceful protests. The measures include "communications stop orders allowing the police to ban the making of films or videos in a particular area, as well as to ban the sharing of any information or media about law enforcement. Police would have wide powers to intervene, question and seize property from those they believe are contravening the ban.

The Bill also expands the powers of police to, for example, cordon, search or question members of the public about the "serious incident", including enforcing commands with force in some cases. It also makes it a crime to possess, produce or distribute certain documents (e.g. if they may advocate disobedience of the law, or excite contempt against public servants) during this period.

The current administration argues that the law is necessary because communications may harm police work in terrorism situations (e.g. if hostage takers or terrorists can follow or anticipate police movements via media). Should peaceful protests be treated the same way?

The Bill

- Defines and gives examples of "serious incidents" that allow the Minister and Police Commissioner to activate special police powers
- Lists a range of powers that the Commissioner can grant police
- Defines forms of conduct that would be a crime in such circumstances, e.g. failure to share all information with police on questioning, making a film that depicts the "target area", sending a text message that describes

The Bill is intended to replace a similar Act passed in 1985. The 1985 Act did not clearly define the incidents that can trigger its use. Key changes include:

- Specifying that peaceful protests are included
- The expansion of powers and the introduction of new "communications stop orders"
- Organisations and their managers may also be liable for the acts of their officers, unless they take "reasonable efforts" to prevent them
- Parliament will no longer be able to annul the activation of the powers by the Minister

GROUP DISCUSSION

Are all forms of protest the same? Who protests and why do they protest? Should some forms be permissible? What sort of police powers are needed in the case of peaceful protests? What are the risks and benefits of people documenting and/or communicating about such events? What are the risks and benefits documenting and/or communicating about police action?

Please get together in groups of about six people. Discuss the above questions with your group over the next hour. Consider seriously the positions of as many different stakeholders as possible. At the end of that time, a representative from your group will present on the decision-making processes your group decided to adopt, explaining both what these are AND why you decided on them.

Be prepared to take questions from others.

ISSUES TO CONSIDER

Think about the following questions as you discuss in your groups:

1. What recourse is available when people disagree with the state or administration? What are the advantages and disadvantages of protest to different stakeholders?
2. Are all forms of protest the same? What is acceptable to you, and why?
3. Should police be present at protests? If so, what should their priorities be? Do protesters also deserve protection by the police and the law?
4. Why might people wish to communicate about protests and/or police action? What are the risks and benefits of preventing documentation or communications in such situations?
5. Should there be limits on the state's ability to trigger special police powers? What should these limits be and how can they be implemented? Who should be the ones limiting what the state can or should do?

ANNEX B

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Building an Informed Community: Principles for Cross-Sector Collaboration in Southeast Asia

Online disinformation is a complex issue that requires a multi-stakeholder approach. Efforts to address this multifaceted challenge have thus far been fragmented and uncoordinated. This workshop will convene key stakeholders including policymakers, academics, publishers, online platforms, civil society and fact-checking organizations. It will take into account the findings from the European Commission’s High-Level Expert Group on Fake News and Online Disinformation and explore a collective approach towards addressing false news and disinformation online. In an intensive two-day program, we aim to identify principles and potential models that can underpin stronger sharing of knowledge and experience across these relevant stakeholders. The findings and key discussion outcomes from the workshop will be collated in a document to be shared broadly with individuals and organizations that are addressing this issue across Southeast Asia.

Program Agenda

Day 0 (2nd May)

6:00PM: Registration at Facebook APAC HQ

6:15PM: Welcome remarks by Facebook and Office Tour

7:30PM: Welcome Group Dinner

Day 1 (3rd May)

TIME	AGENDA	SPEAKERS
9.00 – 9.15	Welcome Remarks by LKY School & Facebook	[REDACTED]
	Brief introduction to the LKY School in Singapore and an overview of the agenda.	[REDACTED]
	The Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (LKYSPP) has been educating and collaborating with public sector leaders since 2004. The School has trained more than 15,000 public sector leaders in our executive programs.	[REDACTED]

9.15 – 9.30	Welcome Remarks by Guest of Honour	[REDACTED]
9.30 – 9.45	Participant Introductions	
9.45 – 10.45	<p>Online disinformation: Diverse manifestations, similar conundrums</p> <p>Fake news, disinformation and misinformation have repercussions on multiple fronts. They pose challenges to national security, public order and reputation risk. Governments around the world are looking into the problem of disinformation and what needs to be done. This session draws on developments in various countries, including Singapore, and provides an overview on the various approaches and challenges in confronting disinformation.</p>	[REDACTED]
10.45– 11.00	Group Photo	
11.00 – 11.15	Coffee Break	
11.15 – 12.15	<p>Addressing Online Disinformation: Perspectives from Regional Governments (Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia)</p> <p>Panel discussion featuring government representatives from across Southeast Asia on their concerns on false news and the steps that they are taking to address false news.</p>	<p>Moderated by:</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p>
12.15 - 1.15	Networking Lunch	
1.15 – 2.00	<p>Addressing Online Disinformation: Perspectives from Facebook</p> <p>Overview on the steps that Facebook is taking to address false news. This segment will include a hands-on exercise based on Facebook’s critical thinking training.</p>	[REDACTED]
2.00 – 3.00	Addressing Online Disinformation: Perspectives from Civil Society	<p>Moderated by:</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p>

	Perspectives from civil society across the region on the real world impacts of false news and the steps that they are taking to address this.	[REDACTED]
3.00 – 3.30	Coffee & Tea Break	
3.30 – 3.45	Mini Case Study – NetzDG; The German Example A look into the NetzDG law and the challenges being faced with implementation.	[REDACTED]
3.45 – 4.45	Addressing Online Disinformation: The European Experience and the greater Regulatory Challenge in ASEAN A summary of the European Commission's High-Level Expert Group (HLEG) report on the concept of fake news, the continuing UK newspaper regulatory battle and the arrival of the EU's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) with fines of up to 4% of worldwide turnover for breaches from 25 May 2018. A reflection on how ASEAN differs and the regulatory challenges faced here.	[REDACTED]
4:45- 5:15	Recap of the Day The facilitator will discuss learning points of the day through a roundtable-style discussion with participants.	[REDACTED]

Day 2 (4th May)

Time	Agenda	Speaker(s)
9.15 - 10.15	Exploring Collaborative Models to Addressing Online Disinformation Facilitated discussion with all participants on the shared principles underpinning approaches to addressing false news.	[REDACTED]
10.15 - 10:30	Coffee & Tea Break	
10:30 - 12:00	Public Policy Exercise (Part 1) – Combatting Online Disinformation	Moderated by [REDACTED]

	<p>Around the world governments are examining the issues surrounding false news. The pace of this examination is fast and the views on how to best address online disinformation are varied. What is the best way forward to manage this? Is legislation needed? What are the costs and benefits of legislation? Is a non-legislative collaborative model approach sufficient? What are the costs and benefits of such a model? What would such a model look like and who would be involved.</p>	<p>[REDACTED]</p> <p>Participants will be split into groups and will work to develop solutions to the issues of combatting online disinformation.</p>
12:00 - 1:15	Networking Lunch	
1:15 – 2:45	<p>Public Policy Exercise (Part 2) – Solutions Presentations</p> <p>Each group will have a chance to present their solutions and ideas to the wider group for discussions. Each group will be given time to share their findings on their solutions to addressing concerns in addressing deliberate online falsehoods.</p>	<p>Moderated by</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p>
2:45 -3:00	Coffee and Tea Break	
3:00- 4:15	<p>Public Policy Exercise (Part 3) – Group Recommendations</p> <p>Based on the solutions, the group will discuss shared principles and recommendations for Southeast Asian countries to address online disinformation.</p>	<p>Moderated by</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p>
4:15 – 4:45	<p>Closing Remarks & Graduation Ceremony</p> <p>Students to receive diploma and group photo to recognize their participation in the program.</p>	<p>[REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p>

ANNEX C

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Date	Publication	Article title and link
26 April 2016	The Straits Times	China criticised for apparent attempt to divide ASEAN https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/china-criticised-for-apparent-attempt-to-divide-asean Permalink: http://str.sg/4ZLz
27 March 2018	The Straits Times	Prepare for chaos after Malaysia's new redelineation is out report: Sin Chew Daily columnist https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/prepare-for-chaos-after-malysias-new-redelineation-report-is-out-sin-chew-daily Permalink: http://str.sg/oqmR
12 April 2018	The Straits Times	Malaysia election: Phantom voters issue back to haunt polls https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/phantom-voters-issue-back-to-haunt-polls Permalink: http://str.sg/ocyH
20 April 2018	Channel News Asia	Commentary: Don't be lured by Kim Jong Un's sweet whispers of peace https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/commentary/commentary-don-t-be-lured-by-kim-jong-un-s-sweet-whispers-of-10153462
24 April 2018	The Straits Times	Australia's weak leadership will carry foreign policy costs https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/australias-weak-leadership-will-carry-foreign-policy-costs Permalink: http://str.sg/oGwX
4 May 2018	The Straits Times	Malaysia election: Watchdogs believe flaws in voter list 'tip of iceberg' https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/watchdogs-believe-flaws-to-malaysia-voter-list-tip-of-the-iceberg Permalink: http://str.sg/oNTx

THE STRAITS TIMES

China criticised for apparent attempt to divide Asean



Flags of Asean states being displayed in a conference room at the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) Building Complex in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei. PHOTO: ST FILE

🕒 PUBLISHED APR 26, 2016, 5:00 AM SGT

Its S. China Sea consensus called 'shortsighted' and 'meddling'

Francis Chan Indonesia Bureau Chief In Jakarta

Beijing came in for criticism by veteran diplomats yesterday at a conference in Jakarta, for its apparent move to split Asean over the territorial claims in the South China Sea.

The speakers at the event had strong words for the Chinese, whose Foreign Minister Wang Yi on Saturday announced a four-point consensus with Brunei, Cambodia and Laos on the issue. Mr Wang said the four had agreed that the territorial disputes were "not an issue between China and Asean as a whole".

Mr Ong Keng Yong, who is Singapore's Ambassador-at-Large, said the announcement amounted to China meddling in the internal affairs of the regional grouping.



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"Having (the Chinese) Foreign Minister announce that two of non-claimant states, namely Cambodia and Laos, have decided that they are not going to do this and that, seems to me like interfering in the domestic affairs of Asean," said the former Asean secretary-general.

This latest development comes amid growing tensions in the region due to the overlapping claims of Brunei, China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam in the South China Sea.

Mr Ong said he was surprised by the announcement at the weekend in Laos, the current Asean chair.

CROSSING THE LINE

Having (the Chinese) Foreign Minister announce that two of non-claimant states, namely Cambodia and Laos, have decided that they are not going to do this and that, seems to me like interfering in the domestic affairs of Asean.

MR ONG KENG YONG, who is Singapore's Ambassador-at-Large, on the four-point consensus announced on Saturday

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"We have agreed among ourselves in Asean that dispute concerns have to be worked out bilaterally," he added. "But as far as the Asean position is concerned, Laos is the chairman this year, maybe as chairman it has decided to say something on behalf of the group?"

