

# *Sorotan* **DARAT**

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## **THE JOURNAL OF MALAYSIAN ARMY**

### **CHALLENGES IN THE GLOBAL, REGIONAL AND DOMESTIC SECURITY SPECTRUM: A MULTI DOMAIN PARADOX IN MALAYSIA**

*Brig Gen Dato' Md Rahim bin Hj Mohamad , RIC*

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### **CYBER TERRORISM : IMPACT TO MALAYSIAN DEFENCE SYSTEM**

*Capt Suzanna binti Ismail, RMPC*



**SOROTAN DARAT**  
JURNAL TENTERA DARAT MALAYSIA  
*THE JOURNAL OF THE MALAYSIAN ARMY*

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Sorotan Darat ialah Jurnal rasmi Tentera Darat (TD) yang diterbitkan sejak 1 Mac 1983 bagi mempertingkatkan budaya ilmu di kalangan warga TD. Jangka masa pengeluaran ialah setiap 6 bulan iaitu pada bulan Jun dan Disember. Segala isi kandungannya termasuk sebarang ilustrasi, gambar, jadual, dan rajah tiada dibenarkan dicetak semula dalam apa corak sekali pun tanpa mendapat kebenaran Kementerian Pertahanan melalui MK PLDTD terlebih dahulu.

Selaku sebuah jurnal TD, Sorotan Darat adalah bertujuan mewujudkan satu forum bagi perbincangan perkara yang boleh menimbulkan minat profesional terhadap seorang perajurit. Artikel pelbagai isu dan tema adalah dipelawa dari segi peringkat dan sesiapa sahaja yang mempunyai pengetahuan khas atau minat terhadap hal ehwal ketenteraan. Isu-isu kontroversi biasanya menjadi nadi penggerak sesebuah jurnal profesional yang mana ia dapat menimbulkan pemikiran dan perbincangan yang sihat. Artikel-artikel seperti ini akan diberi keutamaan, manakala artikel-artikel mengenai operasi-operasi, idea-idea latihan atau kegunaan peralatan adalah antara topik-topik yang diidam-idamkan.

Semua pertanyaan mengenai Sorotan Darat mestilah dikemukakan kepada Kol Doktrin, MK PLDTD.

Semua idea yang dikemukakan oleh penulis melalui artikelnya dalam jurnal ini, sama ada sebahagian atau seluruhnya adalah pendapatnya sendiri. Ianya bukanlah pendapat oleh Kementerian Pertahanan Malaysia atau pihak-pihak lain yang berkaitan.

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**Pemenang Artikel Terbaik Sorotan Darat Edisi 72/2018 dan 73/2018**

**Panduan Untuk Penulis**

**FROM CHIEF EDITOR'S DESK**

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Assalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh. With the Name of Allah, Most Gracious and Most Merciful.

May peace be upon you,

Praise to Allah, the journal for first year edition (2019) is successfully published to acknowledge the writers in such to enhance the readers' minds with informative, useful and meaningful articles. The Editorial Council would like to express their appreciation to the writers who have contributed to the articles. The commitments given from the thriving writers are certainly a precious aptitude in producing a well-published journal.

In a complex environment where security challenges are changing rapidly, it becomes necessary for armies to continuously realign to meet threats. The military professional is described as the 'manager of violence' by Samuel P Huntington. This would entail effective planning, organising, leading and control of man, machine and methods related to the application of force.

With the current development of Malaysian Army, the Editorial Council aims to divert readers' attentions to the capabilities of Malaysian Army and challenges of current threats. In addition, we should have initiatives to improve logistics, management and development of capabilities that would definitely improve the level of professionalism and readiness of all level of personnels.

The Editorial Council welcomes the aspiring new writers to contribute articles for future publications. Constructive opinions, dynamics comments, and potential ideas as well as feedbacks from the readers are highly encouraged to improve the quality of the journal publication in the future. Thank you.

Reading brings knowledge to inspire.

**Col Ahmad Suhaimi Navinder bin Abdullah**  
Chief Editor

## **CHALLENGES IN THE GLOBAL, REGIONAL AND DOMESTIC SECURITY SPECTRUM: A MULTI DOMAIN PARADOX IN MALAYSIA**

Oleh BRIG GEN DATO' MD RAHIM BIN HJ MOHAMAD  
ROYAL INTELLIGENCE CORPS

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### **INTRODUCTION**

In the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the world has witnessed two hot wars; the First World War and the Second World War as well as experiencing a Cold War which divided the geopolitical landscape with the power struggle over democracy and communism for almost half a century. With the fall of the Iron Curtain and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the United States of America (US) has quickly risen as the dominant and sole superpower from the 90s onwards. The US foreign policies and intervention drew constant ripple effects which led to rise of hatred and extremism among Middle East nations; paving the way for the attacks on the US soil on September 11, 2001.

The constant shifts seen in the projection of modern conflicts have certainly created a sense of urgency amongst policy makers and the military worldwide to gear up for uncertainties which covers the global security spectrum. Malaysia is no exception and it is imperative for the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) to shift its focus from traditional security challenges which involve conflicts with national militaries to Non-Traditional Security (NTS) threats and other forms of intangible elements like disruptive innovations which may influence the state of security for a sovereign nation like Malaysia.

#### **Interoperability with Other Stake Holders**

Most nations do not emphasise on NTS and therefore, a lack of consideration is given on such threats. However, as the domains of war is ever evolving, NTS is often regarded as the war of the future due to the level of uncertainties it poses along with the combination of domestic and foreign influences (Muhamad Nur Lokman Redzuan, 2019). In view of dealing with NTS threats, there are several ways to increase the state of readiness of the MAF through means of strategic collaboration with other stakeholders such as the Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission (MCMC) and Cyber Security Malaysia (CSM).

A good initiative that the MAF can take is by sending the officers and men for a secondment to those stakeholders. It will increase their level of exposure in dealing with such threats through proper implementation of Techniques, Tactics and Procedures (TTP). Hence, they can gain first hand exposure in the methods, procedures and guidelines in dealing with issues that are not in the traditional concept of the MAF's roles. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century,

the key for success in any military operation is interoperability with stakeholders. Therefore, a coordination centre without the steps of bureaucracy to immediately initiate defence measures if uncertainties arise is crucial in the communication and decision making process to counter NTS threats.

Continuous training is the key for MAF to deal with NTS threats and elements pertaining logistics, communication and planning which are fundamental for officers and men to be exposed; in order to deal with such scenarios. It will allow the MAF to be efficient in having the right knowledge to act appropriately and response expediently. Conflicts worldwide have taken a new step ahead; trading weapons for cyberspace attacks. Those cyberspace attacks are cheaper and expedient as well as gravely impactful to an inflicted nation. Therefore, the MAF has to increase its efficiency in dealing with attacks on the cyberspace; not just by emphasising on territorial and physical wars. It is a dictum of war that one who holds the accessibility of information will be advantageous and the MAF should start to look into areas pertinent towards cyber security.

### **Shifts of Domains and Jointness**

On a similar note, the reinvention of the modern day military to deal with the ever evolving internal and external security threats. The defence of Malaysia revolves around three very important waters; the Straits of Malacca, South China Sea and the Sulu Sea with Peninsular Malaysia and East Malaysia. The conflict against the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) was mainly focused in the depths of the jungle; making the MAF dominant towards the Army and jungle warfare.

However, the geopolitical scenario of Malaysia has changed today and it falls back to the fact that Malaysia is a maritime nation. Safeguarding our waters against conflicts in the context of strategic competition between China and the US, as well as terrorism and sea robberies are key areas to look into and a clear policy is needed to get all stakeholders on the same track. It is clear that the three services of the MAF will have to work hand in hand to conduct multi domain operations and single centric operations will not meet the key idea of jointness. Liew (2019) added that, 76% of the Malaysian population are residing in urban areas. It is unlikely that future conflicts and wars will be fought in jungles but wars are ought to be fought in urban areas and the fifth dimension in warfare; the cyberspace.

### **Defence White Paper as an Initiative**

Ever since after achieving independence, Malaysia's national defence and security strategy has never been guided by a specific blueprint but defence planning was based on immediate and short-term needs (Ahmad Ghazali Abu Hassan, 2019). Therefore, national awareness is key to address those challenges and there is a need for politicians to start the

ball rolling. In recent months, the Ministry of Defence has spearheaded the Defence White Paper initiative to provide directions for the future and to address issues pertaining to defence with greater national consensus to meet future uncertainties. The Defence White Paper has to be developed with clear directions towards its goals and at the same time being flexible. Clear lines must be drawn on the primary role and secondary role of the MAF in order to ensure the capability in performing its primary role is not being placed on jeopardy and the ability of performing its secondary role remains credible.

The basis for a broader national foreign policy should be drawn from the merging of defence and security policies. The military's ability is an instrument of foreign policy and it has to be cohesively blended in with other foreign policy instruments like diplomacy, trade and commerce. There is also a need for the public to know where the MAF is heading to in the future; based on our current scenario and financial state. Thus, the goals and objectives outlined in the Defence White Paper must be realistic, not too ambitious and able to achieve continual growth. A linear projection of future security scenarios for 10 years ahead must be established to allow policy makers and commanders to make crucial considerations on how those threats would influence the nation's security.

Malaysia being a small nation needs to establish good diplomatic ties with credible allies regionally and globally as a backup to its own military. Thus, defence diplomacy is crucial for a small nation like Malaysia and the MAF has to work on initiatives to meet its strategic needs for setting in a new approach that is practical and focused on its real needs for total defence.

### **Peace and Stability in the South China Sea**

There are ongoing disputes over the Spratlys in the South China Sea and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is seen as a beacon of hope in resolving issues by peaceful means. ASEAN has set forth its key initiative; the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC). First Admiral (Rtd) Datuk Chin Yoon Chin, the Director General of the Maritime Institute of Malaysia (MIMA) explained that the DOC focuses to resolve sovereignty and jurisdiction issues in the South China Sea through peaceful means (David, 2019). He explained that other pressing issues like the use of force, reclamation and trust building among claimants should be addressed by the DOC as initiatives pertaining foster understanding and allowing negotiations to take place.

MIMA made a Joint Submission (JS) with Vietnam to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) as well as the Extended Continental Shelf in May 2009. However, CLCS may possibly dismiss the JS due the *Note Verbale* by China as a third person protest note, some parts of the JS being protested by the Philippines and Indonesia

has protested on the claims made by China through the maps submitted by the new global superpower. As of today, other options are still considered by Malaysia which include retracting or reviewing claims and also make a submission to the second part of the extended Continental Shelf in 2019.

### **The American Dominance in Military and Economic Aspects**

The world has its knees tied to the US by various means; economic, military and education. Mohamed Ghouse Nasaruddin (2019) asserted that the US extended its military dominance via training key personnel from militaries of developed and developing nations and later, those top brass in their respective nations would favour the US in procurement and cooperation. Such initiatives taken by the US are solely made for the purpose of strengthening its grip on nations. Nations which purchase US assets are drawn into the control of maintenance, parts replacement and deployment. However, only earlier or reconditioned assets are sold by the US to those nations.

Another way of US expanding its global dominance is through its economic power as it dominates the world economy. Economic sanctions were imposed by the US and its allies on nations which challenge its position. In recent months, the escalation of the Trade War between the US and China has seen the US taking economic measures by imposing tariffs on Chinese imports to the US and banning the sale of technologies from the US to China. Similarly, the US also imposed sanctions to Iran after the latter retracted from the 2015 nuclear deal. Iran made a decision to drop the usage of US Dollars and favoured Euro in their trade and commerce.

The US uses its dollar as a powerful tool in trade and the US is also in control of many financial institutions; dictating banks and the industry through its Federal Treasury (Mohamed Ghouse Nasaruddin, 2019). The US will suppress any nation that challenge its dollar; using a variety of means such as funds, network and the media to subjugate a nation's currency which will lead to the collapse of a nation. The US has been using military and economic means to expand its global supremacy after the fall of the Iron Curtain but the question remains on whether are they able to hold on to their dominance due to the emergence of China as a counterbalance.

### **Trade War Between the US and China**

The recent G20 Summit in Osaka has its members expressing grave concerns over the US and China trade war. The economic power play between the US and China has somehow led to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) at its near failure as an enforcement agency for world trade. Aman Abdul Hamid (2019) who interviewed Professor Fukunari Kimura was informed that only one of the WTO appellate body who acts as a judge will remain on duty instead of seven who have relinquished their posts and are to relinquish their posts. He added on that the failure in



appointing the judges could lead to the collapse of the rule based trade system in the WTO and trading status by developing countries could be lost as the appellate body and could no longer address issues arising from trade relations.

The US President; Donald Trump has increased escalations with Iran by imposing new sanctions and it prompted the Iranians to describe the US President as having mental disability (Aman Abdul Hamid, 2019). Kimura added on that the US and China are on a different page altogether; gaining economic upper hand which affected trade globally since last year and it has overshadowed the agenda of the G20 Summit.

### **Data Analytics**

The Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) revolves around the deployment of analytics; which blends data across traditional means to manage increasing uncertainty (Mathews, 2019). There is potential for the MAF's growth through data analytics as big data is part and parcel of 4IR; the reception of high quality, expedient information which is specific, relevant and has high value. Data analytics with its tools are seen as advantageous in incorporating data mobility, assisting expedient decision making by policy makers and commanders.

The advancement of artificial intelligence (AI), there are many potentials which can be explored through the machine's analysing, reading, conversing and even managing vast amounts of data which were not manageable in the past. The day-to-day tasks of commanders and men on the ground could be made simpler and being more efficiently done. The MAF officers and men can better evaluate the predicted end states and understand the impact of key decisions made by themselves; allowing for better risk management. With the procurement of the correct tools needed for data analytics, data can be combined and blended from multiple applications to provide military commanders insights, risks and allowing them to stay on their toes, relevant and are able to seize the opportunity.

### **Smart Ports**

The ever demanding trade and commerce around the globe has caused vessels to increase in their sizes and cargo volumes pushing ports to keep up to the ever increasing pace of the economy. Subsequently, the operational environments at ports have included the involvement of authorities, terminals, shipping lines and logistics (Raj, 2019). Collaborative information sharing of data is key to enhance operations and the replacement of traditional communication with solutions provided by big data, AI and Internet of the Things (IOT).

Operators who used traditional radio and radars to make decisions will now have a single, smart interface which supports infrastructure, cargo handling, traffic management, customs liaising, safety and energy consumption. With the industry being digitised, supply chains and operations can be more efficient, cut down on costs and being expedient; streamlining communication and flow of vessels. The use of big data is already at its infancy and the MAF should also prepare to embrace the connected autonomous and digitised world of the future.

### **Drone Incursions as Security Breach**

Drone incursions in Malaysia are rare but in 2015, a drone operator used his drone to capture a commercial airline landing in the vicinity of the Kuala Lumpur International Airport (Salleh Buang, 2019). Despite no accidents took place, the consequences could be a massive mishap for all the passengers on that aircraft if the drone had been sucked into the jet engine. However, there were several incidents which were reported abroad including one at Changi Airport, Singapore which affected 25 flights and some drones sighted were not of the recreational type.

In December 2018, several drones flew close by the airfield which were sighted by the airport staff at Gatwick Airport in the United Kingdom. Those incursions led to the suspension of flights for five days with over 1,000 flights cancelled or delayed and about 140,000 passengers affected. Security concerns in airports worldwide became a heated discussion as drones are available in the open market. The Aerodyne Group Chief Executive, Kamarul Muhammad views that there is no clear framework for commercial drone operations in Malaysia and it is imperative for detailed regulations to be established for drone operations in high risk areas like oil rigs and high tension lines to ensure the level of safety for those concerned.

### **Cybersecurity Awareness**

There is a dire need for an increased level of awareness in cyber security amongst officers and men of the MAF. The lack of cyber security in an organisation like the MAF will lead to breach of data which may impose a liability on the organisation. Due to the advancement of technologies which are getting cheaper and available, cyber attackers can pose alarming threats to the MAF. Madani Sahari (2019) affirmed that the innovative forms of attacks will usually lead to the advancement in cyber security. He suggested that the level of discipline and vigilance in protecting one's organisation should come from the top management down to the men on the ground. Likewise, for the MAF from the Chief of Defence Force to the private soldiers who are newly passed out from training.

Basic issues such as the installation of updated anti-virus and anti-malware, regular backups and basic daily basis practices pertaining to safety to prevent attacks or leak of information. As the day crosses over

another, advanced hardware authentication systems, detection for intrusion and preventive systems as well as advanced cloud-based crisis management could be made available in organisations like the MAF and it should create awareness among its officers and men as well as implementing the necessary measures to protect their data. It is hoped that at least; officers and men of the MAF will be trained to be cyber aware and also to groom officers and men who are tasked based in coding, programming and hacking.

### **Transformation of The Local Political Landscape**

A major game changer took place in the local political landscape; the proposed lowering of voting age to 18 by the government of the day and the automatic registration of voters proposed by the opposition. Those key proposals have broken the binding yoke and shackles which have been embedded in the Malaysian society for six decades. Liew (2019) expressed that by the next general elections, millions of youth ranging between 18 to 21 will be eligible to vote at that point of time and thus, engagement is crucial for 14 year olds from now onwards. He further explained that the target group of voters are learning from the internet, unlike their forefathers and matters pertaining to quality better of living, job opportunities and public transportations.

The dictum of fixed deposits does not apply after the previous general elections as politics is now about votes swinging. There is no more assurance in being very sure that members of certain political factions will vote for their own and that also applies for civil servants. In the past, grassroots leaders will be influencing their friends and relatives and politics were about patronage. However, it is about the implementation of policies and political parties will need to continue to access the past in order to be at the forefront in the next general election. There are policies which needed to be addressed and collective decisions are crucial in winning the hearts of this generation.

There is also a need to look at the change of demographics as rural strongholds may not be as sturdy as decades before. Most of the rural born people have moved to urban areas for better job opportunities and urban issues need to be placed forth as agendas for the young urban voters. Apart from that, the influx of young and swinging voters with no political allegiance is a fundamental point to ponder and the political tussle is no longer race based. It is now about pertinent issues for those young voters; occupations, residents available, health support, public transports and better living standards.

## Discussion

Till this very day, some quarters of the society lacks the true understanding of the roles in the MAF. Somehow, the society's perception is often shifted from its true reason of existence and this wrongly viewed perception is often transpired through mitigating domestic issues, detaining illegal immigrants and patrols conducted in airports. There were many contributing factors which led to this lack of understanding among the society. One of the main cause is due to the continuous peace that Malaysians have felt over the past 3 decades ever since the CPM laid their arms down in 1989 and Malaysians have not looked at the MAF as highly as before during the emergency.

Hence, it is imperative for the Ministry of Defence to outline the role of the MAF; in contrast to other civilian law enforcement agencies in order to complement each other instead of having overlaps. It is made known to us in the MAF that the sole purpose of the MAF is to train for war and prepare for it at any moment. However, there is an urgent need to clearly define the primary and secondary roles of the MAF; coming to a clarity that it is not a first responder but called in as a last resort. Other governmental ministries should ensure that their agencies are prepared and only then, the MAF can assist in times of crisis when the situation is beyond the reach of those agencies.

With the rapid changes seen in the modern day military landscape, threats today and in the future may not just come in the form of a well organised military of a foreign nation but in many other NTS threats which were discussed above. Some intangible elements which may not be directly impacting Malaysia may have its domino effects on us and with the expedient growth of disruptive changes in the 4IR; no sovereign nation in this era can continue to exist in total isolation. As officers and men are exposed to the Revolution of Military Affairs (RMA), there is a dire need to expose them in the fifth dimension of warfare; the cyberspace.

The US and China will continue to expand their claws of influence in their pursuit for global dominance with the military and the economy as their instruments. We as a sovereign nation will have to be assertive and wise to maintain strong diplomatic ties with both of those superpowers. The key to this balance is on defence diplomacy and in all assessments made through projections by security analysts, defence diplomacy with its best practices shared amongst allies is the way forward for a multiracial nation like Malaysia to maintain peace and stability.

## CONCLUSION

Security analysts have often made linear and non-linear projections of global conflicts since the existence of the First World War. The shifts that were assessed from war to war and from smaller scaled conflicts have

reached one simple conclusion that what is projected is not necessarily happening. If all projections made were accurate, most battles fought could be diverted, reducing the loss of lives and even avoiding conflicts at all. However, history has proven itself to be right and none of those battles could be predicted nor avoided.

The multi domain that the MAF is operating today is very much uncertain and the global security spectrum has shifted its balance from the fall of the Iron Curtain, to the Global War of Terror and now, the Trade War between the US and China. The focus towards conflicts which involve national militaries should be shifted to NTS threats and other intangible elements which will surely rock the stability of a sovereign nation like Malaysia. The time is not tomorrow but rather now to table out the possible challenges which the MAF may face in the near future.

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## OBESITY AMONG THE MALAYSIAN ARMY PERSONEL AND ITS LONG TERM CONSEQUENCES

By MAJ MOHD AZAM BIN ABDUL AZIZ  
ROYAL MALAY REGIMENT

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### INTRODUCTION

Obesity problem nowadays give negative impact to human's health in worldwide including the Malaysian Army Personnel. The increasing of overweight and obesity problems within the Malaysian Army not only affects on their cardiometabolic profile, in fact its also affects one's agility level and so on adversely impact to military readiness, limit recruitment and place a significant financial burden on the Ministry of Defense because of being discharged from the service due to medical reason for failing to be qualified for being military service<sup>1</sup>.

### Obesity and Metabolic Disease

**Definition.** Obesity is defined as an excess of adipose or fat tissue that produces adverse health effects. It is a complexed disease capable of gathering fat that is excess in body and cause of excessive body weight. Based on a Health Survey Report and National Morbidity in 2011 found out that totaled 33.3% Malaysians that are above 18-year-old is in pre-obes category and totaled 27.2% is obese.

Generally male with percentage of fat exceed 25% and woman exceed 35% is categorized as obese. Obesity can be classified according to weight someone's body based on Body Mass Index (BMI) according to stages that are certain. Formula to get Body Mass Index are:

$$\text{BMI (kg/m}^2\text{)} = \text{Weight (kg)} / \text{Height}^2 \text{ (m)}^2$$

Malaysian Armed Forces Health Service Division is follows the medical standard in accordance with standard of World Health Organisation (WHO) liadapted Body Mass Index (BMI) classification as per **Table 1**<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Ikram Shah Ismail, Management of Obesity, University of Malaya Medical Centre, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Manual Penjagaan Berat Badan Dan Pencegahan Penyakit Tidak Berjangkit, MP 8.2.8A TD.

Classification's Grouping	BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )	Classification
Underweight	<16.00	Very Thin
	16.00 – 16.99	Moderate
	17.00 – 18.49	Slightly Thin
Normal	18.50 – 24.99	Normal
Overweight	25.00 – 29.99	Pre-obese
Obese	30.00 – 34.99	Obese Class I
	35.00 – 39.99	Obese Class II
	≥40.00	Obese Class III

**Table 1: BMI Classification**

The current WHO classification states that the cut off points for overweight and obesity is 25 to 30 kg/m<sup>2</sup> respectively. However, it become increasingly clear that there is a high prevalence of Type 2 Diabetes Mellitus and Cardiovascular Risk Factors in parts of Asian Countries below those cut-off points. In Malaysian populations it self have a higher body fat percent at similar BMI, compared with Caucasian/European populations. Based on that, the following classification of weight by BMI according to risk of co-morbidities is recommended in **Table 2**<sup>3</sup>.

Classification	BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )	Risk of Co-Morbidities
Underweight	18.50	Low (but increased risk of other clinical problems)
Normal	18.50 – 24.99	Average
Overweight (Pre-obese)	25.00 – 29.99	Increased
Obese Class I	30.00 – 34.99	Moderate
Obese Class II	35.00 – 39.99	Severe
Obese Class III	≥40.00	Very severe

**Table 2: Classification Of Weight By BMI According To Risk Of Co-Morbidities**


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<sup>3</sup> ibid, p6.



Waist Circumference (WC)<sup>4</sup> measurement is a simple, reliable, and correlates well with abdominal fat content irrespective of the BMI. It is most useful for individuals who are in the normal and overweight categories of the BMI. In those with BMI > 35 kg/m<sup>2</sup>, it is unnecessary to measure WC as it loses its predictive value. The WHO recommendations suggest that the WC of 94 cm and 80 cm is associated with an increased risk in man and woman respectively. But, it has become increasingly clear that there is a high prevalence of Type 2 Diabetes Mellitus and Cardiovascular Risk factors in parts of Asian below those cut off points. Thus, the following WC is associated with an increased risk:

- Men: 85 cm.
- Women: 80 cm.

Obesity is not only affecting cardiometabolic profile, in fact study also prove that it can affect agility level of an Army Personnel. WHO had stipulated several criteria to enable Metabolic Disease Classification made based on cardiovascular Risk. Metabolic disease criteria are derived as follows<sup>5</sup>:

Criteria 1 - Insulin Resistance - Identified through following criteria:	
	Type II Diabetes Mellitus
	Impaired Fasting Glucose (IFG)/ Impaired Glucose Tolerance (IGT)
Criteria 2 - Additional 2 from below criteria:	
	Systolic blood pressure ≥140 mmHg or Diastolic ≥ 90 mmHg or adopt of high blood pressure medicine
	Plasma Triglycerid ≥ 1.7 mmol/L
	Cholesterol HDL < 0.9 mmol/L for men or < 1.0 mmol/L for women
	BMI > 30 Kg/m <sup>2</sup> and/or waist circumference ratio > 0.9 for men and > 0.85 for women.
	Albumin Urin elimination rate ≥ 20 µg/min or albumin ratio: creatinine ≥3.4 mg/mmol

**Table 3: Metabolic Disease Criteria**

<sup>4</sup> Arsenault JE, Noyes M & Funderburk L (2013) Attitudes and behaviors of overweight or obese US Army Soldiers. The FASEB Journal 27, 433.445.

<sup>5</sup> Bae K-K, Kim H & Cho S-I (2011) Trends in Body Mass Index and Associations With Physical Activity Among Career Soldiers in South Korea. Journal of Preventive Medicine and Public Health 44, 167-175.

Cardiometabolic problem shows that obesity contribute to increment of morbidity and relates with diabetes and high blood pressure problems. So, Metabolic Disease or obesity will reduced an Army personnel's Darjah Kerja TATADEMMOT (DKT) from FE to LE or BE.

**Table 4 and 5** shows the guide line that can be used to determine DKT for a personnel with obesity problem<sup>6</sup>.

BMI	Co-Morbidities	Gred T (P Grading)
≤30	No	T2 (FE)
≤30	Yes	T3 (LE) /T7(BE)
≥30	No/Yes	T3 (LE) /T7 (BE)

**Table 4: DKT Classification Based On BMI.**

Gender	Waist Circumference	Metabolic Syndrome Criteria	Gred T (DKT)
Men	≥ 90 cm	No	T3 (LE)
		Yes	T7 (BE)
Women	≥ 80 cm	No	T3 (LE)
		Yes	T7 (BE)

**Table 5: DKT Classification Based On Metabolic Syndrome Criteria.**

Base on the factor above, health risks associated with Obesity Metabolic Disease can be derived as follows:

- Risk of cardiovascular disease and its risk factors is greatest in patients with abdominal obesity.
- Steatosis (fatty liver) is common due to deposition of triglycerides in hepatocytes.
- Breathlessness is due to decrease in residual lung volume associated with increased abdominal pressure on the diaphragm.

<sup>6</sup> ibid, p6.

- Sleep apnoea is due to increased neck circumference and fat deposits in the pharyngeal area.
- Obesity is associated with eccentric ventricular hypertrophy which causes systolic and diastolic left ventricular dysfunction.
- Obesity is often associated with anovulation cycles resulting in reduced fertility potential while in men it is associated with decreased testosterone level.

### Factors That Contribute to Weight Gain and Obesity

There are many factors which can contribute to obesity among Malaysian Army Personnel such as food intake, lack of exercise activities and physical training, age factor, genetics, internal illness, and also certain medicament intake.

According to the Ministry of Health in Malaysia, good nutritional status that leads to an optimal quality of life is basic to sustainable development. As Malaysia forges ahead towards Vision 2020, it is imperative for us to consider the nutritional well - being of its population as a matter of everyday concern and practice.

