



DEFENCE WHITE PAPER COMMENTARIES 2019



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FOREWORD

The compilation of the Defence White Paper (DWP) Commentaries serves as an integral part of the Defence Ministry initiatives towards formulating and releasing the nation's first ever Defence White Paper. This initiative, which was announced in August last year, has been framed both in terms of the need to strategically lay out the country's defence priorities over the next 10 years as well as to educate the wider population about the range of security challenges Malaysia faces and their responsibility towards national defence as part of a whole of nation approach.

Presently, the DWP development exercise involves solely inter-ministerial dialogues and workshops supplemented by public engagement dialogues. The Ministry of Defence (MOD) aspires to expand this public engagement process to include the various think tank organisations, scholars, defence and security practitioners as well as prominent minds in-country to share their insight, evaluation or reflection on specified topics related to the content of the DWP through series of commentaries.

The commentaries by renowned writers is aimed at providing contemporary ideas that will complement the MOD's effort in promulgating a comprehensive DWP which expounds both the Government's and its citizen's aspirations. The views expressed by these people will certainly increase the credibility and legitimacy of Malaysia's inaugural Defence White Paper. Last but not least I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to all writers and the editorial board for their commitment in the realisation of this booklet. Thank you.

VICE ADMIRAL DATO' GANESH NAVARATNAM

Chief Executive

Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security

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OVERVIEW OF DEFENCE WHITE PAPER

BACKGROUND OF THE NATIONAL DEFENCE POLICY (NDP)

The National Defence Policy (NDP) was originally introduced in 1971 and has undergone numerous revisions, with the latest version published in 2006. The continuous assessment on regional and global perspective and national strategic interest were the primary drivers to the evolution of the NDP. The NDP is classified as a confidential document.

Recognising the growing needs for the society to be exposed with defence policies along with functions and roles of the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF), an open version of NDP was published in 2010. The move to declassify the NDP was in line with the spirit of 'Comprehensive Defence Concept' or commonly known as HANRUH, introduced in 1986. HANRUH is an integrated approach which entails the involvement of every level of society, government agencies, private sector, non-governmental organisations and the people in the field of security.

The international geopolitical and the security landscape has considerably changed since the NDP was last revised in 2006. Today, the security challenges have become more dynamic, complex and volatile which necessitate Malaysia to stage its right position, expectations and stance in the international realm. For that reason, the Ministry of Defence is taking the step to coordinate a process of reviewing and revising the content of NDP to be relevant to the current security and defence landscape. In line with the aspiration of the Pakatan Harapan government to inculcate good administrative governance through the course of transparency, inclusivity and progressiveness, the Ministry of Defence aspires to produce the DWP as an outline on the direction of nation's defence and security.

RATIONALISING DEFENCE WHITE PAPER (DWP)

The DWP is a manifestation of statement by the government of its intents, capacity and vision for future national defence policy. Publishing national policies symbolises a government's commitment to the principles of democracy. Hence, many democratic countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Japan, China, France and Germany have undertaken similar moves in publishing their DWPs periodically. Likewise, several Southeast Asian Countries, Namely Indonesia, Vietnam and Brunei have also published DWPs respectively.

Malaysia has notably profiled its presence in the regional and global arena of security and defence. Malaysia's strong international profile is attributed to its strategic geopolitical positions, active participation in the United Nation since the 1960s and as one of the founding states of ASEAN in 1967. Malaysia plays a prominent role in leading the regional security and defence initiative such as the Malacca Strait Patrol and the Trilateral Cooperative Arrangement. Furthermore, Malaysia is a co-chair of the Five Power defence Arrangements (FPDA) and the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM). Against this setting, Malaysia needs to sustain this profile in order to advance its role in international diplomacy. Therefore, it is imperative for Malaysia to express and contextualise its viewpoints in the form of the DWP.

The DWP will eventually become a public document, to serve as guidance to the society about national defence planning. A visible concept of defence policy will promote transparent administrative governance whilst embracing openness and accountability in the government procurement process for the Malaysia Armed Forces defence capability development plan. Moreover, a transparent DWP concept of development will ultimately form an integrated commitment for the society to equally assume responsibility to defend the nation in line with the 'Comprehensive Defence' concept (HANRUH).

PRINCIPLES AND METHODOLOGY OF DEFENCE WHITE PAPER

The development of the DWP will be conducted based on three main principles:

Transparency – In the course of drafting the DWP, transparency principle incorporates the elements of openness, inclusivity and progressiveness. As the DWP will eventually be a public document, its development must incorporate a systematic, comprehensive and transparent approach to produce a long-term resolution to a national defence policy. It will include examination of the strategic environment, the domestic environment and its security challenges. The appraisal will then become a basis for the capabilities development plan of the Malaysian Armed Forces. An appropriate defence funding will be allocated in the DWP. This visibility will ensure a predictable and shock – resistant capabilities development plan.

Evident Based – the DWP development process will involve a series of reviews and analyses of the existing NDP and assessing the performance of the defence sector in terms of investment priorities or spending trend for defence and military capabilities. A diagnosis on defence funding and current capabilities design are needed for informed strategies on defence to be crafted. Without knowing where we are, how we got here, and where we are headed on our current trajectory, we cannot make informed strategic choices.

Inclusivity – this guiding principle recognises the Whole-of-Government and Whole-of-Society approaches. The development of the DWP will include all stakeholders, all-inclusive of government agencies, public universities, research institutions and think-tanks, the defence industry, government-linked companies and Civil Society Organisations. Defence Advisers and Attachés of strategic partner countries will also be involved in the development of DWP. Workshops, strategic discourses, dialogue and commentaries series and town-hall sessions which employing the Whole-of-Government and Whole-of-Society approaches has been planned as DWP main activities.

OBJECTIVE

- To review and analyse the National Defence Policy, defence strategies and defence concepts to identify weaknesses and gaps;
- To examine the position of the defence sector in the whole of-government hierarchy taking into account the existence of foreign policies and existing security policies, not limited to, the National Security Policy, Home Affairs Security Policy, and Cyber security;
- Identifying and analysing regional and global strategic environments, including Malaysia's interests, and security issues challenges;

- Reviewing the performance of the defence sector, not limited to, military development capabilities, defence capability support and defence provisions to identify key issues and challenges; and
- Set a benchmark on the Defence White Paper (DWP) of other countries as a reference for the development of DWP.

CHAPTERS

INTRODUCTION

- Purpose, Government's Aspirations & Approaches, Relations with Other Security Policies, Audience

STRATEGIC OUTLOOK

- Strategic Context, Key Actors & Power Dynamics, Emerging Trends, Enduring Issues, Opportunities And Challenges, Cyber Domains

DEFENCE STRATEGY

- Strategic Interests, Security Frameworks, Ends and Means, Bridging The Gaps, Maximising Our Niche, Future Roles of Military, Functions of Related Agencies, KESBAN

FUTURE FORCE

- Doctrine, Force Design & Structure, Posture, Investment Priorities

DEFENCE INDUSTRY & RESEARCH

- R&D, Science & Technology, Education, Prospects, Joint-Venture, Diversification, Sustainability, Prioritisation Of Sectors

PEOPLE IN DEFENCE

- Recruitment & Career Opportunities, Wataniah, Reservist of Critical Infrastructures (CNII)

INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENT

- Defence Diplomacy, Military Ties & Exercises, Regional Security Initiatives, HADR, PKOs and other International Involvement

IMPLEMENTATION

- Funding, Inter-Agency Coordination, Strategic Culture, Defence Reform, Organisational Change, Review Mechanism, Documentation & Institutionalisation

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Vice Admiral Dato' Ganesh Navaratnam, is the Chief Executive of Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS). He is responsible to the Ministry of Defence for spearheading MiDAS to become the centre of excellence for research and knowledge sharing in the domain of defence and security. His previous notable appointments; the Naval Region II Commander (2018) responsible for the maritime defence and security of the Sulu and Celebes Seas, Inspector General of the Navy (2012) and Assistant Chief of Staff (Operations) Fleet Operations Headquarters (2009). He is an alumnus of INS DRONACHARYA (1993). He was involved in the rescue operation of two national vessels hijacked by Somalia pirates off the Gulf of Aden. He was the co-chair of the Malacca Straits Sea Patrol, which is carried out with Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand. He has represented the Navy in several international symposiums where he presented papers on regional cooperation in enhancing maritime security.

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Col Mohd Akib Yusof was an Infantry officer from the Royal Malay Regiment (RMR). He received his initial military training at Royal Military College (RMC) on 18 July 1983 and was commissioned on 11 July 1995. Currently, he holds the position as the Deputy Director General, Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS). He was a former officer commanding of 7 RAMD, Chief Forces Staff at 2nd Infantry Brigade Headquarters, Directing Staff at the Malaysian Armed Forces Staff College (MAFSC), Deputy Director of Army War Game Center and various appointments at the Malaysian Army Headquarters. He has attended Joint War College at Ecole de Guerre, Paris in 2017-2018. He was the author of the Book title “Memoir Tentera Darat Malaysia di Somalia” which has been published in 2002.

Nazery Khalid ialah seorang penganalisa maritim yang telah menerbitkan lebih dari 300 makalah di dalam jurnal, majalah, akhbar dan portal online. Beliau juga telah terlibat di dalam lebih 100 persidangan, seminar, forum dan woksyop di peringkat kebangsaan dan antarabangsa sebagai pembentang, ahli panel dan moderator. Nazery mencipta nama di dalam bidang kajian maritim selaku Felo Kanan di Pusat Ekonomi Maritim di Institut Maritim Malaysia (MIMA), sebuah institut kajian dasar di bawah Kementerian Pengangkutan Malaysia, dari tahun 2004 ke 2014. Antara bidang-bidang kajian beliau ialah perkapalan, pelabuhan, pembinaan / pembaikan kapal, dagangan maritim, logistik, sektor minyak dan gas pesisir serta keselamatan dan diplomasi maritim. MIMA telah menerbitkan beberapa kajian beliau termasuk Pembiayaan Perkapalan di Malaysia dan Pengangkutan Multimodal di Malaysia serta dua prosiding Persidangan Antarabangsa Mengenai Selat Melaka anjuran institut tersebut yang disunting oleh beliau.

MALAYSIA'S RELATIONS WITH MAJOR POWERS: NEXT STEPS

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Malaysia has been historically and geographically perceived as a maritime nation, however it is only recently we have started advocating it. As far as history is concerned, one of the oldest kingdoms of Malaysia (Malaya), none other than Malacca, rose to economic power through sea engagements which was amplified by networked enabled trading with and among the neighbouring kingdoms. At the height of its glorious past, Malacca was the largest empire in Southeast Asia; its seaport was the biggest and the busiest in the world. At present, 95% of Malaysia international trades with various countries in the world are transported by sea, made possible by more than 4,666 merchantmen which cater for various maritime business activities. Malaysia's geographical location straddles the trade routes which facilitate international trades. The waters surrounding Malaysia are critical sea lanes of communication between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, linking major Asian economies and major powers.

How do we protect such a vast expanse of water especially when maritime security, involves a wide range of irritants? Moreover, the maritime security concerns have expanded greatly because of the emergence of new non-traditional threats and the radical change of maritime security environments. Malaysia faces multifaceted challenges from various aspects of maritime security including the Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC), maritime overlapping claims and disputes, the emergence of major power politics especially in the South China Sea. By virtue of this definition, SLOCs hold tremendous strategic importance and geopolitical value to their users. American maritime historian and scholar Alfred Thayer Mahan said "whom so ever controls the sea, controls the land", this very much relates to the China and US situation in the East China Sea and South China Sea.

Dr. Kuik Cheng Chwee, National University of Malaysia (UKM) in his article 'Malaysia's Relation with major and Middle Powers', mentioned that Malaysia's strategic location and natural resources have been both a blessing and a curse, whilst bringing opportunities, it has also invited unsolicited attention and influence by powerful actors in different eras. How should Malaysia manage its relations with major powers which needs to be given greater scrutiny in identifying the next steps o towards possessing a pragmatic foreign policy, a realistic defence policy and an appropriate military strategy that protects Malaysia's sovereignty and national interests whilst managing major power relations vis-à-vis ensuring regional peace and stability.

The basic principles of Malaysia Foreign Policy has emphasised the importance of fostering closer bilateral ties with neighbouring states, the expansion of the country's role in regional and global peace, and to maintain equidistant between major powers. ASEAN remains the cornerstone of Malaysia's foreign policy and the establishment of the ASEAN Community in 2015 has significantly elevated Malaysia's approach and engagement at the regional level. Concurrently strengthening bilateral and multilateral aspects of Malaysia's engagement with the world will continue to be an important focus. The nation's well-being is founded on the strong and friendly relations with other countries and its commitment to the multilateral system.

Dr. Oh Ei Sun and Mr. David Han, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in their article '*Malaysia's Relations with the Major Powers: China and United States*'; explain that Malaysia's foreign relations is partially in sync with the sixty-year old 'Five Principles for Co-existence' which were part of the 1955 Bandung Declaration. The 'Five Principles' include mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-interference in internal affairs, as well as equality and mutual benefits. They further commend that the countries surrounding South China Sea should keep these principles firmly in mind when dealing with each other. An appropriate recommendation that should be explored creatively and innovatively towards managing relations between the major powers within the region. However, here is where I am transiting uncharted waters by enquiring the realist question of whether a pragmatic foreign policy would sufficiently guarantee the ability of Malaysia to safeguard its sovereignty and national interests which is stated in its foreign policy as an overarching thrust. Furthermore, will it be able to continually influence major powers engagement especially the South China Sea irritant positively and secondly will it continue to entice its ASEAN partners to remain on board with it in managing major powers politics now and in the future?

Based on the national interest that need to be maintained, the present National Security and Defence Policies outlines that Malaysia must have a level of defence capability that can ensure the core, extended and forward areas can be protected either in the air, sea and land domains. However, there are opinions that it does not specify what kind of threats that Malaysia should deter and defend; what type of force construct the Malaysian Armed Forces should be and what funds are needed to achieve this force construct. One thing is obvious is that in the current financial climate, funding for modernising the Malaysian Armed Forces is a formidable challenge for the Government of the day. But on the flip side, the National Defence Policy advocates an effective Military Diplomacy as the soft power mechanism to achieve foreign policy aspirations. Robert Gates, former US Secretary Defence in 2007, defined it as 'Success will be less a matter of imposing one's will and more a function of shaping behaviour of friends, adversaries and most importantly the people in between'. His statement aptly applies to major powers such as Malaysia in managing its relations with major powers.

It is generally considered that non-violent use of a state's defence apparatus to advance the strategic aims of a government through cooperation with other countries is the most preferred choice. It is said that most major powers adopt defence or military diplomacy as a core mission of their military doctrine and primary component of their global strategy. The United Kingdom defence diplomacy outcome reads; 'Specifically, the provision of forces to meet the varied activities undertaken by the Ministry of Defence to dispel hostility, build and maintain trust and assist in the development of democratically accountable armed forces, thereby making a significant contribution to conflict prevention and resolution'. Once again, I am transiting uncharted waters by throwing out the question whether the current Malaysian Armed Forces is observed to possess the capability and capacity to be deemed as a credible and versatile force to produce a similar outcome for shaping behaviour of friends, adversaries and most importantly the people in between.

In the final analysis, in identifying the next steps of enhancing relations with major powers, it is clearly evident that Malaysia's foreign policy has been effective thus far guided by the criteria of credibility together with consistency and coherency, which has served Malaysia's national interests. We have also achieved fairly well in military diplomacy guided by the policy of equidistant and multilateralism as well as non-alignment through comprehensive regional

cooperation and international collaboration. It has also to be understood that there is no one panacea to how a problem be solved and a universal standard by which a minor or developing nation should relate to a major power. As such, stakeholders have to permit national interests, regional sentiment and common concern to forge collective adoption and adaption of ways and means to achieve self and collective preservation.

To manage major power politics, the next steps for Malaysia is to continue engaging China and United States in principled and practical ways to harmonise bilateral and multilateral relations utilising existing regional mechanism. However it has to encapsulate its military diplomacy outcome transparently in its forthcoming Defence White Paper which will also invariably require it to define the Malaysian Armed Forces construct that will further enhance confidence amongst its ASEAN partners to enhance regional cooperation, interoperability and in building a high level of trust. We all need to take on this squarely and turn all challenges into opportunities that will benefit the wider region.

WHY WE NEED A DEFENCE WHITE PAPER

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Malaysia's first Defence Minister was very explicit when he elaborated the need for the emerging nation to establish an identity of its own yet recognising the presence of the vast spectrum of challenges it faces, be it in economics, politics, culture, and defence and security, to name a few sectors.

Desirous to harness the aspirations of the people, it was imperative that the government moved in tandem with the changes in the security environment. Our nation-building initiatives could not ignore the three major episodes that will remain in our history since *Merdeka* – the Communist Threat, Konfrontasi with Indonesia, and the 13th May racial clash.

Today, national integration, economic development and national security remain uppermost in our plans to ensure that the people enjoy peace and harmony. Security and development go hand in hand as both are interlinked.

The demography of the nation has changed tremendously since *Merdeka* and so has the geopolitical environment of the region. This requires that we formulate a new outlook and framework for national defence and security.

The Defence White Paper now being formulated will define the strategy of the Government to have a nation that is self sufficient and self reliant within the framework of total defence. A proper framework that fits the context of Malaysia Incorporated is essential, and this must include matters related to the defence and security of the nation.

THE DEFENCE WHITE PAPER: STATING MALAYSIA'S CASE

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Malaysians woke up to a new dawn on 9 May 2018.

Amidst the prospects of new skylines in governance, political reform and institutional change; the emergence of political will towards these new horizons has accorded the nation's defence establishment an unprecedented opportunity for genuine transformation. The genesis of this transformation is the nation's first-ever public document in the form of a Defence White Paper (DWP) and the corresponding announcement of its presentation in Parliament sometime in 2019.

What constitutes a Defence White Paper and why does Malaysia need one?

At the most basic level, the DWP lays out a comprehensive long-term plan for the nation's defence. It puts into the public sphere, the government's commitment to the safety of the people and to the defence of the nation's territory and national interests.

At the deeper level, the DWP outlines the nation's defence strategy, capability plans and funding requirements. It sketches out elements of the government's defence investment, including new weapons, platforms, systems, and the enabling equipment, facilities, workforce, information and communications technology, science and technology as well as plans for its defence industry.

In a nutshell then, the DWP reflects the government's commitment to a safe and secure nation. Such a commitment allows the government to enjoy the confidence of its citizens in matters pertaining to the defence of the nation.

THE PROCESS IS AS IMPORTANT AS THE OUTCOME

A DWP is both a national policy document as well as a public document which outlines the broad strategic policy framework for defence planning. Ownership of the DWP is thus with the nation as a whole, and its citizens are its primary beneficiaries.

Herein lies the necessity for the DWP to be produced after extensive consultation across civil/military lines with sufficient input from think-tanks, academics, industry representatives, non-governmental organizations, and all components of government.

It must aim to reflect the broadest possible consensus about the appropriate role for the defence forces within the context of the country's national priorities, legal framework, and resources.

The preparation of a DWP is thus, in and of itself, a fundamental exercise in democracy. It must aim to promote a broad awareness of the functions and value of the armed forces. In doing so, it aims to confer greater democratic legitimacy on the national defence policy.

At the end of the day, the DWP worth will depend on the level of inclusiveness that constituted its process.

WHY MALAYSIA NEEDS A DWP

Why does Malaysia need a DWP? The more appropriate question, really, “Why should the nation not produce one?” Given the new-found political will that has come with the stated desire for good governance in the form of transparency and accountability by the new government, a DWP would serve the defence establishment, the government itself, the nation as a whole and all its citizens, a multitude of benefits.

As a public document the DWP will inevitably have to explain what roles the armed forces play, and why these roles are important to citizens. In doing so, it will build public support for the continued funding of the defence budget in the face of pressures from competing national policy interests.

As a government policy document, the DWP will give coherent instruction to the Defence establishment, in particular the military, about government expectations for their roles. It will also provide the rationale and authority for the allocation of resources to the defence forces, and legitimize the spending of public funds for that purpose.

Should the defence establishment wish to make a case for the nation’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to be pegged at a fixed rate for its annual budget, the DWP will have to make the case persuasively. If presented with due diligence, the DWP will build a constituency of advocates within the community of lawmakers, NGOs, and other interest groups.

In this sense then, the DWP will act as a tool for the justification of budgetary resources over a multi-year time-frame. The assurance of predictable funding – if successfully obtained – will enhance and stabilise on-going defence planning processes.

GOOD FOR OUR NEIGHBOURS AND THE REGION

The transparency that the DWP creates pertaining to the nation’s defence activities domestically has the potential to extend to our neighbours as well as to the larger region.

The DWP is an efficient instrument for confidence- and security-building in that it will state and confirm the country's bilateral, regional and multilateral obligations and commitments. Its public and open nature will ensure that Malaysia’s intentions are not misinterpreted. The DWP will also encourage a constructive policy dialogue on changes in the security environment and the assessment of traditional and non-traditional threats faced by the region.

Malaysia awaits very optimistically the production of its first-ever DWP, and rightly so.

WHY MALAYSIA NEEDS A DEFENCE WHITE PAPER

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A Defence White Paper is a document that contains an analysis of possible national threats as well as a coherent defence action plan. As such, a country defines as precisely as possible through it the measures that it may take to ensure its defence and security. Additionally, a 'Defence White Paper' offers guidelines to the armed forces' organisation, administration and war-fighting capabilities. These include new weapons, platforms, systems, enabling equipment, facilities, workforce, information and communications technology, science and technology and deployment of military units.

Malaysia desires to live in peace with all its neighbours and the world at large, to cooperate with all those willing to cooperate with us and to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states within their present borders. We shall spare no effort in promoting mutual peace and in understanding the international sensitiveness within our region. On the other hand, we must be equally determined to use all means at our disposal, including military force to uphold our own sovereignty and territorial integrity. This desire to ensure the security of our people is always a top priority. A refined White Paper will therefore recognise that in our dealings with other states, armed forces are the option of last recourse. Our military posture will therefore remain defensive. However, should our nation be subjected to aggression, our forces should be able to deal with the aggressor decisively; and this will and capacity must be made known beforehand. In the past, our forces and our overall capacity for national defence have been assigned only between 1.6 to 1.4% of the national budget and were fairly limited in scope. At the same time, our recent experience operating in 26 United Nations peacekeeping missions globally have demonstrated the mettle and quality of our forces. With the number of increasing conflicts in the region lately such as the separatist insurgency in south Thailand and Mindanao Philippines, Sulu incursions and many more sporadic conflicts, Malaysia has had to review its ability to defend the nation against the more threatening aspects of these conflicts. The overlapping claims over the South China Sea and the numerous disagreements over land borders with our neighbours have created some anxiety in Putrajaya. In response to these threats, our defence forces will need to expand both in capacity and capability and this is where we need a Defence White Paper to legitimate our demand and our pursuit of lasting peace.

AREA OF COMMON INTEREST

In the process of drafting a defence white paper, continuous guidance should be sought to direct our holistic defence posture, and this should cover the the following points:

1. Identifying Malaysia's security interests and the potential threats the country is facing.
2. Spelling out Malaysia's intentions in dealing with threats to national security.

3. Spelling out the role of the defence forces in dealing with security challenges, and offering guidelines on their organization, administration and employment in discharging their roles.
4. Maintaining the ability to transform and equip our citizens with war-fighting morale and the conviction that nothing comes above the nation's interest.
5. Gaining the ability to resolve issues diplomatically through bilateral negotiations and consultations with neighbours.
6. Having plans that are affordable, achievable and cost-assured.

This document will cascade down to become the basis for military strategy, which will include the development plan for the Malaysian Armed Forces. Granted the multifarious responsibilities placed on the shoulders of the Malaysian Armed Forces, it is relevant that the development of the forces be continuously monitored and reviewed to ensure progressive improvements and relevancy in an increasingly ambiguous world.

On the other hand, those charged with the responsibility of defending our nation have the onerous duty of ensuring that the provisions of this document are interpreted and implemented in the spirit of true patriotism. In turn, the nation should proudly know and acknowledge that its security is in capable hands and that its highest ideals will be upheld at all times.

CONCLUSION

It goes without saying that prevailing conditions and relationships within our region are bound to change with time. In this regard, we must therefore be pragmatic in our perspective and be responsive in our thinking such that our national policies, including the Defence White Paper are periodically reviewed, in line with emerging strategic circumstances. These requirements are necessary for the discharging of the armed forces' rightful role in pursuance of national interests. The Defence White Paper is meant to help political and military leaders understand issues, resolving problems, or making wise decisions through due process.

MALAYSIA'S DEFENCE POLICY: A FUTURE NOT DICTATED BY THE PAST

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THE PAST

Since its independence, Malaysia's defence and security strategy in practice, has arguably never been driven and guided by any specific blueprint. The country's defence planning was mainly based on immediate and short-term needs, reactive in nature and ad hoc in implementation.

Non-security (and sometimes irrelevant and self-serving) considerations tended to be the dominating factors in the shaping of the country's defence capability development, thus derailing any effort to have a focus, and a coherent, and sustainable development programme for the armed forces.

THE PRESENT

The last attempt at a Defence White Paper was published in 2007, and it was a broad expression of our security perception and of the role of the armed forces in dealing with these perceived situations. It appears that it was prepared with limited input and policy coordination from stakeholders such as the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the Home Affairs Ministry and the National Security Council.

THE FUTURE

With this historical track record and background, it is important that the new Defence White Paper be developed with the following parameters in mind.

Firstly, it must be focused and yet flexible. Based on the assessment of the nation's defence and security scenario, the White Paper must identify the specific roles and tasks of the armed forces in the perceived scenarios. Clear distinctions must be made between its primary and secondary functions. Priority should be given to ensuring that its capability in performing its primary function is not compromised and that its ability to perform its secondary functions stays credible.

Secondly, defence and security policies are intertwined and should be the basis for the broader national foreign policy. It must be noted that military power is an instrument of foreign policy and its application invariably needs to be coordinated with the employment of other foreign policy instruments such as diplomacy and economy. The development of Malaysia's defence policy must therefore be deliberately planned and synchronised with its foreign policy. In the area of internal security and other aspects of non-traditional security, a similar approach must be taken in dealing with the Home Ministry and other related government agencies.

Thirdly, taking into consideration the current and future security scenario, the need to progress from where we are now to where we want to be, and against the background of the

current state of our armed forces and the national financial position, the stated objectives in the proposed White Paper must be realistically attainable and must allow for gradual development and continuity. It must not be overly ambitious lest it ends up being an unattainable and unfulfilled wish list.

The White Paper should comprehensively cover the following key topics:

Evaluation of security scenarios. The current global, regional and domestic security scenarios must include the projection of future scenarios spanning the period of at least the next ten years and consider how these would impact the defence and security of Malaysia. Based on these established scenarios, Malaysia should determine its defence priority and work out the relevant strategies.

Defence relations and diplomacy. There must be an evaluation of all Malaysian defence relations with global and regional powers, its position in FPDA, relations with other ASEAN countries and its involvement in UN peacekeeping operations. To be effective, Malaysia's defence diplomacy must be credibly backed by its defence capability. As a small nation Malaysia needs to have good defence relations with credible and reliable global and regional military powers as backup to its own military might.

Training and Human Resources. Human resource training should be forward looking in nature, taking into consideration the nature of war in the 21st century. In addition to traditional military training, cyber-centric training is necessary as cyber technology continues to be the core technology that controls almost every aspect of modern-day environments. Apart from technical competency, the personnel should also be indoctrinated with cyber defence and cyber security awareness. In acknowledging that cyber space is the fifth dimension in warfare, Malaysia also needs to develop cyber offensive strategy as part of its military strategy. This strategy should be incorporated into its land, sea, air, and joint warfare doctrine.

Development and procurement. Future procurement and development programmes must be planned to break away from past practices that have resulted in our armed forces being equipped with motley sets of weapons and equipment which at times lack working compatibility, create logistical problems and are strategically inefficient. The way forward is to work out a strategy to acquire new weapons and equipment that truly fit our strategic needs while at the same time making the best use of the present resources until they are phased out and replaced. In terms of defence technology and self-sufficiency, a clear policy must be established to determine areas which need to be fully self sufficient, which to be partly self sufficient and which, due to constraints, to be fully reliant on imported technology.

CONCLUSION

The new Defence White paper should form the basis for the future development of the armed forces. It should be set in a new paradigm that is practical and focused on the true defence and security needs of the country.

‘MAHATHIR DOCTRINE’: AVOIDING CONFLICTS IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

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Tensions in the South China Sea (SCS) have become a major concern for Prime Minister Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, due to the presence of Chinese and United States warships there. There is fear that the situation may lead to a major war the Asia Pacific. The presence of warships certainly disturbs the current security and stability framework in the region. Security in the region has in fact been grounded in the concept of Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) since 1971. Arguably, the present situation signals the failure of ZOPFAN in protecting the interests of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) since both China and the US are using the SCS as a contested field. In so doing, ASEAN's intention of remaining neutral is being ignored.