"So we are not very sure at this moment what is the context in which the Chinese Foreign Minister is talking about at this aspect."

Mr Ong also said Asean's cooperation with China was based on the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea - an initiative Mr Wang had "a hand in" previously. "At that time, whatever Asean wants, we'd probably get it because we were the beautiful young lady that the man (China) wants," he added.

Mr Bilahari Kausikan, who is policy adviser to Singapore's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also alluded to the Chinese diplomat's history with Asean. "In his previous appointments in the Foreign Ministry, I think it is fair to say he played a leading role in forging China-Asean relations," he added.

Mr Kausikan was also speaking at the conference, organised by The Jakarta Post newspaper and the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council.

He agreed with Mr Ong that the "so-called consensus" was not "a very good development".

"It seems that it can be interpreted as a means to divide Asean and perhaps ahead of the arbitral tribunal decision to come in a month or so," he said, referring to the upcoming ruling on Manila's petition to The Hague against China's claims.

He added that any attempt by Beijing to split the bloc would be "very shortsighted" because a divided Asean is not in China's interest.

A third speaker, former Indonesian foreign minister Hassan Wirajuda, said he was concerned that Asean "is unable to cope with the increasing tensions, or peacefully resolve the disputes and situations in question". "The region has no process, procedures and mechanisms as well as a culture of peaceful resolutions to deal with current tensions and political conflicts," he said.

Mr Ong, however, said Singapore, the Asean-China dialogue partnership coordinator, will try its best to maintain the Asean position. "We'll try to make sure that whatever we do as Asean, we are working within the agreed parameters," he said.

He added that Singapore's ties with China were strong and "hopefully this will help to provide Singapore with a bit more persuasive influence on all parties concerned".

•Additional reporting by Arlina Arshad

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Prepare for chaos after Malaysia's new redelineation report is out: Sin Chew Daily columnist, SE Asia News & Top Stories

By Lim Sue Goan

KUALA LUMPUR (SIN CHEW DAILY/ASIA NEWS NETWORK) - Finally the election commission's constituency redelineation report is released, but Dewan Rakyat Speaker Pandikar Amin Mulia has barred the lawmakers from making its content public before the prime minister personally tables the motion in Dewan Rakyat, the lower house of Parliament, on March 28.

The report is expected to be passed on the very same day, giving the public practically no time to respond. As such, the Speaker's "ban" is a serious violation of the principle of democratic transparency.

The redelineation exercise is invariably Barisan Nasional's (BN's) most potent "weapon" to ensure electoral victory. Deputy Prime Minister Ahmad Zahid has said that following the redelineation, BN has very good chances of recapturing several parliamentary and state seats in Selangor.

What gives the redelineation so much power that keeps the ruling coalition flushed with confidence?

Ong Kian Ming, Democratic Action Party's (DAP's) MP for Serdang, believes that Selangor will very likely adopt the election commission's first redelineation proposal that will further widen the gap between the numbers of voters in individual constituencies, severely hurting crippling one-man-one-vote principle and could potentially result in a change of state administration.

Based on the first redelineation proposal, the seven parliamentary seats held by the opposition - Subang, PJ Utara, Serdang, Klang, PJ Selatan, Kota Raja and Gombak - will see the numbers of their voters drastically increased.

Meanwhile the total number of voters in Umno's seats - Sungai Besar, Tanjung Karang and Sabak Bernam - will only be a quarter of the opposition's.

At the same time, the number of state constituencies with 60-79.9 per cent Malay voters will more than double from 13 to 27, while those with under 20 per cent Malay voters will go up to eight, from five.

Similarly, constituencies with 60-79.9 per cent Chinese voters will increase from three to eight and those with under 20 per cent Chinese voters up from 18 to 26 seats.

If the first proposal is eventually adopted, it means the hearing for the second redelineation proposal has been in vain. But, as the first proposal is more favourable to the BN than the second one, BN is willing to hold back the election until the Parliament has adopted the report.

The opposition and NGOs are still working very hard to try to block the report through legal means. The court must make a verdict within days, or it will be an act of contempt if the Parliament is debating the bill while the court is still hearing the case.

To BN, the election must be held very soon and any further delay beyond the Muslim fasting month which will start on May 16, will significantly increase its risks, as Anwar Ibrahim will be released soon.

BN has several other missions to be completed before the election can be called, i.e. getting the supplementary supply bill passed on March 26 and 27 while Dewan Negara sitting is brought forward to March 26, meaning the supplementary supply bill can be submitted to the Dewan Negara as soon as it is passed.

If the bill for additional RM7.1 billion allocation is not passed, 16 government departments and institutions will be short of cash, and the EC will not have the fund to hold the general elections.

Even if the anti-fake news bill is also tabled in the Parliament, it may be too late to be effectively applied before GE14.

The next two weeks will be the most crucial moments, and BN leaders must make sure Dewan Rakyat will pass the redelineation report so that the Parliament can be dissolved in the first week of April.

Rushing everything in the last minute will give BN very little time to settle any differences that may arise among the component parties as a consequence of the redelineation.

Rushing through the redelineation report without unveiling the details earlier may result in many voters unsure of their polling stations.

Moreover, as DAP's MP for Sandakan Stephen Wong has said, while the Sabah state assembly has approved the addition of 13 state assembly seats, the redelineation report does not include the state of Sabah, meaning the state will still have 60 seats, and this may spark a constitutional crisis.

GE14 may go down the nation's electoral history as the one with the most number of complaints, including those about locations of polling stations and constitutional issues, among others.

Much time has been spent on the preparation for the election, but with so many things packed within such a short time, commotion and controversies may surface.

The writer comments regularly on Malaysian affairs. Sin Chew Daily is a member of The Straits Times media partner Asia News Network, an alliance of 23 news media entities.

THE STRAITS TIMES

Premium

Malaysia votes 2018

Malaysia election: Phantom voters issue back to haunt polls



These three tiny shops in Kuala Lumpur's Wangsa Maju constituency share one address, with 17 voters registered as residents there. A cashier at one of the stores said no one lives on the premises. ST PHOTO: TRINNA LEONG

🕒 PUBLISHED APR 12, 2018, 5:00 AM SGT

Opposition points to electoral roll anomalies, but election body says there's no basis to claim

Trinna Leong Malaysia Correspondent In Kuala Lumpur

A tiny motorcycle workshop, a grocery store and an electrical appliances repair shop located at the edge of Kuala Lumpur share a secret - 17 voters are registered as residents at this one address.

The three commercial units measure no more than 400 sq ft each in a Malay enclave in Kuala Lumpur's Wangsa Maju constituency, with the units listed with the same address of Lot 2547.

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None of the shops is occupied by residents. A cashier at the grocery store said nobody lives on the tiny premises. The mechanic and appliances repair shop were not open during a recent visit by The Straits Times.

A man at a next-door TV repair shop, who identified himself as Mr Rozali, raised his eyebrows when told there are people registered as residents of the three tiny units.

"How is it possible that the workshop next door has people living there?" he asked.

Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR), which won the Wangsa Maju seat in the last two elections, alleged that 1,600 new voters in the ward are likely "pengundi hantu" - phantom voters, or ghost voters.

Wards flagged by opposition

WANGSA MAJU PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCY, KUALA LUMPUR

- Current MP: Tan Kee Kwong (PKR)
- 2013 election result: PKR won by 5,511 votes

Opposition Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) won the constituency in the previous two elections.

PKR claims that in 2016, more than 4,000 voters were moved in, including 1,600 likely phantom voters.

The recent redrawing of electoral boundaries brought in 7,300 more voters.

HUTAN MELINTANG STATE CONSTITUENCY, PERAK

- Current assemblyman: Kesavan Subramaniam (PKR)
- 2013 election result: PKR won by 1,240 votes

Electoral reform group Bersih claims 1,411 army voters were registered in an uncompleted army camp located in the area.

In Malaysia, the term refers to voters who are registered in a particular ward, and yet have never been seen by local residents or by the owners of these homes and shops.

"We first spotted an anomaly in the electoral roll when several thousand were registered as voters in the second half of 2016 in the Wangsa Maju constituency," said PKR's treasurer-general Tan Yee Kew.

Allegations of phantom voters date back to the 1990s, when former premier Mahathir Mohamad was prime minister. In the 1999 election, the opposition claimed there were more than 200,000 phantom voters with fake identity cards, with most allegedly located in Tun Dr Mahathir's home state of Kedah.

This time around, Dr Mahathir, now an opposition leader, is accusing the Election Commission (EC) of helping Prime Minister Najib Razak's coalition to maintain power with discrepancies in the electoral list.

"There are 900 people with the name of Fatimah Ismail who were born on the same day in the list," Dr Mahathir said in January.

With Malaysia's elections just ahead, the electoral roll has 14.8 million registered voters, compared with 13.3 million in 2013. Malaysia has a population of 32 million.

"The electoral roll has had problems, but it hasn't been cleaned up to stop all sorts of monkey business," said the University of Tasmania's Asia Institute director James Chin.

The presence of phantom voters is just one of several issues that critics have pointed out with regard to the electoral roll.

Another is over army voters - who number in the hundreds or thousands - being moved prematurely into new addresses in various constituencies despite the incomplete construction of the army camps.

One such example pointed out by electoral reform group Bersih was an army camp in Segamat, Johor, with 949 voters registered using the uncompleted camp's address. A court has thrown out a legal challenge against their presence because the EC had already gazetted their registration there.



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Other examples pointed out by Bersih involve army voters registered in uncompleted camps in Bera in Pahang, and Hutan Melintang in Perak.

Despite complaints by critics in the last two decades, the EC says voter registration is based on the identification card address, and that the commission is not complicit in any wrongdoing.

"The issue of ghost voters whereby outside voters would come to vote in a constituency is a claim that is without basis," EC chairman Hashim Abdullah said in response to a query by The Straits Times.

Tan Sri Hashim added in an e-mail reply: "With reference to issues of ghost voters and dubious voters, the EC need not take any action since these are merely claims."

The ruling Barisan Nasional coalition has in the past brushed aside the opposition's claims too, saying that while it is accused of using illegal voters, the opposition accepted these same wards when its candidates emerged as victors.

Opposition lawmaker Ong Kian Ming, who compiled his own data before the 2013 election, had reported finding more than 100,000 dubious voters which - when combined with prior claims of suspicious voters - would total more than 400,000 nationwide.

The EC said an electoral roll clean-up is done every three months to remove names of deceased voters and those who lose their citizenship, based on information from the National Registration Department.

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Commentary: Don't be lured by Kim Jong Un's sweet whispers of peace

By Jung H Pak

WASHINGTON: For the first seven years of his rule, from 2011 to 2018, Kim Jong Un has gone full force on his version of "maximum pressure".

He has tested nearly 90 ballistic missiles, three times more than that of his father and grandfather combined, and conducted four of North Korea's six nuclear tests, including the biggest one in September 2017, which had an estimated yield of 150 kilotonnes.

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At the same time, he refused US, South Korean, and Chinese attempts to engage, refusing to meet with any foreign head of state. Until 2018, of course.