The factors which could cause obesity among the Malaysian Army Personnel to be discuss in this paper are as follows<sup>7</sup>:

- **Imbalanced Diet.** Most of the Army Personnel are not exposed to the right way of diet. They tend to take the wrong way of dieting. While being on diet, they tend to eat only bread. Whereas the bread is the best storage of fat and one bun of bread equals to one plate of rice. They also think that water can make people get fat. But, in fact, water is 70% needed by our body, and it is good to have 3 litres of plain water every day to clean our body. Then, lack of protein occurs if the problem is not solved. They are not exposed to the power of cellular nutrition food that is rich with protein. Most of the Army Personnel might think that by minimizing their dietary intake vigorously or even not eating for the whole day can reduce their body weights. Some have unbalanced diet due to being picky or choosy with food. In order to lose weight successfully, eat more vegetables and fruits, moderate in meats and poultry but cut down the intake of foods that are rich with sugar, salt and fats.

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<sup>7</sup> Appukutty M, Norimah, A., Wan Nurussabah, A., Zaiton, D., Rokiah, D., Ismail, M., (2014) Workplace health promotion for preventing and managing obesity: results from 6 months intervention, pp. 223. Kuala Lumpur: International Association for the Study of Obesity.



**Figure 1: Example Of Imbalance Diet Food**

➤ **Eating Habits.** Malaysian's Army Personnel nowadays like to have dinner after 2100H in the evening. This is because of their busy working schedule as they tend to have late dinner especially for those who are on duty for 24 hour. In their mind, they always think that dinner is less important than breakfast. Besides that, they also have a simple life by taking a lot of instant food. In fact those instant food are high in chemical and low in nutrition. Malaysians have yet to realize the importance of nutrition that is 70% of what our body needs. Moreover, many of the Army Personnel today likes to eat hawker food rather than having their meal in cook house/mess. Usually, they have lunch, dinner or even breakfast outside. There are a lot of calories and fats in the food sold by the hawkers to attract customer's that comes to their stall. Besides that, the hawker's food is not clean. All this negative eating habits will badly influence the Army Personnel's weight gaining.

➤ **Lack of Physical Activity<sup>8</sup>.** Some of the Army Personnel are too ignorant about healthy lifestyle that plays a significant role on obesity. They are just too focused on Physical Training in the morning and too busy with their work until they neglect to spend more time to do some exercise and sports in the evening. Furthermore, having a stressful life lead them to consume more food. In addition, negative attitudes like being too lazy to exercise is also one of the reason for obesity. They have yet to realize the importance of exercise. As we can see the Army Personnel now days are lack of exercise or physically inactive due to packed schedule in their daily life. As an Army Personnel, we need to realize that level of activity plays an important role in promoting weight loss

<sup>8</sup> Kementerian Kesihatan Malaysia, Persatuan Hipertensi Malaysia & Akademi Perubatan Malaysia (2013) Panduan Amalan Klinikal. Putrajaya: Kementerian Kesihatan Malaysia; viewed 28 October 2017, <http://www.moh.gov.my/index.php/pages/view/948>.

and to maintain the body health. Besides that, Army Personnel nowadays will rely on vehicles instead of walking, spending hours in front of television and computers rather than exercising for few minutes. This results in the imbalance of caloric balance status. Caloric balance is a scale usually used to measure body weight status. The calories intake from food consumption equals to calories used up by normal body function for physical activities, is said in balance status. If the calories intake is more than the calories burn up, the person is in caloric excess which lead to weight gain.



**Figure 2: Lack Of Physical Activity In Army**

➤ **Water Consumption<sup>9</sup>.** Water plays an important role in promoting weight loss. People are used to drinking water with fast speed or in hourly proportions. In fact, throughout the day, we should drink water gradually. Sips of water throughout the day are better than drinking three glasses in one minute. Doing this may provide your body an ample time to absorb it. It is highly discouraged to drink an immense amount of water all at once because the heart may be stressed out which will lead to be detrimental to individuals with cardiac cases. Keep this in mind, by the time you will feel thirsty; you are already behind by two glasses. However, don't make it up by drinking two glasses all at once because that will give your heart so much work.

➤ **Late Dinner.** This is a bad eating habit. In Army, we have our own eating schedule in the cook house, and with that schedule comes individual eating habits as well. While some people will eat their dinner at 1800H on the nose every single night. But many of our personnel will eat at 2200H or later. The researchers found that the time of day you eat is a powerful predictor for weight gain. Experts also warn that late dinner can signal the start of a vicious cycle of weight gain due to total calories intake per day increased. As diet experts explain it, weight loss, gain, or stabilization is based on total calories consumed per day versus the amount of energy burned. Therefore, try not to have your dinner later than 1930H daily.

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<sup>9</sup> ibid p15.

➤ **Skipping Meals.** Skipping meals especially breakfast, can actually lead to weight gain. Some dieters choose to skip meals to save calories, assuming it can be a weight loss plan. It's important to keep your metabolism fired up with the right food at certain times of the day. The proper way to lose weight is to find a sensible weight loss plan that includes making healthier eating choices, exercising, and eating throughout the day to keep body metabolism up. Metabolism plays a key role in how quickly fat burning and lose weight. Therefore, meal skipping cannot be overlooked as part of your plan for weight loss. By skipping meals also make people hungrier later in the day; therefore people tend to over eat when they are extremely hungry. For those who skipped meals in day time or breakfast possible to consume supper within a couple of hours before going to bed. The meal skippers or those who only eat one meal per day had softens elevated fasting glucose levels and a delayed insulin response conditions that, if they persisted long term, it could lead to diabetes. The health risks associated with skipping meals are not worth it. So we need to re-examine the eating habits and make health a high priority in your life.

➤ **Snacking**<sup>10</sup>. Unhealthy snacking is likely to play an important role in the development of overweight and obesity. Nowadays, the smaller packages of snacks such as 100 to 150 calories are very popular in the market. But many people who eat the 100 calorie are likely to gain more weight by eating them simply because of the size portion. Besides this, television or movie watching has also become a problem in the home or working place. People tend to eat more snacks during watching television; and experts found that the snacks that were consumed during this time had higher fat calories, or were higher in carbohydrates, which can lead to this weight gain.

➤ **Alcohol Consumption.** Even though alcohol consumption are prohibited in MAF, but yet there are army personnel's who consumes it as their habits. Alcohol is one of the causes that can bring drinkers in the higher BMI situation especially for those who like to drink frequently without restriction. As their BMIs gets high it leads to gaining weight. Alcohol is a source of calories gaining which usually people will ignore or do not know about it. In fact, it can lead to weight gain due to its calories contained almost twice as much as proteins and carbohydrates. It may also fail to yield the feeling of fullness and hence make us to eat more. Furthermore, alcohol is absolutely no nutritional value results as there are no nutrients given

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<sup>10</sup> Ramli A (2013) Obesity and habitual physical activity level among staffs working in a Military Hospital in Malacca, Malaysia. The International Medical Journal of Malaysia<sup>12</sup>.

to initiate body metabolism. Thus, fat storage within our body cells and tissues is being initiated.

➤ **Fast Food<sup>11</sup>.** McDonald's, KFC, Pizza Hut, A & W, Marrybrown, Nando's, Kenny Rogers Roaster and others are the fast food that been the factors which lead to overweight and obesity. It is because fast foods are more convenient, prepared in faster rate and more delicious in terms of aroma and taste compared to home cooked meals. In fact, these foods may lead to obesity as the portion size is large and high in calorie. Deep frying and roasting is the two main methods to cook the food with the addition of unhealthy spices for instance, MSG, salt and sugar. Generally, fast foods contain a lot of saturated fats and sodium as well as the trans-fat, which is an unhealthy type of fats. Regular consumption of fast foods will have a greater chance to become obese if an Army Personnel consume less vegetables and fruits, lack of physical activity to burn up the excessive fats and the basal metabolic rate is low. Vitamins and minerals content are comparably lower than healthier foods. Other than that, it may link to heart disease, diabetes, and atherosclerosis.

➤ **Family History and Genetics.** Genetics and family background is another factor which leads to overweight and obesity. Studies have shown that a child who's his or her family with obesity background will have a higher chance to develop into an obese adult even though it is not predetermine. Genetic inheritance is also another factor which leads to obesity. Genetic influence can be said that it has a great effect on the amount of body fats stored and its distribution in the body. Parents who are obese or overweight will probably bring up an obese child in 25 - 30% as they share a similar lifestyle and eating habit.

➤ **How The Food Cooked and Prepared.** Food Cooking methods are the important techniques that one should learn how to convert the raw food ingredients into healthy and delicious foods especially for those who like to cook. Just remember that, deep frying is not necessary because you will waste a large amount of oil to fry, and then consume the oily foods which burdens up the stomach and the excess fats will be accumulated and store in our body. Boiling, steaming, broiling, grilling and stir-frying are the best cooking techniques which use little or no oil to cook the food. This is a healthy way to retain the original flavour and taste of the food. It will definitely taste better even though there is no deep-frying involved.

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<sup>11</sup> ibid p15.

## Consequences to The Malaysian Army Personnel Due to Obesity

Obesity may cause various implications towards the Malaysian Army personnel such as health effects, impact on their career, family and not qualified for military service. The consequences of obesity among the Malaysian Army Personnel as follows<sup>12</sup>:

➤ **Effects on Army Personnel's Health.** The health effects associated with obesity will cause long terms effects on an Army Personnel which includes the following health problems:

- **High Blood Pressure.** Additional fat tissue in the body needs oxygen and nutrients in order to live, which requires the blood vessels to circulate more blood to the fat tissue. This increases the workload of the heart because it must pump more blood through additional blood vessels. More circulating blood also means more pressure on the artery walls. Higher pressure on the artery walls increases the blood pressure. In addition, extra weight can raise the heart rate and reduce the body's ability to transport blood through the vessels.
- **Diabetes.** Obesity is the major cause of Type 2 Diabetes. This type of diabetes usually begins in adulthood. Obesity can cause resistance to insulin, the hormone that regulates blood sugar. When obesity causes insulin resistance, the blood sugar becomes elevated. Even moderate obesity dramatically increases the risk of diabetes.
- **Heart Disease.** Atherosclerosis (hardening of the arteries) is present 10 times more often in obese people compared to those who are not obese. Coronary artery disease is also more prevalent because fatty deposits build up in arteries that supply the heart. Narrowed arteries and reduced blood flow to the heart can cause chest pain (angina) or a heart attack. Blood clots can also form in narrowed arteries and cause a stroke.
- **Sleep Apnea and Respiratory Problems.** Sleep apnea which causes people to stop breathing for brief periods, interrupts sleep throughout the night and causes sleepiness during the day. It also causes heavy snoring.

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<sup>12</sup> Kementerian Kesihatan Malaysia, Persatuan Endokrin dan Metabolik Malaysia, Akademi Perubatan Malaysia et al. (2009) Panduan Amalan Klinikal. Putrajaya: Kementerian KesihatanMalaysia;viewed1November2017,<http://www.moh.gov.my/index.php/pages/view/237>.



Respiratory problems associated with obesity occur when added weight of the chest wall squeezes the lungs and causes restricted breathing. Sleep apnea is also associated with high blood pressure.

- **Cancer.** For women army personnels, being overweight contributes to an increased risk for a variety of cancers including breast cancer, colon, gallbladder, and uterus. While the men army personnel who are overweight have a higher risk of colon cancer and prostate cancers.
- **Metabolic Syndrome.** The metabolic syndrome as a complex risk factor for cardiovascular disease. Metabolic syndrome consists of six major components: abdominal obesity, elevated blood cholesterol, elevated blood pressure, insulin resistance with or without glucose intolerance, elevation of certain blood components that indicate inflammation, and elevation of certain clotting factors in the blood. Most of overweight or obese persons will exhibit metabolic syndrome.

➤ **Impact on Army Personnel Career Management<sup>13</sup>.** Army Headquarters have decided that a serviceman with BMI level more than 26.0 will not be supported for promotion, extend their service or attend any courses. This to ensure all Army Personnel always display good military image and smart appearance. Therefore, every Army Personnel involved with BMI problem have to attend for Weight Management Programme to ensure their application for career increasement document and attached with BMI decrease record for further action. This is as a positive way to maintain the ideal body weight among army personnel. At the same time it can make sure all Army Personnel's career management can be implemented as per planned. However for those who fail to achive ideal BMI after the Weight Management Programme will not endorsed for rank promotion or extention of their service in army due to medical reason for failing to qualify for military service. Additionally, they also may face administrative action, including discharge from the service.

➤ **Lack of Military Knowledge and Experience.** Army Personnel with BMI problem will not be allowed to attend any courses due to the current instruction. Therefore, they will lack of knowledge in conducting their duty as an Army Personnel. Besides that, they would also lack in terms of working experience because of their BMI problem that give implication on their health which restrained them from attending any military operation or training.

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<sup>13</sup> MK TD/G1/LLP.500-2 dated 17 February 2016, Pengurusan Body Mass Index Melebihi 26.0 Bagi Pegawai dan Anggota Lain-Lain Pangkat.

- **Effects on Family.** An Army Personnel that have been discharge from the service due to BMI problems will lose their job and wouldn't have monthly income. It will take a long period for them to find another job to bear their family's expenditure. In this case, their family will face difficulties to undergo their daily life because of no financial resource. This will contribute them to owe money through finance loan agency for their daily cost of living which finally will be trapped with blackmailed problem because of failure to settle up their debt. Their family also will feel ashamed because their husband have been discharge from the service due to BMI problems.
- **Impact on Malaysian Army Readiness.** Obesity among the Army Personnel are less likely to be medically ready to deploy. Both obesity and low levels of physical fitness increase the risk for injury among Army Personnel. The lack of physical fitness that often accompanies obesity also has a negative effect on military readiness. The obesity personnel will not deploy for any operation or training due to fitness and health problems. So, the army will always face the unbalance amount of troops to complete a mission given due to many BE and LE personnel cause of obesity problems.
- **Financial Burden on The Ministry Of Defence.** Obesity among Army Personnel can result in a significant financial loss for the Malaysian Army by considering the time incurred for training individuals, their level of specialization and the cost to recruit and train a replacement if they were discharge from the service. The Army organization also need to spent time and money to conduct Weight Management Programme in order to make sure those personnel with BMI problems reduce their weight and remain in the service. So this will provide a big burden for the Ministry Of Defence and the Army.

## OBESITY TREATMENT AND MANAGEMENT

Treatment for obesity start with lifestyle management that is comprehensive such as diet, physical activity, medicines and surgery. The factors that need to be consider to lose weight for an Army Personnel are as follows<sup>14</sup>:

- Types of diet suitable for an individual.
- Type of exercise is appropriate for an individual.

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<sup>14</sup> Obesity Treatment viewed 20 October 2017, <https://www.healthdirect.gov.au/obesity-treatments>.

- The needs for further testing or treatments for obesity related conditions.
- The needs of treatment for an underlying cause of obesity such as polycystic ovary syndrome.

Weight loss/management programs need commitment and can be challenging, but they can be successful for the Army Personnel who stick to it. So if an individual wants to lose weight, they will have to combine a kilojoule-controlled diet with regular exercise. The obesity treatment can be implemented in Army by following methods:

- **Correct Diet Selection.** Most people will need to reduce their daily kilojoule intake in order to lose weight and it be done by swapping unhealthy and high energy food choices such as fast food, processed food and sugary drinks (including alcohol) to a healthier choices of food.



**Figure 3: Healthy Eating Posters Food Pyramid**

- **Fasting.** Fasting is a way to limiting food intake which may reduce the weight gaining and also reduce the risk of many common diseases. Fasting may also increase the body's responsiveness to insulin, which regulates blood sugar and helps control hunger.
- **Suitable and Correct Exercise.** There are some popular exercise we can impliment to loss weight. But we need to start the excercise moderately and build up gradually so that we don't over stress the body and end up turning off exercise altogether. Those excercise suggested are as follows:

- Gym Work.
- Swimming.
- Jogging.

- Cycling.
- Golf.
- Competitive Sport.
- Military Physical Training.



**Figure 4: Example For Military Physical Training**

➤ **Medicines and Suppliments** There are several prescription and non-prescription medicines and suppliments that are available for weight loss in the market nowadays. However it's important to use these in combination to reduce kilojoule intake and increase physical activity. Some of it works by reducing the amount of fat absorbiton during digestion, others work by suppressing appetite. There are some side effects in using weight loss medicines and aren't suitable for all people. So an individual need to consult with doctor or pharmacist before starting a weight loss medicine to find out if it is right for that individual.

➤ **High Fibre Food**<sup>15</sup>. Eating high-fibre foods can help us to lose weight. Fibre fills up and keeps us satisfied. Five fibre rich foods that should add to our diet to help lose weight are apples, sweet potatoes, raspberries, chick peas and oats.

Losing weight can bring to a range of important health benefits. The key to success is making realistic changes to diet and level of physical activity that become a part of our daily routine in Army life.

<sup>15</sup> Five High-Fiber Foods for Weight Loss viewed 27 October 2017, <http://www.eatingwell.com/video/6801/five-high-fiber-foods-for-weight-loss>.

## **CONCLUSION**

Prevention is the best way to avoid the Malaysian Army Personnel's involve in obesity problems. The prevention method that could be taken are:

- Maintain periodically exercise.
- Taking food contain that less sugar and fat.
- Taking food in small quantity for every meal.
- Drinking sufficient of water, at least 8 glasses per day.
- Eating only when hungry and stop before full.
- Avoid take heavy meal before sleeping and on the late night.
- Reducing time to watch television or doing unused activities and replace it with recreation activities.
- Constantly monitor their weight once a week.

As a Malaysian Army personnel's, we need to maintain our BMI to get an ideal body weight throughout our service. So that, we can maintain the military readiness and doing the tasks given successfully.

Every Army Personnel must always maintain their BMI level so that can carry out their duty perfectly. Each level chain of command must make sure their sub ordinates have an ideal BMI at all time to make sure the management of their sub ordinates career to be fluence. So we need to impliment the prevention method to our sub ordinates to achieve an ideal BMI among the Army Personnel.

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## **THE OVERLAPPING TERRITORIAL CLAIMS IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: HOW MALAYSIA WILL FACE THE CHALLENGES**

**By MAJ KHAIRIL AZWAN BIN ABDUL RAHIM  
ROYAL MALAY REGIMENT**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

The overlapping territorial claim in the South China Sea (SCS) happened a long time ago and until now they don't have any solution on this dispute. The overlapping claims issue in the South China Sea involves several ASEAN countries involving China and Taiwan. China is perceived as the power to seek hegemony and a threat to the countries in ASEAN. As such, ASEAN and China must determine the relationship between them either as competitors or allies, thus resolving disputes in the South China Sea.

Lately, the situation reached to the climax when the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) in The Hague, Netherlands, delivered its verdict on the South China Sea dispute between the Philippines and China in 12<sup>th</sup> July 2016.<sup>1</sup> Eventhough the PCA verdict overwhelming backed to the Philipine but China thought that PCA verdict are worthless and not recognizable. Therefore China continues on their activity by sending their navy vessel at SCS. This paper will focus on the discussion which covers the effect from the disputes in SCS towards Malaysia and how Malaysia reacts.

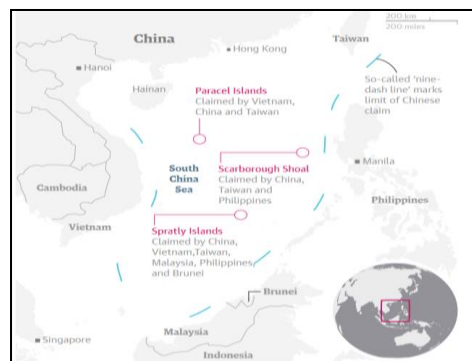
The history of SCS disputes was drawn since 1947 where in Republic of China publishes the first map including "nine-dash line" looping around almost the entire SCS including two major islands which are Paracel and Spratly islands. Both islands located at SCS and being ongoing territorial disputes between Brunei, China, Malaysia, Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam, concerning ownership of the islands, a group of islands and associated "maritime features" such as reefs, banks and cays. Two groups of islands are under contention which China claims possession of in their entirety; the Paracel Islands that are contested by China, Taiwan and Vietnam whereas for Spratly Island was claimed by Taiwan, Brunei, Vietnam, Philippines and Malaysia. All those countries involved where occupied by some of the reefs pertaining employment "low level military" to show off presence purposely to create a military pressure except Brunei.

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<sup>1</sup> The Hague (2016), Eleventh Press Release, The South China Sea Arbitration (The Republic of The Philippines vs The People's Republic of China).



➤ **Nine-Dash Line.** What is Nine-dash Line? This little line has shown up on official Chinese maps since the 1940s (it began with 11 dashes). It demarcates a vast but vague stretch of ocean from China's southern coast through most of the South China Sea. China has never clarified the line's exact coordinates. But it sweeps across waters and some small islands that are claimed by five other nations. It seems to go many miles beyond what is allowed under the United Nations treaty on maritime territorial issues, which China signed. These are the areas where China has been building islands, installing runways and running patrols. For China, the line represents long-lost historical claims that the country, after two centuries of weakness, is finally strong enough to recover. For the other nations, the line is a symbol of what they characterize as a naked power grab by China.<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 1: Nine-dash line and the territorial claim in SCS<sup>3</sup>**

➤ **How the Maritime Territory been Determine.** It is important for us to understand how the maritime territory has been determine for each country. Then we will be able to understand how it becomes a dispute in SCS. 168 countries including China and all the ASEAN countries except for Cambodia ratify the rules stipulated in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).

- According to Article 3 Section 2 Part II of UNCLOS (1982), defined "Breadth of the Territorial Sea" as every state has the right to establish the breadth of its territorial sea up to

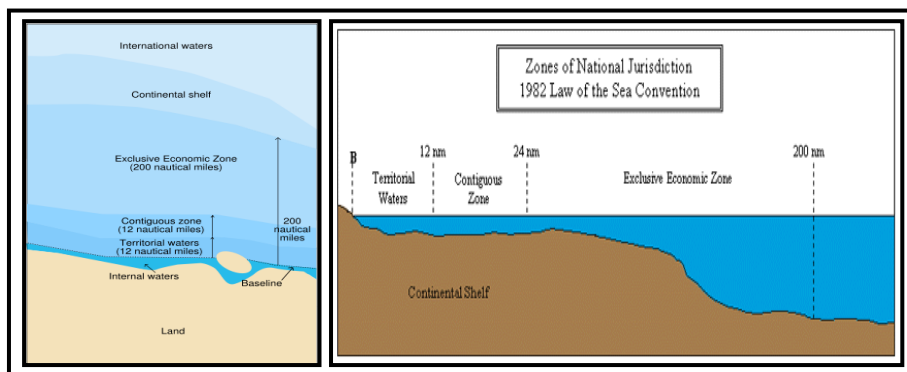
<sup>2</sup> Max Fisher (2016), The South China Sea: Explaining the Dispute, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/15/world/asia/south-china-sea-dispute-arbitration-explained.html>, Achieve on 20 Sep 17.

<sup>3</sup> Oliver Holmes and Tom Philips (2016), South China Sea dispute: what you need to know about The Hague court ruling, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/jul/12/south-china-sea-dispute-what-you-need-to-know-about-the-hague-court-ruling>, Achieve on 1 Oct 17.

a limit not exceeding 12 nautical miles, measured from baselines determined in accordance with this Convention.

- According to Article 5 Section 2 Part II of UNCLOS (1982), defined “Normal Baselines” is the low-water line along the coast as marked on large-scale charts officially recognized by the coastal State.

Meaning of that UNCLOS acknowledge that the low-water line of a coast is taken as a baseline for measurements breadth of the territorial sea. Therefore the coastal nations are entitled to claim their territorial waters up to 12 nautical miles (22 kilometers) seaward among others as measured from the baseline. Each countries, allow to emphasis the security in order to maintain the sovereignty over these waters, but must allow ‘innocent passage’ of foreign vessels, including military vessels.<sup>4</sup> UNCLOS has also acknowledge that each countries have the exclusive to use all of the natural resources found within 200 nautical miles (370 kilometers) from the baseline and this is known as Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ).<sup>5</sup>



**Figure 2: Zone of National Jurisdiction 1982 UNCLOS<sup>6</sup>**

According to the UCNLOS it also recognizes that each country has the economics right similar as EEZ for all continental shelves under the sea of their territory. This area may extend beyond the EEZ.<sup>7</sup> But crucially UNCLOS stipulates that any geographical features that will sink or being under the sea during the high tide, it is not entitled to either territorial water or EEZ around them. If this geographical features is above the sea during a high tide but cannot be sustain human habitation on its own natural condition then it is considered as ‘rock’. Refer to UNCLOS, rock will allow that nation to

<sup>4</sup> United Nation Division for Ocean Affairs and The Law of The Sea (1994), United Nation Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) 1982, Article 19 Section 3 Part II, Pg 31.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, Article 57 Part V, Pg 44.

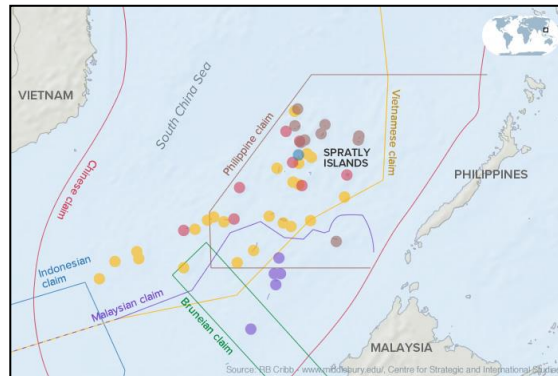
<sup>6</sup> Ibid, Part II, Pg 23.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, Article 76 Part VI, Pg 49.

claim the territorial water around the rock (12 nautical miles from baseline) but do not give the right to claims of an EEZ (which is 200 nautical miles from baseline).<sup>8</sup>

➤ **Countries that Involved in South China Sea Disputes.**

There are several countries that claims the territorial in the SCS as per shown in Figure 2.



**Figure 3: Countries that Claimed Territorial in South China Sea.**

- **China.** China claims that over 200 nautical miles from its shores which is about 80% from SCS as its sovereignty including the Spratly Islands. The basis of this claim due to historic value where over a decade ago due to the 1947 map (known as Nine dash line) that has been drawn up by China's Department of Ministry of Interior, when China was under republican rule. China is assert that its worthy to this claim which overlaps with other country territories and EEZ (Taiwan and Asean Countries) even though PCA has been declare on 12<sup>th</sup> July 16.<sup>9</sup>
- **Taiwan.** Like China, Taiwan also claims about 80% of SCS which are Paracel Islands, Scarborough Shoul and Spratly Islands since 1974. In fact the claims by Taiwan happened after Chinese Civil War. Most importants for Taiwan is the claimant toward Itu Aba known as Taiping Island in Taiwan. Unfortunately Taiwan is not a member of the United Nation (UN) therefore Taiwan is not one of the party to the UNCLOS. This situation caused difficulties for Taiwan to bring its territorial claims against China to the tribunal like Philippines' case. Even Taiwan's request to send an observer delegation to the hearings was denied by UN.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, Article 121 Part VIII, Pg 63.

<sup>9</sup> Koh Jun Lin (2016), Kiniguide On The South China Sea Dispute, <https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/349139>. Achieve on 1 Nov 17.

