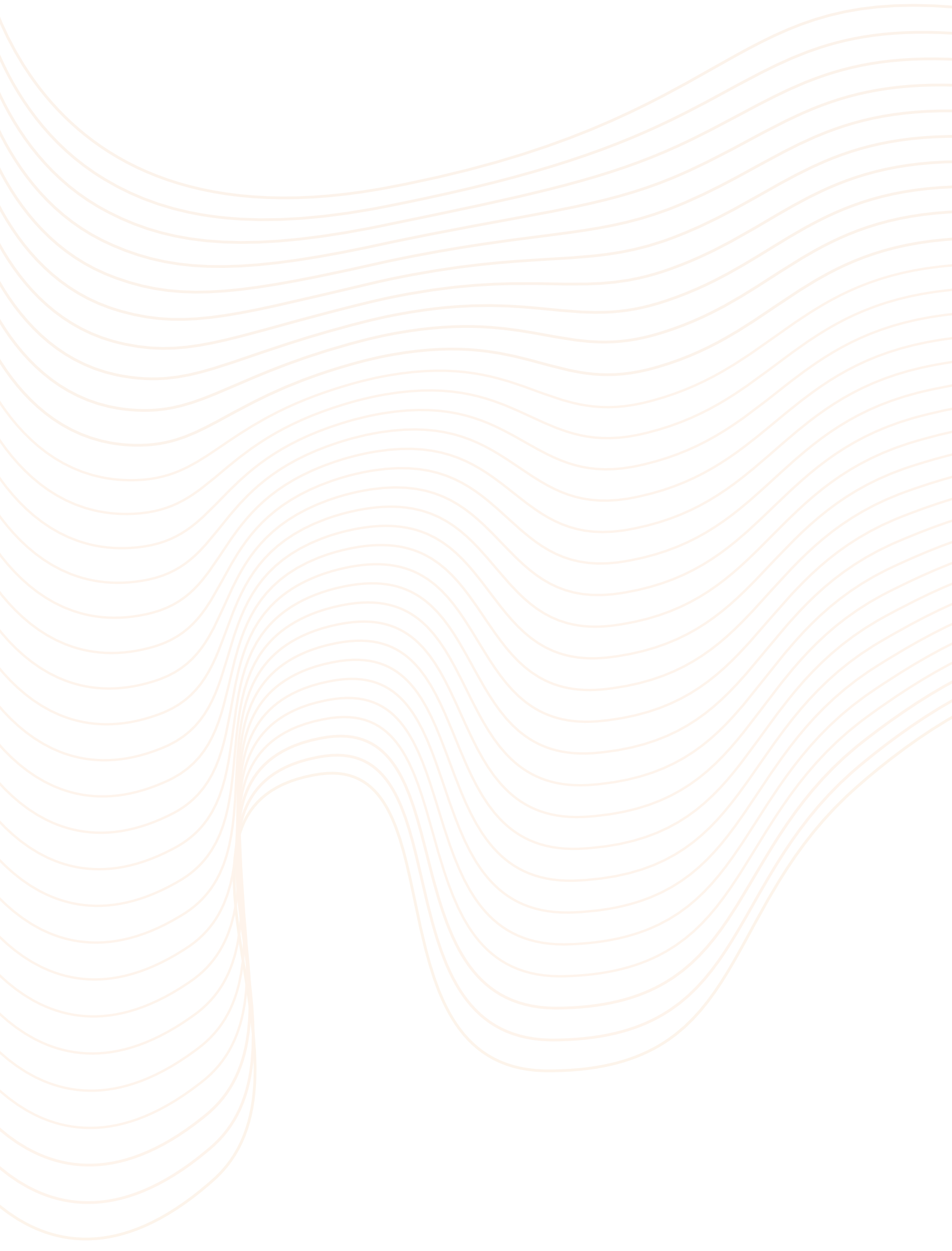




THE CENTER TO COMBAT
CORRUPTION AND CRONYISM

THE CENTER TO COMBAT CORRUPTION & CRONYISM 2025 ANNUAL REPORT





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Message from Board of Directors

The year 2025 marked a pivotal moment for governance and anti-corruption reform in Malaysia. Public expectations for accountability remained high, yet progress toward meaningful institutional reform continued to lag behind political rhetoric. While commitments to integrity and transparency were frequently reiterated by those in power, the absence of decisive structural change once again underscored the gap between promise and practice.

Throughout the year, C4 Center remained steadfast in its role as an independent watchdog and reform advocate. Our work consistently highlighted that corruption in Malaysia is not merely a matter of enforcement outcomes, but of entrenched systems that allow abuse of power, conflicts of interest, and selective accountability to persist. Developments surrounding high-profile prosecutions and pardons continued to erode public confidence in the rule of law, reinforcing the urgent need for reforms that safeguard institutional independence and due process.

Key reform priorities long advocated by C4 Center—including the establishment of a truly independent Ombudsman, separation of the Attorney General and Public Prosecutor's roles, stronger whistleblower protection, transparent political financing, and a comprehensive public procurement framework—remain largely unresolved. In several instances, incremental policy changes risked being misrepresented as substitutes for a coherent institutional overhaul capable of addressing grand corruption and elite capture.

At the same time, 2025 demonstrated the growing importance of broadening the anti-corruption agenda beyond traditional silos. C4 Center's work continued to expose the nexus between corruption, environmental governance, climate policy, and large-scale development projects, where weak oversight and opaque decision-making pose long-term risks to public interest. These intersections demand not only technical regulation, but political will and public accountability mechanisms that place integrity at the centre of governance.

The Board recognises that sustaining this work requires both organisational resilience and strategic clarity. Over the past year, C4 Center has strengthened its institutional foundations, expanded its research depth, and reinforced its engagement with policymakers, civil society partners, and regional networks. Equally important has been the organisation's growing emphasis on youth engagement, legal empowerment, and public education—critical to ensuring that reform demands are not confined to elite discourse, but grounded in lived public experience.

As we look ahead, the Board remains convinced that meaningful reform is neither inevitable nor self-executing—it must be demanded, defended, and institutionalised. C4 Center will continue to play its role in holding power to account, amplifying public interest, and advancing reforms that are not cosmetic, but transformative. The need for credible institutions, clear rules, and genuine accountability has never been more urgent.

We commend the C4 Center team for navigating a challenging reform environment with professionalism, courage, and intellectual rigour. Their commitment to evidence-based advocacy, independence, and principled engagement continues to distinguish the organisation as a leading voice in Malaysia's governance landscape.



Professor Emeritus Dr. Edmund Terence Gomez

Chairman

Edmund Terence Gomez was Professor of Political Economy at the Faculty of Economics & Administration, University of Malaya. He specializes in state-market relations and the linkages between politics, policies, and capital development. He has also held appointments at the University of Leeds (UK) and Murdoch University (Australia) and served as Visiting Professor at Kobe University, Japan and at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Between 2005 and 2008, he served as Research Coordinator at the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), in Geneva, Switzerland. Other academic appointments include Visiting Fellowships at the Australian National University, Canberra and at the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Denmark. He has written and published several books on politics, economics, and Government-Linked Corporations (GLCs).



Azrul Bin Mohd Khalib

Director

A firebrand social activist who has dedicated his life to fighting for human rights and public health. He now heads a social policy thinktank called the "Galen Centre". His previous positions include being a senior manager with the Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS) as well various positions in humanitarian organisations such as the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). As a writer, Azrul is a frequent columnist for the Malay Mail and China Press.



Cynthia Gabriel

Founding Director

Cynthia Gabriel, is easily recognized as a key advocate of human rights and good governance in Malaysia and on the global platform. She was the recipient of the Anti-Corruption Champions Award 2022, a prestigious award conferred by the US Department of State. In June 2021, at a rare and exceptional invitation by the President of the United Nations General Assembly, Cynthia addressed the plenary of member states at their special session against corruption. Cynthia was appointed into the prestigious Global Future Councils of the World Economic Forum (WEF), on economic and anti-corruption issues for the term 2019-2020, an advisory body to the World Economic Forum. In 2020, Cynthia received a meritorious award by the King of Malaysia, for her outstanding efforts in fighting corruption and courage in advancing democratic freedoms in Malaysia and the region. Academically well-rounded, she has degrees in both the science and legal fraternities.



Datuk Sutinah Binti Sutan

Director

Dato' Hjh. Sutinah binti Sutan started her career in the Malaysia Anti-Corruption Commission (MACC) on June 1980. Throughout her decades of service, she quickly moved up the ranks as she dedicated her life to preventing corruption. She was formerly the Deputy Chief Commissioner (Prevention) of the MACC from 2010 until her retirement. She is involved in numerous local and international taskforces and committees that promote integrity including the National Integrity Committee on Public Governance as Chief Secretariat, Integrity Committee on Policy, System and Procedure, the National Integrity Plan, the MACC Oversight Group, the South-East Asian Anti-Corruption Pact (SEAPAC), ADB-OECD Anti-Corruption Initiatives for Asia and the Pacific, and the International Association of Anti-Corruption Authorities. Dato' Hjh. Sutinah binti Sutan holds a Bachelor Degree in Humanities from the University of Science Malaysia.

PUSHPAN MURUGIAH

CEO's Note

“Steadfast in the face of adversity.”

As I enter another year as CEO, I am proud to present our 2025 Annual Report. The past year has been one of consolidation, deeper engagement, and strategic expansion for C4 Center. Our work has evolved beyond advocacy and commentary into more direct participation in reform processes, while strengthening our presence across policy spaces, public discourse, and community engagement.

Our focus remains firmly on institutional reform. In 2025, C4 Center continued to play an active role in shaping the development of an Ombudsman Malaysia through regional consultations, policy refinement workshops, and public-facing engagements. We have consistently advocated for an ombudsman institution that is independent, empowered, and equipped with strong investigative authority.

We also strengthened our engagement on transparency and access to information. Our appointment to the Pro-tem Committee for the drafting of the Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill marked a significant milestone, placing C4 Center at the centre of legislative reform discussions. Through continued consultations with key stakeholders, we contributed to ensuring that the proposed framework reflects both international standards and practical governance realities.

Beyond formal policy processes, we continued to address systemic corruption risks across key sectors, including government procurement, whistleblower protection, business integrity, and migrant labour governance. Our participation in consultations such as the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) 3.0 review reinforced the need for stronger oversight and enforcement mechanisms to address organised criminality and its enabling structures. These engagements reflect our position that corruption is not an isolated issue, but one that intersects with labour rights, human rights, and democratic governance.

The year also required us to take a more visible role in defending democratic space. We participated in civil society actions calling for judicial independence and the protection of fundamental freedoms, recognising that meaningful anti-corruption reform is inseparable from strong institutions and an open civic space.

Environmental governance remained a key pillar of our work. We continued to expand our focus on the intersection between corruption, environmental policy, and industrial governance, highlighting how weak oversight and opacity contribute to environmental harm. This work reflects our broader approach of addressing corruption as a structural issue across sectors.

Report Launches

In 2025, we strengthened our research and advocacy through the launch of key reports addressing critical gaps in Malaysia's anti-corruption framework.

At the start of the year, we organised the forum “Promises versus Progress: Are the Government's Anti-Corruption Pledges Enough?”, where we launched “Navigating Reform: Opportunities and Challenges in the National Anti-Corruption Strategy 2024–2028.” The report examined the government's anti-corruption roadmap, highlighting gaps in ambition, accountability, and implementation, while raising questions about the feasibility of achieving long-term reform targets without stronger structural changes.

We also launched “Whistleblower Protection or Suppression? A Decade of Section 203A of the Penal Code,” which examined the legal barriers faced by whistleblowers in Malaysia. The report demonstrated how Section 203A of the Penal Code has fostered a culture of fear and secrecy, discouraging the exposure of wrongdoing. It called for the repeal of Section 203A, the strengthening of the Whistleblower Protection Act 2010, the



enactment of a Right to Information Act, and amendments to the Official Secrets Act 1972 to better support transparency, public accountability, and a truly safe environment for whistleblowers in Malaysia.

Policy Briefs

In 2025, C4 Center focused heavily on producing policy briefs, marking an important shift in how we communicate research and engage decision-makers. Recognising the need for more accessible and timely policy engagement, we began producing concise, targeted briefs that translate complex analysis into clear and actionable recommendations. These outputs are designed to bridge the gap between research, advocacy, and policymaking, ensuring that our work remains relevant and responsive to evolving governance challenges. This included policy briefs on the amendments to the Whistleblower Protection Act and The Government Procurement Act.

Private & Public Sector Engagement

The private sector remains a critical component of Malaysia's governance ecosystem, particularly where corruption risks intersect with procurement, compliance, and business integrity. Throughout the year, we engaged with stakeholders across both public and private sectors to promote stronger integrity frameworks and address systemic risks.

At the Association of Development Financial Institution of Malaysia (ADFIM) National Conference on Integrity & Governance (NCIG 2025), we highlighted how Malaysia's government-linked company (GLC) ecosystem has evolved into a complex structure characterised by concentrated power, blurred public-private boundaries, and persistent governance vulnerabilities. Drawing on historical patterns and major cases, we emphasised that corruption within GLCs is structural rather than incidental, requiring

“ At C4 Center, we remain committed to advancing reforms that are principled, practical, and structural in nature. ”



comprehensive institutional reform.

This focus continued through our engagement at the Sabah Credit Corporation Compliance & Integrity Conference and Development Bank of Sarawak (DBOS) Integrity Day in Sarawak, where we addressed similar structural challenges. Across these platforms, we emphasised the need for independent governance structures, greater transparency in ownership and procurement, and clearer limits on discretionary power.

Workshops and Events

Throughout 2025, C4 Center participated in and convened a wide



range of workshops, forums, and public engagements that expanded our advocacy beyond traditional policy spaces.

From our anti-corruption forum at the beginning of the year to community-based initiatives later on, our work brought together stakeholders from civil society, academia, government, and the public. Key engagements included public discussions, civil society briefings on whistleblower reforms, and community workshops on anti-money laundering involving migrant worker groups.

Government Engagement & Working Trips

Our engagement with government institutions deepened significantly throughout the year. Through formal roles, consultations, and policy dialogues, C4 Center contributed to discussions on access to information, institutional reform, and governance frameworks.

We also engaged directly with Members of Parliament and policymakers on key reform areas, including government procurement, political financing, whistleblower protection, and environmental governance. These efforts reflect our approach of combining external advocacy with constructive engagement within institutional processes.

Regional and International Engagement

Regionally and internationally, C4 Center continued to strengthen its role as a Malaysian civil society voice in anti-corruption and governance discussions.

Through platforms such as Southeast Asian Anti-Corruption Network (SEA-CAN) and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), we contributed to regional dialogues on public procurement, civic space, and emerging corruption risks. Our participation in discussions on the nexus between cybercrime and corruption, including engagements linked to the United Nations Cybercrime Convention held in Vietnam and the 11th Session of the Conference of the States Parties (CoSP11) to UNCAC in Doha, highlighted the growing importance of cross-border cooperation.

These engagements reinforced that cybercrime and corruption are deeply interconnected, often enabled by weak governance, regulatory gaps, and institutional complicity. They also underscored the critical role of civil society in providing oversight, supporting victims and whistleblowers, and advancing policy solutions in an increasingly complex digital landscape.

Looking Ahead to 2026

2026 will be a critical year for Malaysia's reform landscape. While progress has been made, many key reforms remain incomplete and will require sustained commitment and advocacy. As civil society, we must continue to ask whether reforms are truly transformative or merely incremental adjustments within existing structures.

At C4 Center, we remain committed to advancing reforms that are principled, practical, and structural in nature. We will continue working across institutions, with communities, and alongside regional partners to strengthen transparency, accountability, and democratic governance in Malaysia.

Acknowledgments

I extend my deepest gratitude to our Board, partners, and supporters for their continued trust and support. To the C4 Center team, thank you for your dedication, resilience, and unwavering commitment to this work. Your efforts continue to drive meaningful impact across all areas of our organisation. Together, we will continue to challenge systems of power and push for a Malaysia that is truly transparent, accountable, and just.

Pushpan Murugiah,
Chief Executive Officer

The C4 Center Team



Pushpan Murugiah

Chief Executive Officer

Pushpan Murugiah is a founding committee member of C4 Center, has an honours law degree from the University of London. He also holds an MBA and holds specialized certificates in various areas related to corruption, ethics, and climate change, including certificates in relation to protecting the rights of vulnerable and marginalized groups affected by climate change, human rights, health, and environmental governance.

He has authored and co-authored publications on the “State of Corruption: Power, Politics and Policies in Malaysia” and “PFI: The search for accountability” amongst other publications; he has also researched about mutual legal assistance. He has also been a panelist and keynote speaker on topics such as “Political Funding Regulation and Corruption: An Institutional Problem”, thereby equipping him with valuable knowledge on the political landscape.



Arief Hamizan

Head of Research and Policy Advocacy

Arief Hamizan is the Head of Research and Policy Advocacy at C4 Center, where he leads research and advocacy on a broad range of reform issues, including whistleblower protection, freedom of information, political financing, and environmental governance. He holds an MSc Comparative Public Policy from the University of Edinburgh, graduating with distinction as a Chevening Scholar. His dissertation investigated the relationship between colonial land regimes and the construction of indigenous identity in Peninsular Malaysia and Singapore, and its impact upon policymaking following independence. Arief also holds an LLB from the International Islamic University Malaysia and completed his pupillage at a major Malaysian law firm, where he worked in corporate litigation with a focus on anti-corruption issues and government abuses of power.



Farhana Baharin

Finance and Administrative Officer

Farhana has a strong track record in financial management, programme support, and organizational operations at C4 Center. She holds a background in Accounting, and brings with her over nine years of experience in the oil and gas corporate sector, complemented by a decade of service in her current organization. She plays a key role in managing financial and administrative functions, including the development of grant proposal budgets and ensuring timely and compliant grant reporting in accordance with funder requirements. Farhana also contributes to cross-functional initiatives by supporting programme implementation and working closely with the events team to coordinate logistics and ensure the smooth execution of events. She ensures operational efficiency while maintaining high standards of compliance and accountability.



Intan Fauzi

Finance and Administrative Clerk

Intan completed her studies in Secretarial Science which involves a range of administrative support tasks to ensure smooth operations within the organization. She is passionate about providing essential support in any work environment, from managing schedules and correspondence. She loves cats.



Wong SiPeng

Research and Communications Officer

Si Peng has been a professional event manager for over 20 years overseeing corporate events in various industries ranging from IT, pharmaceutical to automobile organizing product launches, international and regional conferences, award ceremonies and sport events such as marathons and fun runs. She is also a qualified scuba diving instructor with the aim of training safe new divers with appreciation towards marine conservation. Since 2022 her areas of work in C4 Center expanded to include coordinating the research on waste trade and advocacy for a strong global plastic treaty.



Benjamin Tiong

Research and Communications Officer

Through his role as Research and Communications Officer at C4 Center, Benjamin combines his background in media studies with his keen interest in current affairs to contribute to the organisation's advocacy and investigative works. His work sees him scrutinise the government's commitment to their anti-corruption pledges and wider reform policies, primarily via the National Anti-Corruption Strategy 2024-2028 (NACS). Previously, Benjamin co-authored a report titled, "Navigating Reform: Challenges and Opportunities in the National Anti-Corruption Strategy 2024-2028" which evaluated the effectiveness of the NACS as an anti-corruption policy. A first class graduate from UCSI University with a degree in Mass Communication, where he majored in journalism, Benjamin is determined to uncover unseen instances of corruption that have served to widen social inequality in the country.



Bryan Cheah

Research Officer

Bryan is a law graduate from the University of London external programme, and has had prior experience working for a human rights organisation as well as for a university research centre, focusing on drug policy and prison reform amidst COVID-19. Bryan's current areas of research in C4 Center cover COVID-19 pandemic and governance issues related to the transparency of public procurement of healthcare services.



