

# *Serotan* **DARAT**



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## **THE JOURNAL OF MALAYSIAN ARMY**

### **LEADERSHIP LIFESTYLE AMONG MILITARY OFFICERS**

Brig Gen Dato' Md Rahim bin Hj Mohamad, RIC

### **HUMAN SECURITY IN A UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS**

Lt Col G Gobalakrishna S. Govindasamy, RAC

### **TERRITORIAL DISPUTES MALAYSIA AND CHINA: MALAYSIA SECURITY AT SOUTH CHINA SEA**

Lt Col Mohd Fadhil bin Hassan, RER

### **UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN SUDAN**

Lt Col Hamili bin Hamdan, RRD

### **5G WIRELESS NETWORK TECHNOLOGY**

Lt Col Hidayat bin A. Halim, RSR

### **HOW TO FACE NEW GENERATION EMPLOYEES BASE ON MILITARY LEADERSHIP EXAMPLE**

Lt Col Mawarni binti Abdullah, ROC

### **CHINA – RUSSIA RELATIONS: COOPERATION IN MILITARY STRATEGIES**

Lt Col Ahmad Rizwan bin Din, RSR

### **CHINA SPREADING POWER IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE IMPACT TOWARDS MALAYSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY**

Lt Col Mohammad Rizzal bin Mat Saleh, RSR

### **AN ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP TUN DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD**

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### **CYBER THREATS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA REGION**

Lt Col Sharizat bin Ahmad, RSR



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

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**KETERANGAN**

Sorotan Darat ialah Jurnal rasmi Tentera Darat (TD) yang diterbitkan sejak 1 Mac 1983 bagi mempertingkatkan budaya ilmu dikalangan warga TD. Ia diterbitkan dua kali setahun iaitu pada bulan Jun dan Disember. Tidak dibenarkan mengeluarkan mana-mana bahagian, artikel, gambar, ilustrasi dan isi kandungan jurnal ini dalam apa jua bentuk dan cara sama ada secara elektronik, fotokopi, rakaman atau cara lain sebelum mendapat kebenaran bertulis daripada Kementerian Pertahanan melalui MK PLDTD terlebih dahulu.

Sebagai sebuah jurnal TD, Sorotan Darat bertujuan mewujudkan satu forum yang boleh meningkatkan tahap profesionalisma dan penguasaan ilmu seorang perajurit dalam bidang tertentu. Artikel yang menyentuh pelbagai isu dan tema adalah dipelawa dari pelbagai peringkat dan individu 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 gaya 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, samaada sebahagian atau seluruhnya adalah pendapatnya sendiri. Ianya bukanlah pendapat oleh Kementerian Pertahanan Malaysia atau pihak-pihak lain yang berkaitan.

<b>FROM CHIEF EDITOR DESK</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>LEADERSHIP LIFESTYLE AMONG MILITARY OFFICERS</b> Brig Gen Dato' Md Rahim bin Hj Mohamad , RIC	<b>3</b>
<b>HUMAN SECURITY IN A UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS</b> Lt Col G Gobalakrishna S. Govindasamy, RAC	<b>14</b>
<b>TERRITORIAL DISPUTES MALAYSIA AND CHINA: MALAYSIA SECURITY AT SOUTH CHINA SEA</b> Lt Col Mohd Fadhil bin Hassan, RER	<b>26</b>
<b>UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN SUDAN</b> Lt Col Hamili bin Hamdan, RRD	<b>41</b>
<b>5G WIRELESS NETWORK TECHNOLOGY</b> Lt Col Hidayat bin A. Halim, RSR	<b>54</b>
<b>HOW TO FACE NEW GENERATION EMPLOYEES BASE ON MILITARY LEADERSHIP EXAMPLE</b> Lt Col Mawarni binti Abdullah, ROC	<b>62</b>
<b>CHINA – RUSSIA RELATIONS: COOPERATION IN MILITARY STRATEGIES</b> Lt Col Ahmad Rizwan bin Din, RSR	<b>79</b>
<b>CHINA SPREADING POWER IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE IMPACT TOWARDS MALAYSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY</b> Lt Col Mohammad Rizzal bin Mat Saleh, RSR	<b>89</b>
<b>AN ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP TUN DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD</b> Lt Col Ir Mohd Shahnaz bin Sani, RER	<b>101</b>
<b>CYBER THREATS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA REGION</b> Lt Col Sharizat bin Ahmad Nawawi, RSR	<b>111</b>

**Pemenang Artikel Terbaik Sorotan Darat Edisi 74/2019 dan 75/2019**

**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 second journal for year 2019 edition is successfully published to acknowledge the writers effort in enhancing the readers' mind 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.

Nuggets of golden wisdom in thinking and actions come in many forms as they can be extracted from various sources. Therefore, SOROTAN DARAT provides such platform for the readers' to extract the ideas shared by the writers to gain knowledge. 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.


In a complex environment where security challenges are changing rapidly, the Editorial Council aims to divert readers' attentions to the capabilities of Malaysian Army to face current challenges and threats. Moreover, we should take initiatives to improvise logistics, management and development matters in order to enhance the level of professionalism and readiness to all levels of personnel's.

The Editorial Council welcomes and encourages more new aspiring 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





## **LEADERSHIP LIFESTYLE AMONG MILITARY OFFICERS**

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

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### **INTRODUCTION**

The definition of leadership in the military is defined by Field Marshal Montgomery as “the capacity and will to rally men and women to a common purpose and the character which inspires confidence”. The leader’s character needs to be properly developed in order to allow his followers to trust an instruction issued. Confidence is one of the processes in developing character in leadership. Apart from character, leadership also includes personality and influence exerted by the leader and the relationships between the leader and his followers are usually personal in nature. Several thousand people can be influenced by an organizational leader. It is because they get through more level of superiors and subordinates as compared to personal and direct influence from the leader himself.

Leadership is not only the appointment held as a leader in an organization but it is also a lifestyle that is part of our daily lives. It means that leadership is a lifestyle that is part of who you are - whether you are at work or at home. The definition of lifestyle is someone’s way of living or the things that a person usually does in his daily life. Lifestyle is a way of life established by a society, culture, group, or person. Lifestyle also is a pattern behavior, activity and interest of someone who spends his time on a daily basis. Leadership can be implemented as a lifestyle to complete our daily tasks.

Leadership lifestyle in the military environment can be implemented from an early point to develop strong characters of leaders in the military. The three tiers of an officer’s career development are known widely as the officer cadets, junior officers and senior officers. Leadership may look complex and maybe difficult to a certain extent - depending on whether it is experienced in a legislative setting, on a battlefield, at a rally, on a factory floor, or in a school district (Sergiovanni, 1999, p.1). Every phase of the officers’ career development has different situations which can develop leadership characters to be applied as a lifestyle. The officer cadets

will go through the training and academic study for at least four to six years before being commissioned as junior officers in the military service. The ranks of junior officers are from a Second Lieutenant to a Captain which may span from the first year to the sixth year of service. Senior officers already have the experience in command at least at the Company Level. The senior officers' rank is a Major and above.

### Development of Leadership Character in Officer Cadets

In the military lifestyle, leaders and followers are the main reason to build up leadership character. Leadership characters which seek rapid improvement must build up character from schools that offer few extrinsic motivators and guidelines. Every follower needs different styles of leadership as a guide to them. To be a good leader, one must be a good follower. A good follower will train and practice from the beginning to build up his own character. That practice is something we need to do as much as possible. The nutshell of leadership is just like "the first time we cook, maybe the dish won't be so tasty. But after practicing our cooking from time to time, the once inexperienced chef could become a TOP CHEF". The strong characters indicate drive, power, energy and courage. The following are the most prominent characters that a leader's lifestyle should have:



**Figure 1: Leadership Characters**

These characters need to be inculcated among the officer cadet as a lifestyle especially at training centers. Firstly, character courage also includes moral and physical courage. Moral courage is the ability to take difficult decision often in the face contrary advice

and adversity. Officer Cadets needs to research fact or evidence before making their decision. The decision need be firm to prepare them and resolve with contrary opinion. Physical courage emphasizes on confidence will which is built by training. Officer Cadets will go through training to improve their confidence such as abseiling, repelling, water confidence and river crossing and many more. These training will improve their confidence level.

Secondly, will power character is the determination and will to carry out a task which shows strength and will power. As we know, officer cadets' lifestyle is focused on academic and training which will teach them to manage their time to complete the tasks which are already given without fail. This character also gives physical and mental stamina, self-discipline and tenacity to officer cadets if they can manage well. Thirdly, initiative character is the act when the need arises in the absence of direction from a superior. Good leaders add to their knowledge and skills every day to gain more ideas for developing initiative character. Officer Cadets' lifestyle also includes initiative when a task is given to organize a function but they lack in logistics and resources. Initiative from the officer cadets is instilled when they figure out the logistic requirements to fulfill the concept of the function given. Officer Cadets usually obtain opinions and guidance from their instructors how to organize the event.

Integrity character is very important in officer cadets' lifestyle. Integrity is the combination sincerity, reliability, honesty and loyalty to gain respect and trust from superiors, colleagues and subordinates. Integrity will be tested during the examination on an academic session or training session. Officer Cadets caught trying to cheat in an examination will get punishment as the lesson for other officer cadets. Other than that, self-confidence comes from knowledge and experience. Officer Cadets can develop knowledge by reading books, interview experienced soldiers and research about the military lifestyle while experience is an on-going process in lifestyle. Self-confidence can be decisive in action and calmness in crisis. However, one cannot be overconfident, arrogant and sarcastic in lifestyle. Only through self-confidence, a leader can become a confident and competent leader of character. Officer Cadets will develop their self-confidence when they give instruction to their junior cadets face to face.

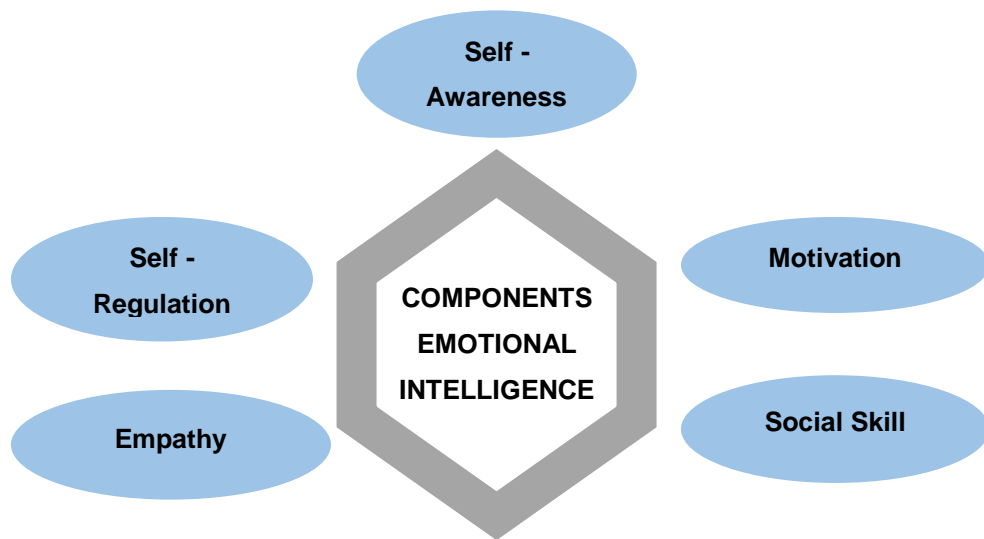
The ability to communicate character is the advantage to officer cadets because in their academic need to present their assignment to their lecturers and fellow officer cadets. Before presentation, they will make sure that they are fully informed about

what they are to do. In addition, it builds up character of the officer cadets to speak and write concisely and confidently. Besides that, loyalty as a character must also be inculcated among officer cadets. Loyalty should be displayed to the organization, their superiors and subordinates. In addition, it will also do the justice to the organization and taking the blame for their subordinates' failure displays the extent of their loyalty. Officer Cadets are already divided by platoon in their organization and lead by a senior under Officer (SUO) as the rank holder. Each officer cadets need to be proud and loyal their platoon and organization by following the orders from SUO and instructors.

Last but not least, the form of character which needs to be building up is endurance among officer cadets. The display of confidence is through endurance in mental, physical and spiritual stamina. Even though officer cadets focus on their academic, but at the same time training also develops endurance in each officer cadet. It is because they should always take charge to lead by example and when necessary, show that they have such ability to be in charge. Officer Cadets will focus on military training after the academic session from 1630H until 1830H every weekday. On weekends, every Saturday is physical training for gaining fitness among officer cadets and military subjects for gaining knowledge as army officer to be. During semester breaks, officer cadets should attend in depth military training at the Army Academy for the three weeks to improve their skills and competence as officer cadets in the military.

### **Junior Officers Leadership Development**

After all the characters which are already inculcated in officer cadets, the next stage in leadership development is at the Junior Officers level. As young officers, their leadership should be improved because they need to command their subordinates which are older than themselves. According to Barach and Eckhardt, (1996), it is the package of personal qualities that focuses on the emotional side of directing organizations. The concept to command is different by emotional intelligence command. Daniel Goleman discovered in his research on effective leadership by emotional intelligence. The components of emotional intelligence are as shown below:



**Figure 2: Components of Emotional Intelligence**

As junior officers, the main challenge that they face is solely commanding subordinates who are more experienced than them in the military lifestyle. However, the way to manage their subordinates is through self-awareness which is the ability to recognize and understand emotions, moods and drives as well as their effects on others. As young officers, there are constant pressures and needs to adapt wisely as well as not losing their sense of logic when they are in pressure because it will affect the command given in a negative way. The subordinates will not respect the officer when he fails to manage the pressure. Hallmarks of self-awareness can be known through self-confidence, realistic assessment and self-deprecating sense of humors.

Secondly, self-regulation can control or redirect disruptive impulse and moods. Disciplinary problems usually occur in battalions such as family issues, financial problems and absence from work should be handled by officers to resolve it. Self-regulation can help to prevent problems which may affect disruptive impulse to command the organization wisely. Besides that, motivation can be a form of passion to work for reasons that go beyond money or status. Motivation also can be known as morale. As an officer, charity on subordinate should be a priority to give motivation or morale boost. Being concern on subordinates' morale will make them to be loyal to give their commitment to organization.

Other than that, empathy is a form of emotional intelligence which enables one to understand the emotional makeup of other

people. Officers should possess this characteristic because as advisors and counselors to their subordinates in sharing their problems. Empathy is also the skill in treating people according to their emotional reactions. As a leader, to advise or motivate the subordinate in trouble can be a solution to their problem. Last but not least, emotional intelligence is key social skill. Social skill is the proficiency in managing relationships and building networks. Officers' social skill will be developed when they join activities with subordinates such as sports, chatting and having discussions. Social skill is also the ability to find common ground and build rapport with subordinates. Officers will know their subordinates well because of their expertise in building up and leading their subordinate successfully.

### Leadership Lifestyle as Senior Officers

The next level as senior officers' leadership lifestyle is to command the organization and officers under his command. Senior officers also include staff of higher commander in an organization. Leadership skills need to be developed through the use of different processes and methods to achieve your superior commander's intent. A good leader needs to have knowledge, talent, diligence and honesty to develop leadership. To be effective as leader, several different leadership styles might be use at any given time. There are various senior officers who usually use leadership lifestyle to command the organization and officers under his command as shown below:



Figure 3: Common Leadership Lifestyle

Coaching leadership is the lifestyle to help those who are under command to set smart goals and achieve the outlined goal. The leader can also recognize the strength, weaknesses and motivation of those who are under his command to improve their leadership skills as well. The coach leadership style is one of the most advantageous for the leader as well as the subordinates they manage. Guidance from senior officers based on their experience will support the officers under their command to lead their own subordinates and organization. At the same time, it can develop and improve leadership skills among officers.

Other than that, visionary leadership should be adapted as a lifestyle among senior officers. Visionary leadership is the drive, progress to usher in periods of change by inspiring subordinates and earning trust for their new ideas. A visionary leader is also able to set up a strong organizational bond by looking forward to the future of the organization. Senior officers must also have the foresight to command based on their experiences. That foresight can improve visionary leadership as the lifestyle to plan strategies in order to set up a strong organizational bond in the battalion.