Why Taiping Island is important to Taiwan? Taiwan claims that this island is capable of sustaining human habitation with its freshwater well and ability to grow and is thus an island under UNCLOS. This situation will give a big opportunity to Taiwan to expand their EEZ up to 200 miles from Taiping Island in the Spratly Islands group.<sup>10</sup>

- **Philippines.** The territorial that has been claimed by Philippines are Spratly Islands and Scarborough Shoal. Philippines' claimants in Spratly Islands are about 53 islands. From that number, only 7 islands and 2 reefs can be occupied by Philippines. This claimant by Philippines is overlapping with China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Malaysia and Brunei in the Spratly Islands. While the claimant issued at Scarborough Shoal are between China and Taiwan. Philippines on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2013 has been instituted arbitral proceedings against the China under Annex VII to UNCLOS whereas Philippines stated that China by their action at the SCS alleged to be in violation of Convention due to historic rights and the source of maritime features in SCS and lawfulness of certain China's action. Meanwhile China remained their stand of non acceptance and non participation in the proceedings<sup>11</sup>. The proceedings take a four year and on 12<sup>th</sup> July 2016 the PCA make a verdicts that side to Philippines but not acceptable by China.<sup>12</sup>

- **Vietnam.** Vietnam has up rise their claim towards the islands, reefs and rocks at the belt of Paracel Islands and Spratly Islands. Its claim clashed with other countries especially China, Taiwan, Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei at both belts of islands. Like the overlapping claims between Vietnam and China at Paracel Islands, Vietnam claim that they rule this island since 17<sup>th</sup> century long before China.<sup>13</sup> While in Spratly Islands, Vietnam are the country that claim most of the island, reef and rocks in its. Until now, Vietnam has explored the most of objects in the Spratly Island than other claimant countries in this area.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Shannon Tiezzi (2016), Taiwan: South China Sea Ruling 'Completely Unacceptable', <https://thediplomat.com/2016/07/taiwan-south-china-sea-ruling-completely-unacceptable/>, Achieve on 5 Nov 17.

<sup>11</sup> Permanent Court of Arbitration (2016), <http://www.pcacases.com/web/view/7>, Achieve on 7 Nov 17.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> TRT World and Agencies (2017), The South China Sea Dispute Explained, <https://www.trtworld.com/asia/the-south-china-sea-dispute-explained-5963>, Achieve on 31 Oct 17.

<sup>14</sup> Pureideas76 (2008), "Tuntutan Bertindih Di Laut China Selatan Asean-China : Persaingan Atau Kerjasama?", <http://pureideas76.blogspot.my/2008/09/tuntutan-bertindih-di-lautchina> 17.html, Achieve on 4 Nov 17.

- **Malaysia.** In this theatre, Malaysia has claimed twelve islands over fourteen islands in Spratly Islands. Involvement of Malaysia towards SCS disputes has been drawn since 1970 wherein Malaysia began referring some of Spratly Islands in own territory. To be safe, Malaysia started to occupy five islands among his claimed in Spratly Islands on 1983 at Swallow Reef and followed by Ardesier Reef (1986), Mariveles Reef (1986), Erica Reef (1999) and Investigator Shoal (1999). On 1996, Malaysia, Vietnam, Philippines, Brunei and others countries asserted claims towards “nine dash line” into UNCLOS, 1982. In 2009, Malaysia with other countries stated a protest to the UN after China submits “nine dash lines” claims and said “has indisputable sovereignty over the islands in the SCS and the adjacent waters”. In 12 July 2015, culmination became raised after The Permanent Court of Arbitration rules that China has no legal basis for claiming much of the SCS and had aggravated the regional dispute with its land reclamation and construction of artificial islands. However, this decision has been rejected by China.<sup>15</sup>

- **Brunei.** This country sometime has been referred to as a “silent claimant” to the SCS. Shortly after gaining the independence from Britain in 1984, Brunei asserted rights to roughly rectangular chunk of the disputed sea which 200 nautical miles from their mainland as EEZ. Bombay Castle, Louisa Reef, Owen Shoal and Rifleman Bank all of these maritime features are within Brunei’s EEZ. Even though, Brunei only claims Louisa Reef which lies upon its continental shelf. Because Louisa Reef is part of the Spratly Islands, therefore this feature also claimed by China and Vietnam. Until now, Brunei the only claimant country that does not occupy any maritime features or maintains a military presence in the region.<sup>16</sup>

➤ **The Importance of South China Sea to Malaysia.** SCS is the third of global largest maritime traffic and most busy waterways. Approximately over \$ 5.3 trillion worth of goods passes through the SCS in a year. SCS is also rich with marine life where it contributes to 10 percent of the world’s fish trade. According the US Energy Information Agency make estimates that there are 11 billion barrels of oil and 190 trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves under the seabed of SCS.<sup>17</sup> Why is SCS important to Malaysia?

<sup>15</sup> Jon Lunn and Arabella Lang, “The South China Sea Dispute,” July 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Cobus (2017), Conflict and Diplomacy on the High Seas, <https://projects.voanews.com/south-china-sea/recent/>, Achieve on 31 Oct 17.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

- **Marine Life Resources.** According to the survey made in 1984, some 314 species were identified. About 8 percent of the world's total catch comes from this area. These area which span 390,000 square kilometres, yield 7.5 ton of fish per square kilometre, valued at USD 800 per ton. Revenue from the fisheries sector is one of the major contributors to the Malaysian economy growth. Statistic in 2016 shows that the fisheries sector contributes 11.4% compared to 10.7% in 2015 for Agriculture Sector of the country's GDP.<sup>18</sup> Other than that, based on an analysis by a CNA-US study, in 2012, Malaysia had caught fish of nearly 1.472 million tonnes equivalent to RM 7.98 billion a year. This amount is equivalent to 1.85% of the world's catch of fish in that year.<sup>19</sup> Based on data on fish catches issued by the Department of Fisheries in 2016, the value of fish catches in Malaysia increases every year. The catch in 2016 is 1.574 million tonnes equivalent to RM 10.176 billion a year. From this value the catch of fish in the SCS watery is 0.761 million tonnes equivalent to RM 4.204 billion.<sup>20</sup> This amount shows almost half of the total capture of fish for that year. Based on these facts and statistics it is clear that SCS is important to Malaysia in the fisheries sector.

- **Source of Hydrocarbon Energy.** Malaysia is one of the world's leading producers of petroleum and natural gas. Based on the country's GDP in 2016, the Mining Sector contributes 8.7 percent of the country's GDP. Of that value, crude oil production is 648 000 barrels per day while natural gas production is 6.798 billion cubic feet per day. The picture below shows the location of oil platforms in Malaysian waters in SCS. According to a study by the US Energy Information Administration, said that ASEAN countries had an oil reserve of 5 billion barrels and 80 trillion cubic feet under the SCS ocean floor.<sup>21</sup> This is why SCS so importance to Malaysia's economic.

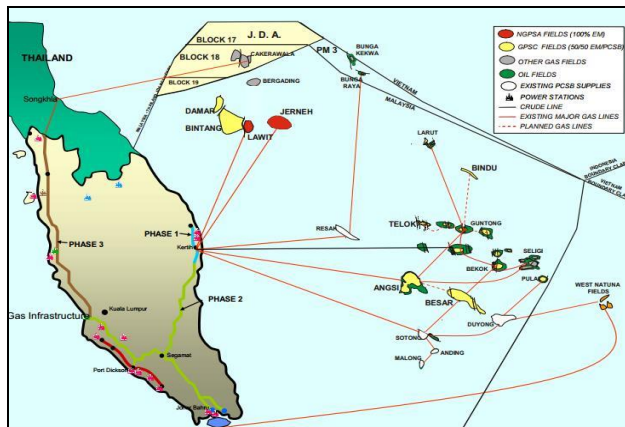
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<sup>18</sup> Kementerian Kewangan Malaysia (2017), Bab 3, Laporan Ekonomi 2016/2017, [www.treasury.gov.my/pdf/ekonomi/le/1617/bab3.pdf](http://www.treasury.gov.my/pdf/ekonomi/le/1617/bab3.pdf), Achieve on 3 Nov 17.

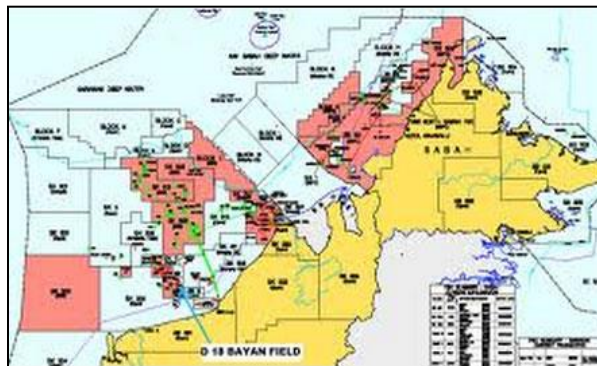
<sup>19</sup> Peter Cobus (2017), Conflict and Diplomacy on the High Seas, <https://projects.voanews.com/south-china-sea/recent/>, Achieve on 31 Oct 17.

<sup>20</sup> Malaysia Fisheries of Department (2016), 2016 Annual Fisheries Statistics.pdf.

<sup>21</sup> Peter Cobus (2017), Conflict and Diplomacy on the High Seas, <https://projects.voanews.com/south-china-sea/recent/>, Achieve on 31 Oct 17.



**Figure 4: Peninsular Malaysia Natural Oil and Gas Point or Field Explorations.**



**Figure 5: Sabah and Sarawak Natural Oil and Gas Point or Field Explorations.**

- Strategic Location for Tourism Attraction.** Based on The Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report 2017, Malaysia was ranked at 25th out of 141 listed countries. In the list of Asian countries, Malaysia is the fifth best country and is often visited for tourist destination. The main attraction in Malaysia is its beautiful and clean island and beaches which includes the preserved marine life. Most of these beautiful islands and beaches are located in the SCS area. The most famous well-known resort islands are Redang Island, Terengganu and the islands of Tunku Abdul Rahman National Park, Sabah. There is also an island located in the overlapping tutorial claim. The island is Layang-layang Island which is located in Malaysia's EEZ and now it's one of the famous home for deep-sea diving spot location.

- **Strategic Important Sea Lane of Communication (SLOC).** SCS is a most strategic shipping and trade route where it connects between the West and East, bringing millions of tons of fossil fuels and minerals as well as global import and export commodities. It is connected between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, with Malacca Strait, Singapore Strait and Sunda Strait where these three shipping routes are the chokepoints and coastal economy of the coastal countries that trade in East Asia, West Asia and Europe as well as in America. Besides that, the Spratly is considered as most essential SLOC indirectly has become the strategic importance to Malaysia.
- **Tactical Military Key Terrain.** The Spratly could serve as forward and operational bases. Hence any form of control of the area can be military advantages in the area located in one of the busiest SLOC at the centre of SCS. Among the locations developed is the Swallow Reef, now known as Swallow Island. On 21<sup>st</sup> June 1980 the construction of the monument began and in May 1983 the PASKAL began to be placed. Pictures below, show the Swallow Reef background in 1983 and current condition.



**Figure 6: Swallow Reef's Landscape Back in 1983.**



**Figure 7: Current Landscape of Swallow Island.**

On that year there was no infrastructure and only 11 PASKAL members were stationed and position there. Then Malaysian Government further makes a decision to develop this reef as a resort and in the same time build up for RMN's post. In October 1989,



Swallow Island Resort, which was built by YTL, was completed and equipped with 78 accommodation rooms including VIP rooms, cafeteria and swimming pools. This reef continued to be developed and in 1995 the reef was successfully completed with sand and concrete and was officiated by YAB Dato 'Seri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamed the Prime Minister of Malaysia that year. The 1067 meter runway was completed on 12 Nov 1992 to facilitate the military and resort aircraft to land on this Island. The length of the track has been upgraded to 1367 meters by SIN MATU Sdn. Bhd started on 3<sup>rd</sup> Sep 2001 and fully completed on 20<sup>th</sup> Jul 03. Now Swallow Reef or RMN LIMA station is fully equipped with a medium-range surface and air defence. It also equipped with the medium range surveillance radar, Kelvin Hughes (KH 1007), A CB90H boat, 3 Rigid Inflatable Riding Craft and 2 Assault Boats and tactical radio contact devices such as UHF, VHF and HF.<sup>22</sup>

➤ **Action Taken by China at South China Sea.** Historically, since ancient times China did not recognize a claimed from other countries against SCS even after a decision or verdicts from PCA or ICJ. China continues to hold their stand that the entire SCS region is belongs to them according to the Nine Dash Lines recorded in the map 1947/48. Additionally, China as one of the world's largest powers, this stand also seems freely give China permission to take arbitrary action at SCS. Major China's actions at SCS can be seen as follows:

- **Developing Artificial Island.** Even though China is seen to be lagging behind in term of reef development as artificial island but the world has seen these China's actions are quite aggressive due to the rapid pace of construction and its very large size compared to other regional developments such as Vietnam and Malaysia. In June 2015 China has announced to the world that their sand reclamation work on seven of its artificial islands in the Spratly Islands is nearing completion. China also built three military airports, radar installations, ports and other military facilities on these artificial islands. This situation allowed China to expand their EEZ including islands and reefs at SCS up to 500 miles from mainland China. US directly do not recognize these artificial islands are belonging to China.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Sedia Berkorban (2013), Stesen Lima TLDM Pulau Layang-layang, <https://sediaberkorban.wordpress.com/2013/05/16/stesen-lima-tldm-pulau-layang-layang/>, Achieve on 10 Nov 17.

<sup>23</sup> Derek Watkins (2016), What China Has Been Building in the South China Sea, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/07/30/world/asia/what-china-has-been-building-in-the-south-china-sea-2016.html>, Achieve on 29 Oct 17.

- **Additional Military Facilities in The South China Sea.** China has built up its latest military facilities on top of its artificial island. Among them are three airports, ports, high frequency radar facilities as well as lighthouses and other military support buildings. Although this facility are unable to support the implementation of a large military operation, but it is capable of allowing Chinese military naval vessel, cargo aircraft and jet fighters to expand longer and remote patrols in the SCS area. High frequency radar installations at Cearteron Reef also allow China to expand maritime surveillance at SCS just beyond China's mainland, which is capable of monitoring US-based military gears in the Philippines.<sup>24</sup> In 2014, China has also positioned their Surface to Air missile on Woody Island and put a military helicopter base on Duncan Island in the Paracel Islands.<sup>25</sup>
- **Construction of The Big Oil Platform.** In 2013, China has built a giant oil rig illegally in the Paracel Islands located within Vietnam's EEZ area. This platform was the first deep water digging platform built by China. Indirectly this situation been seen as a direct threat to Vietnam from China.<sup>26</sup>
- **Aggressive Action And Provocation By China At South China Sea.** History has proven lot of aggressive and provocative action by China. In 1988, the Chinese and Vietnamese Navigators had collided with Johnson Reef, Spratly Islands, which resulted in several Vietnamese boats sunk and over 70 Vietnamese navies were killed. In 1996, china ships fought against Philippine ships at Capones Island for 90 minutes of gun battle. The construction of the deep-sea oil rigs in the Parcel Island was also a reason for China to regulate the movement of its naval vessels at SCS. Since 2013, China is detected for using twin modus operandi, a fishing vessel accompanied by a Coast Guard ship as well as a Chinese navy vessel in encroaching Sarawak's Malaysian waters.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> TRT World and Agencies (2017), The South China Sea Dispute Explained, <https://www.trtworld.com/asia/the-south-china-sea-dispute-explained-5963>, Achieve on 31 Oct 17.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Abdul Muien Abadi (2016), 19 Fakta Konflik Laut China Selatan Yang Perlu Anda Tahu, <http://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/opinion/comment/2016/07/15/19-fakta-konflik-laut-china-selatan-yang-perlu-anda-tahu/>, Achieve on 22 Oct 17.

➤ **The Action Taken By Malaysia.** In order to adapt and solve the disputes in SCS, Malaysia has chosen a more positive and peaceful way. Malaysia chooses diplomatic, legal and security approaches. These approaches were aimed by ensuring Malaysia's strong stand on their SCS' claim area and at the same maintaining good relations with China and its ASEAN counterparts.

- **Diplomatic Action.** Malaysia has strictly maintained its stand to resolve any issues in SCS through diplomatic and peace talks with conflicting countries. Taking the example of the incident in 2014, according on the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) Flotilla was reported encroached into the Malaysian waters in Sarawak (James Shoal), Malaysia managed to handle it safely rather than taking a provocative action. Just after a few days of the incident, during the official visit by Huang Huikang, Chinese Ambassador visited to Malaysia's Defence Minister, Hishammuddin Hussein has raised this matter and discuss peacefully. It was no coincidence, in November 2014, Chinese President Xi Jinping explicitly praised Malaysia for taking a "calm diplomacy" approach rather than provocative action on any SCS issues.<sup>28</sup> Malaysian Prime Minister at the Malaysian Parliament Conference in 2016 has answered several questions from his Minister of Parliament (MP) according to the SCS issue, that Malaysia will continue to take a diplomatic approach to ensure peace and stability at SCS. This was seen on 4 Nov 2002, where ASEAN and China countries agreed to sign the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the SCS (DOC). Currently, through the DOC, China and ASEAN, including Malaysia, are committed in establishing a Code of Conduct in the SCS (COC) in order to enhance their understanding in term of managing SCS' disputes peaceaway.<sup>29</sup>

- **Legal Actions.** Malaysia is also seen taking a legal approach to addressing issues in SCS. As one of the members of the United Nations, Malaysia in 2009 has filed a protest with Vietnam against China's claimed on SCS based on his Nine Dash Line that violated UNCLOS 1982. Malaysia also has been seen presence as a joint observer with Vietnam along proceedings process of the PCA Tribunal in

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<sup>28</sup> *Bernama*, November 11, 2014, "Chinese President Praises Malaysia's Quiet Diplomacy on South China Sea Issues,".

<sup>29</sup> Najib Razak (2016), "Tuntutan Bertindih di Laut China Selatan "https://www.najibrazak.com/bm/blog/tuntutan-bertindih-di-laut-china-selatan/, Achieve on 15 Nov 17.

The Hague, Netherlands in 2013 between Philippines and China.<sup>30</sup>

- **Security Actions.** Even though Malaysia emphasized a diplomacy in addressing issues in SCS, Malaysia also did not ignore its water security plan. Malaysia increased monitoring of SCS through its military and security agencies. Malaysia also increased maritime patrols on SCS using ships, submarines and aircraft from RMN, RMAF and MMEA known as Malaysia Coast Guard. Malaysia also continues to maintain several military outposts in the Malaysia's EEZ area. In order to enhance security at SCS Malaysia emphasized their surveillance through radar surveillance as well as silent intelligence cooperation with the US.<sup>31</sup> In October 2013, the Defense Minister of Malaysia has announced to set up a new naval base in Bintulu Sarawak as one of Malaysia's EEZ security enhancements at SCS.<sup>32</sup>

- **Diplomatic Relations with United States.** China's main competitor as world superpower is the US. Malaysia takes the approach to build up relation with the US in order to control China's power at SCS softly. However, this bilateral relations are not directly aimed in helping Malaysia handle SCS issues. Diplomatic relations with the US are more in economic bond and bilateral cooperation with Malaysia Armed Forces (MAF) in term of bilateral training. The bilateral exercises has been conducted with US were CARAT EX in 2014 as well as MALUS AMPEX in 2016 conducted at Sabah and SCS area. Although we accept US each year for military cross-training but it does not put us as a state that acknowledge with US military action unilaterally on other countries, moreover on US-Israel relationship.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> "Simone Orendain, "South China Sea Dispute Tests Philippines' Ties With China," *Voice of America*, September 17, 2014, <http://www.voanews.com/content/south-china-seadispute-tests-philippines-ties-with-china/2452426.html>, Achieve on 4 Nov 17.

<sup>31</sup> Mohd Nizam Basiron (2012), "Recent Developments in the South China Sea: A Malaysian Perspective and Options" (Presentation to the MIMA Conference on the South China Sea," no. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (Disember 2012)

<sup>32</sup> Nurulwahida Othman (2015), Respon Malaysia Terhadap Pencerobohan China di Laut China Selatan, <https://www.thevocket.com/respon-malaysia-terhadap-pencerobohan-china-di-laut-china-selatan>, Achieve on 18 Oct 17.

<sup>33</sup> Najib Razak (2016), "Tuntutan Bertindih di Laut China Selatan" <https://www.najibrazak.com/bm/blog/tuntutan-bertindih-di-laut-china-selatan/>, Achieve on 15 Nov 17

## Analysis

After examining the history and facts above, SCS dispute cannot be solve in short term actions and by lone nation. The analysis below will show what will happened if SCS' disputes prolong and not to be handled wisely by each country:

- **The stand of the Claimant Countries.** SCS is very important among the claimant countries including China and Taiwan. These interests include various aspects of the economy (marine life and natural resources), strategic world trade SLOC and high strategic and tactical military facilities position and the influence power on competitors. It can be seen that each country which claims for SCS are firm with their stand. China as one of the superpowers in the world holds its stand firmly although after legal decisions were made by PCA. China's President Xi Jinping and Foreign Minister Wang Yi strongly rejected that decision. It should be understood, as a rising super power country, China sees its necessity to protect the SCS from potential US enclosures. China is largely dependent on the SCS for the continuation of their energy supply and trade from the Indian Ocean and the Straits of Malacca. China's diplomatic reactions are very decisive enough.
- **The Break Relationship and Cooperation Between Intra ASEAN Members.** When this situation arised, the foreign policy of every states will change from peace prevent threat. For those countries that are involved in crisis will regards as the enemy and the whole cooperation between the states are not available because of the international relations have change. With demolished cooperation, it leads to the hatred and lastly the region will stay as one nation but divided into a few colonies, which have their own agendas.
- **Invitation of Super Power To The Region.** The countries, which have involved in this conflict, will use their influence with the superpower as a last resort to gain their claims. It will bring the influence of the superpower in this region and he will use this reason as their existence and make full use of that conflict to achieve their new agendas toward this region.
- **The Change of External Policy.** These claims will bring down the international relations between those countries in this region or reduce the involvement in the inter-states affairs. The change of two countries and when this happened it will affect the whole cooperation developed in the region, involving the two countries, as they may end up by usage of force. By doing so, it will

influence the arms race in the region where, the stability and peace of this region will lose.

- **Reducing Strength of the Region.** With the fractured relation have to lack of cooperation and unity due to no diplomatic tie between the states in region, it will be easy for the external elements intrusion into this region. The enemy who's really irritated with the achievement of this region in the past might use this situation to colonize the area of their interest especially for the super power country.
- **Existence of External Threat within Inter-States.** If the conflict prolong, it will indirectly duplicate the external threat to the states involved. When this influence exists in that states, it will change direct concept of an affairs with other states in the region. With the states having difference perceptions towards their neighbourhood, especially confrontation serious behaviour, it will become a threat to that state.
- **The Best Approach to Handle the Disputes in the South China Sea.** Territorial overlapping claims at the SCS if not handle wisely is likely to trigger a massive war between these countries especially after intervention by world superpowers such as US. In order to prevent this war; the best approach is through peace discussion and mutual understanding between each country. But will this approach succeed especially with the involvement of China which is known as the world superpower? However, based on China's history, it is seen to be able to compromise on its way. China has compromise record of over 50% of the Tonkin / Beibu Bay region in the SCS with Vietnam without international pressure in 2004 where China received 46.77% of the Gulf while Vietnam was 53.23%. China also has a good record of compromising with Russia in Vladivostok and Bolshoy Island Ussurisky. therefore other countries especially ASEAN should stay united and cooperate to solve SCS issues with this superpower for the region and worlds good sake. Implementation of DOC and COC must be continued so that agreement and peaceful situation at SCS can be maintained.

## CONCLUSION

It is imperative; China is concerned with any possibility that US have closed its vital trading trails in the SCS. Despite that, any attempt to accuse China of being a bully in SCS will not solve any problems, moreover it will be beneficial. Constructive dialogues need to be continued by Malaysia so that China understands what is more beneficial for China to protect their interests in the SCS through bilateral military cooperation with ASEAN members, rather than conquering the SCS for itself.

Malaysia has taken a diplomacy action precisely by maintaining good relations with China and US by not allowing US to place any spy or aircraft in Sabah or any state, but to work with US in term of developing military capacity. At the same time, comprehensive military co-operation with China was created since 2014 as well as various steps of building confidence and trust between two parties.

Lastly, Malaysia as a strategic nation should continue to play a role as a pioneer in the stabilization and security of the Southeast Asian region - like ZOPFAN in Kuala Lumpur, 1971. In 2015 China's demand for Malaysia's exports was RM23.09 billion while Malaysia's export demand from US is RM12.22 billion.

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Major Khairil Azwan bin Abdul Rahim (3009257) is a graduate from Military Academy of Malaysia (ATMA) in 2007. He was born on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1984 at Muar, Johor. He is married and blessed with a daughter. This younger brother from four sibling holds a Bachelor in Civil Engineering from Technology University of Malaysia (UTM) in year 2007. He has been appointed as Platoon Commander of 8th Battalion Royal Malay Regiment, Kem Lipis, Pahang (2007 - 2012), Staff Officer 3 Operation at Fifth Brigade Infantry Malaysia (2012 – 2016), and currently holds the appointment of Company Commander at 7th Battalion Royal Malay Regiment (7 RAMD) from year 2016. He was also experienced serving in aboard as in Lebanon under United Nation Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) on 2009 till 2010 for MALBATT 1. The author believes that disputes of territorial claim in South East Asia has become a serious issue to the ASEAN country including Malaysia and will give a huge impact to the Malaysian Armed Forces as well.



## MYANMAR – ROHINGYA CONFLICT: IMPACT TO MALAYSIA SECURITY

By MAJ AZMAN BIN ABDUL TALIB  
ROYAL SERVICE CORPS

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### INTRODUCTION

The Rohingya exodus has re-emerged as a point of concern for Southeast Asia since late April 2015. The recent crisis is a complex mix resulting from ethnic cleansing and sectarian violence inside Myanmar further developed to the large-scale exodus of Rohingyas towards the coastlines of Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. The Rohingya migration within the region however is not an isolated instance of illegal movement of people in Southeast Asia. In fact, since 1980s, the region has been witnessing intra-regional migration, caused by socio-economic and political factors.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly, the primary reasons of this mass exodus of a Muslim minority community from a Buddhist majority country can be found in the domestic socio-political situation in Myanmar.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that the cumulative number of Rohingya travelling to Malaysia from 2012 to 2015 was approximately 112,500.<sup>2</sup> Recent report in 2017 stated that, the number of registered Persons of Concern (POC) to UNHCR is currently 150,430, of which approximately 56,000 are Rohingya.<sup>3</sup> Apart from seeing this as humanitarian crisis, another crucial aspect of serious security implications for the region and specifically to Malaysia should not be neglected.

### Who Are The Rohingya?

The Rohingya are often described as “the world's most persecuted minority”.<sup>4</sup> They are an ethnic group, majority of whom are Muslim, who have lived for centuries in the majority Buddhist Myanmar. According to many historians and Rohingya groups, muslims have lived in the area now known as Myanmar since as early as the 12th century.<sup>5</sup> The Arakan Rohingya National Organisation (ARNO) has said, “Rohingyas have been

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<sup>1</sup> Kundu, S. (2015). The Rohingyas: Security Implications for ASEAN and Beyond. Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses Issue Brief, 28.

<sup>2</sup> UNHCR (2016). *Mixed Movements in South-East Asia 2016*, <https://unhcr.atavist.com/mm2016>, achieved on 19 Oct 17.

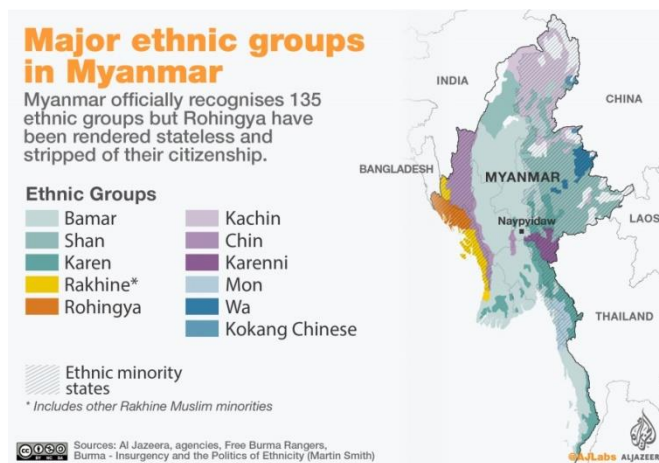
<sup>3</sup> Richard. T. (2017). *Challenges and way forward in handling Rohingya refugees in Malaysia*. <https://reliefweb.int/report/malaysia/challenges-and-way-forward-handling-rohingya-refugees-malaysia>, achieved on 10 Sep 17.

<sup>4</sup> Aljazeera.com. *Myanmar: Who are the Rohingya?*, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/08/rohingya-muslims-170831065142812.html>, achieved on 23 Sep 17.