Nabila Syuhada Zulkeflee

Environmental Governance Research Officer

In her role as the Environmental Research Officer at C4 Center, Nabila advocates for the reform of Malaysia's environmental governance framework, with particular focus on its connection to corruption. Nabila is an Environmental Technology graduate from MARA University of Technology. Prior to joining C4 Center, she was a Scientific Education Officer at Dark Cave and later joined Malaysian Cave and Karst Conservancy where she advocated for the conservation of Batu Caves. Nabila has also worked in the manufacturing sector, where she dealt with compliance issues and curbing industrial pollution under Environmental Quality Act 1974 to curb industrial pollution.



Prishanth Linggaraj

Policy and Legal Research Officer

Prishanth advocates for legal reform through an intersectional lens, identifying gaps which allow for the perpetration and perpetuation of corruption as well as measures to uphold good governance. His focus areas include ombudsman institutions, whistleblower protection, right to information, and the autonomy of domestic oversight institutions. He holds a Bachelor of Laws (LL.B.) from Taylor's University, Malaysia, where he wrote a dissertation on the unconstitutionality of sodomy laws under the Penal Code based upon a comparative analysis of various Commonwealth jurisdictions. Subsequently he went on to complete his pupillage with a commercial law firm based in Mont Kiara and was admitted as an Advocate & Solicitor of the High Court of Malaya in 2023.



Asyraf Abdul Samad

Social Media and Campaigns Officer

Asyraf Abdul Samad is the Social Media and Campaigns Officer. He graduated with honours from Limkokwing University with a degree in Broadcasting and Journalism, and has worked for several news organisations in Malaysia, including the New Straits Times and The Star. He previously co-directed a documentary film about the struggles of government hospital cleaners in Malaysia, which was screened at the Freedom Film Festival in 2019. The film, titled Bila Kami Bersatu, featured interviews with cleaners and their union leaders, receiving positive reviews in its honest highlighting of their plight.



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Institutional Reform



Regional Consultation on the Establishment of Ombudsman Malaysia with State Agencies for the East Coast Zone

Held in Kuala Terengganu on the 15th and 16th of January 2025

C4 Center's work with the Working Committee on Holistic Consultation to Determine the Mechanism of Establishing the Malaysian Ombudsman - set up by the Legal Affairs Division of the Prime Minister's Department (BHEUU) and consisting of various government and non-government representatives - continued in 2025 with the next Regional Consultation with state governments on the East Coast of the Peninsula i.e. Kelantan, Terengganu, and Pahang.

The Working Committee resolved to hold a series of Regional Consultations across the country to inform members of the state governments and local authorities about the proposal to introduce an Ombudsman office. This is important due to the unsettled matter of the Ombudsman's jurisdiction i.e. whether it would extend to the state governments, which may prove legally untenable due to the constitutional separation of legislative competence between the federal and state legisla-

tures. Nevertheless, the Public Complaints Bureau (PCB) presently does assist with the coordination and monitoring of public complaints made against state government departments/agencies as well as the local authorities. Hence, there currently exists a grey area which must be resolved in creating the Ombudsman. Previous Regional Consultations were held in 2024 in the Northern Zone (Perlis, Kedah, Penang, and Perak) and Sabah.

The East Coast Regional Consultation was held in Kuala Terengganu on the 15th and 16th of January, 2025. The two day session brought together about 200 representatives from various state government departments, agencies, and the local authorities for a series of presentations from BHEUU, the PCB, the Enforcement Agency Integrity Commission (EAIC), and C4 Center.

C4 Center's Policy and Legal Research Officer Prishanth Lingaraj spoke for a session on "Implementation and Challenges of Ombudsman Offices" and was a panellist on a forum titled "Ombudsman Malaysia: Are We Ready?". During his sessions, he emphasised the potential

improvements which an independent and empowered Ombudsman office could bring not only for members of the public, but also the government itself - through identifying barriers and possible avenues for reform to improve service delivery and internal operations.

Developments in this reform agenda have been intertwined with the government's efforts to introduce a Right to Information Act and refine the domestic whistleblower protection framework. C4 Center is actively involved in both of these themes as well. We are committed to continued collaboration with the government in this regard to see these reforms to completion.

Promises versus Progress:

Are the Government's Anti-Corruption Pledges Enough?



Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 25th January 2025

On 25 January 2025, C4 Center organised the “Promises versus Progress: Are the Government’s Anti-Corruption Pledges Enough?” forum, held at the Asia Institute of Chartered Bankers (AICB) Building, Kuala Lumpur. As part of the event, two reports were launched, namely, “Navigating Reform: Opportunities and Challenges in the National Anti-Corruption Strategy 2024-2028” and “Whistleblower Protection or Suppression? A Decade of Section 203A of the Penal Code”. Additionally, this event saw the bringing together of various experts representing civil society, academia, and the youth through a panel session and a wider forum.

To cap off the event, C4 Center Chairman Professor Terence Edmund Gomez provided a keynote speech, “The Manifestation of Grand Corruption in Malaysia”. Professor Terence provided a historical background of grand corruption issues in Malaysia, contextualising how pertinent corruption issues developed in the country via different government policies. Furthermore, he examined the NACS in the context of this long history of grand corruption, questioning its effectiveness in

addressing these issues.

Following this was the launch of the first report, which sought to better understand the government’s plans for good governance and anti-corruption through the National Anti-Corruption Strategy 2024-2028 (NACS) – the government’s policy programme specifically targeted at bolstering anti-corruption measures. In attempting to communicate the substance of this report among members of civil society, the media, academia, and the diplomatic community, C4 Center Research and Communications Officer Benjamin Tiong presented the findings of the report during this event. Namely, the presentation touched on the inadequacies of the NACS, noting how strategies present in the NACS are a regression from the previous national strategy, the National Anti-Corruption Plan, 2019-2023 (NACP).

Besides this, he highlighted how the NACS excluded major reforms, lacks clarity in specific reform targets, its evaluation mechanism is insufficient, and how it has inadequate public engagement mechanism. Overall, he questioned the feasibility of the government’s plan to reach a top-25 ranking in Transparency International’s Corruption Perception Index (CPI) by 2033. As a final call to action, he urged the government to

undertake the recommendations featured in the report, which included the need to include clearer substrategies, provide effective impact assessment for each substrategy, and conduct frequent engagement with the public on NACS implementation.

This presentation was followed by a panel session which touched on wider corruption issues that affect society from multiple levels. The panel session included the following speakers:

- Dr Melati Nungsari, Deputy Dean of Research, Asia School of Business – Corruption’s Role in Widening Socioeconomic Inequality
- Ms Cynthia Gabriel, Founding Director, C4 Center–Opportunities for the Private Sector to Steer Anti-Corruption Reforms
- Mr Anas Nor’azim, Advocacy Officer, BERSIH – Corruption’s Impacts on the Malaysian Youth and the Role they can Play.

The panellist emphasised how corruption has tangible impacts Malaysia not merely from a reputational standpoint, but also how it has critical material impacts on the socioeconomic conditions of Malaysians in general. This discussion aimed to take discourse away from the typical discussion of corruption by highlighting the actual effects of corruption on average citizens.



Following from this session, C4 Center Head of Research and Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan was on hand to present the next report. This report sought to highlight how legal and practical barriers for whistleblowers have been created by Section 203A of the Penal Code (s.203A) — which has instilled a culture of fear and secrecy amongst would-be whistleblowers, generally impeding the ability to unearth corrupt activities. His presentation displayed the various case studies and comparative analysis present in the report, highlighting the urgent need for reform to ensure that whistleblowers can safely expose corruption without fear of legal or personal repercussions. Among the recommendations were the repeal of s.203A, widening the scope of the Whistleblower

Protection Act 2010 to empower its protection of whistleblowers, enacting a Right to Information Act, and amending the Official Secrets Act 1972 to better harmonise it with the right to information.

C4 Center hopes that the launch of both these reports will provide useful guidance for Malaysian lawmakers and the Malaysian government in bolstering the NACS, and in improving conditions for whistleblowers to disclose corrupt acts in government. C4 Center also stressed that there is a need to continue engagement with the public, including civil society and academia, to better enhance anti-corruption efforts in the country.



UNODC Workshop on Strengthening Business Integrity through Incentives in Malaysia

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 5th of February 2025

On 5 February 2025, C4 Center – represented by its Chief Executive Officer Pushpan Murugiah, Research Officer Sangeetha Niscinta Nandini, and Research and Communications Officer Benjamin Tiong – attended the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime’s (UNODC) workshop on “Strengthening Business Integrity through Incentives in Malaysia” at Intercontinental Hotel, Kuala Lumpur.

The workshop was designed to understand the challenges and opportunities for the implementation of incentives in business integrity in Malaysia. This was done as an acknowledgement of the critical need to confront systemic corruption risks that have emerged in recent years, risks which involve both the private sector and government-linked companies (GLCs). The core aim of this workshop, however, was to build the capacity

of its participants, who came from a wide range of backgrounds, including federal government officials, state government officials, the private sector, and civil society.

Participants were taken through case studies that illuminated the use of business integrity incentives in other countries, and how that might apply in Malaysia. Participants were also made to engage in discussions which revolved around the major corruption risks to business integrity in Malaysia and were encouraged to think up solutions to confront these issues. A key takeaway discovered during the breakout sessions was the need for collective action and capacity-building for private and public sector representatives – especially with the help of UNODC.



Appointment to Pro Tem Committee for the Drafting of the Freedom of Information Bill

Held in Putrajaya on the 15th of April 2025

This year, the Cabinet resolved to set up a Pro Tem Committee to consider the fundamental pillars of the Malaysian Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill, prepare a draft Bill, and identify challenges and solutions in the future implementation of the Bill. This Committee consists of representatives from various government ministries and agencies, civil society organisations (CSOs), and academics. C4 Center's Policy and Legal Research Officer Prishanth Linggaraj was appointed to this Committee as a CSO representative. The Committee's term shall last from 15 April to 31 September, after which the FOI Bill shall hopefully be tabled in Parliament by the end of the year.

The government's decision to convene a multistakeholder forum to discuss the structure and implementation of an access to information framework is commendable. By creating the space for different stakeholders to speak about their areas

of expertise, concerns and hopes, the Committee members have been able to work through thorny issues together through negotiation and honest conversation. C4 Center, along with the other CSOs on the Committee such as the Centre for Independent Journalism and Article 19, continues to push for a progressive and holistic model in line with international best practice.



Policy Refinement Workshop for Ombudsman Malaysia

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 17th & 18th of June 2025

Following C4 Center's release of our research re-port "Structuring the Malaysian Ombudsman Office" and our subsequent engagements with the Legal Affairs Division of the Prime Minister's Department (BHEUU), C4 Center's CEO Pushpan Murugiah and Policy and Legal Research Officer Prishanth Linggaraj were appointed to sit on the Steering and Working Committees on Holistic Consultation to Determine the Mechanism of Establishing the Malaysian Ombudsman respectively. These committees were set up by the government to conduct a holistic consultation work plan to consult with stakeholders and analyse the implications of the establishment of an Ombudsman office with regard to financial considerations, human resources, and legal matters.

The regional consultations were completed in early 2025 and the work of the Working and Steering Committees progressed to the next stage: a policy refinement session to consolidate the learnings gathered from the regional consultations. Pushpan Murugiah attended this two-day workshop on behalf of C4 Center. The first day of the workshop consisted of a series of presentations focused on the practicalities of setting up an ombudsman institution and other ancillary matters, while the second day was dedicated to a series of group discussions on the various parameters of this reform proposal (structure, functions and powers, jurisdiction and scope).

Pushpan continued the organisation's efforts to influence the discourse surrounding the Malaysian Ombudsman, in order to push for a progressive model aligned with international best practice. C4 Center maintains that a functional

Ombudsman office is sorely needed to ensure effective and equitable public service delivery for all. This office cannot simply be a weak complaints management body, and must be given strong investigative powers to successfully carry out its mandate. We hope to see these efforts come to fruition soon.

Leveraging the Proposed Ombudsman for Reform:

A Special Session with Professor John McMillan - Town Hall and Advocacy Strategy Discussion

Held in Subang Jaya on the 16th of June 2025

As part of C4 Center’s advocacy on the establishment of a Malaysian Ombudsman office, we have focused primarily on engagements with policymakers and lawmakers. However, in recognition of the need for more grassroots engagements on this topic, we organised a town hall and strategy discussion with civil society organisations (CSOs) to explore the relevance of an Ombudsman office to their respective operations. This session was held with the support of the Australian High Commission in Malaysia.

The event aimed to expound upon the Malaysian Ombudsman proposal and impress upon participants the potential usefulness of the body by examining the case of Australia with its Commonwealth Ombudsman. We had the honour of hosting former New South Wales and Commonwealth Ombudsman, Professor John McMillan – who has a wealth of expertise and experience on Australian public service reform. His firsthand knowledge of the benefits that have come from the work of the Ombudsman system in Australia would provide participants with guidance on our journey here in Malaysia. Hence the first part of the session involved a presentation by Professor McMillan on the Australian Ombudsman experience, after which the floor was opened to questions from participants.

The second part of the session was a brainstorming exercise for the participants to consider the potential intervention points that an Ombudsman office could introduce for their respective thematic focus areas. Participants were invited from a diverse range of thematic focus areas e.g. environment,



access to healthcare, arts and culture, women’s rights, queer rights, democracy and governance. They were asked to consider the ways in which the problems they work on are caused by failures in service delivery or implementation of laws/policies (as opposed to flawed legislation, for example) – which will form the basis of how CSOs might seek to engage with the Ombudsman moving forward.

If an Ombudsman office (in whatever form) is to be established by the end of the year, CSOs and human rights defenders must start exploring what this means for our collective advocacy strategies and goals. Having an Ombudsman office that is empowered to perform





independent and effective inquiries into instances of public service failure creates an important intervention point for CSOs pushing for better governance at the policy level, as complaints can provide specific information on service failures and gaps which require attention. This could provide us with another tool for influencing change, and as such we must reach across our thematic silos to prepare accordingly.

By encouraging intersectional discourse on this reform proposal, it is hoped that a more holistic advocacy approach can be developed within the Malaysian CSO space. Additionally, by facilitating this critical examination of the potential uses of the Ombudsman for CSOs, we hope to encourage more CSOs to start incorporating mention of the Ombudsman in their public messaging. This will help shape the public narrative on the Ombudsman in favour of a progressive and effective model, which would add pressure upon lawmakers to ensure the final Bill tabled in Parliament is fit for purpose.



Walk to Safeguard Judicial Independence

Held in Putrajaya on the 14th of July 2025

On 14 July 2025, C4 Center joined hundreds of Malaysian lawyers, civil society, and members of the public on the streets of Putrajaya to demonstrate against judicial interference. We reiterated the calls made by the Malaysian Bar for the immediate release of the Judicial Appointments Commission (JAC) meeting minutes, urgent inquiries into judicial affairs, as well as the establishment of a Royal Commission of Inquiry to investigate possible judicial interference.

This demonstration came in the wake of troubling developments affecting the judiciary. In particular, startling revelations brought to light:

- Inordinate delays in the appointment of replacements for outgoing superior court judges, in particular the positions of the Chief Justice of the Federal Court and President of the Court of Appeal;
- How candidates for these roles selected by the JAC were allegedly not taken into consideration or were not acted upon;



- A recent JAC meeting was allegedly called without the 10-day notice period as required by the JAC Act 2009; and
- Allegations of impropriety against a sitting Federal Court judge.

The walk saw demonstrators march from the Palace of Justice complex all the way down to the gates of the Perdana Putra Building in Putra Square. Throughout, chants demanding for a free and independent judiciary rang through.



“Jom Lawan Akta Drakonian” Memorandum Handover

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 22nd of July 2025

On 22 July 2025, C4 Center stood alongside several other Malaysian civil society organisations (CSOs) outside the gates of Parliament to demand amendments to the Peaceful Assembly Act 2012 and the repeal of the Sedition Act 1948. We were joined by a wide array of civil society movements: Suara Rakyat Malaysia (SUARAM), Amnesty International Malaysia, BERSIH 2.0, Mandiri, Himpunan Advokasi Rakyat Malaysia, Pusat Komus, Justice for Sisters and many other CSOs who were steadfast in calling for an end to oppressive laws, despite the torrential downpour.

Starting our march from within Taman Tugu, we made our way to the gates of Parliament. Despite demonstrating peacefully, we were met with heavy police presence – as the path to Parliament was barred by human barricades and even presence from the police’s Light Strike Force. With the police obstructing our path and refusing to negotiate, we were forced to stand and wait for the arrival of a total of ten Members of Parliament (MPs) to receive our memorandum for the end of repressive laws. The MPs

that received our demands are as follows:

- Syed Saddiq, Member of Parliament, Muar
- Teresa Kok, Member of Parliament, Seputeh
- Syed Ibrahim Syed Noh, Member of Parliament, Ledang
- Khoo Poay Tiong, Member of Parliament, Kota Melaka
- Isnaraissah Munirah Majilis, Member of Parliament, Kota Belud
- Syerleena Abdul Rashid, Member of Parliament, Bukit Bendera
- Wan Ahmad Fayhsal, Member of Parliament, Machang

- Kelvin Yii, Member of Parliament, Bandar Kuching
- Wilfred Madius Tangau, Member of Parliament, Tuaran
- Adam Adli, Member of Parliament, Hang Tuah Jaya

C4 Center emphasises that the right to assemble peacefully must always be protected. The refusal from authorities to allow peaceful demonstrators access to Parliament is a shameful affront to democratic principles and their blatant show of force requires the utmost condemnation.





Consultation with Federal Government Agencies on Freedom of Information Bill

Held in Putrajaya on the 11th to 12th of July 2025

C4 Center continued our work with the Pro Tem Committee for the drafting of the Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill over this quarter, with monthly meetings to refine the broad policies of the Act. As part of this process, it was necessary to consult with all federal ministries and agencies who would be subject to the stipulations of this new framework. Hence, the Pro Tem Committee organised a two-day consultation session with federal ministries and agencies.

Participants were briefed on the broad principles of the Act and major points of contention, and they were then given the space to state their concerns and seek clarifications. The participants provided us with valuable insights on the potential gaps and hurdles that may arise in the implementation of this framework. This was another opportunity for us to hear from government representatives on their concerns regarding key reforms, so that we can respond better to these concerns.

CSO Consultation Session: NAPTIP 3.0 Review



Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 18th of August 2025

On 18 August 2025, the CSO Consultation Session: National Action Plan for Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) 3.0 Review was held in Kuala Lumpur, jointly hosted by the Anti-Human Trafficking Council (MAPO) under the Ministry of Home Affairs and International Justice Mission. NAPTIP 3.0 is due to reach its end by the end of 2025, hence, the event aimed to gather CSO feedback regarding the effectiveness of its provisions over the last 5 years, assessing its usefulness across different areas including risk-assessment of

human trafficking activities, methods in combating instances of human trafficking, and providing support to those victims. As such, the consultation session also intended to identify the shortcomings of NAPTIP 3.0 in order to craft an improved and robust NAPTIP 4.0, which is due to begin implementation in 2026. C4 Center was invited to attend the consultation session, having previously worked on the subject of migrant labour corruption and recognising clear intersections between corruption and trafficking. Our feedback was centred around improving oversight and enforcement efforts such that the transnational and organised criminal networks can be adequately stymied in an effort to crack down on trafficking.

UNODC Regional Workshop on Integrity in Public Procurement: The Key to Economic Growth



Held in Kuching on the 27th to 28th of August 2025

The “Regional Workshop on Integrity in Public Procurement: The Key to Economic Growth” was held from 27–28 August 2025 in Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia. The workshop was coorganized by the Office of the Sarawak Ombudsman (Government of Sarawak), in partnership with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and supported by the United States Department of State’s Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL).

The workshop brought together 109 participants from Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Participants and speakers included senior officials from Ombudsman offices, ministries of finance, public procurement agencies, competition commissions, defence, oversight bodies, integrity commissions, anti-corruption agencies, as well as representatives from civil society organizations

and universities. International organizations such as UNODC, the Asian Development Bank, and Transparency International contributed expertise and facilitated peer exchange.

