

NTS-Asia

- Security Beyond Borders -

NTS Training Course for Indonesian Police Lecturers, Doctors and NGO Leaders
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, NTU, Singapore
22- 24 Aug 2007



NTS Training Course Trainers and Participants

Many of the NTS issues facing Asia today are found in Indonesia. In recent years, the country has had to deal with a string of NTS challenges ranging from natural disasters, outbreaks of infectious diseases, environmental degradation, irregular migration, and others.

As an important agency in the country's security sector, it is imperative that members of the Indonesian police academy are sensitised to the security implications of a wide range of NTS challenges. Hence, a 3 day training course on Non-Traditional Security was held at the NTS-Asia Secretariat – the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University – and supported by the Ford Foundation in Indonesia.

Participants from Indonesia included 12 members from the Police Academy in Jakarta – comprising of Police Lecturers, Doctors and Trainers – as well as 5 Indonesian NGO representatives.

The NTS Training Course aimed to:

- Raise awareness of emerging NTS issues and challenges in the Asian region and beyond.

In This Special Edition

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(With particular emphasis on NTS issues and challenges in Indonesia).

- Understand the impact of NTS on states and societies in the region
- Provide gender-sensitive perspectives on NTS and human security issues, and
- Facilitate the exchange of information and experiences in responding to NTS threats through comparative policy studies, both at the national and regional level

The course began with introductory remarks by Dr. Meiwita Budiharsana, Country Representative of the Ford Foundation, Indonesia and Assoc. Prof Mely Caballero Anthony, Secretary-General of NTS-Asia and Coordinator of the NTS Programme in RSIS, NTU. 7 presentations were made during the course on various NTS themes by members of the NTS-Asia network as well as other specialists.

- **Transnational Crime** – Mr. Gunawan Husin, Deutsche Bank – Asia Pacific Head Office
- **Communal Violence and Insurgency** – Dr. Rizal Sukma, CSIS, Jakarta
- **Piracy/Maritime Security** – LTC Joshua Ho, RSIS, NTU
- **Climate Change and Environmental Security in Southeast Asia** – Ms. Sofiah Jamil, RSIS, NTU
- **Food Security in Southeast Asia: Issues and Challenges** – Mr. Len Garces, Worldfish Center, Malaysia
- **Poverty and Human Security** – Ms. Wenefrida Dwi Widyanti, SMERU Research Institute, Indonesia
- **Gender and Security** – Dr. Sumona Dasgupta, WISCOMP, Foundation for Universal Responsibility, India

A site visit to Singapore Ministry of Health was organized, where the participants were briefed on Singapore's defence mechanisms in time of a pandemic outbreak. Interesting questions were raised in sharing the experiences of Singapore and Indonesia.

On the final day of the course, participants grouped into 3 teams, presented what they believed to be the most pressing NTS issues to Indonesia and gave their

recommendations on could be done to address the situation.

The exchange of ideas amongst academics and practitioners from across the region was immensely engaging and worthwhile for all involved. All participants agreed that this pilot training course was a success and ought to be followed up with future courses for more of their colleagues to benefit from.

Upcoming NTS-Asia Network Events

Public Lecture on “A Discourse on Democratic Socialism”

Jointly organized by Ming Pao Monthly and the Centre of Asian Asian Studies

7 September 2007
Room 218, Graduate Conference Room
Hong Kong University

Conference on “Climate Change and Security in Asia”

Jointly organized by the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, NTU and the Swiss Embassy, Singapore

11-12 October 2007
Traders Hotel, Singapore

Second Residential Training Workshop on Migration, Globalisation, Security and Development

Organised by the South Asia Migration Resource Network (SAMReN)

10- 16 March, 2008
Godvari Village Resort, Nepal

Snapshots from the NTS Training Course



3rd Political Transitions and Political Change Workshop

CSIS, Indonesia

30-31 July 2007

After hosting the first two workshops in Singapore, the 3rd Political Transitions and Political Change workshop was held in CSIS, Jakarta. With a new audience, opinions gathered in Jakarta were of great variety thus generating many new thoughts regarding political transitions in the region.