<sup>5</sup> Aljazeera.com. *Myanmar: Who are the Rohingya?*, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/08/rohingya-muslims-170831065142812.html>, achieved on 23 Sep 17.

living in Arakan from time immemorial”, refers to the area now known as Rakhine.<sup>6</sup>

Currently, there are about 1.1 million Rohingya who live in the Southeast Asian country. The Rohingya speak *Rohingya* or *Ruaingga*, a dialect that is distinct to others spoken in Rakhine State and throughout Myanmar. Despite from the long story of their existence in Myanmar, they are not considered one of the country's 135 official ethnic groups and have been denied citizenship in the country since 1982, which has effectively rendered them stateless.



**Figure 1: Major Ethnic Group in Myanmar<sup>7</sup>**

Nearly all of the Rohingya in Myanmar live in the western coastal state of Rakhine and are not allowed to leave without government permission. It is one of the poorest states in the country with ghetto-like camps and a lack of basic services and opportunities. Due to on going violence and persecution, hundreds of thousands of Rohingya have fled to neighbouring countries either by land or boat over the course of many decades.

The history chronology of Rohingya is as per shown below:

- **8th Century:** The Rohingya, a people of South Asian origin, dwelled in an independent kingdom in Arakan, now known as Rakhine state in modern-day Myanmar.

<sup>6</sup> Arakan Rohingya National Organisation (ARNO). *Facts About the Rohingya Muslims of Arakan*. <http://www.rohingya.org/portal/index.php/learn-about-rohingya.html>, achieved on 23 Sep 17.

<sup>7</sup> Aljazeera.com. *Myanmar: Who are the Rohingya?*. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/08/rohingya-muslims-170831065142812.html>, achieved on 23 Sep 17.

- **9th to 14th Century:** The Rohingya came into contact with Islam through Arab traders. Close ties were forged between Arakan and Bengal.
- **1784:** The Burman King Bodawpaya conquered Arakan and hundreds of thousands of refugees fled to Bengal.
- **1790:** Hiram Cox, a British diplomat sent to assist refugees, established the town of Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh, where many Rohingya still live today.
- **1824 to 1942:** Britain captured Burma (now known as Myanmar) and made it a province of British India. Workers were migrated to Burma from other parts of British India for infrastructure projects.
- **1942:** Japan invaded Burma, pushing out the British. As the British retreated, Burmese nationalists attacked Muslim communities who they thought had benefited from British colonial rule.
- **1945:** Britain liberated Burma from Japanese occupation with help of Burmese nationalists led by Aung San and Rohingya fighters. Rohingyas felt betrayed as the British didn't fulfill a promise of autonomy for Arakan.
- **1948:** Tensions increased between the government of newly independent Burma and the Rohingya, many of whom wanted Arakan to join Muslim-majority Pakistan. The government retaliated by ostracizing the Rohingya, including removing Rohingya civil servants.
- **1950:** Some Rohingya resisted the government, led by armed groups called Mujahids. The insurgency gradually died down.
- **1962:** General Ne Win and his Burma Socialist Programme Party seized power and took a hard line against the Rohingya.
- **1977:** The junta began Operation Nagamin, or Dragon King, which they said was aimed at screening the population for foreigners. More than 200,000 Rohingya fled to Bangladesh, amid allegations of army abuses. The army denied any wrongdoing.
- **1978:** Bangladesh struck a UN-brokered deal with Burma for the repatriation of refugees, under which most Rohingya returned.

- **1982:** A new immigration law redefined people who migrated during British rule as illegal immigrants. The government applied this to all Rohingya.
- **1989:** The army changed the name of Burma to Myanmar.
- **1991:** More than 250,000 Rohingya refugees fled what they said was forced labor, rape and religious persecution at the hands of the Myanmar army. The army said it was trying to bring order to Rakhine.
- **1992 to 1997:** Around 230,000 Rohingya returned to Arakan, now known as Rakhine, under another repatriation agreement.
- **2012:** Rioting between Rohingya and Rakhine Buddhists killed more than 100 people, mostly Rohingya. Tens of thousands of people were driven into Bangladesh. Nearly 150,000 were forced into camps in Rakhine.
- **2016:** Rohingya militant group Harakah al-Yaqin attacked border guard posts, killing nine soldiers. The army retaliated. More than 25,000 people fled Rakhine to Bangladesh, bringing accounts of killing, rape and arson. Aung San Suu Kyi's government denied the atrocities.

## The Persecution

Shortly after Myanmar's independence from the British in 1948, the Union Citizenship Act was passed, defining which ethnicities could gain citizenship, unluckily, the Rohingya were not included.<sup>8</sup> The act, however, did allow those whose families had lived in Myanmar for at least two generations to apply for identity cards. Rohingya were initially given such identification. During this time, several Rohingya also served in parliament.

After the 1962 military coup in Myanmar, things changed dramatically for the Rohingya. All citizens were required to obtain national registration cards. The Rohingya, however, were only given foreign identity cards, which limited the jobs and educational opportunities they could pursue and obtain.

Under the new citizenship law passed in 1982, Rohingya were again not recognised as one of the country's 135 ethnic groups, which effectively rendered the Rohingya stateless. The citizenship requirement established under this law required certain criteria in order to obtain the most basic level (naturalised citizenship) including there must be a proof that the person's

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

family lived in Myanmar prior to 1948 and fluency in one of the national languages. Unluckily for many Rohingya, they lack such paperwork because it was either unavailable or denied to them.<sup>9</sup> As a result of the law, they have been restricted from the rights to study, work, travel, marry, practice their religion and access health services.

Since the 1970s, a number of crackdowns on the Rohingya in Rakhine State have forced hundreds of thousands Rohingya fled from Myanmar, many as migrants or refugees with no legal status. The largest concentrations of Rohingya are found in Bangladesh and in Saudi Arabia, with significant numbers in Malaysia, Thailand, India and elsewhere.<sup>10</sup>

Recently in October 2016, troops started pouring into villages in Rakhine State. The government blamed what it called fighters from an armed Rohingya group and claimed nearly 100 people were killed after armed men from the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) launched a raid on police outposts in the region.<sup>11</sup> The killings led to a security crackdown on villages where Rohingya lived. In November 2016, a UN official accused the government of carrying out “ethnic cleansing” of the Rohingya.<sup>12</sup> It was not the first time such an accusation has been made. In April 2013, for example, HRW said Myanmar was conducting a campaign of ethnic cleansing against the Rohingya.<sup>13</sup>

According to UNHCR, more than 400,000 people have fled the violence, with thousands trapped in a no-man's land between the two countries.<sup>14</sup> The UN has also said that hundreds of civilians who have tried to enter Bangladesh have been pushed back by patrols, detained and forcibly returned to Myanmar.

International Organization for Migration reported that, from October 2016 to July 2017 more than 87,000 Rohingya fled to Bangladesh following violence that broke out last year.<sup>15</sup> The UN estimated that there are as many as 420,000 Rohingya refugees in Southeast Asia, and around 120,000 internally displaced Rohingya.

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<sup>9</sup> Aljazeera.com. *Myanmar: Who are the Rohingya?*. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/08/rohingya-muslims-170831065142812.html>, achieved on 23 Sep 17.

<sup>10</sup> The Human Rights of Stateless Rohingya in Malaysia (2014). *Equal Only In Name*. Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies, Mahidol University.

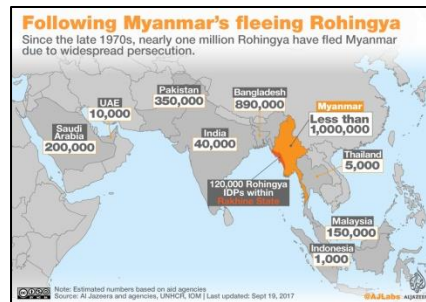
<sup>11</sup> Aljazeera.com. *Myanmar: Who are the Rohingya?*. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/08/rohingya-muslims-170831065142812.html>, achieved on 23 Sep 17.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Human Rights Watch. *Human Rights Watch World Report 2000*, <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k/index.htm#TopOfPage>, achieved on 24 Sep 17.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Sullivan, D. (2016). *Still Adrift: Failure to Protect Rohingya in Malaysia And Thailand*.



**Figure 2: Statistics of Rohingya Refugees Since 1970s<sup>16</sup>**

### Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia

The first arrival of Rohingya to Malaysia is hardly to identify. Nevertheless, it has been verbally stipulated that there was an inflow of Rohingya in late 1970s following the implementation of the 1974 Emergency Immigration and “Nagamin” operation took place in Arakan state of Burma.<sup>17</sup> According to a report by Institute of Malaysian & International Studies (IKMAS), there are three distinct periods where Rohingya understandably to have had arrived Malaysia in large number. The first was between 1991-1992 involving 15,000 Rohingyas followed by period between 2004 and 2006 involving 8,000 Rohingyas.<sup>18</sup> Sectarian violence erupted between ethnic Rohingya and Rakhine in a number of townships in Arakan state of Burma caused another wave of inflow of Rohingya into Malaysia involving at least 9,000 Rohingyas.

This estimate is sensible concerning as at the end of May 2013, Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA) has recorded about 3,000 Rohingya were detained in all MOHA’s immigration depots throughout Peninsular Malaysia.<sup>19</sup> On top of these major exoduses, individual and smaller groups of Rohingya continue to enter Malaysia clandestinely and/or legally through various means of travel and entry points annually.

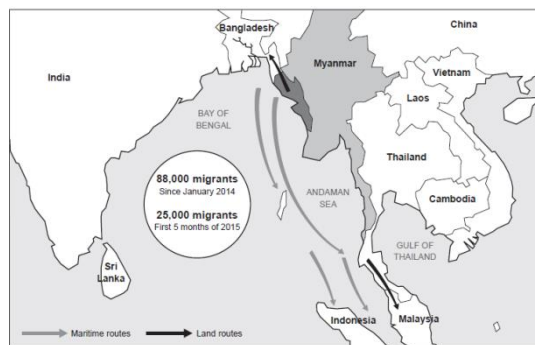
<sup>16</sup> Al Jazeera. Myanmar: *Who are the Rohingya?*, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/08/rohingya-muslims-170831065142812.html>, achieved on 23 Sep 17.

<sup>17</sup> Letchamanan, H. (2013). *Myanmar's Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia: Education and the Way Forward*. Journal of International and Comparative Education (JICE), 86-97.

<sup>18</sup> Andika, W. (2015). *Smuggling of Migrants & Its Implications towards Human Security of the Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia*. National University of Malaysia (UKM).

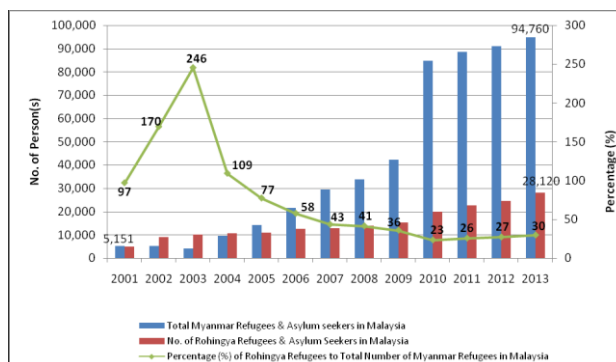
<sup>19</sup> Ibid.





**Figure 3: Rohingya Migration to Malaysia until 2015<sup>20</sup>**

Interestingly, population of Myanmar refugees registered with UNHCR Malaysia in overall (not excluding Rohingya) enlarged almost 20 times from 5,151 (2001) to 94,760 (2013). Out of this total figure (2013), Rohingyas make up only 29.7%. The largest proportion dominated by another ethnic minority from Myanmar, the Chin, with share about 34% (absolute number, 32,460 individuals) of the total Myanmar refugees registered with UNHCR. This suggests that Malaysia is not only being a “melting pot” for Rohingyas but also other ethnic minorities from Burma such as the Chin, Karen, Mon, Shan and Burmese Muslim.<sup>21</sup>



**Figure 4: Rohingya Population and Its Share to Registered Myanmar Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Malaysia, 2001-2013<sup>22</sup>**

Richard Towle, representative of UNHCR Malaysia in his presentation for the International Conference on Rohingya 2017 reported, the number of registered Persons of Concern (POC) to UNHCR is currently

<sup>20</sup> Chan, X. Y. (2017). *Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia: Need for Policy Rethink*.

<sup>21</sup> Andika, W. (2015). *Smuggling of Migrants & Its Implications towards Human Security of the Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia*. National University of Malaysia (UKM).

<sup>22</sup> Source(s): Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM), Azharudin, M.D. & Azlinariah, Ab. (2012) and UNHCR Statistical Data (Malaysia), United States Committee for Refugees & Immigrants (USCRI 2002).

150,430, of which approximately 56,000 are Rohingya.<sup>23</sup> There are also many undocumented persons of different ethnic groups from Myanmar who are living in Malaysia but whose need for protection from UNHCR has reduced significantly or even ended, given the evolving situation in Myanmar itself.

Despite the absence of the right to work, study found that majority of Rohingya especially those residing in urban settings such as Kuala Lumpur and Selangor either employed illegally or self-employed. For employed Rohingya, their work is normally on part time basis, daily and hourly paid, short term and based on manual labour such as painting and welding.<sup>24</sup> Besides, larger fraction of Rohingya population especially in urban areas are self-employed in a number of economic activities, including collecting and selling recycle items, grass-cutting, and running grocery stores mainly in the Rohingya dominated settlement.



**Figure 5: Rohingya family spent 14 months in detention after the May 2015 boat crisis. They now live in Ampang<sup>25</sup>**

Since September 2016, the Government of Malaysia has promoted the rights of Rohingya in a number of regional and global forums, including ASEAN and the OIC. These provide new opportunities to strengthen national and regional protection and partnerships for this very vulnerable population. Malaysia is also an active member in the Bali Process and in ASEAN on Anti-Trafficking and human smuggling initiatives, which are providing positive dividends for Rohingya refugees. One such positive development, in 2016, was Government's announcement of a work pilot

<sup>23</sup> Richard, T. (2017). *Challenges and way forward in handling Rohingya refugees in Malaysia*, <https://reliefweb.int/report/malaysia/challenges-and-way-forward-handling-rohingya-refugees-malaysia>, accessed on 11 Nov 17.

<sup>24</sup> Andika, W. (2015). *Smuggling of Migrants & Its Implications towards Human Security of the Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia*. National University of Malaysia (UKM).

<sup>25</sup> Sullivan, D. (2016). *Still Adrift: Failure To Protect Rohingya In Malaysia And Thailand*. <https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports/2016/rohingya>, achieved on 11 Nov 17.

scheme for 300 Rohingya refugees, which started in March 2017.<sup>26</sup> Initially, this scheme is limited to the plantation and manufacturing sectors and expected to be expanded over time.

### Regional Security Impact

In May 2013, following the 2012 Rohingya refugee crisis, Indonesian Chep Hermawan of Gerakan Reformis Islam (GARIS), Jakfar Shidiq of Front Pembela Islam (FPI) and Bernard Abdul Jabbar of Komite Advokasi Muslim Rohingya-Arakan (KAMRA) decided that the only solution to the alleged violence against the Rohingya is by conducting jihad.<sup>27</sup> Chep Hermawan was the man responsible for sending several Indonesians to Syria to join the so-called Islamic State (IS) terrorist group. At the time, Jakfar claimed that a thousand Muslim youths were ready to enter Myanmar to defend the Rohingya and by Ramadhan that year, there would be enough money of 10 billion Indonesian rupiah to purchase weapons to equip his expeditionary force. Also in 2013, two Rohingya leaders had travelled to Indonesia to meet hardline groups, apparently 'shopping' for "fighters, guns, cash and bomb-making instructors", according to The Jakarta Post.<sup>28</sup>

A similar jihadist flare-up is now developing in the wake of the latest atrocities reported. On 30 October 2016, India Today reported that Pakistan-based militant groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Jamatul Mujahidin and the Pakistani Taliban have given full assistance to the Rohingya militants. On 23 November 2016, Posmetro reported that Ehsanullah Ehsan, the spokesperson of Jamaat-ul-Ahrar, a faction of the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) called on Myanmar youth to rise and carry out jihad, promising that his group's training centre, expertise, trainers and personnel are all ready to support them.<sup>29</sup>

Meanwhile, regional online extremists have begun pledging their support through profile pictures with the IS flag and a hash tag saying "Pray for PARIS" which refers to the conflict areas of Palestine, Africa, Rohingya, Iraq and Syria. The Indonesian online jihadist community even furnished their Facebook pages with various Rohingya-related propaganda posts and pictures, including a map which provides a possible travel route for potential Indonesian jihadists to enter Myanmar via Aceh. In addition, Muhammad Wandy, a Malaysian IS fighter linked to the Puchong grenade attack, called

<sup>26</sup> Richard, T. (2017). *Challenges and way forward in handling Rohingya refugees in Malaysia*, <https://reliefweb.int/report/malaysia/challenges-and-way-forward-handling-ohingya-refugees-malaysia>, accessed on 11 Nov 17.

<sup>27</sup> Jasminder, S., Muhammad, H. (2016). *The Rohingya Crisis: Regional Security Implications*, <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/icpvtr/co16293-the-rohingya-crisis-regional-security-implications/#.WeeC9nlx1LM>, achieved on 11 Nov 17.

<sup>28</sup> Jasminder, S., Muhammad, H. (2016). *The Rohingya Crisis: Regional Security Implications*, <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/icpvtr/co16293-the-rohingya-crisis-regional-security-implications/#.WeeC9nlx1LM>, achieved on 11 Nov 17.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

on his supporters to prove that they are not keyboard warriors by killing any Buddhist-Myanmar person they may find in Malaysia or Indonesia.<sup>30</sup>

Beyond security issues along the northern borders of Myanmar, Southeast Asian countries including Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand must be vigilant. Malaysia as one of the countries that have significant Rohingya refugee populations, must guard against the possible recruitment or radicalisation of the refugees that would developed into huge regional security impact. It would be unfortunate if these refugees, in their desperation, become members of terrorist organisations or commit terrorist acts in their host countries.

On another note, Malaysia's condemnation of the Myanmar government, in its support of the Rohingya, has resulted in negative reactions from Naypyidaw. The President's Office has dismissed the Malaysian Solidarity March as a "calculated political decision to win the support of the Malaysian public". It has since suspended sending workers Malaysia and summoned the Malaysian ambassador over the Prime Minister's "genocide" comments.<sup>31</sup> Tense relations will contribute very little towards solving the Rohingya crisis in both countries.

### Internal Security Impact

In a strongly-worded statement, the Malaysian Foreign Ministry said the high number of Rohingya refugees here as well as the hundreds of thousands in other countries was no longer an internal issue for Myanmar but an international issue, and closer to home a security matter for Malaysia.<sup>32</sup> Illegal immigrants and mass refugees influx are often been held responsible for the undermining of the general law and order situation in their host societies. The Diplomat (2015) reported, besides terrorism, extremist violence, and religious extremism, the Rohingya crisis is also seen as being associated with all kinds of criminal activities including narcotics, human trafficking, illegal trade in small arms and light weapons (SALW) and ammunition, stealing, armed robbery, and maritime piracy.<sup>33</sup> Other major concerns are smuggling and illegal cross-border infiltrations.

<sup>30</sup> The Malay Mail Online (2017). *Rohingya crisis may fuel militant Muslim backlash in Southeast Asia, experts say*, <http://www.themalaymailonline.com/malaysia/article/rohingya-crisis-may-fuel-militant-muslim-backlash-in-southeast-asia-experts#AufEYUBCRfulIPSbJ.97> achieved on 11 Nov 17.

<sup>31</sup> The Malay Mail Online (2017). *Myanmar suspends sending workers to Malaysia following Rohingya spat*. <http://www.themalaymailonline.com/malaysia/article/myanmar-suspends-sending-workers-to-malaysia-following-rohingya-spat#EpvOEYLoh0jBBYPy.99>, achieved on 10 Nov 17.

<sup>32</sup> The Malay Mail Online (2016). *Rohingya issue affects Malaysia's security, Putrajaya tells Myanmar*. <http://www.themalaymailonline.com/malaysia/article/rohingya-issue-affects-malay-security-putrajaya-tells-myanmar> achieved on 10 Oct 17.

<sup>33</sup> The Diplomat (2015). *The Rohingya: Humanitarian Crisis or Security Threat?* <https://the-diplomat.com/2015/10/the-rohingya-humanitarian-crisis-or-security-threat/>. achieved on 10 Oct 17.

In the case of Rohingya refugees and their search for safe-haven in Malaysia, the use of smuggler or interchangeably called as “agents” and “travel coordinators” is not uncommon.<sup>34</sup> Smuggling of migrant is an absolute international crime that often been associated with cross-border movement of migrants. Involvement of Rohingya refugees as victims of smuggling in Malaysia has been proven in a number of fact-finding missions and international reports.<sup>35</sup> The elasticity of this crime makes it scarcely to be confronted especially by enforcement agencies. Smuggling activity is also frequently committed in a group or network of individual and sometimes associated and/or hiding behind group of entrepreneurs, particularly those have business related to travelling and tourism industry as well as import-export kind of business activities.

Involvement of enforcement personnel in smuggling and trafficking of refugees especially Rohingyas has been highlighted extensively in a number of international reports (U.S. Department of State 2010; U.S Committee for Refugees and Immigrants 2006; Amnesty International 2010).<sup>36</sup> In 2008, Malaysia was shocked by the disclosure of human trafficking case involving enforcement officers whom allegedly trafficked detainees (many of those were Burmese refugees and asylum seekers) out from Malaysian detention centre to the Malaysia-Thailand border. Abuse of power and alleged corruption committed by enforcement personnel in Malaysia is alarming and become another threat to internal security of this country.

Additionally, Rohingya have increasingly linked with growing rates of crimes related to extortion, sexual harassment (including prostitution and sexual slavery), killings for organs, domestic servitude, and forced labor by criminal networks in their host countries.<sup>37</sup> In Malaysia, Rohingyas involvement in such cases cannot be verified; however, the government must take stern action as a precaution to prevent this internal security threat.

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<sup>34</sup> Andika, W. (2015). *Smuggling of Migrants & Its Implications towards Human Security of the Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia*. National University of Malaysia (UKM).

<sup>35</sup> Human Rights Watch (HRW) (1999), *Living in Limbo: Burmese Rohingyas in Malaysia*, <http://www.hrw.org/de/reports/2000/08/01/malaysiaburma-living-limbo-burmese-rohingyas-malaysia>, achieved on 10 Nov 17.

<sup>36</sup> Andika, W. (2015). *Smuggling of Migrants & Its Implications towards Human Security of the Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia*. National University of Malaysia (UKM).

<sup>37</sup> The Diplomat (2015). *The Rohingya: Humanitarian Crisis or Security Threat?* <https://thediplomat.com/2015/10/the-rohingya-humanitarian-crisis-or-security-threat/>, achieved on 10 Oct 17.

## Forced Migrants Security Impact

Managing mass forced displacement is a complex problem. While it is impossible for governments to cater for all refugees, it is possible to minimise the security risks of forced migration. Security must be viewed as the number one concern when dealing with forced migrants, and a security system must be adopted accordingly. Not having a security system in place will signal an open door to forced migrants. Its absence is certainly a pull factor for refugees and asylum seekers to keep coming to a country in which it is relatively easy to live and work illegally below the radar.

In Malaysia, there are estimated to be anything between two to four million undocumented migrants or foreigners living and working in an unregulated, largely urban, labour market economy.<sup>38</sup> This has a very significant impact on the socio-economic and security situation of the country.

An unknown quantity of persons, whether or not they are refugees or asylum seekers coming into the country is a security risk in itself. The risk is heightened in the case of refugees and asylum seekers because they typically enter borders illegally in large numbers. They are also generally without identity papers or records, as was the case in the Andaman Sea Crisis of May 2015.<sup>39</sup>

Whether or not a country recognizes refugees, there is an undisputed security benefit in knowing precisely who is in one's territory. It allows for better management of the refugee problem. Lack of control over borders will lead to no control over refugees within those borders, as not being in the system enables forced migrants to move irregularly without being monitored by official channels.

The importance of data collection at borders or a national database cannot be emphasised enough. Selective vetting process that includes background checks and security clearances to differentiate those who are legitimate refugees from those who are not known as Refugee Status Determination (RSD) should form a part of the solution. Since Malaysia does not have an asylum policy, RSD is solely conducted by the UNHCR. It is thus imperative for the government and the UNHCR to work in unison, as RSD appears to be the only means available to weed out and remove the security threats of forced migrants in the country.

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<sup>38</sup> Andika, W. (2015). *Smuggling of Migrants & Its Implications towards Human Security of the Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia*. National University of Malaysia (UKM).

<sup>39</sup> Yasmin, N. A. (2017). *Security Challenges in a Time of Mass Forced Displacement*, Institute of Strategic & International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia FOCUS 1/2017 Issue No 4, 9.

## Socio-economic Security Impact

The concept of societal security primarily deals with the issue of collective identity. As explained by Ole Waever (1993), societal security “concerns the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats”.<sup>40</sup> In relation to international migration, it refers to the ways in which members of a state perceive their cultural, linguistic, religious, or national identity to be threatened by immigrants.

It is immigration in general, whether voluntary or involuntary, legal or illegal, that constitutes this threat, as long as the immigrants pose a challenge to the identity of the receiving state through their different language, culture, or religion. From the perspective of Rohingya refugees in Malaysia, the national values of this country are the referent object under threat.

Threats that are associated in the component of socio-economic security are considered tangible and objective.<sup>41</sup> Repayment of loans, unemployment and low-paying jobs plus uncertainty due to their legal status has accumulatively positioned Rohingya in a circle of poverty. This situation has a direct implication to their day-to-day survival including access to basic needs such as foods, healthcare, housing and education for their children. In Malaysia, there is no refugee camp or a proper refugee-shelter where Rohingya could stay temporarily. None of the Rohingya’s Community-based Organization (CBO) has shelter to house the new comers and first time arrivals.<sup>42</sup>

In the case of Rohingya smuggling, cost for smuggling is varied and it can up to manifold to what have been agreed earlier. Agents usually impose higher interests and some additional fees if smuggled victims agreed to pay by instalment or in portion according to services provided by smugglers. The study however found that many smuggled Rohingyas unable to repay the loan (with interests) upon their arrival.<sup>43</sup> In debt position to smugglers or agents who brought them to Malaysia may cause refugees in a cycle of poverty and fear of crime inflicted by perpetrators.

Many researchers also found that, Rohingya have been identified by some host governments and local communities as a negative disturbance to local economies, especially when they are settling in underdeveloped

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<sup>40</sup> Waever, O. (1993). “*Societal Security: The Concept.*” In: Waever, O., B. Buzan, M. Kelstrup and P. Lemaitre, eds. *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*. London: Pinter Publishers, pp.17-40.

<sup>41</sup> Tadjbakhsh, S. & Chenoy, A.M. (2007). *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, London: Routledge.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> Andika, W. (2015). *Smuggling of Migrants & Its Implications towards Human Security of the Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia*. National University of Malaysia (UKM).

regions.<sup>44</sup> Some fear that the Rohingya constitute an additional demographic pressure on the already densely populated area with scarce resources. Others claimed that the (mostly illegal) penetration of the refugees in regional job markets leads to further socio-economic inequalities and reduces employment opportunities for the local workforce. Malaysia as a developing country, indeed, will be affected by the same implications.

Under the Malaysian Immigration Act 1959/63, by definition, does not distinguish refugee and undocumented immigrant. Therefore, Rohingya refugees imposes comparable height of punishment including imprisonment, fine and/or cane. This has been a major factor that leads to their vulnerability to various forms of threats and deprivations especially in socio-economic and political dimensions.<sup>45</sup>

For those who have been granted refugee status and thus UNHCR cards, there are still security risks to consider. These risks depend on whether refugees are “treated as a short term humanitarian problem rather than as a long-term integration challenge,” as Daniel Byman of the Brookings Institution puts it.<sup>46</sup> If UNHCR card holder refugees are ghettoised or marginalised and denied from permission to work legally, their vulnerabilities as forcibly displaced persons fleeing conflict or persecution will be more pronounced.

In other words, not providing refugees with adequate opportunities to be self-reliant is a security risk in itself, as they will be forced to continue to resort to social ills, such as criminal activities and violence, in their desperate attempt to survive. In such conditions, away from being integrated into society, there is the added risk that Rohingya refugee communities in Malaysia could develop separate subcultures that stray beyond the values and norms of mainstream society.