The workshop’s main aims were to strengthen regional capacity on integrity in public procurement, share practical strategies and good practices for promoting transparency and accountability, and address legal, institutional, and operational challenges in procurement systems. Participants were also asked to identify technical assistance and capacity-building needs among the different participating countries.

Representatives from C4 Center attended the event as participants but also as a speaker – CEO Pushpan Murugiah was a panelist on the subject of “Effective Civil Society Engagement” where he stressed the importance of institutional reforms and the need for comprehensive and robust laws that deal with grand corruption at its root. As participants, C4 Center contributed to

discussions concerning strategies and best practices for improving public procurement oversight.





Joint CSO Press Conference on the Government Procurement Act

Held in Petaling Jaya on the 9th of September 2025

On 9 September 2025, C4 Center together with 23 other civil society organisations (CSOs) and seven individuals called attention to the passing of the Government Procurement Act (GPA) 2025. Together with C4 Center, Suara Rakyat Malaysia (SUARAM), Bersih 2.0, and the Society for Equality, Respect And Trust for All Sabah (SERATA) held a joint press conference to communicate our concerns surrounding the GPA 2025 to the public.

We called attention to various problems with the law and the legislative process taken to pass it, namely how:

1. The law grants huge discretionary powers to the Minister of Finance: The Minister of Finance is empowered to approve procurement contracts, set the procedures by which they are approved, and even to appoint members of the Appeal Tribunal. The Minister of Finance also has wide powers of exemption which makes applicability of the law subject to their discretion.
2. The check and balance mechanisms are weak and inadequate: The Appeal Tribunal is non-independent from the influence of Ministers, adding to the fact that the mechanism itself is inadequate. Furthermore, there is no provision that ensures transparency and public scrutiny. Instead, the duty to publish information is completely discretionary and decided by the Registrar who is also answerable to the Executive.
3. The hasty process by which the Bill was passed: The duration between the submission of the Bill by the Attorney-General's Chambers and the Bill being voted on by the Dewan Rakyat took place within a span of only 16 days. This raises serious questions as to why such a monumental Bill, consisting of 91 pages and 93 clauses, was not given the due time that was needed for all Members of Parliament (MPs) to adequately assess and respond to it.
4. The Parliamentary Special Select Committee (PSSC) was completely sidestepped by the government: The PSSC on Finance and Economy was not consulted at all during the drafting process of the Bill. Further, despite Standing Order 80B(3) stating that the relevant PSSC shall "scrutinize Bills" that have been read the first time, the Government refused to allow time for the PSSC to consider the Bill and proceeded with debate anyway.
5. Key consultations and feedback from relevant stakeholders were either not held or completely ignored: The Ministry of Finance's engagements and updates on the status of the Bill were limited. It is clear that many of the recommendations provided by CSOs were roundly ignored. These include the reduction of the role of the Minister of Finance in the procurement process, and prescribing a minimum standard for the mandatory publishing of procurement-related information.
6. Government MPs misrepresented legitimate criticism of the Bill: Many MPs who expressed support for the Bill in the Dewan Rakyat countered criticism by referring to policy positions not even found in the Bill, such as "Parliamentary controls" or "checks-



and-balances” of government procurement.

Additionally, C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah took several government MPs to task, calling out their uncritical support of the Bill and holding them accountable for any future scandals involving procurement. C4 Center Head of Research and Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan also raised concerns surrounding the appeals process, flagging several areas in the law that limits its independence. SERATA Co-Founder Robert Hii also sounded the alarm on how future scandals may occur within the framework presented by the GPA 2025, essentially codifying corrupt practices in law.

Alongside this, SUARAM Executive Director Azura Nason and Bersih 2.0 Chairperson Faisal Aziz condemned the government for its continual failures in ensuring proper reforms. In particular, SUARAM decried the introduction of numerous repressive and flawed legislation including amendments to the Police Act 1967, and the tablings of the Mufti (Federal Territories) Bill 2024 and the Urban Renewal Bill 2025. To add to this, Bersih 2.0 heavily criticised the government’s rushing of the GPA 2025, seeing as how the Bill was made to pass without meaningful input from the public, while also bypassing the Parliamentary Special Select Committee on Finance and Economy.

Together we are united in the stance that this legislation will bring major harm to Malaysia’s long term future if the identified flaws are

not addressed.

Our statement and calls were endorsed by:

1. The Center to Combat Corruption and Cronyism (C4 Center)
2. Rasuah Busters
3. Suara Rakyat Malaysia (SUARAM)
4. Society for Equality, Respect and Trust for All Sabah (SERATA)
5. BERSIH
6. Pusat KOMAS
7. North-South Initiative
8. Islamic Renaissance Front
9. Lawyer Kamek, Sarawak
10. Persatuan Pemangkin Daya Masyarakat (ROSE)
11. Jaringan Pekerja Kontrak Kerajaan (JPKK)
12. Zero Waste Sabah
13. Gindol Initiative for Civil Society Borneo
14. Centre for Independent Journalism (CIJ)
15. SaveKL Coalition
16. Agora Society Malaysia
17. Reproductive Rights Advocacy Alliance Malaysia (RRAAM)
18. CSO Platform for Reform
19. Greenpeace Malaysia
20. SIUMAN Collective
21. Project Stability and Accountability for Malaysia (Projek SAMA)
22. Persatuan Kebajikan Sokongan Keluarga Selangor & Kuala Lumpur (Association of Family Support & Welfare Selangor & Kuala Lumpur)(Family Frontiers)
23. Klima Action Malaysia (KAMY)
24. Adrian Anthony Pereira
25. Prof Edmund Terence Gomez
26. Cynthia Gabriel
27. Datuk Hussamuddin Yaacob
28. Tan Sri Syed Hamid Albar
29. Shah Hakim Zain
30. Dato’ Hjh Sutinah Sutan

Government Procurement

Act:

Implications and the Way Forward for Civil Society

Held online on 12 December 2025

On 12 December 2025, C4 Center hosted the “Government Procurement Act: Implications and the Way Forward for Civil Society” roundtable discussion. With the support of the British High Commission in Malaysia, this event brought together representatives from civil society in the Klang Valley to discuss concerns with the Government Procurement Act, practical methods to approach this law, and pathways to future engagement with the government.

The event began with an opening by C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah, who set the scene as to the current realities of Malaysia’s procurement regime. This was followed by a presentation by C4

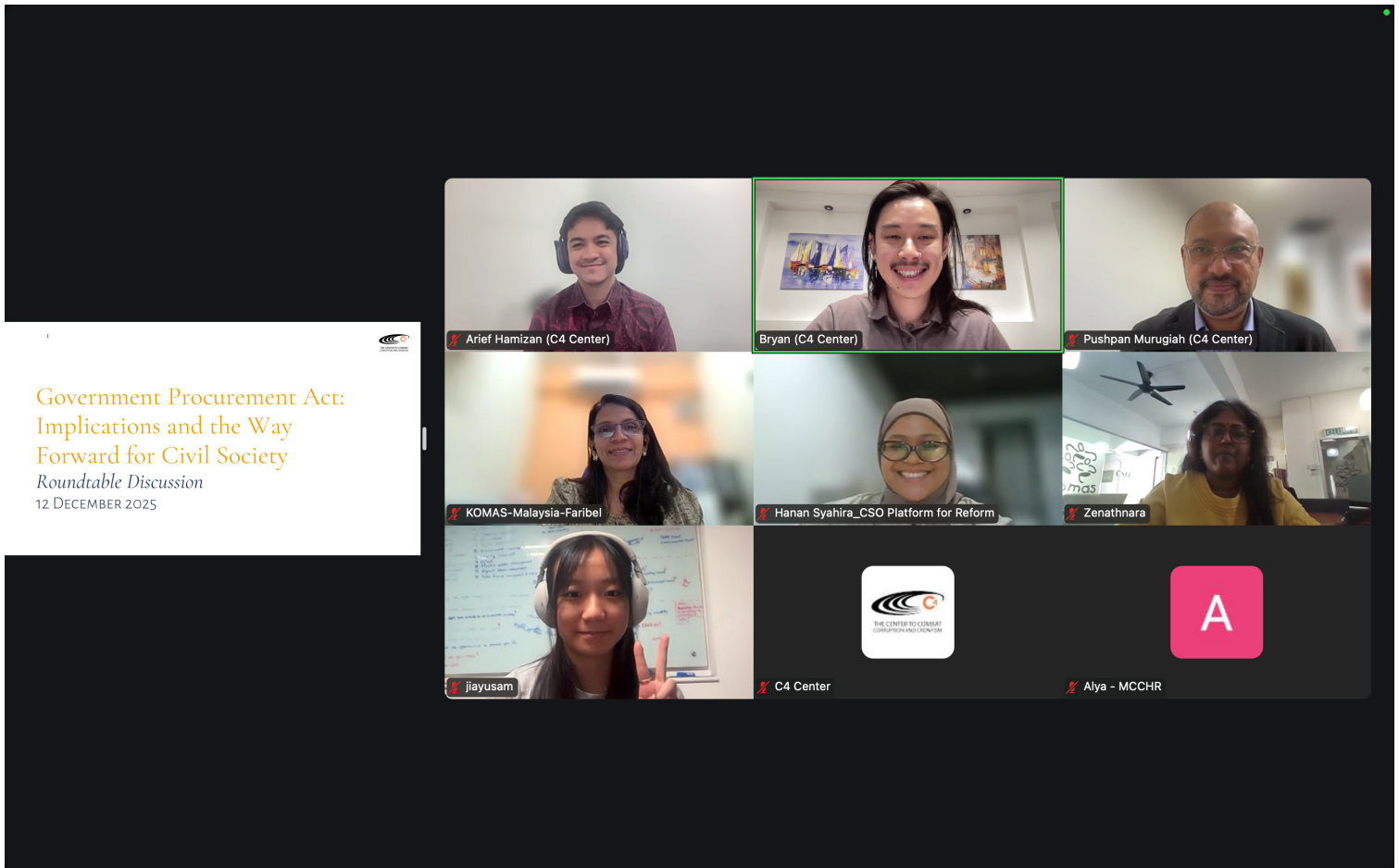
Center Head of Research and Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan, who detailed major provisions within the Act, highlighting key concerns.

Subsequently, the event progressed to a roundtable discussion format, wherein participants were given the opportunity to share their thoughts on the Act and its possible implications on their areas of advocacy. In one instance, a representative shared how the Act’s provisions may have ramifications on the selection of contractors, and how this practice may be compromised to favour preferred contractors by those in power.

Overall, the event highlighted several key issues with the law, which include the concentra-

tion of decisionmaking power and influence in the hands of the Finance Minister, a flawed grievance and remedy mechanism that lacks independence, and the potential for the cartelisation of procurement contracts through the establishment of a Registrar for Government Procurement.

Ultimately, this event sought to empower participants with knowledge of the law, and discuss future strategies to respond to the implementation of this law.



Political Financing Focus Group Discussions



Throughout the latter end of 2025, as part of a research committee set up by the Legal Affairs Division of the Prime Minister's Department (BHEUU), C4 Center took part in conducting focus group discussion sessions across the country. Headed by the International Islamic University Malaysia's Ahmad Ibrahim Kulliyah of Laws (AIKOL), this research committee sought to engage members of the public to gauge public perception towards a Political Financing Act in Malaysia. The study was split into two parts: a public perception survey involving members of the general public and a set of targeted focus group discussions, which engaged members of civil society, political parties, academicians, and members of the private sector.

Seeking to engage with key stakeholders from all over Malaysia, the research committee held focus group discussions in Putrajaya, Alor Setar, Shah Alam, Kuching, Johor Bahru, Melaka, Kuantan, Kota Bahru, Ipoh, Labuan, and Kota Kinabalu. Contributing as a member of the research committee C4 Center's Head of Research and Policy Advocacy and Research and Communications Officer Benjamin Tiong was on hand to assist AIKOL in carrying out a number of these sessions.

During these sessions, participants would be taken through a guided discussion on political financing, with key principles of a political financing law being identified. It is hoped that through their input and perspectives on political financing, the government may be able to draft a law that accurately resembles the wishes of the public.



Environmental Governance



Roundtable Discussion on Prospective Policy Proposals for Voluntary Carbon Markets (VCM) Held in Subang on the 20th of January 2025

Held in Subang on the 20th of January 2025

On January 20th, C4 Center was invited to join a roundtable discussion organised by Transparency International (TI) Malaysia focusing on the prospective policy proposals for Voluntary Carbon Markets (VCM) as a part of the Climate Governance and Integrity Project (CGIP). The research on VCM was presented by Ho Yi Jian, research analyst from Sunway University in which he deliberately shared the current voluntary regulations on VCM, the process, weaknesses, recommendations, and case study. In summary, there is currently no baseline addressing VCM, in addition to the lack of enforcement and implementation, these gaps pose many risks of exploitation, leading to the abuse of indigenous livelihoods and environmental degradation. Hence, further aspects including corporate accountability, transparency,

and good governance were raised during the discussion for further study to address more rigorous policy proposals.

Furthermore, VCM is an emerging methodology that is often exploited by big corporations to maintain status quo and various case studies on VCM implementation, including Kuamut Rainforest Conservation Carbon Project that has kick-started in Sabah reveals issues regarding customary land rights for the indigenous people as well as the biodiversity impact. Hence, the research findings were insightful for us to continue to monitor the VCM standard and regulation updates, analyse corruption risks in the loopholes of its governance, and to address these issues to relevant corporations and the government.

Hence, during the discussion, C4 Center has highlighted further aspects including corporate accountability, transparency, and good governance for the study to address more rigorous policy proposals.

Klima Action Malaysia (KAMY) Just Energy Transition (JET) Report Launch



Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 12th of February 2025

On February 12, C4 Center had the opportunity to attend a report launched on Just Energy Transition (JET) by a feminist and climate justice group, Klima Action Malaysia (KAMY). KAMY launched a report titled “JET-BHR in Peninsular Malaysia: Towards a just energy transition with business and human rights principles,” focusing on how Malaysia can achieve an energy transition, phasing out from fossil fuel dependency, that truly protects the workers, indigenous people and vulnerable communities, as well as protecting the environment.

Last year, C4 Center contributed to sharing several insights on the JET-BHR aspects with KAMY. The insights include the roundtable discussion that was conducted by KAMY with various CSOs to collect feedback from CSOs’ perspectives on the relevant issues faced during the transition. In addition, we gave additional input on the enactment of Ombudsman law that can potentially address and elevate the grievance mechanisms for the public to report on governance issues and business-related human rights violations effectively.





Global Alliances for Incinerator Alternatives (GAIA) Southeast Asia Meeting

Held in Da Nang, Vietnam, on the 24th to 26th of February 2025

GAIA introduced a new format for its biennial members meeting converting from global participation to more narrowed down subregional participation. This enabled members of immediate neighbouring locations sharing similar challenges to network and share learnings throughout the 5-day meeting and consultation. 49 participants from 37 organisations in South East Asia including C4 Center attended the meeting which included one day of site visits. The host members from Vietnam Zero Waste Alliance, Pacific Environment and BUS lined up insightful case studies bringing members doing active work on Zero Waste implementation to view successful and ongoing waste reduction projects in Da Nang, Vietnam.

The meeting had breakout groups where members were able to join groups relevant to their own body of work. C4 Center participated in discussions in the Legacy Incinerators and Corporate Accountability groups. Malaysia's government is worryingly increasing development projects of waste-to-energy incinerators under the guise of circular economy. The lack of publicly accessible

information on air monitoring of both legacy and current incinerator sites is a shared challenge by all members in the group. In the corporate accountability (CA) group, C4 Center provided updates looking at CA through the business and human rights (BHR) lens as Malaysia is currently drafting its national action plan on BHR. The NAPBHR does present an opportunity to hold corporates accountable for impact on the environment and infringement of human rights.

There was also discussion where members provided suggestions on developing a standardized reuse taxonomy as well as exploring possible scenarios in the negotiations of the Global Plastic Treaty. The meeting closed with members sharing impact faced in light of the withdrawal of US foreign aid in the region, and GAIA provided updates the work on developing the framework for the Zero Waste Transition Fund.



Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM) Climate Justice Forum 2025

Held in Petaling Jaya on the 27th of February 2025

On February 27, C4 Center, along with other various CSOs, participated in a forum conducted by Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM) in Petaling Jaya. The forum entitled “Climate Justice Forum 2025: Carbon Capture: A false solution that is expensive, inefficient, with a long history of failure” unravelled the long discussion on the carbon capture technology as a false solution to address climate crisis and provided CSOs an opportunity to re-strategise our methods to address the issue effectively.

The forum has successfully served as a platform for the CSOs to gain insights and critically assess the carbon capture and technology and its

associated risks, and to shape the discourse on carbon capture from a climate justice perspective. In addition, SAM has also prepared a comprehensive memorandum on Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) for signing and circulating purposes, prior to handing the memorandum to the members of the parliament to stop the rushed Carbon Capture, Utilisation, and Storage (CCUS) Bill from being recklessly tabled and passed. C4 Center signed the memorandum in support of the discouragement of the bill’s development, and we continue to advocate CCUS being a false solution to the climate crisis.



Action against the Carbon Capture, Utilisation, and Storage Bill (CCUS) – Memorandum Handover to Parliament

Held in Petaling Jaya on the 27th of February 2025

On March 19, C4 Center joined Parti Sosialis Malaysia (PSM), SAM, KAMY, Persatuan Aktivis Sahabat Alam (KUASA), Greenpeace Malaysia, and members of the public in action to serve a memorandum criticising the implementation of the CCUS Bill to the members of Dewan Negara. The action involved a peaceful protest from the coalition in front of parliament and each of the organisations had the opportunity to speak and highlight the main issues of CCUS technology, namely its failure to capture carbon emissions, gaps in liability and transparency, lack of meaningful public participation, and others. The memorandum, signed by 19 civil society organizations underscores the aforementioned issues, demanding transparency and meaningful climate action, in addition to the government to halt the tabling of

the CCUS Bill. After hours waiting outside Parliament, a representative from YB Senator Mohd Hasbie's office finally came down to receive the memorandum.

Through the memorandum, we urge the members of Dewan Negara to fully understand the hazards associated with CCUS technology and its potential detrimental effects on the environment and public welfare. Hence, it is crucial for the government to suspend its development and concentrate on more accessible solutions in addressing the climate crisis.

Malaysian BFFP Members' Plastic Coordination and Waste Trade Campaign Meeting

Held in Subang on the 7th of April 2025

On 7 April 2025, C4 Center participated in a meeting organised by Break Free from Plastic (BFFP), one of our project funders, along-side other Malaysian BFFP members, including Greenpeace Malaysia, Zero Waste Sabah, Sahabat Alam Malaysia, and Hara Makers Initiative. The meeting aimed to strengthen collaboration, build momentum for the movement, and mobilise collective efforts to tackle plastic pollution at the national, regional, and international levels.

The session began with an overview of Malaysia's current plastic-related policies, presented by the Malaysian members. Key policies discussed included Malaysia's Roadmap Towards Zero Single-Use Plastics (2018–2030), Malaysia Plastics Sustainability Roadmap (2021–2030), National Marine Litter Policy and Action Plan (2021–2030), and Malaysia's Circular Economy Blueprint (2025–2035). These policies are currently in place, and Malaysian BFFP members are actively monitoring their implementation. They continue to engage with relevant stakeholders, assess policy effectiveness, and advocate for stronger enforcement and accountability to ensure these frameworks translate into tangible progress in reducing plastic pollution.

The meeting also included shared reflections from the fifth Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee (INC-5) meeting held last year. Members, who were also INC attend-

ees, discussed lessons learned and strategies for improving outcomes in the next INC meeting, with the goal of advocating for a stronger and more effective global plastics treaty.