The most effective way for driving fast results on leadership style is pace setting. The leader will be focused on performance which is often set at a high standard and motivate the subordinates to meet their goals. As senior officers already have the experience to manage and administer such occasions, pacesetter leadership will be applied by senior officers to achieve the standard of performance which is already done based on their experience. Senior officers also guide and motivate their subordinates to achieve the mission which is already given. After the mission is achieving, it will be a benchmark for the next mission.

Other than that, transformational leadership focuses on clear communication, motivation and the mission itself to be achieved. Transformation leaders also drive a commitment to achieve their mission. Senior officers will provide the mission to subordinates by delegating tasks without constant supervision. So, the subordinates will be focused to finish their tasks and cooperate with each other to complete the mission given. Transformation leadership is very suitable to be applied in the military lifestyle. This leadership lifestyle also usually applied on the attendance of any military courses. They will delegate the tasks to their team and gain information to carry out their task given.

Autocratic leadership is the lifestyle which is also known as the authoritarian style of leadership. Leaders often make decisions alone or with a trusted person and expect the subordinates will accomplish the mission. It can be helpful to think of these types of leaders as military officers. It is because autocratic leadership is suitable to be used in organizations with strict guidelines and its personnel need to follow the instruction or orders from their superior commanders. The punishments can be imposed on those who violate instructions. Senior officers also will make decisions by referring to their own superiors or based on their own experience.

Last but not least, servant leadership can be lifestyle among senior officers to lead the battalion. Servant leadership lifestyle will make the officers under their command to have a personal touch and professionally fulfill their duties to maintain regular performance. In addition, senior officers will gain more respect from those who are under their command because of their emphasis on satisfaction and collaboration. Senior officers must be very skilled in building their subordinates' morale and re-engage with their work.

### **Effective Leadership**

The leader's effectiveness is determined by how well his leadership style can lead different situations and people. There are many challenges in facing different situations and people in decision making. The success of participating in decision making depends on the method in which the leader has used. However, it is an experience to lead the subordinates into a more challenging lifestyle and future. The attitude and performance of leader can decide the effectiveness leadership.

As leader, one should be professional in dealing with problems by not mixing personal matters with the work of administering subordinates and the organization. The performance of a leader needs to be improved as a benchmark to decide the effectiveness of his leadership.

The training center is responsible to produce officer cadets' leadership character and increase the level of military adaptation in their lifestyle. The environment or leadership's culture can influence the effectiveness of leadership. The officer cadets will compete with each other to develop skills of leadership. The leadership's culture among officer cadets can reflect on other interests, experience, trust, commitment and mutuality in their leadership lifestyle at the interpersonal stage. The person in the interpersonal stage can also



develop a subjective frame of reference; allowing for self-definition in terms of internal values and standards, not merely connections to others.

Superintendent leadership concerns on performance of the organization and relationship among other people for leadership lifestyle's effectiveness. The appointed superintendent has the advantage among superiors and subordinates on his leadership style's effectiveness. The superintendent already has experience in technical skills, conceptual skill and human skills. The technical skills include having language skill to communicate, understanding teaching and acting as a liaison between the staff and subordinates. Besides that, possessing conceptual skills also incorporate elements of being a visionary person, clarifying goals which needed to be achieved and having clear judgement. Human skills incorporate key fundamentals in high expectations, negotiation abilities and a sense of humor in a leadership lifestyle.

## CONCLUSION

Leadership affects our everyday interactions and experiences because everything leaders do has an impact in the lifestyle of their subordinates. The challenge to become a true leader is intentional and a consistent approach to all that leaders who aspire to be one. Leaders will give their best in their command as one; providing their very best management attributes every day to embrace leadership as a lifestyle. Living leadership lifestyle requires conscientious effort to develop the required leadership characters ever since leaving the Army Academy as officer cadets. Leaders of strong characters are easily developed at the Army Academy than in the working environment. Since the character of leadership is already developed, those officer cadets can lead by example in their working environment work as military officers.

Emotional intelligence applied by junior officers in their leadership skills can solve their subordinates' problem at the battalion as part of the military lifestyle. The relationship between subordinates and officers will be drawn closer because of the existence of the two-way communication meant to solve problems. Other than that, leadership skills are also developed by emotional intelligence to motivate and provide morale support to the subordinates to achieve the mission.

Emotional intelligence is the key element for junior officers to gain respect from their subordinates who are older than them. If the

emotions are disturbed, work cannot be done properly and will become a pressure to that person. However, the emotional intelligence can be implemented as part of leadership skills among junior officers which will produce excellent and loyal subordinates to complete the task given.

Other than that, common leadership lifestyle is already applied by senior officers which also can be a form of guidance to improve leadership skills. Common leadership lifestyle is already applied among senior officers to command the organization and their subordinates. But, every person has different leadership styles to command the organization or his subordinates. Senior officers already have various experiences along their career and they will use their own leadership styles which are suitable and comfortable with their own ways of doing things.

Development leadership will be improved by officers in gaining the experience along their military career. To support the leadership, strong character should be applied as a lifestyle and officers should share their knowledge to others. Leadership also needs to be practiced not only by theory learning. Practice makes perfect and it will develop the required confidence in leadership as a form of character for the leader. Leaders need confident in their command to make their subordinates respect them and leaders themselves can be role models to develop leadership character among their subordinates.

Leadership lifestyle should not be only used in the military career but also can be applied in our daily lives. Leadership lifestyle can be used in the family to make our own family's lifestyle full of joy and cheerful. At the same time, our children will learn leadership characters and develop their skills to communicate with others. In conclusion, leadership is part of the lifestyle among military officers even in his career or in his daily life.

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Brig Gen Dato' Md Rahim Hj Mohamad joined the service in 1982 (TJT 23-RMC). Commissioned into the Royal Intelligence Corp and has held numerous staff and command appointments such as; Commanding Officer of 91 RKPT, Head of Anti-Terrorist, Head of Counter Intelligence, Head of Strategic and Director of Training in BSPP. He has also served as an Instructor in the Intel School, SO 3 Int 8 Bde, SO 2 Int 7 Bde, and SO 1 Int 2 Div, Senior Military Information Officer in UNPROFOR, Bosnia Herzegovina, MA to Defence Minister (2011-2013) and CoS for Operation in ESSCOM (2014-2018). He was the Commandant Prize Winner in MTAT (2002), attended Fellowship in Terrorism and Advance Intelligence in USA, Specialist Search, Anti-Terrorist and Human Intelligence in UK, Advance Military Security and Advance Risk Management in Australia. He graduated from NDC Thailand. Currently he is the Director General of Doctrine at Army Training Doctrine Command.



## **HUMAN SECURITY IN A UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS**

**By LT COL G GOBALAKRISHNA S GOVINDASAMY  
ROYAL ARMORED CORPS**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Security is defined as a state of feeling secure and protected from threats. In this context, the state is responsible to safeguard its sovereignty and her security is maintained. For centuries the threat to security of a state has been from another state. Hence, in a state security centric world we see the importance given to have large defense force to thwart the threat from another state. We have witnessed the emergence of alliances between nations to assure security and sovereignty of the state. This was at its highest during the Cold War. It has always been the utmost importance that the security of the state stands high above all. In the state centric world, we have witnessed that security of the state becomes priority compared to the security of individuals.

When the Cold War ended, many countries broke apart with conflicts within its boundaries with power struggles and we saw many nation states collapse. Marginalized and oppressed citizens started to fight for their rights and dictatorship and undemocratic states started to lose their control over the population. Popular uprising against the state increased worldwide. Dictators started to lose their grip over the population. To remain in power, the state security centric policies changed and any uprising against the state was crushed. The struggle for power and leadership of the nation saw many internal conflicts which also threatened other neighboring states. Internal tribal wars became larger to the extent of genocide. This was not an isolated case but worldwide from the Balkans, Africa to the South East Asia. This is when the state became an enemy to its people when it retaliated against the people it is responsible to protect. The state in its attempt to retain power starts to use the military against anyone who go against it. The former Yugoslav was a good example where the Croats Christians and Bosnian Muslims suffered cruelty at the hands of the Serbian. It ended with a brutal war and the country divided into six new countries.

These conflicts within state usually are among minorities against the state or another clan. The conflicts are often very violent with intentions to wipe out the entire clan. It results in many human rights violations which results in massive human sufferings. Some of the violent outcomes of the conflicts are maiming, mass rape and mutilation of an entire village or tribe. The use of fear and rape as tactic of war is always present. Individuals make a nation state. As long as individuals feel safe collectively to live his or her life there will be peace. When the individual no longer feels safe and secure in his or her own boundary within the state, and that insecurity begins to affects many other individuals, it then becomes a cause for concern. This can grow to become a threat to the nation state from within.

### **What is Human Security**

Kofi Annan said "Human security, in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment these are the interrelated building blocks of human and therefore national security."

This is very true because human security and state security links together to provide the whole concept of security to a nation. Human security looks at the many forms of threats each individuals face. It emphasizes on the source of insecurities that the people face and looks for solutions to overcome them. Human security, however, is not intended to displace state security. Instead, their relationship is complementary: "human security and state security are mutually reinforcing and dependent on each other. Without human security, state security cannot be attained and vice versa"

Concept of Human Security is not new. It has been in existence since ancient time but it was merely concentrated on physical security. This is where the state or the rulers were looked upon to provide security. League of Nations, UN and IHL are some of the efforts to provide human security to the individual humans. The Human Development Report in 1994 released by UNDP brought a new dimension to Human Security. It argued that "the concept of security has far too long been interpreted wrongly and forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their

daily lives” It says that individual security is as big as the security of a state.

Present-day conflicts have moved from power struggle to lead the country to conflict created to triggered economic turmoil in the nation. The instability from a conflict creates a vacuum of enforcement and this is exploited well by armed groups to control resources, land and in most cases the population. Violence is the main tool used to instill fear. Human suffering from the violent situation is felt by most women and girls either during the conflict or after the conflict in the form of trauma and shame. A prolonged insecure state that is filled with either physical threats from violent conflicts or from heavy natural disasters will develop into a state of persistent poverty with health pandemics and sudden economic along with financial downturns. It will be a breeding ground for international terrorism, hardships and weakened prospects for sustainable development and surely threat to its peace and stability.

The systematic targeting of civilians increases the feeling of insecurities among individuals and can grow big and begin to affect people’s lives. If left unchecked, it can grow to destroy entire communities and crossing national borders. The insecurities for individuals to live in peace within their own boundaries threaten their human rights. These feelings must be shattered and an environment conducive for each individual to live their life without fear should be created. This is human security. In broad it means the absence of violence, ability for an individual to have accessibility to human rights and access to basic needs to fulfill his or her potentials.

The General Assembly resolution 66/290 on 10 September 2012 endorsed the following common understanding to guide the application of the human security approach within the United Nations system:

- ❖ The right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair. All individuals, in particular vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential;
- ❖ Human security calls for people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people and all communities;

- ❖ Human security recognizes the interlink ages between peace, development and human rights, and equally considers civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights;
- ❖ The notion of human security is distinct from the responsibility to protect and its implementation;
- ❖ Human security does not entail the threat or the use of force or coercive measures. Human security does not replace State security;
- ❖ Human security is based on national ownership. Since the political, economic, social and cultural conditions for human security vary significantly across and within countries, and at different points in time, human security strengthens national solutions which are compatible with local realities;

Human security addresses the insecurities of human either in a conflict or natural disaster. It provides some solutions for the different challenges faced by nations to provide a conducive environment for its population to prosper. The multidimensional analytical framework assist the United Nations to evaluate, improve and implement unified responses to a wide range of human security issues that are complex and require the combined inputs of the United Nations in partnership with Governments, non-governmental entities and communities. This links with the UNSCR 1325 inclusive in peace building activities.

### **History of Human Security in a UN Peacekeeping Operation**

Providing a safe environment for humankind and stop unnecessary death of people was the reason League of Nation and UN was formed. This has shaped the many PKO missions throughout the years. What started as a traditional monitoring peacekeeping mission by solely military personnel has now grown to be a multidimensional peace mission. Peacekeeping missions now have 3 main components which are the military, police and civilian components. These three components have different tasks and organization but work together to achieve the mandated mission objective. They strive to ensure the people in the conflict area don't suffer by providing a safe environment for the peace building measures to grow. The main objective of all these is the security and safety of people in the conflict states.

Many resolutions either from Security Council or the General Assembly has shaped the aspects of recent UN PKO. Some of the

historical background to human security approach by UN is as follows:

- ❖ In January 2001 the Commission on Human Security was established. This was in response to UN Sec Gen call for a “world free of want and fear”.
- ❖ In May 2003, the Commission reported to the Sec Gen on “Human Security Now”.
- ❖ In 2004, the Sec Gen’s High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change report found that prevention from emerging threat such as extreme poverty and diseases affecting many people should be the principal aim of UN. This threat can mothball to become a conflict and the UN should be adopting the prevention approach.
- ❖ In 2005, Kofi Annan in his progress report “In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All” (A/59/2005), set out priorities for action in the fields of human rights, security and development. Countries were requested to adopt a comprehensive strategy to achieve advancing human security.
- ❖ On 8 March 2010, the Sec Gen reported through Human Security report (A/64/701), that the Heads of Government had committed to discuss and delineate human security. The report charted approaches and principles application for human security that can be initiated by Governments and bodies of UN.
- ❖ The adoption of General Assembly resolution 66/290 on 10 September 2012 was a significant milestone for the application of human security. It agreed by consensus that human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people.
- ❖ On 5 April 2012 on his report to the follow-up to GA Resolution 64/291 on human security (A/66/763), the Sec Gen provided a summary of discussions between Head of States on human security outlining key aspects towards forming a common understanding on the notion of human security. It also suggested a common understanding on human security and



recommendations on areas the application can bring added value.

❖ On 23 December 2013, the Report of the Secretary-General, Follow-up to General Assembly resolution 66/290 on human security (A/68/685), provided approaches where human security is seen beneficial to reduce conflicts and progress with sustainable development.

## **Women, Peace and Security**

Conflict impacts differently towards women, men, boys and girls. However, women and girls are the main victim of conflicts. They are subjected to horrific violence in many forms but sexual violence against them is the biggest threat. This was highlighted at the Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Violence against Women (CEDAW) in 1979. The convention defines discrimination against women. Some of the recommendation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995 is that women and children are protected equally from human rights perspective. The massive human rights abuse and genocide in Rwanda and Srebrenica paved the way for stronger action from UN in providing human security. In October 2000 the SC passed the UNSCR 1325 on Women Peace and Security.

UNSCR 1325, the first resolution on WPS addresses the impact conflict has on women and girls. The SCR shaped the inclusion of women in all aspects of peace making, negotiations and peace building activities. The resolution also identified 4 pillars of how women can be included in peace and security activities as follows:

- ❖ **Participation.** The resolution requires that women should be included in all matters related to them in order for their needs to be addressed.
- ❖ **Protection.** Since men, women, boys and girls are affected differently by a conflict; all military operations should be taking into considerations the effects of their action on the women and girls. A gendered approach is desired to shape the outcome of the operations to have an effective protection mandate.
- ❖ **Prevention.** All action taken to end the conflict must consider the prevention of conflict and violence against women and girls.

- ❖ Relief and recovery.

Other SCR that strengthens the WPS agenda are as follows:

- ❖ **UNSCR 1820 (2008)** is the first resolution that recognizes sexual violence as a weapon and tactic of war. The resolution builds the path to establish that any forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime. It also request that more women peacekeepers are deployed to fight sexual violence.

- ❖ **UNSCR 1888 (2009)** reiterates that sexual violence exacerbates armed conflict and impedes international peace and security. It also requests the appointment of a Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict and WPA in PKO missions.

- ❖ **UNSCR 1889 (2009)** focuses on post-conflict peace building and on women's participation in all stages of peace processes.

- ❖ **UNSCR 1960 (2010)** Adopted 16 December 2010, UNSCR 1960 notes that sexual violence during armed conflict remains systematic and widespread. This resolution creates institutional tools to combat impunity and outlines specific steps needed for both the prevention of and protection from sexual violence in conflict. The 'naming and shaming' listing mechanism mandated in the Resolution is a step forward in bringing justice for survivors and a recognition that sexual violence is a serious violation of human rights and international law. However, listing is only limited to situations on the Security Council's agenda.

- ❖ **UNSCR 2106 (2013)** also reiterates sexual violence in conflicts. It calls for trained GENAD and WPA along with more women peacekeepers to be deployed to combat sexual violence.