### **Rohingya Crisis Triggering New Jihad**

A few months ago, the Islamic State has announced their possible future operational areas, which also include Myanmar, a country where Muslim population has to face discrimination based on their ethnicity and religion.<sup>47</sup> Hence, it is likely that the dreadful experience of Rohingyas living inside Myanmar and other Southeast Asian countries may push them towards Islamic extremism. This adds to the reasons why the Rohingya

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<sup>44</sup> The Diplomat (2015). *The Rohingya: Humanitarian Crisis or Security Threat?* <https://thediplomat.com/2015/10/the-rohingya-humanitarian-crisis-or-security-threat/>, achieved on 10 Oct 17.

<sup>45</sup> Andika, W. (2015). *Smuggling of Migrants & Its Implications towards Human Security of the Rohingya Refugees in Malaysia*. National University of Malaysia (UKM).

<sup>46</sup> Daniel L. Byman (2016). *Rethinking Refugees*. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/05/17/rethinking-refugees/>, achieved on 11 Nov 17.

<sup>47</sup> Kundu, S. (2015). *The Rohingyas: Security Implications for ASEAN and Beyond*, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses Issue Brief, 28.



issue requires immediate attention not only from Myanmar, but also its regional neighbours and the international community.

On 9 October 2016, some 200 men crossed from Bangladesh into Myanmar's Rakhine (Arakan) State by boat to attack three border guard posts in Maungdaw Township. According to the Myanmar government, the attackers killed nine policemen and took away more than 50 guns and thousands of bullets. Days later, YouTube videos revealed the emergence of the Bangladesh-based Harakah al-Yaqin militant group which is also known as the Faith Movement.<sup>48</sup> The videos showed militants armed with AK-47 rifles, inviting "Rohingya brothers around the world" to join the fight. Both Faith Movement and Aqa Mul Mujahidin (AMM) were linked to the attacks by online and government sources; they are new groups that probably evolved out of jihadist networks in neighbouring Bangladesh.<sup>49</sup>

Aside from bringing the world's attention to the alleged human rights abuses, the counter-insurgency in Arakan has attracted the attention of extremists and jihadists from South and Southeast Asia. Online extremists in Indonesia and Malaysia have expressed their desire to mount "jihad" on behalf of the Rohingya, with some supporters hoping that the "mujahidin" will be able to smuggle into Myanmar.<sup>50</sup> Some social media users in Indonesia have gone to the extent of declaring their readiness to be suicide bombers for the sake of the Rohingya.

The Rohingya issue was seen as the key weapon used by the IS to influence and recruit new members to engage in terrorism. This situation is fast developing into a security threat that would have an adverse impact on peace in the region. The widespread sharing of images of oppressed Rohingya people in the region on social media was to evoke sympathy and help the group (IS) to lure new members in the country.

Bukit Aman Special Branch Counter-Terrorism Division (E8) Assistant Director Ayob Khan Mydin Pitchay, in his statement on 17 September 2017 have confirmed that some Malaysians, supported by the Islamic State (IS) militant group, are in the midst of engaging in "jihad" in Myanmar to fight against the Myanmar Government for the oppressed Rohingya Muslim minority community in Rakhine State.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Singh, J., & Haziq, M. (2016). *The Rohingya Crisis: Regional Security Implications*.

<sup>49</sup> Singh, J., & Haziq, M. (2016). *The Rohingya Crisis: Regional Security Implications*.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> The Malay Mail Online (2017). *Police: Some Malaysians in midst of engaging in 'jihad' against Myanmar*, <http://www.themalaymailonline.com/malaysia/article/police-some-malaysians-in-midst-of-engaging-in-jihad-against-myanmar#4bk6KQUQuSsYmYYp.99>, achieved on 11 Nov 17.

## CONCLUSION

This study found that the Myanmar – Rohingya conflict has created significant security impact for Malaysia, mainly from the entry of Rohingya illegal immigrants/refugees. The government had to bear a heavy responsibility to accept Rohingya refugees which they are long-term problems that pose the non-traditional's threat to the country.

Moving forward, it is imperative for the Government to work with international and regional agencies to ensure safe and orderly migration, to reduce forced migration of Rohingya in Malaysia and the region overall. Attending to security concerns, the most important is to preserve the political will and to strengthen the decision-making procedures in order to work towards a coherent and comprehensive solution to the Rohingya problem without expense of humanitarian needs.

Malaysia, in the capacity as ASEAN and OIC member, should take a leadership role at the regional level to break this stalemate by championing a rights-based response to the Rohingya issue and encouraging other states to do so as well. Given the regional dimension of the issue, it is only if the government takes individual responsibility while also working collectively to strengthen the security aspects in this country and regionally that effective protection is likely to be achieved.

Within a wider framework of immigration control, Malaysian law and policy should distinguish between refugees, stateless persons and irregular migrants, and respond to each group according to their specific protection needs. The country should immediately convening the joint task force on refugee registration with UNHCR which was announced in March 2016 and implementing Rohingya asylum-seeker work permit pilot program in cooperation with UNHCR.

Most importantly, greater diplomacy is needed to restore friendly relations with Myanmar. Eventually, to resolve the security impact and Rohingya problem in overall, bilateral government-to-government protocols are needed to facilitate repatriation (both voluntary and involuntary).

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Supply Company and Head of Regiment Wing of Royal Service Corps Training Centre (PULMAT). The author believes that Myanmar-Rohingya conflicts has created significant security impacts for Malaysia, thus, a comprehensive solution should be resolved at the strategic level.



## **THE MALAYSIA CIVIL DEFENCE FORCE (MCDF) OR APM WITH MALAYSIAN ARMY FOR FUTURE PARTNERSHIP AND INVOLVEMENT**

**By CAPT WAZIR SYAFIQ BIN NODIN  
ROYAL MALAY REGIMENT**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Partnership or collaboration among agency have been practiced at various levels either in organization or individual level. It has been practiced for a long period of time to enhance the effectiveness and gain desirable outcome in organization. It is a broad concept to be applied in a strategic level or management level and gives benefit to the both partner, to achieve economic goal or knowledge enhancement. Partnership usually involves two parties or more cooperating to achieve specific mission or goal for organization. The benefit of partnership can be seen not only for the organization itself but it also can affect individuals in the organization. In order to implement partnership it must be well planned and supported from higher authority.

Malaysia government has endorsed National Blue Ocean Strategy (NBOS) in 2012 as one of the National Transformation Action to achieve a develop cooperation within government agency. Cooperation between agency in Malaysia such as Malaysian Army and Royal Malaysia Police Corps (RMPC) to provide security is one of the actions taken to support NBOS in Malaysia. Even though, Blue Ocean Strategy (BOS) in Malaysia is not design for business purposes and to gain monetary benefit but it has proof to reduce government expenses. The same idea was implement in California where inter-agency cooperate in security operation and management and it proof to be successfully conducted to reduce government expenses up to 6.6 billion (Halim, 2012)<sup>1</sup>.

Partnership within Malaysia government agency has been practiced since the establishment of this nation. During the emergency period, all government agencies have cooperated to take necessary action in order to throw out insurgency threat from polluting our sovereignty. Keselamatan dan Pembangunan (KESBAN) is a total measurement taken by government agency and national citizen to fight against insurgency threat. Action taken by government in KESBAN to prevent communist ideology by influencing our citizen has succeeded and won local people hearts and minds. It forced all agencies to take action towards insurgent threat. Based on Cambridge

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<sup>1</sup> Halim, A. (2012). Idea Inovatif Pengaplikasian Konsep Blue Ocean Strategy Dalam Perkhidmatan Awam Malaysia Hamdan bin Haji Puteh, Fazni binti Mat Arifin, Abdul Halim bin Ahmad dan Khairul Anuar bin Nordin, 33–42.

dictionary partnering refers as: "Relating to an agreement between organization or people to work together"<sup>2</sup>.

Reflecting towards the definition of partnering, it's clearly define as, there must be an appropriate agreement between both agency in partnering. Mutual understanding must be achieved by gaining respect from each of agency. The concept of BOS written by W. Chan Kim and Renee' Mauborgne. BOS is a new concept for business to enter uncontested market space and make the competition market is relevant. Blue ocean strategy is a dynamic process where it requires creativity rather than static achievement. Partnering within government agency is one of the concept used in BOS, it will not create the new market, however it will drive the creativity of the organization to explore new knowledge and experience. At the same time those agency involved in partnership will expand their opportunity in new networking, either for working environment or for knowledge sharing (Kim & Mauborgne, 2005)<sup>3</sup>.

### **Partnership Between Malaysian Army and MCDF**

Malaysian Army and Malaysia Civil Defense Force (MCDF) in the past experience have conducted several joined operations in disaster relief operation. The past experience in join operation between both agencies in natural disaster relief operation can be referred to the report produce by Asian Disaster Reduction Center (ADRC). Each year Malaysia counterpart a several type of disaster relief, which is land slide, earth quake, and flood disaster. From all disaster relief operation, the highest case in Malaysia is flood disaster due to the Malaysia climate weather and monsoon wind season cause heavy rain. Some cases of the flood disaster solved at district level and some cases have been solved by state level. Latest flood disaster in Malaysia solved at national level is on 2014 at Kelantan. (Produksi, Sapi, Ntb, & Sauki, 2014)<sup>4</sup>.

Malaysian Army is a versatile organization that may operate in any condition. Its role and task is to protect national sovereignty from external threat. After more than 80 years serving to protect this country. Malaysian Army is ready to embark new stages of national development in operation other than war. According to Brigadier General Dato' Abu Muslim, "The Malaysian Army in new decades is versatile and ready to involve in various part of national building"<sup>5</sup>.

This statement has support with the proactive action taken by Malaysian Army, to cooperate with Prison Department in Inmate

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<sup>2</sup> <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/English/partnering> dated 10 Nov 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Kim, W. C., & Mauborgne, R. (2005). Blue Ocean Strategy. Journal of Chemical Information and Harvard Business School Press, 53(9), 1689–1699.

<sup>4</sup> Produksi, P., Sapi, D., Ntb, K. G. D. I., & Sauki, I. A. (2014). Laporan akhir.

<sup>5</sup> Ismail, A. M. (2012). Army Transformation : Navigating into the Blue Ocean. United States Army War College, 1–22.

Rehabilitation Program for 1,200 inmates in five Army camps throughout the country. This action enforced by Malaysian government itself in NBOS plan. Based from the report, rehabilitation program conduct by Malaysian Army with prison department has save national budget approximately 281 million. Another involvement by Malaysian Army in NBOS is by reducing man power to provide security and protection at Key Installation such as Airport and strategic location with RMPC (Ismail, 2012)<sup>6</sup>.

The development of MCDF recently capture attention from all government agencies and this strategic development is to enhance MCDF roles and task to in civil defense responsibility. Chief Director of MCDF Major General (R) Dato' Azmy bin Yahya mention that MCDF is ready to participate in international operation disaster relief to represent Malaysia government. "In 2014 MCDF solves 127,736 emergency cases throughout the country and it presents the credibility of MCDF to carry out task and cooperate with other agency in future"<sup>7</sup>

The emergence and development of MCDF assets is one of the national strategic plan, MCDF now has greater capability with several developments of facilities in every state and district throughout the country. Moreover MCDF also involved in educating civilians in Malaysia to aware in civil defense especially for students in university. Siswa Siswi Pertahanan Awam (SISPA) is design to expose university student with civil defense and they may carry those skill learn in daily routine after completing their studies. MCDF also has established own training center which is PULAPAU for North part of Peninsular Malaysia and PULAPAT for East part of Malaysia.

Considering the Malaysian Army and MCDF has been involved for a long time in HADR operation, Malaysia government has reviewed the strength and weakness in HADR operation. Government of Malaysia also looks into additional requirement to enhance the effectiveness of the operation. After flood disaster crisis in Kelantan on 2014, it has cause loss to the area damage approximately 1.75 billion<sup>8</sup>. Government of Malaysia has taken seriously to manage unexpected natural disaster by launching National Disaster Management Agency (NADMA) to ensure future natural disaster relief conduct in appropriate manner.

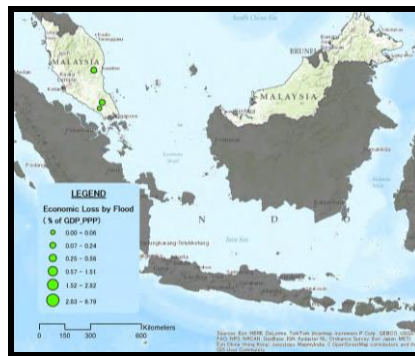
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<sup>6</sup> *ibid* 5, Page 5.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.civildefence.gov.my/profil-apm/perutusan-dan-mesej/perutusan-ketua-pengarah-apm/> dated 3 Oktober 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Shafiai, S., & Khalid, M. S. (2016). Flood Disaster Management in Malaysia : A Review of Issues of Flood Disaster Relief during and Post-Disaster. *International Review of Management and Marketing*, 6(1983), 51–56.



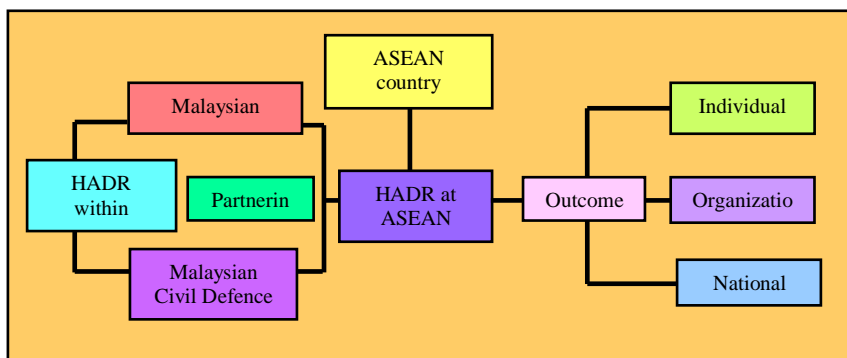


**Figure 1: Major Flood Disaster involved by Malaysian Army and MCDF**

Based on the past and present experience, both agencies were ready to conduct partnership in future. The future partnership for both agencies is likely in HADR operation, however it will be conducted in different dimension and different spectrum. Moreover, the ability to survive in extreme condition by both agencies can be used to absorb the higher level of challenges and encounter the critical situation during the operation. Despite, the both agencies has involved in HADR operation in the past, the spectrum of previous operation is only conducted within the country. Currently, ASEAN country requires more support in HADR operation and this is the sign of demand for both agencies to involve at international level of HADR operation.

### **Opportunity For Future Partnership in HADR Operation**

Mostly, partnership between agency in Malaysia are usually conduct to solve the problem which the problem has becomes national problem. Statistic of natural disaster in Malaysia usually hit every state in every year; however the massive flood natural disaster usually occurred in 5 years period of time. Flood natural disaster in Malaysia is solved at state and district level. Within ASEAN region, flood disaster is synonym to be occurred in all ASEAN country frequently and there are several cases of other type of natural disaster hit ASEAN country such as earthquake and landslide. During the Tsunami tragedy hit Aceh in 2011, it has forced ASEAN region to prepare any unexpected of natural disaster.



**Figure 2: Diagram Opportunity for Future Partnership in HADR Operation**

Flood disaster relief operation requires command, control, coordination and communication in the operation (C4)<sup>9</sup>. Malaysian Army as they train for war and currently have secondary roles to involve in flood disaster relief operation. Malaysia Prime Minister, Dato Seri Najib Tun Razak mention that the “Malaysian Army should be given greater roles in flood disaster relief operation”. Malaysian Army have the capability to handle such situation, where the ability to react in quick action is important in HADR operation. Despite the secondary roles given to Malaysian Army in flood disaster relief operation, their primary roles must be in form of higher readiness (Kumar, 2014)<sup>10</sup>.

During flood disaster crisis in Kelantan which involved Malaysian Army and MCDF, the crisis has revealed several weaknesses especially in execution of operation based on Directive No. 20. The first weakness is early warning system has delivered late information on coming flood disaster. It reflects late reaction by locals and government agency and cause collateral damage to the area especially towards private property and public property. Moreover, even though there are number of volunteer and NGO comes forward to gives support in operation but the evacuation process is lack of coordination supposedly to be centralizing by higher authority<sup>11</sup>.

In flood disaster relief operation at Kelantan, the agency involved in that operation is not only MCDF and Malaysian Army, it's also involves other agency such as RMPC and Malaysia Fire and Rescue Agency. Other than RMPC and Malaysia Fire and Rescue Agency, hundreds of agency also

<sup>9</sup> Kumar, A. (2014). Humanitarian assistance and disaster relief - Flood relief operations in Malaysia. *NADI Joint Working Paper: Sharing Experiences in ASEAN HADR Management*, (August 2014), 43–53.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid* 9, Page 9.

<sup>11</sup> Shafiai, S., & Khalid, M. S. (2016). Flood Disaster Management in Malaysia : A Review of Issues of Flood Disaster Relief during and Post-Disaster. *International Review of Management and Marketing*, 6(1983), 51–56.

involves in the operation and it has reflected the miscommunication in delivering orders in that operation. To conduct appropriate partnership between both agencies in disaster relief operation, there must be clear orders and communication given to both agency either Malaysian Army or MCDF to complete a necessary task.

Based on the HADR operation at Kelantan, it has reflected all stage of operation and it stated in Directive No. 20 where Malaysian Army together with MCDF involved in second stage of the operation. The second stage of operation responsible to evacuate the victim at reflected area. It is conducted in critical situation where both agencies are train to conduct operation in extreme condition. Based on the report and AAR, the implementation of third stage based on Directive No. 20 is not carry out properly by responsible agency assign to the task. Welfare Society Agency was one of the agencies that involved in the last stage operation during the crisis. However it is not fair to blame Welfare Society Agency individually, it is because the recovery process involves more fund and commitment instead of man power and other physical support (Shafiai & Khalid, 2016)<sup>12</sup>.

### **Analysis on Natural Disaster Relief in Other Country**

Other than Malaysia, HADR operation and natural disaster also taken seriously by other country. Type of disaster hit the other country is based on the climate and geography factor of the country itself. Japan has succeeded to handle natural disaster effectively and efficiently by developing their SOP for HADR operation. The geography factor made Japan frequently hit by earthquake disaster and disrupt the government effort to build up the nation. Government of Japan has taken necessary action to reduce the casualty and damage by improving their SOP, technology and equipment. Instead of improving SOP, technology and equipment, Japanese citizen also willing to give support and helps the victim to cope out from the disaster during the HADR operation.

When Japan was hit by great east Japan earth quake in 2011, government of Japan and other agency work together to evacuate the victim and the operation is remark as a most efficient HADR operation in the world. The main factor contribute to the successful of the operation is well coordination of task among agency by higher authority. The affected area involved in Great East Japan Earth Quake is Miyagi, Fukushima, Ibaraki, Iwate, Tochigi and Aomori. During the operation take place, the first action taken by government of Japan is collecting donation from all agency and Japanese citizen.

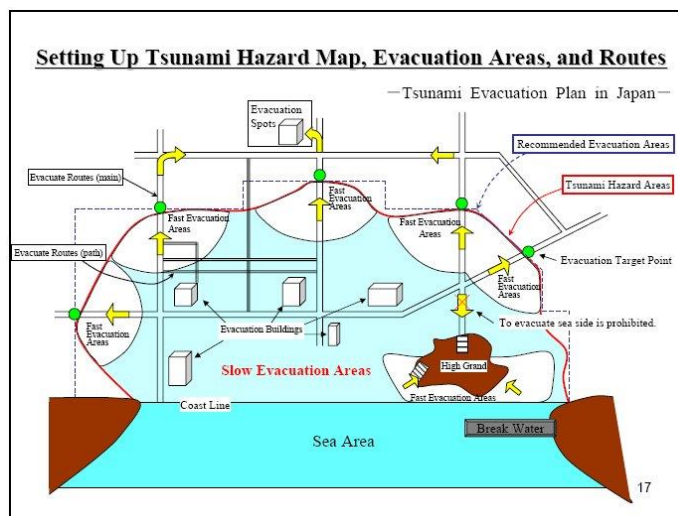
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<sup>12</sup> *ibid* 11, Page 10.



**Picture 1: Temporary Compartments for Earthquake Victim in Japan**

Generally, this operation has involve various agencies and volunteer, total number of agency is 114 respond team from local Japanese NGO, 57 respond team from private companies, 54 respond team from foreign government agency, 47 respond team from international NGO, 21 respond team from local government agency, and 14 communities from based organization. Other than that, it also involves 5 United Nation (UN) agencies and 3 central government agency. Total involvement including military agency in that operation is 340 respond team<sup>13</sup>.

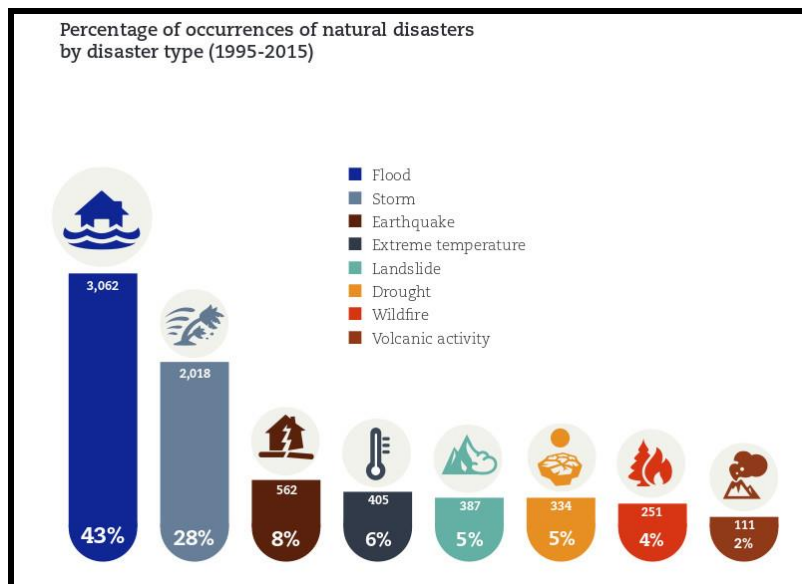


**Figure 3: Earthquake Evacuation Plan in Japan**

<sup>13</sup> Bisri, M. B. F. (2016). Observing Partnership Innovation through Inter-organizational Network Analysis on Emergency Response of the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami 2011 Mizan Bustanul Fuady BISRI. *Japan Social Innovation Journal*, 6(1), 27–41.

Basically, task for each agency are categorize and coordinate thoroughly, for example, there are several team to focus on Food Distribution, several team is responsible for Non Food Item Distribution, some of the team caters the Heath Services task. During the evacuation operation, some of the respond team concurrently conducts Damage Assessment. Another important task perform by respond team is Coordination and Communication Services to ensure the communication process in evacuation process under controlled. In addition, Japan also allocated tasked for agency to handle Cash Donation and Fund Rising, Education and Other Child Related Services, Water Sanitation and Hygiene, Shelter Logistic Support, Livelihood, Debris Removal and other activity necessary. (Bisri, 2016)<sup>14</sup>.

United Kingdom as one of develop country in the world has develop specific doctrine on military contribution in disaster relief operation. The operation will be conduct based on doctrine where task has been allocated based on military specialist such as Engineer Troops, Join Media, Air Movement and also Specialist Communication. The execution of disaster relief operation will be start by pre event engagement, assessment and advice, reconnaissance and assessment, mounting and deployment, support the relief effort to meet basic needs, in extreme circumstances, assistance may provide to restore the affected state capacity, and the last phase is transition and termination where it involved collating operational lesson (Centre, 2016)<sup>15</sup>.



**Figure 4: Statistic of Natural Disaster in ASEAN**

<sup>14</sup> *ibid* 13, Page 13.

<sup>15</sup> Centre, D. (2016). Disaster Relief Operations Overseas: The Military contribution (JDP 3-52).

Based on the statistic above, the higher cases of natural disaster in ASEAN region is flood disaster. So based on both agency has been expose more in flood disaster operation, it will be most suitable for both agency to conduct future partnering by involving within ASEAN country. Several other issues in ASEAN country is still remain unsolved after ASEAN has been establishing for a long time. Most of the countries has not been giving full commitment to support each other. The certain issue within the region is meeting the dead end; moreover most of the countries has not been giving much attention to support in HADR operation. The crisis between Malaysia and Indonesia in haze crisis is likely to be ignoring by Indonesia after several complaint has been made by Malaysia and its shows that mutual understanding each country in ASEAN is not strong enough. (Haruyo & Gentner, 2006)<sup>16</sup>.

### **Challenges For Future Partnership in HADR Operation**

Based on Directive No. 20 it clearly stated that responsibility given to Malaysian Army, RMPC, Malaysian Fire and Rescue Agency, and MCDF to take part in flood disaster relief operation. MCDF previously known as Malaysia Department of Civil Defense establish on 1951 by Lt Gen Sir Harold Briggs to protect civil property during insurgency era and known as Home Guard Force. It involves local people with limited fire weapon issued during the early of its establishment (Melayu & Darurat, 1960). It has expanded to Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak during Malaysia – Indonesia confrontation crisis. In 1993 JPAM plays important role to evacuate victim in highland tower tragedy. Latest involvement by MCDF is during Lahad Datu crisis, and on 1 Sept 2016 JPAM officially change their identity to APM or MCDF and received medal of honors from International Order of Civil Defence by Dr Vladimir Kushshinov (ICDO Secretary General).

Historically, inter-agency cooperation in disaster relief is a complex and challenge task especially when two or more organization joins in one operation. The success of an operation must be determined by the whole operation rather than only the cooperation organization. In 2007, Ghana involved in flood disaster, where local agency and international agency involved in disaster relief operation. Support from international agency helps victims to recover well but in the other hand it faces challenges especially in communication and cultural differences<sup>17</sup>. The coordination between local agency and international agency in planning, organizing, leading and controlling the operation is lesson learn in future disaster relief operation (Wuni, 2008)<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Haruyo, H., & Gentner, H. H. (2006). ASEAN : Cooperative disaster relief after the tsunami ASEAN : Cooperative disaster relief after the tsunami.

<sup>17</sup> Wuni, M. T. (2008). Inter-Agency Coordination For Effective Humanitarian Relief Operations : The Case of the 2007 Floods In Northern Ghana, (December).

<sup>18</sup> *ibid* 17, Page 17.

Mutual understanding between two different entities is hard to achieve and it will be easier to achieve when two their interest is fulfilled in the agreement. Each agency or organization have own strength and weaknesses. The perfect partnership concept is characterize by both agency which completed each other and at the same time they will achieve growth for a long term. To meet the mutual understanding there must be some barrier to be solved in order to meet the partnership objective and trustworthiness each other. For instance, leadership plays a vital role in implementing the partnership however in case of Malaysian Army and MCDF partnership there are common interest and also common function both agencies.

Multi agency cooperation requires more coordination and understanding each other to mole in partnership. During the worst situation, it demands efficient coordination of task and good communication. For instance, strict SOP must be followed during the disaster relief operation take place. There are several conflicts that usually occurs based on the past operation such as unclear SOP, the lack of knowledge and information to deliver problem. On top of that, the communication issued are the factors to jeopardize the operation. (Bharosa, Lee & Janssen, 2010)<sup>19</sup>. The challenges in future HADR operation is highlight as below.

- Communication and delivered information issues does not only rise among agency, it also occurs within the agency in the operation. For example during flood disaster or earthquake disaster communication centre or communication tower will be defective and unable to transfer the wave. There is certain communication devices issued to the agency involved but usually total of volunteer involved is outnumbered and some of the personnel will not get important information effectively and this creates miscommunication in operation<sup>20</sup>.
- The efficient warning system technology will save people life during natural disaster. Prevention by providing early information towards the affected area will trigger fast action in evacuation process. The past experience remarks that the statistic of death and damage will reduce in large number by early action transferring the victim and property before the area hit by natural disaster. However there are some cases, after early warning system provides necessary information; it has taken for granted by victim itself and it shows the bad attitude of citizen. This is why enforcement of SOP must be strict. (Aldrich, 2015)<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Bharosa, N., Lee, J., & Janssen, M. (2010). Challenges and obstacles in sharing and coordinating information during multi-agency disaster response: *Propositions from field exercises*, 49–65.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid* 19, Page 18.