Future collaborative projects were also discussed, particularly those related to plastic waste trade issues. Proposed initiatives include examining plastic waste trade litigation across ASEAN countries and amplifying voices and evidence of environmental harm. The group also affirmed its commitment to maintaining coordination across Asia-Pacific and global BFFP calls. Another significant agenda item was on the planning for a Parliamentarian Workshop on the Impact of Plastic Pollution on Human Rights in ASEAN, which is scheduled to take place in Kuala Lumpur this July. This event will provide a platform for engaging policymakers and strengthening advocacy on the intersection of plastic pollution and human rights.

The meeting reaffirmed the pressing need for continued advocacy and action to address plastic pollution at all levels. C4 Center remains committed to contributing meaningfully to this movement through research, advocacy, policy engagement, and public campaigning. Collaboration within this coalition presents a valuable opportunity that we aim to nurture and expand in the coming months.





Meeting with NRES Ministry to present findings from study on the impacts of plastic and paper recycling industry to human health and the environment

Held in Putrajaya on the 18th of April 2025

The meeting organised by Greenpeace Malaysia on behalf of the University Putra Malaysia (UPM) Environmental and Occupational Health Society (EOHS) who conducted the study was to present findings from the study which was conducted in the district of Banting where many paper and plastic recycling facilities are located. This location has also been one of the main sites of C4 Center's waste trade report where many illegal waste dumps were found. The findings in the study showed elevated readings of heavy metals and PM_{2.5} in the air samples collected near the waste recycling facilities and residential areas near such facilities. The study included collection of river water, sediments and effluent discharge along Sungai Langat. The study concluded that the presence of waste recycling facilities significantly impacts air and water quality, especially facilities located close to residential zones. It called for stricter pollution control parameters in the current Environmental Quality Act and called for improved public health monitoring for communities and residents living near to such facilities.



Report Launch on Integrity & GESI Outcomes in the Emerging Voluntary Carbon Market in Malaysia

Held in Petaling Jaya on the 20th of May 2025

On 20 May, C4 Center participated in the launch of a report by Transparency International Malaysia (TI-M) titled “Integrity and GESI Outcomes in the Emerging Voluntary Carbon Market (VCM) in Malaysia.” As the VCM landscape is still in its early stages in Malaysia, the report aims to identify key governance and corruption-related risks that could undermine the credibility and effectiveness of carbon offsetting initiatives.

The report outlines several critical areas of concern: limited transparency and restricted public access to information; lack of inclusive, gender-sensitive community participation in project monitoring; inadequate reliance on scientific expertise in ensuring project integrity; and weak mechanisms for equitable engagement and benefit sharing with Indigenous Peoples and women. Other risks include undisclosed beneficial ownership, potential conflicts of interest between companies and policymakers, and project-level risks of greenwashing, double-counting, and fraudulent permanence claims.

By identifying these corruption threats and their implications for Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI), the project sets the foundation for policy recommendations and institutional mechanisms to strengthen governance in VCM implementation. These recommendations aim to ensure Malaysia’s VCM activities contribute meaningfully to global greenhouse gas (GHG) reduction goals while safeguarding environmental integrity and social equity.

The report also compiles best practices from prior civil society evaluations of climate finance and explores how these can be adapted to the

Malaysian VCM context. Two Malaysian case studies, Bukit Tagar Sanitary Landfill and Kuamut Rainforest Conservation Project are analysed to assess how current practices align with integrity and GESI principles, and how government policy supports or falls short in these areas.

This event served as a timely and important platform for civil society, policymakers, and private sector actors to begin addressing the governance gaps in Malaysia’s emerging carbon market. During the launch, Pushpan Murugiah highlighted the greenwashing risks of carbon trading, especially regarding to the carbon offsets which don’t stop the corporates from their business-as-usual. Hence, an urgent need for transparency, accountability, and inclusive participation to ensure that climate finance mechanisms do not replicate or reinforce existing inequalities and governance failures.





Engagement Session between NRES and the Consultation Panel on the Climate Change Act

Held in Putrajaya on the 3rd of July 2025

On 03 July 2025, C4 Center had the opportunity to join a stakeholder session between NRES and the Climate Change Consultation Panel to discuss the upcoming Climate Change Act (CCA), also known as RUUPIN (Rang Undang-Undang Perubahan Iklim Negara). During the session, NRES confirmed that the RUUPIN is currently under review by the Attorney General's Chambers and is scheduled to be tabled in Parliament in August 2025. However, the draft is not accessible to Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) or the advisory panel members who contributed to its development. NRES stated that the draft will only be available once it is tabled in Parliament.

On the subject of mitigation and adaptation, NRES acknowledged inputs from previous CSO consultations and noted that Part IV of RUUPIN will now include provisions for adaptation actions. Nonetheless, specific regulated activities have not yet been disclosed. The Minister will be empowered to regulate, coordinate, and formulate national-level mitigation and adaptation efforts,

including conducting climate risk assessments and obtaining necessary information to support such actions. No specific climate targets were shared during the session.

The RUUPIN will also regulate a National Carbon Registry, an Emission Trading Scheme (ETS), and the implementation of a carbon tax. The carbon tax is expected to be rolled out in 2026, with ETS following in the next 2–3 years. However, the operational details remain under discussion. Currently, RUUPIN only mandates emissions reporting from facilities, without establishing any emissions limits. The Ministry of Finance will collaborate with NRES in determining industries that must comply with carbon tax and ETS regulations.

NRES also revealed plans to introduce a separate bill, RUUIKLIM, to establish a statutory body called the National Climate Change Authority (PB-PIN), which will implement RUUPIN's functions. PB-PIN will also be the sole authority allowed to access GHG emissions data for monitoring and reporting purposes. The bill will also establish a Climate Change Fund to support mitigation, adaptation, and related initiatives. CSOs

raised several concerns during the session, including a lack of alignment between RUUPIN and the Environmental Quality Act 1974 (EQAI1974), the absence of regulation for the Voluntary Carbon Market (VCM), and limited jurisdiction over CCUS development. These gaps raise issues in enforcement, data access, and community grievance mechanisms for carbon credit projects.

Hence, C4 Center will closely monitor the development and eventual tabling of RUUPIN to ensure that the Act delivers on its intended goals in a transparent, accountable, and inclusive manner.



South East Asia Parliamentarians and Civil Society Organisations Workshop on the Impacts of Plastic Pollution on Human Rights

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 4th to 5th of July 2025

BFFP Asia Pacific and ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights together with civil society organisations (CSOs) in South East Asia countries, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam participated in a one and a half day workshop attended by members of parliament and government agencies. Participants had the opportunity to exchange information and expertise about transboundary plastic pollution and its impact on the right to a safe and healthy environment in ASEAN. Through interactive sessions, and roundtable discussions, participants also examine the current laws, policies, enforcement challenges in the efforts to curb illegal waste trafficking and waste crimes in the region and sharing of best practices. At the end of the workshop, participants completed a joint statement

about plastic and its impacts on human rights in ASEAN which was presented to the chairperson of the ASEAN Senior Officials on Environment (ASO-EN). Respective CSOs in the region also prepared follow-up actions for the crafted joint statement according to the relevance to their respective advocacy efforts on plastic pollution in their countries.

C4 Center's Environmental Research Officer, Nabila Zulkeflee and Events & Project Officer Wong Si Peng participated in the workshop which presented an opportunity to meet and learn from other CSOs in the region on the impact of waste crimes in their respective countries. C4 Center together with BAN Toxics from the Philippines collaborated in the organising of Session 3 of the workshop with a panel discussion on "Policy and Enforcement Against Plastic Waste Trafficking - Challenges and Opportunities."

Handing of Memorandum calling for leadership and ambition at upcoming Global Plastics Treaty negotiations to MPs at Parliament

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 23rd of July 2025

Less than two weeks before the resumed fifth session of the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee (INC) to prepare an legally binding instrument to address plastic pollution across the full lifecycle of plastic, C4 Center, Consumers' Association of Penang (CAP), Environmental Protection Society Malaysia (EPSM), Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM), Zero Waste Malaysia and Zero Waste Sabah met and delivered a memorandum to Members of Parliaments (MPs), calling for high ambition from Malaysia at the Global Plastic Treaty negotiations, urging the MPs to bring the voices of the people to the Prime Minister and cabinet.

The memorandum garnered support of over 100 signatories from a wide range of interests/disciplines including marine and ocean conservation groups, community organisations such as resident associations and Indigenous Peoples' organisations, businesses impacted by plastic pollution such as island resorts, hawkers associations and sustainable solution businesses. The memorandum handover was attended by civil society organisation (CSO) representatives from CAP, Zero Waste Malaysia, SAM including representatives from sustainable businesses such as KitaRefill and Refiller Mobile Enterprise.

YB Lee Chean Chung (MP Petaling Jaya), YB Datuk Willie Anak Mongin (MP Puncak Borneo) and YB Dato' Dr Ahmad Yunus Hairi (MP Kuala Langat) came out to receive the memorandum. Kuala Langat is an area badly affected by pollution caused by imported plastic and electronic waste. He shared his thoughts on how the treaty is a chance for Malaysia to lead the region as the ASEAN Chair with a firm and aspirational voice in protecting the health of Malaysians and the environment from the plastic crisis. YB Lee added that while Malaysia does not want to be the world's rubbish bin, we also need to tackle our own generation of plastic waste through systemic changes away from single-use plastics.





Observing the INC on plastic pollution at the United Nations, Geneva office

Held in Geneva, Switzerland, on 5th to 14th of August 2025

From 5 – 14 August 2025, member states of the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) resumed the fifth session of the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee (INC) to prepare a legally binding instrument on plastic pollution across the full lifecycle of plastics. INC5.2, with 10 full days of negotiations allocated, is the longest INC session.

C4 Center's Event and Project Officer, Wong Si Peng is actively engaging with the Malaysia's delegation to the INC, including during the inter-sessional period after the end of INC5 in Busan with clarity that negotiations will be resumed with the Chair's Text as the basis for negotiations. C4 Center submitted written recommendations on text proposals for consideration by the Malaysian delegation with flexibility to meet stronger provisions in some of the treaty articles, including the need for mandatory reporting, clear and predictable financing to enable implementation of treaty obligations. C4 Center also collaborated with regional and Malaysian CSOs following the development of the plastic treaty, to organise 3 online webinars and briefings providing technical information on reuse systems in the circular economy and a regional webinar conducted by inde-

pendent scientists from the Scientists Coalition for an effective Plastic Treaty which covered the economic impacts of plastic production reduction and sustainable consumption. Si Peng and Incinerator Alternatives (GAIA), attended INC5.2 in person at Geneva as a UNEP accredited observer. She followed negotiations in Contact Group 4 which had the mandate to discuss specific articles in the treaty text from Objective, Principles and Approaches, Preamble, Implementation, National Plans, Reporting, Effectiveness Evaluation, Public Information, Awareness, Article 19 on Health, Article 20 on the Conference of Parties, adoption and Amendment of Annexes, to the final provisions of the treaty.

When negotiations moved into closed sessions which are not accessible to observers, our officer took part in civil society actions organised by a coalition of CSOs at the entrance to plenary meeting hall at the Palais des Nations, reminding member state delegations to keep their promise to end plastic pollution

as they negotiate behind closed doors. On the final day of INC5.2, 14 Aug, SiPeng represented the Asia Pacific communities impacted by waste trade at a Global South press conference organised by GAIA. Although INC5.2 ended without agreement on any of the proposed versions of the Chair's text, there is now wider acceptance from member states on the harms of chemicals in plastics to human health and this treaty cannot be a waste management treaty. This participation in the UNEP process has provided our officer learning and exposure on the need to improve CSO participation in the development of a multilateral environmental agreement.



CSO Roundtable Discussion on GEDSI Policy Paper JET



Held in Petaling Jaya on the 20th of August 2025

On 20 August 2025, C4 Center had the opportunity to participate in and help moderate the National Convening for the Development of a Gender Equality, Disability, and Social Inclusion (GEDSI) Policy Paper on Just Energy Transition for Malaysia. The roundtable discussion was organised by Treat Every Environment Special (TrEES), under the Malaysian chapter (MCCG) of the Climate Action Network-Southeast Asia (CANSEA), and brought together a wide range of civil society organisations (CSOs), policy advocates, and grassroots representatives.

The convening included participation from key organisations such as Agora Society Malaysia, the All-Party Parliamentary Group Malaysia on Sustainable Development Goals (APPGM-SDG), the CSO Platform for Reform, Greenpeace Malaysia, and others. These groups contributed diverse insights rooted in gender rights, disability inclusion, environmental justice, and sustainable development. The session began with a plenary that introduced the draft GEDSI Policy Paper, providing a shared understanding of its objectives, structure, and key themes surrounding a just

energy transition in Malaysia.

The main agenda of the day focused on breakout sessions, where participants were divided into working groups to provide input on specific themes: gender dimensions of the energy transition, disability inclusion in clean energy systems, social inclusion of marginalised communities, and the intersectional challenges and data gaps that persist in policy design and implementation. C4 Center was given the opportunity to moderate several of these sessions and helped document key feedback and recommendations shared by

participants.

The event concluded with a collective reflection, where each group presented their findings and policy suggestions. These inputs will be incorporated into the final GEDSI Policy Paper, which will be formally handed over to the Ministry of Energy Transition and Water Transformation (PETRA). The convening marked a critical step in ensuring that Malaysia's energy transition is not only environmentally sound, but also inclusive, equitable, and rooted in human rights and social justice.





Strategic Meeting on Rare Earth Element (REE) Mining

Held in Penang on the 11th to 13th of September 2025

C4 Center participated in a strategic meeting on rare earth element (REE) mining organised by Sahabat Alam Malaysia in Penang. The meeting aimed to discuss the wide-ranging impacts of REE mining, particularly on Indigenous land rights, forest ecosystems, and environmentally sensitive areas (KSAS). It brought together civil society organisations (CSOs), community representatives, and environmental advocates to deepen collective understanding and coordinate strategies in response to the growing interest in REE extraction within Malaysia.

The discussion focused on key issues including the development of national and international policies and legislation related to REE mining and trade, especially within the context of a just energy transition and the global climate crisis. Participants also explored the risks REE mining poses to customary Indigenous territories, forest reserves, and KSAS in Peninsular Malaysia. The meeting further addressed ongoing and planned REE mining projects and their ties

to the financial sector, raising concerns about accountability, environmental governance, and the protection of community rights.

The session also served to enhance participants' understanding of policy frameworks and project developments linked to REE, while strengthening the network between CSOs and local communities. It highlighted the urgent need for shared advocacy to ensure the protection of Indigenous rights and ecological sustainability in the face of expanding REE operations.

Through this meeting, C4 Center and fellow CSOs have established a foundation for future action on REE-related issues. This includes plans to conduct in-depth research on REE mining governance, identify legal and policy loopholes, assess corruption risks, and examine financial linkages. In addition, participating organisations began strategising coordinated advocacy efforts to address the environmental and social challenges posed by the REE industry in Malaysia.



KAMY's Roundtable Discussion on Women, Gender and Climate Governance in Peninsular Malaysia

Held in Kuala Lumpur, on 6th of October 2025

On 6 October 2025, C4 Center had the opportunity to participate in a roundtable discussion hosted by Klima Action Malaysia (KAMY) on the theme “Women, Gender and Climate Governance in Peninsular Malaysia.” The event was held at the Asia School of Business (ASB) and brought together civil society organisations, government officials, community representatives, and consultants to critically examine gender dimensions within climate governance frameworks in Malaysia.

A key highlight of the event was the presentation of KAMY's newly published Policy Paper titled “Women, Gender and Climate Governance in Peninsular Malaysia.” The paper sheds light on the often-overlooked challenges faced by women in the context of Malaysia's deepening climate crisis, particularly in how gender intersects with access to

resources, decision-making, and policy inclusion.

Following the presentation, participants engaged in a feedback and roundtable discussion addressing two central problem statements raised in the report, which are on strengthening gender-climate policy governance, and assessing readiness in adopting a National Gender and Climate Change Focal Point (NGCCFP).

During the discussion, C4 Center emphasized the systemic governance issues hampering effective climate action in Malaysia. We highlighted the fragmentation of climate-related policies across different ministries, which results in inefficiencies and lack of coordination. The absence of good governance mechanisms increases the risk of corruption, including elite capture and state capture whereby powerful interests exploit climate initiatives and funding meant to support marginalized communities, especially women. C4 Center reiterated that strengthening governance integrity is essential in ensuring that climate and gender policies are not only inclusive but also

transparent, accountable, and free from corrupt practices.

The roundtable concluded with shared commitments from participating organisations to continue advocating for a more inclusive, gender-responsive, and corruption-free climate governance landscape in Malaysia.



SAM's 2nd National JET Conference 2025



Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 8th & 9th of October 2025

C4 Center attended a two-day conference on Just Energy Transition (JET) organised by Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM), and joined an engaging discussion among other environmental CSOs and academia. The conference served as a platform for open dialogue in Malaysia's energy transition, with participants actively shared perspectives from various backgrounds.

The conference focused on Malaysia's pathways for transitioning away from the use of fossil fuels by scaling up renewable energy (RE) projects, particularly with solar energy. Through a series of panel discussions, speakers examined both the failures and successes of the existing RE initiatives, highlighting structural, regulatory, and social challenges that continue to hinder a just transition.

In line with its objectives, the conference

aimed to foster critical discussions on reducing dependence on fossil fuels while accelerating renewable energy deployment in Malaysia. It also sought to deepen participants' understanding of the financing landscape for a just transition, particularly in relation to accelerating coal phase-out. Sessions explored opportunities within climate finance mechanisms, including funding available from the Green Climate Fund (GCF) and other international sources.

C4 Center's Environmental Researcher, Nabila Zulkeflee, also had the opportunity to contribute more directly by moderating Panel Discussion 6: Capturing the Narrative between "hard-to-abate" and false solutions. The panel featured Hikmat Soeriatanuwijaya (Senior Partnership and Outreach Officer, Asia Program, Oil Change International), Eqram Mustaqem (Researcher, Sahabat Alam Malaysia), and Shamila Ariffin (Senior Media and Research Officer,

Sahabat Alam Malaysia).

Overall, the conference provided valuable insights into both the technical and political dimensions of Malaysia's energy transition. It reinforced the importance of inclusive narratives, credible solutions, and equitable financing mechanisms to ensure that the transition away from fossil fuels is not only rapid, but also just and people-centred.





Zoo Negara Land Sale: Joint Media Conference with AJ Rimba Collective

Held in Petaling Jaya, on 15th of October 2025

On October 15, C4 Center supported AJ Rimba Collective in hosting a press conference on the Zoo Negara land issue, where civil society voices called for greater transparency and protection of the green areas around the National Zoo following concerns about land sale and alleged land-use changes. At the event, NGOs highlighted that plots once meant for recreational or conservation purposes had been transferred to private entities without clear public consultation, potentially exposing residents and the environment to increased risk from development in this hilly, ecologically sensitive area prone to landslides and flooding.

Beyond providing the venue, the C4 Center team actively assisted the organiser by deepening research into the key players involved in the land deal, including political figures and entities linked to the transfers, and reviewing the legal processes surrounding land-use conversion and compliance

with planning law.

This collaborative effort aimed to strengthen calls for full disclosure on land sale rationales, proper public consultation, and legal safeguards to ensure that environmentally sensitive areas remain protected for conservation and community safety.





BMF Rimbawatch Media Conference

*Held in Petaling Jaya on the 20th of
October 2025*

On October 20, C4 Center hosted another press conference alongside Rimbawatch, Bruno Manser Fonds, and civil society representatives from Papua New Guinea to launch a groundbreaking investigative report titled “Malaysia’s Timber Colony: Exposing Malaysia’s Grip Over Papua New Guinea’s Forests.” The report, produced in collaboration with the Papua New Guinea Environmental Alliance, reveals that an overwhelming majority of Forest Clearing Authority (FCA) licences — 65 out of 67, or about 97% — are controlled by companies either registered in Malaysia or linked to Malaysian citizens, driving extensive deforestation and threatening at least 1.68 million hectares of rainforest in PNG.