- ❖ **UNSCR 2122 (2013)** recognizes the need to address root causes of armed conflict and security risks faced by women and calls for the provision of multi-sector services to women affected by conflict.

- ❖ **UNSCR 2242 (2015) WPS and CVE** is about relooking at strategies and resource allocations to implement the UNSCR 1325, more collaboration with civil societies and

gender-responsive training. The resolution also stresses the importance of increased number of women peacekeepers as vital for POC and WPS mandate.

❖ **UNSCR 2331 (2016) WPS, Human Trafficking and CVE** condemns all instances of trafficking in persons in areas affected by armed conflicts and refers to as a violation of human rights.

### **Children and Armed Conflict (CAAC)**

Children – both boys and girls are the most vulnerable population in an armed conflict. They suffer the loss of their parents, abduction, and loss of a safe environment, lose their right as a child and often become easy target. They end up as cheap labor and often used as child soldiers and sex workers. Maiming, torture and murder is commonly used as a method to coerce them to be slaves. Girls and boys become victims of rape and child brides to the rebels. Boys become the target of recruitment because in an uncertain unsecure environment, they can be easily coerced to pick up arms by force or choice to survive. They often are subjected to violent acts at a very young age and forced to make it their way of life and grow to be hardened violent person themselves. Child soldiers are often regarded as the most violent person in a conflict zone.

This situation raises concerns on human security issues for the child. The General Assembly addressed this in 1997 by endorsing the mandate for a SRSG for Children and Armed Conflict to be created. This was followed by the report from the SRSG highlighting the impact of war and conflict to a child. Other SCR was passed soon after as follows:

❖ **UNSCR 1261 (1999)** condemned targeting of children in situations of armed conflict, urged parties to armed conflict to take into consideration protection of children and urged states to facilitate DDR.

❖ **UNSCR 1324 (2000)** required that all countries ratify the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict.

❖ **UNSCR 1379 (2001)** demanded the Secretary-General to name the parties to armed conflict that recruit or use children.

- ❖ **UNSCR 1460 (2003)** addressed the exploitation of children by peacekeepers.
- ❖ **UNSCR 1539 (2004)** asked for an action plan for a systematic and comprehensive monitoring and reporting mechanism on the abuses of children.
- ❖ **UNSCR 1612 (2005)** is the setting up of Council's Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict. It also underlined the link between illicit trafficking in small arms and the use of child soldiers.
- ❖ **UNSCR 1820 (2008)** addressed sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations especially against girls.
- ❖ **UNSCR 1882 (2009)** expanded the criteria for the Secretary-General's 'list of shame' in his reports on children and armed conflict beyond the recruitment of children to include the killing and maiming of children and/or rape and other sexual violence against children.

PKO in its mandated Protection of Civilian task is to provide protection to children. The peacekeepers are required to identify child soldiers and report violation against children. The Security Council enumerated the Six Grave Violations against Children as a basis on reports and enforcement of the mandate. The six grave violations are as follows:

- ❖ Recruitment and use of child soldiers.
- ❖ Killing and maiming of children.
- ❖ Rape and other grave sexual violence against children.
- ❖ Abduction of children.
- ❖ Denial of humanitarian access for children.
- ❖ Attacks against schools or hospitals.

Peacekeepers are trained and required to provide accurate information based on Sex Age Disaggregated Data when reporting violations. They have to look for signs of the 6 grave violations.

## Human Trafficking

The Palermo Protocol defines human trafficking as ‘the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.’

Violent conflicts results in huge numbers of movement of people seeking protection. They either become IDP in their own state or refugees in neighboring countries. As a refugees or IDP, they have limited access to protection, financial resources and proper health and food. Often during these situations they are subjected to human trafficking either by force or voluntarily. Human trafficking is a growing menace to women and children in conflict. United Nations Security Council addressed this topic in Resolution 2388 and reiterated its deep concern that trafficking in persons in areas affected by armed conflict continues to occur. In a conflict zone, they are subjected to trafficking for the purpose of sex slavery, prostitutions and child soldiers.

Peacekeepers are often deployed in areas of fragile state and limited rule of law. This is an ideal situation for human trafficking. They have to be aware of the human trafficking networks within their AOR. They have to be vigilant to protect the vulnerable population there by creating a safe environment for the UNPOL and host nation's security forces to do their tasks. They have to be aware of who or which agency is operating in the area that could help with victims of human trafficking. They should also be aware of the gender dynamics of the populations in order to plan accordingly to execute their daily tasks and respond to victims when they recognize one.

## CONCLUSION

Human security ensures the individual human rights are protected in all situations. It is often non-existent in a conflict zone. Individuals suffer heavily due to systematic targeting of civilians in conflict. Peacekeeping missions are one of the effective tools that the UN has to maintain world peace and ensure conflicts don't prolong. It has the mandated task to provide protection to the vulnerable

population especially women and children. These have amplified the human security protection in a conflict zone where peacekeepers has to step in to offer a secure environment for the peace process to succeed. Peacekeepers have the morale and mandated obligations to provide that safe environment with the host nation or in the absence of the host nation's security forces.

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## **TERRITORIAL DISPUTES MALAYSIA AND CHINA: MALAYSIA SECURITY AT SOUTH CHINA SEA**

**By LT COL MOHD FADHIL BIN HASSAN  
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### **INTRODUCTION**

The importance of the South China Sea in political and military interest between Malaysia and China in particular. Starting with a highlight of the conflicts in the South China Sea, Beijing describes them for the first time in year 1947, sharing the first rendition of the “Nine-Dash Line”, which stretched for about 1118 miles or 1800 kilometers from Hainan Island to Borneo. On the territory of the South China Sea, Rival countries have been fighting for centuries and in recent years the tension has increased.

China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Malaysia and Brunei all have competing claims. China supported its expansive demands with naval patrols and the construction of the island. The United States claims not to be involved in territorial disputes, in same time United State has sent military and air vessels near the disputed islands, calling this as a “freedom of navigation operations”. This is also to ensure United State always access to major shipping and air routes. The United State only wants to show of force and give support if conflict began in region. The escalation of the conflict in the South China Sea can be reduced to billions of billions of global trade flows each year through the deep waters of oil, hydrocarbons, fish stocks and natural gas. Which country controls this shipping route governs this “Asian century” can control all part in region.

Based on the understanding on the political context, the economic interest and the military presence those have become the problems between the recurrent nations. In this regard, Malaysia is charged with “playing it safely” with ASEAN to protect all countries sovereignty and interests in the South China Sea. Malaysia's foreign policy measures on South China Sea issues through negotiations and cooperation with a strong diplomatic stance against the superpower in that region will discusses in this paper. In order to minimize the



impact on bilateral relations, Malaysia's security concerns the win-win situation towards claimants in the South China Sea issue.



**Figure 1: China 9 Dash Line**

Since 2009, China has adopted a more assertive posture in its disputes with five other claimants such as Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Vietnam over territorial sovereignty and maritime rights in the South China Sea. Over the past few years, Beijing has increased the scope and frequency of its naval patrols within its infamous nine-dashed line claim that encompasses the majority of the South China Sea, seized the Scarborough Shoal from the Philippines, dispatched a giant oil rig into Vietnam's exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and begun reclamation work in the Spratlys.

Each country has an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ): Two hundred nautical miles extending from its coastline where it has exclusive rights to the exploration and use of maritime resources. Countries in the Asia Pacific are adjacent to one another. Their EEZ's often overlap and are the cause of many points of tension. The EEZ's of China and Vietnam overlap and so do the EEZ's of Vietnam,

Malaysia, and the Philippines. Countries that have territorial ownership and effective occupation of the Diaoyu/Senkaku, Paracel, and Spratly Island chains have an extended EEZ, potentially offering them additional maritime resources. Thus, the Diaoyu/Senkaku, Paracel, and Spratly Islands are important economic assets.

The fishing and ocean resources in the East and South China Sea are another point of conflict between China, Japan, Vietnam, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Relations between China, Vietnam, Malaysia, and the Philippines are most tense due to China's fishing ban in the South China Sea which it regards as a preserve for its own fishing rights (Dutton 2011). Deliberately vague, Chinese government officials interpret the ban as covering the area around the Paracel Island chain and extending as far south as the Spratly Island chain. Chinese government officials have accused both Vietnam and Malaysia of breaching the ban, although the two countries claim the ban affects the livelihood of its fisherman (Dutton 2011). Issues over territorial ownership, competing energy claims, and fishing rights instigate and escalate tensions between these five countries.

Territorial and jurisdictional disputes in the South China Sea continue to strain relations between China and other countries in Southeast Asia, risking a military escalation. To protect its political, security, and economic interests in the region, the United States has challenged China's assertive territorial claims and land reclamation efforts by conducting freedom of navigation operations and bolstering support for Southeast Asian partners.

Malaysia continues to adopt a "playing it safe" approach on the South China Sea issue, pursuing a combination of diplomatic, legal, economic, and security initiatives that can secure its interests as a claimant state while being careful not to disrupt its vital bilateral relationship with China. As a result, while there are some opportunities for Malaysia to work with the United States and other regional players on maritime security, there continues to be very little appetite in government circles for direct, public measures aimed at curbing Chinese coercion.

The United States, which maintains important interests in ensuring freedom of navigation and securing sea lines of communication, has expressed support for an agreement on a binding Code of Conduct (CoC) and other Confidence-Building Measures (CBM). The United States has a role in preventing military escalation resulting from the territorial dispute. However, Washington's defence treaty with Manila could draw the United States

into a China-Philippines conflict over the substantial natural gas deposits in the disputed Reed Bank or the lucrative fishing grounds of the Scarborough Shoal.

### **Form a United and Formidable ASEAN**

The ASEAN factor is essential to the defence against China. It is because ASEAN are formed by the neighbouring states of China. If the ASEAN is united, it could create a strong alliance and avoid of being bullied by the China. Although the ASEAN is a non-binding organisation, the united ASEAN is still possible with the strong leadership and the outcome of such effort. A united ASEAN can be described as below:

❖ **Establish the ASEAN Combine Naval Force.** The establishment of the ASEAN Combine Naval Force is deemed essential to portray the ASEAN is united, together and ready to face the China assertiveness. Apparently, if China involves in a major escalation with the ASEAN force, it will attract international community attention. Such attention would be the last thing the China wish to have as proven in the Scarborough conflict with Philippines. However, it is necessary to pave the way for a more cooperative and build trust among the ASEAN naval forces. Perhaps by establishing the force is the most effective way to deter China from pursuing her assertiveness. Although the ASEAN naval forces have a significant gap in term of equipment and competencies, but it shall be seen as an opportunity for them to learn from each other. The ultimate goal is for the formation of the ASEAN naval force similar to the NATO standby brigade. The objective is for the force to be a coherent set of deployable, interoperable and sustainable forces equipped, trained, exercised and commanded to operate together and with partners in any environment.

❖ **Conducting ASEAN high-visibility Naval Joint Exercise.** The quickest approach to initiating the formation of ASEAN Combine Naval Force is by conducting a joint exercise among the ASEAN naval forces. It could instil the esprit-de-corps among the friendly forces. The exercise shall involve the best available assets from all countries and cover various disciplines of naval warfare. The planning, execution and achievement of the exercise shall be broadcasted to all as the agent of deterrence to hinder China assertiveness.

❖ **Improve the ASEAN Intelligent Gathering and Sharing.** Intelligent sources are the essence of the success conduct of any operation. It is thus, timely, and good, intelligent information is essential. The ASEAN intelligence community shall promulgate and devise the sharing of the intelligence among the ASEAN member countries. It shall include an around the clock data gathering and picture compilation in the SCS. An excellent example is the Singapore's Information Fusion Centre (IFC) which the data obtained is shared among the neighbouring countries. The purposes of having these facilities are for identifying and disseminating intelligence data for everyone consumption. It is also could enhance maritime situation awareness and provide early warning triggers and actionable information to due to timely regional responses. Such capability shall be extended to the area where the ASEAN countries have interests in SCS.

❖ **Set up a standard ASEAN defence procurement.** The ASEAN countries particularly those who have claims in SCS indeed requires a number of platform to show their presence and to patrol the area with patrol craft or cutters so as to maintain a constant EEZ enforcement presence. In the business of contested sovereignty, what matters is not the ownership of several technologically advanced warships, but rather the ability to deploy less technically capable yet more numerous patrol craft or cutters so as to maintain a constant EEZ enforcement presence. The requirement for such assets could be done by joint procurement of technically less capable assets by exploiting economies of scale. It would be better if the equipment were produced by the ASEAN member countries. It eventually will reduce the cost and giving a positive impact towards ASEAN defence industry. The initiative certainly will enhance cooperation and improvements in intra-ASEAN defence diplomacy, which normally results from closer bilateral military cooperation (of which collective procurement would certainly count)

❖ **Establish the ASEAN Maritime Force Keeping.** Another option that could be employed is to establish the ASEAN Maritime Force Keeping. Col (R) Ramli bin Nik (2017) who has served in United Nations Headquarters in New York and currently teach strategy in University Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia (UPNM) believed that the establishment of the force could assist in ensuring stability and peace in the

overlapping claims area. Furthermore, Since the UN Security Council will mandate the force; it will have more power and legal authority to enforce peace in the disputed area.

### **Capitalising the Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA)**

Malaysia and Singapore shall also capitalise the FPDA that the membership includes the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. This arrangement was part of the United Kingdom's decolonization exercise, whereby it retained a military role in the region even though her troops were withdrawn in 1971. The arrangement promises that they will assist Malaysia and Singapore for any aggression factored towards them. FPDA has served as an extremely useful training arrangement as well as providing ambiguous deterrence to potential adversaries. Thus, in addition to developing national hard power, Malaysia also 'borrowed' external hard power to enhance her security and since then, this has been adopted as an integral part of her deterrence strategy. The FPDA exercises which were held biannually around Tioman Island in SCS could probably be done nearer to the northern side of SCS. The purpose is to showcase the exercise to China and to remind them the existence of such arrangement.

### **Intensifies Defence Relationship with United States NAVY**

The US Navy is the only party who can deter the China navy assertiveness. On top of that, the U.S. officials have also hardened their stance toward China over the SCS in recent months. The commander of the U.S. Navy, Admiral Jonathan Greenert said, Washington would come to the aid to the friendly country in the event of conflict with China over the disputed waters. In lieu with that, the South East Asian shall pursue to intensify their relationship with the US Navy with more activities and interactions. Is it shall include frequent exercises and ship visits by the US Naval ships to South East Asian's ports. Ultimately, a good relationship between the navies indeed can be used as leverage to deter China from asserting her power within South East Asian claimed area. South East Asian country also should consider seriously of having a secret agreement with US for her to defence Malaysia if she is under attack by China. Singapore has benefitted from such relationship and they look to its security relationship with the United States as a critical force for regional stability. By doing this, the bilateral relationship between the two navies could be enhanced and US Navy, hopefully, could become an effective deterrent tool for the South East Asian country to address the China assertiveness threat.

## **Revitalised Relationship with PLA (N)**

Although the united ASEAN and the US Navy are as her leverages for deterrence factor, the ASEAN should also engage PLA (N) actively. By bridging a more meaningful relationship with the PLA (N) perhaps could become the best deterrent for them to assert their claims. For an example the Malaysia and China defence engagement had started since 2005 where a comprehensive Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on defence was signed. The two nations formally held their first defence and security consultation in late 2012. The Malaysia and China defence agreement "includes a defence clause calling for an exchange program of high-level visits, study tours, seminars and ship visits. Besides that it also seeks to cooperate in training, research and development, and intelligence sharing. In addition, the agreement also called for cooperation between national defence industries to include reciprocal visits, exhibitions, seminars and workshops to explore the possibility of joint or co-production projects". Obviously, the MoU is very comprehensive and covers many areas of cooperation. Nevertheless, there is almost no engagement between both navies except in training until recently when the issue of James Shoal arises.

The South East Asian country also shall engage the PLA (N) more vigorously by conducting Joint Exercises between the both navies. The first exercise was successfully conducted in 2013 and it was held in Malaysia. Having a regular and well-structured exercise could enhance the trust and understanding between the both navies. South East Asian country also should champion the cause as she is the one who will engage the PLA (N) during crisis out at sea once the diplomacy failed. As such, all the opportunities available should be considered seriously and the engagement through the conduct of training and exercise could bring the desired result.