<sup>21</sup> Aldrich, D. P. (2015). Resilience and Recovery in Asian Disasters, (November),363.

- The other challenges in future HADR operation is lack of fund allocation by government. Fund allocation must be coordinated at district, state and national level. It plays important roles in the operation where the whole operation require fund to provide necessary equipment and to sustain the operation. Instead of man power, the requirement of equipment, food, and other necessary items must be handling carefully to ensure the effectiveness of the operation. Long term economic planning must be allocated for natural disaster operation in national budgeting to support the operation<sup>22</sup>. Moreover, fund allocation must also consider the recovery phase in operation (Seneviratne, TKKS, Pathirage, C, Amaratunga, RDG and Haigh, 2011)<sup>23</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

Future partnership between Malaysian Army and MCDF requires high commitment from both agencies and support from government. During the past and present experience, it shows that Malaysian Army and MCDF have conducted partnership in HADR operation within Malaysia country. By conducting partnership in HADR operation both agencies will also gain own benefit towards each organization in term of individual skills and also will increase level of professionalism among both troops. For instance, partnership also will reflect growth of each agency in various aspects such as knowledge sharing between agencies can be used in own organization.

In anticipating with ASEAN country situation, ASEAN country mostly faces similar problem such as economic and social problem. Based on statistic of natural disaster in ASEAN country, most of the ASEAN country is vulnerable to unexpected natural disaster such as flood disaster, earth quake and land slide. Natural disaster will cause big loss to the country and support from neighbor country is highly needed. Future partnering between Malaysian Army and MCDF in HADR operation will fulfill the requirement of ASEAN country during natural disaster crisis.

Contribution at international level such as ASEAN level is not only beneficial towards both agency but it also will gives benefit towards Malaysia itself. Involvement in natural disaster relief operation at ASEAN level will improve diplomatic relation between Malaysia and ASEAN country. This future partnership can be longer extend after achieving desired outcome in ASEAN level and ready to embark to the next level of operation at other region such as Europe country and Middle East region.

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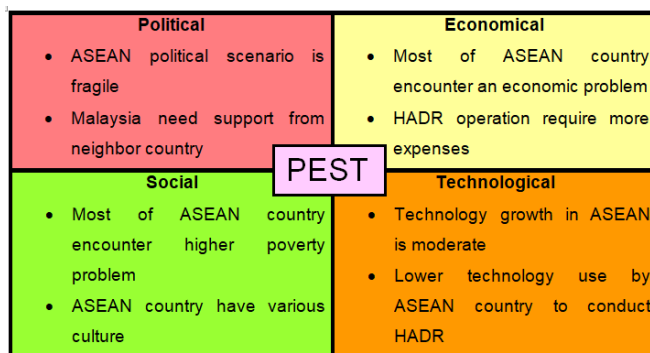
<sup>22</sup> Seneviratne, TKKS, Pathirage, C, Amaratunga, RDG and Haigh, R. (2011). Disaster knowledge factors : benefits and challenges.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid* 22, Page 19.



Partnership or cooperation among agency will give positive impact to both organization, but it must be well coordinated and its strategic purpose must be clear. There are several point notes to be understood by both agencies. The first is strategic focus, where it must be a clear strategic goal to achieve the partnership vision. The second important aspect is transparency in allocation of fund, where it will relate to strategic focus. The third is commitment from necessary stakeholders, where both agency must give cooperation employing skills and shared technology in partnership process. The fourth is trustworthy element, it plays vital roles in partnership. The fifth point is outcome oriented task required to both party to sustain the partnership process, and the sixth factor is capacity for cooperation and mutualism and the last factor is organization complimentary and coterminosity (Lindsay, Mcquaid, & Dutton, 2008)<sup>24</sup>.

Regarding the future partnership between Malaysia Army and MCDF, It has been note that Prime Minister of Malaysia has given greater roles for Malaysian Army in HADR operation. It also remarks by Chief Director of MCDF that they are ready to conduct HADR operation at international level. In order to decide either HADR operation at international level suitable for Malaysia Army and MCDF for future partnership, PEST analysis will be used as tools to analyze situation in ASEAN region. The remarkable point from weakness during the Kelantan flood disaster relief operation can be used to overcome in this partnership to embark in HADR operation at international level.

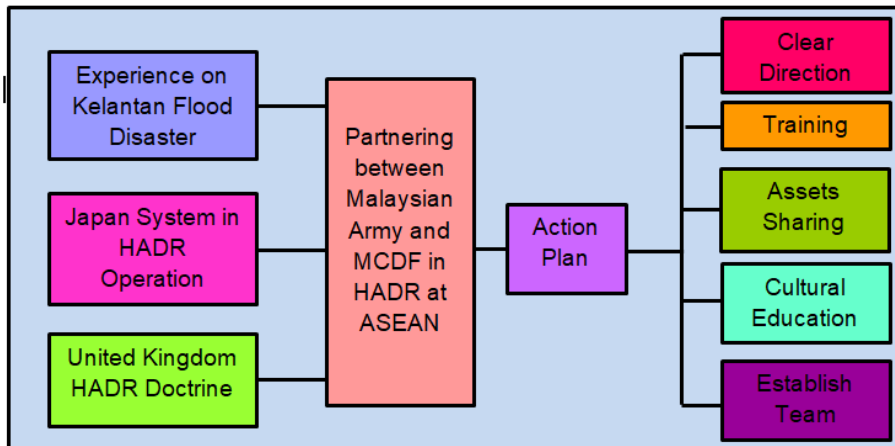


**Figure 5: PEST Analysis on ASEAN country for Future Partnership in HADR Operation between Malaysian Army and MCDF**

Future partnership for Malaysian Army and MCDF will focus to ASEAN country where most of the ASEAN country is frequently involved with natural disaster, PEST analysis above, present the political, economic, social and technological analysis in ASEAN country. The first outcome from PEST Analysis is ASEAN political condition is unstable due to the conflict

<sup>24</sup> Lindsay, C., Mcquaid, R. W., & Dutton, M. (2008). to Employability, 715–732. Melayu, T., & Darurat, S. (1960). Pasukan Home Guard Persekutuan, 1948–1960.

rise within each country such as Myanmar conflict involved in ethnic cleansing. The next aspect is ASEAN country also struggling with the economy condition where the HADR is most needed during the natural disaster crisis. The third points is most of the ASEAN country have high statistic of poverty and the last is moderate technology in ASEAN country where the external support will be needed from neighbor country.



**Figure 6: Diagrams for Future Partnering between Malaysian Army and MCDF in HADR at ASEAN Level**

Diagram above represent necessary action plan for both agencies to perform future partnering in HADR at ASEAN level. The detail explanation of diagram above as follow:

- **Training Integration.** Training must be conducted to integrate both agency and to develop the chemistry between agencies. Training is necessary to improve existing skills and knowledge, it also must be conduct at similar environment to achieve desirable outcome. To maximize training in HADR, location of training must be conduct in specific environments based on type of disaster such as flood disaster might be suitable to conduct at swampy area. Furthermore, during join training taken place, trainees from both agencies must be exposed to the additional knowledge in HADR such as precaution to handle victim in order to avoid infected disease. For instance, invitation for guest lecture is important to give new input and knowledge. The last part in training is, conduct necessary test to examine each of training participant performance.
- **Sharing Assets.** Currently both agency have several development in the organization, however to conduct operation in HADR its demand new assets and technology. To overcome these weaknesses, both agencies have to share available assets in partnering. Recently Malaysia Army has given new strategic asset to

enhance the capability of the force. Latest assets given to Malaysian Army is Armored Fighting Vehicle and MCDF currently acquire new transportation for quick deployment. Despite both agencies has been given new assets, new equipment needed in search and rescue must be upgrade to fulfill the operational requirement.

- **Cultural Education.** Cultural knowledge and cultural awareness must be exposed to both agencies in order to carry out and perform well in HADR operation at international level. Every county have different type of culture based on ethnicity and belief. Japan for example has a unique of culture among their people and some of the sensitive issue must be taken care carefully by both agencies during commencement of operation. Every single personnel involved in operation must have value of respect towards victims and high professionalism to avoid any further negative consequences.
- **Establish Respond Team.** Both agencies must consider in establishing their respond team and mixing both troops in the team with balance composition. It also must take into consideration in each respond team will have specific SME to carry out the task. In other words, MCDF might have several specialists in certain task same goes to Malaysian Army where certain equipment required specific skills. Balance group will drive the respond team to react effectively. The suggested number of respond team is approximately 8 to 10 personnel and only one leader in each team either from MCDF or Malaysian Army.
- **Clear Direction.** Based on the Japan experience effectively handle HADR operation, in order to arrange partnering for Malaysian Army and MCDF both agencies must be clear the tasking to perform in partnering plan. Both agencies must be must focus one main task and search and rescue operation is suited the most for both agency. The other task during the disaster must be given properly to other agency and must be in written orders to ensure the effectiveness of the operation. Pertaining to learn from Japan as successful county handling HADR operation, Malaysian Army and MCDF must aware that there are plenty of task in the HADR operation and it must be discuss properly and both agency must have mutual understanding to focus only one main task instead of take responsibility to all task available.
- **Amendment to Directive NSC No. 20 Disaster Relief Operation.** For the time being, Malaysia government has establishes action plan and SOP for natural disaster relief operation and based on Directive No. 20 NSC to conduct HADR. Latest amendment on Directive No. 20 has been done to provide detail task during the

operation, but it still needs to be improved by adding one important task which is collection of donation to support victim during the operation. This task is important to give support to the victim and another amendment suggests to be done is scale of food and shelter must be detail and clear to avoid waste.

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## **CHINA IS A NEW SUPER POWER, IMPACT ON THE MALAYSIA'S SECURITY**

**By CAPT MOHD NAZRI BIN SAAD  
ROYAL MALAY REGIMENT**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Emergence of China had started rising to global power in 1949 with the removal and evolution of entire systems especially in economy and military aspects. Beginning in 1980 the Chinese government initiated a dramatic shift especially in its economic strategy.

Over the next three decades, it opened the country to large-scale foreign investment and privatised thousands of industries and it set in motion to process of income for concentration based on a deliberate strategy of re-creating a dominant economic class linked to overseas capitalists. China's ruling political class embraced the idea of "borrowing" technical know-how and accessing overseas markets from foreign firms in exchange for providing cheap, plentiful labour at the lowest cost.<sup>1</sup>

Based on military aspect, Chinese military strategy underwent a major change in the mid of 1980s. The Gulf War had a significant impact on the Chinese leadership and the conflict was carefully studied. As a result, a new defense strategy emerged, based on fighting modern warfare using the advanced technology. The Chinese have learned and realized the importance of electronic warfare and advanced weapons. Furthermore, it also learned about the importance of strong air and naval power and that rapid response and deployment are a true measure of overall capability.<sup>2</sup>

In terms of population, it clearly ranks among the great powers. Based on the latest estimation from United Nation (2017), the current population of China is 1,411,469,130 as of Monday, November 6, 2017. China population is equivalent to 18.67% of the total world population. China ranks number one in the list of countries (and dependencies) by population. The population density in China is 150 per km<sup>2</sup> (389 people per mi<sup>2</sup>). The total land area is 9,388,211 km<sup>2</sup> (3,624,807 sq. miles) and 58.2 % of the population is urban (821,475,034 people in 2017).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. James Petras. China: Rise, Fall and Re-Emergence as a Global Power. Global Research 7 March 2012. <https://www.globalresearch.ca/china-rise-fall-and-re-emergence-as-a-global-power/29644>. Retrieved on 27 Oct 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Farley (2014), *What Scares China's Military: The 1991 Gulf War*. <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/what-scares-chinas-military-the-1991-gulf-war-11724>. Retrieved on 10 Oct 2017.

<sup>3</sup> United Nation, 2017. <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/china-population/>. Retrieved on 6 Nov 2017.



Figure 1: The Map of China.<sup>4</sup>

### China is a New Super Power

China – Malaysia relationship also known as Sino – Malaysian relations. Historical background for both countries was started since Dynasty Ming and gradually tighten time by time. China gradually develop as a major power and indirectly has made Malaysia enjoyed with this relationship.

V.P Malik and Jorg Schultz (2008) stated that the growth pattern into China has represent China a new power which would become “drivers of growth” to Asia. The growth developments of China indirectly were relinquished industries such apparel, footwear and household products to his ASEAN neighbor namely Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand.<sup>5</sup>

The study by Suraj Sengupta (2003) stated that when the Soviet Union fell in 1991, China began to indulge in the task of rising as the next major power, potentially to replace the void left the former Soviet Union. Here it starts to gradually bring an influence to global changes by stamping a mark on political, military and economic arenas.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup><https://www.google.com/search?q=MAP+OF+CHINA&oq=MAP+OF+CHINA&=chrome.69i57j0l5.2630j0j4&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>. Retrieved on 7 Nov 2017.

<sup>5</sup> V.P Malik, and Jorg Schultz. *The Rise of China: Perspectives from Asia and Europe*. First Edition. Pentagon Press, 2008.

<sup>6</sup> S Sengupta, *Is China The Next Superpower?* Defence & Security Analysis. Vol.19, No. 4, 2003, p 14.

Joseph Chin Yiong Liow (2000) also highlighted on the rise of China as an economic, military and political power directly influences the dynamics of the Asia-Pacific region for the last two decades. It is still vague on the way either it accepted in the region or not, especially among core ASEAN states.<sup>7</sup>

According to Nadav Morag (2012), China is described to be the manufacturing factory of the world or called the world's workshop. He also projected that China is capable of replacing the US as the major economic power globally by 2020.<sup>8</sup>

### Malaysia - China Relationship

Throughout China's long history, social and business collaborations with many parts of what constitute the present Malaysia have turned out to be typical. During Tang and Sung dynasties, there were at that point mention of "Boni" (nowadays the island of Borneo, which include East Brunei, Indonesia's Kalimantan and Malaysia).<sup>9</sup> In the condition of the Cold War, the Malayan communist insurgency was at any rate to some degree "inspired" by the communist China. In spite of that, in year 1974, the Malaysian Prime Minister Abdul Razak made an important visit to Beijing and acknowledge that Malaysia became the first Southeast Asian country to form diplomatic connection with communist China.

Malaysia assumed the annual rotating chairmanship of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) last year. In the midst of the proceeded with worldwide economic discomfort, the need for ASEAN's plan in 2015 falls not out of the blue on regional economic development. Specifically, the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), an unhindered commerce agreement reducing and evacuating most taxes and non-tax obstructions among ASEAN members, was scheduled to come into action before the finish of 2015.

Malaysia become a transit or home to many millions of overseas Chinese, who though they were not born or grew in China, they still keep a deep level of sentiment for their country of ethnic descent. As such, without much help from others, they regularly consequently turn into the undetectable however global bridges for social and business trades amongst China and Malaysia. Even though mostly Malaysian-China relation remain close, if several occurrences unpredicted challenges have appeared

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<sup>7</sup> JCY Liow, "Malaysia-China Relations in the 1990s: The Maturing of a Partnership," Asian Survey, vol. 40, no, 2000, p 19.

<sup>8</sup> N Morag, *From Poverty to Power: What China's Emerging Status as a Superpower Means for the United States*, Colorado Technical University. Security Studies Colorado Technical University, 2012, p 24.

<sup>9</sup> Wan Kong Ann, "Examining the Connection Between Ancient China and Borneo Through Santubong Archaeological Sites," Sino-Platonic Papers, 236 (April 2013), p. 2. [http://www.sinoplatonic.org/complete/spp236\\_china\\_borneo\\_santubong.pdf](http://www.sinoplatonic.org/complete/spp236_china_borneo_santubong.pdf).



which both countries must be cooperated together even closer to control the situation.

### Impact of Malaysia's Security Contribution

➤ **Economic Power.** Economic power can be broadly defined as the ability to control or influence the behavior of others through the deliberate and politically motivated use of economic assets. National economic power implies that a government is in a position to use, offer, or withhold such assets even when they are in private hands (for example, by mandating trade embargoes or imposing controls on exports to targeted countries).<sup>10</sup>

According to Bussinessdictionary.com, economic power is condition of having sufficient productive resources at command that give the capacity to make and enforce economic decisions, such as allocation of resources and apportioning the goods and services.<sup>11</sup>

As Richard Payne (2016) mentioned in his study, Economic Power is often seen as the foundation of military and political power. Economic power also can be measured through GNP (Gross National Production) and through GDP (Gross Domestic Production).<sup>12</sup>

➤ **Military Power.** As Peter Paret (1989) summarized it, "military power expresses and implements the power of the state in a variety of ways within and beyond the state borders, and is also one of the instruments with which political power is originally created and made permanent."<sup>13</sup> For this reason, the ultimate "output" of national power should be ideally the ability of a military force to successfully prosecute a variety of operations against a country's adversaries.

According to definition from Encyclopedia.com, Military Power consists in the resources that a nation-state can mobilize against other nation-states for purposes of military deterrence, defence, and war.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> What is Economic Power? **By Frost, Ellen L.** Joint Force Quarterly, April 2009.

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/economic-power.html>. Retrieved on 2 Nov, 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Payne, Richard. *Global Issues* (5<sup>th</sup> ed). Boston: Pearson Education Inc. 2016. p. 16. ISBN978-0-13-420205-1.

<sup>13</sup> Peter Paret, "Military Power," *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (July 1989), p. 240.

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## History of Bilateral Relationship Between China and Malaysia.

Relationship between countries has to be looked from history of economy and military aspects among others.

➤ **Economic Ties.** After Cold War, Malaysia became careful in establishing ties with China due to their support for the CPM. Moreover, ASEAN was not ready to forge ties with China as well. However, Malaysia second Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, decided to turn things around. Malaysia came to be known as the pioneer ASEAN nation that enjoyed in a relation with China. Ever since then, Malaysia has established a strong bilateral international trade with China and has been growing ever since.

Many policies were created to enhance and maintain the relationship with China. Tun Mahathir, former Prime Minister has structured the relationship to develop Malaysia's economy with the help of China.<sup>15</sup>

On the 31<sup>st</sup> May 2014, Dato' Seri Najib, who was the Malaysian Prime Minister as part of the celebration of 40 years of friendship, was made an effort to officially visit China. He emphasized on the importance of this partnership and had even engaged in the Panda Diplomacy. Malaysia is a first country has been entrusted by the China government to keeping care of Panda which is the official animal of China as a symbolic of close relation between two countries.<sup>16</sup>

➤ **Military Ties.** After enjoying an economic relationship with China, Malaysia continues to forge ahead with military ties. Malaysia – China military ties have not developed as quickly as others aspects bilateral relationship, hence this does not mean that the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership are lacks. Early 1990s is the first tentative steps towards the establishment of military ties between Malaysia – China. For Beijing, the main reason to establish a military diplomacy with Malaysia to depicting that China did not pose a strategic threat and they was sincere about its pledge to not for seek hegemony. For Malaysia, engaging China in defence provided an important opportunity to better understand Chinese thinking on military affairs pertaining to the region, furthermore to buying Chinese-made weapon systems.<sup>17</sup>

In September 2005, both countries had signed a MOU on Defence Cooperation. This MOU laid down the guiding thought and the basic principles, pushes bilateral military ties to a new phase, and results in the stable development. It including various proposals including establishment of security consultation, officer training, higher officer level visit, exchange

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<sup>15</sup> KS Balakrishnan, "Malaysia-China Relation: The Challenges," 6 June 2006.

<sup>16</sup> ST Lim, "Renewing 40 Years of Malaysia-China Relations: Najib's Visit to China," 2015

<sup>17</sup> Ngeow Chow Bing, "Comprehensive Strategic Partners but Prosaic Military Ties: The Development of Malaysia-China Defence Relations 1991-2015," 2015, 16–18.

information, intelligence sharing, equipment procurement and combined military exercises.<sup>18</sup>

In August 2013, Malaysia worked on a possible cooperation with the Chinese government over claims on SCS ignoring the other claimants. The Defense Minister Dato' Seri Hishamuddin Hussein stated there are no issues on the sea patrolling that China is conducting in SCS. This led to the first military exercise on 22 December 2014 in Teluk Sepanggar, Sabah. From the Malaysian point of view, it would greatly benefit military training, research, development, intelligence sharing and improve defense industry.<sup>19</sup>

### **The Rise of China as an Economic Power**

➤ **Malaysia's Perspectives.** Economy of Malaysia are based on newly industrialised market economy, which is relatively open and state-oriented. With regard number of populations, economy of Malaysia is the fourth largest in ASEAN countries after Indonesia, Thailand and Philippines; thus is the 35<sup>th</sup> largest in the world. Recorded in 2015, Malaysia's economy is one of the most competitive in the world, ranking 14th in the Ease of Doing Business Index. Basically, economic of Malaysia's are dependence on exportation of high technologies products, palm oil, LNG, petroleum and other raw materials.

China is Malaysia's second largest trading partner after Singapore's. These are based on increasing numbers of import and export has been recorded from time to time. Thus, could be summed up China's economic development will indirectly giving a positive impact on economic development in Malaysia. While Figure 2 and Figure 3 shows a Malaysia's export and import trade in 2014 to 2015.

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<sup>18</sup> "Mazhong qian fangwu hezuo beiwanglu" [Malaysia and China Sign Defense Cooperation Memorandum of Understanding], Nanyang Business Daily, 3 September 2005.

<sup>19</sup> Jon Lunn and Arabella Lang, "The South China Sea Dispute," July 2016.

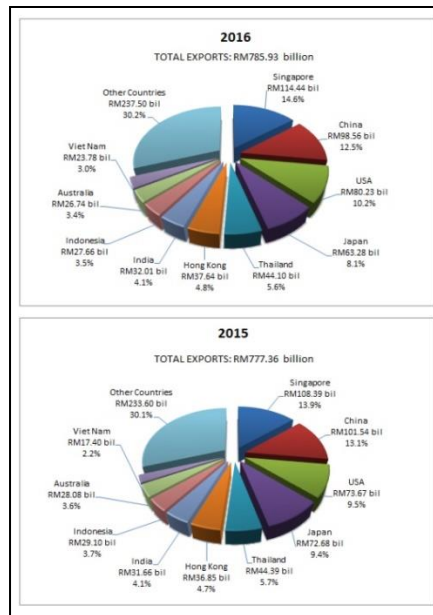


Figure 2: Total Exports of Malaysia in 2015 – 2016.<sup>20</sup>

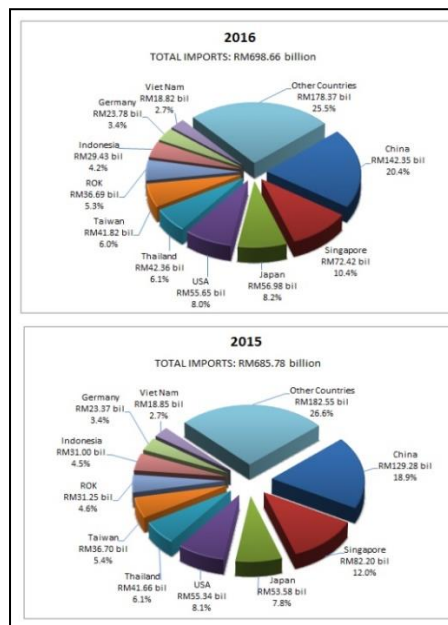


Figure 3: Total Imports of Malaysia in 2015 – 2016.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> "Top 10 Major Export Countries, 2016". Department of Statistic, Malaysia. Retrieved on 6 Nov 2017. <http://www.matrade.gov.my/en/28-malaysian-exporters/trade-statistics/3449-top-10-major-export-countries-2016>.

<sup>21</sup> "Top 10 Major Import Countries, 2016". Department of Statistic, Malaysia. <http://www.matrade.gov.my/en/28-malaysian-exporters/trade-statistics/3450-top-10-major-import-countries-2016>.

## The Rise of China As A Military Power

➤ **Malaysia's Perspectives.** Based on the history of military relations with China, Malaysia retains precaution actions against any threats that may be received from China. The history of the two countries clearly shows Malaysia's concern about the threat from China, which clearly support the communist ideology that brought by the CPM when Malaysia faced the insurgency.

In addition, Malaysia's concerns could also be analysed based on the approach of China in resolving numerous issues involving Malaysia. For example, the development of military assets in the disputes area of SCS which is indirectly contravention of international law, provocation of China in the SCS in area Luconia Shoals whereby in Malaysia EEZ and some other issues. In other words "China Threat Theory" propagated are undeniable.<sup>22</sup>

However, based on the prevail environment, Malaysia continues to take steps to maintain good relations with China. These perceived through the close cooperation between the two countries in military aspects, whether in terms of participation in joint training, the purchase of military assets, military exchange programmes and many others. Started in 1991 until 2015, total of 35 official military visits between the two countries involving the Senior Military Officer respectively had been recorded. In addition, Malaysia also involves in military exchange programmes where a number of Malaysia Military Officers has been sent to attend any courses at various level for further studies.<sup>23</sup>

Recently, during the official visit of Malaysian Prime Minister to China on 31 October 2016, as a retention of military relations with China and strengthen existing military assets, Malaysia has signed an agreement to purchase a total of 4 new types of warships Littoral Mission Ship from China. This indirectly demonstrates precautions Malaysia in maintaining military ties with China.<sup>24</sup>

## Reactions on Current Environments Towards China – Malaysia Ties

➤ **South China Sea Disputes.** The history of SCS disputes was drawn since 1947 wherein Republic of China publishes the first map including "nine-dash line" looping around almost the entire SCS including two major islands which are Paracel and Spratly islands. Both islands located at SCS and being ongoing territorial disputes between Brunei, China, Malaysia, Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam, concerning ownership of the islands, a

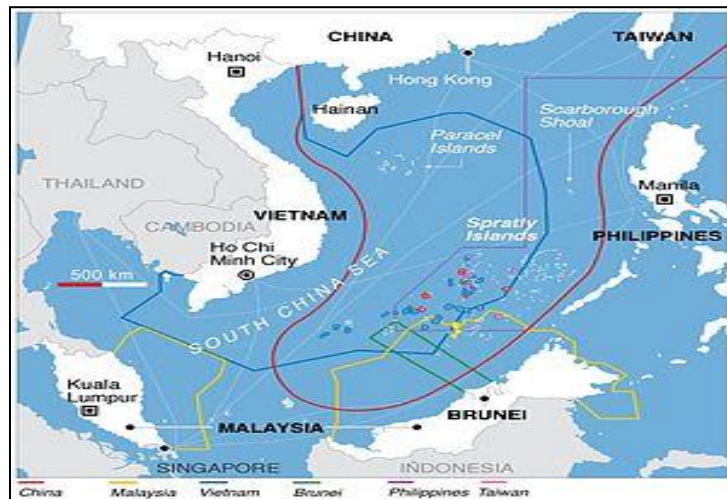
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<sup>22</sup> Ramli Dollah, "Teori Ancaman China Dan Hubungan Ekonomi Malaysia – China," Disember 2005, 24.

<sup>23</sup> Ngeow Chow Bing, "Comprehensive Strategic Partners but Prosaic Military Ties: The Development of Malaysia-China Defence Relations 1991-2015," 2015, 20.

<sup>24</sup> Marhalim Abas, "Malaysia to Sign Contract for China Made Warships," 7 November, 2016. <http://www.malaysiandefence.com/malaysia-sign-contract-china-made-warships>.

group of islands and associated “maritime features” such as reefs, banks, cays and etc.



**Figure 4: Disputes area in South China Sea.<sup>25</sup>**

From the Figure 4, SCS located at strategic geographic location where links the India Ocean to the Pacific Ocean which a critical shipping routes. It's estimated half of the world merchant ship fleet tonnage these “choke point” thus made a SCS third busiest maritime traffic in worldwide and estimated over US 5 trillion worth of trade passing through SCS every years.