Known for his Look East Policy (LEP), Mahathir had always maintained an equal-distance approach in asserting Malaysia's foreign policy. The failure of the prime ministers who succeeded him after he first retired in 2003 in maintaining the equilibrium of balance of power between the East and West, and their allowing of high dependency by Malaysia on China's economy, have left Malaysia's political economy exposed when dealing with competing narratives from both the US and China. Hence, Mahathir, now back in power, needs to lessen Malaysia's economic dependency on China through the involvement of other states, especially Japan, without leaning towards the West. Such a framework would certainly allow Malaysia to avoid involvement in the ongoing US-China contest. As often stated by Mahathir in many of his press statements, 'better not to have warships, both in Malaysian waters, as well as in the South China Sea' (*The Star*, June 19, 2018). This so called 'Mahathir Doctrine' is embodied very well in Giddens Rose's *Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy* (2009). Adjusting Malaysia's position to the new geopolitical landscape regionally and internationally has become the main tenet in Mahathir's foreign policy. In the face of inauspicious issues threatening the country's national security, Mahathir is trying to integrate both external and internal variables, as proposed by Rose (1998).

AVOID OR JOIN THE CONTEST?

China's expansionist tendencies in the SCS are a reality, and have changed the geostrategic and political structure of the region, further renewing and augmenting a Cold War-like atmosphere of suspicion and security threat. Every state including the US should accept China's expansionism in the SCS and realise that Beijing's actions cannot be overcome in a blink of eye. Accepting this fact will help neighbouring states plan and redefine their foreign policy orientation with China and the US. Small states such as Malaysia can then enjoy the benefits of their relations with superpowers in their domestic economic development, as well as their status in international politics. As things are now, such states are forced to redefine their national interests within and outside the region, in order to maintain good relations with both China and the US. For Malaysia, caution must be the key, and international relations must be confined to external affairs only, and the country should not gamble with internal developments which at

the moment are governed by a fragile new government. Mahathir is clear about wanting Malaysia-China relations to merely be about economic growth, and not to be about internal affairs.

Malaysia now needs to diversify its national interest/foreign policy in the region, as well as in international politics. More importantly, Malaysia should strive to be part of as many economic blocks as possible. Good governance is needed to guide this process. Furthermore, Malaysia should pursue a comprehensive defence and security strategy that covers all aspects of national development through a framework of international security typology covering: supply security, market access security, finance-credit security, techno-industrial capability security, socio-economic paradigm security, trans-border community security, systemic security and alliance security. By practising such an inclusive strategy, Malaysia will be better prepared in defending it domestically and internationally.

In order to avoid confrontation with China and the US, Malaysia's various states should work in tandem with the federal government. Every one of them should use its diplomatic wisdom to recognise China's ambitions in the SCS. China claims that it is being defensive, but often the reality shows that its actions are offensive tactics.

As China becomes ever more dynamic economically and assertive militarily, the awakening dragon slowly realigns itself in the international system to assert its role as a great power. China's economic rise can benefit every state through Chinese FDI and China market access. In turn, what China desires is to be recognized in the international system as an equal power to the US.

The Mahathir Doctrine needs to include a rebranding of ASEAN centrality, especially where the SCS dispute is concerned. ASEAN consists of smaller states, and history shows that such can become casualties in any superpower competition. Taking sides will not benefit ASEAN members. What will be the maintaining of a balance of relations with both China and the US. So under the Mahathir Doctrine, Malaysia is choosing to maintain an equal distance from these powers in times of crisis. Mahathir has persistently advocated that ASEAN should remain as one voice in encountering any uncertainties. ASEAN consensus will signal to both superpowers that intimidation will rarely succeed and will prove that positive collective regional soft power is beneficial in advancing member interests through the many multilateral frameworks (East Asian Summit, ASEAN Plus Three, ASEAN Regional Forum, and so on) accessible to the organisation.

The Mahathir Doctrine continues the view that ASEAN is a canopy for dealing with an assertive China over the SCS. ASEAN as a whole should use dialogue and diplomacy to ensure that Southeast Asia does not become a theatre of conflict.

CAN THE MAHATHIR DOCTRINE ENSURE THAT THE SOUTH CHINA SEA DOES NOT BECOME A THEATRE OF CONFLICT?

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Of late, much has been said by commentators and in policy circles about a ‘Mahathir Doctrine’. But does such a doctrine exist and if so, how does the doctrine ensure that the South China Sea does not become a theatre of conflict. It was in mid-2018 that Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad mooted deploying small patrol boats to keep peace in the South China Sea, and that the entire area should be free of battleships. This view has subsequently been echoed at various intervals by the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Prime Minister reasoned that battleships, by their very nature are a precursor to war; and what is therefore needed instead are small boats equipped to keep the seas safe and free from pirates. While pirates may not be the only subject of concern, one may surmise that in the mind of the Prime Minister, adequately equipped small patrol boats would be sufficient to address an array of non-traditional security issues. Many of these issues would be non-military in nature yet transnational in scope and reach; warranting States to work together to address common concerns in the South China Sea.

The above outlook certainly signals a more assertive stance. The views do not depart from the long-held position of Malaysia – indeed also by Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad himself already in earlier days – that, fundamentally, what is required in the South China Sea is stability, peace, and prosperity; arguably, in that order.

In what way can the ‘Mahathir Doctrine’ help ensure that the South China Sea does not become a theatre of conflict? To answer this, one should first scrutinise relevant aspects of the statement made by Mahathir at the 73rd session of the United Nations General Assembly, and juxtapose them with some of the long-held views of the Prime Minister concerning the South China Sea. Modalities may then be identified and employed to translate words into action.

A number of principles highlighted by the Prime Minister in the statement at the 73rd UNGA reignited a long-standing position of Malaysia on an array of issues: first, that Malaysia remains neutral and non-aligned; second, that Malaysia will seek mutual respect for mutual gain in any cooperative endeavor; third, the importance of the ‘prosper-thy-neighbour’ philosophy, its meaning elaborated by him in a speech delivered in 1998 at the 4th Pacific Dialogue when Malaysia was soldiering on amidst a period of bad economic performance by countries on the western rim the Pacific, and; fourth, a formula for reforming the Security Council. The Prime Minister has long advocated for a more equitable outlook on Security Council decisions. All said, the ‘Mahathir Doctrine’ may thus be described as a refined and more direct and assertive statement of long-standing principles upheld by Malaysia on matters impacting the international community—fairness and fair play through the rule of law in pursuit of peace, progress, and prosperity, with ASEAN playing a central role on matters concerning Southeast Asia.

CONCLUSION

The 'Mahathir Doctrine' as described above does have the ingredients necessary for ensuring that the South China Sea does not become a theatre of conflict, and exhibits a more refined and assertive outlook on matters Malaysia has championed since independence. There is continuity in its position on non-alignment, but there appears also to be a discernable change in the approach.

In short, the way forward to my mind is a contextualised adaptation of a combination of the following: agreement reached in the Caspian Sea; the Ilulissat Declaration concerning the Arctic region; the 1992 ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea; and principles from the Malaysia-Brunei commercial arrangement which saw both countries resolve their overlapping maritime claims.

MALAYSIA AS SEA POWER: SAFEGUARDING MARITIME INTERESTS

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Elements determining a nation's resilience and power include geography, population, natural resources, economic capacity, military strength, political stability, and information. Realistically, it is military power and its projection that are a major determinant of national power allowing the other elements to play their respective roles in a protected and secure environment. Traditionally, states use maritime strategy to achieve political objectives and goals with sea power acting as the anchor for maritime strategy. States that do not employ strategy or mismanage it usually lose in peace, in war, and in times of warlike peace.

Maritime strategy is a key component of military planning to secure political objectives and to support foreign policy not only in times of conflict but also during peacetime. The concept by Mahan (1890) a realist American naval strategist of the nineteenth century is generally perceived as the first order of strategic thinking in naval warfare. His main theoretical idea is that the nation with the most powerful navy would control the world. His "The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660-1783" outlined six principles underpinning the development of a sea power, namely geographical position, physical conformation, extent of territory, population size, national character, and character of the government.

Conventionally, a powerful navy that dominates the sea lanes of communications also controls world trade; hence, sea power has been a prerequisite for great power status and world influence. However, in recent times, the importance of sea power has evolved to accommodate different peacetime needs. In this regard, naval strategy is not confined to seeking out and defeating enemy fleets but encompasses its adoption as an instrument of foreign policy with emphasis on deterrence as well as providing constabulary and humanitarian and disaster relief operations.

Contemporary global settings and new geo-political directions have made the world more interdependent and produced a greater and direr need to meet common threats. Power in the 21st century is shared among big, middle, and small powers. While some countries lead the international agenda and set the direction, they will still have to collaborate with others on the basis of mutual respect and interest. The Indo-Pacific (Asia-Pacific area plus South Asia and the Indian Ocean regions) for instance has emerged as a new geopolitical and geo-strategic area where diverse and divergent interests have set the stage for greater rivalry and friction among nations.

Malaysia's strategic location in the centre of Southeast Asia and its position as an emerging middle power have been a considerable factor in Asia's political and leadership landscape. The country's geographical areas of vital interest are encapsulated in the Peta Baru Malaysia 1979, across the South China Sea, Straits of Malacca, the Sulu and Celebes Seas and in the Indian Ocean. Malaysia's Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) and Continental Shelf surrounding the South China Sea also falls within Malaysia's offshore economic interests. These maritime areas are rich in living and non-living resources and contribute much to the Malaysian economy. In addition, the Straits of Malacca and the SLOC adjoining the South

China Sea and the airspace above are strategic areas critical to the nation's lifeline. As such, the nation's military strategy, particularly its naval strategy, is to maintain presence, ensure sovereignty on the Territorial Seas and EEZ, defend against external threats and aggression, and deter or deny any hostile acts towards these interests.

Militarily, Malaysia does not seek to challenge any country, nor does it have any inclination of doing so. It is, however, concerned over issues of regional security such as developments in the South China Sea. In addition, the naval and air enhancement and weapon modernization initiatives by other nations and the maritime doctrines of neighbouring countries such as Singapore, Indonesia, Vietnam, and China point to the need for Malaysia to respond appropriately. Geostrategic rivalry between the US and China, increasing interest of Japan, Australia, the United Kingdom, and from European countries in the Straits of Malacca, as well as the underlying stakes in the South China Sea are of much concern to Malaysia as she seeks to avoid disruptions in the sea lanes of communication in her maritime domains that are also used for international navigation. As such, Malaysia needs to enhance its sea power in all aspects, including surveillance, deterrence, and defense capability.

The Malaysian government has established strategic priorities in managing both national and international affairs that include strengthening good governance, justice, and a rule-based order in its domestic politics. On the international stage, Malaysia strongly emphasizes human rights, a policy of "prospering thy neighbour", and cooperation as the basis for stability, especially the relationship with immediate neighbours such as Singapore and Indonesia. Notwithstanding that, there are certain areas where Malaysia needs to adopt a firmer position, particularly where issues of sovereignty are concerned.

Malaysia practices a diversified approach to the management and prioritization of its vast maritime area. More broadly, her policy is pragmatic and based on mutual respect for the parties concerned. The country's foreign policy direction is backed by policy and planning geared towards safeguarding its sovereignty and towards ensuring that external entities do not compromise or pose a threat to the wellbeing of the country. Malaysia's policies with regard to the maritime domain need to be robust and adaptable so that its defense and security strategies and services remain resilient and credible.

REVIEWING THE ARMED FORCES: TOWARD ENHANCED AGILITY AND JOINT OPERATIONAL CAPABILITY

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THE CURRENT ARMED FORCES STRUCTURE – THE LEGACY OF THE PAST

The current Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) structure is inherited from the British. It was developed to perform mainly counter insurgency warfare (CIW) operations against Communist insurgents, and this has consequently influenced the military's strategy, development and training.

The effort to develop the MAF into a institution capable of carrying out conventional military operations only started with the MAF Special Development (PERISTA) Plan, following the fall of Vietnam in 1975. The intensity and momentum of this effort were short lived, however, ending when the perceived threat from Vietnam was no longer there.

Post-1991, the MAF structure was influenced by the dictates of the then global, regional and domestic security situation during which its development was focused upon 1) continuing to maintain its CIW capability, 2) developing its conventional warfare capability, and 3) supporting Malaysia's foreign policy and preparing itself to carry out UN-sanctioned peacekeeping operations.

This led to a lack in direction in how the MAF was to develop, causing a slit in its procurement priorities. For example, weapons and equipment acquired for specific peacekeeping operations may not in the long run be compatible with its conventional force development needs.

As a result the MAF was burdened with a motley of unsuitable equipment and weapons that lacked operational compatibility and that created logistical and maintenance problems.

Compounding this problem was the fact that the MAF also had to contend with privatization programme that resulted in it losing its ability to perform higher level maintenance work, suffering unnecessary and expensive delays in its logistical systems as these functions got outsourced to the private sector.

THE NEW ARMED FORCES STRUCTURE – THE NEED FOR A LEAN AND FLEXIBLE FORCE

In the future, the MAF should continue to have the ability to perform the three currently identified roles. To be effective and efficient, it must be a capability-oriented and flexible force able to act as the nucleus for further expansion and development as dictated by the nation's changing defence and security interests.

Toward this end, the following issues must be addressed.

Organization. This is to be based on the present and future assessment of our defence and security needs. The strength and structure of the three services should be reviewed to reflect this. For example, the situation may call for necessary changes in the size and development of one service due to priority having to be given to the others. To ensure efficient and effective joint service capability, it is mandatory that all development plans be carried out jointly by the three services. That way, the services are able to complement and support each other. Regardless of its shape or size, the MAF must be lean and trim and should not be a bloated rank structure and multi-layered chain of command.

Training. Training at all levels must be systematic. Single service training should aim to ensure that officers and personnel are competent in their own respective specializations and trades. Having tri-service training would address the need to enable officers and personnel to operate in joint service environment seamlessly. As with organizational development in general, the planning of tri-service training must be jointly developed by the three services. The ultimate training objective for the MAF should be to have a force that is flexible in its capabilities and able to perform the various roles that is expected of it.

Equipment. Acquisition of weapons and equipment must be based on operational needs and situational priority supporting the organisational have development plan. The current privatization programme must be reviewed and elements that caused unnecessary and wasteful expenses and delays and that adversely affect operational readiness and efficiency, must be eliminated.

Joint command structure. A dedicated permanent specialized joint command structure with dedicated standing units must be established. The headquarters and the units involved must be conveniently co-located to enable efficient command and control, joint training and swift deployment.

Human resource. The main criterion for human resource selection should be quality. Human resource planning must strike a good balance between youth and experienced personnel. Career paths and attrition rate projections must also be aligned toward this. This should include good leadership development and succession plans.

Flexibility. There should not be a fixed strength as regards MAF organization. It must however be able to fulfil the nation's current and projected defence and security needs while acting as a credible nucleus for further expansion when required. It must also be geared to perform its secondary tasks as and when needed.

CONCLUSION

The first step to be taken for MAF force development is to chart the route that it should take transform itself from its current state to a well organised, balanced, well trained and well equipped force able to operate jointly in support of national defence and security policy. Financial constraints may be the main stumbling block and the factor that could derail the programme. Any realistic planning must take the government's financial ability into consideration. Due to this, the development time frame may be longer than desired. The programme therefore should be systematically and incrementally implemented, and focused to achieve the stated objectives.

DEFENCE PREPAREDNESS IN NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY

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INTRODUCTION

Non-traditional security (NTS) is an umbrella term for security issues such as terrorism, environmental degradation, and so on; and why the term is important is that most countries do not give the threats involved sufficient consideration. They are mainly concerned with traditional security conflicts between national armies.

NTS has to be seen and acknowledged as the war of the future due to its unpredictability, and the fact that domestic and external factors both come into play.

Malaysia is no exception, and has its share of non-traditional security threats to handle. Lahad Datu intrusions, the human trafficking camp at Wang Kelian, kidnappings for ransom at Sabah by Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) are examples of these threats, which have alerted the Malaysian government, especially the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) to the new dangers at hand. Several points are highlighted below for preparedness in non-traditional security and in fighting “the war of the future”; which the Defence White Paper should consider.

ENHANCING COLLABORATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES

Strategic collaboration between the MAF and agencies such as the Department of Environmental, the Malaysia Communication and Multimedia Commission (MCMC), and others, is imperative in ensuring that NTS threats such as industrial contamination, pollution and cyber threats, which the MAF lacks expertise to deal with, can be managed safely. There are several ways the MAF can enhance collaboration with other agencies. The first has to do with the exchange of knowledge between the MAF and other agencies. MAF officers can be dispatched to other agencies to learn about methods, procedures and guidelines for dealing with issues that are not within the traditional purview of the MAF. Secondly, the MAF and other relevant agencies should establish a coordination centre that has the ability to immediately activate containment or defence measures without red tape or processes that can delay proper response. Swift communication and decision making between the agencies and the MAF must be possible. Without strong coordination, countering NTS threats will be difficult and ineffective.

ONGOING TRAINING

NTS events are difficult to foresee. Nevertheless, the government needs to prepare to handle them as and when they occur. Fire-fighting such situations would be easier if the MAF undergoes constant and consistent training. Regular training involving NTS elements such as logistics, communication and strategic planning will raise MAF officer skills and individual awareness in facing threats at all times. Besides, the exposure to various elements of non-traditional security in training can equip MAF personnel with the right knowledge to act appropriately and respond immediately especially matters of life and death. Regular training

also allows the MAF to figure out their own weaknesses and how to surmount them; and devise plans to neutralize threats within a shorter span of time.

MODERN TECHNOLOGY & EQUIPMENT

With the rise of modern technology, conflicts will take new forms and become very challenging to train for. Even now, the usage of modern equipment by perpetrators of non-traditional security threats have become a norm. A case in point are the attacks in cyberspace known as Ransom ware Wanna-Cry, which affected more than 150 countries including Malaysia. It holds a system to ransom by locking its computer encryption; unlocking it only on payment of specified amounts of money. Hence, the MAF must be well equipped to ensure that future threats of this nature can be countered without limitations and drawbacks. With Industrial Revolution 4.0, wars of the future will no longer be limited to just physical territorial wars, but will advance into cyberspace where availability and accessibility to information decide the winner and only with advanced military equipment can Malaysia be prepared for what's to come.

CONCLUSION

The areas of NTS appear to be where many challenges to the defence forces of the country will come from and where many wars of the future will be fought. The MAF must hurry to prepare for this since there is no telling when such threats will arise. That era is already upon us. The MAF especially, must be prepared for what seems to be the unpredictable, if futures dangers to the nation and to citizens are to be minimised.

DEFENCE PREPAREDNESS IN NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY AND THE WAR OF THE FUTURE

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Preparing for the future on the part of the Armed Forces will required the forming of a Defence Advisory Council that is directly answerable to the Prime Minister, comprising young and old ex-service men with knowledge of psychological/tactical methods used by other countries in the last 10 years in conflict zones to defeat enemies, terrorists or extremists. The members of the Council must have the ability to envisage future threat that may be used by major powers in the next two decades, especially in the areas of Artificial Intelligence and drone warfare.

The Council's responsibility will be to turn Malaysian Armed Forces into self-reliant credible forces with the following highlights:

1. A defence weapons institution where its experts and scientists will have capacities ranging from producing intelligence missiles to manufacturing surveillance drones, weapon systems and small arms. This group of scientists will be handpicked for their academic achievements and for their demonstrated interest in weapons engineering, and their willingness to go the extra mile in doing research and acquiring new skills. They should be given full scholarships and be attached to foreign weapons manufacturers. These scientists should be handsomely salaried and enjoy benefits above and beyond those of normal civil servants, in accordance with their achievements.
2. A regiment of cyber and drone warfare warriors. The future of warfare will be about intelligence gathering, and will be marked by high-tech warfare and the use of silent deterrents meant to demoralize, de-stabilize and weaken a country politically and economically, without going through traditional warfare.

The abovementioned points chart a roadmap for coordinating a centralized military vision and balance the comprehensive roles played by the three services. On top of that, the Malaysian Armed Forces' integrated logistic capability and war-readiness will be improved tremendously through locally manufactured products and local expert maintenance. The outflow of Malaysian currency and reliance on foreign weapon system manufacturers can thus be reduced, making Malaysia a recognized high-tech developed nation, and inspiring young intelligent Malaysians towards better challenges and careers.

COMBINING DEFENCE DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY TO PROJECT MALAYSIA AS A MIDDLE POWER: A CASE FOR CYBERSECURITY DEVELOPMENT

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The concept of middle power is one fraught with relativism, where the power projected is in relation to another state or, in a multilateral setting, to other states. There are reasons states may identify themselves as middle powers, among which is the thought that middle powers are able to shape international relations in a manner that supports or preserves a state's sovereignty. However, the concept of middle power is ambiguous, and lacks a universal definition or an international body that bestows such a title.

The concept of power and influence was once only associated with calculable parameters such as military might, economic influence, level of development and population size. Jonathan Ping argued in his thesis, *Middle Power Statecraft: Indonesia and Malaysia*, of three methods to identify relative position of states within bases of power. The first is statistical and focuses on common values without subjective judgment. The second is perceived power that is involved with creating, implying or prescribing norms and standards. The third is a statecraft-based definition that looks for a commonality of behaviours in somewhat influential states.

The way middle power is defined affects the parameters straddling Malaysia's options. For instance, if these aim to prescribe or shape international norms, then participation in international fore, coupled with an understanding of good and bad international behaviour may be useful for projecting the image of Malaysia as a middle power. Additionally, the parameters may affect the range needed for the country to reach prominence. Malaysia may have greater perceived power in certain religious matters due to the relevant institutions that exist and function well in international contexts.

There are certain tools for a state to project such means of power. Gordon Craig and Alexander George in *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time* mention that in the modern age, a state's means of projecting influence are in a state's ability to negotiate. Some of the means are in agenda setting, acquiring and exchanging of information, persuading and bargaining, searching for creative solutions, enforcing and verifying agreements as well as multilateral negotiating.

Defence diplomacy falls into the gambit of negotiations, particularly since the usage of defence diplomacy can strengthen the notion of a state's internal and external sovereignty. Defence diplomacy can contribute towards foreign relations, particularly as visits, exchanges and exercises between defence sectors can contribute to building trust, shaping policies, increasing force capabilities and strengthening bilateral relationships. An example is China's usage of military diplomacy, which appears aimed at projecting China's image positively among regional armed forces.

If Ping's premises are taken as true, then a state's behaviour in the international community as well as a state's participation to shape norms would be indications of states being identified as middle powers. In defence diplomacy, the ASEAN Defence Ministerial Meeting (ADMM) and the ADMM-Plus are often cited as Malaysia's successful participation in regional defence diplomacy. The arrangements serve as platforms to converse and cooperate on non-controversial issues. However, in such security architectures, the projection of a state as a middle power can be affected by the effectiveness of the platform as well as the state's participation in such mechanisms. Therefore, Malaysia's projection as a middle power may be hampered if Malaysia does not play a productive role in the architectures or if the platforms do not deliver tangible and helpful solutions to the international community.

Thus, the following are a few considerations when utilising defence and security in a foreign policy tool kit.

First, we should consider the areas of cooperation and participation in the international arena. Participation, contribution and active development should be driven by the political arm and sharpened by the capability of the defence sectors.

Second, we should estimate priorities and ensure responsibilities are accorded to relevant agencies. The development of power perception is only effective if the state focuses resources and institutions in a common direction. With harmonised efforts, Malaysia can stand on a single platform for such issues.

Third, we should find or build appropriate platforms for participation. Considering that being a middle power is an exercise in comparison, increasing participation in platforms can be helpful.

Cyber security is a possible area for defence engagement in Malaysia's foreign policy agenda being in many ways dependent on cooperation and exchanges between states. Perpetrators utilise interlinked infrastructure to conduct attacks, and a state can be an intermediary destination before an attack heads to its intended destination. Therefore, protection of infrastructure and society is dependent on the international community's technological capacity, information exchanges and shared values.

Malaysia is well-placed to contribute to and to shape discussions. Institutions such as Cyber security Malaysia, the National Cyber Coordination and Command Centre and the National Cyber Security Agency as well as laws and policies protecting critical infrastructure have been in different stages of development since the 1990s. Malaysia has also served in the UN Group of Governmental Experts in 2014/2015 and hold consistent meetings in ASEAN Regional Forum Inter-Sessional Meeting on Security and in the Use of ICTs. On both platforms, Malaysia have sought to contribute and shape international discourses surrounding cyber security issues.

Where the defence sector can play a role to advance Malaysia's international cyber security agenda is in contributions to national discourses that develop Malaysia's position on issues related to cyberspace. In particular, inputs to construct the definition of sovereignty in cyber can be helpful in outreach intended to shape international rules and regulations. Secondly, this also helps in forming ties and exchanges that raise national capacity.

An area such as cyber security may be challenging for military diplomacy. Cyber security issues exist in the civil-military domain. On the one hand, threats from cyberspace are not kinetic, thus traditional paradigms of responses may not apply. Attacks in cyberspace are below the threshold of force, and therefore debates in international law are still articulating the premises of sovereignty and countermeasures.

On the other hand, the responsibility of agencies and institutions for non-traditional issues can differ from state to state, where cyber security in some states may favour homeland forces and others are parked in the military. In Singapore, the agency in charge of national cyber security is the Cyber Security Agency of Singapore. The military maintains their own command under the Defence Cyber Organisation, whose focus and function are to address cyber threats faced by the defence sector. Malaysia has a similar construction with the National Cyber security Agency (NACSA). MinDef has the Cyber Defence Operation Center (CDOC), a body tasked with the security of the Malaysian military's cyber sphere while Cyber security Malaysia is the statutory body responsible for monitoring the national cyber domain. The silos do allow for cross-pollination of knowledge whilst not sacrificing the ability of agencies to deepen knowledge. However, harmonisation of agencies is needed to ensure that information is shared. A weak internal approach may impact external engagements.

The third contribution is the direction needed by the defence sectors from a cyber-security foreign policy agenda to maximise contributions from different agencies. A cohesive foreign policy direction can increase Malaysia's ability to project itself as a middle power. Here, defence diplomacy can play a role either in setting the agenda in international platforms, acquiring and exchanging information with other states or attempting multilateral negotiation.

Foreign policy meeting defence diplomacy is perhaps best articulated by the European Union's unified stance on a cyber-foreign policy. The European Union's 2013 Cyber Security Strategy galvanised efforts and resources to promote EU-core values which are inclusive of fundamental rights, privacy and multi-stakeholder mechanisms. The EU Cyber Direct is EU's diplomatic effort in building international law in cyberspace, norms of responsible state behaviour and Confidence Building Measures. On this platform, the EU engages with governments and non-governmental actors, inclusive of the defence sectors.

Malaysia thus far has some seeds sown for perceived power in cyber security. With a high internet penetration rate and high ranking in the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) Global Cyber security Index, the country can become a middle power in cyber security. Consistent development, review of policies, internal harmonisation and a unified external outreach will propel Malaysia's approach further. A cohesive foreign policy direction that builds on engagements and norm entrepreneurship will increase Malaysia's ability to project itself as a middle power.

PROJECTING MALAYSIA AS A MIDDLE POWER: HOW DEFENCE DIPLOMACY COMPLEMENTS OUR FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA

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As a nation-state that is situated at the heart of Maritime Southeast Asia, Malaysia is aware of its long historical presence in the region and the manner in which the polities of Southeast Asia have survived and succeeded by hedging and balancing themselves vis-à-vis the more powerful polities outside the region. The practice of balancing however has become more difficult and complex in the light of the growing contestation between the great powers of the world, as noted in the work by T.V. Paul (see: T.V. Paul, *Restraining Great Powers: Soft Balancing from Empires to the Global Era*, 2019), and increasingly small to medium powers have been put under pressure to ‘take sides’ in the partisan rivalries between America, China, Russia and other rising military powers in the world.

It is normal and necessary for Malaysia to place its national interest first, and to that end Malaysian foreign policy has sought to present Malaysia as a Middle Power at both the regional and international arena. As a founding member of ASEAN, Malaysia’s primary security agenda has been to ensure neutrality and peace in the ASEAN region and to increase co-operation and understanding among the ASEAN states in order to minimize the risk of external threats to Malaysia’s sovereignty from within the ASEAN region itself. Beyond the ASEAN region, Malaysia has sought to make its voice heard on matters of global importance and to insist on the fundamental principle that all states are entitled to protect their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

The world today has become an increasingly unstable space as a result of the disruptions brought about by rapid globalization, unprecedented urbanization, advances in healthcare (which has resulted in rapidly growing populations and a new ageing demographic in developed countries), the 4th industrial revolution (with its attendant global communications architecture that includes social media and the internet) as well as the rise of communitarian reactions against the perceived ‘threat’ of globalization (manifest in events such as the Brexit vote, the rise of extremist parties in Europe, etc.)

Defence diplomacy – understood here in terms of the peaceful deployment of military personnel, capabilities and resources – will play an increasingly important role as a means of both projecting Malaysia’s Middle-Power status and as a tool of bilateral/multilateral bridge-building in the ASEAN region and beyond. Malaysia’s active and visible participation in multilateral organisations such as ADMM+ is key to the maintenance of Malaysia’s place and role as a competent and reliable international actor in this regard.

In the context of ASEAN, it is imperative that Malaysia continues to develop its cultural-political bridges with its closest neighbours, as the whole region now faces a range of combined challenges that may in time threaten the safety, security and neutrality of ASEAN as a whole. Competing territorial claims and the return of great power politics to this part of the world entails the rise of insecurity and apprehension among member states, and opens the way for narrow forms of exclusive nationalist-populist politics to gain the upper hand. In such a

situation, defence diplomacy can play a crucial role in developing mutual understanding and knowledge of each other and trust between the member states of ASEAN, thereby opening channels of dialogue – both formal and informal – that may pre-empt the possible escalation of crises and also bolster fellow-feeling and a sense of a collective ASEAN identity which can be a buffer against centrifugal, divisive tendencies in the region. For decades the Malaysian armed forces and police force have engaged in joint-exercises, staff visits, joint study groups, etc. with its neighbours and such efforts need to be intensified so as to ensure that the next generation of Malaysian senior officers and security personnel will develop and maintain a rapport with their counterparts across the region.