As it turns out, Kim's not just good at maximum pressure, he's also pretty good at maximum engagement.

Just a few months ago, the world braced for a possible war on the Korean Peninsula. But now Seoul and Pyongyang are reportedly planning to announce an official end to the Korean War as they enter the final days of planning for a summit between Kim Jong-un and South Korean President Moon Jae-in.

(An armistice ended the military conflict that lasted from 1950 to 1953, but the two Koreas are technically still at war.)

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BLOSSOMING SPRING?

Kim's New Year's speech, in which he expressed his willingness to improve inter-Korean ties, kicked off what has blossomed into a veritable "summit spring".

He dispatched his sister and North Korean athletes to the Olympics in Pyeongchang, South Korea. Kim told a delegation of South Korean envoys that he would consider denuclearisation and that he wants summits with Presidents Moon and Trump.

South Korean President Moon Jae-in talks with Kim Yo Jong, the sister of North Korea's leader Kim Jong Un, while watching North Korea's Samjiyon Orchestra's performance in Seoul. (Photo: Reuters)

In his first known trip outside of the country since he became leader of North Korea, Kim met with Chinese President Xi and subsequently hosted Chinese and South Korean artists and musicians in North Korea.

READ: [A commentary on how we still don't know what went on in Xi Jinping's meeting with Kim.](#)

There is talk of a potential Kim-Putin meeting, though Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe stands on the sidelines. Kim has also reportedly met with the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (and currently secretary of state-designate) Mike Pompeo, who [travelled to Pyongyang](#) in April.

If all goes as planned, Kim would be squeezing in a couple of years' worth of summits - with regional and international leaders, including the US president - into the first six months of 2018, without having had to make any concessions on the nuclear weapons programme, his country's appalling human rights situation, or its probably ongoing cyberattack operations.

As with the weapons programme, Kim's approach to engagement seems to be: Go bigger and bolder.

On top of that, Kim seems to be relishing the favorable media attention. Images of his walking side-by-side by Xi on a red carpet, hanging out with South Korean K-pop musicians, warmly gripping the hand of a visiting senior Chinese official, and enjoying the banter at a wine-soaked banquet with President Moon's envoys continue to seize the world's interest.

READ: [A commentary on whether K-pop stars hold the key to moving Kim Jong Un.](#)

SHAPING DEVELOPMENTS

In meeting with South Korean and Chinese leaders, Kim is probably seeking, in part, to shape and bound the agenda of his meeting with Trump in late May or early June, while trying to shore up support from Seoul and Beijing and reduce their appetite for sanctions implementation.

Kim (left) and Xi meeting in Beijing in March. (Photo: AFP/KCNA VIA KNS)

His maximum engagement has included the incorporation of familiar bromides that Korea watchers have been hearing from his father and grandfather.

This includes pledging "denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula" and willingness to resolve issues through dialogue, and

expressing admiration for China's developments in science and technological fields to trigger as yet unrequited Chinese hopes for North Korean economic reform.

In short, he's saying and doing the right things, providing assurances of his desire for peace and dialogue, but only if the United States "responds to our efforts with goodwill," and guarantee its security, putting the onus of progress on Washington.

This latest gambit about a peace treaty is, like the well-worn comments about denuclearisation, an iteration of Kim's father and grandfather's playbook, but this time it is being midwived by Seoul with President Trump's "blessing".

Let's not forget that Pyongyang's demand for a peace negotiations is probably aimed at deflecting, delaying and decoupling.

People watch a TV broadcasting a news report on North Korea firing what appeared to be an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) that landed close to Japan, in Seoul, South Korea on Nov 29, 2017. (Photo: REUTERS/Kim Hong-Ji)

BUYING TIME

North Korea has often raised the issue of a peace treaty over the past decades to entangle Washington in long, drawn-out discussion on non-nuclear issues, which Pyongyang probably calculates would serve to cement the North's status as a nuclear weapons power and garner the prestige of being in negotiations with a world power.

Such discussions also have the potential to hamper sanctions implementation, tamp down international demands for human rights, and buy time for the North to continue advancing its weapons programmes.

And if they are called out for their illegal and inhumane activities, Pyongyang is likely to assail Washington and critics for damaging the fragile peace discussions.

Finally, in the unlikely scenario that peace talks yield fruit, Pyongyang, Beijing, and potentially some circles in Seoul would raise questions about the necessity of stationing US troops on the Korean Peninsula.

It would also amplify the voices of those in the region (and perhaps in the United States as well) that the United States does not, in fact, need to be in South Korea or Japan because "peace" has been achieved.

Ultimately, Kim's maximum pressure and engagement are two sides of the same coin - a strategy aimed at keeping and advancing its nuclear weapons programme, removing the United States from the Korean Peninsula, maintaining strategic relevance in the region, and potentially trying to create conditions for unification on his terms.

While we should support the current mood of diplomacy and engagement, we should not be easily lured by Kim's sweet whispers of peace, without credible actions to accompany his promises.

*Jung H Pak is the SK-Korea Foundation chair in Korean studies and senior fellow at the Foreign Policy Centre for East Asia Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution. This commentary [first appeared](#) in the Brookings Institution's blog *Order from Chaos*.*

THE STRAITS TIMES

Premium

By Invitation

Australia's weak leadership will carry foreign policy costs

Hugh White

✉ (mailto:stopinion@sph.com.sg)

🕒 PUBLISHED APR 24, 2018, 5:00 AM SGT

Australia faces divisive challenges without the strong leadership needed to meet them effectively

Back in 2015, Mr Malcolm Turnbull snatched the job of Australian Prime Minister from Mr Tony Abbott because the latter was doing badly in the opinion polls. Now that Mr Turnbull is doing just as badly, his leadership is inevitably and understandably under great pressure.

That is not just bad news for Mr Turnbull. It is bad for Australia, which faces momentous and potentially very divisive challenges without the strong leadership which will be needed to meet them effectively.

Perhaps the biggest challenge comes from China's rise and America's inability to formulate a clear response. As a result, America's leadership in Asia is rapidly dwindling, and may well disappear, leaving China as the region's primary power, and Australia's whole foreign policy, which depends completely on US strength, in tatters.

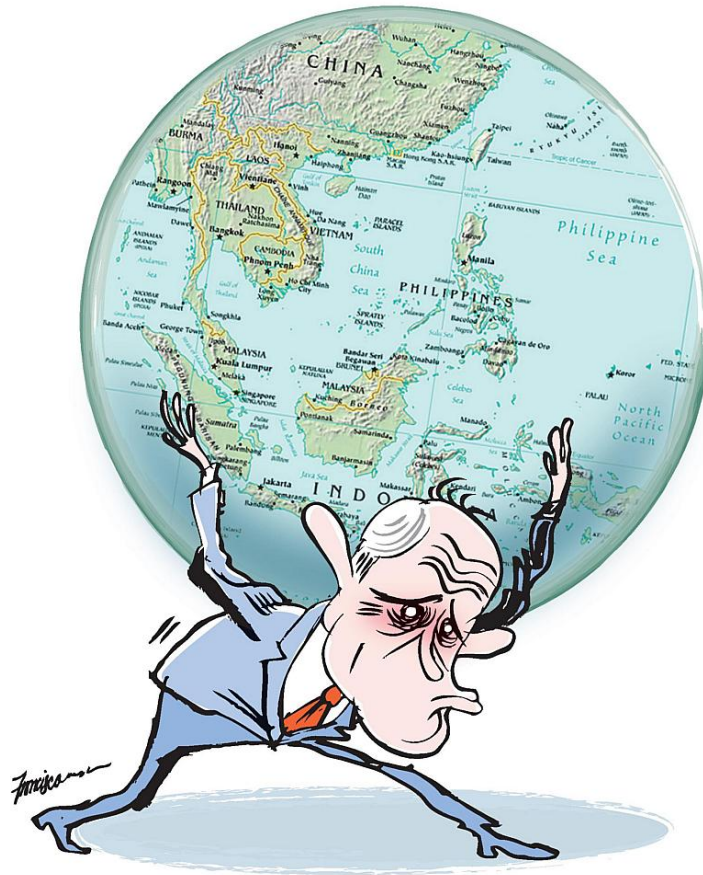
To meet this crisis, Australians need to invent a whole new approach to making their way in Asia - one which does not depend on America to make Asia safe and comfortable for them.

Above all, this means learning to live with the reality of China's power. That requires not just big shifts in policy, but a rethinking of Australia's identity - the next phase in the long tussle between its European origins and its Asian future. So far this is not going well. Last year, there was a spike in public anxiety about Beijing's growing influence in Australia, culminating in November with the resignation of a Labor senator accused of adopting pro-Chinese positions in exchange for favours from Chinese businessmen.

Mr Turnbull responded by talking up the threat of foreign interference in domestic politics and proposing new laws to limit it. It was absolutely clear that these laws were aimed directly at China, and Canberra broadly hinted, without any clear evidence, that the Chinese government itself was behind the alleged subversion of Australia's political processes.

Mr Turnbull even went so far as to compare these efforts to curb foreign interference with China's struggle to overcome its "century of humiliation" and the intrusions of colonial powers. "Australia stands up", he said in clumsy Chinese, echoing Mao's famous words from the Tiananmen Gate in 1949.

It was an absurd analogy, which drew bitter rebukes from Beijing. And not just rebukes.



ST ILLUSTRATION: MANNY FRANCISCO

DEEP FREEZE

Since then, China has put its official relationship with Australia in the deep freeze, refusing to allow any ministerial-level visit from Canberra. This is causing great anxiety in a country whose economic future depends almost entirely on China.

In this showdown, China holds all the cards and Mr Turnbull has ever since struggled to be more conciliatory to Beijing, but the deep freeze remains and further gestures to placate Beijing's anger are very likely. So much for "standing up".

Of course, Australians are right to worry about China's growing influence. There is a real question about how to deal with a country which is more powerful and more important to Australia than any country has ever been except Britain and, since Britain's decline, America. Unlike Britain and America, China resides in Australia's neighbourhood.

And China is not in any sense an ally. There is no doubt that Beijing will not scruple to do whatever it can to persuade Australia to do what it wants - because that is what all powerful states do.

Perhaps the biggest challenge comes from China's rise and America's inability to formulate a clear response. As a result, America's leadership in Asia... may well disappear, leaving China as the region's primary power, and Australia's whole foreign policy, which depends completely on US strength, in tatters...

Australians need to invent a whole new approach to making their way in Asia - one which does not depend on America to make Asia safe and comfortable for them.

”

But Mr Turnbull's high-pitched rhetoric and knee-jerk legislation is no way to deal with a problem of such complexity and importance. Indeed the new laws he proposed are not just angering Beijing, but are now also facing serious criticism at home for infringing cherished Australian rights to freedom of speech and political action. The whole thing has become a big mess, and a perfect case study in how not to manage relations with China and navigate the transition from the old US-dominated Asia to whatever follows.