## **The Malaysia stance and impact of the conflicts**

Malaysia have maintain with low profile claimant in South China Sea. Malaysia and China relation is considered very cordial. This is probably due to the fact that Malaysia was the first Southern Asian country to normalize ties with China. Beside that Malaysia as a one of ASEAN founders has more approach set pace and scope for ASEAN's cooperation with China. Malaysia leader also seen there are more to gain from China with improve their relation. Malaysia also not faced with impending conflict with China in current relative. Malaysia also seen tension in South China Sea may be highlighted as an area of concern. Malaysia believed this tension are far from conflict or

critical level, it can solve with various approach. China also one of Malaysia trading partner since 2007. This trading proves by statistic from the Malaysia MITI, it was US\$ 90.3 billion trading between both countries. The dispute issues between both countries are solving by this development as an economy security concerned. Malaysia as a free country will stance to claim an apart of Spratly Island and it will give impact to Malaysia in factor about:

### **Political**

At the political level, this commentary from Malaysia's leadership reflects the prevailing discourse that seeks to avoid open-minded, army-focused rhetoric in its part on the South China Sea. Secondly, speech emphasizes that disputes over the South China Sea are an ASEAN problem that requires dialogue, restraint and diplomacy, and is not just a question of Malaysia's sovereignty.

The nine-dash line by China is a flashpoint as per Figure 1. Officially, China is reluctant to explain whether the claim is based on their ownership in land, its will certainly lead to the strengthening of the international legal policy. This brings us the problem predictability without a firm and firm position. The demeanour of China seems to be contrary to international acceptable rules. Chinese leaders quickly cling to power and prefer a bilateral agreement that binds a small partner. For example, China has an agreement with Vietnam, but has also pushed the Philippines more aggressively, expelling the Philippines from the Scarborough Reef in year 2012 and has since maintained a Chinese has preventing the Philippines from supplying the country.

The recovery of Johnson South Reef and possibly other reefs in the Spratly Islands appears to be a new Chinese claim to power, if not a way to show their dissatisfaction with their recent efforts to strengthen their security. For example, China could build a platform to expand its power projection, but it is also possible after a successful summit where President Benigno Aquino and President Obama signed an agreement on the enhancement of defense cooperation that proved the legal framework for US approval. The Manila-Washington will demonstrate military access to Philippine bases in the coming decades undoubtedly.

### **Economy**

The Malaysian threat perception of China also changed as the struggle for power in the region intensified, especially with the United

States and China, competing for a strategic status. China will need resources and space to support 1.3 billion people. Therefore, China will use all available medium strategies to achieve this. China takes strategic considerations from Mahan, Sun-Tzu and Corbett to protect its maritime region and expand its naval power. China will "protect" its nine-point line, including in the Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) of Malaysia. Malaysia has no legal perspective to defend its claims to the problems of the South China Sea.

In addition, the EEZ the continental shelf that surrounds the South China Sea, are also offshore economic interests of Malaysia. The marine areas are also rich in living and non-living resources and make a significant contribution to the economic development of Malaysia. These are areas of vital interest, since about 50% of the offshore oil and gas areas are on the eastern coast of Sabah and Sarawak. In addition, the SLOC near the South China Sea, the above-mentioned airspace is a strategic area necessary for the survival of the nation. It's the task of the Royal Malaysian Navy to prevent or deny any hostile actions against these interests. Malaysia supported the bilateral discussion on SCS issues with China. However, Malaysia has overlapping claims to the Spratly Islands with China. The possibility of conflict in the region was still excluded. Malaysia believes that it has the advantage of being farther from mainland China than other applicants so that he maintains a positive position and excludes any confrontation with China. The general perception of Malaysia is that China's growth is harmless, based on China's historical experience, where in recent years both countries have had close ties. Thus, China is a peaceful nation and is not perceived as a threat from Malaysia, which has a "soft approach" towards China. However, this perception can no longer be sustainable, and Malaysia recognized that such an approach would not provide long-term benefits due to territorial disputes in the South China Sea.

### **Military Approach**

Malaysia is a neutral state, unable to challenge China. However, concern over the impact of China's main interest in SCS on regional security could be another issue that will be further discussed. Modernization of the navy, the modernization of weapons systems and force structure, teaching and development of marine geostrategic competition are worrying to Malaysia because of its involvement in the South China Sea. This is due to the fact that China's national defense policy shared the geographical areas of vital interest of



Malaysia, which must protect the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) against external threats and aggression.

The presence of Chinese submarines in Malaysia in early 2017, however, attracted general attention in light of recent developments in defense relations between the two countries and a more developed security environment. While it often emphasize that the Sino-Malaysian defense relationship has developed slowly after the official protection pact between the two countries increased in 2005, it is also true that relations have been tied much closer in the past two years. In 2015, Malaysia and China began annual military exercises, and China provided access to the port of Kota Kinabalu following the visit of US Navy commander Admiral Wu Shengli.

### **Malaysia Approach**

China is not only Malaysia's largest trading partner, but also because it has good relations with Beijing that go beyond southern China where the two countries share a special relationship. The state normalized relations with China under the direction of Tun Razak since 1974. In addition, China's behavior of Malaysia over the South China Sea is quite moderate compared to Vietnam or the Philippines, which is the creation of several factors, including its geography. As a commercial and maritime nation, Malaysia also has an interest in ensuring broader regional peace and stability. Finally, Malaysia is also interested in preserving global norms and international law, including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), since it provides common ground as "correct" approaches. In order to safeguard these interests, Malaysia has adopted a "soft" approach and implemented various diplomatic, legal, economic and security initiatives. China's growing claims in recent years, including increasing incursions of Malaysian waters and Beijing's initially strident tone following the MH370 incident, quickly corrected the situation and led Malaysia to rebalance its position. But the evidence also seems to indicate that Malaysia continues to use a "plays it safe" approach.

On the diplomatic front, Malaysia would rather openly deal with the South China Sea problem by conveying its concern to China, rather than commenting publicly on its grievances, such as Vietnam or the Philippines. But Malaysia worked wisely behind the scenes to ensure that ASEAN maintained a consistent level in the area. Legally, the Malaysian government does not hesitate to enforce its demands, as evidenced by a joint submission to the UN with Vietnam in May 2009, but is not ready to openly support the Philippines case now

before the Court of Arbitration in The Hague. As far as security is concerned, Malaysia recently tried to strengthen its ties with countries like the United States and strengthened its own capabilities, especially by announcing plans for a new naval base in Bintulu, Sarawak in dealing with a variety of threats and the country's vigilance on how it uses this capability against Beijing. In the economic area, Malaysia continues to maximize the economic benefits of the South China Sea's oil and gas reserves, and China has not affected these activities so far.

It is argued that the Malaysian government may decide to reconsider the overall approach in the South China Sea on the go, if there is a major change in the area, including major threats to the oil and gas interests. And there may be other events this year that can lead Malaysia into uncomfortable circumstances, such as the decision made in the Philippines case. To date, Malaysia has maintained a prudent balance in its presidential post. Malaysia's Foreign Minister Anifah Aman did not hesitate, for example, to publicly announce ASEAN's intentions for a preliminary conclusion on the code of conduct in the South China Sea and to mention that there were concerns about China's ongoing recovery efforts to the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting in China, Kota Kinabalu. At the same time, Malaysia continues to do what is necessary to protect its own demands, and has worked hard to strengthen its relations with China, especially in further economic fields. Art on the safe side often involves balancing, but Malaysia is still determined to continue along this path as long as possible to safe approach.

### **Malaysia Defence Policy**

Defense diplomacy is a growing field of activity, offering new and diverse ways of confidence building in Southeast Asia and between Southeast Asia and China, as well as in other countries. Modern defense diplomacy generally includes military and defense ministries working together or contributing "to the various external cooperation's, including high-level meetings, military exchanges, joint exercises, call ports and bilateral military training". Exchange can provide a means to prevent conflicts. For example, they can indicate greater willingness to cooperate and general commitments to solve problems in security, can contribute to defense and military transparency, can also build or strengthen the understanding of common interests. More than 70% of the defense diplomacy in Southeast Asia from the ARF, followed by ASEAN by 20.5%.

There is currently limited defense diplomacy between China and the ASEAN countries. These relationships and exchanges must be continued in the interest of transparency and network building. Defense diplomacy does not have to apply exclusively to China and the ASEAN countries. Based on the strategic momentum described above, there is an argument for other countries' ability to engage with China and the ASEAN countries. This is clearly a sensitive area for all states, but on the basis of the above strategic momentum and concern about the launching of a security dilemma, states should also encourage a way of not only bringing China to safety from the economy.

The reason is normative and practical. These are usually regulatory rules and regulations based on regional rules and regulations. Practically, it works to explain some of the contentious issues. Ultimately, the goal of the ongoing negotiations is to reach Vivendi mode between states. The Vivendi mode can take the form of a legitimate binding agreement, but it can take another form. Given the anti-legal bias, not only in China, but also in the ASEAN countries, we should not expect much from the way. At the same time, it is still possible that countries will be able to achieve similar principles. It is worth noting, for example, that some people think that countries will be able to reach the original DOC, which, despite its limitations, creates some stasis and provides a set of reference principles from which to function. Of course, the decision to declare the deal unconstitutional turned out to be a critical concession that made the deal possible.

On the other hand, the concession allowed states to push forward the transposition directives, the continuation of the COC negotiations may be under a legally binding code, although this objective should be kept on the table and should remain something to look for. The goal is rather a stable and mutually acceptable mode Vivendi over disputes. The main argument in favor of continuing the COC negotiations at this stage is that they are one of the few multilateral confidence-building instruments that explicitly focus on the creation of a rules-based order to protect human rights.

A third value of the process lies in the potential to generate other avenues of cooperation. As highlighted above, for example, the ASEAN - China Senior Officials' Meeting dialogue process led to working groups on the DOC and its implementation. Another example is the ARF, which has been challenged and critiqued on a variety of fronts (e.g., the diversity of its members), yet it is from that process that the ASEAN Defense Ministers Plus arrangements, as well as

other defense diplomacy opportunities, emerged. As Cheng- Chwee Kuik notes, ASEAN processes bind China and ASEAN states in a “continuous consultative process.” It also serves to keep diplomatic channels open.

Ultimately, regardless of the issues, all states should remain open to the possibility of not only a meaningful COC, but also other types of negotiated agreements. This does not mean that these processes can be the only way to build trust or manage tensions and conflicts. In fact, states should be open to a variety of ways to achieve operational confidence. In the end, the South China Sea is only one of the many dimensions of relations between China and ASEAN. This can be the most dramatic problem and the most common problem. As mentioned above, the problem has raised the concerns of the ASEAN countries, both claimants and non-plaintiffs.

## **CONCLUSION**

Malaysia is also included in the invaded country china d Spratly islands, Malaysia claims about certain island and reefs in Spratly Island, is depend on certain continental shelf provision in the 1982 UNCLOS. These provisions describe in detail what legally constitute a continental shelf for state and the sovereign rights a state may exercise for purpose of exploring and exploiting the resources of its continental shelf. Malaysia claim began 1979, when it published a map of its continental shelf and claimed twelve of island. (Christopher C. Joyner, p63) These include the island of commodore Reef, Amboyne Cay, Merivalves Reef, Royal Charlotte Reef, Dulles Reef, Barque Canada Reef and the low water sandbanks of james Shoal (Bradford, L. T.p 4) Six of these, Ardasier Reef, Dulles Reef, Louisa Reef, Meriveles Reef, Royal Charlotte Reef and Swallow Reef are physically occupied by Malaysian Forces.

Malaysia most recent claimant is to occupy part of the Sparatly Island. Malaysis Government also used soil from the mainland to raise the level of Swallow Reef with constructing a hotel, Chalet for scuba and airstrip on the reef.

Malaysia also claimed others three reef but not occupied, they are Erica, Investigator and Luconia. Malaysia also have same claim with other country, with Philippines in Commodore Reef, with Vietnam in Amboyne Cay Reef and Braque Reef.

All these claims are appear to be ill founded. It was argued by Chinese scholars that even according to UNCLOS, the factor of

continental shelf itself cannot change already established sovereignty over island that fall on a continental shelf. On contrary, the convention recognizes that one state, including its territorial island, may be far away from its mainland and fall on the continental shelf of other state. The factor of continental shelf is used to solve the problem of how to determine the sea borders between two states, but not to change sovereignty. In China's view since it already held sovereignty historically, the Malaysia claim is weak.

### SYNOPSIS

The introduction on South China Sea conflicts, historical, political and conflict background and the means to be applied in keeping Malaysia's interest in the South China Sea. It suggests the best option for Malaysia to resolve issues in this region. It begins by analysing Malaysia's interests in the South China Sea. It then elaborates on the playing-it-safe approach Malaysia has adopted in recent years, explaining the extent to which it has changed given recent trends in the South China Sea and the implications of Malaysia's approach for China and the United States at regional level.

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## UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN SUDAN (UNMIS)

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### INTRODUCTION

Sudan is a country located in north eastern Africa. The name Sudan derives from the Arabic expression *bilād al-sūdān* (land of the blacks), by which medieval Arab geographers referred to the settled African countries that began at the southern edge of the Sahara. For more than a century, Sudan first as a colonial holding, then as an independent country, included its neighbor South Sudan, home for many sub-Saharan African ethnic groups. Prior to the secession of the south in 2011, Sudan was the largest African country, with an area that represented more than 8 percent of the African continent and almost 2 percent of the world's total land area. It was bounded on the north by Egypt, on the east by the Red Sea, Eritrea and Ethiopia, on the south by Democratic Republic of the Congo, Uganda and Kenya, on the west by the Central African Republic and Chad, and on the northwest by Libya.



Since ancient times, the Sudan region has been an arena for interaction between the cultural traditions of Africa and those of the Mediterranean world. Islam and the Arabic language achieved

ascendancy in many northern parts of the region, while older African languages and cultures predominated in the south.

The country was under the influence of Egypt and Britain as a colony of the British Empire. With the consent of the British and Egyptian Governments, Sudan proclaimed independence on 1 Jan 1956. Since its independence, Sudan has been continuously plagued by internal conflicts which spanned for almost 4 decades before separation of South Sudan. The First Sudanese Civil War between the North and the South erupted one year before Sudan gained its independence. The Second Sudanese Civil War that the Government of Sudan (GoS) and the Sudan's People Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) ended in 2005, erupted in 1983, following the breakdown of the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement. The root causes which propelled the war included disputes over resources, power, the role of religion in the state and self-determination.

The ensuing 21-year conflict devastated a significant part of Africa's largest country and deprived the rest of stability, growth and development of which the Sudanese people have paid a terrible price. More than two million people died, four million were uprooted and some 600,000 people sought shelter beyond Sudan's borders as refugees. The nature and size of the country's problems have frequently overflowed into neighboring countries and brought misery and insecurity to the region. Over the long years of war, there was a plethora of attempts by various external actors, including neighboring states, concerned donors and other states, as well as the parties themselves, to bring the conflict to an end. However, the immense complexities of the war and the lack of political will prevented its earlier resolution.

### **Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)**

In 1993, the Heads of State of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) became involved in the latest initiative to bring the parties together. This was the beginning of a long process that has led to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) on 9 Jan 2005. The United Nations (UN) has closely followed and supported the regional peace initiative under the auspices of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The Secretary-General's Special Adviser, Mohamed Sahnoun and other senior officials represented the UN at summit meetings of the IGAD countries and further carried out consultations with regional governments and donor countries in support of the peace process



and assisting the regional organizations to enhance its capacity in several areas.

The signing of the CPA did not mean the road ahead would be without obstacles. Other regional conflicts in Sudan, like the ones in Darfur and the east, remained, and these might affect the 'North-South' peace process. Tensions and internal divisions in the South, which had been suppressed in the fight against a common enemy, might become possible roadblocks. External forces, like the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), could also influence the peace process. Moreover, the so-called 'other armed groups' had not been dealt with in the negotiations, although they were supposed to be integrated in the two armies. Furthermore, the negotiations of the CPA depended on two key figures, SPLM/A Leader, John Garang and GoS First Vice President, Ali Osman Taha. The latter was only able to sell the peace accord to his skeptical colleagues as the country's last chance for unity, and as the path to ending Sudan's international isolation.