In addition, C4 Center assisted by moderating the press conference to ensure a focused and coherent discussion between the report authors, Indigenous representatives, and the media. The discussions at the press conference underscored concerns over weak accountability, opaque corporate structures, and the lack of effective enforcement mechanisms, while amplifying voices from Papua New Guinea who shared first-hand impacts of forest loss on local communities.

MLI Systems Change Training & BFFP Asia Pacific Regional Meeting



Held in Negombo, Sri Lanka on the 23rd to 29th of October 2025

Through the sponsorship from Break Free From Plastic (BFFP), two officers from C4 Center were accepted to attend a 3-day systems change training facilitated by the Multicultural Leadership Initiative (MLI).

Together with 17 other participants from BFFP Asia Pacific member organisations, we were put into groups of relevant themes each of our organisation is working on. With the facilitation

of the trainers, groups had to develop campaigns deploying system change thinking to be more focused and effective in our projects. Both Nabila and SiPeng joined the waste trade group and through the workshop, found new approaches for more effective communication



specifically considering the upcoming enforcement of the EU Waste Shipment Regulation in 2026. Other groups worked on reuse and waste reduction, increasing social media effectiveness and recruitment of more zero waste communities.

Following the training, both Nabila and SiPeng joined 149 members of BFFP from organisations throughout Asia for the biennial regional meeting. The last regional meeting was held in Bangkok in 2023. The meeting started with a site visit organised by the host organisation, Centre for Environmental Justice (CEJ) to see the impact of the nurdle spill off the coast of Negombo in 2021 which is still washing up nurdles onto the beaches until today. Over the three days, the meeting progressed from stock-taking on Day 1, reflecting on our collective experience and impact, to visioning on Day 2, where participants explored future considerations through a 10-year visioning exercise and identified priorities for the next decade. The meeting concluded with action planning on Day 3, during which specific thematic strategies and action plans were discussed for

the next three years, along with special segments on reuse, the EJJ screening of the movie, and the BFFP Communication Rapid Response Protocol. The underlying theme that resonated throughout the meeting was “there is strength in interconnectedness and not in silos,” and that is important to shift the power.

Being part of the regional meeting has not only enabled our officers to contribute, participate and take ownership in shaping the next 10 years of the global movement but also meet and build relationships with other members who share the same passion in seeing a future where health and environment is safeguarded from harms of plastics.





Regional Advocacy

Regional Workshop on Non-governmental Stakeholders' Engagement in Practical Application of the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime

Held in Putrajaya on the 15th to 17th of January 2025

From 15 to 17 January 2025, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) organised the Regional Workshop on Non-governmental Stakeholders' Engagement in the Practical Application of the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC). The workshop gathered civil society representatives from across Asia, including the Maldives, Pakistan, India, Nepal, and ASEAN countries.

C4 Center was represented by CEO Pushpan Murugiah and Head of Research & Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan.

Over the three days, participants explored key themes such as profiling organised crime in the region, international and regional frameworks to prevent and counter organised crime, and regional initiatives for combating these threats. Notably, Pushpan Murugiah spoke on a panel on the practical application of UNTOC instruments and skills-building, while Arief Hamizan joined a youth panel on the role of young people in combating organised crime.

Other sessions included discussions on mainstreaming gender and human rights in interventions, as well as collaborative group workshops where participants developed actionable regional proposals. The event concluded with the establishment of a volunteer working committee to carry forward the momentum and initiatives developed during the workshop.





2025 Asia & the Pacific Regional Meeting of the Open Government Partnership (OGP)

Held in Manila, the Philippines, on the 3rd to 5th of February 2025



Arief Hamizan, Head of Research & Policy Advocacy at C4 Center, participated in the 2025 Asia & the Pacific Regional Meeting of the Open Government Partnership (OGP), held from 3–7 February in Manila, Philippines.

The meeting convened government officials, civil society leaders, policymakers, and regional partners from across the Asia-Pacific to assess progress and challenges in advancing open government principles. Arief attended as a delegate in a dedicated workshop for regional youth leaders, contributing to discussions on strengthening youth engagement in transparency, accountability, and participatory governance across the region.



Southeast Asia Anti-Corruption Network (SEA-ACN) Regional Forum on Public Procurement

Held in Bangkok, Thailand on the 17th and 18th of February 2025



The SEA-ACN Regional Forum on Understanding Public Procurement was organised jointly by the Bangkok-based Knowledge Hub for Regional Anti-Corruption and Good Governance Collaboration (KRAC), and the Malaysia-based Center to Combat Corruption and Cronyism (C4 Center), held at SILQ Hotel and Residences in Bangkok, Thailand between 17 to 18 February 2024. The event was also supported by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). The objective of the forum is to facilitate discussions on procurement and contracting practices, including alternative modalities of public procurement in Southeast Asian countries.

The programme for the first day of the Forum (17 February) was populated with a series of presentations that set out to establish the context of public procurement regimes and related challenges in the Southeast Asian region. The introductory remarks were presented by Annika Wyrthes, Team Lead, Anti-Corruption Hub for Southeast Asia, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC); Dr. Torplus Yomnak, Director of the Knowledge Hub for Regional Anti-Corruption and Good Governance Collaboration (KRAC); and Pushpan Murugiah, CEO of C4 Center. This was followed by a presentation of the report “Policy Proposal to the Malaysian Government: The Procurement Act” by C4 Center Researcher Bryan Cheah – the report highlights and analyses C4 Center’s key areas concerns with regards to the Malaysian government’s proposed Procurement Act and provides recommendations with regards to how these issues should be addressed and legislated in the drafting of the Act. The full report can be found on C4 Center’s website. Following this, speakers from multiple nations in the Southeast Asian region provided concise explanations regarding the public procurement regimes in their respective nations, with each speaker highlighting the legal and institutional instruments involved in public procurement, as well as the challenges and weaknesses faced in these

respective regimes. After having familiarised all participants with the basics of the different public procurement systems in different Southeast Asian nations, Pushpan Murugiah presented “Public Procurement and Other Modalities of Government Contracting.” His presentation provided an explanation of the alternative procurement modalities increasingly being used by governments globally to contract with the private sector as well as other governments, highlighting the corruption risks inherent to these modalities as they are not generally governed under conventional procurement guidelines or legislation.

This was followed by “Improving Procurement and Contracting Transparency” by Clara Feng, Regional Advisor for the Infrastructure





Transparency Initiative (CoST) – Clara’s presentation was an overview of the work undertaken by CoST in ensuring infrastructure projects adhere to transparency principles, ensuring that the projects meet their purpose, are carried out efficiently, and are completed with the interests of communities in mind, while highlighting the importance of data collection and utilisation throughout CoST’s operations.

The last panel session of the first day was “Various Types of the Procurement Modalities & its Financial Impact: Case Studies in Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Cambodia.” This panel intended to gain insight regarding the procurement-related scandals and anti-corruption action undertaken by individual Southeast Asian countries. The speakers for this panel session were Cynthia Gabriel from Malaysia, Laode Syarif from Indonesia, Soh Kee Hean from Singapore, and another representative who wished to remain unnamed. Pushpan Murugiah moderated this session.

Each speaker presented on major corruption scandals that have taken place within their respective nations that were related to public procurement, while mentioning each government’s strategies in addressing or curbing corruption – it was observed that large infrastructure projects

were often the ones who were exempt from procurement transparency protocol, obscuring these projects from public scrutiny.

The programme for the second day of the Forum (18 February) included two workshops that aimed at obtaining more granular data with regards to the participants’ experience and work in relation to the weaknesses of the public procurement system in their home countries, and to also identify the strategies adopted by participants and their organisations to enable and support public procurement regime reform. The outcomes from these workshops were strategies that could be undertaken by CSOs both individually and under the SEA-ACN collective to improve advocacy work. These strategies included the development of data sharing centres and platforms for CSOs to share their intel and expertise with each other; CSOs actively engaging with and mutually planning projects that are regional and cross-border in nature in order to address the increasing cross-border nature of public procurement corruption; the need for col-

lective representation at international-level and inter-governmental engagements such as the ASEAN Parties Against Corruption (ASEAN-PAC); and for SEA-ACN to collectively seek out funding opportunities and alternative methods of self-funding so that more activities can be initiated and carried out.

The findings of this two-day forum and its respective workshops were compiled into a report submitted to KRAC and UNODC that focused on a comparative analysis of procurement regimes of different Southeast Asian nations, with a view to expand upon advocacy on good governance in public procurement strategies regionally.





Exploratory Meeting with Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) Regional Office for Southeast Asia

Held in Bangkok, Thailand, on the 18th of February 2025

On February 18, C4 Center representatives had the opportunity to drop by the OHCHR Regional Office for South-East Asia Regional Office in Bangkok to speak with Human Rights Officer Mr Arnaud Chaltin. During our brief but constructive meeting, we explained to Mr Chaltin the current status of Malaysia's human rights situation with respect to corruption, governance, and the environment i.e. C4 Center's core thematic focus areas. We had set up this meeting with the aim of establishing ties with the OHCHR Regional Office, understanding the Office's agendas and current projects and priorities, and exploring potential avenues for collaboration moving forward.

The meeting went very well, and we are extremely appreciative to Mr Chaltin for taking time out of his busy schedule to accommodate us. We hope this marks the beginning of a long and productive relationship between C4 Center and the OHCHR.

ASEAN Peoples Forum: Thematic Cluster 12 Roundtable Discussion: *Effective Whistleblowing in Environmental Crimes and Corruption*

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 23rd to 24th of May 2025



As a member of the Southeast Asia Anti-Corruption Network (SEA-CAN), C4 Center hosted a roundtable discussion titled *Effective Whistleblowing in Environmental Crimes and Corruption*. This session was held under Thematic Cluster 12 during the ASEAN Peoples' Forum, which took place from 23 to 24 May at Wisma MCA, Jalan Ampang. The roundtable was organised to explore the complex intersection between environmental crimes and corruption. Its objectives were to gather knowledge on the nature of these crimes and their links to corruption, compile case studies to illustrate the impact of these crimes on the climate and environment, and highlight personal whistleblowing experiences that often involve serious risks and consequences, and to initiate steps towards a framework that could lead to a future whistleblowers summit.

The discussion brought together distinguished panellists and participants from across ASEAN countries. They highlighted shared environmental challenges in the region, particularly those driven by corruption, such as large scale deforestation that supports the mining and logging industries, wildlife trafficking, pollution from industrial sources, and the illegal transport of waste. These issues are increasingly common and represent some of the most pressing crimes affecting Southeast Asia.

Participants emphasised how environmental





crimes severely impact the economy and the livelihoods of communities. In this context, the roles of whistleblowers and investigative journalists are critical. They serve as frontline defenders in uncovering wrongdoing, malpractice, fraud, and corrupt practices. Yet, their work often comes at a high personal cost, with many facing threats and violence.

Despite their importance, whistleblowers and journalists often lack sufficient legal protection. The roundtable acknowledged that these key actors frequently encounter reprisals from elites and state actors seeking to silence them. As a result, the discussion focused on the need to enhance legal awareness and examine existing whistleblower protection frameworks. Participants explored the legal landscape across the region and identified gaps where civil society organisations and communities could advocate for reform.

The roundtable also conducted a group discussion with key objectives to map ASEAN conventions and institutional bodies relevant to whistleblowing in environmental crimes. Participants shared insights and proposals for a potential framework centred around four main areas: supporting functions, advocacy strategies, legal frameworks, and the establishment of independent institutions to safeguard whistleblowers.

In conclusion, the discussion emphasised the importance of thinking globally while acting locally. Environmental activists must work across various interconnected areas of crime and build solidarity through indigenous, international, and regional networks. While international mechanisms for protection exist, local legislation remains weak and must be strengthened to ensure the safety of environmental defenders, organisations, and affected communities. Moving forward, future ASEAN summits should prioritise discussions on the operations of businesses, public-private partnerships, and the development of regional legislation to combat environmental corruption more effectively.





United Nations Cybercrime Convention

Held in Vietnam, on the 25th of October 2025

Pushpan Murugiah, our CEO, participated as a panelist at a side-event held in conjunction with the United Nations Cybercrime Convention (Hanoi Convention), where he represented the Southeast Asia Anti-Corruption Network (SEA-ACN). The event was convened by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) to discuss the growing nexus between corruption and cybercrime.

During the discussion, Pushpan highlighted findings from UNODC’s report on the nexus between cybercrime and corruption, which underscores how cyber-enabled crimes in the region — including scam centres, illegal online gambling operations, trafficking networks, and complex money laundering schemes — often rely

on corruption, weak regulatory oversight, and obstructed investigations.

Pushpan emphasised the important role of civil society in addressing these challenges through independent oversight, support for victims and whistleblowers, technical policy contributions on emerging cyber risks, and sustained advocacy for transparency and accountability.

The session also highlighted the need for stronger regional cooperation among civil society, enforcement agencies, and policymakers, recognising that cybercriminal networks operate across borders and require coordinated responses to effectively close governance gaps exploited by organised syndicates.



UNODC International Human Rights Day Workshop 2025

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 8th of December 2025



In conjunction with International Human Rights Day, the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) held a workshop bringing together representatives from anti-corruption and good governance civil society organisations from across Southeast Asia to reflect on the intersections between corruption and human rights, as well as to map out gaps and opportunities for collaborations. C4 Center has long emphasised the deep interconnection and mutual reinforcement between corruption and human rights violations, and the importance of considering both aspects in tandem.

Research and Communications Officer Benjamin Tiong and Policy and Legal Research Officer Prishanth Linggaraj attended this workshop, which included expert sharing sessions by Arnaud Chaltin from the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Torplus Yom-

nak from Chulalongkorn University, and Lim Li Anne from UNODC.

Additionally, Prishanth was invited to speak on a panel discussion titled “Negative impact of corruption on the enjoyment of human rights”, which provided an opportunity for speakers to share case studies from across Southeast Asia. Prishanth provided a Malaysian perspective on this topic, alongside Joy Aceron from G-Watch (the Philippines), David Kittituch Sriamrung from People’s Empowerment Foundation (Thailand), and Alvin Nicola from Transparency International Indonesia.





Case study 1: Flawed ventilators

According to the Auditor-General's 2021 Report (Series 2) published in 2023, the Ministry of Health – with approval from the Ministry of Finance after a Cabinet meeting – had paid RM30 million to Company 260790-T (Pharmaniaga Logistics) to procure 500 ventilators estimated to cost RM 50 million.

Of the 500 units, Pharmaniaga delivered only 136 of the 136, only 28 ventilators were in usable condition. The supply of 136 ventilators had cost RM20.1 million – an additional RM3.97 million was also approved to upgrade certain ventilators, pushing the cost of the overall procurement of 136 ventilators to RM24.07 million.



UNODC International Anti Corruption Day

Held in Kuala Lumpur, on the 9th of December 2025

C4 Center's CEO, Pushpan Murugiah, spoke at the UNODC event in Malaysia held in Kuala Lumpur on 9 December 2025, in conjunction with International Anti-Corruption Day, addressing the theme "Collectively Building Accountable and Transparent Public Procurement in Malaysia."

During the session, he highlighted Malaysia's newly enacted Government Procurement Act (GPA), which came into force in August 2025. While the Act is widely seen as a long-overdue step forward—and Malaysia's first comprehensive law governing public spending—he cautioned that serious weaknesses remain, leaving room for abuse and corruption.

value contracts, placing enormous discretion in the hands of a single office.

2. Lack of transparency – The law does not require full public disclosure of critical information such as bidders, evaluation criteria, or decision-making processes. It is impossible to monitor what cannot be seen.
3. Weak institutional independence – Oversight bodies, including the Appeal Tribunal, are appointed by the Minister, raising questions about their impartiality and ability to act as genuine watchdogs.

His message was clear: a procurement system must serve the public interest, not political patronage or personal connections.

Key concerns raised include:

1. Excessive concentration of power – The Minister of Finance retains final authority over high-



ent is one of the areas to corruption – why?

the financial interests of state – as well as the use interaction between public officials and stakeholders" (OECD, 2016)

government spending process (as become the)

11th Conference of States Parties (CoSP11) to the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC)

Held in Qatar on the 15th of December 2025



Mr Pushpan Murugiah, our CEO, participated as a panelist at a side event during the 11th Conference of States Parties (CoSP11) to the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) held in Doha, Qatar. The session focused on the growing nexus between cybercrime and corruption and brought together global experts from government, civil society, and international organisations.

During the discussion, Mr Pushpan emphasised that the rapid growth of cyber-enabled crimes — including online scams, illicit gambling operations, and complex laundering networks — often depends on corruption, weak oversight, and the complicity of public officials. He highlighted that technological solutions and enforcement alone are insufficient without political integrity, institutional accountability, and strong governance frameworks.

The event also highlighted the importance of cross-border cooperation, professional networks, and technological innovation in addressing transnational cybercrime. C4 Center's participation underscored the vital role of civil society in global anti-corruption efforts, contributing

perspectives from Southeast Asia and reinforcing the importance of transparency, accountability, and whole-of-society approaches to combating corruption.





Diplomatic Engagements



Lunch Meeting and Dinner Reception with H.E. Niklas Wiberg, Swedish Ambassador to Malaysia and Delegation of the Swedish Riksdag

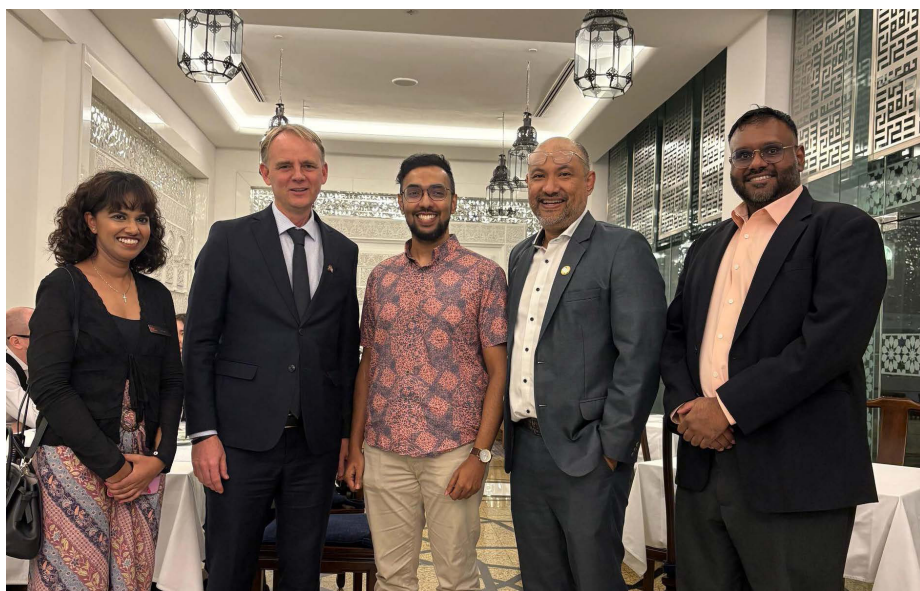
Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 26th of February 2025

On 26 February 2025, C4 Center was invited by the Embassy of Sweden to meet with H.E. Niklas Wiberg, Swedish Ambassador to Malaysia, as well as a delegation of representatives from the Swedish Parliament (Riksdag), including H.E. Kerstin

Lundgren, Third Deputy Speaker, and a few other Members and officers of the Riksdag.

C4 Center's representatives Pushpan Murgiah and Prishanth Linggaraj joined this esteemed delegation for lunch to discuss the development of good governance reforms in Malaysia, with specific focus on the ongoing establishment of the Ombudsman Malaysia. We were also joined at lunch by representatives from the Sarawak State Government, who spoke on the experience Sarawak has had thus far in setting up its State Ombudsman office.

Later that same day, C4 Center was also invited to a dinner reception for CSOs hosted by the Swedish Embassy at the Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia. It was a wonderful opportunity for lively discussion with the visiting delegation and other CSO friends. We are grateful for the opportunity and hope to continue forging productive collaboration with Sweden moving forward.