Why did Mr Turnbull do it? It is not that he doesn't understand the underlying tectonic shifts that are taking place in Asia. On the contrary, before he became Prime Minister, Mr Turnbull showed a far shrewder and more perceptive grasp than any other leading Australian politician of the strategic shifts driven by China's rise. He had the wisdom to see, and the courage to say quite plainly, that Australia couldn't manage China's growing power simply by clinging more closely to America, and urged Australians to accept the reality that China's influence would grow as its power grew.

So why has Mr Turnbull not drawn on these insights to inform a more sophisticated and effective policy response?

The sad answer is political weakness, pure and simple. That weakness takes two forms. The first concerns his poor standing with the Australian public, reflected by his poor polling. At first sight, this seems strange. He is intelligent, articulate, personable and approachable, and has the aura of a successful businessman who has made a lot of money by his own efforts.

And yet he is simply not seen as an effective prime minister, and that drives him to do foolish things. Aware of his weak standing, he pays more heed to ingratiating himself with the voters than to delivering good policy. Alas, that never works because in the end, good policy is the best politics and bad policy seldom works politically.

Thus, Mr Turnbull ignored his own better judgment to talk up the dangers of Chinese influence in the hope of looking strong and decisive. In the process, he has blatantly played to the China-directed xenophobia which is plainly growing in Australia at present, reflected in a much-discussed recent book titled *Silent Invasion: China's Influence In Australia*, by Clive Hamilton. Alas for him, it hasn't worked and he still faces defeat at the next election due by May next year.

But he may not make it that far. It is quite uncertain that Mr Turnbull will still lead his party and the government into the next election, because the second, and more acute, form of political weakness afflicting him is his poor standing in his own party. That is a cause as well as an effect of his poor standing with the

public, because his ability to impress the voters with good policy has been stymied by a faction of his own party that disapproves of almost everything Mr Turnbull stands for.

That faction espouses right-wing views with a distinct populist flavour which are far removed from Mr Turnbull's more centrist, liberal policy instincts, and are closely identified with his predecessor, Mr Abbott. Their agenda covers immigration, climate change, social policy and economic policy, as well as foreign affairs, and seeks to tap the same kinds of voter discontents which saw the British vote for Brexit and Americans vote for Mr Donald Trump.

And they would dearly love to see Mr Turnbull replaced by one of their number. No one except Mr Abbott himself still thinks he might reclaim the leadership, but there are other candidates. The most notable of these is the current minister for Immigration, Mr Peter Dutton, a controversial and, to many, an even somewhat sinister figure who is now being placed in charge of a new super-ministry covering immigration, police and security intelligence functions.

There doesn't seem much doubt that Mr Turnbull only agreed to this unprecedented new concentration of ministerial power because he feared to cross such a formidable rival. Nor does there seem much doubt that Mr Turnbull's ill-judged campaign on Chinese interference was designed to placate his right-wing critics and reduce the pressure on his leadership.

But that kind of appeasement never works, because bad policy backfires. Now, Mr Turnbull looks weaker than ever and Australia is further than ever from the strong and intelligent leadership it needs to navigate its complex relationship with the new China.

•Hugh White is professor of strategic studies at the Australian National University in Canberra.



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Malaysia election: Watchdogs believe flaws in voter list 'tip of iceberg', SE Asia News & Top Stories

KUALA LUMPUR (REUTERS) - Electoral watchdog groups in Malaysia said the voter list for next week's general election had major flaws, including the existence of a 121-year-old voter, raising the spectre of possible fraud.

About 15 million Malaysians are registered to vote in next Wednesday's (May 9) election pitting Prime Minister Najib Razak's Barisan Nasional coalition, which has ruled for six decades, against a resurgent opposition led by former leader Mahathir Mohamad.

A joint study of the voters' rolls by electoral reform groups Bersih and Engage found more than 500,000 cases of voters registered with the same address, while more than two million were found to have no address.

The groups highlighted 10 major irregularities they said affected [hundreds of thousands of voters](#) nationwide.

"A defective electoral roll will bring into question the legitimacy of the whole election," they said in a statement.

"Despite the huge number of dubious voters discovered, we believe these preliminary findings are just the tip of the iceberg."

The study found some cases in which dead voters were re-registered, and one voter whose birth year was listed as 1897.

In one example, the study listed numerous cases of multiple people registered at the same address in the parliamentary constituency of Bagan Datuk, held by Deputy Prime Minister Ahmad Zahid Hamidi.

"Our conclusion is that there are symptoms of a deliberate plan ... action to massively move voters to impact elections in marginal constituencies," Bersih official Chan Tsu Chong told a news conference.

The groups did not say who they believed was behind the plan.

The Malaysian Election Commission did not respond to a request for comment.

Barisan Nasional said in an e-mail response that Bersih's findings should not be taken as objective facts as it was a "functioning arm of Malaysia's opposition".

"As such, Bersih has every reason to undermine confidence in the vote so that afterwards it can complain that the election wasn't fair. This is a smear on Malaysia, and the integrity of Malaysia's independent Electoral Commission," a spokesperson said.

The opposition and other critics have said that recently [redrawn electoral boundaries](#) favour the ruling coalition, which has been accused of

gerrymandering.

The government and the Election Commission have rejected that assertion, saying the changes were made independently and without political interference.

Campaigning [kicked off last Saturday](#) for an election that is widely expected to be the toughest yet for Barisan Nasional.

Najib is grappling with a multi-billion-dollar scandal at state fund [1Malaysia Development Berhad \(1MDB\)](#) and popular anger over rising living costs, which have given momentum to the challenge from his 92-year-old mentor-turned-foe, Mahathir. Najib denies wrongdoing.

The coalition is expected to retain power, but [a diminished majority in the 222-seat parliament](#) could leave Najib open to an internal leadership challenge.

Bersih and Engage said in their statement that the effect of the "cheating" could only be overcome by an overwhelming voter turnout.

ANNEX D

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**OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS
PROGRAM ON INDEPENDENT JOURNALISM
- PROPOSAL FORM –**

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

Grant applicant (legal name):	Observatory Southeast Asia
Total annual expenditure in the last completed fiscal year [2016]:	0
Total annual budget planned for the current year:	US\$84,600
Person responsible for the grant implementation (please include email address):	Dr. Pingtjin THUM (Managing Director) pingtjin.thum@newnaratif.com
Signatory of the grant contract and email address:	Dr. Pingtjin THUM (Managing Director) pingtjin.thum@newnaratif.com
Organisation Address:	7200 The Quorum Oxford Business Park North Oxford OX4 2JZ UK
Telephone:	+44 7721763059
Email:	admin@newnaratif.com
Project title:	New Naratif
Planned starting date:	1 November 2017
Planned completion date (end of project period):	N.A.

2. FINANCIAL INFORMATION (please state in USD)

Total amount requested from OSF:	US\$75,000
Other sources of donor funding for your organisation (name of source and amount requested):	Individual donations of between US\$5,000 to US\$10,000
Other sources of commercial revenue for your organisation (name of source and amount requested):	Subscription revenue – US\$52 per annum per member.

ADDITIONAL FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS REQUIRED WITH YOUR PROPOSAL:

- ✓ GLOBAL OPERATING BUDGET: Please provide your global operating budget for the proposed grant period.
- ✓ GRANT/PROJECT BUDGET: Please enclose the project budget, to include contributions from both OSF and other donors, as well as all other revenue sources.

- ✓ GLOBAL FINANCIAL REPORT for the last completed fiscal year.
- ✓ AUDIT REPORT: If applicable, please enclose your most recent audit report.

3. BANK INFORMATION

Bank name:	[REDACTED]
Bank address:	[REDACTED]
Branch:	[REDACTED]
Bank account holder (has to be the same as the grant requestor/ recipient):	[REDACTED]
Bank account number for payments:	[REDACTED]
Bank code (SWIFT, ABA, etc.):	[REDACTED]

4. PROJECT PROPOSAL

Use the following set of questions as a guide to writing your proposal, which should be included as a separate document. Answer all questions that are applicable to your organisation, and feel free to add any additional information as relevant.

i. ORGANISATION

Please briefly describe your organisation's:

- Mission
- History of founding
- Entity status – e.g. NGO, non-profit, limited company etc.
- Niche in the field – what makes your organisation different?
- Area(s) of work
- Any notable achievements or milestones
- Any parent/child companies
- Staff structure (include an organisational chart if available)
- Long term goals – where do you see the organisation in 5 years' time?

ii. GOVERNANCE & LEADERSHIP

Who is responsible for steering the organisation?

- Do you have an external board, formal or otherwise?
- What is the mandate of the board?
- What are the relevant skills of board members?
- What is the board's interaction with staff, and the reporting mechanism?

Who is responsible for leading and managing the organisation?

- Who provides the strategic lead; editorial leadership, and day-to-day management lead?
- Have there been any major changes to the leadership in recent years?
- Provide information on key staff members and their roles

- Provide information on interns and volunteers

iii. FINANCIAL HEALTH

Briefly describe your organisation’s financial health, to accompany your financial documents.

- Sources of income: please describe all of your income streams (e.g. grants, earned income, donations, capital investment, in-kind and own contributions, etc.).
- Donor funding – please list all donors and period covered
- Provide relevant information on the market in which you operate
- List any anticipated changes or risks to future sources of income, including any cash flow issues

iv. PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Briefly describe the overall aim and activities of the project, and include:

- Methodology, editorial or content plan
- Activities and outputs
- Staff allocation
- Benchmarks, audience targets and any other KPIs (key performance indicators)
- How the project will be maintained after the grant period?

v. OPERATING ENVIRONMENT

Briefly describe the environment or markets your organisation works in.

- What is the problem your organisation is trying to address?
- What are the challenges or opportunities?
- What does the project hope to address?
- What are the security risks – digital, legal or physical?
- Who are your closest competitors, and what makes your organisation different?

vi. AUDIENCE & DISTRIBUTION

Who are your target audience?

Please construct an audience matrix, as shown below, to compare to your closest competitors.

AUDIENCE MATRIX

	Audience Segment A (e.g. Age, social grade, urban/rural, etc.)	Audience Segment B	Audience Segment C	Audience Segment D
Your Organisation				
Competitor 1				
Competitor 2				

Competitor 2				
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How do you reach your audience?

- What are your primary distribution channels? How does this reflect your audience strategy?
- What are your social media channels, and how popular are these channels?
- Include an analytics report showing the last 6 months, including the number of Monthly Unique Visitors and Monthly Unique Visits Now for digital media, or any other audience reports as relevant
- How do you communicate with your audience?
- What other plans do you have to improve outreach and engagement?

New Naratif

The vitality of the polity requires citizens to remain informed and engaged. Ignorance and apathy can be exploited by those seeking personal gain; the best defence against demagoguery is education and engagement. In the midst of busy lives, people seek knowledgeable guides to make sense of the world around them. *New Naratif* will educate and inform, by explaining the unseen forces which shape how we live, think, and act. We help people discern the truth, which can be discovered in the deeper patterns behind evanescent facts.

New Naratif is a member-funded Southeast Asian multimedia platform for journalism, art, and community organisation. It researches important issues facing the people of Southeast Asia; publishes this research as evidence-driven stories in innovative formats aimed at the Southeast Asian public; and brings together people to discuss this information and empower them to organise their communities for positive change. In this way, *New Naratif* fights for freedom of thought, for freedom of speech, and for speaking truth to power in Southeast Asia at a time when it is most imperilled.