On a wider international level, Malaysia has also lent its weight and support to peace-keeping initiatives that have had the universal sanction of the member states of the United Nations and other international bodies. Complementing Malaysia's foreign policy – which has been consistent from the creation of the Federation of Malaya/Malaysia in 1957/63 until today, Malaysia's defence diplomacy at the international level has been proactive and non-partisan, thus conveying Malaysia's intent to be taken seriously as a Middle Power that has no territorial ambitions beyond its borders, a reliable partner in international peace-keeping initiatives and a state that has a foreign policy that is consistent.

In the light of today's growing uncertainties and the potential eruption of Great Power rivalry and conflict – that can manifest in the form of proxy wars and conflicts as well – it is vital that Malaysia maintains its image as a principled country that seeks peace and stability within and without its borders, and a state that is not beholden to the interest and agenda of any particular Great Power.

Malaysia has also demonstrated that it will not be drawn into the proxy conflicts of other states and this has been demonstrated by its conduct from the Cold War until the present.

TOWARDS A SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGIONAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE: MALAYSIA CAN PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE

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There is no regional security architecture in ASEAN at this juncture of history. For such architecture to emerge ASEAN governments and peoples must be totally convinced that such an edifice is vital for their very survival.

As of now, ASEAN governments see security through the lens of the nation-state. In such a situation how do we – ASEAN citizens in particular – build a viable regional security architecture?

We could conceive of a RSA at three levels. It should begin with the nation-state itself. A secure state is not necessarily a state with formidable armed forces or a massive military budget. A cohesive state where wealth is equitably distributed, opportunities for political and civic participation are enhanced and human dignity and social justice are embedded in the structure and culture of society is a better guarantor of security for its people.

At the bilateral level, relations between states within ASEAN would be more secure if they are determined to resolve their disputes through dialogue and negotiation. A number of ASEAN states are faced with disputes some of which have been dragging on for decades. But by and large ASEAN states appear to be more inclined to peaceful resolution of conflicts, which is in effect one of the inherent strengths of our regional entity.

However, it is at the regional level that the construction of a RSA appears to be most challenging. For a long while, some ASEAN states have been orientated towards one global power or the other. With the emergence of China as a major economic power in the last two decades, the United States of America (USA) which has always played a dominant role in Southeast Asia is feeling threatened. Conflicts, present and potential, in the South China Sea convey the impression that the two powers may be falling into the Thucydides Trap where the tussle between a declining power and a rising power could lead to an actual war. If it does, ASEAN could well be a victim.

In order to avert such a calamity, ASEAN states should give priority to the goal of forging a common position on their relations with both the US and China. They should achieve a consensus on contentious issues such as military and security treaties with the two powers; providing access to military assets from the two countries; and hosting military bases for foreign powers on ASEAN soil. Even on economic, cultural and educational ties, there should be some shared understanding on how ASEAN states would approach China and the US.

The task of evolving a consensus within ASEAN on the role of the US and China and perhaps other big powers in ASEAN, and ASEAN's attitude towards them is going to be long and arduous. In addressing this challenge, we should perhaps be guided by a concept that emerged from within the region 48 years ago. This is the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), initiated by Malaysia's second Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak

Hussein, which envisaged an ASEAN free from interference by outside powers, practising peaceful coexistence and preserving the independence and sovereignty of individual states. ZOPFAN was adopted as a Declaration on 27 November 1971 in Kuala Lumpur.

To give meaning to ZOPFAN in today's environment, some concrete mechanisms will have to be created. A Rapid Response Task Force comprising diplomats and security personnel could be established which would attempt to ease tensions arising from frictions in relations between ASEAN and the big powers. The task force will work closely with ASEAN governments. We should also set up an Eminent Persons Group (EPG) with representatives from all ASEAN states, which will explore ways and means of strengthening solidarity within ASEAN especially among its citizens. A people-based regional outfit is the most effective mechanism for developing regional resilience in the face of big power rivalry. The Code of Conduct that ASEAN and China are trying to formulate which will regulate interaction among states in the South China Sea is yet another mechanism that offers some hope.

All these efforts and proposals will come to nought if ASEAN states become obsessed with military expansion as the best method of enhancing regional security. Even if only one or two ASEAN states choose this path, it is not inconceivable that it will encourage others to follow suit. This could lead to an intra-ASEAN arms race and may even set the stage for wars within and without the region. Fortunately, there are civil society groups in a number of ASEAN states that are against any such development. They realise that you cannot secure peace through war. Only peace can attain peace.

US VERSUS CHINA: THE THUCYDIDES TRAP AS A TOOL IN BIG POWER RIVALRY

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Rising tensions between the US and China have generated renewed discourses surrounding the “Thucydides Trap” phenomenon. The notion describes a scenario of rivalry between an established power and a rising one, which often ends in war. President Xi Jinping, in 2013, told a group of Western visitors that the Thucydides Trap must be avoided by “working together”. By 2018, the discourse on this had increased substantially within academic and policy circles, with the focus unsurprisingly being on rising threats to global security resulting from US-China tensions.

These tensions are rooted essentially in both nations’ vested interests in the global economy. The basis for the latest geopolitical struggle is as follows:

1. Protectionism: A US-China trade/tariff war manifested in barriers to imports and exports.
2. Unilateral use of US-based legal remedies (such as Section 301 of the US Trade Act, 1974), instead of the WTO for dispute resolution.
3. US request for Huawei’s CFO, Meng Wanzhou’s extradition.
4. Recent disagreements within the US defence policy administration, manifest in the resignation of US Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis.
5. Cultural impasse: Mistrust between civilian and military leaders in both US and China has escalated insecurity in the public mindsets of both nations.
6. US public accusations of China for the loss of jobs and stagnating salaries.
7. American public perceptions of China’s economic might as a threat to US international stature.

These tensions are driven both by Trump/US interests as well as global dynamics in general. The current trade turbulence is predominantly Trump-driven, whereas the deeper tension is structural. The structural changes initiated mainly by China are not perceived as peaceful. The following constitute a few of these structural changes:

1. Xi Jinping’s assertive strategy in the wake of the global financial crisis. This includes more control over the military, increased defence spending, the militarisation of the South China Sea, a crackdown on internal dissent (e.g. Xinjiang and the Uighurs), and the Belt and Road Initiative (as a way of becoming more involved in the domestic economics and politics of interested nations).

2. China's detainment of two Canadians in response to the arrest of Huawei's CFO. This act has developed more mistrust of American businesses still seeking cooperation with China.
3. China's tactical coordination with Russia in the wake of the latter's arrest of US "spy" Paul Whelan.
4. China's use of the BRI to preposition itself for military bases in Africa, Latin American and South Asia. This is seen as China's assertive maritime strategy.
5. Huge increase in China's defence spending (7.5% increase in the latest national budget release).

Southeast Asian nations, including Malaysia, are economically dependent on China and Japan. The realignment of great power relations in the Indo-Pacific is causing geopolitical uncertainty in Southeast Asia, but this does not mean that Southeast Asia or ASEAN is bracing for conventional war between the US and China. Rather, the scenario in the next few years will be in the form of economic stressors instigated by the US-China trade war.

For Malaysia, China's infrastructure financing through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is of concern. Even though it can improve domestic and regional connectivity, Malaysia's domestic economic situation compelled Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad to reconsider China-backed projects. The East Coast Rail Link (ECRL) and the natural gas pipeline project in Sabah are two such major projects. Rather than taking an aggressive stand against China, Mahathir couched the matter around the massive financial scandal (1MDB) that has left Malaysia's economy in shambles. Although Mahathir said that the infrastructure deals made between China and his predecessor were lopsided, in favour of China, he stated convincingly that even China would not want to see Malaysia going bankrupt.

Should Malaysia be concerned with the Thucydides Trap?

To address this question, we need to consider Asian international relations through the prism of Asian history. First, contrary to what Graham Allison said last year in a talk about his book, "Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides' Trap"? (2017), Thucydides is not the "father and founder of history". Herodotus is. Secondly, there are civilisation-specific approaches for conceptualising strategy and the origins of war. European political history has demonstrated that democracy, sovereignty and human rights are values that wars were fought over. In the context of 21st century geopolitics, the Thucydides Trap discourse posits that war is initiated by the "resident" power (US), out of fear of a "rising power" (China). This is contrary to what is recorded in Thucydides' expose, The Peloponnesian War (431-404 BCE). Thucydides clearly states that the Spartans did not want war against the rising Athenians. Instead, the Corinthians, who were rivals of Athens, stirred up the Spartans into bellicosity. Sparta's king Archidamus was himself against war, but his people became too riled up. Eventually, Athens was struck with the plague, which killed their key leader, Pericles. The Athenians were in disarray, and so Sparta won the war.

The independent states of Hellas (akin to the independent nations of ASEAN) lived in peace. Their leaders formed a web of friendship, just as ASEAN nations do. When Pericles, the key peacemaker, died, peace was threatened. Without a leader, the Athenians stirred up unrest

which eventually imploded on Athens. Even though Sparta eventually won, there was no “trap”. The resident power, Sparta, did not initiate war. The rising power, Athens (which was eventually subdued), was in fact, the instigator of the war.

It is erroneous to transport this scenario to the current global security context of US-China tensions. The Thucydides Trap discourse is more of an academic exercise based on an imagined reality. It is a strategic framework that has been cleverly adapted to describe current geopolitical, geo-economic and geostrategic manoeuvres. We must look at China’s rise independent of the “trap” lens. This alternate view would dispel notions that a war between the US and China is inevitable.

In 20th century history, resident powers did not subdue rising powers. In 1904, Japan was a rising power while Russia was the established power. Russia did not preempt Japan. Japan instead launched a surprise attack on Russia. In 1941 Japan again was the rising power. She launched an attack on US’s Pearl Harbor, not the other way around. Similarly, in the 1930s, Germany was the rising power. France, Russia and England did not move against it.

US as the resident power would like the global security community to think that a rising China is a threat, to be subdued at all costs. The dynamics of American foreign policy demonstrates US provocative rhetoric against the “rising China” phenomenon. This demonstrates imperialistic state behaviour, which is unacceptable to East and Southeast Asian nations. In reality, the obvious threat exists in the economic sphere rather than in the military domain. The current trade war between the two big powers points to the unlikelihood of any nation being caught in a Thucydides Trap. Both powers have not been on a conventional warpath so far. Rather, rhetorical statements alluding to it is the real strategy, created to deflect from the damaging war on the economic front.

Over the decades, through a Western historical lens, the writings of Thucydides have been misinterpreted and cleverly manipulated to instil fear in rising powers. In the post-Cold War scenario, both the US and China have used the Thucydides Trap construct as a strategic tactic to maintain a balance of power. In many ways, we can see it being used as a win-win construct and not a zero-sum game.

For Malaysia, and many in Southeast Asia, China will continue to be engaged economically, and as a security provider. China is not viewed as a rising threat to be feared and avoided. Rather, she is to be engaged as much as possible. But there are conditions to this engagement, with the primary goals being about safeguarding small-state sovereignty and national interest.

ASEAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE ROAD AHEAD

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Southeast Asian regionalism is at a crossroads, and it is so for at least three reasons.

First, there is greater clarity in the emerging geostrategic picture for the Asian region since the surprise result in the U.S. presidential election in 2016 that ushered into office a mercurial and unpredictable leader; but the picture is not encouraging.

The rivalry between the U.S. and China is likely to be prolonged; and it will deepen. No doubt, the first summit between presidents Trump and Xi ended on a positive note. But developments since then have provided little reason for optimism. In a move to deliver on campaign promises, the Trump administration initiated a trade war with China in July 2018 by launching the first of two rounds of tariffs against Beijing. What began as a trade war to rectify a US\$375 billion trade imbalance has gradually morphed into a more wide-ranging contest over technology, unfair trade practices, intellectual property rights, and developmental models. Underlying this is hegemonic rivalry as the U.S. seeks to prevent China from displacing it as the predominant power in Asia.

Given the hyper-polarised nature of American politics today, it is significant to note that the firmer line the Trump administration is taking on China reflects a bipartisan consensus. Indeed, Democrats – for whom a harder line against China has traditionally been a matter of greater policy priority (as compared to traditional Republican policy on China) – have applauded the tariffs. What this bipartisan consensus translates to is less likelihood of an off-ramp for Xi Jinping. This poses major problems for President Xi, for whom several major policies targeted by the Trump administration, namely, “Made in China 2025” and the Belt and Road Initiative, have become signature initiatives.

American pressure has doubtless taken its toll on the Chinese economy, and China has to respond. Having said that, the fact that Xi has waged his legacy on “the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation”, of which these initiatives are an integral expression, means that the political costs of any adjustment of expectations downward could be high. Xi’s anti-corruption campaign, introduced soon after he assumed power in 2012, has generated both fear and animosity. Fearful of recrimination, the Chinese bureaucracy has been losing much-needed talent, either through imprisonment or resignations. This in turn has stymied the generation of the creative ideas required to navigate Beijing through current rough economic waters. Conversely, while Xi has populated both the Politburo Standing Committee and the Central Military Commission with allies at the 2017 Party Congress, the anti-corruption campaign has also ensured that he has his fair share of enemies. Any sign of weakness could well render him vulnerable in that regard. Already, there is growing criticism of Xi for how he has abandoned Deng Xiaoping’s more gradual approach to China’s role in international affairs. It is especially notable that Xi’s ideologue and propaganda chief, Wang Huning, came under attack for the manner in which he had overplayed China’s achievements.

How to balance the need to scale back on some of these initiatives under pressure from Washington, but without conveying an impression that it is making concessions, or worst, capitulating under pressure, would be a balancing act of utmost importance for Xi Jinping.

Second, ASEAN will find itself increasingly caught in the middle of this crossfire. The immediate impact of the ongoing trade war is instructive. While some Southeast Asian countries might benefit from the reconfiguration and relocation of supply chains as a result of the trade war – Vietnam, for instance, has seen an upsurge in demand for its workforce for the assembly of smartphones previously done in China – the larger picture of disruption spells significant challenges for a region that has collectively contributed up to 50 percent of value-add to Chinese manufactured products.

The challenge posed by the intensification of Sino-U.S. rivalry for ASEAN will also manifest on strategic issues, most prominently, the South China Sea. The U.S. will continue conducting its Freedom of Navigation operations, and indeed, its renamed Indo-Pacific Command has already indicated intension to ramp up these FONOPS, much to the chagrin of China. Most of the states of ASEAN are quietly supportive of this, although they would not acknowledge it publicly so as not to unnecessarily provoke China. Because China cannot be removed from the seven features it occupies, and the U.S. cannot be stopped from conducting FONOPS, activities in the South China Sea will soon settle into a pattern. The concern however, is with these militarised activities, there will be the risk of unplanned encounters.

Another area where ASEAN will find itself vulnerable is in the technology sphere. With the ambitious plan for a Smart Cities Network, ASEAN member states will be looking to build and synchronize their respective ICT platforms. China is already deeply involved in various ASEAN states in this regard, having assisted them in the building of national ICT platforms. The U.S. is however dialling up the pressure on its friends and allies, cautioning against the use of Chinese technology for fear of cyber espionage. While Washington has yet to turn its attention to ASEAN, should they eventually call on ASEAN partners to reconsider collaboration with Chinese tech industrial partners, this would pose problems for Southeast Asia which is an increasingly important recipient of Chinese investments along the “Digital Silk Road”.

American pressure on this score speaks to another pressing challenge – the matter of having to choose sides. Southeast Asian governments are increasingly concerned that the downturn in Sino-U.S. could lead to demands from either Beijing or Washington (or both) for them to take one side against the other. This is at present, a philosophical question, but the reality is that it could soon become a policy one, for reasons beyond the ASEAN states’ control.

Given the severity of this challenge, it is imperative for the small and medium states of Southeast Asia to bear several things in mind when confronted with this matter of choice. First, choosing sides is in itself not necessarily a strategic risk, so long as these states take pains to ensure that other major powers are not alienated as a consequence of the act of choice. For instance, choosing to deepen engagement on economic cooperation with one external power need not be pursued at the expense of relations with another, assuming of course, that matters are within the control of the state making the choice. Second, if a choice is imposed, it would be telling of the intentions and interests of the external powers, and this, in turn, would necessarily call into question their commitment to regional stability. Third, even if small states resist from

making a choice, this should not be confused for not taking a stand. All states must necessarily take a stand on the basis of their own national interests, and not the interests of others, least of all, external powers. Hence, for instance, in the case of territorial disputes, it is a matter of choosing international law, rather than the interests (or claims) of any one claimant state.

So, where does all this leave ASEAN?

In the face of more challenging geostrategic and geo-economic headwinds, ASEAN unity and integration have never been more necessary, nor more vital for the advancement of the *national interests* of its constituent member states. Indeed, ASEAN needs to integrate not only their economies for obvious reasons (not least of which, to realise the real potential of the 650 million market), but increasingly, their strategic outlooks as well.

To be sure, ASEAN continues to be bedevilled by historical baggage and unresolved differences. These are not going to go away overnight. At the same time, notwithstanding these differences and baggage, it is incumbent on ASEAN leaders to realise that ultimately, they all share a deep interest in the need to manage wider uncertainties that they will struggle (to manage) on their own. In this regard, ASEAN's survival will depend on its member states' ability to balance national and regional interests, while remaining central to the regional security and economic architecture. Yet it is precisely because centrality is not a given that ASEAN needs to be proactive, setting aside differences to focus on the larger picture for which there is potentially greater congruence of interests than meets the eye.

In this respect, the time is ripe for ASEAN to embrace the uncertainty by enhancing existing mechanisms, and taking the level of cooperation within their remit to new levels on the basis of an increasing convergence of strategic outlooks.

These are challenging times not just in terms of the external environment but also internally, given the preoccupation of many ASEAN states with domestic affairs. But ASEAN leaders must be able to raise their sights above the parapets of momentary domestic electoral interest. Or else, they risk being overwhelmed – and ASEAN itself risks being rendered irrelevant – by the shifting tides of geostrategic rivalry.

NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY (NTS) PREPAREDNESS AND THE WAR OF THE FUTURE.

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In the era of globalization and tremendous technology advancement, the defence of a country goes beyond military aspects.

Non-traditional security is a recognized phenomenon grounded on issues of human security, health crisis, environmental degradation, cyber-warfare and the increment of non-state actors' influences. It also includes uncontrollable issues such as illegal migration due to the intra- or inter-state crisis, human trafficking, climate change, famines, diseases and the rapid development of cyber-technology advancement.

Each country should have its own mould of defence and security framework, based on differences of its state system and structure, and society's cultures and norms as well as its perceived place in the world. Whichever the mould, a country's defence and security should always be the top priority not for offensive purposes but for defensive ones, aimed at securing the national's interests.

A country's security framework ranges from domestic to international issues, covering as many aspects of national defence as possible. Why should this be so? A good example is the case in 2016 of the Ransom ware virus. This managed to shake nations by targeting their economic system. The spread of the virus had a domino effect in many areas. There were no military troops involved, but panic was caused. Once a country's financial system collapses, a new relationship of dependency by a government on the demander would have been created.

A country's security framework should consider the aspect of borderless communities and the tremendous technological advancement that has taken place, and also the flexibility of the approaches it decides to adopt. The basic principles of this preparedness are how fast can we prepare, evolve and adapt to the changes surrounding us, and what aspects do we prioritise? The answer always goes back to the defence and security framework being incorporated into the normal routine of the state's administrative procedure and process. This is no longer an optional approach. It is imperative.

A national government should always collaborate with other governments to ease the challenges it faces. After all, globalization works with a snowball effect where it begins small but it expands to bring harm to every state it encroaches upon. The issues may be unavoidable, but recognizing the hard challenges and overcoming them through mutual understanding between states will help reduce negative impacts.

THE DEFENCE WHITE PAPER 2019 OFFERS CHANCES FOR REFORMING MILITARY AND SECURITY THINKING IN MALAYSIA

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Malaysia's Defence White Paper could not have come at a better time since various nations such as Australia and New Zealand have also introduced theirs recently in 2016 and 2018 respectively. The United States (US) has also openly outlined its military strategies in the Pacific through the introduction of the National Security Strategy on a yearly basis and the publishing of the Asia-Pacific Maritime Security Strategy in 2015, a document that outlines priorities for the US Department of Defense (DoD) in confronting challenges in the South China Sea (SCS) while aiming to balance China's power as the new superpower in the region. China introduced its own DWP in 2009 to justify its tough stand on the SCS and to define the cross-straits relation with Taiwan in the new century.

Malaysia has continued to play a major role as peace mediator at the regional and international levels ever since its first foreign mission as peacekeeper to the Congo in the 1960s. Active involvement in United Nation Peacekeeping Operation (UNPKO) missions in Bosnia Herzegovina, Somalia, Western Africa, East Timor and lately in Lebanon has been a testament of the UN trust and confidence in MAF's capability in carrying out such tasks. Extending our role effectively on the UN theatre requires continuous training for our soldiers, especially on force integration and related PKO matters. MinDef, with the assistance of the Japanese government, unveiled the Malaysian Peacekeeping Center (MPC), Port Dickson in 2006 for such a purpose. This vital centre needs to continue being funded and supported by the government to become a centre of excellence on UNPKO within the region. MinDef must continue to work closely with foreign partners such as the Australian and New Zealand Defence Force, the Japan Self Defense Force (JSDF) and the US Indo-Pacific Command (USINDOPACOM) to develop modules and carry out relevant workshops, tabletop or field training exercises on extensive topics pertaining to UNPKO or Human Assistance Disaster Relief (HADR) at MPC Port Dickson. The MPC must also be available for the ASEAN Secretariat to organize or hold similar training programmes. For a start, the MPC can develop a new module on "Woman and Peacekeeping in Conflict Zone Areas" since Malaysia's female soldiers are usually welcome by female refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in conflict zones that involves Muslim populations like in Afghanistan, Lebanon, and the rest of the Middle East. Such a module can be developed with the assistance of the Australian Defence Force (ADF) which is most adept in this field. Furthermore, Malaysia must continue to welcome the biennial Pacific Partnership exercise with the US Pacific Fleet, and use this opportunity to utilize MPC Port Dickson to train on HADR with various participant nations.

In the 1990s, when the region was experiencing an economic boom and Malaysia was one of the Asian Tigers, we saw an evolution in our understanding of defence and the need for Malaysia to not only serve as a mere client, but also to develop a long-term strategy on defence assets procurement. The DWP must touch on this issue to avoid mistakes in defence procurement and subsequent unnecessary and expensive facility development to accommodate these assets. When we stopped buying military hardware from the United Kingdom (UK) in the 1980s and diversified our assets procurement platforms, several errors were made. For example,

our decision to buy American-made M16A1 rifles for our infantryman in the 1960s, and then switching to the Austrian-made Styer AUG in the 1990s and then back again to the M16 platform (M4A1) in 2015 was a testament to how poor decisions can be made when we do not understand and plan our needs well. While the ADF modified their Styer AUG capability to the F88-type Australian-made rifle based on the Styer platform; and the Singapore Armed Forces succeeded in evolving their own small arms from the M16S1 to SAR-21, Malaysia remains end buyers of ready-made weapons and has managed to only make progress only in manufacturing indigenously made cartridges.

The DWP must address this issue. We have ample capability to develop our own weapons through STRIDE and SME Ordnance Sdn. Bhd. for both domestic use and for foreign sales.

The decision to buy defence articles from Russia, eastern European countries and China must be scrutinized with care. As an example, the MiGs29N procurement from Russia was made almost concurrently with the purchase of the F/A-18D Hornets from the US and should serve as a stark reminder on the importance of practicality and durability of defence assets. The MiGs29N's limited options for upgrading as compared to the multi-role F/A-18D that provides a multitude of options for parts and operational integration with friendly countries. Plus the misleading thinking that we both can save and earn money through Palm Oil barter trade for military assets procurement in the new age should be thoroughly examined from the aspects of long term financial cost for servicing, upgrading, the assets practicality with our military doctrine, suitability for military exercises with friendly partners and comprehensive weaponry integration with the assets bought for MAF usage. This should serve as a good lesson for Malaysia not to easily be tempted into procuring alternative platforms apart from what our defence partners are using. Another good example was when we bought the PT-91M Pendekar Main Battle Tank (MBT) from Poland and later decided to integrate both western and eastern system into our weaponry. One wonders how effective such integration programmes end up being or how far our Army finds the MBT useful in day-to-day operations. The DWP must draw a clear line on this, as we do not want to end up with expensive merchandise that cannot be fully utilized except to look good on the parade grounds. The proven longevity and reliability of the BAE Hawk 108/208 as a trainer and light attack aircraft and the legendary reliability of the S-61-A4/ Nuri should serve as examples of good decisions made on defence articles. There was a recent discussion on the need for Malaysia to phase out the Sikorsky S-61/Nuri helicopters. This is understandable since the assets are almost 40 years old; but should the replacement be made, MinDef must stick to EC725/Airbus variants or similar western platforms for practicality and Service Life Extension Program (SLEP) options in reducing unnecessary spending for replacements, operators/ ground support training, and facilities development. These are the considerations made by developed nations before procuring any assets, and can be observed in the Singapore Air Force experience of the SLEP of the Super Puma, Chinook helicopters, the C-130 Hercules Aircraft, and the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) evolution of their 1980s F/A-18A variant Super Hornet to the F/A-18Fs that are still active today. The sharing of similar defence platforms is important in readiness and training exercises with foreign partners and allies under the ambit of the FPDA, bilateral and trilateral exercises or the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM) exercises. One could question the MinDef's decision in 2017 to award a contract to a Chinese company to build the Littoral Mission Ship (LMS) for the Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN) when Boustead Heavy Industries Corporation (BHIC) was fully capable of building the assets completely on its own. Furthermore we should also consider the suitability of the LMS armaments integration programme as and when we decide to equip the

vessels with radars, guns, electronic warfare assets, and other weaponry from the west like we usually do with our Navy ships.

The DWP must take this opportunity to clearly spell out that defence procurement should not be mixed up with vested political interests and must be tied to the defence needs of the country in the long run.

Having friendly countries like Japan and US that have engaged us since the early 1990s on defence exercises and in various military cooperation and joint patrols in the region; such beneficial opportunities cannot be ignored and must to be increased and put to good use. The cooperation with the US government and Japan for that matter can offer us better military options on defence preparedness compared to what the FPDA is offering. Take the issue of the South China Sea (SCS) for example; even though we continue to uphold the principle of Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) since it was coined by Tun Abdul Razak in 1971, Malaysia must nevertheless be very assertive and pragmatic in choosing the right partners in advancing our SCS agenda. The decision by China to install offensive weapons at its man-made atolls and their disregard of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) verdict in 2016 on the SCS Arbitration case between China and the Republic of the Philippines, should send a clear signal to Asian countries that if the issues are not resolved peacefully and through diplomacy, military conflicts could result. The warnings given by China to US Navy planes and vessels that conduct freedom of navigation operations through international space and around its man-made islands in the SCS is clearly indicative of China's tough stance and their intent to turn the SCS airspace into their Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ). This could lead to a destabilizing effect of the region's security. Furthermore, Chinese para-military vessels protected by the Chinese Coast Guard (CCG) and shadowed by People's Liberation Navy grey hull vessels continue to carry out illegal fishing activities within our Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and as close as our Sarawak coast at the Luconia Shoals. This should clearly remind of our hard bargain with China, especially its ongoing development of dockyards and airstrips on its man-made islands which are near completion. Taking into account the challenging nature of the current ASEAN Centrality spirit in negotiating terms to formulate a final document for Code of Conduct with China at the SCS, maintaining our active engagement with Australia, Japan and the US government would serve as a deterrent not only to China but also to other countries that have opposing interests with Malaysia. The DWP must be bold in discussing this matter comprehensively and dictate a whole-of-government approach. Simply providing prescriptions to only the MAF and the MMEA would be wholly insufficient if we are to effectively safeguard our interest in the SCS.

The manner in which we conduct exercises with foreign partners must also be discussed in the DWP. We treasure and appreciate the benefits that we have received from the FPDA thus far, and we are completely aware that most of the MAF professional capability development came from the FPDA. However, we also need to be pragmatic and dynamic in our approach to future military development capability. The fact that Great Britain is increasingly reclusive is a clear reminder that Britain is no longer relevant to the defence foray in the Far East than it once was. Its posture can be witnessed when it is constantly represented by junior cabinet ministers instead of a senior Defence Minister at the invitation of meetings, defence dialogues and official visits. The situation is entirely different with other countries that continue sending senior defence ministers and members of the top echelons of the defence and security establishment to explore new opportunities for military cooperation. Therefore, Malaysia must continue to

explore new avenues and opportunities for military capability development. The continuing presence of the US 7th Fleet in this region and their strong interest to engage Malaysia for military exercises and defence cooperation must be welcomed without prejudice. Plus, the US has never been a claimant of any part of our territory or EEZ and has always been respectful and observant of the International Law of the Sea and the United Nations Convention Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Malaysia should explore and elevate US government as our new strategic partner. The success of various military exercises with the US like the biennial Cope Taufan between our Air Forces, and the Keris Strike and Tiger Strike exercises with the US Army and US Marines in peninsular and Sabah respectively provide the right capability needed for the MAF to keep abreast on war doctrine. The presence of the US Marines during the Tiger Strike exercise in the eastern part of Sabah has created the awareness of an omnipresent military force in a potentially volatile region, has resulted in a decrease in Kidnap for Ransom (KFR) incidents perpetrated by sea pirates, and a decrease frequency of sea gypsies encroaching into our waters from the eastern part of Kalimantan. This type of joint military exercises to portray a projected military presence should be further encouraged through the redevelopment of the Labuan Air Base in order for the Royal Malaysian Air Force (RMAF) to have the right facilities to host foreign forces, especially the US, Japan and Australia. MAF must consider allowing Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA) assets from the US, Japan and Australia to use the Labuan Air Base for transit activities, and to host more joint MDA programmes with these countries. Malaysia being an archipelagic state, must continue to carry out bilateral and multilateral programmes for MDA through appropriate capabilities like the P8-Poseidon or the P3-Orion planes from selected foreign partners like the US, Japan and Australia.