Meeting with the Embassy of Denmark in Malaysia

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 7th of March 2025

On 7 March 2025, C4 Center had the pleasure of making a courtesy visit to the recently reopened Embassy of Denmark in Malaysia. C4 Center initiated this visit in hopes of better understanding the contributions and initiatives made by the embassy in Malaysia, in addition to discussing the anti-corruption landscapes between their

respective countries and Malaysia in the areas of policy-making, business and economics.

C4 Center is very honoured to have enjoyed a fruitful discussion with Her Excellency Kirstine Vangkilde Berner, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Denmark to Malaysia. We are also thankful for the amazing hospitality provided by her and her representatives too. We look forward to future collaborations with the embassy in the future.



Follow Up Meeting with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) Regional Office for Southeast Asia Representative

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 26th of April 2025

C4 Center representatives previously had a meeting on 18 February 2025 with Arnaud Chaltin, Human Rights Officer with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) Regional Office in Bangkok. We unfortunately were unable to meet with Shivani Verma (the Human Rights Officer overseeing the OHCHR's work in Malaysia) during that initial meeting. Instead, we managed to schedule a meeting with her on one of her trips to Kuala Lumpur.

As with our previous meeting with Arnaud, we got the chance to talk about the OHCHR's

priorities and goals in Malaysia and how C4 Center might be able to aid in these endeavours. On her end, Shivani gave us tips and ideas for advocacy strategies to help with C4 Center's ongoing work too.

The meeting went very well, and we are extremely appreciative to Shivani for taking time out of her busy schedule to accommodate us. We hope this marks the beginning of a long and productive relationship between C4 Center and the OHCHR.

Engagement with the Embassy of Switzerland on Governance and Integrity

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 23rd of October 2025



On 23 October 2025, Mr Pushpan Murugiah, our CEO, attended a working lunch hosted by Her Excellency Chantal Moser, Ambassador of Switzerland to Malaysia. The engagement provided an opportunity to exchange views on governance, integrity, and institutional reform in Malaysia.

The discussion focused on current challenges at the intersection of corruption, politics, and governance, as well as ongoing efforts to strengthen transparency, accountability, and institutional integrity.

Several issues central to C4 Center's advocacy were highlighted during the exchange, including the influence of money and patronage in politics, implementation gaps in anti-corruption and public procurement reforms, the importance of independent oversight and civic participation, and the need for stronger international cooperation in combating illicit financial flows.

Such engagements form an important part of C4 Center's efforts to foster dialogue with the diplomatic community and international partners in advancing clean governance, open contracting, and accountable leadership in Malaysia.



Dinner with Danish Parliamentary Ombudsman

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 9th of December 2025

Thank you to the Embassy of Denmark in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia for hosting a dinner with special guests from the Danish Parliamentary Ombudsman.

H.E. Kirstine Vangkilde Berner, the Danish Ambassador, introduced us to Parliamentary Ombudsman Christian Britten Lundblad and his team members, Klavs Kinnerap and Johan Stampe. The delegation is in Malaysia on a goodwill visit to meet with civil servants, MPs, and NGOs regarding the proposed Ombudsman legislation.

It was also an important opportunity for

them to hear our views—not only on the ongoing institutional reforms and the Ombudsman proposal, but also on Malaysia's broader political and social climate. The exchange allowed for a deeper understanding of the challenges and expectations surrounding governance and accountability in the country.

As Malaysia prepares to legislate its own Ombudsman Act, it was highly beneficial to gain insights and learn best practices from a country with a well-established and successful institution.



Reception at the Swedish Embassy Residence

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 16th of December 2025

In honour and appreciation of the critical work of Malaysian civil society organisations (CSOs), the Embassy of Sweden held an evening reception at the Swedish Residence on 16 December 2025. This reception was held in recognition of the “dedication, partnership, and continuous efforts demonstrated by Malaysian CSOs in advancing shared goals and supporting communities across the country.”

C4 Center representatives, along with many of our CSO friends, were invited to attend this

reception hosted by H. E. Ambassador of Sweden to Malaysia, Niklas Wiberg. C4 Center has had a longstanding cooperative relationship with the Embassy of Sweden, and this reception was a much appreciated symbol of this relationship. We hope to continue strengthening this relationship in the coming years.





Work with Civil Society



Setiawangsa Constituency Hari Raya Open House

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 8th of April 2025



The Hari Raya Open House of Setiawangsa Member of Parliament and the then-Minister of Natural Resources and Environmental Sustainability (NRES), YB Nik Nazmi Nik Ahmad, coincided with the Break Free From Plastic (BFFP) Global team's annual planning and strategizing meeting. C4 Center saw this as a good opportunity to introduce regional CSOs to the minister in a casual setting and at the same time allow colleagues from Indonesia, Rahyang Nusantara (Deputy Director, Dietplastik Indonesia) and Philippines, Faye Ferrer (BFFP East Asia and Southeast Asia

Network Organizer) to experience the Malaysian custom of holding open houses during festivities. This engagement with Dietplastik Indonesia was part of larger plans to collaborate with regional partners, particularly as Dietplastik had recently completed a preliminary study on reuse frameworks in Indonesia. It is hoped that information on these frameworks will help inform Malaysia's circular economy policy drafting



SUARAM Annual Human Rights Report Launch 2024

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 10th of April 2025

SUARAM's Annual Human Rights Report is an important resource for data driven advocacy in Malaysia, as it provides a concise yet extensive

overview of the human rights situation in the nation for a given year - tracking areas of progress, regress, and avenues for improvement. In this regard, C4 Center is grateful for the opportunity to contribute a chapter on "Corruption and Governance" for a second year. Once again, this chapter explores the intersection between national anti-corruption efforts and good governance with the promotion, protection, and enjoyment of human rights (particularly the full realisation of economic, social, and cultural rights) for the year 2024.

This chapter – which was authored by Policy and Legal Research Officer Prishanth Lingaraj and peer reviewed by Research Officer Bryan Cheah – posits that the full enjoyment of human rights is wholly dependent upon the existence of effective, accountable, and transparent public institutions and public service delivery systems. Therefore, the occurrence of human rights violations are symptoms of broader institutional failures that impair the government's ability or willingness to govern in a manner consistent with a rights based approach.

C4 Center's diversified approach to understanding corruption allows us to identify a wider range of causal links that both entrench and aggravate the problem, resulting in a more holistic perspective overall. This also creates the opportunity for us to modify our advocacy strategies to enlarge our target audience and discover new possibilities for collaboration and cooperation. To this end, we shall continue striving to work beyond the confines of our 'silos'.





Expert Panel Discussion Assessing Malaysia's Civic Space under the EU-SEE Framework

*Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 27th of
May 2025*

On 27 May, C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah was invited as an expert panelist to contribute to an evaluation of the status of civic space in Malaysia under the EU System for an Enabling Environment (EU-SEE), by the national Network Member SUARAM.

EU-SEE is described as 'a comprehensive initiative designed to monitor and assess the enabling environment for civil society', that 'aims to systematically identify factors that support or hinder the effective operation and growth of civil society.' The primary assessment tool for this is an annual Country Focus Report that collates insights and numerical scores for various dimensions of an enabling environment for civil society. The invited experts sat together to come to a consensus on how well the Malaysian legal and policy framework facilitates the establishment and operation of civil society bodies.

The purpose of this effort is to produce a quantitative and qualitative record to form the basis of future advocacy efforts to strengthen civic space in Malaysia. Some of the principles under the EU SEE methodology include whether the legal and regulatory framework enables civil society actors to form and operate, accessibility and sustainability of resources, and supportiveness of public discourse. This was an insightful opportunity for C4 Center to contribute to an intersectional discussion on the very nature of our operations as CSOs in Malaysia, and we are grateful for the chance to participate.



MADANI BEKERJA

International Day for Universal Access to Information (IDUAI) Roundtable on Freedom of Information in Malaysia

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 2nd of October 2025

In conjunction with the International Day for Universal Access to Information (IDUAI), a roundtable was co-organised by the Centre for Independent Journalism (CIJ), the Parliamentary Special Select Committee on Human Rights, Election and Institutional Reforms, and the Legal

Affairs Division of the Prime Minister's Department (BHEUU). This IDUAI Roundtable, titled "Strengthening the Legal Framework, Advancing Openness", sought to foster collaborative dialogue to align the development and implementation of Malaysia's proposed FOI Act with public expectations and pertinent standards of good governance and human rights. Members of Parliament, civil society representatives, academics, and policy experts were invited to reflect on how Malaysia can progress towards developing an open and accountable information management framework.

system of secrecy laws which would hinder the operation of a FOI mechanism if left unchanged. This panel included the following speakers:

- Member of Parliament for Seputeh, Teresa Kok
- Director of the Chief Government Security Office (CGSO), Saiful Hisham b. Mohd Salleh
- Commissioner of the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (SUHAKAM), Melissa Mohd Akhir
- Member of the Bar Council Human Rights Committee, Sonya Liew.

As part of the event, Policy and Legal Research Officer Prishanth Linggaraj was invited to serve as a moderator for a panel titled "From Secrecy to Openness: Reforming Restrictive Laws". The panel discussion critically examined the eco-

This session was a great example of constructive collaboration between civil society, government, and elected leaders. Creating spaces for civil dialogue and discussion helps us to develop ideas and address gaps and concerns more effectively. C4 Center hopes to contribute and organise more such collaborations in 2026.





Progres25

Held in Melaka on the 3rd to 5th of October 2025

Arief Hamizan, Head of Research & Policy Advocacy at C4 Center, participated as a panelist at Progres25, a four-day convening of progressive civil society actors, activists, and political leaders held in Melaka. The gathering responded to a growing concern that progressive movements in Malaysia are increasingly fragmented and outpaced by more coordinated authoritarian and far-right networks, particularly in reaching broader constituencies across Malay Muslim communities.

Arief contributed to the panel on Resourcing Civil Society, which examined the urgent challenges posed by shrinking international funding and the resulting financial precarity faced by civil society organisations. His intervention focused on the need to rethink funding ecosystems, including exploring alternative financing models, strengthening domestic resource mobilisation, and

advocating for legal reforms that enable more sustainable and independent civil society operations.

The convening provided a critical platform for cross-sector dialogue, enabling participants to reflect on shared challenges, identify common ground, and build informal networks of collaboration. It also underscored the importance of developing compelling narratives and strategies to strengthen progressive engagement and relevance in Malaysia's evolving democratic landscape.





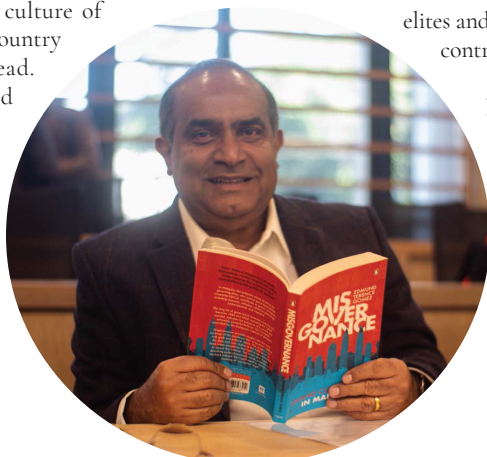
Outreach & Speaking Engagements

Misgovernance: Grand Corruption in Malaysia Book Launch and Public Forum



Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 14th of May 2025

On 14 May 2025, C4 Center launched *Misgovernance: Grand Corruption in Malaysia*, a book authored by Professor Emeritus Edmund Terence Gomez. In addition to this launch, C4 Center partnered with the Coalition for Business Integrity (CBI) to co-host a forum that sought to bring the issues of Malaysian small and medium enterprises (SMEs) to the forefront – with the perceived culture of corruption in the country becoming widespread. This forum worked in tandem with the contents of *Misgovernance: Grand Corruption in Malaysia*, which attempts to reimagine the meaning of “corruption” in Malaysia. In it, key insights



into extensive abuse of power perpetuated by governing elites, who have long taken advantage of Malaysia’s government-linked company (GLC) ecosystem.

Featuring prominently within his writings are multiple accounts of government-business controversies between 1980 and 2023, which tracks the development of a powerful and covert “Political-GLC complex” – controlled ultimately by the Cabinet. This long list of controversies, along with three case studies, elucidates the intimate and illicit connections between governing elites and the businesses under their control.

More than just a simple book launch, this event aimed to generate discourse on the urgent need for reform in Malaysia. Here, a wide range of discussions were held to sound the drum of change in various areas, including the GLC ecosystem, Malaysia’s

public institutions, and the private sector. Involved in these discussions were prominent members of politics, civil society, and the private sector, namely:

- YB Wong Chen, Member of Parliament, Subang
- Lim Koon Huan, Partner, Skrine Advocates and Solicitors
- Lee Han Ling, Executive Director, Malaysian International Chamber of Commerce and Industry (MICCI)
- Lim Chee Yoong, Representative, Malaysian Consortium of Mid-Tier Companies (MCMTCC)
- Edwin Ng, Vice President, Small and Medium Enterprises Association (SAMENTA)
- Cynthia Gabriel, Founding Director, C4 Center

During his session, YB Wong Chen spoke of the challenges in implementing the reform agenda. In particular, he shed light on the difficulties faced by Parliamentarians in attempting to carry out their duties. In that vein, YB Wong called attention



to the various reforms needed to bolster the present system, including a transparent asset declaration framework, a robust political financing act, and greater Parliamentary oversight over the Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission, among others.

The following session saw a total of four panelists, representing the private sector, speak on the topic, “Discussing the Impacts of Grand Corruption on Malaysian SMEs” – which was moderated by Cynthia Gabriel. Even from within the private sector, this group represented a broad range of interests, namely the legal fraternity, international trade groups, and SMEs.

Lim Koon Huan shared her experience working within the present legal and regulatory framework, highlighting the many ways SMEs are burdened by specific laws. Subsequently, Lee Han Ling provided perspective on the impact of corruption on international trade. Additionally, Lim Chee Yoong and Edwin Ng spoke on the vast challenges faced by Malaysian SMEs due to the culture of corruption that has become prevalent

in Malaysia.

It is our hope that in facilitating this conversation, greater collaboration can be achieved in the future through a multi-sectoral approach towards anti-corruption efforts. Only through a combined, collective action can the reform agenda’s aspirations be achieved.



UNCAC Awareness Workshop

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 8th of May 2025

C4 Center was invited to participate in the workshop 'UNCAC Awareness and Implementation Workshop for Civil Society in Malaysia' hosted jointly by United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and Transparency International Malaysia (TI-M). This event aimed to highlight how the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) applies to the work of non-governmental and civil society organisations addressing issues of governance and organized crime in Malaysia. The session opened with Mr. Justin Jarret (TI-M) presenting 'Exploring the Nexus Between Corruption and Crime – Reforms and Advocacy'. He started off the session by presenting how corruption cuts across broader areas like environmental protection, human rights abuses, and migrant and refugee advocacy. Following this, the Team Lead of UNODC's Anti-Corruption Hub for Southeast Asia, Ms Annika Wythes, led workshops on UNCAC review cycles and follow-up actions. Malaysia has completed two UNCAC review cycles, and her workshops suggested that

while Malaysia has promising anti-corruption structures and institutions, they are not implemented adequately.

Throughout the workshop, C4 researchers were engaged with different discussion groups from mixed advocacy backgrounds. We discussed how UNCAC related back to their work, as well as areas where UNCAC was less active or had limited relevancy.





Focus Group Discussion: National Integrity Inculcation Strategy 2025 – 2030

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 18th of
June 2025

C4 Center was invited to participate in *Perbincangan Kumpulan Fokus: Strategi Pembudayaan Integriti Nasional* (Focus Group Discussion: National Integrity Inculcation Strategy) 2025 – 2030, organised by the Institute of Integrity Malaysia (IIM) at their office in Jalan Duta. The objective of the discussion was to collect suggestions from stakeholders on strategies and policy initiatives to strengthen integrity within general society as well as in both the public and the private sectors, in line with the Twelfth Malaysia Plan.

The discussion gathered stakeholders from the public and private sector as well from civil society organisations to collect opinions about opportunities and challenges towards a culture of integrity in Malaysia. Each of the discussion topics sought to collate stakeholders' thoughts about Malaysia's socio-political climate, segregated into different scopes such as political, legal, environ-

mental, and so on. C4 Center's contribution there was to highlight the need to view the improvement of integrity not only as a change of attitude on an individual level, but also as one of structural reform and institutional strengthening. In particular, the need for the Political Financing and Government Procurement Acts were raised as vital towards creating a top-down implementation of integrity in governance.

According to IIM, this is the first of multiple focus group discussions – subsequent sessions will be aimed at discussing the points raised in this first session in more detail to be shaped into tangible policy positions and recommendations to the government.



Universiti Malaya Consti Team Consti Colloquium

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 31st of May 2025

On 31 May 2025, C4 Center was invited to take part as exhibitors in the Universiti Malaya Consti Team's (UMCT) Consti Colloquium event, an academic colloquium event aimed at promoting critical discourse on constitutional law among law students across Malaysia. As part of this event, the UMCT team set up an NGO booth section within their event venue, introducing participants to prominent non-governmental organisations in Malaysia that actively work in areas related to constitutional rights, human rights, and social justice. C4 Center was joined by the following NGOs throughout the event:

- All Women's Action Society of Malaysia (AWAM)
- Amnesty International Malaysia
- Dominic Gan & Co Law Firm
- Empower Malaysia
- Surahanjaya Hak Asasi Manusia Malaysia

(SUHAKAM)

- The Malaysian Centre for Constitutionalism and Human Rights (MCCHR)
- Women: Girls
- Yayasan Tan Sri Profesor Ahmad Ibrahim (YT-SPAI)

During the event, C4 Center was able to engage with a number of students to share our work and information on the latest developments on anti-corruption and institutional reform in Malaysia. Additionally, participants were made to take part in a short activity at C4 Center's booth wherein, they were asked to think of relevant reforms that they wished to see passed through by the end of the current government's term. This event allowed C4 Center to further expand its areas of advocacy towards the wider public, namely university students as part of a wider thrust in engaging the youth with issues of corruption.

Bila Kami Bersatu Documentary Screening and Panel Discussion



Held in Petaling Jaya on the 11th of June 2025

On 11 June 2025, Rumah Mandiri in Petaling Jaya hosted a screening of the documentary *Bila Kami Bersatu*, a moving film co-directed by C4 Center Social Media and Campaigns Officer Asyraf Abdul Samad that captures the lives and struggles of four women from the Union of Private Sector Support Service Workers in Government Hospitals across Peninsular Malaysia (JPKK). Organised by the Malaysian NGO Mandiri, the event brought together activists, civil society representatives, and members of the public to reflect on the realities of labour in Malaysia's public healthcare system. The screening offered a rare and intimate look into the lived experiences of working-class women who form the backbone of essential hospital services.

The documentary follows these women and their fellow union members in their ongoing collective struggle to raise the minimum wage — a key demand that remains central to their fight for fair labour conditions. Intwoven with scenes of their

everyday routines as hospital support staff, the film highlights the personal and political courage it takes to stand up for worker rights in an increasingly unequal economy. Through their voices, *Bila Kami Bersatu* offers a powerful testimony to the importance of solidarity, dignity, and perseverance in the face of systemic challenges.

Following the screening, a panel discussion featuring Minxi Chua, co-director of the documentary; Noraizan Riduan, Industrial Relations Officer and State Coordinator at JPKK; Pushpan Murugiah, CEO of C4 Center; and Wani Hamzah, Senior Research Officer at the Women's Aid Organisation (WAO) took place. The conversation delved deeper into the documentary's themes, discussing the intersection of gender, labour rights, and activism in Malaysia. The event concluded with a vibrant Q&A session, where audience members expressed solidarity with the women in the film and reaffirmed the importance of ongoing advocacy for economic and social justice.