The workshop was opened and closed by Dr Hadi Soesastro, Executive Director CSIS Jakarta, Colin Durkop, Regional Representative, Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Assoc. Prof Mely Caballero Anthony, RSIS, NTU. They noted that in an era of rapidly changing circumstances, changes in political trends and environments remain highly uncertain. The political developments in the past year in Southeast

Asia would, without a doubt, be significant to the way the papers presented during the workshop had assessed political transitions, in particular the Thai and Indonesian experience.

Six papers – namely on the Indonesian, Thai, Cambodian, Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore experience were presented, followed by an engaging series of discussions. The result of the workshops would be two deliverables – an edited book and a report on the workshop.



International SSR Workshops
7 – 11 March 2007, Manila

Jointly organized by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) Office for Regional Cooperation in Southeast Asia, the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS-Philippines and the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), two workshops were held in Manila to discuss issues related to SSR on 7-11 March 2007.

Security Sector Reform (SSR): Lessons to be Learned from Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia

This two-day experts' workshop brought together scholars and practitioners of SSR from Northeast and Southeast Asia. Heiner Hanggi of DCAF provided a conceptual overview of SSR and its relevance to peace, development and democracy. Papers were presented and discussed on current SSR processes in five countries – Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan and Thailand. The workshop gave an opportunity for the participants to analyze the various SSR contexts of the countries, compare the dynamics of pursuing SSR, and examine current challenges and opportunities for SSR. Among the points of convergence are the salient role of coercion in the politics and governance of these states, the common experience of undertaking difficult democratic transitions, and the glaring weakness and legitimacy problems of its political institutions, particularly those charged with civilian oversight over the security sector. Moreover, the participants underscored the lack of knowledge on SSR by the political leadership, the security sector institutions themselves, and civil society at large relative to other regions in the world such as Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. In the end, it was agreed that there is a serious urgency to disseminate information on SSR and develop a local constituency that will embrace and undertake advocacy for SSR.

Strengthening the role of ASEAN Parliaments in Security Policy Review

This two day workshop was attended by members of parliaments and their staff members from Southeast Asian Countries. Hans Born and Heiner Hanggi of DCAF provided a theoretical background on the significance of parliament exercising security policy review. Presentations were made by the participants on the various practices of Southeast Asian parliaments in the exercise oversight over security policy making.

Among the issues that were raised during the workshop are the relative weakness of parliaments in the exercise of effective oversight over policymaking, the presence of transparency and accountability deficits that severely curtail their ability to oversee the security sector, and the lack of knowledge and skills of parliamentarians on SSR. Pertinent topics in the ASEAN region such as the current project to develop a “security community” and human trafficking were also discussed.

The representative of the ASEAN Secretariat informed the participants that there is an opportunity for engaging ASEAN on the issue of SSR. This is in the form of the recently convened ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting. Among the future plans made by the participants include forming an SSR caucus of the parliamentarians in Southeast Asia and the conduct of dialogues between parliamentarians and the security forces or agencies, SSR scholars and other relevant stakeholders.





Policy Dialogue on "Safe Migration and Remittances"
10 June 2007, BRAC Inn

Speakers at a policy dialogue underscored the need for ratification of the 1990 UN Convention on Migrants' Rights. They also emphasised the need to declare the labour migration sector as a thrust sector. The speakers noted although migrant workers are contributing immensely to the national economy, they still go through a great deal of hardship at every stage of their migration process.

The policy dialogue was jointly organised by the Daily Star and the Refugee and Migratory Movement Research Unit of Dhaka University with the support of the Manusher Jonno Foundation at BRAC Inn on 10 June 2007.

The Chief Guest, Dr. Iftexhar Chowdhury, Advisor for Foreign Affairs and Expatriates' Welfare and Overseas Employment, reiterated the government's commitment to weed out irregularities in the recruitment sector. "The market for migrant workers is highly imperfect, characterized by high transaction costs, pervasive information gaps and misplaced information", he observed. Lauding the initiative of the policy dialogue the Adviser made a commitment to re-examine the implication of the ratification the 1990 Convention

Dr. Salehuddin Ahmed, the Governor of Bangladesh Bank, underscored the need to bring banking services closer to work places in host countries, lowering costs for remittance services, ensuring competitive exchange rate and providing savings and investment options both in foreign and domestic currencies.