There is also an opportunity for Malaysia to actively engage Japan as strategic partner as they reinterpreted Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution to give “more space” for the JSDF to get involved in military activities on foreign soil and defend allies in case of war. Malaysia could for example start a discussion with Japan for military cooperation on joint UNPKO in conflict areas. Malaysia could learn some needed trades on rebuilding programmes and program management which Japan has had a vast experience from their Japan International Cooperation Agency’s (JICA) in supporting UNPKO missions. In 2017, Japan generously awarded Malaysia two decommissioned refurbished Offshore Patrol Vessel (KM Pekan and KM Arau) to be used for our MMEA. This underscores the wisdom for the Japanese to become our strategic military partner.

Apart from conventional military matters, the DWP needs to also address non-traditional security challenges. We know that the colonial powers left a legacy of ethnic-related conflicts such as the Southern Thai region, the Rakhine State in Myanmar, Aceh, East Timor and Southern Mindanao. If not properly handled, such conflicts could result in a greater influx of refugees to Malaysia and undermine our security situation. This could result in increases in the illicit trade in contraband, human trafficking, arms trafficking, the threat of terrorism, and both social and security challenges. As such, the Malaysian government, through the DWP, needs to address priorities and provide policy direction, for example on the need for Malaysia to continue engaging the new Bangsamoro Government in Southern Mindanao and the role we could play to ensure security in the Southern Thailand region. The DWP must also come out with clear-cut strategies for a counter-messaging effort on returning fighters from Syria and Iraq and to continue checking on former students of the Islamic madrasah in South Asia and the Middle East. The DWP must clearly lay out what roles should be played by MinDef/MAF and MOHA/Royal Malaysian Police respectively to mitigate task redundancy. The DWP needs also

to mandate more intelligence sharing between all Malaysian agencies, and actively promote improved intelligence sharing efforts between its partner countries on counter-terrorism.

The last time MinDef published an official document related to defence and security was in 2009 with the launching of the National Defence Policy (NDP). Nonetheless, the NDP is now irrelevant. Through the DWP, MinDef could reconsider priorities on administrative matters such as the separation of Veteran Affairs from MinDef and for such responsibilities to be put under the Public Service Department (PSD) since it covers pension matters and the welfare of ex-servicemen. This would relieve MinDef of the burden of dealing with non-defence and non-security matters. MinDef could also review the number of Malaysian Defence Attache offices overseas and base such activities on real need with a focus on those countries that have an active military engagement agenda with Malaysia. Countries such as South Africa, Brunei, South Korea, UAE, Italy and Saudi Arabia should not necessarily host any of our DA' offices since matters arising can still be handled through the Consulate General or the High Commissioner's Office. As for the CLMV countries, it would suffice for MinDef to utilize our DA' office in Bangkok since our defence engagement with these countries has always been tepid. MinDef could also re-arrange for a military liaison officer to be permanently posted in Hawaii since the sphere of US military engagement with Malaysia is largely confined to the United States Indo-Pacific Command (USINDOPACOM) based in Hawaii, and not the Pentagon in Washington DC.

Perhaps, in order to create high public awareness on the DWP, we need to start by encouraging intellectual discourses at the university level, involving Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia (UPNM), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM), Universiti Malaya (UM), Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM) and Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (UiTM) since they currently offer courses on defence and security. Further dialogues and seminars involving local and internationally renowned experts on defence and security should also be encouraged and allowed at government think tanks such as ISIS and MIMA. This will create high awareness and a sense of ownership among Malaysian citizens on defence and security topics and at the same time promote the government effort to introduce the DWP in 2019.

ATTRACTING THE RIGHT TALENTS FOR THE DEFENCE SECTOR AND PROMOTING THE CULTURE OF DIVERSITY

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BACKGROUND

The defence sector is comprised of the administrative bodies (the ministry and its oversight bodies) and the operational actors in the field, directly responsible for ensuring the defence or protection of the state and its citizens. Modern armed forces are synonymous with advanced military technology and strategic advantages that comes with it – warfare is highly complex and each side involved will have undeniable intent to prevail, bringing every advantage into the conflict. Hence, the need for the right talents to man modern war machines is critical. In essence, whether civilians or military strategists, commanders or support personnel, the ability to out-maneuver the enemy is becoming more crucial in order to overcome the unpredictability of modern warfare, particularly with advanced war machines factored into the battlefield environments.

THE DEFENCE SECTOR: WHAT IS ‘ATTRACTIVE’ ABOUT IT?

According to current thoughts on diversity in the workplace, ensuring a comprehensive and holistic diversity strategy attracts the right people from a broader section of the community. Promoting an equitable and inclusive working environment attracts talents, motivates existing personnel to perform at optimal levels. These are key factors in continuous retaining of the services of a capable workforce. However, the fact remains that it is every citizen’s responsibility to contribute to the nation’s security agenda and the involvement of a broad section of the Malaysian community enhances the robustness of the nation’s defence mechanism. By promoting diverse involvement in the defence sector, a wide spectrum of backgrounds, experiences and beliefs open up new possibilities and fuel innovation to support it.

For example, note that the core of the defence sector workforce is composed of personnel categorized as operational actors, mainly military service men and women of the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF). The regimental culture of the MAF hinges on the culture of nurturing of group cohesion—promoting the sense of brotherhood, belonging and worth to every serving man and woman, beyond the divisive line of creed or culture. In the thick of battle, the military creed matters the most; reflecting the unique demands placed upon its personnel and the culture of team cohesion to achieve its objectives through selfless dedication for the sake of the many they are sworn to protect. Military service demands the ultimate commitment and sacrifice of its personnel, hence it is not simply just a job; its members are bound to the solemn oath of ultimate sacrifice as duty to King and Country.

This may sound dramatic, but the fact remains that the factors discussed are the main attractions for many joining the service every year. The MAF personnel management system is efficient at retaining the right talents while unsuitable or non-performing personnel are filtered

out of the service in the early stages of their career. It makes perfect sense to extend the principles of existing military work culture to the whole of the defence sector. Aside from improved work benefit and remuneration schemes, enhancing and accentuating this aspect of the military culture to attract more talents of diverse background to join the defence sector looks to be a promising strategy. Moreover, it is realistic and achievable within a short time frame.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DIVERSITY IN THE WORKPLACE: BEYOND DEMOGRAPHIC PARITY

A workforce of diverse demography encourages diversity of approaches for solutions or in short, encourages diversity of thinking through varied worldviews. A wide range of experiences, perspectives and insights are available. This aspect alone is of great significance to the defence sector. Threats to national security have evolved significantly due to the globalized nature of the new century. Aside from traditional threats, non-traditional threats propagated by non-state actors have gained prominence, increasing the complexity of safeguarding our national interest. In this sense, Malaysia's defence sector can greatly benefit from the increasing availability of a diverse pool of talents teaming up to formulate innovative solutions to address issues of national importance.

Malaysia is fortunate to have readily available a diverse population as its source of manpower talent base. Through active promotion of the culture of diversity, the defence sector will directly be portraying the will of the Government to unite its varied community and also reflect on the nation's desire to involve all segments of the population on matters of national defence. The defence sector needs to look beyond demographic parity or fairness in terms of gender and race. Rhetoric aside, this is an issue of direct interest to the nation's defence strategy. Moreover, work environments that are free from discrimination enables its workforce to reach their full potential. In return, the reputation of the defence sector in terms of employer branding would be enhanced to attract more diverse and suitable talents into its fold, thus sustaining the sector's manpower needs.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In an increasingly competitive and globalized world, attracting and retaining a capable workforce can manifest as significant challenges to Malaysia's defence sector. This short commentary have not done justice to the subject matter discussed but it should suffice to highlight them as crucial issues to be addressed comprehensively in the Defence White Paper. Strategies for attracting the right talents and promoting the culture of diversity can be viewed as intangible and complementary, and adaptation of the military regimental culture to approaches used by current talent and to diversity management practices in the corporate sector is highly recommendable. The changes may take time to deliver fully but will rightfully indicate the Government's eminent determination towards building a better and secure future that is inclusive for all Malaysians.

REINTERPRETING HANRUH: ACHIEVING TOTAL DEFENCE THROUGH EDUCATION

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TOTAL DEFENCE AS A CONCEPT

The concept of total defence has its origin in the total war concept that calls for the involvement of other components of society to support and complement the military in the war effort. It took shape during the Napoleonic era when it was realised that wars can be effectively won if concerted and well-coordinated efforts are taken by the whole nation in encouragement of the military fighting in the battlefields.

MODERN TOTAL DEFENCE

Modern-day total defence - *Pertahanan Menyeluruh* (HANRUH)—does not depart much from the original total war concept. It has however become more sophisticated due to the evolution of society, technological development and the changing dynamics that influence modern-day international and security relations. Modern total defence strategies are essentially national strategies designed to mobilize the nation in the event of an armed conflict - focusing on the military, on civil defence, and on psychological and economic strategies.

MALAYSIA'S TOTAL DEFENCE

Total defence for Malaysia should not focus purely on defence needs but also on the nation's broader security concerns. It should not cater to only wartime environments but also peacetime settings. It must be a balanced, cohesive and flexible strategy; and exist as a continuous and regularly reviewed policy. For this purpose, Malaysia's defence pillars should be more appropriately designated as security pillars.

MALAYSIA'S SECURITY PILLARS

The security pillars to be adopted would be almost similar to those generally adopted by other countries. For Malaysia, these should consist be the military, internal, civil, psychological, cyber and economic pillars.

Military Security. This should be the mainstay of Malaysia's national defence policy. In order to be able to assume this responsibility, the MAF must be well organized, equipped and trained. It must be flexible in its ability and able to be the nucleus for possible expansion when needed. It should also be able to take the leadership role in directing and coordinating other government agencies in conflict situations.

Internal Security. The responsibility for the maintenance of Malaysia's internal security lies with the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Royal Malaysia Police (RMP). Like in the past, the MAF will continue to play a significant supporting role in this area. For this purpose it is crucial that proper coordination, joint training doctrines and programmes, and SOP be established by the two agencies. This appears to have been lacking in the past.

Civil Defence. Disaster relief operations are the responsibility of the Department of Civil Defence. The department however is not organized nor is it generally able to cope with disasters of massive proportions. In this respect, the role of the MAF would be to assist the department when required under normal peacetime situations. In the event of large-scale disasters, however, the MAF may have to take charge of the overall operations. To facilitate this cooperation, a similar approach in working with the RMP will have to be adopted.

Psychological Defence. The National Security Council (NSC) should be the main coordinating agency for this security pillar. As the concept requires the involvement of the whole spectrum of the population, public awareness and education programmes need to be developed. The approach taken by the government during the emergency years could be emulated, incorporating new forms of media, including social media. National unity and patriotism should be the key elements in this drive.

Cyber Security. Cyber Security Malaysia (CSM) should be the main coordinating agency for the whole country. The MAF, working closely with CSM, should formulate its own cyber security strategy. More importantly, the MAF should also develop its own cyber warfare strategy with formidable and discreet offensive capability.

Economic Security. The Economic Planning Unit (EPU) should be the lead agency in the development of the nation's economic security programme, working together with other economy-related ministries and agencies. The role of MAF in this regard is to protect the nation's economic interests, such as its economic lanes of communication and other assets.

A NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

Total defence is a national responsibility. It must be planned and coordinated at the highest level. The National Security Council (NSC) should be the main coordinating body working together with other relevant agencies. The task of heading each security pillar must be specifically assigned to a lead agency that in turn will be responsible for planning and coordinating with other agencies. As all these security pillars ultimately link to military security, the MAF will play a major supporting role in this effort.

Total defence requires total involvement of all levels of the society. The society must be educated, motivated and committed to the successful implementation of the total defence programme. The bulk of total defence education can be incorporated into the psychological defence programme, and the effort must be continuous and flexible in nature to suit the changing nature of our society.

BUILDING MALAYSIA'S DEFENCE INDUSTRY

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Not being a specialist with a defense industry background, there are not many specific actionable suggestions that I can make for the Defence White Paper. However, as a scholar on international relations and on China, I would like to offer some general thoughts and reflections on the matter.

In theory, developing an indigenous defence industry makes sense for Malaysia. First, a strong defense industry means that our Armed Forces will be less reliant on foreign suppliers, and this could save the government costly procurements as well. Second, a well-developed defence industry sector can provide many jobs and aid in the industrialization of the nation's economy. Third, foreign exchange benefits can be gained if its products are exported to other countries.

However, nurturing an indigenous defence industry is enormously challenging, in terms of the amount of capital that needs to be invested, the talent that needs to be trained, and the competitiveness within the weapons industry. Moreover, the products must be of high quality, because the end users are the members of the Armed Forces of Malaysia, who will depend on these products in times of war or armed conflict. Although Malaysia under Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad during his first term in office (1981-2003) did have a vision to develop an indigenous defense industry, the reality is that, notwithstanding some achievements, we are still far from being able to develop a truly dynamic and capable defence industry.

The weaknesses of our country are not difficult to point out. First, there is a persistent lack of sufficient human talents, especially STEM specialists, and more so perhaps in the defence-industrial sector. Second, there is little harnessing of the R&D capabilities found in local universities and the corporate sector to serve the defence-industrial needs of the country. Third, there has not been strategic patience and vision from the government to groom and guide the industry; instead, too many special and personal interests sometimes come into the picture. And fourth, the Armed Forces of Malaysia is a relatively small customer. In order to sustain the industry, a bigger market is needed.

Addressing and overcoming each of these weaknesses will take years or even decades. Moreover, an additional challenge is that advances in defence technology, especially among more developed powers, mean that an even greater investment of capital and human resources is required to develop a competitive defense industry sector. The challenge is truly daunting. Therefore, in looking into developing our own defence industry, one needs to avoid rushed action. A careful study, done by true professionals, about how other countries with similar weak backgrounds developed their defence industry is needed, and we can identify the useful lessons from others and adapt them for Malaysia.

In my view, Malaysia needs to exercise a clear focus in its defense industry development. Obviously Malaysia is not a big economy or major power, only major powers can afford to do so. We will need to target some specific areas that we have the potential to develop, and to

identify the products that we will be able to export as well. Cost-wise, we have to take into consideration the capital that is needed.

In my view, because of the challenges mentioned above, I would think that having a foreign partner in developing this industry is perhaps necessary, at least in the initial stage. A successful case of development of an indigenous defence industry by a very underdeveloped economy, with a relatively low level of human capital, is Pakistan. Although still a very poor country, Pakistan today is able to produce some very sophisticated weaponry including fighter jets. The key to Pakistan's defence industry is its strategic partnership with China, in which China is willing to transfer and share technology, out of common strategic interests.

Malaysia, of course, does not have that kind of relationship with China, and it would be difficult to create one given the territorial dispute between the two countries. Partnering with the US is possible but it risks Malaysia's relationship with China and may raise China's suspicions. A more plausible candidate to partner with Malaysia will be South Korea. South Korea is now implementing its New Southern Policy and aiming to elevate its strategic and economic ties with Southeast Asian countries. Unlike China and the US, South Korea does not have hegemonic ambitions, and Malaysia's partnership with it will not undermine the non-aligned position of Malaysia. South Korea's relatively advanced defence industry can provide the kind of support that Malaysia needs, and Malaysia can collaborate in South Korea projects that are affordable enough for it to manage.

MALAYSIA AS PEACE AMBASSADOR

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To know Malaysia is to love Malaysia. This is the successful tagline for a song by Tourism Malaysia to woo tourists to a country with diverse landscape, culture, cuisine, language, race, religion and many more. The foundations of the people called Malaysians are very unique in nature. The inhabitants of the Peninsula and Sabah/Sarawak in Borneo come from varied backgrounds, made even more varied with the large influx of foreigners over the past decade. There have been no major conflicts among the communities besides a short dark episode way back in 1969. Malaysians are known to be affable within and away from our shores. The Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) will testify to that. This is because they have served in many parts of the world, rife with civil conflicts. They have had first-hand experience in the *Malaysian Model* of peace ambassadors, portraying the Malaysian footprint of diversity whilst displaying high standards of morale and courage. The international community often finds it hard to stereotype Malaysians due to the diverse nature, inherent to those called Malaysians. What then are the unique internal foundations that make us who we are?

Prior to the arrival of western powers, feudal lords ruled the Peninsula. In Borneo, the administration of the people was centred around feudal lords and their respective native tribes. The arrival of western powers changed all that. Foreign workers from India and China were brought in to work in the agricultural and mining industries. Eventually these people fused peacefully with the local community and thrived as a society. When these communities were later faced with the communist threat, the British decided to issue identity cards to differentiate locals and the menace. Together, people from different backgrounds bonded as a community and regained peace. Independence and the Constitution eventually brought more power to the people and the land became a constitutional monarchy.

Then came the Federation of Malaysia with the inclusion of Sabah and Sarawak from across the South China Sea. Another peaceful transition through a plebiscite conducted by the *Cobbold Commission*. These new entries were again tested by the communist menace followed by the Indonesian attack on the new nation of Malaysia. The people of Malaysia, now united, dealt with the menace together in security and development operations, which eventually ended in a peace process. From both sides of the South China Sea, the citizens of Malaysia united to work for a progressive nation. Malaysia was a founding member of the Association of South East Asian States (ASEAN), and the quest for Peace that forged the nation eventually became the organisation's foundation, which Malaysia advocated in the region and the world.

Malaysia welcomed Vietnamese refugees during the height of the Vietnamese war in the 70s. Since then, a number of refugees from war-torn nations like the Philippines, Bosnia, Myanmar, the Middle East and much more have called Malaysia home, running away from conflicts. Malaysians welcomed them with open arms. Many of the refugees have duly returned to their respective homelands, having grown up in the diversity of Malaysia. Today, besides refugees, foreign workers have called Malaysia home as well, making Malaysia a haven for migrants.

Without them realizing it, Malaysians have grown into a society, creating a diverse model not found anywhere in the world. A Malay-speaking Tamil, a Chinese-speaking Kadazan, an Iban-speaking Mandarin are no surprise in Malaysia. To add to this confusion, an Indian-looking Malaysian with a Chinese name and a Chinese-looking man with an Indian name are fruits of the nation that have become a melting pot of cultures.

Malaysians are generally accepted as a peace-loving community overseas. Their ability to merge peacefully is founded on an aptitude centred around inter-personal skills, far surpassing other migrants. The prowess of the Malaysian can be best seen in leadership positions in Multinational Companies (MNC), on the regional and extra-regional stage and in world bodies like the United Nations. Malaysians have carried themselves with vigour, colour and flair, commanding the respect of the international audience. The ability of Malaysians as facilitators in peace processes is a testimony to the *Malaysian Model of Peace*.

It is imperative that Malaysia recognises this unique ability of Malaysians in a more advanced way. A bid for the *Secretary General of the United Nations* when the turn of the region comes, would not be out of place.

Malaysia's exclusive export is investment in peace efforts. Perhaps Malaysia may need to enhance her role in the United Nations. After all, we are paying a hefty sum as a member of the global organization. More Malaysians should be well represented in the inter-governmental organisation. Malaysians should endeavour to be part of peace processes, exporting *Malaysian Models of Peace* to either lead or undertake the crucial tasks in the quest for lasting peace. Malaysia's experience in the successful *KESBAN* programmes (Keselamatan dan Pembangunan – Security and Development) can be shared with countries coming out of conflict. Malaysian *Economic Transformation Programmes* (ETP) and *Blue Ocean Strategy* are viable platforms that will complement the *Malaysian Model of Peace* in the host country. Rebuilding the broken foundations of nations should be a Malaysian specialty.

It is time therefore, to synergise and put together all the inherent instruments of policy and power to make the *Malaysian Model of Peace* a potent entity in enhancing Malaysia's role as the Middle Power for Peace.

UPHOLDING PROFESSIONALISM THROUGH PERSONNEL CARE

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Welfare and maintenance of morale

Morale is an important element that contributes to military combat efficiency. It is one of the key principles of war adopted by modern strategists. With good morale, troops are motivated to give their best. A positive state of morale among troops may be achieved by solving the general yet personal issues that tend to distract them from the duties at hand. These may be physical or spiritual in nature and must be addressed in a specific and systematic manner.

Welfare issues that need to be looked into

As in civilian life, the military community is concerned with the day-to-day issues that affect their family's wellbeing. Rising cost of living, children's education and healthcare are among the key issues that preoccupy their minds and can adversely distract their concentration in performing their duties.

Unlike civilian professions where work schedules are routine and family affairs can be better planned, the nature of the military profession does not afford one such a luxury. Professionally, service personnel are required to be in a constant state of readiness and they are subject to immediate deployment. The level of commitment required and the vagaries of the military profession structurally restrict the ability of service personnel to devote their time to family affairs. Save for routine personal family matters, common family needs of service personnel needs to be addressed by the government.

The following are the basic welfare issues that need to be looked into.

Housing. Providing adequate housing to all personnel should be the first priority. Realistically, adequate fund must be set aside so that housing facilities are well maintained, ensuring that service personnel and their families are comfortably accommodated. For those who are not provided with housing facilities, a housing allowance at realistic rates needs to be provided.

Children's education. A clear policy to ensure that children of service personnel have access to quality education must be formulated. Educational issues peculiar to the children of MAF personnel such as the implications of frequent posting of personnel must be studied. Existing facilities designed to provide a convenient education environment for the children such as bussing, student hostels and schools within military camps must continue to be improved and enhanced. Their number must be commensurate with the actual demand on the ground.

Health. Adequate and quality medical facilities must be provided to all MAF personnel and their families. In cases where civilian medical facilities need to be utilized for the treatment of MAF personnel and their families, formal arrangements must be made to ensure that the facilities are readily available to them.

Overall family wellbeing. The range of issues affecting family wellbeing must be identified. The issues such as the impact of frequent postings, general family welfare and the psychological and spiritual needs of the families must also be addressed.

Financial stability. Deliberate efforts must be made to ensure that service personnel are trained and guided in the management of their financial affairs. Armed Forces-linked financial institutions such as LTAT and AF Cooperatives should act as effective institutions aimed at improving the financial wellbeing of personnel rather than as institutions that exploit the personnel for profit and get them deeper into debt traps.

Relative status within society and privileges. Proper recognition and respect must be accorded to AF members as a token of appreciation for their service to the country. Efforts must be made to encourage public and private sectors to accord basic privileges to members of the AF. Emulating the practices adopted by other countries; such as allowing AF personnel priority boarding at airports, providing special discounts to AF personnel in uniform and displaying other forms of minor gestures of courtesy and appreciation will go a long way in making the AF personnel feel appreciated. This helps to instill in them a sense of pride.

FACTORS AFFECTING PROFESSIONALISM AND EFFICIENCY

Good welfare will help the creation a working environment where service personnel are motivated to perform their best. To ensure that a high degree of professionalism is continually maintained, the AF should also look into the factors mentioned below:

1. **Quality personnel.** The MAF should strive to search, select and train the right person for the right job from the very outset. The current recruitment system may have to be reviewed. Specific and systematic aptitude tests must be introduced. Based on the result of these tests, personnel should be assigned to the area relevant to his potential. This will result in effective training, cutting down on the wastage and attrition rate.
2. **Time, resources and quality training.** There should not be any compromise in ensuring that adequate time is spent on training. Allocation of resources earmarked for training should be given top priority. Efforts must also be made to ensure that training is overseen by selected and qualified instructors.
3. **Pride, dedication and patriotism.** Apart from good welfare and training; pride, dedication and patriotism play an important part in uplifting professionalism among service personnel. This is essentially a leadership challenge and it is up to the leadership of the MAF to rise to this challenge.

DEFENCE IS EVERYONE'S RESPONSIBILITY

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There are three themes to consider where national defence is concerned. First, defence and military roles should be given a more central position in the state system, and a greater priority in policy thinking in general. Although the Malaysian Armed Forces are generally in good condition at the moment, the challenges it faces by the global era that we now live in have to be handled effectively. These challenges come from different directions, the worst of which are those coming from within society itself. The Ministry of Defence needs to be fully aware of the limitations and the strengths of the country's defence capability, and with help from instances such as the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and the Ministry of Finance (MOF), it should thoroughly examine the status of the country's defence and security situation, and scrutinize the progress and the succession planning in the areas of defence and security.

Secondly, the country's civil-military relationship (CMR) needs to be strengthened. CMR is essential for achieving a stable equilibrium between the Armed Forces, the State and its many sectors, and Society at large. Good CMR enhances the public's awareness about national security on the one hand, and directly motivates and improves the quality of military and defence performance on the other. It will also help contain any eventual attempt at a *coup d'état* from any side. Although Malaysia's CMR is hugely recognized to be good on most fronts, there is a need to strengthen it further to face future challenges.

Last but not least, the Ministry of Defence should play a major role in ensuring that everybody is aware of and uphold the idea of Malaysian total defence. Everything depends on total defence awareness being promoted. Total defence only functions well when the country's defence and security is seen as the responsibility of each Malaysian citizen, and not the Armed Forces alone.

Thus, the Ministry of Defence should ensure that precautions are taken to meet challenges to both the State and to Society. A plan of defence and security needs to be comprehensive; and for that to be possible, a sense of togetherness must be inculcated among Malaysians that the country's future is their responsibility.

UPHOLDING PROFESSIONALISM AND CARING FOR OUR DEFENCE AND MILITARY PERSONNEL

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Military personnel of the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) have a responsibility to maintain the highest standards of discipline and professionalism in conjunction with the roles and functions of the MAF, in safeguarding the sovereignty of the nation and defending it against all forms of threats. All personnel of the MAF must hold themselves accountable to the standards and expectations of professionalism regardless of their level or rank, whether in peace or on operational duties. Professionalism is achieved through the continued development of individual skills and competencies for success in the achievement of objectives particularly in the battlefield. Loyalty and selfless service to the nation is an obligation that is expected of all officers and personnel of the MAF.

With emphasis placed on professionalism, the MAF can then consistently ensure the highest standards of training and education which includes the provision of learning opportunities for personnel based on the required skill sets and competencies that are required of them in executing their respective tasks and duties. Officers and soldiers of the MAF will have the need to use lethal force when undertaking operational duties especially when in a combat situation which requires courage, discipline, teamwork and the highest standards of skills and competence. Apart from the competencies and skills required in achieving set objectives, all personnel of the MAF will be inculcated with values, norms and the military ethos that will develop every individual as a professional with high morale and dedication to duty.

Maintaining morale among officers and personnel in the MAF will motivate them in performing their respective task and service to the nation. Morale is a mental state and intangible quality that consists of many aspects including confidence in the equipment and weapons that are used, quality training of personnel, sound administration, comradeship and effective leadership. Esprit de corps is another aspect to strengthen. High morale is also maintained through spiritual, intellectual and materiel aspects, and trust that the MAF and the government cares for the well being of all military personnel. While morale is toughness as a mental rather than physical quality, the government will ensure that the MAF is fully equipped with the best weapons and equipment to undertake its roles and functions. The MAF will equip its personnel and train them to the highest standards with the mental well being that is necessary for every personnel to undertake their tasks and duties effectively.

Ensuring the quality of life and career prospects in order to maintain a high morale amongst all officers and personnel in the MAF is another aspect that will be emphasised. The Ministry of Defence and the MAF will jointly ensure that key factors in maintaining a balanced quality of life of all personnel during peacetime and for personnel and their respective families when on operational duties are continuously monitored and acted upon with continuous improvement. This includes physical needs such as quality living quarters and working environments, and an effective system that will address specific needs particularly for personnel that need specific attention.

The MAF and the Armed Forces Council (AFC) will also place emphasis on an equitable system for the career prospects of all officers and personnel in the MAF. This will include providing opportunities for training and education for all personnel with a quantifiable performance system for selection of personnel based on individual accomplishments and best man for the job. While professionalism and performance standards are emphasised, the MAF will also ensure that recognition; and a fair and just system of rewards and career progression be maintained to ensure personnel are motivated through career progression and succession planning for all levels and ranks in the MAF.

DEFENCE PROCUREMENT AND BUDGET – ASSESSING NEEDS, INCREASING TRANSPARENCY

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INTRODUCTION

There is a general perception across the board that defence procurement is corrupted, often perceived to be driven by politics and personal interests. Thus, the functionality and purpose of defence procurement is perceived to be led by ‘interests’—interests of governments, arms manufacturers and producers. Given the apparent opaqueness of the governance agenda, the procurement as well as its budgeting in defence are often a debated issue.

This paper discusses the need to have checks and balances with proper consideration of relevant factors being taken into account in decisions made in defence procurement and its budgeting.