### **The Six Agreements**

Under the mediation of IGAD, the GoS and the SPLM/A signed a series of six agreements. The Protocol of Machakos, signed in Machakos, Kenya on 20 Jul 2002 in which the parties agreed on a broad framework, stated the principles of governance, the transitional process and the structures of government as well as on the right to self-determination for the people of South Sudan, and on state and religion. The Protocol on Security Arrangements, The Protocol on Wealth-Sharing, The Protocol on Power-Sharing, The Protocol on the Resolution of Conflict in Southern Kordofan/Nuba Mountains and the Blue Nile States and lastly, The Protocol on the Resolution of Conflict in Abyei were signed in Naivasha, Kenya in 2003 and 2004 respectively.

Three agreements were required to be finalized in order to achieve a comprehensive peace accord; one on permanent cease-fire arrangements, one on the implementation of all Protocols signed and one on the International/Regional Guarantees. The negotiations between the parties on Permanent Cease-Fire Protocol were stalled during the round of talks in Naivasha in July 2004, as the parties could not reach agreement on several issues, mainly on the redeployment of forces in eastern Sudan and the financing of the SPLM/A. Under sustained pressure from the international community, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), the UN Secretary General (SG) and his Special Representative for the Sudan, the African Union (AU) and the IGAD, the parties agreed to resume the

peace talks in Nairobi on 7 Oct 2004. The talks resumed with high level discussions between the GoS and the SPLM/A.

On 16 Oct 2004, the two parties issued a joint press statement in which they declared that issues discussed and resolved during the negotiations on a Permanent Cease-Fire Arrangement during the pre-interim and interim period included the Joint Integrated Units (JIUs) in Eastern Sudan; establishment of JIUs Service Arms; collaborative approach of handling other armed groups and other aspects of permanent cease-fire including the role of UN peace support mission. The parties also agreed that the technical committee on Implementation Modalities and International/Regional Guarantees would immediately commence its work. The first Vice-President and the Leader of the SPLM/A to finalize the CPA on a date to be communicated by the parties by the IGAD Secretariat. The Technical Committee on the ceasefire negotiations would continue to discuss any remaining issues including the funding of the armed forces and timing of incorporating and integrating other armed groups into respective structures of the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and SPLM/A.

### **United Nations Mission Proposed**

Reporting to the UNSC on 31Jan 2005 (S/2005/57), the SG recommended the deployment of a multi-dimensional peacekeeping operation, consisting of up to 10,000 military personnel and an appropriate civilian component, including more than 700 police officers. The UN mission in the Sudan would be headed by his Special Representative and would include components focusing on the following four broad areas of engagement; good offices and political support for the peace process, security, governance and humanitarian and development assistance. As it would be dealing with a broad range of issues, the SG stressed the importance of a joint, integrated strategy among the UN agencies, funds and programmes in order to successfully implement the CPA. The mission would be headquartered in Khartoum and widely represented in the south, including Rumbek, the provisional capital of Southern Sudan.

### **Supporting the Implementation of the CPA**

The UNSC established the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) with its unanimous adoption of Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1590 on 24 Mar 2005. UNMIS was initially established for a period of six months. According to its mandate, UNMIS was tasked in supporting the implementation of the CPA, providing good offices and

political support to the parties, monitored and verified their security arrangements and assisted in several other areas, including governance, recovery and development. UNMIS was also tasked with facilitating the voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons; providing demining assistance; and contributing towards international efforts to protect and promote human rights in Sudan. It was decided the UNMIS's Mandate comprehensively would be:

- ❖ To support implementation of the CPA by performing the following tasks.
- ❖ Monitor and verify the implementation of the Cease-Fire Agreement and to investigate violations.
- ❖ Liaise with bilateral donors on the formation of JIUs.
- ❖ Observe and monitor movement of armed groups and re-deployment of forces in the areas of UNMIS deployment in accordance with the Cease-Fire Agreement.
- ❖ Assist in the establishment of the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programme, with particular attention to the special needs of women and child combatants, and its implementation through voluntary disarmament and weapons collection and destruction.
- ❖ Promoting understanding of the peace process and the role of UNMIS by means of an effective public information campaign, targeted at all sectors of society, in coordination with the AU.
- ❖ Addressing the need for a national inclusive approach, including the role of women, towards reconciliation and peacebuilding.
- ❖ In coordination with bilateral and multilateral assistance programmes in restructuring the police service in Sudan, consistent with democratic policing, to develop a police training and evaluation programme, and to otherwise assist in the training of police.
- ❖ Promoting the rule of law, including an independent judiciary and the protection of human rights of all people of Sudan through a comprehensive and coordinated strategy with the aim of combating impunity and contributing to long-term peace and

stability and to assist the parties develop and consolidate the national legal framework.

- ❖ Ensure an adequate human rights presence, capacity, and expertise within UNMIS to carry out human rights promotion, protection, and monitoring activities.
- ❖ Provide guidance and technical assistance in cooperation with other international actors, to support the preparations for and conduct of elections and referenda provided for by the CPA.
- ❖ To facilitate and coordinate, within its capabilities and areas of deployment, the voluntary return of refugees and internally displaced persons, and humanitarian assistance, inter alia, by helping to establish the necessary security conditions.
- ❖ To cooperate with other international partners in the mine action sector, by providing humanitarian demining assistance, technical advice, and coordination.
- ❖ To contribute towards international efforts to protect and promote human rights in Sudan, as well as to coordinate international efforts towards the protection of civilians, with particular attention to vulnerable groups including internally displaced persons, returning refugees, and women and children, within UNMIS's capabilities and in close cooperation with other UN agencies, related organisations, and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs).

Acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the UNSC also decided that UNMIS is authorized to take the necessary actions, in the areas of deployment of its forces and as it deems within its capabilities, to protect UN personnel, facilities, installations, and equipment, ensure the security and freedom of movement of UN personnel, humanitarian workers, joint assessment mechanism and assessment and evaluation commission personnel, and, without prejudice to the responsibility of the GoS, to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence. Requested that the SG and the GoS, following appropriate consultation with the SPLM/A, conclude a Status-of-Forces Agreement (SOFA) within 30 days of adoption of the resolution, taking into consideration General Assembly Resolution 58/82 on the scope of legal protection under the Convention on the Safety of UN and Associated Personnel.

Following the establishing resolution, the deployment of UNMIS military elements commenced, enabling the Force Headquarters in Khartoum and the Joint Monitoring Coordination Office in Juba to achieve an initial operating capability, but a number of factors resulted in delays in the deployment rate of some military and police elements. In the following months, UNMIS continued its deployment at a steady pace, albeit behind schedule, and assisted the parties in implementing the CPA and resolving on-going conflicts.

For its part, UNMIS has continued to support implementation of the CPA. The mission has focused on the parties' outstanding commitments, including the redeployment of forces, a resolution of the dispute over the oil-rich Abyei region, and preparations for national elections in 2010 and the referendum in 2011, which will decide the fate of Southern Sudan.

### Referendum Process

The referendum to determine the status of Southern Sudan was held on schedule in January 2011, with the overwhelming majority, nearly to 99 percent of participants, voting for independence. The SG welcomed the announcement of the final results, stating that they were reflective of the will of the people of Southern Sudan. The SG said that the peaceful and credible conduct of the referendum was a great achievement for all Sudanese and he commended the CPA partners, the GoS led by President Omar Hassan Al Bashir, and the Government of Southern Sudan led by President Salva Kiir Mayardit, for keeping their commitment to maintain peace and stability throughout this crucial period.



The Sudanese authorities were responsible for the referendum process. Under the leadership of the SG, UN provided technical and logistical assistance to the CPA parties' referendum preparations through support from its peacekeeping missions on the ground in Sudan, as well as the good offices function provided by the SG's panel aimed at ensuring the impartiality, independence and effectiveness of the process.

### **Closure of UNMIS**

On 9 Jul 2011, the UNMIS's Mandate ended following the completion of the six and a half years interim period set up by the GoS and SPLM/A during the signing of the CPA. On 17 May 2011, the SG urged the parties and the UNSC to consider a three months extension of UNMIS due to on-going security concerns in South Sudan that were directly related to security issues that the North and South had to address together. In his report to the UNSC (S/2011/314), the SG explained that this period would allow the mission to begin downsizing its presence in Khartoum while assisting the parties in seeking resolution to the on-going security issues, as well as the residual CPA and post-referendum issues, including finding a mutually acceptable arrangement for monitoring the border. On 31 May 2011, the SG transmitted a letter from the GoS to the UNSC (S/2011/333) announcing the GoS decision to terminate the presence of UNMIS as of 9 Jul 2011.

### **Assessment**

The CPA guided the relations between the two countries from the end of war to the referendum for secession. The established framework for secession included the issue of border demarcation, specifically in highly contested areas. However, in their eagerness to gain independence, the southern Sudanese states that would become the sovereign state of South Sudan did not insist on full resolution of all issues associated with their independence from the Republic of Sudan (former North Sudan). Among the issues left unresolved was the border between South Sudan and the Republic of Sudan. According to John Campbell of the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C, nearly 20 percent of the border between South Sudan and the Republic of Sudan remains to be demarcated. Abyei, Southern Kordofan (which contains the disputed Heglig oil field) and the Blue Nile regions are three of nine heavily contested border sites, and both countries are fighting for the control of these areas due to the amount of oil, mineral, and arable land

resources they hold. With former South African President, Thabo Mbeki as Mediator, the two sides finally agreed to meet in April 2012 for talks to resolve border-related conflicts and settle on a permanent boundary. However, negotiations were suspended when violence erupted in several border regions, resulting in the capture by South Sudan Armed Forces of an oil field at Heglig in the Republic of Sudan.

The North's problems will change little with Southern independence. Omar Bashir's ruling National Congress Party (NCP) had not addressed the root causes of Sudan's chronic conflicts, and was facing multiple securities, political and economic challenges. The party's hardliners were determined to solve these issues militarily and remaining committed to an Arab-Islamic identity for all Sudanese and is ready to sub-divide key states to accommodate political barons. At the same time, NCP rank and files were increasingly discontent with its leadership and its approach to deal with the current situation back then.

The dispute over Abyei a territory geographically, ethnically and politically caught between North and South is one of the most intractable in Sudan. The region was given special status and, its own referendum a choice to join the new South or remain a special administrative territory within the North. But this did not take place in part because of heated disputes over who was eligible to vote. Ngok Dinka constituents are overwhelmingly in favour of joining the South, while Misseriya communities fear annexation could prevent migration and thus threaten their way of life. With no clear path to a resolution of final status, Abyei remains a flashpoint for the foreseeable future.

Despite austerity measures, the government was facing a serious budget deficit and spiraling inflation. Government revenue was low and not able to pay salaries. Food, fuel and other commodity prices were on the rise, while development projects and activities in periphery states were almost stopped. The opposition parties were trying to position themselves, but weakened by the decision of some of the traditional parties to enter unilateral negotiations with the NCP. Unless the opposition parties present a more unified front, it was quite likely that the NCP will continue to stymie attempts to reform the government.

In terms of oil, the country produces approximately 500,000 barrels of oil per day, most of it being exported to countries such as China. About three quarters of the oil that is pumped from Sudan originated from Southern Sudan. In January 2012, South Sudan shut

down all oil production and refused to use pipelines and port facilities belonging to the Republic of Sudan to prepare and ship its oil to overseas markets. They took this action to protest what South Sudan believed were exorbitant transport fees charged by the Republic of Sudan for the use of the latter's pipelines, as well as rumors that the Republic of Sudan was stealing South Sudan's oil. The loss of revenues from the exported oil has resulted in significant cuts in South Sudanese Government's expenditure, including critical areas such as agriculture, local government development, education and health.

The other major unresolved issue that continues to adversely impact harmonious relations between the two Sudan's pertains to the resolution of nationality. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), an estimated four million Southern Sudanese were displaced during the civil war. IOM has tracked over 2.5 million returning to South Sudan since 2005. Leaders from Juba and Khartoum initiated the Four Freedoms Agreement (FFA) in March 2012, giving citizens of both countries the freedom of residence, freedom of movement, freedom to undertake economic activities and freedom to acquire and dispose of property in either country. However, finalization of the deal stalled and Khartoum mandated that South Sudanese nationals currently resident in the Republic of Sudan must leave the territory by May 2012. The IOM called the movement of the South Sudanese a 'massive logistical challenge', which requires providing for the transportation and sanitation of the displaced persons.

## CONCLUSION

The conflicts between what is now Republic of the Sudan and Republic of South Sudan are often understood through their historical roots, centuries of exploitation and slave-raiding by the 'Arab' north against the 'African' south, followed by Britain and Egypt's imperialist meddling, and colonial occupation in the nineteenth century. From 1955 until 1972, there prevailed a costly and divisive civil war, fought largely in the south but punctuated by violent incidents in the north. The Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 ended the conflict only temporarily, and in 1983 the civil war resumed.

The comparative lack of economic development in the south had become a new source of regional grievance, and northern leaders' continuing attempts to Islamize the Sudanese legal system proved an even more potent source of discord. Attempts to end the civil war included numerous discussions, cease-fires, and agreements but



yielded very little success until 2005, when the CPA backed by a peacekeeping mission, namely UNMIS with its unanimous adoption of SCR 1590 (2005) ended the warfare. The mission ended its six years of mandated operations the same day South Sudan declared independence on 9 Jul 2011, following a referendum that voted incalculably in favor of secession. The Republic of South Sudan became the world's newest country. The birth of this country accompanied by many challenges, both for the government and people of South Sudan, and for the many multilateral and bilateral actors assisting with state building processes in the South. Issues related to border demarcation, remaining security issues, citizenship, oil sharing, assets, debts, and currency will be the most challenges to both North and South Sudan which eventually demands the sound and comprehensive plan with long-term and short-term solutions to find the everlasting result.

### SYNOPSIS

In 1955, the year before its independence from the United Kingdom (UK), a civil war started in Sudan which lasted until 1972. It came to an end with the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement according to which the south of the country became autonomous. A decade of relative peace followed until in 1983 the Sudanese Government wanted to install Sharia's Rule in the whole country and consequently restrains southern autonomy. Since 1983, a ferocious civil war followed with immense complexity of the conflict and lack of political will prevented an early resolution. The focus of international attention has long been the so-called 'North-South' Conflict.

After the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January 2005 between the Government of Sudan (GoS) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), the United Nations (UN) deployed a peacekeeping operation; United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS). The operation is mandated by Security Council Resolution 1590 (2005) amongst other tasks to support the implementation of the CPA. It is allowed under Chapter VII of the UN Charter 'to take the necessary action' to protect 'civilians under imminent threat of physical violence', and to protect its own personnel and humanitarian workers. The establishment of UNMIS was at a ripe moment for resolution of the 'North-South' Conflict.

With the conclusion of the referendum and independence, regardless of the outstanding CPA issues, UNMIS came to an end on a banner of success that obscured many of the deficiencies that had been experienced by the mission. The results of the vote, held in

January 2011, were overwhelmingly in favour of separation, and South Sudan was declared an independent country on 9 July 2011. Finally, it should be noted that the world is not witnessing the birth of just one new country following the departure of UNMIS, but two; the Republic of the Sudan and Republic of South Sudan.

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## **5G WIRELESS NETWORK TECHNOLOGIES**

**By LT COL MOHD HIDAYAT BIN A. HALIM**  
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### **INTRODUCTION**

5G basically means the fifth generation of mobile network technology. 5G networks are digital cellular networks, in which the service area covered by providers is divided into a tile of small geographical zones called cells. All the 5G wireless devices in a cell communicate via radio waves using local antenna array and low power automated transceiver (transmitter and receiver) in the cell, over selected frequency channels assigned by the transceiver from a common pool of frequencies, which are reused in geographically separated cells.

There are plans to use millimeter waves for 5G. Millimeter waves have shorter range than microwaves; therefore, the cells are limited to smaller size. Another technique used to increase data rate is by using massive MIMO (multiple-input multiple-output) technology. In 5G cellular network systems, each cell will have its multiple antennas communicating with the wireless device, and consequently received by multiple antennas in the device, where multiple bit streams of data will be transmitted simultaneously, in parallel. In a technique called beam forming, the base station computer will continuously calculate and determine the best route for the radio waves transmission to reach each wireless device, and will facilitate the multiple antennas to work together as phased arrays to create beams of millimeter waves to reach the device.

The 5G has been driven by the need to provide ubiquitous connectivity for applications as diverse as automotive communications; remote control with hectic style feedback, huge video downloads, as well as the very low data rate applications like remote sensors and what is being termed the IoT, Internet of Things.