Highlighting the plight of the Bangladeshi migrants deployed overseas Mr. Mahfuz Anam of the Daily Star in his introductory statement stated those should be looked into with our hearts. He urged the government for early ratification of the Convention.

Mr. Touhid Hossain, the Secretary-in-Charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs drew attention that it is not only remittances that are bringing benefit;

migration is also reducing pressure on job creation at home. In the context of stiff competition in global market for unskilled labour Mr. Hossain expressed the need for upgrading the skills of our migrant work force such as training in nurses.

In her keynote presentation Dr. Tasneem Siddiqui of Dhaka University argued for ratification of the Convention on the ground that it would not only provide protection to migrants at home but will also give Bangladesh the moral high ground to demand better treatment of its workforce overseas. She said any government committed to the rights of its migrants would appreciate the value of the Convention.

Dr. Justice Syed Refaat Ahmed observed that the 1990 Convention plays a pivotal and crucial role in the development of human rights standards and the rules of state conduct and responsibility. He also expressed the desire that the ratification of the Convention be made for the benefit of many who continue to be exploited at all stages of the migration process.

Ms. Rokia Rahman, former Advisor to the Caretaker Government of 2001, highlighted the need for curbing corruption and expressed her support for ratification. Ms. Shaheen Anam of Manusher Jonno Foundation deplored the lack of accountability of the recruitment industry and demanded appropriate actions against truant agencies. She also highlighted the role of the media in regard.

Among others, Afsan Chowdhury of BRAC, Saiful Haque of WARBE, Fayezuddin Ahmed of Manusher Jonno and Sheikh Rumana of BOMSA participated in the session on ratification and Md. Nazrul Islam of Agrani Bank, AKM Mosharrif of Bangladesh Krishi Bank, Mr. Abdul Mannan of Islami Bank and Dr. Jamaluddin Ahmed of Bangladesh Bank participated in the session on remittances.

No More Fear of Human Rights
By Rizal Sukma

People often say that life begins at 40. Apparently, this is true for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. At that age, ASEAN will have a charter. The charter will certainly confer a legal personality upon ASEAN. The charter is also expected to provide a strong basis for the emergence of a new and mature ASEAN. Such a charter began to take form when members of the High Level Task Force completed the first draft in Manila last week.

While the final draft still needs the approval of ASEAN leaders, there is indeed reason for celebration. For years, ASEAN has been accused of being afraid of human rights. For years, ASEAN has resisted the imperative to create a regional human rights mechanism in Southeast Asia. What came out of the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Manila last week, however, provided a sense of relief. ASEAN, at least in principle, no longer fears human rights.

After months of uncertainty, the first draft of the ASEAN Charter finally included the provisions for the establishment of an ASEAN Human Rights Commission. After months of being opposed by Myanmar, the proposal finally made it way to the first draft. Myanmar finally gave up its resistance to the noble proposal. ASEAN is finally demonstrating that differences, no matter how difficult they are, can be resolved.

For this, we need to salute Indonesia's Foreign Minister Hassan Wirayuda and his Philippines counterpart Foreign Minister Alberto Romulo. Without their active support and determination, ASEAN would have become the laughing stock of the international community. As minister Wirayuda put it, "we are now in the 21st century but some of us are still against the idea of a human rights body. Why should we be afraid of such body?" ASEAN just saved itself from a major embarrassment.

ASEAN would have become a laughing stock also if it gave in to resistance by country like Myanmar. It would be hard to imagine, for

Other NTS Network Events

International conference on "Making New Partnership: a Rising China and Its Neighbors "

26 - 27 July 2007
IAPS, CASS

Participants of this conference included scholars from the US, Russia, India, Japan, ROK, Vietnam, Singapore, Kazakhstan, and China, who presented on China's bilateral relations.