New Naratif distinguishes itself from other media outlets by rejecting the daily news cycle, focusing on in-depth and chronological coverage on a topical basis, and reporting without fear or favour. We take the time to do investigative pieces and create a space for alternative journalistic formats. Our stories will always be relevant, entertaining, and accessible to the widest possible audience. To that end, we will innovate on how stories are told, including prose, audio, video, and other web and digital technologies.

Our stories explain the underlying forces that shape our lives and explore issues of fundamental importance to Southeast Asians. The stories are evidence-driven: we will publish accessible, informed journalism, backed up by relevant and meaningful research. This may include scientific (for example, the environment, medicine), social scientific (economic trends, cultural movements), and humanities (the documented historical background of particular events) research.

In each of our target cities, we seek to build a community of intellectually curious and engaged individuals across Southeast Asia, who share our belief in democracy, human rights, and social justice. We seek new and interesting Southeast Asian voices, especially in the vernacular, and will initially publish in English and Bahasa Indonesia. These two languages are reflected in our name – “naratif” being Bahasa Indonesia for “narrative”. We will seek to publish in other Southeast Asian languages as soon as feasible.

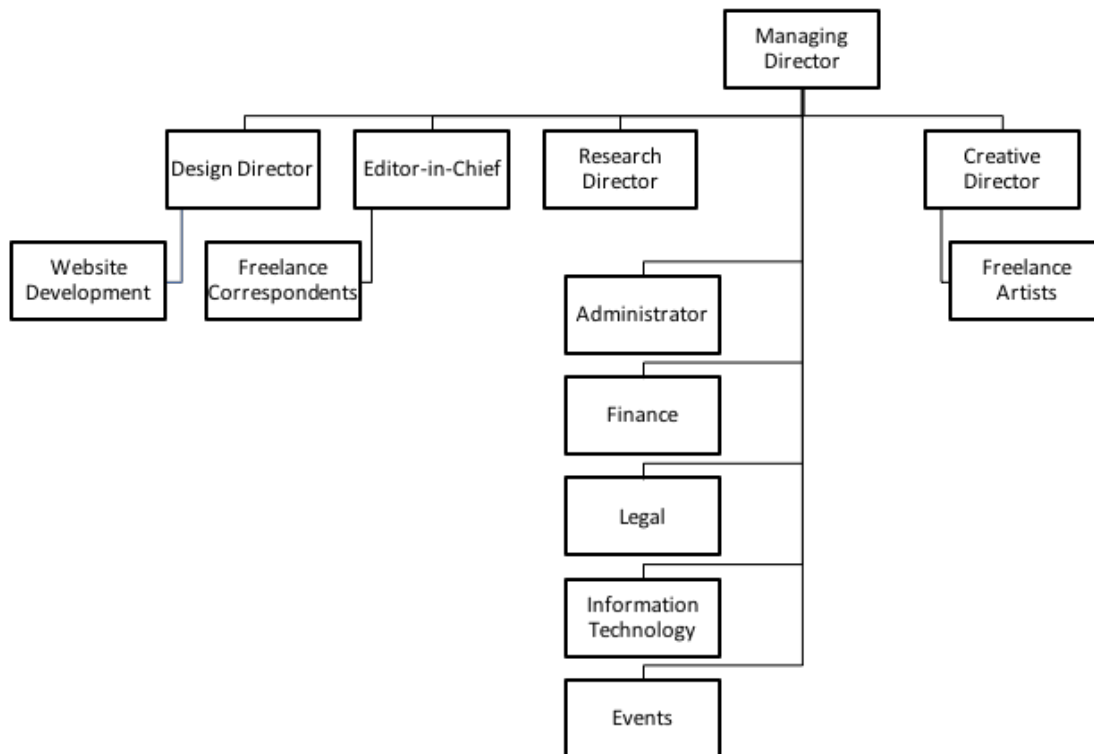
New Naratif is published by Observatory Southeast Asia, a private company limited by guarantee registered in the United Kingdom (Companies House registration number 10747160). It is structured this way to avoid repression in Southeast Asia – a region where journalists are routinely harassed, imprisoned, or murdered, and where governments frequently buy out or shut down independent

media companies. A UK-based private company limited by guarantee cannot be bought or sold, nor can it be subject to regulation or legislation in Southeast Asia.

Accordingly, New Naratif has a deliberately decentralised working structure. We have no physical, legal, or financial presence in Southeast Asia: while all employees are located in Southeast Asia, they are all employed as consultants or freelancers, we have no office, and our financial transactions are handled by PayPal UK.

New Naratif is also distinct because it is a non-profit enterprise, run transparently for a clear moral and political purpose, with no advertising. All revenues are reinvested in our work. This keeps New Naratif from becoming hostage to short-term profit motives. Our members' subscriptions are our only revenue, thereby ensuring that we will always maintain a focus on our members' needs (and not those of advertisers). All revenues are dedicated to our mission – not the other way around. By embracing transparency and accountability as our core values, we seek not merely to publish articles on issues which governments cannot or will not address, but also to embody the values we promote, thereby demonstrating their viability in a region where such values are often impugned as being alien or inefficient.

Governance and Leadership



New Naratif is run by the Managing Director, in collaboration with the Editor-in-Chief, the Creative Director, the Design Director, and the Research Director. These five positions form the steering committee.

The Managing Director (Dr Pingtjin THUM) provides strategic leadership and day-to-day management. He is in charge of the business functions of New Naratif, including finance, human resources, and administration. He is also in charge of fundraising.

The Editor-in-Chief (Kirsten HAN) provides editorial leadership. The Editor-in-Chief is a trained journalist, with overall oversight of publishing. This person is familiar with recent technologically-driven advances in the media. They are in charge of the commissioning of evidence-driven reporting and the management of correspondents.

The Creative Director (Sonny LIEW) is in charge of the creative aspects of New Naratif, including the comics, videos, and podcasts, as well as commissioning of artists and the management of artists.

The Design Director () is in charge of the visual identity and branding of New Naratif, oversees the website development team, and is also in charge of marketing.

The Research Director (Dr. Pingtjin THUM) commissions research, organises research projects, and manages researchers.

Financial Health

As stated above, New Naratif, by deliberate choice, has only one source of revenue: membership subscriptions.

New Naratif's main revenue stream is the subscription fee of US\$5 per month, or US\$55 per year (members may pay a higher rate at their discretion). There will be no advertising within the paywall. This is a deliberate choice to address the customer segment (see below).

New Naratif will also accept grants and sponsorship, especially to fund research, with the caveat that we will exercise complete academic freedom and editorial independence. In the long term, we plan to publish and sell products derivative of our mission, such as books, translated works, compilations of articles, and artworks.

Since the beginning of crowdfunding (9 September 2017), New Naratif has 245 members, each paying between US\$52 and US\$552 per year for their membership.

Membership Level	Number	Total Revenue
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US\$52	212	US\$11,024
US\$102	8	US\$816
US\$302	12	US\$3,624
US\$552	13	US\$7,176
Total	245	US\$22,640

In addition, it has raised over SG\$20,000 from private donations from individuals, which we have spent on the development of the website, our launch, and the commissioning of content.

New Naratif only spends what it can afford. We measure output in terms of cycles. Each cycle includes 5 written articles, 2 comics, and 2 podcasts, and one other piece (10 total pieces). As our financial situation improves, the length of time a cycle covers will decrease. Currently the cycle covers 5 weeks. Our first year will thus cover 10 cycles. Eventually, we aim for the cycle to be weekly.

Each piece (whether it be a written article, podcast, or comics) is projected to cost US\$450, including cost of production and labour. Each cycle currently costs US\$4,500. As such, to cover output for the first year (50 weeks or 10 cycles), we require an income of US\$45,000.

An alternative way of thinking about the cycles is that every five weeks, we require 87 new members, or approximately 5 new members every 2 days.

Consequently, the chief risk to our operations is that we fail to achieve this level of subscription. We plan to build and maintain a buffer of 2 cycles of funding. If our funding falls below the level needed to maintain our output for 2 more cycles, then we will plan to scale back until financial sustainability is achieved.

Market Conditions

The Southeast Asian market is difficult for independent media. The 2017 World Press Freedom Index ranks Timor-Leste as the freest media market in Southeast Asia, at 98. The ten ASEAN countries range between the Indonesia at 124 to Vietnam at 175. In general, the market is dominated by state monopolies and large establishment firms. Severe legal and regulatory obstacles exist in all countries for independent media, and what little free media exists is generally subject to political repression. In recent years, a number of independent news organisations have been shut down due to hostile government action, including the *Malaysian Insider* in 2016 and the *Cambodia Daily* in 2017.

The Singapore media market, ranked 151, permit only government approved individuals or corporations to hold shares in print media companies, while onerous regulation restrains online media. There is no culture of paying for news. Recently, the independent online news website

Middle Ground shut down. Despite the protection by legislation, Singapore's mainstream media is suffering. The daily tabloid *Today* recently was converted to a digital-only newspaper, while the *Straits Times*, amid declining subscriptions, recently announced the retrenchment of 230 staff. The discontinuation of the *Asian Wall Street Journal* has further limited options for Singaporeans.

In summary, there is a very difficult legal, regulatory, and political environment for independent media in Singapore, on top of a market that does not generally pay for news. Publishing in Southeast Asia carries significant political risk. *New Naratif* mitigates much of this risk by being incorporated as a private company limited by guarantee in the United Kingdom. While all staff will preferably be Southeast Asian and preferably located in Southeast Asia, staff will be employed on a freelance basis to avoid tax and regulatory issues. Avoiding any Southeast Asian jurisdiction shields our work from political interference in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, while we are committed to transparency, we will employ pseudonyms where necessary to protect our writers.

Project Description

New Naratif is a movement for freedom of information and the media in Southeast Asia. It aims to achieve this through three interlinked activities:

- **Storytelling:** By conducting research into, and publishing information on, stories which governments cannot or will not address.
- **Community Building:** By building a community of Southeast Asians who share our goals and values.
- **Organising and Capacity Building:** By bringing people together and empowering them to use this information to organise their communities for positive change.

Storytelling

New Naratif is driven by storytelling. Our stories are evidence-driven, accessible, entertaining, and aim to explain the unseen forces which shape how we live, think, and act. We apply three criteria to how we choose our stories:

- Our stories will reflect the complex lived reality of our members, whose scope may not correspond with narrow state, ethnic, religious, or other such boundaries. For example, we have published stories about the decline of the minority vernacular language of Hokkien in the state of Penang, Malaysia; and comics on the daily lives of Malays in Malaysia.
- Our stories explore and explain the complex and often unseen forces which shape our lives. This may include complex historical, political, or societal forces; interest groups; or legal and regulatory forces. Examples include our stories on how the Singapore's rigid racial categorisation system shapes, rather than reflects, the perception of race in Singapore; the

complex myths of multiculturalism in Singapore; and the political strategy of Philippines President Rodrigo Duterte in his fictitious “War on Drugs”.