Based on the analysis of some experts, the dispute in the SCS is more important to the struggle for energy resources, namely “Black Gold”. Some figures, Chinese estimate places potential oil resources in the SCS as high as 213 billion barrels of oil, though many Western analysts have repeatedly claimed that this estimate seems extremely high. A conservative 1993/1994 US Geological Survey report estimated the sum total of discovered reserves and undiscovered resources in the offshore basins of the SCS at 28 billion barrels.<sup>26</sup>

In this theatre, Malaysia has claimed a twelve islands over fourteen islands in Spratly Islands. Involvement of Malaysia towards SCS disputes has been drawn since 1970 wherein Malaysia began referring some of Spratly Islands in own territory. To be safe, Malaysia started to occupy five islands among his claimed in Spratly Islands on 1983 at Swallow Reef and followed by Ardesier Reef (1986), Mariveles Reef (1986), Erica Reef (1999)

<sup>25</sup> [https://www.google.com/search?q=Disputes+area+in+South+China+Sea&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjUrOO4hb3XAhUEKY8KHvBDz4Q\\_AUICygC&biw=1094&bih=547#imgsrc=fHHSJIFuhop4sM](https://www.google.com/search?q=Disputes+area+in+South+China+Sea&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjUrOO4hb3XAhUEKY8KHvBDz4Q_AUICygC&biw=1094&bih=547#imgsrc=fHHSJIFuhop4sM): Retrieved on 11 Nov 2017.

<sup>26</sup> Tim Daiss, “Why The South China Sea Has More Oil Than You Think,” May 2016.

and Investigator Shoal (1999). In 1996, Malaysia, Vietnam, Philippines, Brunei and others countries asserted claims towards “nine dash line” into UNCLOS, 1982. In 2009, Malaysia with other countries stated a protest to the UN after China submits “nine dash line” claims and said “has indisputable sovereignty over the islands in the SCS and the adjacent waters”. In 12 July 2015, culmination became raised after The Permanent Court of Arbitration rules that China has no legal basis for claiming much of the SCS and had aggravated the regional dispute with its land reclamation and construction of artificial islands. However, this decisions has been rejected by China.<sup>27</sup>

Some analyst describes on how Malaysia manage the SCS dispute with China as a “hedging” one, stabilizing its national interest of keeping up close to economic relations with China with the so-called “territory” interest of ASEAN solidarity versus China.<sup>28</sup>

Malaysia remains committed and is proactively pushing for eventual region-wide solutions to the SCS disputes. Malaysia is also equally comfortable with China’s preference for bilateral dealings in SCS sovereignty matters.

➤ **Malaysia’s Roles.** Malaysia has used a combination of diplomatic, legal and security measures to secure its claims in the SCS while simultaneously ensuring that it preserves its special relationship with China.

- **Diplomatic.** Malaysia’s response to incidents in the SCS involving China is tightly controlled and often communicated privately to Beijing, intentionally to avoid risk damaging a vital relationship. Malaysia’s preference for quiet diplomacy was illustrated when a three-ship Plan flotilla was reported to have encroached into James Shoal in January 2014. Malaysia initially denied this was the case, and according to reports the issue was only discussed four days later when the new Chinese Ambassador to Malaysia, Huang Huikang, paid a visit to Malaysian Defence Minister Hishammuddin Hussein. It was no coincidence that, in November 2014, Chinese President Xi Jinping explicitly praised Malaysia’s “quiet diplomacy approach” in tackling the

<sup>27</sup> Jon Lunn and Arabella Lang, “*The South China Sea Dispute*,” July 2016.

<sup>28</sup> Kuik Cheng Chwee, “*The Essence of Hedging: Malaysia and Singapore’s Response to a Rising China*,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* Volume 30, Number 2, August 2008, pp. 159 – 185; Kuik Cheng Chwee, “Malaysia Between the United States and China: What do Weaker States Hedge Against?” *Asian Politics & Policy* — Volume 8, Number 1, 2016, pp. 155–177; Chien-Peng Chung, “Southeast Asia-China Relations: Dialectics of ‘Hedging’ and ‘Counter-Hedging’”, *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2004, edited by Daljit Singh and Chin Kin Wah, (Singapore: ISEAS, 2004), pp. 35-53.

SCS question instead of relying on confrontation or international arbitration.<sup>29</sup>

- **Legal.** Malaysia has also sought to play it safe in the legal domain, carefully and selectively using international institutions to secure its claims and narrow differences with fellow ASEAN claimants. The clearest example of Malaysia using international institutions to secure its own claims came one week before the May 13, 2009, deadline for submissions to the UNCLOS, when Malaysia submitted a claim jointly with Vietnam concerning a section of their extended continental shelves in the SCS.<sup>30</sup>

- **Security.** Malaysia continues to strengthen the capabilities of key institutions – most prominently the RMN, the RMAF and the MMEA, also known as the Malaysian Coast Guard to secure its claims in the SCS. Traditionally, Malaysia also maintained several military outposts in the Spratly Islands by using warships and submarines to conduct patrols within the EEZ and disputed areas to monitor and shadow away foreign vessels, if needed, using standard procedures; and conducted exercises periodically in or near its portion of the SCS to reaffirm its presence there and to test its operational readiness.<sup>31</sup>

➤ **MH 370 Incident.** Incident involving Malaysia Airlines Flight MH 370 on 8 March 2014 was a new chapter on relationship between Malaysia – China. Flight MH 370 lost contact with tracking radars, air traffic controllers and communications satellites alike. There are total 13 nationalities represented on board. List by country as per in Figure 6. For about seven days as the "vanishing" of MH370 sank in everyone's mind, all these neighbourly disagreements regarding SCS seemed to have miraculously "vanished" overnight – at any rate incidentally – also. Vessels and aircrafts were generally intended for military purposes united unhindered at the gathered inexact destinations and instantly initiated their particular search operations.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> "Chinese President Praises Malaysia's Quiet Diplomacy on South China Sea Issues," *Bernama*, November 11, 2014.

<sup>30</sup> "Simone Orendain, "South China Sea Dispute Tests Philippines' Ties With China," *Voice of America*, September 17, 2014, Retrieved on 12 Oct 2017. <http://www.voanews.com/content/south-china-seadispute-tests-philippines-ties-with-china/2452426.html>.

<sup>31</sup> Mohd Nizam Basiron, "Recent Developments in the South China Sea: A Malaysian Perspective and Options" (Presentation to the MIMA Conference on the South China Sea," no. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (Disember 2012).

<sup>32</sup> Ankit Panda, "Malaysia Airlines Flight 370 Search and Rescue: Cooperation in the South China Sea," *The Diplomat*, 11 March 2014. Retrieved on 14 Oct 2017, <http://thediplomat.com/2014/03/malaysia-airlines-flight-370-searchand-rescue-cooperation-in-the-south-china-sea/>.





Figure 5: Passengers by Country into MH 370 Incident.<sup>33</sup>



Figure 6: MH 370 Air Road from Kuala Lumpur to Beijing.<sup>34</sup>

After the incident, there are many reaction appear in the Chinese media by giving pressure to Chinese government. Pressure raised high in China with a numerous negative comments against Malaysia whereas a numbers of demonstrations taking to the streets and some even calling for a boycott of all things from Malaysia. The reaction came when both of country were celebrating fortieth anniversary of diplomatic ties.<sup>35</sup>

On March 21, 2014 in Beijing, Malaysia has sent representatives to hold first joint session of kin of MH 370. However, the trial has become tense when next of kin continue to deliver harsh words against the Malaysian delegation.

<sup>33</sup> [https://www.google.com/search?q=passenger+of+MH370+by+country&source=lnms&tbm=ich&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiymoLzkr3XAhXDpl8KHRJgCUIQ\\_AUICigB&biw=1094&bih=547#imgrc=q\\_35JU6Spo27xM](https://www.google.com/search?q=passenger+of+MH370+by+country&source=lnms&tbm=ich&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiymoLzkr3XAhXDpl8KHRJgCUIQ_AUICigB&biw=1094&bih=547#imgrc=q_35JU6Spo27xM): Retrieved on 2 Nov 2017.

<sup>34</sup> [https://www.google.com/search?q=MH+370+Air+Road+from+Kuala+Lumpur+to+Beijing&tbm=isch&source=lnms&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjOpMmBlb3XAhUMKY8KHYGXAAIQ\\_AUIDCgD&biw=1094&bih=547&dpr=1.25#imgrc=2lIMhmpxZLDM](https://www.google.com/search?q=MH+370+Air+Road+from+Kuala+Lumpur+to+Beijing&tbm=isch&source=lnms&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjOpMmBlb3XAhUMKY8KHYGXAAIQ_AUIDCgD&biw=1094&bih=547&dpr=1.25#imgrc=2lIMhmpxZLDM): Retrieved on 2 Nov 2017.

<sup>35</sup> Amin Iskandar, "Review Ties with China, Former Envoy Tells Putrajaya," The Malaysian Insider, April 5, 2014.

- **China Response.** Due to disappearance of MH 370, China has shown maturity to solve this problems. Despite having insistence from his citizens, China response has attracted most attention. It's believed, well established cooperation among both countries are main factors of maturity reaction from China. In beginning, after the incident, most of the world expected a decisive actions will be taken towards Malaysia government. However, surprisingly, instead China had deployed their several vessels to help and support during Search and Rescue (SAR) since beginning of the operation. Furthermore, China government also has dispatched his deputy foreign minister to Kuala Lumpur to obtain more information about the missing of airplane.<sup>36</sup>

➤ **Kidnapping.** As China's economy takes off, a large number of its wealthier residents wander abroad for their excursions. From a positive perspective, this aides in relating China with the others of the world. The number of Chinese tourists to Sabah, for example, increase by 87 per cent in 2013,<sup>37</sup> and was on equivalent with those visiting the famous Indonesian island of Bali. Sabah's tourism industry develop as a result, and the traditional friendships between the Chinese and Malaysian people also strengthen.

In 2014, a female Mainland Chinese tourist and a Filipina were abducted by gunmen from an island resort off the coast of Semporna, a town in the east coast of Sabah. Then, a Mainland Chinese manager at Lahad Datu was taken away, also by armed men. They were reportedly from the Philippines. They were released a few months later after having a prolonged discussion. In year 2015, there were once again happened kidnapping of a restaurant owner was her seaside restaurant in Sandakan, Sabah. Then, she was released later in November 2015 after pay-off was paid to Abu Sayyaf.<sup>38</sup>

It should also be noted that the latest kidnapping incident concerned not only in China and Malaysia, but also the Philippines. To ensuring the

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<sup>36</sup> Ramon Pacheco Pardo, "China Has Shown Maturity in Its Response to Flight MH370 Crisis," *The Conversation*, March 29, 2014, [theconversation.com/china-has-shown-maturity-in-its-response-to-flight-mh370-crisis-24915](http://theconversation.com/china-has-shown-maturity-in-its-response-to-flight-mh370-crisis-24915).

<sup>37</sup> "Malaysia's Kota Kinabalu Airport poised for renewed growth as Sabah-China market booms," CAPA: Centre for Aviation, 23 December 2015. Retrieved on 4 Nov 2017. <http://centreforaviation.com/analysis/kota-kinabaluairport-poised-in-east-malaysia-for-renewed-growth-as-sabah-china-market-booms-258898>.

<sup>38</sup> Raul Dancel, "Abu Sayyaf releases Thien Nyuk Fun, one of two Malaysians taken from Sabah restaurant," *The Straits Times*, 9 November 2015. Retrieved on 1 Nov 2017, <http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/abu-sayyaf-releases-thien-nyuk-fun-one-of-two-malaysians-taken-from-sabah-restaurant>; "Yet another kidnap in Sabah waters," *The Borneo Post*, 7 May 2014. Retrieved on 1 Nov 2017, <http://www.theborneopost.com/2014/05/07/yet-another-kidnap-in-sabah-waters>.

personal safety of the poor hostage, the three nations (China, Russia, Central Asian) cooperate together with any other interested Southeast Asian nation, should seriously consider contriving a more powerful strategy for counter-terrorism cooperation.

There is no standard answer for protecting the well-being of tourists overseas, though those from China. A combination of increased personal alertness, proactive national readiness and sincere international cooperation can be a good starting point.<sup>39</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Relations between these two nations are of a multi-dimensional nature and should be enhanced for the better future of both nations. There are no indications, except for the island issues and certain territorial claims, that China may possibly be hostile towards Malaysia. It is inevitable that these relations will witness that great spillage effect of the China economic dominance not only to Malaysia and ASEAN but globally as well.

It is without doubt that the relations between China and Malaysia are based on certain agendas that was initially set from the first official trip by Tun Razak. The underlying reason can be seen as an economic one, and also there are well rooted reasons for these relations to be fostered and strengthened over the years. Statistics have proven that there are reasons for the continuous economic and military cooperation. The behavior of nations is of utmost importance to determine the nature and direction of a relationship thus allowing a healthy fostering of such relationship.

In the case of Malaysia and China, the contrasting ideology became a major stumbling block in the formative years of the relationship, nevertheless, after a continuous evolvement of the political stage in China, the relations between these two nations began to take a healthier route. Despite facing a numerous incidents (South China Sea Disputes issue, MH 370 accident and kidnapping incidents), relationship for both countries are able to stand due to deep rooted economic and it has not prevented both armed forces from establishing relations and engaging with one another.

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<sup>39</sup> Dr Oh Ei Sun and Mr David Han. "*Malaysia's Relations with the Major Powers: China and the United States*". 1 March 2016.

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**COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE MALAYSIAN GOVERNMENT AND  
REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES TO ENSURE THE SECURITY, STABILITY  
AND SOVEREIGNTY OF INTERNATIONAL SEA BOUNDARY TO CURB  
ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS, KFR AND OTHER RELATED SECURITY ISSUES  
NOWADAYS**

**By MAJ MOHD SHAIZRAI BIN SHUKRI  
ROYAL ARMoured CORPS**

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**INTRODUCTION**

Malaysia and Philippines face a similar set of security issues and challenges, but their perceptions differ considerably due to the differences in their economic status, ethnic and religious composition, and law-enforcement capacity. The concerns regarding the rise of China are shared by Malaysia and Philippines. Both have an interest in the increased maritime power of China. While Philippines is confident of its ability to control transnational labour flows, Malaysia had law-enforcement capabilities to deal with illegal aliens and transnational crimes such as drug and human smuggling. Malaysia would benefit from increased security cooperation on drug trafficking and broad maritime security capacity-building in the tri-border area, but not in the Malacca strait.<sup>1</sup>

Philippines considers terrorism, global economic slumps, and maritime piracy as important security threats. The country is confident of its ability to deal with drug issues and illegal migrant workers. The Philippines government does not officially acknowledge money laundering to be a serious issue, in view of the country's claims to have a highly effective regulatory framework.<sup>2</sup> However, international experts have noted shortcomings in Philippines's measures and have stopped short of giving a full mark to the country's performance. Cooperative opportunities for the United States are aplenty. Philippines sees itself capable of dealing with most security challenges but except for terrorism and maritime security, where the only limits to cooperation with the United States are perceptions of its neighbors, Malaysia and Indonesia. Malaysia's perceived security threats are deeply embedded in the country's domestic political economy, thereby making the government efforts to address these issues full-hearted at best. Cooperation with the United States on terrorism faces political sensitivity within Malaysia's muslim population, leaving a narrow window of cooperation on the problem.

The security issues faced by Malaysia and Philippines are nearly identical, but the two countries' perceptions of security threats differ considerably. Being former foreign colonies which by twists of history

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<sup>1</sup> Yoichiro Sato, Perceptions of Transnational Security Threats in Malaysia and Philippines: Windows of Cooperative Opportunities for the United States, Asia Pacific University, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



became two separate states, Malaysia and Philippines have grown into two distinct political systems with differing degrees of economic performance.<sup>3</sup> These domestic factors inevitably affect each country's perceptions of security threats in the region. All security efforts to extend a cooperative hand must take into account the similarities and differences of these two countries. Therefore, this paper will elaborate on the security collaboration between Malaysia and the Philippines in ensuring security, stability and sovereignty focusing on international sea boundary.

### **Security Situation In Southeast Asia Region**

Malaysia and Philippines strategic location in the centre of Southeast Asia (SEA) and her close proximity with the neighbouring states can be interpreted as having both economic and strategic significance. This factors could lead Malaysia and Philippines vulnerable to numerous of security threats. Both countries has been progressing as a nation since her independence despite many turbulent and uncertainty period in her earlier formation. As many incidents had happened for the past decades that threatened their national security, it is proven that a security threat will come from the most unlikely source and in a non-traditional manner. Therefore it is a must for Malaysia and Philippines to nurture and maintain the various security engagements and cooperation in the region and in order to address these much threats.<sup>4</sup>

### **Security Threats Faced By Malaysia And Philippines**

After the end of cold war, the main concern of the world to security threat is the emergence of the non-traditional security threats. Non-traditional mean the new security concerned that is different from the traditional military and political issues. Non-traditional security threat is not a substitute for the traditional threat. It's a new dimension of security concept while the military or the conventional security threats remains important. In the 21st century, the security challenges facing the borderless world involves a range of non-traditional security threats that are far different from the large scale traditional security threat and risk the survival of nations or region even maintain as these new threats are transnational. These new fears involve health, economic disparities, shortage of food, ecological problem and water shortages and more concerning now are that illegal immigrant, drug smuggling, kidnapping for ransom (KFR), cyber warfare and terrorism.<sup>5</sup> This list can be longer and continue. As with the globalization

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Hishammuddin Tun Hussein. (2013). Managing Complex Security Challenges: Historical Perspectives, Traditional Sovereignty, Nation Building and Collective Approaches, The Journal Of Defence And Security Volume 4 Number 2/2013, Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS), 111-118.

<sup>5</sup> Maley Caballero-Anthony. (2010). Non-Traditional Security Challenges, Regional Governance, and ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC). Asia Security Initiative Policy

and technological revolution, the above are among the main threats that Malaysia and Philippines are facing.

On these present days, Malaysia is facing with a number of overwhelming external threats that promise to challenge it in quest to achieve fully developed industrial nation status by 2020. Although Malaysia does not consider the non-traditional threats as being detrimentally paramount to its future development, these thorny factor can certainly contribute as a barrier to in achieving Vision 2020 that are currently underway and greatly destabilizing a nation and ASEAN.<sup>6</sup> The emergence of non-traditional security threats in the Philippines was particularly felt in the advent of the 90s, when the eruption of the 1997-98 financial and economic crises facing by the regional states has captured the international limelight.<sup>7</sup> Other challenges for Malaysia and Philippines emerged such as terrorism as the ASEAN Members States have been link to the Al Qaeda network namely Indonesia and Thailand since long before the 9/11 tragedy took place. The non-traditional security threat that faced by Malaysia and Philippines are as follows:

- **Piracy, Sea Robberies and Kidnapping for Ransom (KFR).** Piracy continues to be a major threat to the sea users and Malaysia together with Philippines waters have been the scene of numerous pirate attacks and armed robberies. This threat has been a problem not only for the crews and ship owners, but for the coastal state as well including the people of Malaysia and Philippines. There are certain areas where the numbers of incident have been reduced especially at the area of Sulu sea. The establishment of Maritime Joint Patrol have managed to reduce these non-traditional threats. With the present of military vessels and other agencies from three coastal states has given psychological effects to the pirates or sea robbers. The fight against piracy, sea robberies and KFR is continuously being carried out and the extension of such joint patrol to other area in the neighboring countries of Malaysia and Philippines has been established such as the area of the Sulu Sea.

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Series: Working Paper No. 7, Singapore. Retrieved on 5 October 2017 from <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/nts/294-non-traditional-security-chall/#.WZD3l1EjHIU>

<sup>6</sup> Razali Hj Ahmad, (2004). Security Challenges in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Malaysian Perspective. Paper presented at Eighth Asia Regional Forum, Heads of Defence Universities/Colleges/Institutions Meeting, Singapore

<sup>7</sup> Maria Ressa. (2003). Seeds of Terror: An Eyewitness Account of Al-Qaeda's Newest Center of Operations in Southeast Asia. New York: Free Press.

➤ **Terrorism.**

- The emergence of terrorism at SEA region is very worrying, even though it is fairly under control in Malaysia. The Bali bombing incident marked the presence of transnational terrorist threat in SEA region that have been connected to Al-Qaeda terrorist group. In the past, the regions had witnessed separatist movements in Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand but were confined to individual states and were addressed internally. However, in the wake of Sep 11 incident and the terrorist acts by the Jemaah Islamiah (JI) that had networks across borders created a new kind of threat to the SEA region. Malaysia has their own extremist movement that operates in many levels. The Kumpulan Mujahideen Malaysia (KMM) was founded by an Afghan War veteran Zainon Ismail on 12th Oct 1995.

- Philippines has only 30 percent of Muslims in its population surprisingly had been infiltrated by the Al-Qaeda terrorist group. Al-Qaeda's recruits in Philippines are focused on the Muslims that looking for spiritual renewal. This modus operandi is also using by the Al-Qaeda group to the other SEA States in order for them to recruit their terrorist fighter. The fact above clearly illustrated how the Al-Qaeda has built its network in the SEA and terrorism has become a major concern for Malaysia and Philippines. The latest incident involving Malaysian citizen in the Marawi attack at the Southern Philippines on 23 May 2017 by the terrorist is linked to al-Dawla al-Islamiya fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham (DAESH) which proof that the threat is imminent in both countries. Therefore, Malaysian government together with Philippines has established a trilateral cooperation at the Sulu Sea to address this threat as one of its objective.

➤ **Illegal Immigrant.**

- Another security threat in Malaysian and Philippines is related to the illegal immigrant issues. For Philippines, the good economic development and growth has attracted migration of people from neighboring countries. The plantation, service and construction sectors have created plenty of job opportunity since the locals just simply could not fill the position. The illegal entries are made easier by the fact that the vast border and coastal areas are simply impossible to monitor. The influx of illegal immigrant has caused negative consequences by creating political, security, economic and social problem to the host country. In

Philippines, the increased of crime rate and social problem is contributed by the illegal immigrant.

- One of the most challenging and controversial issues for Malaysia is regarding the illegal immigrants. The reliable numbers are almost impossible to obtain and most of the data on the illegal immigrant is politically biased and misused. The number of illegal immigrant in Malaysia is strongly increased in the last decade. Illegal immigrants is capable to compromise the security of the country by providing the subversive political activist an opportunity by entering the country as a disguise economic migrant and create disorder, chaos or even sabotage to the government. Furthermore, illegal immigrants always associated to the introduction and spread of diseases that is also one of non-traditional security threat. The Sulu Straits patrol, Malaysia-Philippines Joint Patrol and Malaysia-Indonesia Joint Patrol is among the initiatives taken by both Malaysia and Philippines in mitigating this non-traditional threat.

➤ **Drug Trafficking.** The transnational crime activities tend to focus on drug trafficking as it is one of the main lucrative sources of income. For being close to the famous drug Golden Triangle, Malaysia and Philippines is vulnerable to these non-traditional security threats. Drugs are normally smuggled into Malaysia by using containers under the disguised of other legitimate items brought in through Malaysian ports and Philippines waters. Drugs also smuggled into Malaysia by using fishing boats where the drug packages are hidden under the pile of ice on board to avoid detection. The new modus operandi that vastly used to smuggled drug into the country is by using drug mule and the point of entry is the international airports in Malaysia. Apparently, Philippines has also become a hub for drug trafficking due to its strategic location although the nation is not a drug producer country. This activity has imposed a bad image to Philippines and if these non-traditional security threats involve the usage of fire arm, the situation might turn from bad to worst. On the 17 May 2017, Malaysian Army representatives has visited his counterpart in Philippines and both Armies has agreed to strengthen the border security including combating the smuggling of contraband item which one of it is drug.

## The Security Collaboration and Cooperation

Malaysia and Philippines does not have any particular bilateral security cooperation in specific. Nevertheless, both countries are participating countries in the security initiatives under Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Apart from that, both countries do have military bilateral relationship to preserve security in the region. Military cooperation between Malaysia and Philippines has always been maintained as bilateral arrangement and as part of confidence building measures. The bilateral military cooperation between both countries is implemented through military exercises, personnel training, seminars and conferences on regular basis. Both countries are involved in Land MALPHI (Malaysia-Philippines) Exercise by the respective armies. The combined exercises are conducted and hosted alternately in each country to enhance interoperability and gain better understanding on joint operational procedures.

Military cooperation with external powers is still maintained both through bilateral and multilateral arrangement. Both Malaysia and Philippines are considered closely associated to the United States (US) in defense cooperation. US have also bilateral defense agreements with Malaysia and Philippines. Within the security domain the US remains deeply enmeshed in the region's military affairs and power politics.<sup>8</sup> In the field of multilateral military cooperation, the Five Power Defense Arrangement (FPDA) has continued to be of major importance in the region. It can be derived that Malaysia established bilateral or multilateral military cooperation with the external powers partly because to complement security arrangement within ASEAN.

Malaysia and Philippines are among the ASEAN member's states that are actively in conducting joint exercise or joint operation in the SEA waters. These efforts have shown slight improvement towards maritime security issues, mainly against piracy or robberies, smuggling activities and environmental degradation. However, the other state members have not shown any joint efforts in combating the piracy or sea robberies issues. Even though the Eastern Sabah Security Command (ESSCOM) has been established on 7 March 2013 to safeguard the east coast of Sabah from any threat but the KFR incident still happen and in 18 July 2016, five Malaysian were kidnapped in the Lahad Datu's waters proof that this threat is a major problem. The establishment of Sulu Sea Trilateral Maritime Patrol is one of the initiatives in mitigating the problem.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Anthony McGrew, 'Restructuring Foreign And Defense Policy: The USA' Anthony McGrew And Christopher Brook (Eds), *Asia-Pacific In The New World Order*, London: Routledge, 1998, p167.

<sup>9</sup> Avila, G. & Awang, A. O. (2016, Nov 20). ESSCOM Confirms Yet Another Kidnapping in Sabah Waters. New Straits Times. <https://www.nst.com.my/news/2016/11/190256/esscom-confirms-yet-another-kidnapping-sabah-waters>.

## Sulu Sea Trilateral Maritime Patrol (TMP)

On 20 June 2016, Minister of Defence from Indonesia, Malaysia and Philippines met in Manila to discuss on the growing security challenges facing by the SEA region, specifically in the maritime area of common concern to the three countries. The Trilateral Meeting among the Defence Ministers in Manila was reaffirmed the commitments made by the Foreign Ministers and the Chief of Defence Forces of the three countries in Yogyakarta, Indonesia on 5 May 2016 in addressing the maritime security challenges in this region that has affected the three countries.<sup>10</sup>

The recent incidents of armed robbery at sea and KFR that happened in common concern maritime areas had been raised by the Ministers, and had reaffirmed the commitment and the need for collective responsibility by the three countries to address the non-traditional security threats that shake security and prosperity of this region. The Ministers has come up with an agreement that the experiences in the Malacca Straits Joint Patrol practiced by Malaysia and Indonesia to be adopted by Malaysia and Philippines for the trilateral security cooperation to address common maritime security threat. The Ministers have agreed with the principle of the armed forces and/or relevant agencies to explore the following measures:<sup>11</sup>

- The armed forces of the three countries will be focused on the coordinated activities on maritime security.
- The establishment of possible joint military command posts which include ad hoc military liaisons on board at the designated locations.
- Trilateral air and maritime patrol at the common maritime areas concern.
- Trilateral Maritime Patrol Working Group (TMPWG) will set up the operational directions for the conduct of the trilateral maritime patrol. Each respective countries will establish The Maritime Command Centres and the deployment and tasking of their respective assets shall retain under the responsibility of respective countries.
- A transit corridor which will serve as designated sea lanes within the maritime areas of common concern is for mariners to enter the maritime area of common concern.

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<sup>10</sup> Sufian Jusoh. (2016). ASEAN Community as a Catalyst for a Peaceful Region. Diplomatic Voice Volume 3, Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia, 4-5 cont. 15.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

- The information and intelligence sharing pertaining to the maritime area of common concern.
- A mechanism for trilateral database sharing.

With the growing threat by the DAESH in this region and evidence by the Marawi City conflict at the Southern Philippines, the three states member of ASEAN highlighted that the arrangement is not just the Sulu Sea, but a challenge to SEA in countering the terrorism in the region. For the future outlook on TMP after the launch, the general frameworks has been laid out, with a rotational air patrols and network of naval patrols supported by arrangements of the three states including on communications and the sharing information as well as the establishment of three Maritime Command Centres (MCC) in Tarakan, Indonesia; Tawau, Malaysia; and Bongao, Philippines and a joint operations centre. To further boost familiarization of assets, personnel and process of this security cooperation initiative, more collaboration between the three states involve is expected.