The new 5G wireless devices also have 4G LTE capabilities, as the new networks use 4G for initially establishing the connection with the cell, as well as in locations where 5G access is not available.

5G can support up to a million devices per square kilometer. As of April 2019, the Global Mobile Suppliers Association (GSA) had identified 88 countries that are actively investing in 5G mobile or 5G fixed wireless broadband networks. 5G in Malaysia will likely start to be available in specific areas in 2020. In early 2019, Maxis and Huawei and U Mobile and ZTE signed MoUs (memorandums of understanding) to collaborate on 5G deployment in Malaysia. According to the MCMC (Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission), which established a "National 5G Task Force" in 2018, a complete study and report on a 5G deployment in Malaysia would be available by September 2019.

## Performance

The over-riding specifications for the mobile communications system have been defined by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) as part of International Mobile Telecommunications – 2020 (IMT2020). The currently agreed performances for 5G are summarized below:

- ❖ Peak data rate: At least 20 Gbps downlink and 10 Gbps uplink per mobile base station.
- ❖ 5G connection density: At least 1 million connected devices per square kilometre (to enable IoT support).
- ❖ 5G mobility: 0km/h to "500 km/h high speed vehicular" access.
- ❖ 5G energy efficiency: The 5G spec calls for radio interfaces that are energy efficient when under load, but also drop into a low energy mode quickly when not in use.
- ❖ 5G spectral efficiency: 30 bits/Hz downlink and 15 bits/Hz uplink. This assumes 8x4 MIMO (8 spatial layers down, 4 spatial layers up).
- ❖ 5G real-world data rate: The spec "only" calls for a per-user download speed of 100 Mbps and upload speed of 50Mbps.
- ❖ 5G latency: Under ideal circumstances, 5G networks should offer users a maximum latency of just 4 ms (compared to 20 ms for LTE).

## Standards

The first phase of 3rd Generation Partnership Project (3GPP) 5G specifications in Release-15 is scheduled to complete in 2019. The second phase in Release-16 is due to be completed in 2020. 5G NR (New Radio) is a new air interface developed for the 5G network. It is supposed to be the global standard for the air interface of 3 GPP 5G networks.

Frequency band for 5G NR are being separated into two different frequency ranges. First there is Frequency Range 1 (FR1) that includes sub-6 GHz frequency bands. The other is Frequency Range 2 (FR2) that includes frequency bands in the mm Wave range (> 24 GHz). The maximum channel bandwidth defined for FR1 is 100 MHz and the minimum channel bandwidth defined for FR2 is 50 MHz and the maximum are 400 MHz Long Term Evolution – Machine Type Communication (LTE-M) and Narrow Band Internet of Things (NB-IoT) will be part of 5G and are the only 5G technology to support 5G Low Power Wide Area (LPWA) use cases in the foreseeable future.

## Key Technologies in 5G Wireless Network Systems

These new technologies and techniques will enable 5G to provide a more flexible and dynamic service. The technologies being developed for 5G include:

**Millimeter-Wave communications:** With spectrum being in short supply below 4 GHz, frequencies extending up to 60 GHz are being considered. For 5G, frequencies above 30 GHz are being considered and this will present some real challenges in terms of the circuit design, the technology, and also the way the system is used. Typically, millimeter wave communication is likely to be used for outdoor coverage for dense networks - typically densely used streets and the like. Here, ranges of up to 200 or 300 meters are possible.

**Waveforms:** It was decided that a waveform based on orthogonal frequency division multiplexing (OFDM) would provide the optimum results. It is possible that OFDM in the form of OFDMA is used as this provides excellent overall performance without being too heavy on the level of processing required.

**Multiple Accesses:** A variety of new access schemes are being investigated for 5G technology. As mentioned above it appears that the most likely format could be OFDMA. It has been widely used and

very successful for 4G and could be used as a 5G multiple access scheme.

**Massive MIMO with beam steering:** Using microwave frequencies opens up the possibility of using many tens of antennas on single equipment becomes a real possibility because of the antenna sizes and spacing's in terms of a wavelength. This would enable beams to be steered to provide enhanced performance.

**Beam forming:** It is a 5G technology that finds the most efficient data-delivery route to individual users. Higher-frequency antennas enable the steering of narrower transmission beams. Beam forming can help massive MIMO arrays make more efficient use of the spectrum around them.

**Small cells technology (Dense networks):** Reducing the size of cells provides a much more overall effective use of the available spectrum. Techniques to ensure that small cells in the macro-network and deployed as fem to cells can operate satisfactorily are required.

**Full duplex:** Full duplex communication is a way to potentially double the speed of wireless communication. By employing a 5G full duplex scheme on a single channel, only one channel is needed to transmit data to and from the base station, rather than two.

**Software-Defined Networking (SDN):** Software-defined networking (SDN) is a way to manage networks that separate the control plane from the forwarding plane. SDN is a complementary approach to network functions virtualization (NFV) for network management. SDN and NFV are considered the foundation for how 5G will be deployed.

## **5G in Military**

The military applications of 5G technology have vital strategic and battlefield implications for the armed forces. The 5G telecommunications infrastructure will have a direct impact on improving military communications. However, it will also produce cascading effects on the development of other kinds of military technologies, such as robotics and artificial intelligence.

The strategic and battlefield implications of who owns and operates 5G infrastructure around the world underscores the national security importance of 5G. The Armed Forces should more systematically assess both the opportunities and risks associated with

conducting future military operations in environments that rely on foreign technology. Malay mail reported that The Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) is currently reviewing and identifying any security threats to Malaysia from the use of 5G of cellular mobile technology before it is adopted in the country. MAF Chief said that among the things which needed attention was on tackling new technology if its use included elements of cyber-attacks and gathering of sensitive information. SK Telecom and Korea Military Academy agreed to create a "smart" academy that combines 5G wireless networks with the latest technology, such as artificial intelligence (AI), virtual reality (VR), augmented reality (AR), the Internet of Things (IoT), cloud, big data, and mobility.

With a super-fast network able to exchange data in real-time over vast areas, 5G could have a role to play in something that's long been talked about in the military known as hypersonic weapons. Now being developed by Russia, China, the USA and France, seemingly for 2022, hypersonic weapons will travel at Mach 5 – five times the speed of sound. A military base is going to have less than a minute to react to an incoming hypersonic missile. The high frequency, short wavelength 'millimeter-wave' spectrum that allows the 1 Gbps+ speeds over 5G has obvious military potential such as smart military bases and command posts. Think millimeter wave-powered cameras and motion sensor-enabled tech around the perimeter of military bases, enabling command posts and vehicles to communicate with each other in real-time. Speed is everything on the battlefield, and 5G's lower latency and higher capacity will enable armies to share more data, such as real-time maps and photos of battlefield scenarios. 5G will also combine fragmented networks into a single network "to promote improved situational awareness and decision-making," as well as logistics and maintenance.

Part of 5G's capabilities is Massive Machine Type Communications (MMTC), which will enable up to a million connected devices per square kilometer. All of which can be fitted with sensors that collect and share data across a 5G network. For instance, strap a smart watch and bunch of biometric wearables to a soldier and their vital statistics – geographical position, heart-rate, blood pressure, and fatigue – can be shared. Hence, information about what's going on in the battlefield is going to change utterly with 5G. Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) such as drones are already used by the military. With 5G comes 4K video, object recognition, faster data processing and artificial intelligence, which will help reconnaissance missions and giving army units information on what they're about to come up



against. Thus, 5G could also help in more accurately and intelligently targeting weapons.

### **5G and Role of Satellite**

Satellite Communications Company, iDirect reported that satellite must become a standard radio interface within the multi-radio network architecture of 5G. In the future, mobile network operators will be able to complement their 5G services with satellite connectivity to offload their terrestrial networks in a large scale.

### **5G Security**

The 5G technology will offer a multitude of benefits, but with risks. Vastly increased numbers of devices and an elevated use of virtualization will mean many more 5G security threats and a broader, multifaceted attack surface. Sdx Central reported that in 2018, Wipro released a cyber security report that raised concerns for 5G. The future of communications will drive new 5G security requirements, because of concerns for new use cases and new network architectures.

## **CONCLUSION**

The technology is capable of providing higher speed of data rate, lower latency and simultaneous connection to multiple devices. Various industry, military, health and education are going to benefit from this technology. However, with this new technology, there are security requirements for protecting the users of the technology from espionage, threats and cyber-attacks in safe guarding their network systems safety and security.

## **SYNOPSIS**

5G is the fifth generation of mobile network technology. The 5G mobile cellular communications system provides a far higher level of performance than the previous generations of mobile communications systems such as higher speed of data rate, lower latency and simultaneous multiple devices connection. 5G in Malaysia will likely start to be available in specific areas in 2020. The military applications of 5G technology have vital strategic and battlefield implications for the armed forces. The future of communications will drive new 5G security requirements, because of concerns for new use cases and new network architectures.

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## HOW TO FACE NEW GENERATION EMPLOYEES BASED ON MILITARY LEADERSHIP EXAMPLES

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### INTRODUCTION

Today, there are an unprecedented four generational groups coexisting in the workplace. This demographic diversity poses a challenge for employers in terms of creating and managing harmonious workplaces where each generation's unique values and office expectations mesh. The newest group to enter the workforce, Generation Y, poses a particular challenge for organizations. Generation Y is not only different from the past generations, but is also misconstrued in many ways.

### Background

Leadership plays a big role in any organization, either big or small, or from the government or private sector. Without good leadership traits and styles, a person in charge only reacts like a manager, not a leader. Leadership styles vary according to the generation you are from, such as the Baby Boomers, Generation Y or Generation X.

### Definition

There are various definitions given for the different types of leadership. Some of them are as follows:

Type	Definition
Leadership	Leadership involves the creation of a vision and strategic direction for an organisation, the communication of the vision to its people and customers. and the act of inspiring, motivating and aligning its people with the organisation to achieve this vision.

<b>Military Leadership</b>	The art of influencing and directing men in such a way that ensures their obedience, confidence, respect and loyal co-operation in order to accomplish missions.
<b>Islamic Leadership</b>	Caliph Ali stated that a good leader must use his head (wisdom), heart (feelings and emotions), hands (strength and power) and tongue (good communication) to help others because Almighty Allah holds himself responsible to help those who sincerely try their best to help Him ( <i>The Letter by Amir Al-Mu'mineen Ali Ibn Abu Talib The Fourth Caliph, to Malek al-Ashtar, The Governor of Egypt</i> ).

### Types of Leadership Styles

There are several types of leadership styles such as the Laissez-faire Leadership, Autocratic Leadership, Participative Leadership, Transactional Leadership, and Transformational Leadership. Different types of leadership styles exist in different work environments. Both advantages and disadvantages exist within each leadership style. The culture and goals of an organization determine which leadership style fits the firm best. Some companies offer several leadership styles within the organization, dependent upon the necessary tasks to complete and departmental needs. The types of leadership styles are elaborated further below:

- a. **Laissez-Faire Leadership.** A laissez-faire leader lacks direct supervision of employees and fails to provide regular feedback to those under his supervision. Highly experienced and trained employees requiring little supervision fall under the laissez-faire leadership style. However, not all employees possess these characteristics. This leadership style hinders the production of employees needing supervision. The laissez-faire style produces no leadership or supervision efforts from managers which can lead to poor production, lack of control and increasing costs.
- b. **Autocratic Leadership.** The autocratic leadership style allows managers to make decisions alone without the input of others. Managers possess total authority and impose their will on employees. No one challenges the decisions of autocratic leaders. Countries such as Cuba and North Korea operate under the autocratic leadership style. This leadership style benefits employees who require close supervision. Creative employees who thrive in group functions detest this leadership style.

c. **Participative Leadership.** Often called the democratic leadership style, participative leadership values the input of team members and peers, but the responsibility of making the final decision rests with the participative leader. Participative leadership boosts employee morale because employees make contributions to the decision-making process. It causes them to feel that their opinions matter. When a company needs to make changes within the organization, the participative leadership style helps employees accept changes easily because they play a role in the process. This style meets challenges when companies need to make a decision in a short period.

d. **Transactional Leadership.** Managers using the transactional leadership style receive certain tasks to perform and provide rewards or punishments to team members based on performance results. Managers and team members set predetermined goals together and employees agree to follow the direction and leadership of the manager to accomplish those goals. The manager possesses power to review results and train or correct employees when team members fail to meet goals. Employees receive rewards such as bonuses when they accomplish goals.

e. **Transformational Leadership.** The transformational leadership style depends on high levels of communication from the management to meet goals. Leaders motivate employees and enhance productivity and efficiency through communication and high visibility. This style of leadership requires the involvement of management to meet goals. Leaders focus on the big picture within an organization and delegate smaller tasks to the team to accomplish.

### Defining the Multi-Generational Workforce

The concept of generation has a long history which can be found in ancient literature. However, there are also psychological and sociological dimensions in the sense of belonging and identity that can define a generation. The concept of a generation is also used to locate particular birth cohorts in specific historical and cultural circumstances, such as the "Baby Boomers".

While all generations have similarities, there are differences among them as well. It is not where the birth cohort boundaries are drawn that is important, but how individuals and societies interpret the boundaries and how these divisions may shape processes and

outcomes. However, the practice of categorizing age cohorts is useful to researchers for the purpose of constructing boundaries in their work which divided as below:

a. **Baby Boomers.** The Baby Boomers are people born post-World War II (WWII), roughly during the years 1946 to 1964. In the years following WWII, many Western nations experienced a spike in births as they slowly recovered from the economic hardships experienced during wartime. This new generation of Baby Boomers experienced an unprecedented level of economic growth and prosperity throughout their lifetime. They entered the world in a time of relative hardship, but thanks to education, government subsidies, rising property prices and technological advancements they emerged as a successful and affluent generation. Many baby boomers are now settling into retirement accompanied by many luxuries and comforts for their golden years than those experienced by generations before them. Some examples of this generation are Bill Gates, Donald Trump, and Elton John.

b. **Generation X.** Generation X came after the Baby Boomers, and typically covers people born between the mid-1960s to the early 1980s. Gen X was shaped by global political events that occurred during this generation's youth such as the Vietnam War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the Cold War, and the Thatcher-era government in the UK. These events helped to shape the culture and upbringing of Generation X. Relative to previous generations, Generation X is more open to diversity and has learnt to embrace differences such as religion, sexual orientation, class, race and ethnicity. Some examples of this generation are Sarah Jessica Parker, David Cameron and Victoria Beckham.

c. **Generation Y.** Generation Y came after Generation X. Generation Y covers people born between the 1980s and the year 2000, and these individuals are sometimes referred to as Gen Y, the Millennial Generation, or simply Millennials. Generation Y has been shaped by the technological revolution that occurred throughout their youth. Gen Y grew up with technology, so being connected and tech savvy is in their DNA. Equipped with the latest technology and gadgets such as iPhones, laptops and lately tablets, Generation Y is online and connected 24/7, 365 days a year. Many Millennials grew up seeing their Baby Boomer parents working day and night doing stressful corporate jobs, and this has shaped their own views

on the workforce and the need for work-life balance. Some examples of this generation are Justin Beiber, Kate Middleton and Justin Timberlake.

d. **Generation Z.** Generation Z is the generation of children born after the year 2000. They are the children of Generation X and Generation Y. To be fair, there is little knowledge on the character traits of Generation Z because they haven't been on the earth for very long yet. Generation Z are predicted to be highly-connected as they live in the age of high-tech communication, practice technology-driven lifestyles and are prolific users of social media. A lot of what we think we know about Generation Z is inferred, and only time will tell whether we have been correct. Examples of generation Z are our children.

### **Military Leadership**

Military leadership is a very important subject to study in every military academy and training institutions. It is vital in order to develop the skills of all young officers as they will be the future leaders (commanders) of the organization and are thus required to lead the organization effectively. Studying past great military leaders' leadership provide current officers knowledge and skills to be a good leader and expose them to the leadership quality needed at all levels and fields of service. This knowledge is very useful for all military leaders in order to help them prepare to lead the organization. Lessons on leadership teach officers how to be good commanders and inculcate the necessary characteristics needed by a leader in future wars.

All great generals had exemplified numerous leadership qualities, and these good traits have been studied by all levels of military students and also leaders in the public sector. The style of leadership adopted depends on an individual's characteristics and manner, and every leader has their own way of leading and commanding their men. The study of leadership must therefore be unbiased and balanced.