- Our stories focus on issues which governments are reluctant to address. This may be because the issues are considered politically sensitive, or because they affect governments’ interests. Examples include our series of articles on LGBTQ in Singapore, Indonesia, and Vietnam; poverty in Singapore; myths on migrant labour in Singapore; and Sabah and Sarawak’s autonomy in Malaysia.

Thematically, our stories will generally focus on two core areas relevant to the lives of Southeast Asians: the rights (or lack thereof) of citizens, including life and liberty, race, religion, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of expression; and the institutions of governance, including the Presidency, Executive, Legislature, Civil Service, Judiciary, and Elections. Mindful of our initial market, about half of our stories for the first year will be related to Singapore, and the other half on Southeast Asia. We will not be limited to these themes, however, and will publish any good stories according to the criteria above. This also ties into our broader goal to educate and inform the Southeast Asian public.

Recognising that people access information in different ways, at different times, and through different access points; and that different forms of media have different emotional and intellectual impact, our stories will take different forms which illuminate the truth in different and complementary ways. For example, research articles use data to tell stories in longer, more nuanced, and more complex formats, discovering previously unknown truths. Investigative and long-form journalism articles narrate compelling stories about truths which have been hidden or under-reported. Comics provide deep emotional impact and meaning. Podcasts allow people on the move to listen to stories.

Recognising the rich history of storytelling in Southeast Asia, *New Naratif* will be a platform for the promotion and development of Southeast Asian talent. It will seek and develop talented Southeast Asians, in particular those who write well in their vernacular. In a similar vein, we will initially publish stories in English and Bahasa Indonesia, with articles translated from Bahasa Indonesia to English. English is the official working language of ASEAN, while Bahasa Indonesia is, by far, the most commonly used language in Southeast Asia and widely understood throughout maritime Southeast Asia. Through translation, we bring new perspectives, information, and stories to new audiences. In doing so, we help increase understanding between Southeast Asians and draw Southeast Asia closer together. Further Southeast Asian languages will be introduced as soon as feasible.

Community Building

New Naratif will build an online community of intellectually curious individuals across Southeast Asia who share our goals of democracy, freedom of information, and freedom of the media. The

community will value trust, open-mindedness, and engagement. This goal determines how we sustain the business and engage with our members.

New Naratif offers memberships for a minimum of US\$5 per month, or US\$52 per year (members may pay a higher rate at their discretion). By providing unlimited access for a flat fee, and eschewing advertising, we maintain a focus on our members as our customers. We sell a product of benefit to our members. Having paid for the product, members may do as they wish with the articles. They may share articles freely, and will therefore be the main promoters of the website. They will be encouraged to feel a sense of ownership of the website, to actively engage with each other and with the journalists, and build a community. *New Naratif's* journalists will, where appropriate, write reflective pieces to accompany their articles, explaining the process of writing and their personal journey in researching and writing the story.

Those who receive a shared article will view the article with a heading that states that the article has been gifted by a subscriber. This emphasises the member's ownership of the article, and the value of the article that the guest is reading.

Accordingly, *New Naratif's* key metric is **number of members**, not revenue or profits. We want our members to feel like they joined a movement to educate and inform, improve journalism, and promote democracy, freedom of information, and freedom of the media. A focus on membership size reminds readers that they are what we consider important, not revenues. It reminds them that we are completely dependent on their support, and that we answer to them, not to advertisers. It reminds members that we are a non-profit company, and that in our movement, money is only a means to an end.

On the principle that everyone is an expert at something, members will be asked, at sign-up, to indicate their areas of expertise, and might be called upon where appropriate to comment or even write about important issues. They may also take part in online discussions, access other resources on the website, and have the first opportunity to purchase tickets to events, books, and other merchandise. They will be regularly solicited for feedback, and given the opportunity to input on major decisions about the website.

New Naratif seeks to build trust. We will be as transparent as possible, especially with regards to our funding, expenditure, and editorial decisions. We will publish reports for our members, and hold open editorial meetings. We will have a professional, stringent, editorial process; fact checkers; and be accountable to our members.

Organising and Capacity Building

New Naratif will also build an offline community, starting with Singapore, with expansion to other cities (ideally, starting with Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta) when feasible. *New Naratif's* audience is by definition city-based, but a city-based approach also recognises that cities, not countries, are nexûs of

human interaction. Cities’ hinterlands cross national boundaries, particularly across borders dating from the colonial period. For example, Singapore’s hinterland includes Johor and Batam; Penang’s includes Medan; and Bangkok’s includes southern Myanmar.

Events will be periodically organised by *New Naratif*, aiming to educate and inform the Southeast Asian public, allowing them to make better decisions on their lives; bring together people in collaborative and collegial discussions; present ground-breaking and relevant research, especially by our researchers; and build a sense of community among our members. Events are a tangible product which members can appreciate. Interactions between our staff and our members increases trust.

The events will encompass a range of commitment levels. For example, those who want a more passive experience can attend a film club, in which films from around the world (but in particular Asia) will be screened. These films will address important issues, such as human rights or democracy in practice, and will be followed by a discussion on the film. Those who want to learn can attend citizenship courses, in which citizens learn about their rights and responsibilities as laid out in the constitution. A more interactive experience will be offered by democracy workshops, in which people role play difficult decisions and learn the difficult process of creating a fair decision making process, listening to a wide range of views, and coming to a consensus.

Benchmarks, Targets, and Key Performance Indicators

New Naratif will launch a three-month membership drive which will include public events and outreach. Beyond the initial start-up period, *New Naratif* will hire staff, commission articles, and publish where it has the funding to do so in a sustainable fashion.

	Milestone	Achievement Date	Means of Verification (Metric or Target)
Milestone 1 (Start)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achieved stability of basic product. The website is operating at the minimum viable level, including articles, comics, podcasts, and events. Management staff are employed part-time; Writers and artists are freelance. 	By end 2018	<p><u>Strong Start</u>: Have 1,000 members</p> <p><u>Fully Functioning and Properly Resourced</u>: Completed and launched phase 1; Completed phase 1 hires and have sufficient human resources.</p> <p><u>Impact</u>: 10 cycles published (50 articles published, 20 comics published, 20 podcast episodes released, 12 events organised) per year.</p>
Milestone 2 (Growth)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> At 2,000 members, the minimum viable level can be maintained indefinitely 	By end 2019	<p><u>Strong Growth</u>: Have 2,000 members</p> <p><u>Fully Functioning and Properly</u></p>

	<p>from its own revenue.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expansion to Kuala Lumpur. 		<p><u>Resourced</u>: Completed and launched phase 1; Completed phase 1 hires and have sufficient human resources. <u>Impact</u>: 12 cycles published (60 articles published, 24 comics published, 24 podcast episodes released, 16-20 events organised) per year.</p>
Milestone 3 (Expansion)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> At 3,500 members, the minimum viable level can be maintained indefinitely from its own revenue. At this point, the site will move to phase 2. As revenues increase, key staff will become full time; outputs will increase; a research team has been established to back up the journalism and production staff. 	By end 2020	<p><u>Sustainable</u>: 3,500 members. <u>Impact</u>: 16 cycles published (80 articles published, 32 comics published, 32 podcast episodes released, 20-24 events organised) per year.</p>
Milestone 4 (Maturity)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> At 7,500 members, the site is fully sustainable at the new level. Following this level, as revenues increase, the site will seek to gradually make its staff full time; expand outputs; and eventually expand to a third city (e.g. Jakarta). 	By end 2023	<p><u>Mature</u>: 7,500 members. <u>Fully Functioning and Properly Resourced</u>: Completed and launched phase 2; Completed phase 2 hires and have sufficient human resources. <u>Impact</u>: 50 cycles published (250 articles published, 100 comics published, 100 podcast episodes released, 60 events organised) per year.</p>

Audience and Distribution

New Naratif's target audience is Southeast Asian urban residents who are aged 18 and above, have at least a secondary school education, speak and read English and/or Bahasa Indonesia, use smartphones to browse the internet, have some disposable income, are politically aware, have centrist or progressive political leanings, and are curious about the world around them. In our first phase, our initial market is Singapore.

Our research indicates the following: First, these segments prioritise the following jobs (things customers are trying to get done in their work or in their life, including tasks they are trying to perform and complete, problems they are trying to solve, or the needs they are trying to satisfy):

- Articles which are relevant to their own lived experience, which reflect and explain the world around them, and which help them make better decisions and lead better lives.
- Discovering new things about the world around them, including new and unexpected perspectives, issues, and culture.
- News which is honest, accurate, and fair in its reporting, enabling them to trust the news source and form reliable opinions based on the news.
- Being efficient in their news gathering and reading.
- Articles which can catalyse real life engagement, by giving information which they can discuss with their friends and colleagues.

Second, these segments prioritise the following pains (things which annoy customers before, during, and after trying to get a job done or simply prevent them from getting a job done):

- Fear of political persecution by state authorities, and equally, frustration and resentment towards the existence of persecution.
- Frustration with inaccurate news, lack of validation, and fact checking.
- Wariness towards news sites and their motivations (especially those which claim objectivity), and a desire for transparency, accountability, and accuracy to allow users to make their own judgements about the goals and motives of any website or writer.
- Fear of data exploitation and a desire for privacy and security online.
- Frustration and annoyance with poor online user experience.
- Frustration with poor quality writing, including boring or insipid writing, and an overly serious tone.

Third, these segments prioritise the following gains (outcomes and benefits customers want):

- A cheap (ideally free), value for money news source.
- A preference to fund writers and artists directly, rather than through a middle man.
- A tangible, real world product, rather than a digital-only product.
- An entertaining, accessible, fun news source which is well written, thought-provoking, that is a pleasure to read and easy to use and access.

- A desire to feel cutting edge, intelligent, and well informed.

Subsequent research and experience indicated that Singaporeans responded most strongly to the following:

- A clear moral purpose and values, as expressed in the manifesto
- Transparency, accountability, and communicativeness.
- A clear commitment and long term plan for political change
- The Southeast Asian comparative and regional/transnational perspectives

New Naratif's value proposition is designed to target the above customer segments, by offering a product which do the jobs, relieve the pains, and generate the gains that our target audience is looking for.

AUDIENCE MATRIX

	Progressive	Educated	Politically Aware
New Naratif	Independent with progressive values	Evidence-based journalism and in depth reportage	Explicitly espouses political participation and values of freedom of information and transparency
Straits Times	Promotes the conservative, establishment position	Unable to provide a critical view due to establishment control	Explicitly against greater political openness and awareness
The Online Citizen	Independent with progressive values	Breaking news and opinion pieces; no in-depth analysis and commentary	Implicitly promotes political values of freedom of information and transparency
Mothership.sg	Funded by pro-establishment interests and relies on government business	Breaking news and opinion pieces; no in-depth analysis and commentary	Claims neutrality and apolitical reporting.