THE FIRST STEPS TO ANTI-CORRUPTION RESPONSES

A poignant starting point for any procurement is the recognition that the development of pro-integrity policies must be based on the best possible understanding of the problems and challenges that exist. Simply put—it has to be evidence-based. Effective anti-corruption responses cannot be designed devoid of a thorough assessment of the problem—an area the Ministry of Defence (MINDEF) needs to ascertain before it implements any anti-corruption policies and plans.

The purpose of the needs analyses is two-fold:

1. To identify factors that currently cause or create risks of corruption/ unethical behaviour in the defence sector; and
2. To inform the designing of future projects and policies to address the identified risk factors.

CONUNDRUMS IN PROCUREMENT – ACQUISITION, AUTHORITY AND APPROVALS PROCESSES

The remits of procurement involve acquisition, maintenance, and employment. They range from full combat capabilities across air-land, maritime, cyber, and space environments, to the simple maintenance of domestic forces, or even to no defence forces at all. Governments and capability planners need to take a very long-term view when deciding which ones to build and sustain, and which ones to eliminate. Furthermore, it is also imperative to distinguish between two major activities in procurement:

1. determining what capability and/or equipment will be acquired; and
2. the acquisition process itself.

Although these two elements often run concurrently, and frequently overlap, they are, in fact, distinct processes involving different considerations. Much of the public debate tends to surround the first activity, challenging the basic requirement in the context of other national priorities, debating cost estimates, or challenging the selected solution. Though pertinent, this is not where the real systemic problems are to be found. Systematic issues are found in its acquisition as much as in the capability to ascertain the requirements for the needs being considered.

Crucial also in this equation is – who the person(s) ultimately responsible for deciding what equipment will be obtained and then issued to the Malaysian Armed Forces (land, air and sea) are, must be clearly articulated in the Armed Forces Act 1972 (Act 77) and Arms Act 1960 (Act 206). Does the Minister or the Prime Minister have the exclusive authority to define the requirement, and is the approval authority for the technical and operational aspects of a given procurement?

What needs clarity is also government-decision mechanisms for major acquisitions and the process of the final decision on what equipment to buy. The role of the Cabinet in this process is also something to be considered. What is also in need of determination is, what is a major, what is a substantial and what is a normative acquisition, and what is its process of approval.

The needs of defence procurement can be summarized as follows:



From Understanding Defence Procurement, by Charles Davies

* Policy-driven procurement is generally deliberately planned with full consultation whilst Operations-driven procurement, particularly undertaken to meet immediate mission support needs, is different. These procurement decisions are separated and driven by time factors. The needs and procurement process for both will differ and the checks and balances may also differ.

Loopholes and breakdown of governance in procurement often emerge in the following scenarios:

1. decisions related to high-profile, politically sensitive, policy-driven procurements; and
2. operationally urgent purchases.

Added challenges to defence procurement are:

1. The technological complexity of many defence systems and the consequent cost and difficulty of developing, producing and operating them.
2. Defence procurement is done across highly diverse marketplaces. Complex weapons, such as combat aircraft, are developed and produced in relatively small numbers by a very few suppliers because of the large and sustained technology investments required. Hence the question of tender and single sourcing becomes a point of contention in such an instance. Again, remits of assessment needs to be made clear.

To circumvent some of the loopholes of corruption – public advertising of tendering opportunities; the use of a separate (from the end user) equipment procurement organisation; open competition (as opposed to single source procurement) as the normal procedure; independent tender assessments; separate financial and commercial delegations; independent project approval; parliamentary and public scrutiny; simultaneous document release to all tenderers; and debrief to all tenderers on the award of the contract outlining assessed scores are some areas to strengthen governance in defence procurement. This said, defence procurement needs different approaches to meeting different requirements in different situations.

MULTI-MINISTRY PROCUREMENT PROCESS

The multiplicity of Ministerial points of authority complicates process, and it inherently disperses accountability. Some areas that need synchronizing are as follows:

1. Standards/guidelines/benchmarks regarding impartiality and accountability in the defence sector;
2. The extent to which these standards, etc., are institutionalized in the countries in question;
3. Major gaps (between the normative standards and their actual extent of institutionalization) and possible measures to address them.

Recommended system of checks and balances that needs to be in place is as follows:

- a) Parliamentary oversight
- b) Anti-corruption policies

- c) Specialised anti-corruption bodies
- d) Arrangements for handling conflicts of interests
- e) Arrangements for transparency/freedom of access to information
- f) Arrangements for external and internal audit, inspection arrangements.
- g) Ombudsman institutions

HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

MINDEF is often one of the largest ministries in terms of number of staff. Human resources is central to the quality of performance of defence sector bodies. Recruitment patterns therefore need robustness to alleviate issues of dysfunctional dependency relationships between managers and employees which can easily result in the latter losing their professional independence, and which may in turn translate into corruptive/unethical behaviour

PARLIAMENTARY OVERSIGHT

Instituting parliamentary oversight is vital to building integrity for several reasons:

1. Parliamentary oversight is one of the key democratic means of holding the government to account for its actions.
2. Since MINDEF utilizes a substantial share of the state's budget, it remains essential that parliament monitor the use of the state's scarce resources both effectively and efficiently.
3. The Oversight may prevent concentration and abuse of executive power.

FREEDOM OF ACCESS TO INFORMATION

Clarity of information promotes integrity by:

1. Reducing the possibilities for corruption and other forms of maladministration;
2. Allowing the public to have well-founded opinions on the authorities that govern them; and
3. Strengthening citizens' control over government decisions and promoting democracy.

A transparent and detailed budget that is available to the public is key to holding governments accountable to their citizens. There is a growing awareness among members of regional organisations that stability and security can be enhanced through increased disclosure of defence-related information.

OMBUDSMAN FOR INTEGRITY

In addition to oversights by bodies highlighted above, ombudsman institutions should be empowered to investigate citizens' complaints about government decisions and recommend their rectification. Ombudsman has the power to investigate and criticise but not to reverse administrative actions. The ombudsman is an independent arbiter between the government and the citizens. The record of military ombudsmen shows that this institution may be a powerful tool in enhancing public confidence in the defence sector. In addition, the military ombudsman provides essential protection to individual servicemen and women against abusive treatment within the military

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion we need to distinguish between five aspects of independence:

1. Decision-making autonomy – the extent to which the government/ministries may influence the state body's decisions,
2. Managerial autonomy – the extent to which it may make decisions concerning the use of inputs (mainly personnel, finance, technical infrastructure) in the design of its internal organisation; and
3. Organisational autonomy – the extent to which a state body is shielded from influence by the government/ ministries through organisational arrangements and arrangements regarding the appointment of the agency leadership.
4. Financial autonomy – the extent to which the agency depends on governmental funding or own revenues for its financial resources.
5. Legal foundations of autonomy – the extent to which the agency's legal status or the nature of the legal framework regulating the body prevents the government/ministries from altering the allocation of competencies or makes such changes more difficult.

STIMULATING INNOVATIONS THROUGH MILITARY-CIVILIAN COLLABORATION

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DEFENCE INDUSTRY AS ECONOMIC CATALYST?

Since the end of the Cold War, the world has witnessed extensive shifts in the geopolitical dynamics, and non-traditional threats from non-state actors have become prevalent. Thus, Malaysia's preparedness in terms of defence is consistently maintained. The key to Malaysia's growth and prosperity has always been peace and harmonious co-existence with all nations – hence the ambition to strengthen the defence industry is distinctly to ensure security of material supply and socioeconomic gains.

Senator Liew Chin Tong, Malaysia's Deputy Defence Minister rightly stated in a recent article that a strong defence industry ensures the nation's self-reliance and accentuates benefits to be gained from a strong culture of innovation that can derive from it. The critical need for an innovation-led defence industry is acknowledged since the "ultimate aim is to create decent jobs for Malaysians". In sum, the statement indicates Malaysia's primary intent clearly – the securing of sovereignty is for facilitating socioeconomic development.

SPURRING INNOVATION THROUGH MILITARY-CIVILIAN INTEGRATION

Industrialized nations all over the world are in at advanced state of self-reliance - their defence industries are strategically developed to levels that are not only compatible with their defence needs but also cultivated as growth drivers to concurrently boost various civilian industries. Innovative activities are positively encouraged through the intensified development of advanced civilian industries with military technologies via military-civil integration.

Malaysia needs to consider such an approach and intensify efforts towards this end. The Government had been taking steps to establish the nation's own defence industry since the 1970s. However, after nearly 50 years, we are still predominantly reliant on imports and our defence industry is clearly unimpressive. Domestic players have clearly not dominated and thus it is high time for the industry to exploit innovation activities through close military-civilian collaborations.

The fact of the matter is that the industry is not motivated nor is it willing to engage with local centres of innovation. Unsustainable returns seem to be the major concern. The way forward is thus to consider boosting domestic confidence through specific policies that collaborate with existing and established civilian centres of innovation.

Through the development and strict enforcement of win-win collaboration policies, clear objectives can be formulated to focus on growth based on the essential operational requirements of the MAF.

BACK TO BASICS

The Malaysia-based defence industry is critically in need of rebranding. It needs to be committed towards establishing a firm base of business by reassessing its core strength and capabilities, and by being realistic about its limitations—why focus on developing sophisticated weapon systems when even conventional small arms for our own defence forces’ needs are imported? Another simple example are our combat ration or meals-ready-to-eat (MRE) menus and variety. MREs are significant morale boosters for our soldiers in the field; development of high quality MREs is surely a very basic and essential need for the MAF to develop. But have there been any innovation activities of the product in the last 20 years or so? How about improvements on marketability on the civilian or international export markets? Asian countries, especially Malaysia, is a significant contributor to the international halal market; two-thirds of the global Muslim population reside in the region and halal products, in particular food products, are in great demand all over the world.

The fact is that at the present time, halal compliance is significant beyond the requirements for religious observance – for many consumers worldwide, Malaysian halal certifications is the hallmark of safety and hygiene; halal compliance MREs are marketable all over the world! Even the US provides halal-compliant MREs to its Muslim servicemen; the same goes for humanitarian supplies provided by the UN in conflict or disaster regions. Think global—Malaysia’s halal branding is recognized globally and the relevant industry has continuously maintained its status as a global leader in the halal industry; thus a profitable and sustainable platform to capitalize and synergize with the growth of the relevant sector in the defence industry.

The onus is on the Government to match the essential needs of the MAF to available domestic capabilities; if locally produced essential and basic products such as MREs cannot be improved on or exploited for economic gains outside of its existing clientele (i.e. MAF), why be concerned about investing in advanced aerospace technologies (for example) which primarily rely on foreign expertise and exorbitant financial commitments? Furthermore, is there any immediate need for the local industry to focus on non-native areas of expertise right now? We should no doubt gradually pace the industry towards this end but the urgency is primarily to cater to our immediate strategic needs first; and to accentuate the client-driven culture.

The reality is that all key players in the defence industry, inclusive of the Malaysian Government, need to “go back to basics” - to comprehensively gauge immediate needs and to focus on the security of supply. They should innovate to diversify their base products for a diverse market; they should innovate to avoid reliance on domestic defence sector contracts only. They should innovate for growth. Ambitious projects will need to take a backseat till the foundation of the innovative platform is firmly in place.

In this regard, it is important for the Defence White Paper to identify accurately the most current and basic operational needs of the MAF; as a credible reference to the industry. Domestic-based industry can realistically intensify its focus for sustenance and exposure before expanding towards home-grown development of more sophisticated or advanced technological requirements. Civilian-based industries have taken the lead with this approach (i.e. back to basics – start with the basics, build on existing capabilities) since the 1990s. The Malaysian defence industry will benefit tremendously from adapting to this experience. Hence it makes

logical sense to encourage increased military-civilian collaboration – for short cuts and cost effectiveness in accelerating innovative activities in the defence industry.

The implication is that future capabilities of the industry can be developed in stages and in accordance to needs and available financial resources Relevant and basic operational needs of the MAF are the priorities. We must remember that the imminent aim is to ensure the effective defence of our nation's sovereignty. Eventually, with a strong domestic-based industry, the government can exercise full measures of sovereign control and security of supply while assured of gaining economic benefits which are of advantage to its citizens.

THE WAY FORWARD

A clear policy with a clear set of objectives focused on pacing the growth of the local defence industry will be beneficial to the industry as a whole, and will stimulate innovative activities. By initially intensifying the support to existing domestic-based contractors that are able to manufacture and own native intellectual property rights of essential products/services immediately required for the current MAF's operational effectiveness to generate sustainable returns, the gradual experience and confidence gained would inherently translate into a firm business base that drives innovation activities.

In summary, by focusing first on essential MAF operational effectiveness and on socioeconomic benefits, the political will to motivate and intensify Malaysian contractors' strategic position in facing foreign competitions can be clearly projected. With a highly focused and systematic expansion plan for the industry, even foreign competitors will be encouraged to seek genuine collaborative solutions with domestic contractors. As such, the whole industry benefits by engaging in the kind of innovative production and manufacturing that comes with owning and exploiting intellectual properties.

INNOVATION: THE TRUE ECONOMIC CATALYST

All industries benefit from innovation-led growth. Malaysia needs to accentuate the fact that the Malaysian defence industry must have a firm innovation-led base to be relevant and sustainable. It should first focus on the basic needs of the client i.e. the MAF, but diversify to cater to the bigger civilian market; and follow through with continuous military-civilian innovative activities within its realistic technological limits before expansion into advanced products. It should invest, collaborate, share resources & know how, synergize and capitalize on locally established research and innovation centres, and in areas that are deemed profitable and essential to both the civilian and defence sectors – from engineering to food technologies for equipment and supplies, from social science to safety & health studies for personnel well-being. The deliverables are significant to the needs of the defence and civilian sectors and most importantly, will be in line with the nation's aim to boost socioeconomic development while strengthening the defence industry.

MIDDLE POWER AND MALAYSIA'S INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONTRIBUTION

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Conflict and peaceful transition are part and parcel of the birth of a nation. Though many developing nations eventually backslide into conflict again, Malaysia has been successful in ensuring lasting peace through the combined efforts of security and development. The journey towards the formation of Malaysia was not spared from conflicts—in 1948-1989 the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) and the North Kalimantan Communist Party (NKCP) were the main threat against the formation of the nation. The conflict was eventually resolved through peace agreements. Whilst forging peace efforts at home, Malaysia played and continues to play a major role in peace efforts at the global and regional stage.

United Nations.

On gaining independence from Britain in 1957, the infant nation Malaya did not wait too long to play her part in global peace and security. On the 15th of September 1957, Malaya joined the United Nations (UN) and thus began her long commitment to foster peace.

The United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) was established after *United Nations Security Council Resolution 143* of 14 July 1960. The mission was launched to help restore stability to the Congo after it fell into conflict and disorder following independence. ONUC was the UN's first peacekeeping mission with a significant military force, and Malaya deployed her first troops overseas as part of the ONUC mission. Malaysia's commitment to global peace and security, undertaken before the formation of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963, remains unchanged. In 1998, Malaysia was the top 5 Troop Contributing Country (TCC) to the UN. To date, from the blistering deserts of Sahara to the freezing snow of the Balkans and to the deep foliages of Africa, Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) has served in UN field missions in every continent except the Americas.

In UN Field Operations, Malaysians are best known for their courage and steadfastness in the *Battle of Mogadishu*, Somalia in 1993. Despite all odds, and beyond the call of duty, a small deployment of Malaysians went from being part of the UNOSOM II mission (Malaysian Force Commander-Gen Aboo Samah), to a rescue mission. Almost 70 United States Rangers (not part of the UN mission) were trapped in a botched operation to kidnap the Somalian warlord Farah Aidid at Bakara Market. The rescue mission resulted in the death of a Malaysian soldier.

Besides Malaysia's gallant service with troops and medical services in UN field missions, Malaysia served four times as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. First in January 1965, sharing the term with Czechoslovakia. (This was a crucial year for Malaysia as Indonesia was embroiled in a *Confrontation* with Malaysia, and Singapore opted to leave Malaysia. These issues were resolved amicably). Malaysia went on to serve three more terms in the UNSC, in 1989-1990, 1999-2000 and 2015-2016. Malaysia continues to speak for the Palestinian people through peace efforts using the UN platform.

Malaysians have also been selected to serve in the UN Headquarters in New York. Malaysian officers have been part of the Division of Policy Evaluation and Training (DPET) and the Office of Military Affairs (OMA), Department of Peace Operations (DPO). Malaysia is well recognised within UN circles and continues her commitment with a combined contingent of troops with Brunei with UNIFIL in Lebanon.

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

Following the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995 which ended four years of civil war between Bosnians, Serbs and Croats in the Balkans, the NATO-led multinational *Implementation Force* (IFOR) relieved the preceeding UN mission, UNPROFOR. Malaysian forces serving in UNPROFOR were redeployed as MALCON (Malaysia Contingent) with the NATO Multinational Division South West (MND-SW) under the command of Britain. Malaysian troops, already deployed in Konjic during UNPROFOR were to redeploy 126 kms to Livno under NATO MND-SW. Malaysia deployed a *Tactical Air Control Party* (TACP) comprising of MAF fighter pilots directing NATO aircraft (some from aircraft carriers) to strike offensive positions in the operations. Malaysian Support Element (MSE) was deployed in Split, Croatia. Malaysia paid for the services of her troops under NATO, to honour her commitments. In 1996, IFOR was replaced by the Stabilisation Force (SFOR). During the service with NATO, Malaysia was given an office at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), also the first of it's kind for an ASEAN Member.

In 2010, Malaysia was again part of another NATO-led force, this time with the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. Malaysia deployed five medical contingents till 2013, funded by the Malaysian government.

South Philippines. Malaysia played a key role as facilitator in the peace process between the Government of Philippines (GPH) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). The five-decade-old conflict between GPH and the Moros only brought devastation to the tri-border community in the Sulu Seas and turned Mindanao into a base for militants and transborder crime syndicates. Though there were many challenges in the process, which included the Lahad Datu incident, the battle for Zamboanga and Marawi, Malaysia was steadfast in her commitment to the peace process. The Malaysian Armed Forces today, lead the International Monitoring Team (IMT) in Mindanao. In January 2019, residents of the *Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao* (ARMM) overwhelmingly voted to ratify the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL), paving the way for the creation of the *Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao* (BARMM). In exchange, the MILF is to decommission their armed wing and relinquish their weapons. BARMM will be implemented by a coalition of MILF, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), and incumbent ARMM officials as part of the Bangsamoro Transitional Authority (BTA) before elections scheduled for 2022. Malaysia was instrumental in this peaceful process through years of meetings taking place alternatively between Manila and Kuala Lumpur.

Southern Thailand.

The insurgency in Thailand's Deep South is an ongoing conflict originating as far back as 1948. It is an ethnic and religious separatist insurgency which has become increasingly more violent since 2001. Malaysia has been a facilitator in the search for peace between the Kingdom of

Thailand and the insurgents, mainly the National Revolution Front (BRN). The peace process involves too many parties and this has become a challenge to peace talks. Nevertheless, Malaysia continues with her efforts to bring belligerents to the negotiating table with a view to finding lasting peace in the troubled region.

Recognising that development is key to peace and stability, Malaysia continues to promote technical cooperation to developing countries, sharing her development experience in the spirit of South–South Cooperation through the *Malaysian Technical Cooperation Programme (MTCP)*. Malaysia funds and provides technical courses through a plethora of programmes.

The stellar service rendered by Malaysia and Malaysians in peace efforts has been a noble and commendable contribution for a small nation. Since the birth of Malaysia, an unchanged foreign policy has made Malaysia a brand ambassador for peace. It is time for Malaysia to use the MAF as an instrument of foreign policy, institutionalising her efforts. Malaysia should be coherent in galvanizing her separate efforts and progress as a Middle Power for Peace.

ATTRACTING THE RIGHT TALENT TO THE DEFENCE SECTOR AND PROMOTING THE CULTURE OF DIVERSITY

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INTRODUCTION

There is a general, albeit incorrect perception that the defence sector does not attract the right talent and does not promote cultural and gender diversity. It is often seen as a sector that attracts those on the fringes who have missed the top echelon of selection. Key to this misconception is that the defence sector in Malaysia is seen to be dominated by only one ethnic group and predominantly by one gender.

The purpose of this paper is to present a case for MINDEF to use the charter of the Royal Military College and its model as a means to enhancing diversity in the Defence Sector.

CULTURE OF DIVERSITY – WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

The forte of the defence sector's war fighting strength as well as its professionalism is its ability to problem-solve, innovate and adapt quickly. This is achieved by drawing on the different strengths, attributes and characteristics of individuals who make up teams. Teamwork requires that we relate to one another, respect one another, recognise the value of each person's contribution, and are inclusive in that we work collaboratively to achieve the best and most optimal results.

I would argue that 'Diversity' is broader than the labels of gender, age, language, ethnicity, cultural background, disability and religious beliefs; it encompasses a way of thinking and an approach to delivering the best results for entities we serve. Though challenging at times to manage, diversity produces the variety of perspectives needed to tackle complex problems. It is therefore imperative that the Defence sector, a sector that safeguards the sovereignty of a nation and its people, recognises this and develops and creates an inclusive environment which values, respects and draws on the diverse backgrounds, experiences, knowledge and skills of our people.

I would also argue that a robust and agile defence organisation depends on every person having the opportunity to contribute fully. This said, promoting a culture of diversity is not an easy task and it cannot be done overnight. The process takes time as it has to start with the identity (jati diri) of a society that respects different cultures. Education in school too is imperative in building this space as we must not just focus on the 3Rs of **Read, wRite and aRithmetic**, but rather the other **Rs**, such as **Respect** for culture and religion of others, whilst honouring Islam. Learn how to Relate to other cultures and form values for us to be Responsible for each action that we take.

The defence sector will continue to lose talents as long as people feel threatened by other cultures, or have no respect for other creeds and religions. The sector will lose good people if an

environment that labels others as “*kafir*” (*infidels*), or a *paranoid* that “*they are trying to take our jobs, power, privileges, rights away from us*”, prevails. For the right talent to prevail, we must first ask, what is the right environment to attract best talents? What are we doing about this? How do we treat our ex-servicemen? How do we treat people who are different from us? What are our promotion, reward and remuneration models?

SERVING THOSE WHO HAVE SERVED US

Another key area the Government needs to focus is in how it elevates the status of ex-servicemen and recognise their contributions. The USA, Australia, New Zealand models offer some good guides on how ex-servicemen are recognised, appreciated and respected. These people are often forgotten and they become the side-lines of our societies. In some countries they have become homeless and humiliated. How do we expect an ex-serviceman to be proud of his/her service if they are treated badly themselves? Some have ended up in dirty, dangerous and demeaning jobs.

Why would they encourage their kids, relatives, friends to join the service if in the end the service is seen as naught?

The government needs to also review the 20-year service system. Most of ex-servicemen retire too early i.e. when they are in their 40s. This creates a socio-political and economic issue. Why can't the sector devise a model where the servicemen continue to serve albeit in other capacities after 20 years of service? At a time when we have a Prime Minister and MPs who are serving this country pass the retirement age of 60, our sectors and industries too must create means and ways to continue to encourage those past retirement age to continue to work.

Imagine the hardship of a non-Malay ex-serviceman. How many of them have kampungs to go back to, in order to keep their post-retirement cost of living low? In fact, not many Malay ex-servicemen today have kampungs to go back to? So the more important question is not just about attracting the right talent, but retaining the ones who have already joined.

The defence sector should know how to treat people who have given their best, and pledged his/her allegiance to King and country. They should not be treated in anything other than with respect and honour. These people have literally placed their lives on the line for the rest of us. Perhaps a good place to start when wondering over how we can entice talent into the defence sector would be to get some direct answers from the people who have left the service out of dissatisfaction.

THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE CHARTER – A CASE STUDY

Royal Military College (RMC) was established with the objective of preparing young Malaysians to become Officers in the Malaysian Armed Forces, to hold office in the higher divisions of public service, and/or become amongst the country's professional, commercial and industrial leaders.

The RMC charter is very clear and precise. For Malaysia to become a great nation, young Malaysians need to be prepared to take on leadership roles. Young Malaysians – not young Ibans, or young Chinese or young Malays.

The Royal Military College (RMC) presents to us a model for promoting national unity and a culture of diversity. This model that has been in existence since 1952 can be emulated across many precepts and tracks of our society. The uniqueness of the RMC model when studied and applied can attract the right talent and promote the culture of diversity in the Defence Sector.

THE ORIGINAL RMC MODEL

1. RMC is a multi-racial full boarding school with students representing the population of Malaysia hailing from all corners of the country and from all levels of society. From young princes to young settlers, all of them are called Putera - donned in the same uniform, receiving the same allowances, eating the same food and staying in the same dorms.
2. Selection into RMC is based on merit, and not just academic excellence but physical health, interest in sports and having the right aptitude to be a responsible rakyat.
3. Emphasis is given to discipline, balanced between achievement in academic, sports and military training, which forms the character and personality of its students.
4. Consistent with its motto, "Serve to Lead" the culture imbues mutual respect, service above self and leadership values. All leadership training starts with giving service. From an early age, Puteras are entrusted to manage themselves (to keep their surrounding clean, make their own bed, do their own laundry and keep their lockers tidy) on their own, without any supervision except from the more senior Puteras. Trust is earned when they are still young.
5. The teachers and military trainers also represent the diverse population of Malaysia. Including both male and female, they are not limited to any particular race nor over representative on any particular religion.
6. The teachers and military trainers selected to teach at RMC are competent and well trained to teach Puteras to be "colour blind" and not show bias to skin colour.

The above six (6) aspects of RMC culture formed the foundations for a strong legacy that has shaped the identity and built the premium brand of characters prevalent amongst the RMC puteras. We can still see these traits cutting across RMC alumni today.

This RMC model, which has been tried and tested for almost seven decades can be a strong reference point for our armed forces to attract the best talent and promote cultural diversity. This successful tried and tested model can be emulated and replicated at all training and recruitment centres under the Ministry of Defence.

It is my personal opinion that this recipe should be re-introduced in RMC immediately as a start, so that RMC will continue to produce "colour blind" future leaders.

CONCLUSION

Diversity reflects the variety of personal experiences that arises from differences of culture and circumstance. Institutions and countries maximise their capabilities and capacities by drawing on the diversity of their own people. Inclusion means fostering a work environment where individual differences – whatever they may be – are appreciated and valued. Diversity and inclusion in Defence is a critical capability issue. The Defence organisation of the 21st Century must emphasise these traits and garner the broadest talents if we are to remain fully ready to defend Malaysia.

In a competitive world faced with multipolar challenges, Defence can no longer rely on a workforce drawn from a narrow pool of talent.

The RMC model is one of many ways to attract and retain the right talents as well as inculcate a culture of diversity. It is a proven model—a model where merit takes precedence over race and religion. This is a model where a person is recognised because of his/her talent and leadership, not because of his/her skin colour or who they know. This is a model that imbues strong integrity and character from a very young age.

The Defence sector requires men and women of integrity, people who live the meaning of honour, selfless service, loyalty, duty, respect and personal courage. Even in sports, RMC taught their Puteras the sportsman prayer:

“Oh God, please help me to win for I always want to win. But if in thy inscrutable wisdom Thou wills me not to win, then make me a good loser. For when the one great scorer comes to write against your name, he writes not that you won or lost, but how you played the game.”

This prayer teaches humility in success and failure. The RMC motto of “Serve to Lead” simply teaches us that leadership is not about status and ranks and glory. It is about serving and giving; and this can only be imbued by a culture that does not discriminate – a culture that teaches us that the best is the one who gives his/her best to serve the country. The RMC Model taught me this.

IMPROVING DEFENCE PROCUREMENT PRACTICES

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INTRODUCTION

As widely discussed in the media, the previous MAF procurement policy practice is riddled with reports of unsuitable weapons and equipment being purchased, poor quality and poor maintenance support and overly exorbitant costs. In short, one may argue that the MAF does not have any procurement policy that is practical and workable that it can adhere to. On the other hand, it can also be argued that the MAF procurement policy is fairly well structured and has the necessary checks and balances in its structure. The shortcoming lies in the MAF inability to adhere to these procedures.

The MAF procurement policy should be closely linked and subservient to its strategic and tactical plans. Failure to observe this principle will result in the inability of the MAF to perform its given tasks effectively and efficiently. Some of the factors that can be attributed to the current state of poor procurement policy and practices are listed below.

- **Lack of transparency.** Whilst it is acknowledged that some form of confidentiality must be observed, the evaluation, tender and the decision-making process must be fully transparent. The needs and views of the end users and the operational consideration must be made the major determining factors.
- **Excessively high cost.** Lack of transparency in the procurement exercise makes it vulnerable to abuse, resulting in unnecessary high costs in procuring and maintaining the acquired weapons or equipment. This problem might even be extended to the creation of logistical chokepoints in cases where purchases or support services are restricted to only one single monopolistic provider.
- **Unreliable or wrong weapon or equipment acquired.** The operational needs must be the main factor for consideration. Inputs from the end users must be referred to, as they are the experts in the area and they would ultimately be the personnel who would be operating the weapon or the equipment.
- **Lack of system compatibility.** Ad hoc purchases based on considerations other than true operational and strategic needs must be avoided. The possible incompatibilities that need to be avoided include: (1) Incompatibility of systems that might be hostile to each other. This might happen when two systems were purchased from two different countries that are traditionally in adversarial relations; (2) Incompatibility with the existing operating systems or logistical support systems. Equipment or weapon upgrades in support of operational and strategic needs are essentially the aim of a procurement exercise. The new weapon or equipment system as far as possible must be able to operate with a maximum level of compatibility with the system that the new system intends to replace or upgrade.