For the purpose of this paper, the great military leader chosen to be studied is Prince Eugene who came from the Baby Boomer generation. Eugene, Prince of Savoy, was an exacting and well-praised military commander who led the Hapsburg army for fifty years to infamous battles such as the *War of the Spanish Succession* and the *Austro-Turkish War*. He fought in dozens of major battles and in



five major wars over the course of his career, and is widely regarded as the greatest general in Austrian history. A Frenchman by birth, Prince Eugene transferred his loyalties to the powerful Hapsburg Monarchy where he was recognized as a brilliant strategist of outstanding character.



**Picture 1: Prince Eugene**

Born a weak child, Eugene was destined for monastic life until he spoke up of his desire to join the French Army. King Louis XIV, however, refused his request, so the young man went instead to Central Europe where he served with his two cousins under the rule of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I. He received his first recognition following the Great Turkish War where he was commended by the Emperor for his skill in combat. The next major battle for Eugene was the Nine Years' War against France.

### **Applying the Leadership Theory on Prince Eugene**

Prince Eugene practiced exemplary leadership skills akin to the practices of transformational leadership. As a military leader, he still retained his dictatorial flair which is one of the values under autocratic leadership. When he was tasked to lead the force in the Battle of Zenta in which he was only supposed to defend the area from attacks, he courageously changed the decision by attacking the enemy when he got the opportunity to attack.

Prince Eugene practiced transformational leadership without leaving his military traits. Leaders who practice transformational leadership motivate soldiers to share their vision of success. Transformational leaders reject self-interest for the greater good. Thus, they are able to shape the organization's strategies and tactics until their presence is felt even when they are not physically there; the leader's "spirit is with us," in the words of one Soldier.

As seen in the study of operations and tactics so far, understanding a leader's or commander's intent is a critical component of successful manoeuvre in combat. Transformational leadership is built on several key assumptions such as Soldiers are most willing to follow a leader who inspires them; Soldiers are motivated when they understand the importance of the task; Collaboration and teamwork are better than working individually, especially in the long term; Working towards a "greater good" strongly bonds individuals in organizations together with a sense of pride that makes material rewards seem trivial.

Scholars often describe a particularly effective leader or public figure as charismatic. The transformational leadership theory uses the Greek word charisma, which can be interpreted as "special gift or favour." Charisma is that rare personal quality in a leader that inspires followers to follow enthusiastically. "Transformational" refers to the changes that a leader's personal charisma creates in his/her soldiers' goals, visions and sense of purpose.

The four main elements of transformational leadership are idealized influence (attributed and behavioural), inspirational motivation, individualized consideration, and intellectual stimulation. Idealized influence (attributed) is defined as a military leader's charisma; whether soldiers perceive him as competent, self-confident, and committed to higher ideals and ethics. Idealized influence (behavioural) involves his charismatic actions related to his values, beliefs, and missions. Inspirational motivation includes behaviours such as expressing appealing visions, focusing on soldiers' efforts, and behaving in ways that energize his subordinates. Individualized consideration refers to his supportive behaviour towards his soldiers such as showing concern for their needs, giving encouragement, and assisting their development. Intellectual stimulation includes helping his followers by inspiring their creativity of thought.

### **Characteristics and Traits of a Good Leader**

In order to further analyses Prince Eugene's leadership qualities, this paper will compare his military leadership characteristics and values using notes put forward by Mostafa Rejai and Kay Phillips in their book *World Military Leaders: A Collective and Comparative Analysis*. They noted that military leadership is positively correlated with heightened awareness, high education and experience combined with a formal military education. Military elites are motivated by nationalism and patriotism; they seek to maintain the identity and integrity of their homelands, they set out to free their

nations from the oppression and exploitation of other countries. Put simply, duty, honor and country are the correct words to express the quality of military leadership.

The good leader characteristics embedded in Prince Eugene enabled him to win all the battles he was involved in this success follows what is generally discussed as outcomes from practicing the character and traits of good leadership. Among the characteristics of good leadership are as discussed below:

❖ **Honest.** A leader displays sincerity and integrity in all his actions. Deceptive behaviour will not inspire trust and thus, honesty. Prince Eugene can be defined as an honest leader from early on in his carrier as a military leader when he joined the Holy Roman Emperor Leapold I. After he managed to win the battle of Zenta, King Louis XIV offered him to join back his forces. However, the offer was refused by Eugene because his honesty now lies towards the Roman Emperor who had given him the opportunity to become a military leader.

❖ **Intelligent.** Intelligent means that someone can read, study and seek challenging assignments that leaders normally have to face. Prince Eugene had only twenty thousand men to oppose the one hundred and twenty thousand Frenchmen during the French War. The war was due to France not agreeing with the new candidate chosen as the King of Poland. Even though Prince Eugene's small number of troops was gradually doubled by accessions of Prussians and other troops of the empire, it was not possible to undertake anything important with them. In spite of this, Eugene cleverly manoeuvred his little army that in the two-year campaign (1734-1735), France gained no great advantage on the Rhine and took possession only of Phillipsburg.

❖ **Inspiring.** A leader should display confidence in all that he does. By showing endurance in mental, physical courage, and spiritual stamina, he will inspire others to reach new heights. Prince Eugene exercised an almost magical influence over his soldiers, making them admire him. He was small and insignificant-looking; besides, he did not understand the German language too well, but his 50,000 German's army gave him full loyalty and support and were willing to follow him anywhere to any battle.

❖ **Courageous.** A leader must have the perseverance to accomplish a goal, regardless of the seemingly insurmountable obstacles. A leader should also display confident calmness when under stress. Prince Eugene is affable and impartial; his personal courage with which he placed himself at the head of a storming, column, sharing discomfort during the war and also share the feelings of misery, heat and cold along with his soldiers without any barrier of status had given great courage to his men. Under his leadership, the troops felt themselves to be invincible. To use an old phrase, “under him, they would have undertaken to drive the devil out of hell”.

### How to Successfully Work with the New Generation of Employee

After a thorough discussion on the good characteristics of a military leader above, points and key takeaways from the discussion can be used to overcome the challenges of working successfully with the new generation of employees (Generation Y). The main issue mentioned is that Generation Y face difficulties in the working environment. Some of their challenges are in the chart below:

	<b>BUILDERS 61+</b>	<b>BOOMERS 42-60</b>	<b>X'S 27-41</b>	<b>Y'S 12-26</b>
<b>OUTLOOK</b>	Practical	Optimistic	Skeptical	Hopeful
<b>WORK ETHIC</b>	Dedicated	Driven	Balanced	Determined
<b>VIEW OF AUTHORITY</b>	Respectful	Love/hate	Unimpressed	Polite
<b>LEADERSHIP BY</b>	Hierarchy	Consensus	Competence	Pulling together
<b>RELATIONSHIPS</b>	Personal sacrifice	Personal gratification	Reluctant to commit	Inclusive
<b>PROMOTIONS</b>	Survival of fittest	Tenure	Merit	It's my right
<b>TRAINING</b>	Do it yourself	Only if there is a problem	Is desirable	Necessary and expected
<b>COMMUNICATION AT WORK</b>	Verbal, shorthand	Verbal, fax, typewriters	Pcs, word processors	Email, sms, audio visual communications

**Chart 1: Challenges Faced by Each Generation**

Generation Y is characterized as people who are the family type, outspoken, always using gadgets during their working time, et cetera. Some of the issues that arise due to these characteristics can be highlighted as follows:

❖ **Generation Y is family type people.** While Generation Y puts high criteria on family, friends and leisure travel, they also have good work ethics. One of the characteristics of Generation Y is to “work faster and better than their peers.” This shows Gen Y's desire to excel and give their best at work. Generation Y also chooses “hard work” as their first choice in their lives. This shows that the group continues to understand the relationship between hard work and success. Honesty is the most suitable trait to describe this behavior, as they are honest and can be trusted to do their work.

While those from Generation Y are considered powerful workers, they also need the work given to be more meaningful and interesting for them. Although many managers assume that all tasks given are interesting and fun, the opposite happens when the task has not reached the level required by Generation Y and they thus, deem themselves to be worthy of a task that is more important. This is because Generation Y wants to know why they are doing the task and how they can contribute to it. By taking a few minutes to explain the true picture of the job, leaders will not only get results that are more productive, but will also have employees who are motivated. This can be related to the military leadership topic that had been discussed in terms of inspiring people when they cannot finish a job in the specific time given. Discussing the goal and purpose of a job will motivate Generation Y workers and in turn, will inspire other workers to excel at the same level as them or more.

Additionally, the management must be open to suggestions on the tasks they delegate. When Generation Y is given the responsibility to handle new tasks, they always try to figure out how to do it better and faster. Generation Y is not locked into the mentality of “it has always been done this way.” If there is a solution that is more productive, Generation Y will expect everyone to agree their findings and help implement improvements. Leaders must therefore take the time to listen to their proposal. In addition, leaders need to learn about the values and personal goals of Generation Y before putting them in charge of a task. There should be a challenge to the leadership of the group in order to teach new skills and gain a fresh perspective. Generation Y has the courage to explore new dimensions or tasks given to them without any fear of failure. This same courage was displayed

by Prince Eugene when he led his forces to battles never been conducted before.

❖ **Generation Y needs instant gratification.** Generation Y workers want everything to be done quickly; in other words, they do not want any delay in work. This is because Generation Y has been exposed to technological developments in the fast-growing world; speed is no longer a fantasy, but a way of life. Their lives have been accompanied with fast food, AOL Instant Messenger and high-speed internet. Therefore, the criterion of intelligence appears to suit this generation where the use of technology can help them finish their task or work.

Generation Y are trained to think fast. They have been brought up to use e-mail and they do not drive to the mall to visit various shops to compare prices. They instead go online to surf various shopping websites and often make purchases in a short time without having to waste time due to jams, et cetera for the purchase of a necessity.

They have instant information at their fingertips due to their high access to the Internet. Mobile phones connect them immediately to various partners and other sources of information. Technology has enabled Generation Y to get what they need quickly and easily. This generation is known as the intelligence generation but they can be blind if there is no technology to support them.

As a result, organizations need to operate quicker than what is usually done for the previous generation. If the company usually does its performance review once a year, it is necessary to switch to a 3 month period or maybe even every 30 days along with the development of generation Y. This is because generation Y requires rapid and immediate response. Managers no longer have to wait for a year to give credit to Generation Y; it can be done by giving a promotion or a raise as reward for their work.

❖ **Generation Y is disloyal.** Generation Y has a reputation for leaving a job after one or two years of work. Members of Generation Y have the freedom to move from one job to another as they have less liability due to the fact that most of them are unmarried and/or have no children. These characteristics coupled with strong financial capabilities

enable them to make the best choice for themselves. This is because they are honest to themselves and they only think what is best for them. They are disloyal to organizations that do not give benefit to them, and make them move away to a new company or organization.

Having "relevant work experience" is most important for any job. Therefore, if the work is relevant, Generation Y will choose to not leave their jobs. As discussed above, the workers of this generation are concerned about their work, and will thus always have regular communication with the management to enable the provision and development of ideas. When these requirements are met, Generation Y workers will become loyal employees and will commit to work in the long run.

For Generation Y, creating loyalty at work is not easy. Unlike the previous generations of workers who gave full loyalty to their work, generation Y only chooses to be faithful if everyone plays a role and be a part of something important in every job. Gen Y managers should therefore provide interesting assignments, plenty of feedback from both parties, and opportunities to promote and reward for good work performance. In doing so, they can be the best and most loyal employees to the company.

All these qualities do not add up to individual selfishness, but for those who really care about other people. Again, it is up to management to motivate Generation Y by giving them assignments they prefer, communicating regularly with them, and helping them understand the goals of the company in order to obtain their full commitment.

## **Recommendations**

Generation Y has been unfairly stereotyped. It is crucial that these stereotypes do not exist in any organization or in the hearts and minds of employees. Of course, the ironic thing is that the very individuals who may resent Generation Y at work are those who raise them at home.

Organizations need to set a clear policy from the top down, or they can forget about attracting and keeping this new generation of employees. Prejudices and stereotypes about Generation Y that are latent in an organization cannot be eliminated until the management

confronts them. Now is the time to shed prejudices and negative feelings about Generation Y as its members are the workers of the present and future. Military leadership can be adopted as guides to handle Generation Y. Below are some recommendations to handle Generation Y according to military leadership theory:

❖ **Generation Y is tech-savvy.** In general, Generation Y is a generation that is educated, and this will give them an edge to become good workers. Generation Y is also very technology-savvy, and part of them have extensive knowledge on the latest technology. Generation Y are comfort with having computers, iPod, Wi-Fi and other gadgets. They already know how to use Excel and Power Point, create spreadsheets, conduct and merge mail, and scan documents. Managers therefore have to use their *intelligence* and experience so that they can control the Generation Y employees under them; this is akin to what was practiced by Prince Eugene during the Battle of Zenta.

Leaders generally recognize Generation Y's technology talent and expertise. Sometimes leaders are often reluctant to the finesse owned by Generation Y, resulting in losses to the organization. In doing so, the leader sets the wrong tone. Leaders must instead be *honest*, only then their employees will be honest to work with them. A prime example is when Prince Eugene showed off his honesty to remain under the Roman Empire although he was offered a good position in his former government.

❖ **Generation Y is diverse.** Generation Y is the most ethnically diverse generation in history. Diversity has been demonstrated to be a desirable and healthy workplace component. Generation Y members are open-minded and accepting of those different from themselves. For them, working and interacting with people outside of their own ethnic group is the norm. Not only is Generation Y comfortable with the increasingly diverse workforce and client base, but they also know how to make others feel comfortable, which greatly benefits organizations. Leaders must have the *inspiring* trait so that Generation Y will be inspired and remain working without moving to other organizations.

❖ **Generation Y understands and has life experience in the global marketplace.** From the moment Generation Y can interact with a computer, they have learned about the World



Wide Web. At no point in their lives have Generation Y members been without access to information from around the world. Thus, their worlds are surprisingly integrated and, in many ways, Generation Y cannot comprehend an environment that is not global. It would be nearly impossible for a Generation Y student not to interact with someone from another country, religion, race or culture. This means that leaders must also have the *courageous* trait. This means that they are willing to change and adapt to the new environment of working with Generation Y.

One of Generation Y's more subtle attributes is their experience in the global marketplace. As lifelong consumers, they have been making buying decisions since they were toddlers, choosing between Burger King and McDonalds and Nike and Reebok. Their parents have allowed Generation Y to make purchasing decisions to a greater degree than any other generation. This real-world experience as a customer can be very valuable to any company.

❖ **Generation Y has good self-esteem and is independent.** Generation Y has strong self-esteem because its members have enjoyed parental support and involvement like no other generation. Generation Y often grew up as the centre of their parents' lives with a sense that they are special and could do anything. These demographics' members are eager to take on responsibility and believe they can accomplish anything. Because their parents have treated them as winners, they believe that they can win at work too. As such, Generation Y has a positive can-do attitude which can be a great organizational asset. These shows that generation Y like to work together as a team and will produce good results which is a significant criterion for the *transformational* leadership trait. This trait was already embedded in Prince Eugene when he made the decision to be a military commander and not a nobleman in the comfort of his castle.

Generation Y is also very independent. Its members grew up in non-traditional settings that taught them to be autonomous. They spent time in daycare or time at home alone. This background makes Generation Y comfortable and confident when taking on independent projects and assuming individual responsibility.

❖ **Generation Y has a sense of security and is ambitious.** Because of the support they enjoyed from their Baby Boomer parents, Generation Y know they are loved and cared for. They have a deep-down sense of self-worth that is healthy. This secure feeling makes the members of Generation Y believe in themselves and feel optimistic about the future. They are less afraid than other generations to ask questions and try new things. They have figured out that it is better and less time-consuming to ask questions than to waste time trying to figure things out. Generation Y likes to learn and is willing to do things differently. Because of this *courageous* trait, leaders must have more courage than them so that the leader could control and use generation Y's ideas for better improvement in the organization.

Additionally, Generation Y is ambitious. Its members can envision a good quality of life, which is something they aspire to. This makes Generation Y hard-driven and motivated when they accept and believe in a goal. They look forward to challenges, making them motivated and confident workers. Ambitious is one of the criteria of charismatic leaders; where they set a goal, they will strive for it to be successful. Prince Eugene was also very ambitious during the war against the Turks.