Indonesia: Democracy and the promise of good governance

27 June 2007
CSIS, Jakarta

This is a joint event of CSIS and the Indonesia Project at Australian National University. This seminar will also be the book launch of "Indonesia: Democracy and the promise of good governance" edited by Ross H. McLeod and Andrew McIntyre.

Seminar on "Asia is Learning the Wrong Lesson from its 1997-98 Financial Crisis: the Rising Risks of a New and Different type of Financial Crises in Asia"

22 June, 2007
IWEP, CASS

The speaker at this seminar is seminar Prof. Nouriel Roubini from New York University.

Conference on "The 10th Anniversary of Asian Financial Crisis: Lesson and Challenges"

20-21 June 2007
Beijing

Organizers of this event:-
Banking and Financial Research Institute, PBOC, Institute of World Economics and Politics, CASS and China Business News.

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example, that Indonesia -- a country that claims to be the third largest democracy on earth and the largest country in Southeast Asia -- could give in easily to the challenge by Myanmar and the like. ASEAN should be able to proclaim that any government that refuses to promote and protect the human rights of its own citizens has no place within ASEAN.

For Indonesia, the failure to include human rights in the charter might have undermined the image of the government. Indonesia's government would have been accused of being rich in rhetoric but poor in deeds. The absence of human rights provisions in the charter would have been seen as an evidence of a lack of genuine belief in human rights even though we often say that democracy and human rights are now our values.

Now that the provisions for human rights have been in principle agreed upon for inclusion in the charter, challenges remain.

First, we know that the final draft of the charter is still to be submitted to the ASEAN leaders at the summit in November this year. Many things could still happen from now to November. The task now is how to ensure that the leaders do not write off the agreement reached by the foreign ministers.

Second, the details about the operation of an ASEAN human rights commission are yet to be devised. The good news is, minister Wirayuda has instructed his subordinates to work on the terms of reference for the rights body. The challenge now is to ensure that those subordinates are up to the task and able to accelerate the process.

Third, many other important aspects of the ASEAN Charter still need further deliberation among ASEAN governments. The provisions on human rights, while undoubtedly crucial, only constitute one aspect of the charter.

Again, we salute minister Wirayuda and his team for their firm belief in the imperative of promoting and respecting human rights both at a national and regional level. This is not an easy task. Not all top government officials at the Foreign Ministry in Jakarta -- and this is more so at other ministries -- are convinced about the importance of human

rights. At the regional level, many are even cynical and opposed to the idea.

Despite such challenges, ASEAN can now embrace its 40th anniversary with a degree of pride and confidence. It has demonstrated to the world that in principle it no longer fears human rights. It has demonstrated that a meaningful ASEAN Charter, after so much enthusiasm since the plan to draft it was announced in December 2005, is after all possible.

For this achievement, hundreds of millions ASEAN citizens can proudly and happily cheer: "Happy Birthday ASEAN!"

** Dr Rizal Sukma is Deputy Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia*

*** This commentary appeared in the Jakarta Post on 8 August 2007*

**Freedom of Belief and the Paradox of
"Islam Hadhari":
Perspective of an Indonesian**

By Luthfi Assyaukanie*

The last minute cancellation of an international inter-faith conference in mid-May underscored the current unease over issues related to religion in Malaysia. The inability of the conference to proceed as planned reflects a certain paradox in the government's policy of Islam Hadhari. Under Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, the Malaysian government has been enthusiastically promoting Islam Hadhari or Civilizational Islam to emphasise the universal values and pro-development aspects of Islam. The goal is to present Malaysia as a moderate Muslim country which could be a role model for other Muslim countries in promoting harmony, progress, and economic development.

Issues related to religion

The failure of the inter-faith conference to take place was decried by some Malaysian Muslim

leaders. Former Deputy Prime Minister, Anwar Ibrahim, criticised it as “a mockery of the government's claims of being a moderate Muslim administration”. The conference was supposed to be an attempt at minimising the tensions between the Muslim majority and the religious minority groups in Malaysia. Its indefinite postponement only added up to the current atmosphere of religious disharmony in the country.