With this in mind, our strategy for connecting to our audience revolves around the following principles:

- We are a movement for freedom of information and the media. We are not in the business of selling news. Rather, our movement seeks to achieve its goal by producing high quality, engaging, evidence-driven content, and also by demonstrating the importance and viability that such content can play in the polity. By presenting ourselves as an overtly political movement, we are transparent about our motivations and goals; we energise and rally our core supporters, thus gaining greater loyalty and adherence to our site; and we alter expectations of our service. This helps ensure that, should we in the future have to scale back

our publishing and events schedule, people will still recognise what we do and be more forgiving of our financial constraints.

- Trust is a key component of our value proposition. It is not enough to sell good quality journalism; people have to trust the source. Hence, our emphasis on transparency, accountability, and constant communication with our audience. Trust is also built through face to face encounters with our audience, and the building of deep connections with our members.
- Consequently, events are of critical importance. However, they are not simply to meet members, but to provide members with a personal connection to *New Naratif* and a tangible product that they can recognise the value of. By bringing people together, we build a community of like-minded people who form personal bonds, building loyalty to *New Naratif* and keeping them coming back again and again to our website and our events.
- In a market where news is generally taken seriously, we take a lighter and friendlier tone with our members. A more personal, less serious tone makes us distinct from every other publication in Singapore, and softens our harder edge with a friendlier attitude.

Our stories reach our audience primarily through our website (www.newnaratif.com), which is mobile responsive and designed to be read on a variety of screens, as well as through a variety of social media channels (Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Line, and WeChat). We currently have 1,903 likes and 2,192 follows on Facebook, and 265 followers on Twitter.

We personally meet our audience at least once a month at our events (above), which include the film club, courses, and workshops.

We plan to subsequently will expand to Kuala Lumpur, which has a similar profile to Singapore (also English-speaking, middle to high income, not accustomed to paying for news online). While both segments are very similar, Kuala Lumpur residents are distinguished by already having access to freely accessible, independent news websites of reasonable quality, hence a greater need to distinguish ourselves with our approach.

Partnerships

Nothing truly great was ever achieved alone. We will always be mindful of our limitations and act with humility. In pursuit of our goals, *New Naratif* will collaborate with potential partners who share our goals, including governments, think tanks, non-governmental organisations, universities, the mainstream media, and other actors. We recognise that important information can come from a great variety of sources, and will act in the Southeast Asian spirit of collegiality and constructive engagement to bring that information to our members.

Evolution and Growth

The launch of *New Naratif* is only the beginning. Recognising the uncertainties and significant unknowns in a venture of this nature, *New Naratif* is committed to a policy of continuous learning, evolution, and experimentation to discover a sustainable business model. To this end, we will employ a specialist in data analysis, who will issue a report card of our key metrics every week. We will iterate the site weekly in response to what we learn.

In the long term, the vision of *New Naratif* is to expand our community to every capital and major Southeast Asian city, covering all major Southeast Asian languages in translation, thereby illuminating Southeast Asia for its people and bringing us all closer together.

Conclusion

We have arrived at a moment in human history which presents us with a unique opportunity to re-think and build a new media organisation that brings together journalists, academia, and artists for the betterment of society. The reality of much traditional media in Southeast Asia is that, without the traditional barriers erected by governments and the establishment, they would fail. Technology and the internet have progressed to the point where barriers to a free media in Southeast Asia can now be bypassed.

The people of Southeast Asia want, and deserve, something better, something more meaningful, something more empathetic. In delivering this to them, a sustainable business model can be realised and used to make Southeast Asia a better place. The vision of *New Naratif* proposes a freer and more democratic Southeast Asia – and a more *Southeast Asian* Southeast Asia. We warmly invite those who share our vision to join us.

Appendix I: Project Budget

50 articles published, 20 comics published, 20 podcast episodes released, 12 events organised

Monthly Costs			
	Unit Costs (USD)	Number	Total Cost per Month
Virtual Office Space			
• Rent	100	1	100
Subtotal			100
Digital Platform			
• Website hosting plan	200	1	200
• Server Management	200	1	200
Subtotal			400
Staff			
• Editor-in-Chief	4,000	0.5	2,000
• Administrator	2,000	0.25	500
Subtotal			2,500
Content			
• Articles (including photographs and translation)	450	5	2,250
• Comics	450	2	900
• Podcasts	450	2	900
Subtotal			4,050
Total Monthly Costs			7,050
Total Yearly Costs			84,600

Income	Unit Income	Yearly	
		Number	Total Income
Subscriptions*	48	1000	48,000
Total			48,000

*Subscription fee is USD\$52/year. Cost reflects online transaction fees of approx. 3.4% + GBP\$0.20.

Appendix II: Manifesto

1. *New Naratif* explains, educates, and empowers

Southeast Asia is complicated, heterogeneous, and multifaceted. It is divided along numerous political, class, religious, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic lines. At the same time, authoritarian governments are intolerant of alternative perspectives. Establishment interests openly and proudly seek to keep citizens ignorant, apathetic, and confused. The media is largely heavily controlled and censored. This keeps citizens in a state which allows governments to not only impose authoritarian and anti-democratic practices, but to justify such policies by citing citizens' ignorance and apathy.

New Naratif explains how Southeast Asia works. We explain the forces which shape the world around us, which shape our thoughts, values, and actions. We give people the information and perspectives needed to be informed and to communicate effectively in the context of complexity and diversity. We do not chase the news or parrot whatever grabs the most attention. We publish original work that provides the greatest insight. Our correspondents cover important developments in their area of interest, rather than speculating about breaking news or the latest scare. We do so without fear or favour.

2. *New Naratif* challenges oversimplification and stereotyping

The news tends to be dominated by soundbites, stereotypes, and clichés. The English-language media is also often Western-centric, resulting in coverage of Southeast Asia that relies on easy tropes pandering to the interests and assumptions of Western audiences. *New Naratif* challenges this oversimplification of ideas and perceptions, placing less emphasis on what is trending and more on what is truly relevant. We prioritise immersion and connection over parachute journalism; our content is produced by contributors who are plugged into what's happening on the ground. We take the time to do investigative pieces and create a space for alternative journalistic formats. We take the pains to be transparent about our own journalistic choices and dilemmas, carefully conduct research into issues, create nuanced dialogues, and regularly address the influence of other media in our own reporting. Our efforts to tackle clichés and stereotyping also extends to our choices of images and illustrations.

3. *New Naratif* is openly subjective

New Naratif requires our correspondents to be engaged in the world they're reporting on. Often, attempts at objectivity result in a reporting model which provides false equivalence between two opposing sources. Our correspondents strive to be fair, accurate, and independent, but also explicit about the values and assumptions underlying what they write, and candid about their particular perspective on any given issue. They will evaluate, to the best of their ability, which side of a story is most credible, and exercise transparency regarding their judgments. Correspondents view the world from their own personal perspective and through the window of their particular interests. As an

organisation, we have no common political ideology; as individuals, we look at the world through moral frameworks. *New Naratif* does not have an opinion, beyond our stated values of democracy, human rights, and social justice, but each correspondent certainly does.

4. *New Naratif* stands for hope and solutions

News tends to make people feel cynical and powerless: “So much is wrong with the world, and I can’t do a thing about it.” *New Naratif* aims to counteract that effect with constructive journalism. This is a kind of journalism that not only brings problems and atrocities to our attention, but also proposes solutions – and ways to be part of those solutions. Constructive journalism is not the same as “good news.” It is journalism that strives both to hold up a mirror to our society and uses informed and research-based knowledge to get society moving. We encourage initiatives specifically meant to bring about positive societal change, and we hope to inspire people to believe in their society and work collaboratively for the greater good.

5. *New Naratif* actively involves our members in the journalistic process

New Naratif does not simply broadcast information. We do not see journalism as a one-way street, but rather as a dialogue between journalists and members, particularly those with professional or personal expertise on a given topic. The point of that dialogue is to share knowledge and experience regarding key developments of our times. To this end, correspondents share their ideas for stories and invite feedback, keep members apprised of their research with newsletters and notifications, and avail themselves of members’ expertise and experience to better their journalistic work.

6. *New Naratif* is free of ads

New Naratif is an ad-free platform. Disseminating messages (commercial or otherwise) for a fee is not permitted. We do not accept paid stories. Our business model is creating quality journalism for readers, not selling our readers to advertisers. *New Naratif* is, however, open to collaborating with partners who share our principles and contribute directly to our goals. Any such partnerships are subject to one non-negotiable condition: full academic freedom and editorial independence.

7. *New Naratif* thinks in terms of individuals, not target groups

New Naratif aims to build a community of curious, engaged individuals who wish to understand the world and make it a better place. We do not aim to reach a specific group of people, particular demographic category, or particular political alignment. Anyone who subscribes to our journalistic principles and our vision, or who identifies with a given author and their worldview, is welcome to join.

8. *New Naratif* is committed to an enduring relationship with our members

New Naratif simply would not exist without our members, and maintaining a sustainable relationship with them is our highest priority. *New Naratif* does not try to lure new members with benefits that existing members do not get. For the sake of editorial independence, members have no say over journalistic content, but they can provide input regarding both the course set by *New Naratif* and how we spend our resources. We continually take stock of member preferences, and we consult them when making major decisions about the platform.

9. *New Naratif* does not make profits

New Naratif is published by Observatory Southeast Asia, a private company limited by guarantee. It cannot be bought or sold. It is non-profit enterprise. All revenues are reinvested in our work. This keeps *New Naratif* from becoming hostage to short-term profit motives. Returns are dedicated to our mission – not the other way around.

Equally, it is an important principle that all content generators be paid for their content. A major flaw of the modern freelance economy is the lack of rights and protection of freelancers. *New Naratif* will not exploit freelancers. It will not solicit unpaid work for “exposure”. It will pay freelancers on time and in full.

10. *New Naratif* strives for maximum diversity

Journalism editorial boards and research centres tend to be dominated by elites, and are culturally more one-sided than society as a whole. In order to change that, *New Naratif* has a diversity policy. Our goal is to become, as a journalistic platform, as diverse as possible, with many voices. We prefer to hire people who make our organisation more diverse in terms of cultural heritage, ethnicity, skin colour, academic degree, sexual preference, and political orientation. Our conviction is that our organisation will never be diverse enough. Diversity is not a target to reach; it is a continual endeavour.

11. *New Naratif* believes in the privacy of our members

A common denominator for nearly all free services on the internet is that users pay for them by turning over their personal data. At *New Naratif*, our privacy policy prohibits us from collecting unnecessary personal information from our members. With respect to the data we do ask of our members, we apply the following criteria: 1) We collect only the data we are required by law to collect, or that is necessary for our platform to function correctly; 2) We do not sell this information to third parties; 3) Our reasons for collecting data must be explained clearly to our members; and 4) Wherever possible, members must have control over their own data.

12. *New Naratif* is ambitious in its ideals, yet modest in its claims

New Naratif seeks to promote democracy, freedom of information, and freedom of the media. We believe in human rights, social justice, and individual human dignity. We seek great change, but we cannot do this alone. *New Naratif* is open to collaboration with governments, corporations, universities, the mainstream media, or any other actors who share our goals. We are mindful of our limitations and act with humility in the Southeast Asian spirit of collegiality and constructive engagement.

FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE (FOSI)

Baarerstrasse 12, CH 6300 ZUG, Switzerland

January 31, 2018

Pingtjin Thum, Managing Director
Observatory Southeast Asia
7200 The Quorum
Oxford Business Park North
Oxford, Oxfordshire OX4 2JZ
United Kingdom

Re: Grant Number OR2017-39825

Dear Pingtjin Thum:

Foundation Open Society Institute (FOSI), a Swiss charitable foundation within the Open Society Foundations (www.opensocietyfoundations.org), is pleased to award **Observatory Southeast Asia** (the "Grantee") a grant with the terms and conditions set forth herein.

The grant is made as part of the activities of the **Program on Independent Journalism** of the Open Society Foundations and it shall be administered by AdminGroup Zrt. ("AdminGroup"), a Hungarian services company, acting as the agent of FOSI. We understand that Pingtjin Thum shall be the person responsible for administering the grant on Grantee's behalf.

This grant will be subject to the following terms and conditions:

GRANT PURPOSE, PERIOD, AMOUNT

This grant is awarded for **New Naratifs Start Up Grant** ("the Project"), as detailed in the Grantee's approved proposal dated November 5, 2017. The grant period shall be from **December 1, 2017 to September 30, 2018**. The maximum amount of the grant award shall be **75,000.00 USD**, to be expended as per the Grantee's approved budget dated November 5, 2017. The grant amount shall be fixed and transferred in USD.

PAYMENT

Upon receipt of the countersigned copy of this grant agreement ("Agreement"), and provided that any outstanding reporting and repayment obligations resulting from this or any grants from the Open Society Foundations have been satisfied, FOSI will pay the grant in accordance with the following schedule, to the bank account indicated below:

Date	Amount
February, 2018	50,000.00 USD
June, 2018	25,000.00 USD

GrantID: OR2017-39825

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issued
by
Grants Management/
AdminGroup

Bank Name:
Bank Address:

Bank account holder:
Bank account number:
IBAN code:
SWIFT code:



The Grantee may request in writing or online at <http://grantportal.admingroup.hu> that subsequent installments be transferred to a different bank account held in the Grantee's name.

COMMUNICATIONS, REPORTING

The Grantee is required, except where connectivity issues exist, to submit reports online at <http://grantportal.admingroup.hu>. Reports should make a reference to the Grant Number and shall be due on or before the dates set forth below:

Date	Report Type
May 1, 2018	Progress Report (narrative and financial)
October 31, 2018	Final Report (narrative and financial)

Narrative reports shall detail progress made in achieving the Project's goals and they shall also include any publications produced as part of the Project. FOSI may, at its sole discretion, request that the Grantee submit further information and/or materials related to the Project's activities and accomplishments. Financial reports should follow the structure of the Project budget, and should account for expenditures incurred during the period covered. Expenses incurred in a currency differing from the currency in which the grant is fixed should be translated to the currency of the grant for reporting purposes to FOSI using historic or weighted average foreign exchange rates calculated for the grant period. FOSI may, at its sole discretion, request that the Grantee submit a transaction-detail report supporting the expenses reported in the financial reports referred to herein as well as supporting documentation of any items listed in the transaction-detail report.

SIMPLIFIED NO-COST EXTENSION

A simplified no-cost extension extends the grant period up to one year from the end of the original grant period and/or modifies the reporting or payment schedules with no additional funding. A request for a simplified no-cost extension must be submitted to AdminGroup prior to the end of the current grant period and must include a rationale and proposed end date.

PROJECT PROPOSAL, BUDGET, BUDGET ADJUSTMENTS

The grant shall be expended according to the Project proposal and attached budget as approved by FOSI. The Grantee may make cumulative adjustments among the amounts specified for the items of expenditure, excluding salaries and benefits, of up to 10 percent of the total funds awarded without FOSI's prior approval.

AUDIT, RECORDKEEPING

The Grantee shall maintain receipts and invoices for all matters pertaining to this grant, and shall keep these available for inspection or audit by FOSI or its designee for four years following the end of the grant period.

MONITORING

FOSI may monitor and conduct an evaluation of the Grantee's operation under this grant, which may include visits from FOSI staff or representatives to observe and discuss the Grantee's activities and review financial and other records and materials connected with the activities financed by this grant.

PERSONAL DATA PROTECTION, FOSI'S RIGHT TO PUBLISH GRANT DATA

You acknowledge and agree to have any personal data included in your application and this Agreement, or disclosed later to FOSI in connection with the Project, held, processed, stored and transferred by FOSI and other entities within the Open Society Foundations (hereinafter: "the Management of Data"). You further acknowledge that the Management of Data shall serve the purpose of processing and monitoring this grant, informing you of FOSI activities, events and funding opportunities and any other legitimate purposes related to FOSI's publicly available charitable objectives. Accordingly, you understand and agree to the Management of Data to countries where a standard of protection lower than the standard of protection of your country of residence or origin may exist. Furthermore, you represent and warrant that you have adequately taken – and you undertake to continue taking – all necessary steps to ensure that the Management of Data by FOSI and other entities within the Open Society Foundations (irrespective of their location) is in accordance with the applicable personal data protection legislation, including in particular the notification of, and obtaining consents from, data subjects, as appropriate. You are at any time entitled to make an inquiry as to the processing of the personal data and request correction as necessary.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT, THE GRANTEE'S USE OF THE MARKS

The Grantee agrees not to refer to FOSI's support in relation to the Project, and further agrees not to use the Open Society Foundations name and logo trademarks (the "Marks") in any manner.

SUBGRANTS

The Grantee shall not grant funds to third parties to perform any of its duties or obligations under this Agreement, except as provided for in the approved proposal and budget, without the prior written consent of FOSI.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND EXPORT CONTROLS

Grantee represents and warrants that (a) Grantee will use the grant funds exclusively for activities identified in this Agreement and in the approved proposal and budget, and that (b) in connection with this Grant, Grantee will fully comply with applicable trade and economic sanctions and applicable export controls laws and regulations administered or enforced by the United Nations, European Union, any EU member state, Switzerland, and the United States, and applicable laws relating to combatting terrorism (collectively, "Applicable Regulations"). Pursuant to this representation and warranty, Grantee agrees that it will not use, directly or indirectly, grant funds in violation of Applicable Regulations, or in a manner as to cause FOSI to violate Applicable Regulations. Furthermore, Grantee (a) understands and acknowledges that FOSI may ask Grantee to provide signed certifications to FOSI confirming Grantee's compliance with this representation at any point up to five years after Grantee tenders the final payment under the Grant Agreement, and (b) agrees to provide such certifications upon request. Should FOSI determine, in its sole, exclusive and confidential discretion, that the Grantee has engaged, permitted or authorized activities in violation of this section, the Grantee shall return to FOSI in its entirety all monies paid to the Grantee hereunder.

REPAYMENT

At the conclusion of the grant period, the Grantee agrees to return unexpended funds and any interest thereon to FOSI. The Grantee also agrees to return any funds that are not covered by accepted reports within ninety (90) days of the final report due date, or by the deadline given by FOSI, whichever is later.

GRANTEE'S RESPONSIBILITY, AUTHORITY

This Agreement exists solely between FOSI and the Grantee, regardless of the Grantee's use of third parties for the Project. The Grantee shall, at all times, be responsible for execution of the Project and all salary, social security, legal, and taxation matters related to the execution of the Project and expenditure of the grant. The Grantee shall hold FOSI harmless from any damage or injury of any kind resulting from or caused by any act or omission of the Grantee related to this Project.

GrantID: OR2017-39825

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issued
by
Grants Management
Admin Group

The Grantee has no authority to act as an agent of FOSI; it shall not enter into any agreement on behalf of FOSI, or bind FOSI in any way.

CONSEQUENCES OF NON-COMPLIANCE

If the Grantee fails to use the grant funds for the purpose of the grant as set forth herein or if the Grantee fails to provide FOSI with narrative and financial reports properly substantiating the use of the grant funds for such purpose in a timely manner, or if FOSI is not satisfied that the Grantee is in full compliance with all the terms of this Agreement and the Grantee does not cure such failure upon FOSI's demand, FOSI may, at its sole discretion, immediately stop funding the Grantee. Furthermore, such non-compliance with the terms of this Agreement may also result in the Grantee becoming ineligible to receive further grants from FOSI and other entities within the Open Society Foundations.

TERMINATION

Notwithstanding the above consequences of non-compliance, if FOSI determines that the Grantee is in violation of any of the provisions of this Agreement, then FOSI may, at its sole discretion, terminate this agreement with 30 days' notice. The Grantee's repayment obligation in case of termination shall be limited to funds not yet already spent or irreversibly committed by the Grantee in good faith and in compliance with the terms of this Agreement up until the date of termination.

CHOICE OF LAW AND FORUM

This Agreement shall be interpreted in accordance with the laws of Switzerland, without regard to any conflict of law provisions, and any legal proceeding arising out of this Agreement shall be brought in the courts of Zug, Switzerland.

ENTIRE AGREEMENT, COUNTERSIGNATURE

This Agreement, together with the proposal and budget approved by FOSI, represents the final and complete understanding of the parties related to the grant award for the Project. Any modification, waiver, or amendment of this Agreement must be agreed to in writing by an authorized representative of the Grantee and an authorized representative of FOSI. Notwithstanding the foregoing sentence, if AdminGroup approves a simplified no-cost extension request of this Agreement from the Grantee, AdminGroup's electronic notification of such approval shall serve as an amendment of this Agreement. In the event of any conflict between this Agreement and the Project proposal or budget materials, the terms and conditions of this Agreement shall prevail. This grant award is conditional upon FOSI receiving an executed copy of this Agreement from the Grantee no later than 60 days from the date indicated on Page 1 of this Agreement.

Please return an executed copy of this letter to us, keeping a copy for your records.

On behalf of FOSI, may I extend my best wishes for the success of your Project.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature is written over a horizontal line. To the right of the signature is a circular stamp. The stamp contains the text "Foundation Open Society Institute" around the perimeter and "CH-6300 ZH" on the left side. In the center of the stamp, there are two overlapping circles.

AdminGroup Zrt.
acting on behalf of
Foundation Open Society Institute

Agreed to and accepted on behalf of the Grantee:

Signed: _____


Pingtjin Thum, Managing Director
Observatory Southeast Asia

Date: 27 February 2018

FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE (FOSI)

Baarerstrasse 12, CH 6300 ZUG, Switzerland

APPROVED BUDGET (USD)

	Unit Costs (USD)	Number	Total Cost per Month	FOSI USD
Virtual Office Space				
• Rent	100	1	100	88.67
Subtotal			100	88.67
Digital Platform				
• Website hosting plan	200	1	200	177.30
• Server Management	200	1	200	177.30
Subtotal			400	354.60
Staff				
• Editor-in-Chief	4,000	0.5	2,000	1773.05
• Administrator	2,000	0.25	500	443.26
Subtotal			2,500	2216.31
Content				
• Articles (including photographs and translation)	450	5	2,250	1994.68
• Comics	450	2	900	797.87
• Podcasts	450	2	900	797.87
Subtotal			4,050	3590.42
Total Monthly Costs			7,050	6250.00
Total Yearly Costs			84,600	75000.00