- **Logistics and maintenance problem.** Logistics and maintenance problems could be reduced by ensuring as far as possible that the new weapon or equipment system can be maintained within the parameters of the same existing technical and logistical procedures and cultures. Judicious consideration must be taken over privatization and outsourcing options, to avoid excessive cost, creating logistical chokepoints, reduced quality, and in the long run erosion of the technical ability of the MAF to be operationally self-sufficient especially in high-level conflict situations.

PROPOSED PROCUREMENT PRACTICE

The MAF procurement problem currently lies mainly with failure to adhere to existing procedures which if properly observed would not have led to the existing problems of weapons and equipment that lacks operational compatibility and efficiency, and other inherent logistical problems. The solution is really for the MAF to follow current established procurement procedures without exception, and to look at ways and means to continually improve the existing system.

Another additional check-and-balance measure that should be considered is the establishment of a Parliamentary Committee that specifically oversees Mindef defence procurement exercises.

LOGISTICAL, COMPATIBILITY, RELIABILITY ISSUES

From MAF strategic and operational point of view, the procurement and financial factor is of secondary importance. As operators, the MAF are concerned with getting the best weapons and equipment to do the job. In this regard, certain factors must be considered.

Firstly, the MAF must be trusted to identify the weapons and equipment that it requires based on its strategic and tactical plans.

Secondly, self-sufficiency in defence capability especially in terms of weapons and equipment cannot be fully achieved even by the most technologically advanced nation. The MAF and the government must identify the types of weapons and equipment that the country needs and determine areas in which the country can be fully self-reliant, partly reliant on other countries, and due to lack of technical capabilities, totally reliant on other countries

Thirdly, Malaysia in the foreseeable future will continue to rely on imported technology for its defence needs. To ensure the sustainability of its defence procurement policy, Malaysia must be selective in determining the sources of acquisition of its weapons and defence equipment. Possible uncertainties in political relations must be taken into consideration to ensure that the country will not be subject to possible technology sanction or disruption in the continuity of supply. The guarantee of technology transfer should be another factor to consider in the defence procurement policy.

CONCLUSION

MAF defence procurement policy must effectively support its strategic and operational policies. It must be flexible and not be too dependent on one single source; and planned to support the current and future strategic and operational needs.

DEFENCE PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE: SOME POPULAR FADS TO AVOID

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The ongoing drafting of Malaysia's first White Paper on Defence has generated lots of interest in how Malaysia should plan for its defence in the future. A few suggestions have emerged that the White Paper should focus on non-traditional security issues, and to place strong reliance on new cyber technology. These are popular fads promoted by some under the confident assumption that future strategic risks will emanate from these areas. As planning for the future is difficult enough, the defence planner will do better if he can avoid some common fads that actually muddles defence planning.

The future is not here yet. So how do we guess the future, or at least 'good enough' to prepare for the future? This is a very critical question for defence planning as it will involve acquiring assets and capabilities that are costly and time-consuming, and which will be used for decades to come. If we get it wrong today, and in a future war that we are not prepared for, the country's survival would be at risk. The sad news is that there is no fast and easy answer to this crucial question but we can learn from strategic history to have at least a rudimentary understanding about what the future may be like.

Strategic history will also inform us that some common popular fads are nothing new that had not been practiced before. This helps the defence planner to avoid some pitfalls to produce the 'good enough' defence plan for the future. There are two popular fads today that the defence planner must avoid: the trendy fixation on non-traditional security, and infatuation with cyber technology.

Non-traditional security (NTS) is a security studies approach that gained traction after the end of the Cold war and has two key branches, among numerous others, which are terrorism and natural disasters. NTS is an oxymoronic term as there is nothing not-too-traditional with terrorism and natural disasters.

Terrorism has been practiced by various civilizations since millenniums. The Jewish Zealots and Sicarii that were active during the 1st century in Jerusalem are well-documented groups that used terror as a tactic for its political objectives. About a thousand years later, in Persia, there was a Shia sect known as the Nizaris that practiced a form of suicide terrorism. They used operatives to stab and kill their victims in crowded public places, and expected to be killed after doing so. The Nizaris' actions resulted in the modern word 'assassination' to be coined to reflect their terror killings. There are many more examples but these two famous examples will highlight that terrorism is not a recent phenomenon that started with the 9/11 attacks but had been utilized by various groups for quite some time (some covertly run by kingdoms/states).

Natural disasters have also been a constant bane for humans. Historical records had shown that natural disasters such as volcano eruptions, earthquakes, tsunamis and pandemic diseases had wiped out large numbers of people. The volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79

destroyed Pompeii. Mount Tambora's eruption in 1815 killed thousands and created an atmospheric layer of ash that led to serious global implications. The famous 1883 eruption of Krakatau in Indonesia caused massive earthquakes and tsunamis that was felt as far away as the English Channel also killed tens of thousands of people. The awareness about the danger of tsunamis did not start with the 2004 Boxing Day tsunamis! A killer pandemic caused by bacteria, and dubbed as the Black Death, killed an estimated 200 million people in Europe and Asia from 1347 to 1351. These few examples demonstrate that natural disasters and terrorism are very traditional security issues and not recent trendy incidents, and humans have been worried and dealing with them for centuries.

The capabilities of new cyber technology today had captured the imagination of people about how cyber technology can be used militarily. However, do not confuse technology with functions. Cyber technology can be used in three main traditional military functions which are intelligence, sabotage, and subversion. For example, cyber tools can be used to collect intelligence by hacking into enemies' computers and emails; conduct sabotage by sending malware and viruses to disrupt enemies' computer operating systems; and spreading propaganda (information warfare) using cyber media. Cyber means are able to facilitate the conduct of these traditional military functions.

The practice of cyber intelligence, for example, has parallels with signals intelligence (SIGINT). During World War II, the Allies were listening to German and Japanese radio communications, and with codebreaking efforts codenamed *Ultra* (deciphering coded German signals) and *Magic* (deciphering coded Japanese signals), the Allies were able to listen and learn a lot about the Axis's plans and movements. However, strategic history will also point out that even with information superiority, it still took the Allies 6 years and 4 years to defeat Germany and Japan respectively with the cost of millions of soldiers' lives!

The famous Stuxnet, a malicious computer worm (believed to had been developed by Israel and the US) that was used to sabotage the Iranian uranium enrichment program in 2007, raised optimism that cyber means can now be used to conduct sabotage in the future without resorting to military power such as Israeli's air strikes that destroyed Iraq's nuclear reactor at Osirak in 1981.

However, the Stuxnet worm was planted by a human operative via a thumb drive and the damage, at its most, managed to disrupt the Iranians' nuclear program for just a few months. The using of Stuxnet has also generated an unintended effect - it can only be used successfully for the first time, as most countries in the world are now aware of such forms of infiltration (losing its element of surprise) and have upgraded their cyber defence systems which made it more difficult to conduct similar attacks today.

No doubt the defence planner must plan for future cyber offensive and defensive capabilities but at the same time, must be aware that cyber technology will not be a significant tool - and certainly not the panacea that will change future warfare or the nature of war itself. For example, the development of air power in World War I and its initial optimism that air power's technological innovations will win future wars by itself was short-lived as demonstrated miserably by air power's strategic performance in World War II. The advent of new technology usually promises inflated effects but strategic history will caution us on the limits of technological gizmos.

The defence planner must avoid these common pitfalls to ensure that Malaysia's future defence plan is properly made with a strong emphasis on building a range of military capabilities equipped with the right tools to deal with an array of threats and risks, and yet still able to recover adequately from strategic surprises. This can only be achieved by a strong grounding in strategic history - and avoiding popular fads.

DEFENCE WHITE PAPER AND REGIONAL GEOPOLITICS

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This year Malaysia has taken a step forward in developing its first ever Defence White Paper with holding a series of dialogue that include participations from within and outside of the defence sphere. In order to shape a comprehensive defence white paper it is essential for people within the defence sector to hear thoughts from experts on the nature as well as the dynamics of the evolving relationship between major powers as well as how those dynamics can assist in shaping Malaysia future defence policy, planning and posture in the immediate future. Over the years it has been well documented that Malaysia already have a defence policy papers that are can be openly access by the public.

However this will be the first time that the member of public are invited to write in to give their views, concerns as well as contribute to the development of a more inclusive and comprehensive defence strategy for Malaysia. According to articles and news as a fundamental expression of national policy, the defence white paper will only be published after extensive consultation with relevant government agencies and the people. The paper being a key policy document that spells out the government's vision for national security and defence, should contain a broad strategic policy framework for defence planning within a specified time frame. The paper can further be used as a negotiation and justification document for budget allocation purposes for the Ministry of Defence and other ministries to develop appropriate capabilities, skills, strategies and doctrines for national security. Therefore, the proposed white paper must be a joint and coordinated national effort.

One primary challenge to the paper development is to broadly examine on the possible ramifications or changes in the new geopolitical security architecture arising from the ongoing tensions between the US and China to regional economic, security and political order in the region. The current trade "war"/friction between the world's two leading economies are a manifestation of the larger aspects of political tensions between China and US. Political tensions between the US and China in the new geopolitical order will have a significant impact on regional security.

In Clausewitzian term, the trade "war" is the extension of politics by other means. India has fought a war with China in 1962 and not likely to be supportive of China in the current conflict with the US. " When talking of big power politics, it is always best to be mindful of the adage that big powers are like elephants. The current trade tensions are likely to affect the entire world and are expected to last a few years more as well as trigger the unwanted currency war. The current trade "war"/friction between the world's two leading economies are a manifestation of the larger aspects of political tensions between China and US. Neo-conservatives like John Bolton, Stephen Bannon, John Mearsheimer, among others, believe the war with China is inevitable. We now know roughly the pecking order in the region and the resistance from some quarters to the changing of the guards. Whether the region become more secure or less secure will depend, to a large extent, on how they behave towards each other? China is not likely to succumb to "the Thucydides Trap" however intimidating some of the US policy gestures are.

Whether their current “still benign” relationship develops into a malignant situation is a question only time can tell?

The absence of international law and rules in cyberspace, especially accommodating the inherent right of self-defence and the law of state responsibility, plus acceptable countermeasures can be fatal to the sovereignty of nation states. The extent to which Russia can exert influence in Asia Pacific region will be a function of geopolitics-its relations with China and the US. Some view the current cooperation between Russia and China in the economic and military spheres as fragile. Evidently, the US is not alarmed by the relationship between Russia and China.

Driven mainly by national security interests, ideology, geopolitics and geography, the ASEAN states are making calculated moves to position themselves. For examples, who are responsible for the security in the digital ecosystem which includes the capability to actively protect the critical national information infrastructure, critical to the survivability of the nation? How should states like Malaysia, for example, position itself amidst the new regional geopolitical order?

Due to the uncertain geopolitical dynamics and uncertainty in the region, states are hedging their future. The region needs these rules to avoid cyber-attacks on critical national assets. It can be observe that States in Southeast Asia are also adjusting their positions in the new geopolitical dynamics. The adage that “there are no permanent foes or permanent friends in international politics” remains valid. All these question posed must be considered in the development of Malaysia’s Defence White Paper.

COMPLEXITY AND RISKS OF NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS

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The world's changing socio-political environment compels the international community to look through different and new lenses in the understanding of peace, security, and defence. Although it can be argued that the Cold War's security legacy continues to dominate regional security agenda, countries in Southeast Asia must adapt to the new security risks and challenges, which need to be addressed well beyond the questions of sovereignty and state survival. Threats are no longer mainly military in nature and security is not primarily about defending national boundaries. The non-military risks have come one of the focal points of state survival, as well as to the international system, and challenges posed by the process of globalization have produced new and emerging non-traditional threats to Malaysia security. Questions, however remains, what are those threats?

The outbreak of contagious disease, environmental degradation, illegal immigrants, ethno-religious militancy and terrorism have been cited as security concern to this country. But this paper will only focus on the immediate threats of terrorism especially from the religiously inspired terror groups.

Our initial encounter with terror attacks was during the two emergency periods (Malayan Emergency 1948-1960; and Second Emergency 1967-1989). But, while the signing of the 1989 Hat Yai Peace Accord marked the end of the insurgency, Malaysia continues to face with intermittent terror acts. In recent years, the religiously inspired global and regional terrorist groups, such as al-Qaeda, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), and IS or Daesh have created new challenges to the country's counter terrorism approaches. It is a dilemma for a Muslim majority country like Malaysia. At one end, radical ideological ideas propagated by those terror groups have attracted quite several individuals and local radical groups to join the bandwagon. At the other hand, however, Malaysia needs to ensure that the country is not the surrogate for terror activities.

Since in the early 1960s, we have faced this kind of limited terror attacks from radical Muslim groups. These militant Islamic groups' ideological contestation was framed in a form of righteous Islamic interpretation. In the 1960s and 1970s, these local religiously inspired militant groups such as Tentera Sabibullah (1966) or the Army of Sabibullah, Golongan Rohaniah (Rohaniah Group), Koperasi Angkatan Revolusi Islam Malaysia (KARIM) or the Malaysia's Islamic revolutionary Cooperative Force, Kumpulan Crypto (Crypto Group), and Kumpulan Jundullah (Jundullah Group) had only one objective – to turn Malaysia into a theocratic state using force. Their influences, however, was not widespread. The only group that recorded to having substantial number of members was the Jundullah group. Members of the group underwent military training in southern Thailand but their grand design to launch military attacks was foiled by the PDRM's special branch when its leaders were detained. Subsequently, more than 100 its para-military members were arrested in the PDRM's special operations. Leaders of the group was subsequently arrested under the Internal Security Act (ISA).

We need to understand that terrorism in Malaysia is not only conceptualized in terms of its political motives, violence, or possible mass casualties but more importantly in terms of inter and intra ethno-religious dimension. Even some radical groups that emerged later in the 1990s and 2000s, such as Kumpulan Mujahidin Kedah (KMK), Kumpulan Perjuangan Islam Perak (KPIK) or Perak Islamic Struggle Group, Kumpulan Revolusi Islam Ibrahim Libya (KRIL), or the Ibrahim Libya's Islamic Revolutionary Group, Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM) or the Malaysia's Mujahidin Group and Al-Maunah, were instead labelled either as Muslim deviant, fundamental or militant groups. It can be argued that government's perception on those groups, during that time, was influenced by conceptualization of terrorism which, for decades came in the form of communist insurgency. Hence, labelling religious militants as importantly is that labelling those militant groups as terrorist could produce political backfires.

In recent years, Malaysia like other countries, faces with a more dangerous threat of terrorist groups with greater killing desires. In terms of structure, the new terrorism has illustrated its adaptive capability with a loosely connected decentralized network which is more difficult to penetrate and fight against. In terms of motivation, the religious wave of radical extremists continues to fight for their "holy war" as the dominant force in a comparatively longer period. In terms of resources, the modern world has enabled this religiously motivated terrorism easier access to what they need to attain their objectives. Finally, in terms of networking, the terrorist groups have capitalized the advanced technology to disseminate their ideas. Popular social media applications like facebook, WhatsApp, WeChat and Telegram have been used as a recruitment in the post-9/11 era indicates a need to re-evaluate and re-assess the current counter terrorism policy and re-think the future of terrorism.

Since the September 11 incidents. Internationally linked terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and Daesh challenged the way the security forces' counter-terrorism strategies. The emerging threat from Daesh furthermore, have become the mirror image to the threat posed by Al-Qaeda years earlier. But it can be argued that the Daesh threat has gone beyond human and religious rationales. The sex jihad, suicide bombings and the killing and burning of hostages and innocent people alive in a cage illustrate an inhuman side of the group in the name of *Allah*. The extent to which the group has posed threats to Malaysia is highly significant as being reiterated many times by the Malaysian government. Daesh has managed to set up cells with various names, among others Al-Qubro Generation, Kumpulan Gagak Hitam, Kumpulan Fisabilillah, and Kumpulan Daulah islamiah Malizia. The Gagak Hitam cell, for instance, has 38 people who are ready to commit jihad in Malaysia. The Daesh also managed to recruit for the first time several Malaysian jihadists as a suicide bomber. A 26-year-old Ahmad Tarmimi Maliki was the first Malaysian suicide bombers. He is one of the nine Malaysians who had blown themselves in Syria for Daesh. Furthermore, in 2015, the authorities discovered attempts by the Malaysian Daesh members to launch high profile bombing in tourist areas in the Kuala Lumpur down town. One of the bombing strategies was through a suicide bomber.

The Daesh was believed to have lured in government and security agencies to join the group. Fourteen Malaysian soldiers, including four commandos. Were arrested for their involvement or sympathy with the Daesh ideologies IS in 2016. The authorities have also discovered the involvement of Malaysian and Indonesia JI so called ex-jihadists in the Daesh and continue to monitor the release and movements of between 200 to 300 JI members from the Indonesian prisons. Out of these numbers, a total of 59 Malaysians has been detected to have involve in terrorist activities in Syria. Seven have been reportedly to be killed. At the same time,

the 2017 Marawi incidents also exposed how vulnerable Malaysian territories are since Sabah was used as a transit point for Daesh member travelling to the southern Philippines. So Far more than 450 Malaysian Daesh members have been detained either before they could join their compatriots or after they came back from the IS-controlled areas in Syria. They have been arrested either under POTA, POCA or SOSMA.

In short, it can be argued that Malaysia has no choice but to the changing nature of terrorist threat. Not only the threat has become more global in terms of networking and influences, but also the use of Islam as the major political tools to attack recruitment produces great challenges to the state as well as its security and defence enforcement apparatus. Malaysia needs to continue with its multifaceted layers approaches in counter-terrorism namely in the areas of policy stance, legal and enforcement mechanism.

REALIZING ‘HANRUH’: ACHIEVING TOTAL DEFENCE THROUGH THE RESERVE FORCES

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1. Is HANRUH Significant or Just an Afterthought?

Is reinterpretation necessary? HANRUH or short for “Pertahanan Menyeluruh” (Total Defence) is mentioned in Malaysia’s National Defence Policy (NDP 2010) – specifying HANRUH to mean the total and integrated involvement of all levels of society, be it government agencies, the private sector, NGOs or the ordinary citizens for all manners of conflict and disaster; to not rely solely on the response of the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF). Meanwhile, the HANRUH approach is also advocated as Strategy 10 in the National Security Policy (NSP 2017), approved in January 2017 and devised by the National Security Council (NSC). HANRUH as defined in the NSP 2017, highlights its significance in fostering the spirit of self-reliance and accentuates its importance as the “cornerstone of national defence against threats to national security”.

Within the context of the NDP 2010 and NSC 2017, self-reliance denotes the ability of the nation to respond independently to any enemy hostility, depending only on its own resources to safeguard its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. In essence, both policies (which are interlinked) imply Malaysia’s insistence on maintaining the HANRUH approach as an essential strategic thrust for national defence.

So, is it still necessary to reinterpret HANRUH in terms of its significance to national defence?

2. Rhetoric or Action Plan?

The rhetoric concerning how the concept of HANRUH should be appreciated and adhered to by all levels of society are consistently parroted in speeches and featured in many news feeds – but how often does one read or hear about the actual substance of HANRUH? Consistently parroting about its significance and relevance is pointless without detailing the exact action plan; reinterpreting will only encourage more rhetoric into the discourse.

The fact is that although the concept of HANRUH was formally introduced in 1986, it is fair to say that the majority of Malaysians are still in the dark about what HANRUH is about in practice. At most, some may be able to recite its governing principles, namely national vigilance, solidarity and unity of the community, public vigilance, economic fortitude and psychological resilience. Sound sophisticated but simply put, HANRUH or total defence as required by the NDP 2010, is in principle, the strategic cooperation of the nation’s people in defending the nation, in support and complementary to the MAF’s military response.

So, is it still necessary to reinterpret HANRUH in terms of its intent as an action plan to support national defence?

3. The Reality

First of all, let's put it clearly that the context in this commentary is focused on the narrower scope of NDP 2010 – HANRUH for national defence. Without a context, HANRUH can be interpreted in any which way – the reason why in more than three decades of attempting to physically realize HANRUH's conceptual origin, sees the creation of so many nationally sanctioned civilian based uniformed bodies claiming to be formed in the spirit of HANRUH. Let's just focus on the context of national defence.

Close to the heart of the MAF and most relevant to the NDP 2010's HANRUH requirement, is the Malaysian Reserve Forces which is made up of all reserve components of the three traditional armed services, namely the Malaysian Territorial Army or Rejimen Askar Wataniah Malaysia (Army), the Reserve Volunteers Force of the Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN) or Pasukan Simpanan Sukarela TLDM and the Reserve Volunteers Force of the Royal Malaysian Air Force (RMAF) or Pasukan Simpanan Sukarela TUDM; the Reserve Forces are not new "civilian based uniformed bodies" but in fact are the physical manifestations of HANRUH as originally intended by the nation's founding fathers – to actively involve all levels of society for the purpose of defending the nation when needed so.

The MAF Act 1972 includes legislations denoting the Reserve Forces, as an essential construct of the MAF organization. Technically, elements of the Reserve Forces have been in existence since the times of British colonial rule. The officers and soldiers of the Reserve Forces are not Regulars, but Volunteers – to mean that they are not full time military personnel, but may be mobilized for compulsory full time service when called for; Volunteers in the Reserve Forces are from all walks of life, recruited in accordance to strict Regular requirements, trained and dedicated to augment the Regular Forces in times of need.

Thus, informally, the concept of HANRUH is a familiar strategy in national defence for Malaysia, even before its formal introduction in 1986. Its significance was undeniable; rhetoric was not necessary then, just acted upon. In truth, the mechanism for realizing HANRUH for national defence is well in place - the Malaysian Reserve Forces epitomize HANRUH's relevance in supporting the needs of national defence. Volunteers are willing participants, enlisting without coercion or legal compulsion – they are recruited with little fanfare and most of the time, ending their service with little fanfare too; not accorded the full privileges of the Regulars, but are expected to be at par with the Regulars in matters pertaining to military competency; often unappreciated or misunderstood, most fade away with not even a simple service medal to show for, after many years of loyal service. Most are relentlessly driven by duty and selfless dedication to King and Country. Mottos of units in the Reserve Forces do not denote fancy notions of bravery or gallantry – unglamorous and with no promise of honor. The meager allowances received, perhaps just enough to pacify loved ones in lieu of the time and effort spent away from home when participating in military events or exercises.

To the Volunteers, thoughts of loved ones able to sleep soundly in their beds because they know they can stand ready to visit violence on those who would do them harm, is of adequate compensation. The Volunteers fully understand and appreciate the meaning of serving the nation in times of need – no rhetoric or fiery speeches on patriotism are required. Made up of

ordinary civilian citizens, sincere in serving King and Country, Volunteers of the Reserve Forces are keen to be honored simply as competent brothers-in-arms with the Regulars. So, is it still necessary to reinterpret HANRUH in terms of how it could be manifested in physical form to support national defence?

4. Concluding Thoughts

Numerous academic works are rotting away on university library bookshelves. Heaps of news items accentuating HANRUH's significance and reinterpretation peppered the internet and in print. Enough with rhetoric. Focus on what is already in place. Nurture and appreciate the Malaysian Reserve Forces which had existed for the very purpose of HANRUH. Awareness campaigns or forcefully embedding the needs of HANRUH into the education system cannot adequately support its purpose, for the spirit of selfless dedication and patriotism can only be inculcated into the hearts and minds of the people, not through coercion but through acts of exemplary conduct.

The people may be prompted to not ask what the country can do for them, but the country should not take for granted the sincerity of citizens supporting its calling. HANRUH need not be reinterpreted, its current interpretation is adequately clear and concise. Focusing on effectively inculcating its intention into the hearts and minds of the people through highlighting the role of the Reserve Forces formed for the very purpose of HANRUH is more important – education should be reinterpreted within the context of HANRUH to focus on educating and enforcing compulsory cooperation; on government agencies, local governments or private industry to support the needs of the Reserve Forces. Enough of rhetoric in speeches or imposing HANRUH awareness in the education system.

The level of cooperation is somewhat inconsistent and at times, disappointing and demoralizing in many ways due to lack of awareness and enforcement of the rule of law (if it even exist) on uncooperative parties. As such, if the spirit of cooperation for Total Defence cannot be taken seriously in times of peace, all is lost in times of war – this aspect should necessarily be addressed in the Defence White Paper. Seriously commit, to address shortcomings of the Reserve Forces in order to effectively mirror the Government's will to realize HANRUH as a strategic aspect of the nation's defence agenda. Aspects concerning sharing of resources such as land use and infrastructure, enforcement of compulsory approval for employees' involvement, incentives or motivation for employees' participation in the Reserve Forces are some issues of contention requiring immediate attention. Moreover, the MAF needs for the members of the Reserve Forces as a multiplier element and source of manpower has become more critical, in view of the present threat environment and thus it is worthwhile and vital to focus comprehensively on modernizing and reinvesting in the Reserve Forces. Enough of HANRUH rhetoric, just act on it.

ENHANCING THE RELEVANCE OF THE MAF IN THE 21ST CENTURY: HYBRID WARFARE IN PERSPECTIVE

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PARADIGM SHIFT IN MODERN WARFIGHTING

The dynamic nature of modern warfare due to fast evolving geostrategic environment has prompted a rethink of future strategic environments which are marked by “volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity (VUCA)” - debates amongst military practitioners and scholars are rife on the future dynamics of how warfare are maneuvered. In recent times, hybrid warfare has clearly emerged as the dominant form. The advent of conflicts in such hybrid means is neither novel nor conceptual. However, it is presumed that the resultant devastation and disruption to civility in recent conflicts (ie. Lebanon, Georgia and Ukraine conflicts) brought to light hybrid warfare’s prominence as potentially the dominant form in future battlegrounds. This paradigm shift towards the potential for convergence of various categories of warfare in the same battle environment is of tremendous concern to modern nations.

Hybrid warfare – in truth, the act of waging “war” without becoming entangled in the traditional web of complications associated with the act - strategic dominance are achieved without resorting to full scale open conventional military aggression. In essence, it is a category of warfare waged without formal declaration, but yet fervently and concurrently advertising the imminent use of military force, nevertheless may involve minimal combat or none at all. Direct and conventional armed military interventions are used only as a last resort. Modern geopolitical environments have blurred the lines between warfare modalities, time and space, and actors involved - the advancements in technology and mind sets have further diminished those lines, as such, hybrid warfare combines conventional and irregular warfare strategies conducted by state and non-state actors alike, in order to achieve associated political objectives.

Clausewitz’ stated that “war is a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means.” Though Clausewitz’ statement suggests that when political dialogue stops and military contest begins, the encompassing approach of hybrid campaigns needs no such delineation. Whilst the goals are still political, hybrid campaigns do not restrict the use of force to times of declared or overt war. The emergence of hybrid warfare as the dominant trend of current and future conflicts does not bring the demise of conventional warfare. It merely suggests that future warfighting could employ the full gamut of strategies concurrently and coherently towards the adversary based on current and future geostrategic trends. This is envisaged to bring about a significant paradigm shift in future warfighting approaches if tactical advantages are to be sought. Factors driving the change of the strategic environment lay the conditions for the significant emergence of hybrid warfare are notably:

- a. **Increasing Geostrategic Rivalry.** With the end of the Cold War, the new global order has prompted towards a more liberal and democratic consensus-driven society. The Soviet Union’s breakup, widespread adoption of democratic governance from Eastern Europe to Latin America, in addition to Russia and China’s integration into the world’s economic system has initially led to the belief that rivalries for world dominance had

become a forgone conclusion. However, recent events points to the potentially deteriorating US hegemon; propagating the thought that the current unipolar world would soon be replaced again, by a multi-polar order with various pockets of influences. Major powers (such as China, Russia, India etc.) are already jostling in some way or other for power and resources. Non-state actors as proxies of rivalling powers are observed to be completely instrumental in recent conflicts – indicating global trending towards the increased advent of hybrid warfare conducted for achieving intended strategic objectives of state actors. This is not surprising since the existence of nuclear weapons discourages the will of rivalling powers to risk direct hostile approaches (by way of declared conventional war) but rather through non-state proxies, in order to achieve tactical goals.

b. **Rapid Advancements in Technologies.** In the past decade, the swift and remarkable development and innovation in technology, promotes shifts away from archaic processes and structures. The drivers of transformation and modernization of military tactical capabilities, support the trend in future battle environments to necessarily evolve towards the likes of the said hybrid form of military campaigns – the availability for technologically advanced tools and weaponry used for tactical advantages are of consequences.

c. **Immigration Concerns and Upsurge in Radicalism.** Recent global issues and displacement of global citizens have seen the increase in immigration concerns. The consequential effect has escalated xenophobia, religious and racial intolerance. This resentment drives the victimised towards involvement in extremist groups, who in turn exploit the situation to radicalise these fringe elements of the society. The aggression propagated by the Islamic State (IS) for example, diversifies and decentralises the global jihadist landscape, leading to “racism, religious bigotry and Islamophobia” amongst various communities. This expansionism further polarises the world, creating safe havens and fuelling more regional instabilities. The complex nature of dealing with conflicts propagated by these stateless entities necessitates the evolution of warfighting approaches for effective handling of associated challenges.

RELEVANCE TO THE MAF

Threats to Malaysia requiring military interventions are generally acknowledged to be of minimal level at present. Since the official end of the communist insurgency, major deployments of the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) are mainly to support border controls and UN peacekeeping efforts. Strict commitments to non alignment principles, in addition to positive diplomatic resolve are notably the nation’s foremost strategies for diffusing potential external concerns (if any). Malaysia’s universally good relations with the international community, specifically through collective military cooperation have clearly been well maintained and are of strategic advantage for supporting the needs of national defence.