To be sure, Malaysia is a plural society where the different communities are generally free to practise their respective religious beliefs. Nonetheless, the relationship between the majority Muslim community and the minority groups has come under some stress over the last five years. Ironically enough this situation has arisen despite the government's ardent campaign on Islam Hadhari. Two out of the ten principles of Islam Hadhari are “freedom and independence to the people” and “protection of the rights of minority groups”. Yet one of the biggest challenges confronting the government is the issue of freedom of belief.

In January this year, Islamic officials arrested a Muslim woman and sent her for rehabilitation. Her “mistake” was to have a non-Muslim husband. She was forced to divorce her Hindu husband and asked to keep her baby away from the father to avoid the child being converted to Hinduism.

In March, R. Subashini, a Hindu wife whose husband converted to Islam, failed to have her divorce endorsed by the Civil Court and was instead referred to the Shariah Court. According to the Malaysian Constitution, the Shariah Court is created to manage the affairs of Muslims, while non-Muslims would go to the Civil or Federal Court. Ms Subashini feared that by going to the Shariah Court, she could lose her right to custody of her children.

In another case, Islamic authorities raided on 28 April a house belonging to a Hindu husband and his Muslim wife. The authorities forced them to separate as they were charged with having an illegal marriage. The authorities also took their three-year old daughter to prevent her from being converted into Hinduism.

Spirit of Classical Islam

The most widely-covered case was the one on Lina Joy, a Malay woman who was born a Muslim but converted to Christianity. Ms Joy was charged with “*murtad*” (apostasy) which according to Malaysia's Islamic law, attracts punishment.

All these cases are evidences of the paradox of Islam Hadhari, which Abdullah is trying to “export” to other Muslim countries. In Malaysia itself, the concept seems to have no strong roots, despite Abdullah's claim that it is being accepted as an ideal model by all Muslims in the country. The problem is that there is neither a clear definition of Islam Hadhari nor commitment on the part of the government's functionaries to the concept.

Many Muslims in Malaysia still believe in the superiority of Islam. It is not easy to create a tolerant environment if one group feels more superior to others. In any case, the spate of religion-related issues that are now under public glare despite Prime Minister Abdullah's Islam Hadhari seems to be contrary to the spirit of the classical Islamic civilization where dialogue and mutual respect were its distinct characteristics.

This was expressed by Anwar Ibrahim when he was quoted in the media as describing the postponement of the inter-faith conference as against the spirit of Civilizational Islam. Anwar said that “a dialogue can enable us to quell the tensions that arise from our differences. Islam has always enjoined Muslims to engage in dialogue with other religions, from the Abbasids in Baghdad to the Andalusians in Cordova”.

Progressive Islam

For Muslims who regard themselves as progressive, the model of Civilisational Islam is the golden age of classical Islam, especially in Baghdad and Cordova where religious harmony and tolerance was pervasive. Here comes the irony: for many Muslims in Malaysia, the role model of Islam is not the Baghdad or Cordova periods, but “the pious first generation” or what





they used to call “*al-salaf al-salih*,” from which the ideology of Salafism takes root.

The latter generation of Muslims, including those who lived in Baghdad and Cordova in the golden age, was considered an aberration. It is common knowledge that many Muslims are against

philosophy and speculative thinking -- two of the most significant attributes of the Islamic golden era of the past.

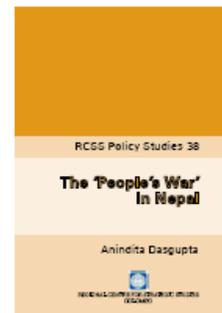
Accordingly, the same spirit is demonstrated by Malaysia’s political opposition, the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS). PAS leaders often

Recent Publications

People’s War in Nepal

By Anindita DasGupta
RCSS Policy Studies #38

The book, within a limited number of pages, takes the readers through Nepal’s long history to show how the exclusionary policies practiced by its various kings is primarily responsible for the democratic movement in 1990s, the *Janajati* movement for the next five years or so and the violent rejection of the exclusionary polity found in the Maoist movement that took charge of the country since mid-1990s. The practice of exclusion was both overt and covert, and based on caste as well as gender. The present book shows however that the Maoist movement, which proclaims to fight against exclusion and all kinds of discrimination, is apparently practicing both caste and gender discrimination among its cadres. The strains of a linguistically, culturally and racially divided society in Nepal are visible not only in the movement for democracy, but also in the *Janajati* and Maoist movements.