Presentation of Misgovernance: Grand Corruption in Malaysia at MICCI 52nd Annual General Meeting

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 19th of June 2025

On 19 June 2025, the Malaysian International Chamber of Commerce & Industry (MICCI) held its 52nd Annual General Meeting at the Renaissance Kuala Lumpur Convention Centre. One of the key highlights of the event was a special presentation by Mr. Pushpan Murugiah, CEO of the Center to Combat Corruption & Cronyism (C4 Center), who was invited to speak on the groundbreaking book *Misgovernance: Grand Corruption in Malaysia* authored by Professor Terence Gomez. In his address, Mr. Pushpan provided a comprehensive overview of the historical and structural evolution of grand corruption in Malaysia, as detailed in the book. He articulated how the governance landscape had shifted through pivotal phases — from the post-independence drive to reclaim national assets, to the establishment of bureaucratic capitalism through statutory bodies, followed by the Mahathir-era transfer of national wealth to politically connected individuals, and culminating in the current entrenchment of political control over public assets via the Government-Linked Companies (GLC) complex. Mr. Pushpan drew attention to the GLC complex as a critical concern. He explained that this complex constitutes a vast network of GLCs, sovereign wealth funds, statutory bodies, and holding companies that are either directly or indirectly under political control. These entities dominate key sectors of the economy, and their governance is often opaque, lacking proper checks and

balances. The interweaving of political and corporate power, he emphasised, has created an environment where large-scale corruption can occur with impunity — as exemplified by the 1MDB scandal. He further noted that the current structure significantly undermines the private sector, particularly small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), which often struggle to compete in a market where GLCs are afforded preferential treatment in procurement, financing, and regulatory access. Mr. Pushpan urged stakeholders to understand that grand corruption is not simply the result of individual misconduct but is deeply rooted in systemic governance failures. Importantly, his presentation called for a renewed partnership between civil society, the government, and the private sector. He emphasised the need for collective action to dismantle corrupt structures, enhance corporate accountability, and promote an environment where ethical business practices can thrive. He also stressed the need to depoliticise GLC governance and introduce structural reforms to ensure public wealth is managed transparently and in the public interest. Mr. Pushpan's contribution provided an invaluable perspective on the role of the private sector in anti-corruption efforts and highlighted the importance of systemic reform in Malaysia's journey toward good governance and sustainable economic development.



Rakyat Benci Rasuah 2.0 Rally

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 28th of June 2025

On 28 June 2025, C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah and Policy & Legal Research Officer Prishanth Linggaraj attended and addressed the crowd at the Himpunan Rakyat Benci Rasuah 2.0 protest in Kuala Lumpur. The rally was organised by the Sekretariat Rakyat Benci Rasuah (SRBR), a coalition of NGOs and university student groups, as a continuation of their earlier anti-corruption mobilisations aimed at renewing pressure on the Madani government to fulfil its reform pledges. Protesters gathered at Sogo at 2:30 PM and marched to Dataran Merdeka, carrying placards and chanting calls for institutional reform.

The protest centred on several key demands: the separation of powers between the Attorney General and the Prime Minister's Office, autonomy for the Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission (MACC), the introduction of a Political Financing Act, and accountability in unresolved corruption and custodial death cases. Among the speakers were student leaders and SRBR representatives, who voiced frustration over the government's perceived delay in implementing promised anti-corruption reforms.

The rally remained largely peaceful, although tensions briefly escalated during a performance act when police intervened and a participant was allegedly injured. SRBR condemned the incident, citing it as an infringement on the right to peaceful assembly. The protest served as a reminder of continued civil society pressure for meaningful structural change and reaffirmed the public's growing discontent with the slow pace of governance reform in Malaysia.



Participation in UNODC Expert Group Meeting



Held in Vienna, Austria, on the 2nd and 3rd of June 2025

C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah participated in the Expert Group Meeting on Corruption as a Facilitator of Trafficking in Persons, an event hosted by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) at the Vienna International Centre in Austria from June 2–3. He contributed

as a key facilitator and subject matter expert in the gathering, which convened approximately 30 global experts tasked with analyzing the complex, cross-regional nexus between corruption and human trafficking. The meeting focused on identifying the structural enablers of trafficking and developing coordinated international responses.

During the session, Pushpan delivered crucial insights centered on Malaysia's structural vulnerabilities and how systemic corruption fuels trafficking within the region. His presentation detailed the varied forms of corruption involved, specifically highlighting the critical interplay between grand corruption, often executed by political elites, and petty corruption at the operational level. He emphasized how this dynamic creates significant opportunities for international syndicates to exploit global and domestic supply chains. Participation in such expert dialogues is considered critical for building robust global frameworks and actionable solutions to effectively combat these pressing transnational issues.





Meeting with the Leader of the Opposition

Held in Kuala Lumpur on 1st of July 2025

On 1 July 2025, C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah and Head of Research & Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan participated in a meeting with the then-Leader of the Opposition Datuk Seri Hamzah Zainudin and several senior Perikatan Nasional leaders. The meeting, which also involved other civil society organisations, provided an important platform to engage opposition representatives on national reform priorities and governance issues. During the discussion, we underscored the urgent need to strengthen whistleblower protection mechanisms and to

promote transparency and accountability in political financing. We emphasised that these reforms are essential to curbing corruption and ensuring integrity in Malaysia's democratic institutions. This engagement formed part of C4 Center's ongoing effort to foster bipartisan dialogue and commitment to the reform agenda.

UNODC Journalists Against Corruption Public Procurement Workshop



Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 8th and 9th of July 2025

A big thank you to Journalists Against Corruption (JAC) for the invitation to our CEO, Mr Pushpan to speak on Public Procurement — and to share insights on the diverse levels and modalities

across the ASEAN region. This workshop was held on the 8 & 9 of July in Kuala Lumpur.

This workshop emphasised that civil society, journalists, and media organisations need to strengthen their ability to understand, investigate, and report corruption in public procurement — using the power of regional cooperation and shared expertise. Civil society, journalists, and academics must work together — bridging knowledge, articulating clear narratives, and strategising effective ways to dismantle corrupt systems particularly in public procurement.

Ultimately, corruption in public procurement endangers countless lives and hinders national development





Meeting with YB Lee Chean Chung, MP for Petaling Jaya

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 14th of July 2025

On 14 July 2025, C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah and Head of Research & Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan met with YB Lee Chean Chung, Member of Parliament for Petaling Jaya, to discuss key reform issues related to governance and public accountability. The meeting addressed the importance of strengthening local council governance and improving oversight mechanisms to ensure effective and transparent service delivery at the municipal level.

We also discussed plastic waste management reform and related environmental governance

challenges. We highlighted the need for stronger anti-corruption safeguards within environmental policymaking and emphasised how transparency and integrity must underpin Malaysia's broader sustainability and waste management strategies.

Civil Society Briefing on Whistleblower Protection Act Amendments



Held in Petaling Jaya on the 7th of August 2025

On 7 August 2025, C4 Center, in collaboration with CSO Platform for Reform, organised a briefing session for civil society organisations on the recently passed amendments to the Whistleblower Protection Act 2010. The session aimed to inform and equip civil society actors with a clear understanding of the new legal provisions, their

implications for governance and accountability, and the practical challenges that may arise in their implementation.

During the briefing, C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah and Head of Research & Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan delivered presentations analysing the key changes introduced by the amendments and how they align with Malaysia's broader reform landscape. The discussion situated whistleblower protection within the expected introduction of ombudsman and freedom of information laws, highlighting the need for coherence and institutional coordination across these reform areas. The session reaffirmed C4 Center's commitment to strengthening Malaysia's integrity framework and enhancing protection mechanisms for those who expose wrongdoing in the public interest.





Regional Consultation on Forced Labour: *Ethical Business Practices in Supply Chain*

*Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 19th of
August 2025*



C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah was invited to speak on corruption within labour migration systems. He presented a clear, step-by-step look at where corruption happens in migrant labour systems and recruitment processes. Each point in the chain is unpacked to show how it is done. From cartels controlling recruitment to the cost borne by employers, workers, and governments. Crucially, he also highlighted how such corruption directly undermines

ethical business practices in global supply chains. When exploitation is embedded in how labour is recruited and moved, businesses face serious risks — legal, reputational, and operational. This session sets the foundation for understanding the problem as a necessary first step toward building transparent, fair, and responsible recruitment systems that support ethical and sustainable supply chain.

Meeting with Senator Dr Jufitri Joha



Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 4th of September 2025

On 4 September 2025, C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah and Head of Research & Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan met with Senator Dr Jufitri Joha to discuss current reform priorities in Parliament. The meeting focused on the proposed Government Procurement Act, with both representatives stressing the importance of ensuring strong accountability mechanisms, transparency standards, and public oversight provisions within the forthcoming legislation.

We also discussed broader parliamentary reform priorities, including the need for consistent multi-stakeholder engagement in the legislative process. The meeting reinforced C4 Center's role in promoting institutional reforms that advance transparency, integrity, and public trust in Malaysia's governance systems.



2025 SUHAKAM Day Consultation: Strengthening of SUHAKAM through the 2026 Re- accreditation Process

*Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 9th of
September 2025*



The Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (SUHAKAM) organised a consultation on its 2026 re-accreditation process in conjunction with the 2025 SUHAKAM Day Celebration. As a National Human Rights Institution (NHRI), SUHAKAM is subject to an international peer review process by the Global Alliance of National Human Rights Institutions (GANHRI). This periodic review process ensures an NHRI's compliance with the internationally recognised minimum standards for NHRIs to be considered credible i.e. the Paris Principles, to ensure independence, pluralism and accountability.

During this consultation, SUHAKAM representatives provided updates on the recently passed

amendments to the SUHAKAM Act 1999 and shared SUHAKAM's achievements and challenges from 2021 to 2025. Participants also were given the opportunity to provide feedback on how SUHAKAM should improve and strengthen its effectiveness and independence in performing its mandate as an NHRI.

C4 Center was represented at the consultation by Policy and Legal Research Officer, Prishanth Linggaraj. During the session, Prishanth emphasised the remaining gaps in SUHAKAM's parent Act and governing framework that allowed for the risk of executive interference, through the lack of independence for appointments. C4 Center recognises the importance of an effective and autonomous NHRI in exercising oversight on government, and will continue working together with fellow CSOs to advocate for SUHAKAM's independence.

INSAP Urban Affairs Policy Summit (UAPS) 2025



Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 27th of September 2025

At the INSAP Urban Affairs Policy Summit (UAPS) 2025, C4 Center's Chief Executive Officer, Mr. Pushpan Murugiah, served as Moderator for

Thematic Presentation & Panel 2: "Urbanisation Policies and Its Challenges in Malaysia." The session examined the proposed Urban Renewal Act (URA) through the lenses of good governance, legal safeguards, and urban planning integrity. The discussion brought together experts and policy advisors to explore best practices in urban design, accountability, and property rights, while analysing how the URA intersects with existing planning and land laws. Mr. Pushpan guided the conversation toward a critical question: does the URA Bill enhance or erode constitutional safeguards and public accountability? He underscored C4 Center's view that urban renewal must not come at the expense of citizens' rights or transparent governance. Urban development, he noted, should prioritise inclusive, participatory, and accountable processes that ensure better quality living for all Malaysians.



The Third International Conference on Anti-Corruption Innovations in Bangkok

Held in Bangkok, Thailand on the 21st of August 2025

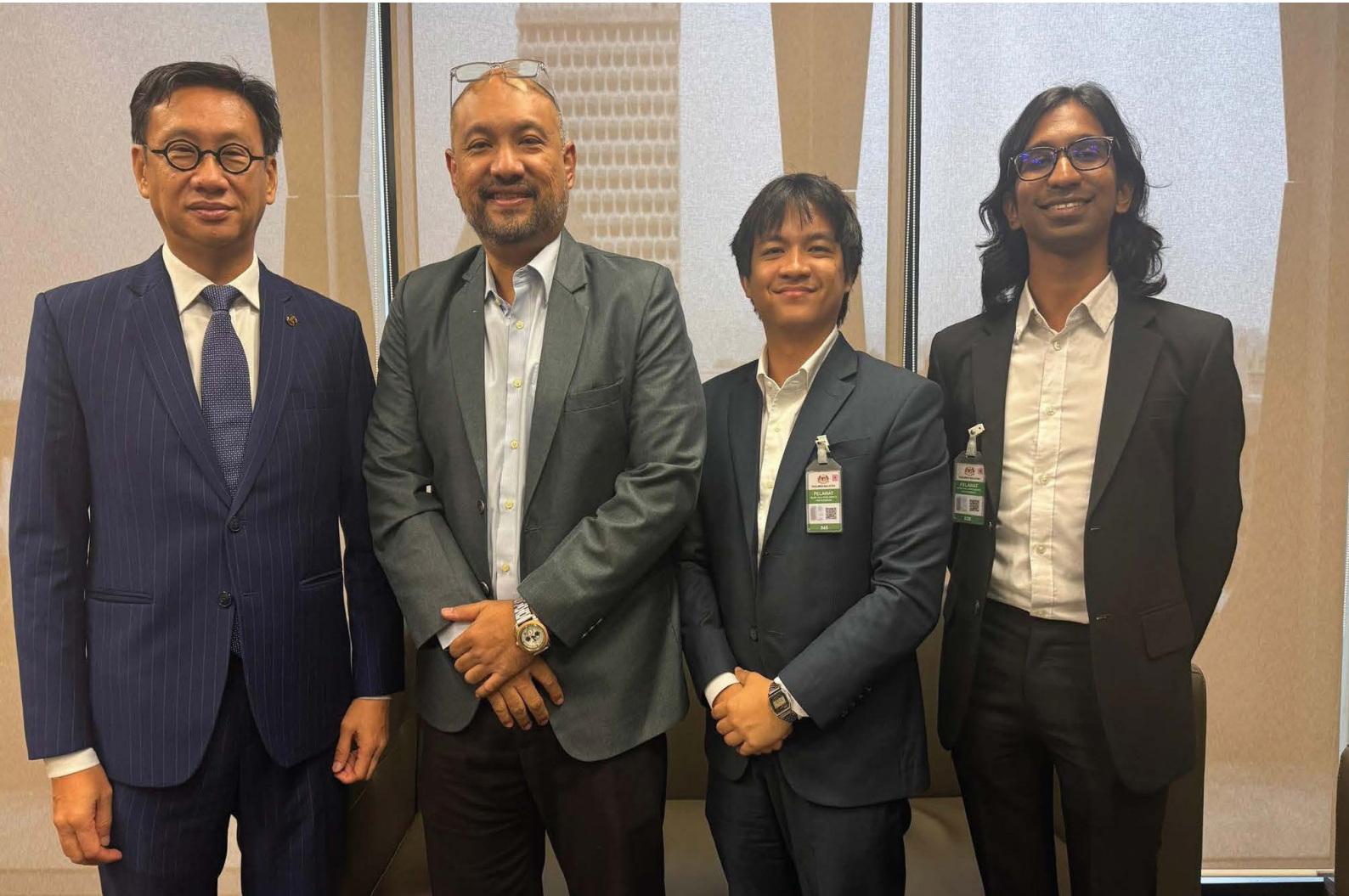
C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah was invited to speak on the theme “Government Procurement Transparency and Auditing Government Projects.”

In his presentation, Pushpan highlighted the persistent blind spots in Malaysia’s public procurement system. He drew attention to the various modalities of procurement — particularly Government-to-Government (G2G) projects and Government-Linked Companies (GLCs) — which are often framed as strategic partnerships in sectors such as infrastructure, defence, and energy. However, he cautioned that these arrangements frequently escape standard procurement safeguards under the guise of “diplomatic agreements.” While the deals are negotiated behind closed doors, the costs are ultimately borne by taxpayers, who are denied access to critical information. Pushpan further noted that Malaysian GLCs command vast sectors of the national economy — oil and gas, transport, and construction — yet their procurement processes remain largely shielded from public scrutiny, despite being financed through public funds and state guarantees. When contracts are inflated or channelled to politically con-

nected subsidiaries, public resources are effectively siphoned away from national development priorities. In charting the way forward, Pushpan underscored that addressing procurement risks demands systemic reform anchored in transparency, accountability, and public participation. He called for the mandatory adoption of the Open Contracting Data Standard (OCDS) to ensure all procurement information — from planning to implementation — is publicly accessible. He emphasised the need for independent audit bodies with real enforcement powers, including the ability to investigate, sanction, or rescind corrupt contracts. Linking beneficial ownership data to procurement was highlighted as crucial to prevent shell companies or political proxies from capturing major projects. Pushpan also advocated for open and accountable e-procurement systems that go beyond administrative efficiency, and for the institutionalisation of citizen and civil society oversight through social audits, public hearings, and civic monitoring — ensuring that public procurement truly serves the people’s interest.



Briefing for YB Wong Chen on Whistleblower Protection Act Amendments



Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 22nd of July 2025

Upon the tabling of the Whistleblower Protection (Amendment) Bill 2025, C4 Center representatives had the opportunity to brief the Member of Parliament (MP) for Subang, Wong Chen in Parliament. Accompanying C4 Center Chief Executive Officer Pushpan Murugiah was our Head of Research and Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan and Policy and Legal Research Officer

Prishanth Linggaraj.

During the meeting, we had the opportunity to elaborate on the advantages of this set of amendments as well as the shortcomings and gaps that remain to be addressed. We hope we can continue having briefing sessions like this with our elected representatives to develop more robust political discourse. We thank YB Wong Chen for allowing us the time to meet with him during his busy Parliamentary schedule.



Meeting with YB Wong Chen in Parliament

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 5th of August 2025

On 5 August 2025, C4 Center had the pleasure of meeting Member of Parliament for Subang, Yang Berhormat Wong Chen in Parliament. Accompanying C4 Center Chief CEO Pushpan Murugiah was our Head of Research and Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan, Environmental Governance Research Officer Nabila Zulkeflee, Research and Communications Officer Benjamin Tiong, and Special Projects Officer Eva Macias.

During the meeting, we had a frank discussion on the state of reforms in Malaysia, and how the reform movement can progress in the future. We highlighted current issues that covered topics related to political financing, whistleblower protection, and environmental governance. We thank YB Wong Chen for allowing us the time to meet with him during his busy Parliamentary schedule.