Nevertheless, recent concerns on threats from non-state actors such as in the case of the Lahad Datu incident (early 2013) clearly required the MAF to rethink its capability to face challenges in such form. Centrally located in the path of the global Sea Lane of Communication (SLOC), the waters surrounding Malaysia is also considered hotbeds for sea piracy and other transnational based crimes propagated by organized crime groups and terrorist groups. Threats by non-state actors cannot be possibly resolved through diplomatic means – effective

enforcements with relevant strategies and hardware are crucial. Although the threats mentioned are traditionally considered to be within the scope of civilian based enforcement agencies' responsibility, concerns are now critical about their capability to handle well equipped, well-funded criminal organizations.

The MAF is crucial for the nation's defence against non-conventional security threats such as experienced during the Lahad Datu incident. Civilian enforcement agencies needed to be complemented by MAF support in order to deal with such level of threat. As a matter of fact, the close relationship of the Malaysian Royal Police (RMP) and the MAF in handling similar to such security threats dates back to the insurgency era. Note that the spread of extremist and violent IS ideology is also of obvious concern at present, with home-grown affiliates collaborating closely with foreign IS fighters, making Malaysia an important transit point or "safe haven" to base their operations in the region – currently manageable by civilian authorities, but may potentially escalate over the years to a level of threat such as observed in the Middle East. Similar form of threat (terrorists or extremists) from neighbouring countries is also of great concern to the nation.

In short, the multiple role of the MAF is in great need of upgrades to handle or assist other enforcement agencies in tackling military-like level of threats from non-state actors or non-traditional threats too. Thus, enhancing the MAF in consideration of requirements for the capability to conduct or counter hybrid warfare is a viable approach for ensuring its tactical advantage in a modern multidimensional battleground environment, which includes the provision of operational assistance to civilian enforcers.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Modern day threats to the interest of a state entity are multidimensional in form and no longer discernable or straightforward; it is necessary for the needs of national defence to always be relevant in accordance to these threats. Hence, as the primary agency deployed to handle frontline threats to the nation, the MAF need to consider the needs of evolving battleground environments in order to be effective when called upon to respond to current and future challenges. Enhancing the MAF's capability based on the needs of hybrid warfare or conflict environments would provide tactical advantage in the field, be it to counter against traditional or non-traditional military adversaries. Hybrid warfare strategies would potentially be more effective on current forms of threats, which are of major concern to Malaysia – since current trend points to increasing possibility of conflicts initiated or resolved through tactical advantages brought about by campaigns of this form.

The tactical advantage for waging war without waging war enables states, in essence, to bypass the complexity of conventional or transnational restrictions – the ends (interest of the state) justify the means. The current form of threats to Malaysia, requires the approaches and tools of hybrid warfare - cyber element of hybrid warfare for example, allows the bypass of complications associated with international legal norms regarding the use of force and territorial sovereignty. By careful combination of conventional and irregular warfare in the same battlespace, hybrid warfare operations facilitate the achievement of strategic objectives without the implications of conventional risks. The dynamic nature of threats to national security or defence, in addition to the unique multi-modal approaches of hybrid warfare facilitates states to react effectively in this environment, indicating its significance for the predictable future.

With the capability to conduct or counter hybrid conflict, the MAF is potentially enhanced in terms of capability and relevance to foreseeable challenges. Although its primary role is for defence rather than for the purpose of warmongering – the onus is on building a balanced MAF that can simultaneously be deployed across the full spectrum of operational requirements which are typical attributes of present day security threats and concerns (simultaneous counter conventional and unconventional threats). Reinventing the MAF by way of equipping (know how, technology and weaponry) in line with the needs for countering hybrid conflicts essentially conforms to the multiple role and responsibility of the modern MAF in the 21st century.

INDUSTRI PERTAHANAN MALAYSIA: MEMBANGUN INOVASI, MEMBINA KETAHANAN NASIONAL

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Sebagaimana projek-projek mega di Malaysia di bawah era terdahulu, industri pertahanan negara tidak terlepas dari amalan kapitalisme kroni. Keperluan pertahanan Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) yang bernilai berbilion ringgit setiap tahun, telah menjadi salah satu wadah untuk segelintir ahli politik dan perniagaan di masa lalu mengaut keuntungan secara mudah dan tidak bertanggungjawab. Hal ini telah menyebabkan bukan sahaja industri pertahanan negara menjadi kurang berdaya saing dan inovatif, tetapi juga membawa pelbagai masalah yang berkaitan seperti isu kekurangan kepakaran tempatan, ketiadaan pemindahan teknologi, masalah alat ganti dan kos perolehan serta penyelenggaraan yang tinggi. Akibatnya, wujudlah model ‘perniagaan pertahanan’ atau ‘pertahanan sebagai perniagaan’, umpamanya model ‘middleman’ – pembelian aset melalui orang tengah dengan harga yang melambung tinggi, dan model ‘posmen’ – di mana syarikat penyelenggaraan menghantar aset pertahanan ke firma luar negara kerana ketiadaan keupayaan.

Untuk itu, di era baharu ini, adalah penting untuk negara menyemak kembali model lama industri pertahanan dan menggantikannya dengan model industri pertahanan yang baharu. Model industri pertahanan negara tidak seharusnya lagi boleh berlangsung sebagai ‘pertahanan untuk perniagaan’ atau bermotifkan keuntungan mudah semata-mata, sebaliknya perlu direkayasa ke arah pengukuhan ketahanan nasional (national resilience) dan model pertahanan ampuh (total defence) dengan penuh sedar dan bertanggungjawab. Untuk mencapai ideal baharu ini, pentadbiran semasa perlulah, pertamanya, menetapkan objektif industri pertahanan negara yang praktikal di masa hadapan, sebelum memikirkan kaedah atau metod yang bersesuaian untuk mencapai objektif itu.

Justeru, apakah objektif industri pertahanan negara di masa hadapan yang boleh disasarkan oleh kerajaan? Adakah kita patut teruskan sahaja dengan ‘model pengguna’ atau ‘user’ sebagaimana yang digunapakai pada hari ini, tetapi dengan pengurangan kos melalui kaedah pembelian terus dari firma luar? Meskipun model ini boleh menjimatkan kos (cost-savvy) dengan ketara, namun ia tidak akan membangun inovasi dan keupayaan pertahanan tempatan dan kita akan terus bergantung dengan negara pengeluar. Hal ini bukan sahaja akan menyebabkan aliran tunai keluar negara yang tinggi secara berterusan, tetapi juga boleh menyebabkan kita terperangkap dengan masalah semasa aset pertahanan negara umpamanya kesukaran untuk mendapatkan alat ganti dan kekurangan kepakaran tempatan untuk penyelenggaraan. Kita juga tidak akan mampu untuk mewujudkan struktur pertahanan yang ampuh kerana kebergantungan tinggi aset dan keupayaan pertahanan kita terhadap negara pengeluar.

Lalu, apakah perlu kerajaan menetapkan sasaran industri pertahanan negara sebagai pengeluar? Hal ini, jika berjaya, tentu sekali akan meningkatkan tahap ketahanan nasional negara. Namun, kosnya adalah sangat tinggi, melibatkan pelaburan yang besar dan penyelidikan serta pembangunan yang lama. Negara membangun seperti Malaysia tidak mempunyai kemampuan sebesar ini dan jika boleh dilakukan sekali pun, kita perlu bersaing dengan negara

pengeluar yang telah sedia kukuh (well established) dalam industri persenjataan global. Kegagalan untuk bersaing secara berkesan nanti akan menyebabkan negara terpaksa menanggung kerugian puluhan bilion ringgit jika 'model pengeluar' digerakkan dalam masa terdekat.

Oleh itu, model apakah yang bersesuaian untuk kerajaan harapkan dari industri pertahanan negara buat masa ini? Kedua-dua model pengguna dan model pengeluar nampaknya mempunyai kos yang jauh melebihi daripada faedah. Dalam hal ini, kita perlu bersifat praktikal dan pragmatik dalam memikirkan dan memilih model industri pertahanan Malaysia di masa hadapan. Dalam jangka masa sederhana, iaitu dalam 20 atau 30 tahun, kita mungkin perlu meletakkan objektif pertahanan kita tidak sepenuhnya sebagai negara pengguna, dan dalam masa yang sama, tidak juga sepenuhnya sebagai negara pengeluar. Sebaliknya, sebagai negara pengeluar bersama (co-producer) atau secara usahasama dengan firma luar. Model pengguna, dengan pembelian secara langsung boleh digunakan dalam jangka masa pendek secara pragmatik, tetapi dengan meletakkan syarat-syarat utama seperti aspek pemindahan teknologi, pembuatan alat ganti dan pembinaan kepakaran kepada firma tempatan dalam kontrak pembelian. Hal ini penting untuk menggerakkan inovasi dan struktur industri pertahanan negara kepada model pengeluar bersama dalam jangka masa sederhana.

Persoalannya, bagaimanakah boleh kerajaan menggerakkan dan mencapai model ini? Pelbagai kaedah boleh difikirkan, antaranya dengan menjadikan 'model Perodua' dan 'model Proton' dalam industri automotif negara sebagai panduan. Di dalam kedua-dua model ini, syarikat tempatan ditubuhkan bersama-sama syarikat pengeluar terkenal dari negara maju untuk menjual kenderaan yang berkualiti pada harga yang rendah di dalam pasaran tempatan. Bermula dengan aspek pemasangan sebelum membina keupayaan membuat alat ganti dan penyediaan pusat-pusat penyelenggaraan, kedua-dua syarikat Perodua dan Proton pada akhirnya berjaya mengeluarkan kenderaan tempatan menggunakan kepakaran dan sumber lokal melebihi 80 peratus. Perodua terkenal dengan model Bezza manakala Proton pula gah dengan beberapa model Preve, Persona dan Exora.

Di dalam industri pertahanan, model pengeluar bersama telah dipraktikkan dengan berjaya oleh beberapa negara termasuk India, Turki, China dan Pakistan. Negara-negara ini menitikberatkan pemindahan teknologi dan peningkatan keupayaan industri pertahanan tempatan ke arah ketahanan nasional yang ampuh dalam perolehan aset pertahanan mereka. Kesannya, tidak seperti Malaysia, mereka tidak mengalami masalah yang besar untuk menyelenggara aset pertahanan yang telah diperolehi kerana mereka telah membina kepakaran dan keupayaan tempatan melalui kaedah usahasama. Misalnya, di saat kita gagal mengekalkan pesawat pejuang MiG-29 di dalam aset pertahanan udara negara akibat amalan model pertahanan lama, negara India pula meninjau untuk membeli pesawat terbabit dari negara-negara lain, termasuk dari Malaysia, kerana keupayaan mereka dalam membaik pulih dan meningkatkan keupayaan pesawat tersebut. Turki dan China pula pada hari ini telah mula mendapat tempat sebagai pembekal dan pengeluar aset pertahanan yang popular selepas puluhan tahun melabur di dalam projek pertahanan sebagai pengeluar bersama dengan syarikat asing.

Bagaimana pula dengan pasaran industri pertahanan tempatan dengan perolehan aset ATM yang terhad? Mampukah industri pertahanan negara bermandiri (survive)? Di sini kita perlu ingat, objektif akhir industri pertahanan baharu bukanlah untuk mengejar keuntungan semata-mata, bukan juga tempat untuk parasit pertahanan untuk perniagaan. Sebaliknya ia berhalatuju

untuk membina kemampuan ketahanan nasional yang ampuh. Kemandirian model pengeluar bersama boleh digerakkan dengan campurtangan dan dasar kerajaan. Jika model Perodua atau Proton boleh digunakan, kerajaan akan terlibat dengan membeli sebahagian equiti dan menaja beberapa projek penyelidikan dan pembangunan bersama-sama syarikat tempatan dan syarikat pengeluar asal. Kosnya lebih tinggi jika dibandingkan dengan model pengguna, tetapi ia diperlukan dalam membina inovasi, kepakaran dan keupayaan tempatan. Ia juga lebih murah dan kurang berisiko jika dibandingkan dengan model pengeluar kerana kosnya akan dikongsi bersama dengan firma tempatan dan luar negara. Model seumpama ini turut diamalkan oleh industri pertahanan negara Jepun khususnya dalam perolehan aset tentera udara mereka.

Untuk persoalan pasaran aset pertahanan yang terhad pula, kerajaan perlu kreatif dalam hal ini. Penciptaan pasaran tempatan perlu dibuat, tetapi dalam masa yang sama monopoli harus dielakkan. Justeru dalam jangka masa sederhana ini, kedua-dua model Perodua (melibatkan pelaburan kerajaan yang sederhana) dan Proton (pelaburan kerajaan yang tinggi) mungkin perlu digerakkan secara serentak dalam industri pertahanan negara melibatkan syarikat usahasama yang berbeza. Ini bukan sahaja untuk mengelak monopoli tetapi juga untuk menggalakkan inovasi dan meningkatkan kecekapan serta persaingan di antara mereka. Kerajaan boleh mengamalkan dasar perlindungan (protectionism) terhadap syarikat-syarikat usahasama ini dengan memberi keutamaan kepada mereka dalam perolehan aset pertahanan dan keselamatan negara.

Pasaran tempatan industri pertahanan negara juga boleh ditingkatkan dengan ketara apabila kita mengintegrasikan perolehan jabatan-jabatan keselamatan yang lain dengan industri usahasama pertahanan tempatan, seperti Polis DiRaja Malaysia, Agensi Penguatkuasaan Maritim Malaysia, Jabatan Kastam DiRaja dan lain-lain agensi bersenjata. Termasuk pasukan-pasukan simpanan di setiap agensi, ia melibatkan pasaran pertahanan dan keselamatan melebihi dari 500,000 personel selain perolehan dan penyelenggaraan ribuan aset pertahanan. Dalam kes pembekalan peluru umpamanya, jika petugas aktif keselamatan negara sebanyak lebih kurang 300,000 diambil kira, dan mereka perlu menjalani latihan menembak sebanyak 50 butir peluru sebulan (jumlah yang minima), maka 180,000,000 butir peluru diperlukan untuk setahun. Kaedah seumpama ini sepatutnya boleh menyediakan pasaran yang mencukupi untuk industri pertahanan tempatan, selain daripada pembukaan peluang pekerjaan baharu dan pembangunan ekonomi yang lebih mampan. Oleh itu, bukan sahaja petugas keselamatan kita boleh mendapatkan latihan yang cukup disebabkan bekalan yang berterusan dengan kos yang kompetitif, tetapi aliran tunai luar negara boleh dikurangkan dengan ketara melalui model industri pertahanan berasaskan usahasama.

Untuk itu, dari sudut ketahanan nasional, model pengeluar bersama dalam jangka masa sederhana ini dijangkakan boleh membina keupayaan pertahanan negara yang ampuh dan mandiri. Aset-aset pertahanan dibina secara bersama dengan kepakaran luar, tetapi diselenggara dengan pembekalan sumber dan alat ganti tempatan. Melalui pemindahan teknologi dan pembinaan kepakaran tempatan, kebanyakan masalah model pengguna sedia ada boleh diselesaikan. Ia juga mampu untuk bukan sahaja membina modal insan di dalam aspek industri pertahanan, tetapi menggerakkan inovasi dan potensi untuk Malaysia menjadi negara pengeluar alat ganti yang mandiri seperti India dalam jangka masa sederhana, dan negara pengeluar secara umum dalam jangka masa panjang sebagaimana pengalaman Turki dan China.

Tentu sekali, dasar industri pertahanan negara di era baharu ini mesti meletakkan pengguna akhir iaitu ATM dan agensi bersenjata yang lain sebagai pemberi input utama di dalam perancangan perolehan dan pembangunan aset pertahanan dan keselamatan negara. Tidak lagi ia ditetapkan oleh pihak syarikat secara semberono bermotifkan keuntungan mudah. Hal ini juga boleh ditambahbaik dengan membolehkan mobiliti antara staf pertahanan dan industri (khususnya industri pertahanan) untuk berpindah atau bertukar kerja dengan lebih fleksibel dari masa ke semasa, sebagaimana amalan di negara-negara maju, bagi mewujudkan sinergi pertahanan dan mencapai model pertahanan mutlak (Total Defence) di masa hadapan.

REFORMASI SEKTOR KESELAMATAN: HUBUNGAN KERJA DI ANTARA TENTERA DENGAN MAJLIS KESELAMATAN NEGARA, POLIS, IMIGRESEN DAN PIHAK BERKUASA MARITIM

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Bagi masyarakat umum di Malaysia, Majlis Keselamatan Negara (MKN) dikaitkan dengan dua isu atau aspek. Pertama, MKN dikaitkan sebagai agensi penyelarasan kerajaan berkaitan bencana alam. Peranan MKN dilihat menonjol di dalam memantau mangsa-mangsa banjir dan bencana alam yang lain dengan bantuan polis dan tentera. Malah sebenarnya, di kalangan masyarakat, inilah peranan sebenar MKN. Kedua, kontroversi yang melingkari Akta MKN 2016 yang mana ianya menjadi bahan politik di dalam Pihanraya Umum ke 14 baru-baru ini, meningkatkan lagi kepekaan rakyat kepada peranan dan objektif MKN. Agensi yang diletakan di bawah Jabatan Perdana Menteri (JPM) tersebut dilihat mempunyai kuasa yang besar di dalam menangani ancaman kepada kedaulatan negara. Para pengkritik berhujah bahawa Akta MKN 2016 memberi kuasa kepada Perdana Menteri, sebagai pengerusi MKN, untuk mengisytiharkan sesuatu kawasan sebagai kawasan darurat. Ini menurut para pengkritik dan kumpulan hak asasi manusia, bertentangan dengan Perlembagaan Negara Perkara 150 yang meletakkan Duli Yang Mulia Yang Dipertuan Agung sebagai memberi kuasa kepada YDPA sebagai pemerintah tertinggi negara yang mempunyai kuasa untuk mengisytiharkan darurat apabila beliau dinasihati oleh jemaah menteri terdapatnya keadaan yang boleh menyebabkan keselamatan, atau kehidupan ekonomi, atau ketenteraman awam di dalam negara. Perkara 150 tersebut harus juga dibaca bersama-sama dengan Perkara 40 Perlembagaan Negara dari segi proses pengisytiharan darurat negara. Walaupun demikian, kerajaan baharu sekarang di dalam proses mengkaji semua Akta tersebut.

Sejarah MKN bermula dengan tertubuhnya Majlis Gerakan Negara (MAGERAN) sebagai agensi yang menguruskan permasalahan keselamatan negara akibat daripada tercetusnya Tragedi 13 Mei 1969. Apabila parlimen digantung, peranan MAGERAN adalah untuk mengembalikan keamanan, keselamatan awam, pertahananana, dan sistem sokongan yang kritikal kepada negara. Apabila ketenteraman awam semakin stabil, peranan MAGERAN diteruskan dengan kewujudan MKN pada tahun 1971. Secara umumnya MKN mempunyai tiga objektif utama- mempertahankan kedaulatan dan aset penting negara; menguruskan krisis dan bencana alam; dan menguruskan jalur sempadan maritim, udara, dan darat negara.

Jika sebelum ini pemahaman masyarakat hanya melihat MKN daripada aspek pengurusan krisis dan bencana alam sahaja, perkembangan dan cabaran keselamatan negara maskini menunjukkan bahawa peranan MKN semakin mencabar. Malah masyarakat sebenarnya tidak tahu bahawa MKN juga memainkan peranan di dalam menguruskan kebanjiran pendatang Vietnam pada tahun 1970an dan bertanggungjawab memantau misi kerajaan di dalam memastikan tuntutan Malaysia terhadap kepulauan Spratly dilaksanakan dengan jayanya dengan membina beberapa pulau buatan manusia untuk menguatkan tuntutan negara. Malah MKN juga secara “coveat operation” menguruskan penculikan di selatan Filipina, berunding dengan pihak pemisah di dalam Tragedi MH17, dan menyelesaikan isu rompakan laut di perairan Somalia sewaktu ketika dahulu.

Namun, isu penyerobohan di Lahad Datu memberikan cabaran besar kepada MKN untuk mempertahankan kedaulatan negara. Semenjak pencerobohan tentera Indonesia sewaktu era Konfrantasi (yang mana MKN mapun MAGERAN belum lagi wujud), penyerobohan Lahad Datu menguji sejauhmana MKN berperanan sebagai agensi koordinasi di dalam menguruskan ancaman negara.

Peristiwa Lahat Datu menunjukkan satu kegagalan pengurusan sempadan negara terutamanya dari segi perkongsian maklumat perisikan. Di dalam hal ini MKN lebih dilihat sebagai agensi yang terlalu responsif atau reaktif kepada keadaan dan ancaman. Seharusnya MKN lebih proaktif, seperti mana juga agensi majlis keselamatan Negara di negara lain seperti Amerika Syarikat, di dalam bukan sahaja bertindak kepada ancaman sebenar tetapi memainkan peranan lebih besar di dalam meylaraskan di dalam merancang, merangka strategi, dan menjalankan penyelidikan risikan.

Perancangan dan merangka strategi berterusan dengan agensi terbabit seperti imigresen, polis, tentera, pertahanan awam dan lain –lain agensi yang berkaitan adalah penting. Perancangan dan pengwujudan strategi bukannya bebertuk ad-hoc apabila sesuatu krisis ancaman keselamatan itu berlaku. Dari aspek ini agensi yang terbabit terutamanya berkaitan dengan kedaulatan negara harus terlibat secara langsung di dalam pengurusan dan koordinasi MKN, dan bukannya sebagai badan sokongan kepada sesuatu krisis. Strategi perancangan melibatkan pertukaran maklumat antara agensi terbabit dan MKN seharusnya menekan sinergi dalam hal ini.

Di samping itu majlis keselamatan yang diwujudkan di peringkat negeri dan daerah seharusnya tidak didedahkan kepada aspek pengurusan bencana sahaja. Agensi kerajaan lain seperti polis dan imigresen harus juga memainkan peranan besar di dalam memberikan pendedahan kepada pemimpin masyarakat tempatan tentang aspek-aspek lain ancaman keselamatan. Sebagai contoh, isu di Wan Kelian, tidak seharusnya berlaku jika sekiranya, pemimpin masyarakat tempatan dapat didedahkan dengan pelbagai aspek dan punca kepada ancaman keselamatan negara. Minda atau mind-set masyarakat mesti berubah di mana ruang interaksi dan maklumat seharusnya sentiasa terbuka dengan agensi di bawah MKN.

Kesimpulannya, polis, tentera, imigresen, pasukan pertahanan awam, dan lain-lain agensi yang diselaraskan oleh MKN seharusnya mempunyai ruang kuasa dan peranan yang lebih besar agar MKN dapat dimantapkan lagi. Agensi tidak seharusnya dijadikan hanya sebagai pasukan operasional semata-mata tetapi harus menjadi agen terpenting dan inklusif di dalam MKN di dalam merangka strategi keselamatan dan kedaulatan negara yang proaktif.

MEMPERKASAKAN ANGKATAN TENTERA MALAYSIA (ATM) KE ARAH MENJADI SEBUAH ANGKATAN YANG VERSATIL DI ABAD KE-21

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Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) merupakan tunggak utama kepada kerajaan Malaysia dalam memastikan kedaulatan dan keselamatan negara dapat terus dilindungi dan dipelihara pada sebilang masa. Ini adalah sejajar dengan wawasan ATM untuk menjadikan ATM sebagai sebuah angkatan tentera yang versatil di abad ke-21. Versetil bermaksud satu ketumbukan bersenjata yang fleksibel, tangkas, responsif dan dapat disesuaikan kepada peperangan yang sentiasa berubah-ubah.

Keadaan keselamatan dunia masa kini adalah tidak menentu. Senario ini menyebabkan ATM perlu sentiasa siaga pada sebilang masa untuk menghadapi sebarang ancaman yang boleh menjejaskan keselamatan, kedaulatan, keutuhan dan kepentingan negara. Sehubungan itu, ATM perlu memberi keutamaan terhadap usaha-usaha untuk mempertingkatkan tahap keupayaan dan kesiapsiagaan, seiring dengan perubahan semasa landskap geo-politik dan strategik antarabangsa. Sebagai perisai pertahanan negara, pengukuhan pertahanan ATM mesti dilakukan secara ‘spektrum penuh’ atau *full spectrum* bagi mendapatkan impak perlindungan yang berkesan dalam menghadapi kesan dari kemunculan ancaman-ancaman bentuk baru yang bakal mendatang dalam pelbagai bentuk dimensi, masa kini dan masa hadapan.

Masa kini, walaupun rantau Asia Tenggara khususnya Malaysia kelihatan aman dan bebas dari sebarang bentuk ancaman tradisional, namun beberapa isu dalaman serta luaran dilihat mampu mencetuskan konflik baharu pada bila-bila masa. Dalam masa yang sama, peningkatan aktiviti-aktiviti ancaman bukan tradisional yang berbentuk militan di sekitar Perairan Malaysia-Filipina dan Indonesia juga perlu diberi perhatian khusus oleh ATM. Ini kerana, pihak tersebut kerap melakukan tindakan-tindakan yang jelas melanggar undang-undang antarabangsa dan negara Malaysia seperti melakukan aktiviti-aktiviti keganasan, lintas sempadan, penyeludupan, pemerdagangan manusia, aktiviti sosial yang boleh menggugat ketenteraman awam termasuk kesan yang wujud semasa pasca bencana alam. Sekiranya perkara ini tidak ditangani dengan baik, ancaman-ancaman sebegini boleh menggugat kestabilan keselamatan negara dan mendedahkan negara kepada campur tangan pihak luar untuk jangka panjang.

Perkembangan semasa landskap geo-politik dan strategik antarabangsa masa kini yang tidak menentu serta sentiasa berubah-ubah, ada kalanya telah mewujudkan fenomena “peningkatan ketegangan” atau *escalation of tension* khususnya di rantau sebelah Timur dan Timur Tengah. Keadaan lanskap yang kompleks di mana kebanyakannya tidak menyebelahi Malaysia telah memberi justifikasi yang kukuh kepada ATM untuk meningkatkan lagi tahap kesiapsiagaan serta keupayaan bagi menangani sebarang kemungkinan agar berupaya memberikan respons yang pantas, tepat dan efektif setelah opsyen diplomasi pertahanan yang proaktif menemui kegagalan.

Dalam mencapai hasrat ATM untuk menjadi sebuah angkatan tentera yang kredibel, responsif, dinamik dan mampu mengeksploitasi teknologi; ATM juga perlu siaga untuk membantu agensi-agensi keselamatan lain dan Pihak Berkuasa Awam dalam memelihara ketenteraman awam serta memberi bantuan semasa berlakunya bencana alam di seluruh negara. Oleh yang demikian, ATM perlu menentukan keseimbangan gabungan keupayaan antara elemen manusia, mesin dan kaedah atau *man, machine and method* dapat dicapai dengan maksima bagi mendapatkan tindak balas positif yang holistik, bersepadu, berkesan dan menyeluruh.

Bagi merealisasikan hasrat ATM untuk menjadi sebuah angkatan tentera yang kredibel, responsif, dinamik dan mampu mengeksploitasi teknologi, Empat Tonggak Pemerintahan yang dirangka oleh PAT yang ke-20 adalah bertepatan pada masanya dan haruslah dipuji; seperti berikut:

- a. **Tonggak Pertama.** Angkatan yang Profesional.
- b. **Tonggak Kedua.** Ketumbukan yang Siap Siaga.
- c. **Tonggak Ketiga.** Keutuhan Organisasi.
- d. **Tonggak Keempat.** Memperkasakan Kualiti Hidup.

Tonggak Pertama: Angkatan yang Profesional. Dewasa ini, cabaran dan ancaman dari pelbagai spektrum perlu dihadapi oleh ATM secara pantas, profesional dan efektif. Setiap cabaran yang datang harus ditangani sepenuhnya kerana keyakinan rakyat terhadap organisasi ATM adalah amat tinggi dan rakyat amat menagihkan keamanan yang terjamin secara berterusan. Oleh itu, tonggak ini perlu digemblengkan secara kesepaduan di setiap peringkat pemerintahan untuk berusaha mencapai kecemerlangan dalam setiap amanah tugas yang dipertanggungjawabkan. Justeru, angkatan yang profesional amat memerlukan komitmen semua pihak bermula dari anggota yang berpangkat paling rendah hinggalah pemerintahan tertinggi. Ini penting bagi memperlengkapkan kemampuan diri dan rakan sepasukan dalam ilmu pengetahuan, berfikiran matang dan berkemahiran tinggi agar mampu mengukuhkan keyakinan diri dan pasukan dalam menghadapi pelbagai ancaman dan cabaran. Dengan sokongan peruntukan kewangan dan penyediaan prasarana terbaik dari pihak kerajaan, ATM sudah pasti akan dapat mencapai matlamatnya untuk menjadi sebuah angkatan yang profesional.