As is natural for any book on an ongoing movement to become partially outdated or even proven wrong, the last two chapters have a few lines that have become outdated, but they have not been proven wrong. The predicament of the common people and the uncertainty of the country’s future remain where they were one year ago when the present book was written.

Economic Crisis, Institutional Changes and the Effectiveness of Government: the Case of Indonesia

By Ari A. Perdana and Deni Friawan
CSIS Working Paper

Ten years after the crisis, Indonesia is still struggling to solve the problems in four major issues: economic stabilization and recovery, democratic transition and political reform, decentralization of political power, and the redefinition of national identity. This paper will explain the major changes in the political sphere, and how they affect the effectiveness of government in delivering economic recovery. This paper argues that democratic transition and decentralization affects economic recovery through the quality and effectiveness of governance. These changes have had mixed results in the economic policymaking. On the one hand the new system provides more check-and-balance mechanisms. On the other hand, it delays the decision-making process and creates new patterns of rent-seeking activities. This paper discusses these changes in two main parts. First, it quantitatively evaluates the impact of this transformation on the quality of institution and government effectiveness using the available and widely used Governance Indicators. Second, it provides a qualitative description on the process and outcomes of the political transformation

**Working
Paper
Available
[Online](#)**

criticise Mr Abdullah's concept of Islam Hadhari on the ground that it emphasizes too heavily the worldly aspects of life, neglecting the spiritual aspects as exemplified in the early periods of Islam. Like many Salafis, the PAS leaders would prefer the life of the Prophet's era as a model of Civilizational Islam rather than the latter ones represented by the Abbasids of Baghdad or the Umayyads of Cordova.

A clear definition of Islam Hadhari is seriously needed to decide the actual position of the government. It seems that this lack of conceptual grounding, as well as the lack of commitment to its implementation within the state apparatus, has been critical in creating the paradoxical situation surrounding Mr Abdullah's Islam Hadhari.

On the one hand, Malaysian leaders want to make their country modern, progressive, and tolerant, but on the other, it seems they are powerless to secure the civil liberties and religious rights of its citizens

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Workshop on "Pushing the Boundaries: Women and Leadership"

9 June 2007

**The Reading Room
Centre of Asian Studies, HKU**

Jointly organized by the Centre of Asian Studies and Women's Studies Research Centre, HKU, this year's annual workshop highlighted recent research on women and leadership in multiple contexts with a particular emphasis on Hong Kong. Topics addressed include: histories of individual women leaders and the links between micro and macro experiences; globalization, women, and leadership; the successes and failures of organized efforts to increase the numbers of women in positions of (public) leadership; and, the importance of contextualizing leadership by looking at specific setting, resources, cross-generational and cross-cultural factors.

Roundtable on Hong Kong's Population Policies: An International and Comparative View

20 March 2007

**Rm 218, Main Building
Centre of Asian Studies**

CAS, HKU has a long tradition in population studies and has participated actively in policy research. This roundtable, is part of the Centre's continual effort to strengthen research on population policy and provide a unique opportunity to bring together both international and local scholars working on generic policy process research and on population studies in particular. Panelists come from Singapore, Mainland China, Italy and United Kingdom in addition to local experts. The roundtable thus facilitated dialogue between academics and policymakers from various backgrounds, and fostered an exchange of knowledge and perceptions on population policies. Such a comparative and international approach would also offer new visions on Hong Kong population policy with a greater level of diversity and originality.

The roundtable is also one of the main events during the "International and Theoretical Perspectives on Social Policies: a Week of Dialogue" that has been organized by the Strategic Research Theme on Social and Public Policy at the University of Hong Kong (19 - 23 March 2007)