Coalition Building for Better Governance in Sabah



Held in Kota Kinabalu on the 14th of August 2025

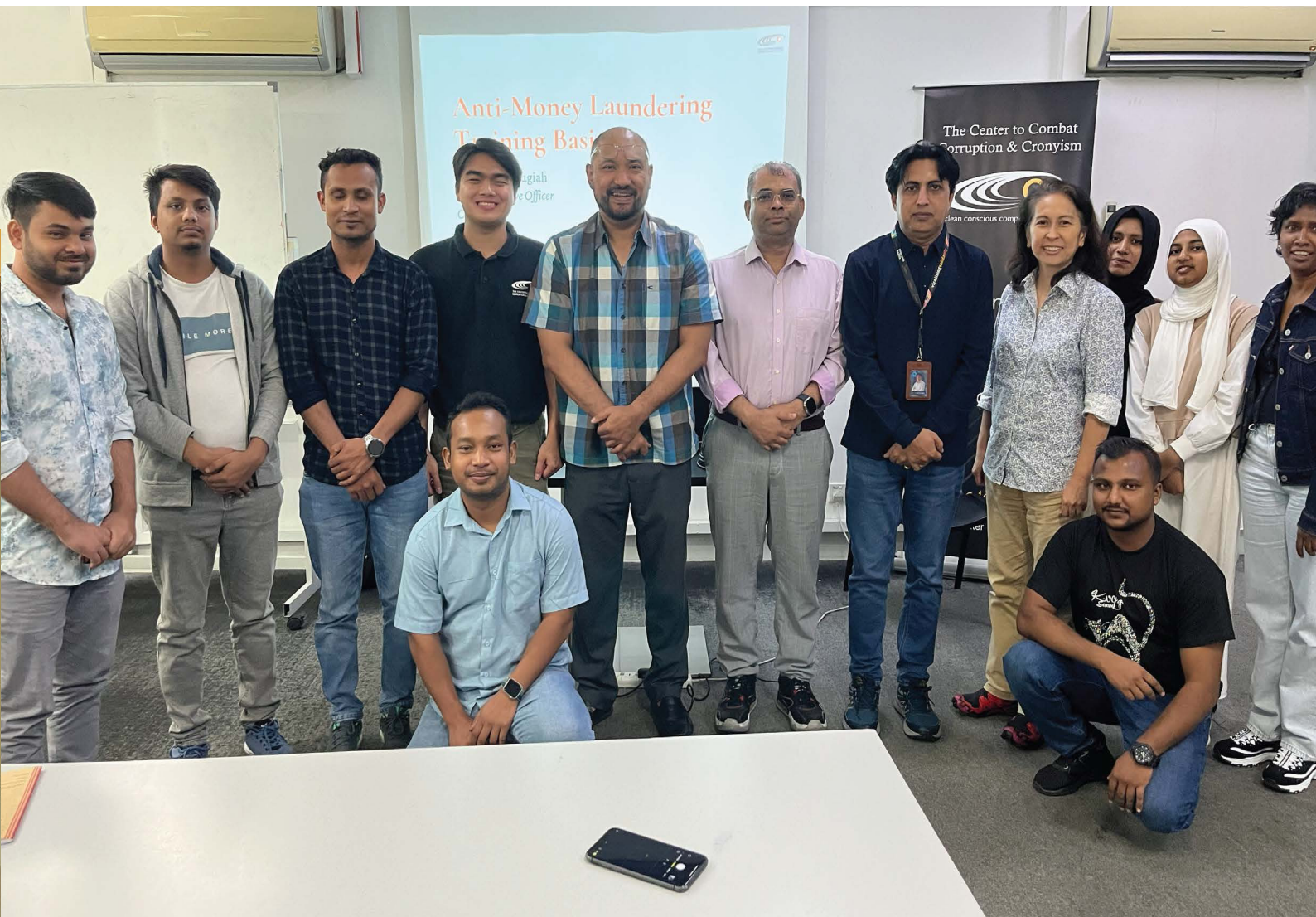


On 14 August 2025, C4 Center organised the event, “Coalition Building for Better Governance in Sabah” in Cititel Express Kota Kinabalu. C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah was joined by our Head of Research and Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan and Research and Communications Officer Benjamin Tiong to organise the event. C4 Center was thankful to have the participation of several prominent Sabah-based civil society organisations (CSOs), who shared their concerns on the state of governance in Sabah.

With the recent Sabah mineral scandal exposing deep-rooted issues of governance and corruption in the highest rungs of Sabah’s government, it became evident that greater collaboration and outreach was required between C4 Center

and Sabah CSOs. As a result, this event sought to explore future collaboration avenues with various Sabah CSOs, who represent a broad range of issues: gender equality, access to healthcare, wildlife protection, and waste management.

Throughout our discussions with them, it became evident that the issues of governance and corruption in Sabah are not reserved to one particular aspect of society, but are apparent throughout all layers. Although distressing, these discussions emboldened both us and the CSOs present to further pursue our advocacy efforts having established a clearer picture ahead of us.



Anti-Money Laundering Awareness Workshop with the North-South Initiative

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 16th of August 2025

On 16 August 2025, C4 Center held an anti-money laundering workshop at the office of the North-South Initiative (NSI) together with the leaders from various migrant worker communities. In recognising the risks faced by migrant worker communities to money laundering and other forms of financial fraud, NSI approached C4 Center to conduct an awareness and educational programme with the migrant community.

Joining C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah was our Research and Communications Officer Benjamin Tiong. During our session, we talked about the basics of money laundering and how it impacts vulnerable communities. The workshop served to equip migrant communities with information that may assist them in the future. We thank NSI for the opportunity to engage with and inform vulnerable communities on corruption issues.

Legal Aid Programme In Collaboration with Selangor State Bar Committee and Legal Aid Centre Selangor

Held in Petaling Jaya on the 18th of June to 17th of September 2025

As part of a continuing partnership with the Selangor State Bar Committee and Legal Aid Centre Selangor, C4 Center took on one batch of 19 pupils as part of their legal aid duties between June to September 2025. This group represents the fifth batch of pupils that C4 Center has taken on during this partnership. The legal aid programme is pursuant to Rule 10.06 of the Bar Council Rules and Rulings and as part of the mandatory 9-month pupillage period, for any person to be admitted as a qualified legal practitioner with the right appearance in court, they must perform 14 days of legal aid services. During their time with us, they were exposed to anti-corruption and good governance and the legal issues arising therefrom.

Every Wednesday for 14 weeks, the pupils underwent workshops on various topics relevant to C4 Center's mandate, such as anti-corruption governance, government procurement, political financing, international human rights law, and environmental governance. These sessions were conducted by the research officers in a conversational and informal manner, in order to stimulate open and free discussions on the nuances of these often complex issues. Additionally, pupils were tasked with assignments to allow them to apply their knowledge of anti-corruption and governance principles in a practical manner. These assignments were typically research-focused,

which saw them tasked with researching topics related to the plethora of issues raised during weekly workshops.

Alongside these workshops, C4 Center organised a field visit to the Malaysian Parliament. During the visit, the pupils were allowed to view the inside of both the Dewan Rakyat and the Dewan Negara. Throughout, C4 Center Policy and Legal Research Officer Prishanth Linggaraj was on-hand to guide and share knowledge on the history of Parliament as an institution as well as information on the legislative process. This visit also presented them with the opportunity to observe a Parliamentary sitting in-person, with Members of Parliament debating the 13th Malaysia Plan at the time.

From these activities, it is hoped that C4 Center will be able to grant them a deeper understanding of the laws which form part of their day-to-day occupations. It is C4 Center's hope that by providing this exposure to pupils, they might be encouraged to pursue future careers focused on public interest issues – particularly legal and institutional reform in Malaysia.



National Conference on Integrity and Governance 2025



Held in Kuching on the 7th of October 2025

C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah, was invited as a keynote speaker at the ADFIM National Conference on Integrity & Governance (NCIG 2025) held on 7 October 2025. The conference brought together representatives from government, financial institutions, regulators, and civil society to discuss integrity and governance challenges affecting Malaysia's public and corporate sectors.

In his keynote address titled "Accountability and Transparency in GLCs: Strengthening Governance to Combat Corruption and Cronyism," Pushpan highlighted the structural governance risks embedded within Malaysia's Government-Linked Company (GLC) ecosystem.

Malaysia's GLC landscape — which spans ministries, Government-Linked Investment Companies (GLICs), statutory bodies, listed entities, and their subsidiaries — has evolved into a complex and multi-layered governance structure. While GLCs play an important role in national development, weak governance safeguards can

blur the boundaries between political authority and commercial activity, creating vulnerabilities for patronage, opaque ownership arrangements, policy abuse, and concentration of power.

Drawing on past governance failures, including scandals such as BMF, PKFZ, Jana Wibawa, and the Littoral Combat Ship (LCS) project, the keynote underscored how these incidents reflect deeper structural weaknesses within Malaysia's governance architecture rather than isolated episodes.

During the session, Pushpan outlined several reform priorities aimed at strengthening transparency and accountability within the GLC ecosystem, including:

- Ending politically-driven appointments to GLCs and statutory bodies
- Establishing independent and transparent selection mechanisms accountable to Parliament
- Strengthening procurement laws and limiting excessive ministerial discretion
- Ensuring transparent disclosure of beneficial ownership structures
- Strengthening whistleblower protection frameworks

- Advancing political financing reforms
- Reinforcing institutional checks and balances across regulatory bodies

He emphasised that GLCs must operate within a governance framework grounded in integrity, transparency, and accountability to the public interest in order to fulfil their intended role as engines of national development.

C4 Center thanks ADFIM for the opportunity to contribute to this important dialogue on strengthening governance and integrity in Malaysia.





Right to Information (RTI) Roadshow in Sabah and Sarawak

30 October 2025, Kota Kinabalu and 5 November 2025, Kuching



As part of C4 Center's continuing advocacy surrounding the enactment of a federal Right to Information law, Policy and Legal Research Officer Prishanth Linggaraj joined a team from the Centre for Independent Journalism (CIJ) on a roadshow titled "Knowledge is Power: Who Holds It?". This roadshow took place in Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS) and Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS), in order to introduce concepts of open access to information to university students and help them understand how this new law could

be utilised.

The program involved presentations on themes and topics pertaining to RTI in Malaysia and interactive sessions where the students were asked to consider how RTI could be leveraged to resolve day-to-day problems. Through these sessions, it is hoped that understanding of the importance of RTI can be cultivated among the youth, thereby creating wider awareness and eventual utilisation of these key reforms.





DBOS Integrity Day

Held in Kuching on the 17th of November 2025

C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah delivered a presentation at DBOS Integrity Day on 17 November 2025, addressing integrity and governance challenges within Government-Linked Companies (GLCs). The event was held in the presence of the Premier of Sarawak, Abang Johari Tun Openg, both Deputy Premiers, and the Speaker of the Sarawak State Legislative Assembly.

During the session, Pushpan highlighted how many corruption scandals involving GLCs in Malaysia stem not only from individual misconduct but from structural governance weaknesses. These include concentrated executive control over appointments, opaque procurement practices, weak oversight of subsidiaries, and blurred boundaries between political authority and commercial management.

The presentation emphasised the need for systemic reforms, including clearer separation between political office and GLC leadership, stronger and more independent boards, greater

transparency in procurement and subcontracting, beneficial ownership disclosure, and stronger whistleblower protection and political financing frameworks.

The session also noted ongoing governance

initiatives in Sarawak, including state-level GLC monitoring systems and ownership policies, underscoring the importance of translating such efforts into sustained institutional reforms that strengthen accountability and public trust.



Sabah Credit Corporation Compliance & Integrity Conference



Held in Kota Kinabalu on the 8th of November 2025

C4 Center CEO Pushpan Murugiah was invited to speak at the Sabah Credit Corporation Compliance & Integrity Conference on 8 November 2025, where he addressed governance challenges arising from the intersection of politics and Government-Linked Companies (GLCs) in Malaysia.

During the session, Mr Pushpan highlighted how Malaysia's GLC ecosystem — spanning Government-Linked Investment Companies (GLICs), statutory bodies, and their subsidiaries — has evolved into a complex structure where political influence, public funds, and state assets intersect. Without adequate institutional safeguards, this system risks concentrating decision-making power within the executive, particularly where ministerial authority extends over appointments, budgets,

and procurement decisions.

Drawing on historical cases such as BMF, UEM–Renong, Perwaja, PKFZ, iMDB, and the Littoral Combat Ship (LCS) project, the presentation emphasised the need for structural reforms, including independent leadership appointments, stronger transparency on beneficial ownership, limits on ministerial discretion, and strengthened

procurement, political financing, and whistleblower protection frameworks.

The session reinforced C4 Center's continued advocacy for institutional reforms to strengthen governance, promote fair competition, and rebuild public trust in Malaysia's public sector institutions.



Government Procurement Act: *Briefing for Political Parties*



Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 6th of October 2025

Arief Hamizan, alongside Research Officers Prishanth Linggaraj and Bryan Cheah, conducted a multi-party policy briefing on the newly passed Government Procurement Act (GPA). The session brought together representatives from a diverse range of political parties, including Pejuang, PAS, PRM, and ISMA, reflecting a cross-ideological interest in strengthening governance and accountability in public procurement.

The briefing aimed to unpack the key provisions of the GPA, assess its implications for transparency and anti-corruption efforts, and identify potential gaps or risks in implementation. C4 Center highlighted the importance of robust oversight mechanisms, transparent practices, and institutional safeguards to ensure that the Act

delivers on its reform objectives.

The session also created space for dialogue between civil society and political actors, encouraging constructive engagement on procurement reform as a shared governance priority. By facilitating informed discussion across party lines, the briefing contributed to building broader understanding and support for effective implementation of the GPA, as well as identifying areas where further policy refinement or advocacy may be needed.



Build My-Town Play Sessions



26 & 27 November 2025 @ Velestro Energy Bhd Integrity Day
2 December 2025 @ KTM Berhad Integrity Day and Launch of ABMS
13 December 2025 @ IKRAM's Karnival HARA 2025

C4 Center joined Rasuah Busters in their corporate outreach, raising awareness on corruption in the workplace by holding play sessions for the Build My-Town card game. Integrity departments within Malaysian companies both private and government-linked, scheduled com-

panywide integrity related events in conjunction with the international anti-corruption day which is annually observed on 9 December. C4 Center officers had the opportunity to share our organisation's work, advocating good governance and institutional reforms through reforms that were included into the card game. We received good feedback from working professionals on how complex legal reforms were easier to comprehend through game play.

This was most evident when our team conducted a Build My-Town competition during the "Karnival HARA 2025 (Hari Anti-Rasuah Antarabangsa)" in Seremban. The public outreach

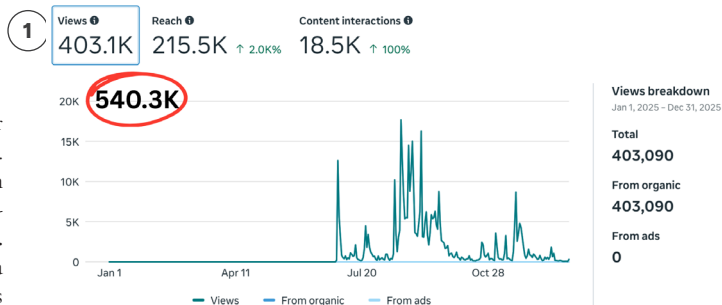
event was organised by IKRAM, a civil society organisation who is a member in the All-Party Parliamentary Group Malaysia (APPGM) for Integrity, Governance and Corruption. The event was held during a Saturday, in a popular shopping mall which saw many participants comprising of families with young children who were not fazed to try their hand at a new card game. The competition saw top 3 scorers being young players below 13 years old.



Media Engagements

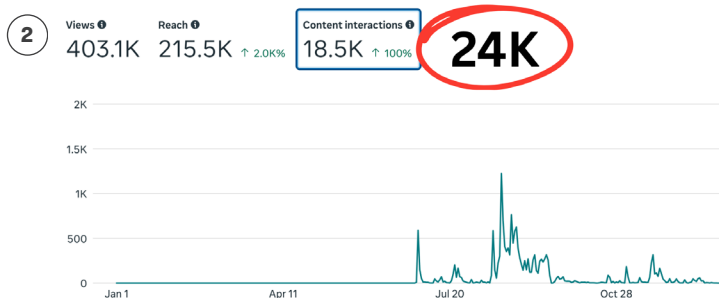
Increased Output for 2025

In 2025, we significantly increased our output across press statements and social media. We published 42 press statements (18 more than in 2024), resulting in at least 187 news appearances—an increase of 63 over the previous year. Additionally, the C4 Center CEO has become a recurring guest on national media outlets such as BFM and Astro Awani.



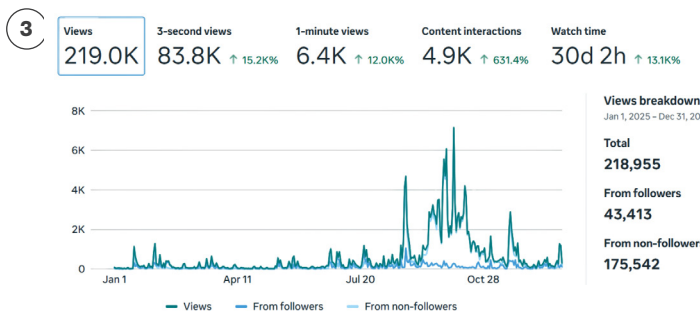
1 Instagram Performance

2025 was a record-breaking year for our social media performance, with Instagram reach increasing by over 2,000%. While Meta Business Suite limits data retention to six months, internal records from the first half of the year bring our total to over 500,000 views. Notably, these record figures were achieved purely organically, without any paid boosting or advertisements.



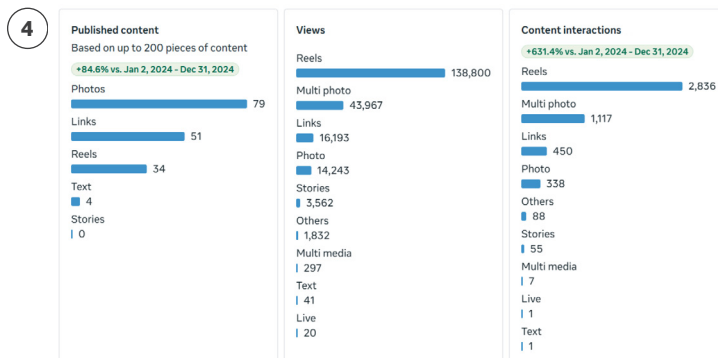
2 Instagram Interactions

Following the same trend as view counts, internal tracking for the first half of 2025 confirms that total content interactions exceeded 24,000.



3 & 4 Facebook

In 2025, C4 Center prioritized the production of video reels. While this format requires more resources, the investment has translated into clear success. Growth was observed across all platforms, including Facebook. As shown in Figure 4, video reels represent only a small fraction of our total posts but drive the vast majority of our views and interactions.



5 & 6 TikTok

The increased production of reels and video content facilitated a higher volume of uploads to TikTok. Following previous challenges in building traction on the platform, 2025 saw a major surge in engagement. We achieved over 500,000 views, nearly 40,000 likes, and over 12,000 comments. Most significantly, our follower count grew 100-fold within a year.



Financial Report

Funder/Donor		
Source	Duration	Amount (RM)
National Endowment for Democracy (NED)	2025-2026	456,996.00
Yayasan Prana Askara Rakyat	2025-2026	396,283.00
Australian High Commissioner Kuala Lumpur	2025	136,604.00
International Republican Institute (IRI)	2025	95,485.00
Bruno Manser-Fonds (BMF)	2025	57,350.00
Embassy Of Sweden	2025	30,000.00
Harum Majuindah Sdn Bhd	2025	20,000.00
The Knowledge hub for Regional Anti-corruption and good governance Collaboration (KRAC)	2025	11,640.00
Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives (GAIA)	2025	4,929.00
Trainings, Donations and Local Fund Raising	2025	32,150.00
	Total	1,241,437.00

Projects & Programmes by Project Funding	
Project & Program	Amount (MYR)
Institutional/Legal Reforms	27,264.00
Environmental Governance	33,673.00
Cross Border Corruption	63,545.00
Ombudsman	43,470.00
Procurement	40,228.00
Youth Engagement	34,173.00
Whistleblower Protection	33,865.00
C4 Center General Operations	703,586.00
TOTAL	979,804.00

Acknowledgements

C4 Center extends heartfelt appreciation to our esteemed partners and funders. We would like to recognize the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), Yayasan Prana Askara Rakyat, Break Free From Plastic (BFFP) through the Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternative (GAIA), International Republican Institute (IRI), The Knowledge Hub for Regional Anti-corruption and Good Governance Collaboration (KRAC), Bruno Manser-Fonds (BMF), Harum Majuindah, the Australian High Commission, and the Embassy of Sweden for their generous financial support.

We also express our gratitude to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) for their ongoing partnership and collaborative efforts. Furthermore, we are incredibly grateful for the support

from all our friends in civil society, the government, and the diplomatic corps. It is through collective endeavours that we have delivered tangible results to the public.

All of these contributions have been instrumental in enabling C4 Center to create impactful outcomes for Malaysia. Without this moral and financial assistance, and the dedication of Malaysians committed to combating corruption, our achievements would not have been possible. Lastly and above all, we extend sincere thanks to fellow Malaysians for their unwavering support of our programmes.

#break
free
from
plastic



NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR
DEMOCRACY

SUPPORTING FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD



bruno
manser
fonds

for the peoples of the rainforest



Australian High Commission



YAYASAN PRANA ASKARA RAKYAT



IRI INTERNATIONAL
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INSTITUTE
Advancing Democracy Worldwide



Embassy of Sweden
Kuala Lumpur