Tonggak Kedua: Ketumbukan yang Siap Siaga. Pada sebilang masa, ATM perlu bersiap sedia menghadapi sebarang bentuk ancaman demi mempertahankan kedaulatan dan kesejahteraan negara tercinta. Hasrat ini memerlukan setiap komponen dalam angkatan tentera untuk sentiasa mempertingkatkan kesiagaannya bagi menghadapi cabaran dan sentiasa mengekalkan keupayaan sebagai persediaan menghadapi setiap kemungkinan yang akan berlaku secara berterusan. Dalam hal ini, ATM perlu konsisten dalam usaha membangunkan angkataannya berpandukan *blueprint* 4D MAF atau '*Fourth Dimension Malaysian Armed Forces*'. Pembangunan 4D MAF yang telah dirangka ini adalah didokong oleh rancangan pembangunan yang telah digubal khas oleh setiap perkhidmatan mengikut keperluan semasa dan mendatang. Matlamat utama rancangan pembangunan 4D MAF adalah untuk memperkasakan ATM sebagai sebuah Angkatan Objektif (*objective force*) yang mampu beroperasi di dalam pelbagai spektrum peperangan. Usaha ini perlu dilaksanakan secara

realistik, berperingkat, berkesinambungan dengan mengambil kira kedudukan kewangan negara dan juga keperluan semasa yang lain. Keperluan peralatan, persenjataan dan latihan termoden juga perlu diselaraskan agar peruntukan yang disediakan dapat digunakan secara optimum dengan menutup ruang-ruang pembaziran yang dikenalpasti. Di samping itu, ATM juga perlu berusaha mempertingkatkan semua komponen "*force-in-being*" iaitu ketumbukan yang sedia ada, agar mampu meningkatkan lagi tahap kesiagaan secara keseluruhannya. Matlamat akhir tonggak ini adalah untuk menjadikan ATM sebagai sebuah organisasi yang unggul serta dapat memberi respons yang terbaik dalam menghadapi pelbagai ancaman persekitaran; baik di daratan, lautan, udara dan juga ruang siber.

Tonggak Ketiga: Keutuhan Organisasi. Keutuhan organisasi adalah amat diperlukan bagi memperkukuhkan kesatuan dan perpaduan di kalangan warga ATM. Sebagai sebuah organisasi yang eksklusif lagi profesional, ATM perlu sentiasa berusaha mempertingkatkan keupayaan serta kredibilitinya dalam semua aspek bagi membolehkannya melaksanakan semua tugas dan amanah yang telah dipertanggungjawabkan. Oleh itu, setiap warga ATM mestilah sentiasa berfikiran positif, dan bersedia untuk berkorban serta mencurahkan bakti dalam apa jua keadaan demi kelangsungan dan kecemerlangan organisasi. Justeru, semua peringkat Pegawai dan anggota Lain-lain Pangkat dari ketiga-tiga cabang perkhidmatan ATM perlu peka serta menghayati budaya "*sense of belonging*" dan "*sense of ownership*" terhadap ATM sambil menggembleng serta menyatukan usaha dan tenaga masing-masing pada sebilang masa. Dengan kekuatan individu dan kesatuan ATM, semua cabaran yang bakal mendepani negara akan dapat dihadapi oleh ATM dengan efektif dan efisien.

Tonggak Keempat: Memperkasakan Kualiti Hidup. Dalam memperkasakan kualiti hidup, ATM perlu meningkatkan lagi kualiti kebajikan setiap anggota dan keluarganya termasuk bagi golongan veteran. Kualiti hidup yang terbaik akan dapat mendorong setiap warga ATM untuk lebih fokus kepada kerjaya ketenteraan. Semua inisiatif yang telah dirancang oleh pemimpin-pemimpin terdahulu dalam usaha untuk meningkatkan kualiti hidup warga ATM perlu terus dilaksanakan. Inisiatif-inisiatif yang telah diambil sebelum ini untuk membolehkan setiap anggota ATM memiliki sebuah rumah sendiri dan rumah idaman bagi golongan veteran perlu beri keutamaan. Dalam masa yang sama, pembinaan kem-kem tentera serta rumah keluarga yang baru, termasuk memperkasakan kualiti penyelenggaraan terhadap kemudahan serta fasiliti asas perlu menjadi keutamaan dengan penekanan terhadap langkah-langkah penjimatan dalam pengurusan kewangan jangka panjang. Sikap ambil berat dan memelihara kemudahan yang disediakan agar sentiasa terpelihara perlu disemaikan di jiwa setiap warga ATM agar kos penyelenggaraan yang amat tinggi dapat dikurangkan. Keperluan asas yang lebih berkualiti dan kondusif perlu ditingkatkan bagi meningkatkan moral setiap warga ATM khususnya dalam aspek keselesaan hidup keluarga. Di samping itu, peluang kenaikan pangkat bagi semua peringkat anggota, kemudahan pengajian tinggi seperti 'k-force', peningkatan akademik ke tahap tertinggi, perumahan dan perubatan serta emolument serta faedah persaraan mahupun pemberhentian, perlu dikaji semula demi kepentingan masa depan anggota dan keluarga. Semua inisiatif-inisiatif ini pastinya akan meningkatkan tahap pengurusan masa yang berkualiti selaras dengan falsafah '*quality time*' atau masa berkualiti, bagi warga ATM dan keluarga mereka. Bagi para veteran serta keluarga mereka, semua kemudahan dan bantuan-bantuan yang disediakan oleh ATM masa kini perlulah disemak semula seperti kemudahan-kemudahan untuk mereka mendapatkan rawatan perubatan percuma, elaun dan biasiswa dari anak pra-sekolah hinggalah ke tahap pengajian tinggi dan sebagainya. Matlamat akhir yang

ingin dicapai dalam Tonggak ini adalah untuk menentukan taraf sosio-ekonomi bagi semua warga ATM, golongan veteran dan golongan veteran yang tidak berpencen dapat ditingkatkan.

Justeru, semua warga ATM perlulah bersama-sama menjiwai serta merealisasikan Empat Tonggak ini dengan sikap profesional demi untuk memastikan matlamat ATM untuk membangunkan keupayaan, memperkasakan imej dan meningkatkan keyakinan rakyat terhadap ATM dapat dicapai sepenuhnya.

Sebagai rumusan, ATM perlu sentiasa mengutamakan tahap profesionalisme dan amanah dalam melaksanakan tugas dan tanggungjawabnya bagi memastikan keselamatan dan pertahanan negara ini sentiasa berada di tahap tertinggi. Empat Tonggak yang telah dirangka oleh PAT yang ke-20, perlu diteruskan oleh PAT yang seterusnya sejajar dengan hasrat Kertas Putih Pertahanan (KPP) Pertama Malaysia yang bakal dikeluarkan. Berasaskan kepada Empat Tonggak ini, sekiranya semua peringkat pemimpin dan anggota ATM dapat menjiwai dan melaksanakannya dengan sikap yang terbuka dan ikhlas serta profesional, matlamat ATM untuk menempa kejayaan yang berterusan dan sentiasa kekal relevan di kaca mata rakyat Malaysia boleh dicapai dalam masa yang singkat. Justeru, semua warga ATM perlulah sentiasa mengingati sumpah ikrar dan janji sumpah taat setia yang telah dilafazkan kepada perkhidmatan di bawah pemerintahan Seri Paduka Baginda Yang Dipertuan Agong selaku Pemerintah Tertinggi Angkatan Tentera Malaysia.

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MUKADDIMAH

Para pengamal industri pertahanan di Malaysia memainkan peranan penting dalam pembentukan strategi pertahanan negara. Mereka merupakan antara pihak berkepentingan utama yang menyumbang kepada keamanan dan keselamatan ibu pertiwi.

Peranan yang dimainkan para pengamal industri merangkumi skop yang meluas termasuk menjalankan pembangunan dan penyelidikan (*research and development* - R&D), membina jalinan strategik dengan para pemain industri pertahanan global, membangun dan membekalkan sumber manusia terlatih dan berkemahiran, memberikan perkhidmatan rundingan dan melabur di dalam pertumbuhan industri pertahanan negara.

Secara ringkasnya, industri pertahanan Malaysia terdiri dari syarikat-syarikat swasta dan milik Kerajaan yang terlibat dalam pelbagai aktiviti pembuatan (contohnya dalam membina kapal perang) dan perkhidmatan. Syarikat-syarikat ini merangkumi pelbagai saiz dari industri kecil sederhana (*small medium enterprise* atau SME) hinggalah syarikat-syarikat dan badan-badan milik kerajaan (*government linked companies* - GLC dan *government investment companies* - GIC).

Input dari para pengamal industri tentunya penting bagi memastikan yang Kertas Putih Pertahanan yang dirangka oleh Kementerian Pertahanan merangkumi semua aspek penting dalam spektrum luas sektor pertahanan dan keselamatan negara. Industri pertahanan menyumbang dengan cara membekalkan aset dan memberikan perkhidmatan sokongan yang membolehkan cabang-cabang Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) serta agensi-agensi keselamatan, pertahanan dan penguatkuasaan menjalankan tugas mereka dengan cekap bagi memelihara keamanan dan keselamatan negara.

Perspektif yang dikongsi oleh industri pertahanan tentunya akan memberikan sumbangan bernilai kepada Kertas Putih Pertahanan ini dan memastikan liputannya menyeluruh. Pendekatan komprehensif yang bakal diunjurkan oleh strategi pertahanan negara yang mengambilkira pandangan pengamal industri dan kedudukan mereka dalam hirarki whole of government tentunya akan menambah nilai kepada strategi pertahanan negara.

Adalah diharapkan yang pandangan pengamal industri dapat membantu mencartakan halatujuan pertahanan negara sejajar dengan dasar luarnya, keadaan ekonomi semasa, senario keselamatan domestik, antarabangsa dan global serta realiti dan aspirasi pertahanan dan keselamatan negara.

LANSKAP SEKTOR PERTAHANAN

Bagi menggariskan perspektif industri pertahanan dalam strategi pertahanan negara, adalah wajar bagi kita mengamati ciri-ciri persekitaran sektor pertahanan masa kini dan driving forces

yang membentuknya serta bakal memacu halatujunya. Ini penting bagi membina kefahaman tentang kedudukan dan peranan pengamal industri dalam ekosistem pertahanan negara serta apa yang mereka boleh dan perlu lakukan bagi menyokong dan memperkukuhkan pertahanan negara berlatarbelakangkan lanskap global yang sentiasa berubah dan semakin mencabar.

Antara ciri-ciri serta *trend* sektor pertahanan dan keselamatan yang utama ialah :

1. Peluasan skop tanggungjawab cabang-cabang ketenteraan dan agensi-agensi keselamatan dan pertahanan.

Cabang-cabang ATM iaitu Tentera Darat Malaysia (TDM), Tentera Laut DiRaja Malaysia (TLDM) dan Tentera Udara DiRaja Malaysia (TUDM) serta agensi-agensi keselamatan seperti Polis DiRaja Malaysia dan agensi konstabulari seperti Agensi Penguatkuasaan Maritim Malaysia (APMM) bukan lagi terikat kepada skop tugas tradisional mereka seperti dulu. Dunia dan persekitaran operasi yang merubah menuntut mereka meluaskan spektrum tanggungjawab mereka di luar dari bidang yang umum di mana mereka beroperasi.

Kita ambil sebagai contoh TLDM yang sudah bertambah liputan tanggungjawabnya semenjak penubuhannya. Dengan perkembangan dunia dan lanskap geopolitik, ketenteraan dan persekitaran maritim yang semakin kompleks, tanggungjawab TLDM semakin berkembang di luar dari skop tradisinya sebagai sebuah pasukan tentera atau *war fighting* unit.

Kini, TLDM menggalas banyak tugas yang dulunya tidak biasa dipikul olehnya. Kebanyakan tugas di luar ‘tanggungjawab tradisional’ TLDM ini bertumpu kepada menangani perkara- perkara yang boleh mengancam keselamatan maritim yang dikategorikan sebagai ancaman bukan konvensional atau *non-symmetrical*. Ini termasuk:

- Bencana alam seperti tsunami dan puting beliung yang boleh mengakibatkan kematian dan kecederaan serta kerosakan infrastruktur dan hartabenda yang memerlukan bantuan kemanusiaan dan bencana (*Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief – HADR*) serta mencari dan menyelamatkan (*Search and Rescue – SAR*).
- Kemasukan pelarian dan pendatang haram melalui laut
- Penangkapan ikan secara haram, tidak terlapur dan tidak terkawal
- Perlombongan haram sumber-sumber mineral di lautan
- Ancaman lanun ke atas kapal-kapal dagangan / komersil, nelayan dan pemilik bot-bot rekreasi.
- Ancaman keganasan maritim ke atas kapal serta infrastruktur maritim seperti pelantar minyak dan gas, paip dan kabel di dasar laut, pelabuhan dan rumah api.

Ancaman-ancaman yang disenaraikan ini datang dari sumber alami dan dari non-state actors, bukan dari tentera laut asing yang hostile terhadap kita. Bentuk ancaman ini sukar diramal dan *fluid* sifatnya. Ia menuntut TLDM menyediakan wargakerja, aset, strategi serta prosedur yang bersesuaian bagi menghadapi pelbagai cabaran yang wujud walaupun semasa peacetime. Menjalankan misi yang rumit seperti SAR, HADR dan operasi *special forces* memerlukan aset serta kepakaran khusus contohnya counter-terrorism dan *counter-piracy*.

TLDM juga menjadi instrumen penting dasar luar negara dalam mempromosikan *naval diplomacy* dengan mengibarkan Jalur Gemilang di perairan antarabangsa dan pelabuhan serta pangkalan tentera laut di luar negara. Dalam memainkan peranan ini, ia harus mempunyai aset yang berupaya belayar jauh dan beraksi dengan tangkas sewaktu *war games* dan latihan bersama. Ia juga memerlukan anggota-anggota yang cekap dan terlatih yang mempunyai seamanship serta kebolehan berkomunikasi yang baik dan berpengetahuan dalam pelbagai bidang di luar ketenteraan.

Semua ini menggariskan peri pentingnya TLDM mempunyai *hardware* (contohnya infrastruktur, aset dan tenaga kerja terlatih dan berkemahiran) dan *software* (contohnya doktrin, prosedur, kepimpinan dan pengurusan) yang mencukupi, bersesuaian dan siap siaga bagi melaksanakan amanah dan memenuhi *expectations* dari pelbagai pihak berkepentingan. Ia juga menyerlahkan betapa pentingnya industri pertahanan mempunyai keupayaan dan jalinan bagi membekalkan aset yang diperlukan serta perkhidmatan seperti latihan, pembaikan, rekabentuk, integrasi sistem dan perundingan. Ini penting bagi membantu TLDM dan organisasi sepertinya menjalankan tugas dan memenuhi tanggungjawab *multi-tasking* mereka dengan baik.

2. Kekangan kewangan.

Berlatarbelakangkan keadaan ekonomi yang tidak menentu, agensi-agensi keselamatan diperuntukkan dengan belanjawan yang lebih rendah dari tahun-tahun di mana ekonomi negara mencatatkan pertumbuhan pesat. Ini, beserta dengan pendekatan outcome based budgeting yang diamalkan Kerajaan, menuntut mereka berbelanja dengan lebih berhemah dalam pembeilan aset dan pengurusan organisasi. Dalam masa yang sama, expectations terhadap mereka untuk memenuhi tanggungjawab menjaga keselamatan dan peamanan negara tidak berubah, malah semakin meningkat.

Realiti ekonomi masa kini menjadi antara faktor utama dalam rekabentuk strategi agensi-agensi keselamatan negara, sebagai contoh Program Transformasi 15to5 TLDM yang bertujuan mengurangkan bilangan kelas asetnya dan Capability 55 (CAP 55) TUDM yang menggariskan pelan pembangunan dan keperluannya sehingga tahun 2055. Secara umum, 15 to 5 dan CAP 55 mensasarkan untuk mengoptimalkan belanjawan yang diperuntukkan kepada TLDM dan TUDM bagi menghasilkan impak maksima.

Pengamal industri boleh membantu mereka merealisasikan objektif ini dan menawarkan aset dan *platform fit for purpose* berteknologi tinggi yang memerlukan pengendalian cekap dan perkhidmatan MRO yang rapi. Ini boleh ditawarkan melalui pelbagai pakej inovatif yang sesuai dengan bajet pembeli dan perkhidmatan *outsourcing* yang boleh mengurangkan kos cabang-cabang ketenteraan dan agensi-agensi keselamatan.

3. Perkembangan pesat sektor teknologi dan komunikasi.

Dunia kini dilanda arus perkembangan teknologi dan komunikasi yang sangat pesat. Tidak banyak aspek dalam kehidupan dan aktiviti seharian kita yang tidak melibatkan penggunaan sistem dan komputer serta peralatan elektronik dan elektrik berteknologi tinggi. Dalam sektor pertahanan, penggunaan dan peranan teknologi semakin menyerlah di dalam aspek-aspek seperti perancangan, command and control, komunikasi, analisa, perisikan, pemantauan, peperangan malah pengurusan harian organisasi.

Tentera moden di zaman siber ini harus berupaya menangani ancaman *cyber and electronic warfare*. Mereka perlu membina kebolehan bertindak tangkas atau *rapid response capabilities* bagi menghadapi medan pertempuran yang semakin berteraskan teknologi tinggi serta mematahkan serangan di medan siber.

Arus pesat kemajuan dan penggunaan teknologi semakin terserlah dengan apa yang disebut Revolusi Industri 4.0 yang melanda dunia kini. Bidang ketenteraan turut merasa impak gelombang teknologi canggih yang dilancarkan oleh revolusi ini. Ini termasuk aspek seperti *artificial intelligence*, *Big Data Analytics*, *Internet of Things*, penggunaan *drones*, aplikasi *neuroscience* dan *neurotechnology* dalam ketenteraan serta perkembangan *hybrid warfare*.

Peranan industri pertahanan dalam membantu tentera kita bergerak seiring dengan revolusi teknologi ini adalah sangat besar. Mereka membekalkan keperluan agensi-agensi keselamatan dengan aset, sistem dan penyelesaian berteraskan teknologi tinggi. Ini memberi mereka kelebihan dalam memenuhi tanggungjawab mereka memelihara keselamatan negara di darat, laut dan udara.

4. Kesan konflik antarabangsa terhadap keselamatan Negara.

Situasi keselamatan negara banyak dipengaruhi oleh senario antarabangsa. Ini merupakan lumrah dunia yang kini terikat oleh proses globalisasi dan kebergantungan antara negara. Pelbagai konflik dan situasi keselamatan dekat dan jauh mempunyai kesan terhadap keselamatan kita. Perang proksi di Syria serta kekejaman tentera Myanmar terhadap puak Rohingya menyaksikan kehadiran pelarian dari negara-negara tersebut di Malaysia. Konflik di Mindanao di selatan Filipina dirasakan tempiasnya di Sabah dan menggugat kestabilan negara. Percaturan tentera laut China dan Amerika Syarikat di Laut China Selatan menyebabkan ketegangan di wilayah ini dan membuat kita gusar terhadap impaknya terhadap kepentingan maritim dan kewilayahan kita.

Konflik ini serta percaturan kuasa-kuasa besar dunia mempunyai kesan langsung dan tidak langsung kepada kepentingan keselamatan dan strategik kita. Mustahil bagi agensi-agensi keselamatan membina *situational awareness* dan *anticipation*, menangani kesan ancaman itu dan menyumbang kepada keselamatan serantau tanpa sokongan dan bantuan pengamal industri yang menyediakan peralatan, sistem dan perkhidmatan ketenteraan, keselamatan, komunikasi dan sebagainya.

5. Tuntutan sumber manusia berkemahiran tinggi dan terlatih.

Penggunaan aset, sistem dan peralatan canggih memerlukan pengendalian oleh kakitangan terlatih dari segi teknikal dan bidang berkemahiran tinggi. Ini penting memandangkan medan perang sekarang yang bukan sahaja dimenangi oleh askar-askar gagah berani semata-mata tetapi kebolehan berperang dalam pelbagai dimensi termasuk dimensi siber.

Dunia ketenteraan alaf baru kini menuntut anggota agensi-agensi keselamatan yang selesa dengan teknologi tinggi serta cekap mengendalikan komputer, peralatan serta sistem yang dipacu oleh teknologi tinggi. Kebolehan mereka beroperasi dalam persekitaran berteknologi tinggi dan dunia siber boleh menjadi penentu kalah menang di medan peperangan.

Dalam konteks ini, adalah penting yang pengamal industri mengeluarkan dan membekalkan produk serta memberikan perkhidmatan yang relevan kepada kehendak dan kebergantungan pasukan tentera masa kini terhadap sumber manusia berkemahiran tinggi. Sama penting dengan memiliki aset berkuasa dan berteknologi tinggi ialah memenuhi tuntutan modal insan yang menguasai kemahiran tinggi dalam bidang seperti rekabentuk, komputer, elektronik, elektrik, persenjataan, logistik, pengurusan rantai bekalan dan sebagainya. Tanpa sumber manusia sedemikian, tidak mungkin cabang-cabang ATM dapat memenuhi tuntutan pertahanan dan keselamatan negara.

Industri pertahanan boleh menyumbang kepada pembentukan anggota berkemahiran dan tentera terlatih. Melalui latihan pasca-jualan yang diberikan, perkhidmatan perundingan serta pemindahan pengetahuan (*transfer of know-how*), syarikat-syarikat dalam industri pertahanan membantu pihak tentera membina kakitangan terlatih bagi mengelolakan aset dan sistem berteknologi tinggi yang mereka beli atau perolehi.

Kita ambil contoh TLDM yang kini mempunyai aset maritim yang sofistikated seperti kapal selam, kapal-kapal permukaan, aset udara dan pelbagai radar dan sistem yang canggih. Aset baru berteknologi tinggi seperti Kapal Kombatan Littoral (*Littoral Combat Ships*) dan Kapal Misi Littoral (*Littoral Mission Ships*) yang bakal dimilikinya memerlukan kakitangan terlatih untuk dikendalikan dengan cekap bagi membolehkan misi mereka dilaksanakan dengan jayanya. TUDM pula membayangkan akan memiliki jet pejuang baru yang berkuasa tinggi dan canggih yang bukan sahaja memerlukan pengendalian oleh juruterbang terlatih malah juruteknik cekap dan berkemahiran tinggi untuk memastikan aset berharga ini sentiasa combat ready. Syarikat yang terlibat dalam pembelian aset ini kelak bakal memainkan penting dalam memastikan ia sentiasa siaga melalui perkhidmatan penyelenggaraan, pembaikan dan baikpulih (*maintenance, repair and overhaul – MRO*).

6. Memastikan anggota tentera menerima latihan yang cukup.

Selaras dengan penggunaan aset yang semakin canggih dan lanskap pertahanan dan keselamatan yang semakin dinamik, tentera moden harus mempersiapkan anggota mereka dengan latihan secukupnya. Latihan berterusan memastikan kesiagaan dan kecekapan di kalangan para anggota. Kualiti ini menjadi tunjang kepada agensi ketenteraan yang tangkas dan berwibawa yang boleh digerakkan dengan cepat bagi menghadapi apa jua keadaan dan menjalankan misi dengan jayanya.

Pengamal industri pertahanan mempunyai kapasiti bagi membantu membina para anggota tentera yang terlatih, cekap dan berkemahiran. Pelbagai perkhidmatan latihan yang diberikan oleh syarikat-syarikat pembekal kenderaan, senjata, peluru / ordnance, peralatan komunikasi serta sistem yang digunakan oleh tentera membantu anggota mereka sentiasa berada dalam tahap optimal readiness bagi menangani sebarang ancaman, situasi dan tuntutan. Perkongsian serta pendedahan kepada kemahiran, pendekatan dan best practices pengamal industri dengan tentera juga boleh membantu anggota tentera membina kebolehan mengurus sumber dengan cekap, menyelesaikan masalah serta kemahiran merancang senario dan teknik berfikir aras tinggi.

CABARAN PERTAHANAN NEGARA DAN PERANAN PENGAMAL INDUSTRI

Jelas dari ciri-ciri senario yang dilakarkan yang agensi-agensi keselamatan dan penguatkuasaan kini menghadapi persekitaran keselamatan yang semakin kompleks dan mencabar. Tidak cukup dengan itu, pelbagai cabaran juga timbul dari peruntukan belanjawan yang sederhana, keusangan aset, kehendak menyediakan sumber manusia terlatih dan kos di luar jangkaan untuk memperbaiki dan menyelenggarakan aset-aset ketenteraan dan memastikannya berada pada tahap kesiagaan yang tinggi. Juga, skop tanggungjawab agensi-agensi keselamatan negara sudah semakin meluas sejajar dengan persekitaran keselamatan dan pertahanan yang semakin dinamik.

Ini menuntut pengurusan dan anggota mereka serta perancang dan pentadbir di kementerian-kementerian Kerajaan berkaitan pertahanan dan keselamatan untuk berfikir di luar kotak dan secara lebih kreatif dan inovatif. Dalam masa yang sama, cabang-cabang ATM harus mengekalkan posture sebagai *combat-ready force* yang sedia menghadapi pelbagai ancaman keselamatan dan memenuhi rangkuman luas tanggungjawab yang diamanahkan kepada mereka.

Dalam hal ini, sokongan jitu dari pengamal industri adalah teramat penting bagi membolehkan cabang-cabang ketenteraan negara meningkatkan kesiagaan mereka dengan belanjawan berhemah yang diperuntukan untuk beraksi di atas pentas yang mencabar secara optima. Ini menjadi antara teras utama yang bakal memacu halatuju angkatan tentera kita di tahun-tahun mendatang. Tanpa sokongan industri, adalah sukar bagi agensi-agensi melaksanakan strategi mereka, meningkatkan integrasi dan sokongan kepada doktrin kebersamaan (*jointness*), menyediakan modal insan bagi memenuhi pelbagai tuntutan operasi dan tanggungjawab serta menjadi credible force yang berupaya memelihara kepentingan negara.

Besar tanggungjawab yang digalas oleh agensi-agensi keselamatan dan pertahanan kita untuk memastikan yang kepentingan negara dan keutuhan kewilayahan negara terpelihara di kala persaingan di antara kuasa-kuasa besar di keliling kita semakin meruncing. Dalam masa yang sama, mereka juga dipertaruhkan untuk memainkan peranan menyokong usaha-usaha diplomasi. Ini termasuk mengibarkan Jalur Gemilang di persada antarabangsa secara aman sejajar dengan dasar luar negara yang aman, bebas dan berkecuali serta komited untuk mencari penyelesaian aman (*peaceful resolution*) terhadap konflik.

Sekiranya konflik tidak dapat dielakkan, mereka dipertaruhkan untuk memelihara pertahanan dan kewilayahan maritim negara serta menghadapi ancaman tanpa kompromi dan gentar. Sebagai contoh, ancaman yang datang dari China yang semakin agresif mendokong tuntutannya di Laut China Selatan bagi meraih kelebihan *anti-access / area-denial* (A2AD). Ini

meletakkan kita di dalam dilema kerana tuntutan China di laut ini merangkumi kawasan yang mana kita juga mempunyai tuntutan terhadapnya. Tentunya kita tidak berhasrat untuk berperang dengan kuasa besar seperti China yang juga merupakan dagangan akrab kita, namun kita tidak boleh membiarkan sahaja ia bertindak sesuka hati di lautan ini tanpa memberikan cabaran yang kredibel bagi memelihara kepentingan kita dan menyokong tuntutan kita. Satu lagi contoh ialah ancaman yang datang dari sumber *non-military* seperti yang dicetuskan oleh kumpulan militan dari selatan Fiiipina di Tanduo, Lahad Datu pada tahun 2013.

Menangani situasi sebegini memerlukan aset bersesuaian, tahap kesiapsiagaan yang tinggi, para anggota terlatih, strategi yang baik serta koordinasi rapat di antara TLDM dengan agensi-agensi Kerajaan. Dalam hal ini, aset dan perkhidmatan yang dibekalkan oleh para pengamal industri adalah teramat penting. Tidak keterlaluan sekiranya kita mengibaratkan para pengamal industri sebagai ‘askar simpanan’ yang menyokong tentera kita dan membantu dalam pertahanan negara.

KESIMPULAN

Harapan tinggi yang dipertaruhkan ke atas ATM oleh rakyat Malaysia bagi memelihara keamanan dan kesejahteraan negara adalah sangat besar. Cabang-cabang ketenteraan dan agensi-agensi keselamatan dan pertahanan berhadapan dengan *expectations* yang semakin tinggi. Mereka harus sentiasa peka kepada pelbagai disruptive forces dan persekitaran operasi yang sentiasa berubah untuk sentiasa bersedia dan kekal relevan dan *sustainable* sebagai organisasi-organisasi yang bertanggungjawab ke atas benteng pertahanan negara.

Dalam konteks ini, adalah diharapkan yang strategi yang bakal dirangka di dalam Kertas Putih Pertahanan mengambilkira peranan dan kebolehan pengamal industri dalam mencorakkan senario pertahanan negara dan membantu agensi-agensi ketenteraan dalam menjalankan tugas serta memenuhi objektif mereka. Ini penting bagi memastikan usaha menyediakan aset, tenaga kerja, sistem, doktrin, strategi, struktur organisasi / *command and control* dan pendekatan yang bersesuaian bagi menghadapi dunia yang sedang dan akan mengalami pelbagai perubahan pesat.

Para pengamal industri yakin dengan sokongan kami serta jalinan kukuh di kalangan semua pihak berkepentingan, cabang-cabang ketenteraan negara berupaya menggalas cabaran kini dan yang bakal mendatang. Kami yakin yang ATM berpotensi menjadi satu pasukan tentera yang berwibawa dan disegani di persada antarabangsa. Melalui peranan kami membekalkan aset yang bermutu serta membantu melahirkan anggota-anggota pasukan keselamatan yang berkemahiran, cekap dan terlatih, pastinya TDM, TLDM dan TUDM dan agensi-agensi keselamatan dan pertahanan Malaysia boleh melaksanakan segala tanggungjawab mereka secara berkesan demi keselamatan dan keamanan ibu pertiwi tercinta.



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