## CONCLUSION

The security threat issues are not only a concern for only single state in SEA region, the issues are concerned with non-traditional security threat that must be tackle by every member states in the region since its nature has no boundaries. This nature must be tackle with collective actions by involving both Malaysia and Philippines in order to curb or even to pre-empt the occurrence. Addressing the security issues effectively requires a lot of efforts from both countries. Malaysia and Philippines share sea lanes and face similar transnational security challenges but their perceptions of such challenges differ considerably due to differences in domestic, political, economic, and societal factors. The two countries are similar in their dismissive perceptions about the seriousness of the human illegal immigrants, KFR and other related security issues.

The latest developments on the ground should be used as an opportunity for Malaysia and Philippines to review its existing policies and instruments so as to improve the shortcomings of its existing collaboration mechanisms. To that end, both countries could formulate new policies that would ensure the security, stability and sovereignty of international sea boundary. Many possible courses of action that should be implemented, namely the re-definition of the concepts of consultation and consensus, and that Malaysia and Philippines should try to use the mechanism of the ASEAN way to achieve a strong collaboration.

There are recommendations that can be put forward towards this discussion. Among the recommendations are as follow:

- **Intelligence Integration Centre.** In combating the non-traditional threat especially the trans-border crime the intelligence is very important. Without intelligence the security force agencies cannot perform their duties efficiently and effectively. At this present, intelligence sharing is only at the respective joint security cooperation between involved states. It is proposed that a need of Intelligence Integration Centre for the Malaysia and Philippines. This intelligence centre is responsible in planning, collecting, processing all information involving the region and disseminating the intelligence to all ASEAN Member States for their operations on combating the non-traditional security threats.
- **Malaysia as a Centre for Combating Extremism and Terrorism.** The establishment of Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT) and The King Salman Centre for International Peace (KSCIP) in Malaysia should be fully utilised by the Malaysia and Philippines in promoting security in SEA region especially in combating any Extremism and Terrorism action. Therefore, with such facilities, Malaysia should become the centre for combating extremism and terrorism for the ASEAN Members States.
- **The Binding of Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the Sulu Sea (DOC) Agreement.** The agreement on the DOC between ASEAN Member States with the PRC should be finalised and bind. Whatever incident happen in the South China Sea especially at the disputed area might create security instability to this region. Therefore, it is very important for the DOC to be binding and must be respected by Malaysia and Philippines that conducting activities at the South China Sea.
- **Political negotiations.** A possible response in pursuing a collaboration is the continuation of political negotiations, although this route too is likely to have problems in the coming decade. Most states lack the political resolve to mount a serious effort to combat their security threats. So reaching a political settlement between Malaysia and Philippines using diplomatic efforts is likely to be successful in the coming decade. However, as stated in ASEAN charter, Malaysia and Philippines must follows the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes, so they can continue to try and exploit diplomatic efforts through consultation and negotiation to enhance collaboration.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> ASEAN, The ASEAN Charter, ASEAN: Jakarta, January 2008, p. 6, available at <[http://www.asean.org/storage/images/ASEAN\\_RTK\\_2014/ASEAN\\_Charter.pdf](http://www.asean.org/storage/images/ASEAN_RTK_2014/ASEAN_Charter.pdf)> accessed 2 November 2017.



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## **CYBER TERRORISM : IMPACT TO MALAYSIAN DEFENCE SYSTEM**

**By CAPT SUZANNA BINTI ISMAIL  
ROYAL MILITARY POLICE CORPS**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

According to the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), cyber terrorism is defined as any "premeditated, politically motivated attack against information, computer systems, computer programs and data which results in violence against non combatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents. Unlike a nuisance virus or computer attack that result in a denial of service, a cyber terrorism attack is designed to cause physical violence or extreme financial harm. Cyber terrorism targets include the centers power plants, banking industry, military installations, air traffic control and water systems.<sup>1</sup>

Cyber terrorism can also be defined as the intentional use of computers, networks and public internet to cause destruction and harm for personal objectives. Experienced cyber terrorists who are very skilled in terms of hacking can cause massive damage to government systems, hospital records and national security programs which might leave a country, community or organization in turmoil and in fear of further attacks. The objectives of such terrorists may be political or ideological since this can be considered a form of terror.<sup>2</sup>

According to Malaysia's Penal Code, Chapter VIA, Section 130B, cyber terrorism describes as threat of action or an act within or beyond Malaysia, among others, "designed or intended to disrupt or seriously interfere with any computer systems or the provision of any services directly related to banking or financial services, communications infrastructure, utilities, transportation or other essential infrastructure".<sup>3</sup>

Cyber terrorism has been around since the late 1980's, however the number of cyber terrorism have only increased since the September 11 attack on the United States. Some examples of cyber terrorism activities include hacking into government portals, email bombing, banking, water and hospital websites to either generate fear or endanger the lives of many.<sup>4</sup> Earlier examples of cyber terrorism attack were in 1996 when a computer hacker who claimed to be linked with the White Supremacist movement had

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<sup>1</sup> *Definition of Cyber Terrorism* viewed 7 October 2017, <http://searchsecurity.techtarget.com/definition/cyberterrorism>.

<sup>2</sup> *Definition of cyberterrorism* viewed 11 November 2017, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyberterrorism#Further\\_reading](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyberterrorism#Further_reading).

<sup>3</sup> *Putting Cyber Terrorism Into Context* by Zahri Yunos, *Cybersecurity Malaysia* viewed 12 November 2017, *Article Was Published In The Star In-Tech On 24 Feb 2009*.

<sup>4</sup> *Cyber Terrorism in Malaysia* viewed 7 October 2017, <http://cyberterrorismmlaw.blogspot.my/2012/03/history.html>.

temporarily disabled and damaged a Massachusetts Internet Service Provider (ISP) while he sent out worldwide racist messages under the ISP's name. While in 1999, during the Kosovo conflict, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) computers were blasted with e-mail bombs and hit with Denial-of-Service (DoS) attacks by hackers protesting the NATO bombings.

Cyber terrorist decide to use Information and Communication Technology (ICT) rather than the usual methods such as assassination, hostage-taking and guerrilla warfare because by ICT they can cause greater damage to a country than an army of a few thousands. Countries which are increasingly dependent on ICT, especially those that have many systems connecting to the Internet are vulnerable to these kinds of attacks. The paradox is that, the more wired a nation is the more vulnerable it is to cyber attacks. In the era where the usage of ICT is a necessity it is regrettably also highly vulnerable to attacks and opens a new dimension of threats.<sup>5</sup>

In order to defend ourselves from cyber terrorist, we will need to identify who they are in the first place. Cyber terrorist can be inflicted by anyone with hostile intents that has access and knowledge of utilizing cyber capabilities such as disgruntled employees, amateur and professional hackers, cyber criminals, cyber terrorist groups and others. The amateur hackers are by far the biggest threat on the internet at the current time. They are responsible for about 90% of all hacking.<sup>6</sup>

As there is an increase in knowledge of the usage of internet, the trend has shifted and terrorists are using cyberspace to facilitate more traditional methods of terrorism such as bombings or spreading messages of hate. The web sites of terrorist groups in particular are used to present messages, coordinate members, and recruit young supporters. Some of these web sites are also set up as a source of financing their activities through sale of their merchandise. Countries like the United States and in the European continent and powerful Asian countries like China and India have taken their own precautions in combating cyber terrorism.<sup>7</sup>

### **Malaysia Facing Cyber Terrorism**

Cyber terrorism includes warfare attacks against a nation's state and forcing ICT infrastructure and assets to fail or to destroy them. It is argued that cyber terrorism requires political motives and the use of violence. The

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<sup>5</sup> Cyber Terrorism And Terrorist Use Of ICT And Cyberspace viewed, Zahri Yunos and syahrul Hafidz viewed 9 November 2017 <https://www.searcct.gov.my/featured-articles/49-cyber-terrorism-and-terrorist-use-of-ict-and-cyberspace>.

<sup>6</sup> Countering Cyber Terrorism Effectively:Are We Ready To Rumble?, Shamsuddin Abdul Jalil viewed 12 November 2017, GIAC Security Essentials Certification (GSEC), Practical Assignment,Version 1.4b, Option 1,June 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p 2.

objective is to create fear within a target population where monetary gain is not the main focus.<sup>8</sup>

In defining cyber terrorist activities, it is necessary to segment action and motivation. There is no doubt that acts of hacking can have the same consequences as acts of terrorism. The intentional act of hacking must be a part of the terrorist action. In most cases, the motive is more of computer-related crimes. These cases include stealing somebody else's identity and hacking into a bank's system to gain easy money. Perhaps this is not considered cyber terrorism as the motive is more in line with computer-related crimes.<sup>9</sup>

Many cyber terrorist groups used ICT as a tool to conduct operations without being detected by the authorities. It is hard for the authorities to trace or link the web activity or gather any personal information that may assist in identifying the criminal offenders because this cyber terrorist groups has utilised features of the internet that enables users to remain anonymous.

In 2015, Cyber Security Malaysia had received 9,915 reports on cyber related incidents. Over the past decade, cyber attacks in Malaysia have increased dramatically. More local organizations may be exposed to cyber attacks as Malaysian government aims to increase Malaysia's Internet penetration from the current 67% to 95% by 2020. These cyber attacks have leaked sensitive personal and business information, disrupted critical operations and inflicted immense costs on the economy.

Today's cyber terrorism has the persistence, the technology and the skills to mount highly successful attacks on businesses and governments. Their efforts have turned cyber crime into a big global business resulting in valuable private and sensitive data stolen on a massive scale.<sup>10</sup>

Cyber terrorism has been seen as a relevant threat due to its strong relation to ICT and cyberspace. The Malaysia government has implemented the National Cyber Security Policy (NCSP) in order to address cyber threats and protect Critical National Information Infrastructure (CNII) from cyber terrorism activities. It is a proactive initiative whereby the NCSP has developed action plans to mitigate such risks. Subsequently, Cyber Security Malaysia also plays important roles in providing excellent services in safeguarding, educating and strengthening cyber security initiatives in the country.

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<sup>8</sup> The Threat of Cyberterrorism to Critical Infrastructure viewed 13 November 2017, <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/09/02/the-threat-of-cyberterrorism-to-critical-infrastructure>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p 9.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p 7.

According to Malaysia Deputy Finance Minister II, Datuk Lee Chee Leong, quoting the figures from the Performance Management and Delivery Unit (PEMANDU), Malaysia lost RM 179.3 million in 2016 to cyber crime activities. He said cyber crime was emerging as a serious economic threat. The number of active internet users in the country has now exceeded 21 million people with 18 million people active on social media. This situation not only bringing economic benefits to the nation while it has also heralded the unwelcome trend of cybercrime. The future of corporate crime is certainly one without boundaries in this era of wireless technology and borderless networks. High-stake illegal activities could be carried out through computers and mobile phones.<sup>11</sup>

Statistics from the Commercial Crime Investigations Department (CCID) showed that there were 26,548 financial crime cases in 2016, a huge increase from 2015 with 18,647 cases and the total amount lost in 2016 at RM1.96 billion. In Malaysia, financial crime is referred to cases such as cloning of cheques, ATM card, credit card fraud, 'Fly by Night' scams, Internet fraud such as spoofing, love scams, parcel scam, email hacking and money laundering.<sup>12</sup>

Malaysia took the lead when The International Multilateral Partnership Against Cyber Terrorism (IMPACT) was formally launched on 20 May 2008 at the World Cyber Security Summit (WCSS), in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The United Nations have also joined in the fight against cyber terrorism by supporting the global coalition of the IMPACT.<sup>13</sup> An initiative has been started in Malaysia to bring together governments, industry leaders and experts to coordinate responses to attacks on cyber security and vital infrastructure. IMPACT's primary mission is to raise the world's capacity to monitor, identify, respond to, defend and secure against all forms of cyber threats. IMPACT is dedicated to bringing together governments, industry and academia to collectively enhance the capability of the global community to prevent and respond to cyber threats.

Besides that Malaysia is also one of the first few countries to have comprehensive legislation against cyber terrorism such as the Communication and Multimedia Act 1998, Computer Crime Act 1997 and etc. Ministry of Science, Technology and Information (MOSTI) have also established Cyber Security Malaysia on 2007 as an agency that provides

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<sup>11</sup> Cybercrime a serious threat to nation viewed 6 November 2017, <https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2017/09/21/cybercrime-a-serious-threat-to-nation-malaysians-lostrm1793mil-to-financial-crime-last-year-says-mi>.

<sup>12</sup> Annual Report JSJK 2016 and 2017 viewed 6 November 2017, [http://www.ccid.my/en/annual\\_reports](http://www.ccid.my/en/annual_reports).

<sup>13</sup> Cyber Terrorism in Malaysia viewed 8 October 2017, <http://cyberterrorismlaw.blogspot.my/2012/03/cyber-terrorism-in-malaysia.html>.

ICT security specialist services and continuously monitors threats to national security.<sup>14</sup>

The main function of Cyber Security Malaysia was to provide support to enforcement agencies and victims in ensuring that justice will prevail regardless of the space where a particular crime is conducted. Cyber Security Malaysia also assists in cyber forensics and analysis such as analyzing evidence and providing expert witnesses for relevant cases. In order for enforcement agencies to fulfill their roles, they require processes, role players, technical support and specialist centers to aid in analyzing and solving technical problems to help the judicial process.<sup>15</sup>

In 2016, Cyber Security Malaysia has promoted further intra-regional cooperation and cross-border collaboration with regional cyber security agencies. So far, Cyber Security Malaysia has forged 24 collaborative partnerships with various organizations locally and regionally including members of the Asia Pacific Computer Emergency Response Team (APCERT) countries as well as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation-Computer Emergency Response Team (OIC-CERT) countries.<sup>16</sup>

### **Cyber Security In Ministry of Defence (MINDEF) and Malaysian Armed Forces (ATM)**

*"We cannot take lightly the effects of cyber attacks and the need for cyber security. Our focus is the Critical National Information Structure where there are hacking issues that can paralyse our government and defence system," Defence Minister, Datuk Seri Hishammuddin Hussein, 17 January 2017.<sup>17</sup>*

MINDEF was hit by a cyber attack in October 2016. Although the damage caused was minimal during that cyber attacks, the hackers with malicious intent damage or destroy targeted computer networks or systems. According to that, The Defence Minister, Datuk Seri Hishammuddin Hussein has launched the operation of Cyber Defence Operations Centre (CDOC) and at the same time he has launched MINDEF Siber Safe Awareness Campaign on 17 January 2017 to thwart the possibility of more serious of cyber attacks cases in MINDEF and ATM.<sup>18</sup> He said it was crucial for MINDEF to be prepared to face such cyber attacks in the future. Defence

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p 4.

<sup>15</sup> Is Cybersecurity Malaysia an Enforcement Agency viewed 8 October 2017, [http://www.cybersecurity.my/en/media\\_centre/media\\_faqs/media\\_faqs/main/detail/1691/index.html](http://www.cybersecurity.my/en/media_centre/media_faqs/media_faqs/main/detail/1691/index.html)

<sup>16</sup> Facing Cyberattacks in 2016 and beyond by Dr Amirudin Abdul Wahab viewed 5 November 2017, <https://www.thestar.com.my/tech/tech-opinion/2016/01/28/facing-cyber-attacks-in-2016-and-beyond/#YihbORI2yoOeYpTP.99>.

<sup>17</sup> Defence Ministry Launches Centre to Thwart Cyber Attacks viewed 8 October 2017, <http://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/nation/2017/01/17/defence-ministry-launches-centre-to-thwart-cyber-attacks>.

<sup>18</sup> Country's Cyber Defence Operations Centre up this Sept viewed 8 October 2017, <https://www.nst.com.my/news/2017/01/204974/countrys-cyber-defence-operations-centre-septsays-hishammuddin>.

Intelligence Staff Division (BSPP) has been given the responsibilities to manage CDOC as they have the expertise in preventing, controlling as well as analyzing causes and symptoms of various forms of cyber threats. It has been fully operational in September 2017.

CDOC would be responsible for addressing the cyber threats faced by MINDEF. There are four main focus of CDOC which are to monitor any cyber threat activities which have the potential to threaten the system and network of MINDEF and also to enhance cyber defence.<sup>19</sup> Other than that, the centre would also focus on the implementation of Cyber Security and Penetration testing as well as enhancing digital forensic capabilities so it could provide digital and cyber result which meets the international standards. CDOC would also share intelligence with other agencies. It is important to share information with other agencies throughout ASEAN to address cyber threats together.

### Cyber Threat Issue In MINDEF and ATM

MINDEF and ATM are the leaders in the defence and security sector in the country's critical information infrastructure. Hence the security and asset preparedness factors, systems and functions that are real or virtual should be given priority. It aims to empower and defend the nation to face and fend off the threat of cyber attacks. In line with the safety core in MINDEF direction, priority is given to raising the level of national security and strengthening the security and defense capabilities of cyber attacks.

The threat of cyber attacks not only requires expert skills to analyze and identify the factors and causes but also requires awareness among ATM's and their family members to detect and control the threats of cyber attacks that are comes from various forms of threat.<sup>20</sup>

Cyber threats in ATM's may come from internal threats and external threats.<sup>21</sup>

➤ **Internal Threats.** Internal threats may come from individuals and employees within the organization itself. The actual instances of internal threats in MINDEF and ATM are as follows:

- **Policy Violations.** Policy and policy violations may occur when the individual uses their personal ICT equipment for official tasks. Policy violations also happen when the individual using their personal email for official tasks such as Yahoo and Gmail account. Another example of policy

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p 8.

<sup>20</sup> Kempen Kesedaran Keselamatan Siber Mindef dan ATM viewed by 11 November 2017 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QLkITD9V3Hc>.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p 10.



violations are when the individual allowing remote access from MINDEF and ATM premises logs.

- **Sabotage.** The sabotage incident may occur when an internal worker involves a third party involvement such as a contractor and a janitor who may access to restricted areas. This third party people was then expose to make any sabotage.
  - **Information Leakage.** Information leakage can happen when an individual upload any images during army operation, images of members injuries or images of military installations on their personal social media pages. It can also happen when the individual and their family members make a comments on their Facebook pages. Nowadays, people likes to make geotagging on the Foursquare site and it also can indirectly reveal information to outsiders. Another information leakage is a cases of official document sharing in their drop box.
- **External Threat.** External threat is another cyber threat that comes from cyber terrorism to carry out various bad motives. Examples of external threats are as follow:
- **Social Engineering.** Cyber terrorism uses physiological manipulation of victims through phishing which is a form of cyber attack so that the victim exposes their personal data information and organizations unknowingly.
  - **Poor Passwords.** Cyber attacks can also occur on passwords due to poor passwords. Attacks are conducted by various factors, including the acquisition of computer systems and networks to steal personal and organizational information.
  - **Malware Distribution.** Malware or malicious software is a kind of software which is specifically designed to disrupt, damage or gain authorized access to a computer system.

The real file case happened in MINDEF and ATM.

- **Adanced Persistent Threat Attack.** A senior military officer has become a victim of advanced persistent threats due to weaknesses in passwords. His public email account has been hacked by cyber terrorist that has been tampering with identity with the intention of stealing information.

- **MH370 Incident.** A senior military officers email was hacked and been used for attempting espionage activity. Espionage is a practice of spying or of using spies, typically by governments to obtain political and military information.
- **Phishing.** Phishing is the attempt to obtain sensitive information such as usernames, passwords details for malicious reasons, by disguising as a trustworthy entity in an electronic communication. Cyber terrorist uses an inactive user account to launch a phased attack on the indifference of stakeholders.

### **The Impact of Cyber Terrorism in Malaysian Defense System**

The explosion of ICT and the internet network revolution created by computer experts and software developers today enable people to communicate without borders. The only thing to be recognized today is that all kinds of computers and gadgets that are packed and scattered on the ground today can help connect anyone no matter where they are.<sup>22</sup>

People today communicate in ways and methods that are incredible because of virtual connectivity or through cyberspace. The sophistication and rapidness of ICT not only bring a positive impact but also have a negative impact on the Malaysia defense system if it's not handled properly. ICT sophistication means we need to be prepared with various threats that can threaten the Malaysia defense system through cyber attacks against systems and computer networks. Cyber attacks are a new threat that has received special attention to many countries and governments today. It can be present in a variety of shapes and ways and worries, it attacks silently.<sup>23</sup>

Cyber terrorism exists when there is an attack on a computer system that leads to violence against a person or property and the disruption is enough to generate fear, death or bodily injury. It is carried out to cause grave harm or severe economic damage or extreme financial harm which could, thus, paralyse world trade and economy. If terrorists were to launch a widespread cyber attacks, the economy of the country singled out would be the target for disruption, while death and destruction might be considered collateral damage. Cyber attacks may target chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear.

A successful attack on these installations would cause severe economic disruption and harm to the civilian population in the form of death and bodily injuries. With the growing interconnectedness and

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<sup>22</sup> Serangan siber senjata baharu ancam keselamatan Negara viewed 12 November 2017 <https://www.bharian.com.my/node/76416>.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p 22.

interdependencies of critical infrastructure sectors, cyber terrorism would be directed at those targets that allow for a maximum level of disruption.

Cyber terrorist probably aim at critical infrastructure as their target with successful cyber attacks in one sector having cascading effects on other sectors. Consequently, a large-scale terrorist-type cyber attack could have an unpredictable and, perhaps, catastrophic impact on other sectors, and possibly long-lasting impact on the country's economy.

The critical military infrastructures in Malaysian Defence Systems that might be affected by cyber terrorism includes military operations, military telecommunication, military installations and etc. Cyber terrorists manage to disrupt the air traffic control systems causing the controllers to be unable to direct the airplanes in the required manner. This might cause the pilots to lose control of the computerized navigation systems on the airplanes and make their task of ensuring a safe landing much harder.

The confidentiality, availability and integrity of operation data stands in stark contrast to the inadequacy of our cyber security. Without strong investments in cyber security and cyber defenses, data systems remain open and susceptible to rudimentary and dangerous forms of exploitation and attack. Malicious actors use cyberspace to steal data and intellectual property for their own economic or political goals. An actor in one region of the globe can use cyber capabilities to strike directly at a network thousands of miles away, destroying and disrupting data or shutting off critical systems.<sup>24</sup>

The global proliferation of malicious code or software ("malware") increases the risk to military networks and data to conduct a disruptive or destructive cyber operation against a military operation system. However, the level of security on these infrastructures can still be further improved in order to provide a tougher resistance block to cyber terrorists. Even though there has not been too many obvious cases of cyber terrorism attacks affecting the Malaysian Defence System steps should be taken to prevent such occurrences from happening.

### **How to Overcome The Impact Of Cyber Terrorism**

Everyone in the organization either military personnel or civilian staff have their role and responsibility in cyber security to ensure their sensitive data and networks are secure at all time. As recent major cyber incidents have shown, cyber criminals often gain access to systems and information by exploiting human error, such as clicking on malicious links, creating weak

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<sup>24</sup> DOD Cyber Strategy - United States Department of Defense viewed by 12 November 2017 [https://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/features/2015/0415\\_cyberstrategy/Final\\_2015\\_DoD\\_CYB\\_ER\\_STRATEGY\\_for\\_web.pdf](https://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/features/2015/0415_cyberstrategy/Final_2015_DoD_CYB_ER_STRATEGY_for_web.pdf).

passwords and failing to install software patches. Even simple behaviors can make a huge difference in the overall security of an organization.<sup>25</sup>

Here are some online safety habits for everyone regardless of their role, to be practice daily:

- Use strong passwords and change them regularly.
- Keep usernames, passwords or other computer/website access codes private.
- Only open emails and attachments from people we know.
- Don't install or connect any personal software or hardware to organization's network without permission from the IT department
- Make electronic and physical backups of all important work.
- Secure internet connection by using a firewall, encrypting information and hiding Wi-Fi network when do a job at home.

## CONCLUSION

Cyber terrorism has become quite clear in general understanding during last century. It denotes the use of internet for terrorist purposes, mostly tinged by political or ideological background. The cyber-terrorism itself is the most important driver in the matter of changing the face of today's terrorism as we know it. It takes place at the cross point of two different worlds, the physical world and the virtual world.<sup>26</sup>

The danger, resulting from transformation of terrorism performed as aggressive and lethal actions in physical world to cyber-terrorism taking place in the virtual world causing political or economic consequences, must in no way be underestimated. On the other side, overestimation and media hysteria is not in place either. It is the countries' responsibility to negotiate and deliver appropriate security measures, whilst considering the right balance of limiting one's freedom and individualism and protecting against cyber.

The risks from global cyber terrorism will be greater in the coming years as criminals and terrorists gain access to new skills and technology. It is imperative that we protect our cyberspace. So everyone should be

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<sup>25</sup> Cybersecurity in the workplace is everyone responsibility viewed 12 November 2017, <https://www.dhs.gov/stopthinkconnect-campaign-blog>.

<sup>26</sup> Lewis, James. Assessing the Risks of Cyber Terrorism, Cyber War and Other Cyber Threats. Center for Strategic & International Studies, viewed 16 November 2017 [http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/021101\\_risks\\_of\\_cyberterror.pdf](http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/021101_risks_of_cyberterror.pdf).

prepared and ensure that we have the most effective defence in our system to deter and defeat all cyber-attacks.

We cannot continue to solve individual attacks on a case-by-case basis and not address the larger problem. A better approach is to have an effective coordination amongst the related agencies. In order to effectively address cyber threats, collaboration and communication should be both cross sectoral and horizontal to all relevant parties. We all face a common threat with respect to cyber terrorism and need to work together in order to protect our most critical assets. Quick response is a big challenge.

A common understanding of the threat level could be achieved by sharing information via the provision of vulnerability catalogues, threat alerts and analysis, executive communications, trend briefings, impact analysis etc. The level of threats needs to be defined carefully for the people to have a common understanding. If not, different perceptions and interpretation will occur.

The cyberspace has enabled asymmetric warfare, where individual perpetrators such as extremists, terrorist groups and cyber criminals possess the abilities and capabilities to inflict damage to a nation's well-being. In this digital age, the concept of cyber terrorism or the use of cyberspace to carry out terrorist activities has emerged. By using ICT, terrorists can bring about greater damage or leave the nation with difficult conditions due to disruption of the critical services.

As we all know, cyberspace is a crucial platform to any country's well-being and prosperity. With cybercrimes rising exponentially in scale and sophistication, the organization alone may not be able to cope with the threats. The solution is to create a cyber ecosystem that encourages public-private partnerships to address the dangers to national security and societal well-being.

Proactive measures should be taken to protect and prevent the Malaysian Defense System from being attacked or infringed. Each individual is responsible for identifying every form of cyber threat and detecting how it can occur, each individual is responsible for safeguarding the personal data, organization and secrecy of the state by constantly cautioning any cyber attack and using the appropriate cyber platform in a cautious and secure manner and each individual in the organization is responsible for reporting any form of incident or threat that occurs.

Failure to address human factors and engage employees as part of an integrated security strategy will leave today's businesses and governments critically vulnerable to a cyber attack. Together, we can create a secure and safer cyber space for the world.

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# **PEMENANG ARTIKEL TERBAIK SOROTAN DARAT EDISI 72/2018 DAN 73/2018**

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## **Pemenang Artikel Terbaik Sorotan Darat Edisi Jun Siri 72/2018**



### **Artikel Terbaik**

**Implikasi Penyebaran Maklumat Ketenteraan Melalui Media Sosial Terhadap Keselamatan Maklumat ATM**

*Kapt Wan Nurhidayat bin Wan Muhammad, RSD*



### **Artikel Kedua Terbaik**

**Konflik Selatan Thailand Menggugat Keamanan Serantau**

*Mej Hafiza bin Ismail, RAMD*



### **Artikel Ketiga Terbaik**

**Kemahiran Pengurusan Ketenteraan**

*Kapt Ahmad Ezril bin Ibrahim, RAJD*

## **Pemenang Artikel Terbaik Sorotan Darat Edisi Disember Siri 73/2018**



### **Artikel Terbaik**

**Contemporary Challenges in Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations (PKO)**

*Kol Padman Bhaskaran, KAD*



### **Artikel Kedua Terbaik**

**Does Cultural Understanding Matter As a Tool That Influence Military Aspiration in Future Counter Insurgency Operation**

*Mej Raja Mohd Azanim Putera bin Raja Yaacob, RRD*



### **Artikel Ketiga Terbaik**

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