## CONCLUSION

Generation Y possesses advanced degrees, technical skills, diversity, experience as a consumer and an appreciation of the world market to the workplace. Its members are ambitious, competitive and have high self-esteem. These attributes make them highly motivated, independent and optimistic workers.

Generation Y presents a unique and exciting leadership challenge. Generation Y is indisputably bright and talented, yet they think differently, have unique needs and require new management styles. Leadership will have less room for error as Generation Y has more freedom and job options than any other group in history. Organizations should be able to see beyond the sometimes negative hype surrounding generation Y and instead, tap into the many talents this group can offer the workplace today and in the future.

## SYNOPSIS

This essay will examine the type of leadership for several generation bases on their year of birth. The writer tries to identify type of leadership styles from Prince Eugene (Military Leader) and relate it to the current employees which are Generation Y that has its own criteria. Several criteria from Generation Y that related to the Leadership styles of military leaders such as Honest, Intelligence, Inspiring and Courage which is part of Generation Y styles or behaviors. For conclusion, Generation Y which is current employees can be motivated and become successful employees when have some motivation by the managers.

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## **CHINA – RUSSIA RELATIONS: COOPERATION IN MILITARY STRATEGIES**

**By LT COL AHMAD RIZWAN BIN DIN**  
**ROYAL SIGNAL REGIMENT**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Since 1989, China and Russia agreed to establish and normalise their relations after 30 years of hostility where the defence support has maintained as the foundation of their relation. Both major power countries often organised high-level discussions in terms of international security, negotiation in security matters that are related to the agreements, conducted joint military exercises as well as involved in large scale of arms trading. Russian leaders frequently assert on the defence mutual understanding as one of the important elements in confirming their strategic partnership. Some ideas have been criticised which asserted that the paybacks are always outweighed by the financial implication. Nowadays, both countries are getting closer after changing of their government, leader and also dynamic of world order. In the effort of that, their military cooperation also was improved in term of strategic, operation and tactical level.

### **History of China and capability of Defense Force**

China, known as People's Republic of China situated in east of Asia. This nation is a greatest populace world with around 1.38 billion individuals, with wide roughly 9.59 million km<sup>2</sup> and turned out to be third biggest nation as far as land territory, with around 18000 km coastline. Its offers with 14 neighbors' nations, at their north, it fringes with Russia while south limit with Laos, Vietnam and Myanmar. It's likewise neighbor with South Asia nations. At western fringe, it borders with Taiwan, Korea, and Japan. Currently, China is governed by the Chinese Communist Party and Beijing is the capital city of China while Xi Jinping is the President of People's Republic of China.

Roughly, China has around 2.31 million active troops and become the largest standing military force in the world. China Defense Force known as People's Liberation Army (PLA). Besides that, China also has the second-biggest reserve force, after Republic

of North Korea. Generally, The PLA consist of three main services, which are Air Force (PLAAF), Navy (PLAN) and Ground Force (PLAGF), and as well as Rocket Force (PLARF) as additional force, while their PLAAF is a biggest force in the world. Consequence of this, its budget in average of USD 151.51 billion per year, its result the second largest defense expenditure in the world, with approximately 4% to 5% increase from year to year. That's means China expands for their military expenditure in large volume, to ensure that they can perform well in order to maintain their force readiness.

#### History of Russia and Capability of Defense Force

Russia, previously known as Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) is a largest country in the world, with wide area covered around 17 million km<sup>2</sup> (1/8 of wide land of the world). Its population is the ninth largest population in the world, with approximately 145 million populations. Its territory extends throughout north Asia and parts of Eastern Europe. It has 16 neighbour countries from northwest to southeast, Russia shares border with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Mongolia. Most of these countries existed when USSR collapsed after fall of Soviet Regime. Its south shares boundary with China and Mongolia, while the eastern border is Japan and Korea.

In term of defense strength, Russian Armed Forces consist of three normal services which are Ground Force, Navy, and Aerospace Force. In connection on this, these forces are also supported by other main elements which are Strategic Missile Force and Airborne Troops. Their strength reached over one million active soldiers, as well as the fifth largest in the world. It also complemented with more than 2.5 million of reserve force. From Federation of American Scientists, who are the leading experts in estimating the size of global nuclear weapons, states that Russia is the country with the largest nuclear stocks, ships asset and ballistic missile submarine. Consequence of these, and it's also has a capability in term of modern strategic bombing beside the United States. Russian tankers inventories also are a largest in the world.

In order to support that amazing strength, manpower and their assets, Russia needs to spend in large volume on defense expenditure. As a recorded, their annual defense budget reached about USD 69.3 billion in 2015, this figure become the third largest in the world behind the US and China. This budget increase year to year, approximately 4% to 5%. This rate is higher than any other European countries. After decades of largely non-existent defence

ties, the implementation of the United States (US) and European arms bans on China after the incident of 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre and right after the fall of the Soviet Union in December 1991 incited restored participation among China and Russia.

## Discussion

The development of the China-Russia military relationship toward a larger amount of collaboration and coordination is obvious in the three principle territories of two-sided resistance commitment. Those barrier commitments are military activities, military-specialized collaboration and abnormal state military-to-military contacts. As of late, every one of the three territories has developed as far as the level and nature of commitment. Normal two-sided and multilateral activities are expanding in multifaceted nature especially in the moves, coordination and weapons frameworks utilized (Ferdinand, 2007). With the exception of the two large deals on major systems mentioned above, Russian arms sales to China over the last decade have trended away from complete platforms toward smaller components resulting in a decline in the volume and monetary value of sales. Finally, military-to-military contacts increasingly consist of meetings at higher levels of the defense bureaucracy providing opportunities for military officials to facilitate arms packages, prepare exercises and discuss regional and global security concerns (Ferdinand, 2007).

Since 2003, China and Russia have conducted approximately 25 military exercises together that have shown an increasing complexity in terms of joint operations and coordination. Ten of these activities were held under the protection of the SCO that concentrating on antiterrorism including the majority of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and Russian Armed Forces (RAF) practices directed together at the multilateral dimension. For the PLA, these activities have been significant for picking up involvement and helpful data. The exercises have enabled the PLA to pick up the following advantages (Ni, 2003):

- ❖ To interface with the Russian military administration.
- ❖ To work in new conditions outside China.
- ❖ To address semantic, social and different obstructions to compelling communication with Russian troops.
- ❖ To practice war zone strategies and battle techniques and

apply lessons figured out how to joint tasks.

- ❖ To empower China to gather knowledge on Russia's military capabilities and guard association.

China and Russia utilize the activities to exhibit their expanding military capacities and the quality of China-Russia safeguard connections to the universal network especially the US and nations of Asia Pacific. Moreover, China utilizes the multilateral SCO activities to support its impact and security participation in Central Asia (Chen, 2013). Although both countries regularly deny the exercises are directed against any particular country, the location of each major exercise between China and Russia and the drills involved could be interpreted as such. South China Sea claimants may have interpreted the exercise as directed against them due to its sensitive location, timing, and inclusion of an "island-seizing" drill. The exercises by virtue of Russia's participation also provide China an opportunity to operate in strategically important areas frequented by the Russian navy. In recent years, the PLA and RAF have continued to expand the scope of their bilateral and multilateral exercises, increasing the geographic reach, level of integration between units and commanders, and the capability of platforms used.

Since 2012, China and Russia have conducted Joint Sea, which is an annual bilateral naval exercise. In September 2016, both militaries conducted a single-phase exercise when they split the exercise into three months apart in different geographic areas. The eight-day exercise reportedly took place in undisputed waters close to the Chinese coastline east of Zhanjiang where the PLA Navy South Sea Fleet is located. The exercise appeared designed to convey China - Russia unity in opposition to the ruling and its supporters and to improve strategic coordination and mutual trust between both sides (Wilson, 2015).

Peace Mission 2016 was first held in Kyrgyzstan. It is the most recent Shanghai Cooperation of Organization joint anti-terrorism exercise that overlapped with another major China-Russia exercise, which is the Joint Sea-2016. Five of the six Shanghai Cooperation of Organization members sent army and air force personnel to the six-day exercise (Hsiung, 2004). Consistent with previous Peace Mission exercises, its stated purpose was to deter terrorism, separatism and extremism. However, given the systems used and type of drills conducted, these exercises could be applied to a number of contingencies outside the counterterrorism realm. The drills focused on joint anti-terrorism operations in mountainous terrain and used



tactics including surrounding and destroying an enemy using air support for ground operations, non-combatant evacuation operations and air-to-ground precision strikes (Hsiung, 2004).

Since the early 1990s, Russia's perceptions of China's end-use of its technology and equipment have largely dictated the pace and scope of military-technical cooperation. During the height of Russian arms sales to China in the early to middle 2000s, Beijing was an ideal partner for Moscow to buy its outdated systems and to license older generations of defense technology (Hsiung, 2004). Russian deals and military-specialized participation lessened later in the decade due in vast part to worries about Chinese figuring out of cutting edge Russian frameworks. In 2014, the United States (US) and Europe forced and afterward fixed authorizes on Russia following its extension of Crimea. Because of this, Russia has loosened up its restriction to arms exchanges of a portion of its most exceptional frameworks to China and occupied with more broad protection industry collaboration with China (Lu, 2000). Russia's debilitated economy and its developing monetary reliance on China are likely added to this improvement.

China and Russia have maintained high-level military contacts through a number of ongoing bilateral dialogues and international defense cooperation. These contacts provide opportunities for defense officials and officers to facilitate arms packages, prepare combined and joint exercises, and discuss regional and global security concerns. The platforms for advancing military cooperation include the following (Lu, 2000):

- ❖ China-Russia Inter-Governmental Joint Commission on Military Technology Cooperation.
- ❖ China-Russia Staff Headquarters Strategic Consultation.
- ❖ Multilateral Defence Forum.
- ❖ Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).
- ❖ Exchanges between Services.
- ❖ China-Russia Staff Headquarters Strategic Consultation.

The advancement and collaboration in military techniques between both China and Russia can be followed back since the Cold War time frame until present. Both incredible forces show regular

attributes of tyranny, both have as of late persevered through huge social and national changes and both have worldwide interests that show in the Middle East, for example, anchoring imperative geostrategic assets, the two states are aware of their our populaces and to be perceived as an extraordinary power personality both must exhibit impact in the worldwide world (Lu, 2000).

## CONCLUSION

The China-Russian relationship has been constantly extending up to the present day, this has occurred disregarding the way that few of the reasons for reciprocal strain in the past have been convincingly settled, while China's sensational development in monetary and political power has turned into a wellspring of trouble for a considerable lot of its neighbors, including Russia.

In a nutshell, towards military exercises, these two forces are staging increasingly complex military exercises with an expanded geographic reach in strategically main area. Subsequently, both countries are not only just trying to strengthen their force itself, but are seen as a new threat to the country that competes with them. Military technical cooperation also saw significant progress in recent years, highlighted by a major increase in the technical capabilities of Russian arms sales to China, extensive industry partnerships in key defense sectors, and joint production deals and other cooperation are a flavor to proof to world that their strategic partnership between China and Russia have achieved its objective to raise their glorious and great power countries in this era.

Despite zones of pressure and doubt in China-Russia relations since Beijing and Moscow standardized relations in 1989, the two nations' militaries and protection foundations have relentlessly attempted to limit and defeat these distinctions and are presently encountering ostensibly the most astounding time of collaboration. The three noteworthy parts of military to military ties talked about in this report exhibit such a pattern. As far as military activities, the two militaries are arranging progressively complex activities with an extended geographic reach in deliberately essential regions, as of late including another arrangement of activities on rocket safeguard collaboration. Military-specialized collaboration comparably demonstrates huge advancement as of late, featured by a noteworthy uptick in the specialized capacity of Russian arms deals to China, boundless key modern organizations in key protection parts and joint generation bargains and other participation on cutting edge military and double utilize frameworks.

Finally, Chinese and Russian resistance authorities should hold more gatherings at larger amounts in the military organization than they did before, flagging nearer coordination. As Beijing and Moscow progressively share covering interests and keep up a common protection from US initiative in the Asia Pacific, the two nations seem liable to additionally develop resistance relations in the coming years. In the years ahead, we should nearly watch this pattern particularly as the Asia Pacific encounters fast change and China keeps on pursuing its military modernization objectives. Specifically, Russian arms deals to China and military-specialized collaboration could have noteworthy ramifications for the US, testing US air prevalence and presenting issues for US united and accomplice resources in the district.

The China-Russia relationship is important for the benefit of global security concern. In term of both China - Russia view, the cooperation in military strategies between these countries can be enhanced through the following recommendations:

- ❖ Successful in Communication.
- ❖ Recognitions and ideational variables.
- ❖ Balance of intensity and security targets.
- ❖ Counter terrorism initiative.

In term of Malaysia's view, our approach is to build a good relationship with these countries continuously. To add another point, Malaysia takes an active contribution in ASEAN - China Summits and ASEAN - Russia Summits, and at the same time, maintains a good relationship with United States and Western Block countries as follows:

- ❖ To suit with our National Defence Policy to be an independent and sovereign state, we realized that the preservation of our national interest and security is best attained through the pursuit of self-reliance which is the core of defence policy. Due to our geographical location in Southeast Asia, our strategic interests and concerns inevitably coincide not only with those of the other countries in the region, but to the great power countries that may influence us indirectly.
- ❖ Consequence of this, MAF also build a good cooperation with these two forces in term of military exercises. For

example, MAF was joint exercises with Chinese PLA, this exercises began since 2016 under code name Exercise AMAN YOUYI, which focus on HADR operation. Thailand also involves in this exercise. As a result, we can see this participation shows that relationship toward military to military context also had been developed in order to establish mutual support among us. The gist of it, Malaysia also need to improve a capabilities of R&D time to time, especially in term of defence asset, so that we can build our own technology internally. That action must be kicked off immediately even that the outcome will be seen in decade.

Finally, Malaysia should remain a defense policy to build a good momentum of cooperation and relationship toward these countries and our region. It's very important to ensure that our country will be in peaceful and receive benefits and advantages among us.

### **SYNOPSIS**

After three decades of seemingly bilateral crises, the post-Cold War period has witnessed a remarkable renewal and strengthening of China - Russia relations. To many observers, increasing bilateral cooperation seemed to indicate the formation of an anti-hegemonic alliance between two revisionist powers. During the period under study, Beijing and Moscow did indeed cooperate closely on a number of geopolitical questions. This was most evident in 1999 when amid rhetoric about the need to create a new international order to ensure global security stability. Russian Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov approached China with the proposition of forming a 'strategic triangle' which include India with the explicit aim of counterbalancing United States (U.S) hegemony Boris Yeltsin deliberately used the occasion of his last state visit to Beijing for reminding the West that Russia was a nuclear power. At the time, both sides also held military consultations about possible joint responses to American anti-ballistic missile (ABM) plans. Although joint geopolitical opposition to the United States was never again made as explicit in bilateral pronouncements, it continued to form an important dimension of China-Russian cooperation during the 2000. After 2000, the geopolitical dimension of China-Russian relations became more pronounced again. U.S activity in Central Asia became a cause for concern for both China and Russia. In 2001, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was formed as a regional security organization in Central Asia. In July 2005, the SCO issued a statement urging Washington to set up a timetable for withdrawing its troops from Central Asia. Although affirmations by Chinese and

Russian policy-makers abounded that the SCO is not a military bloc, it includes a distinct military component particularly in the form of regular joint military exercises under the SCO. But overall, very little of the rhetoric emanating from Beijing and Moscow about their mutual relations since the end of the Cold War has referred to concrete geostrategic goals.

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## **CHINA SPREADING POWER IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE IMPACT TOWARDS MALAYSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY**

**By LT COL MOHAMMAD RIZZAL BIN MAT SALEH  
ROYAL SIGNAL REGIMENT**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

China has been known growing in the economic sector for the last 30 years. The rise of China as a developing country has affected the structure of the global economy and the impact of multilateral trade relations in the region. This situation engendered a great impact on China's relations with Southeast Asia, especially Malaysia-China relations.

According to The Economist (2011), China was able to develop into a major world economic power by 2018. This is because the situation involves interaction in international relations involving multilateral relations and this in turn will shift the focus of Asian countries towards China as a global economic center, mainly to Southeast Asia and particularly Malaysia.

The development of China's economy began to grow oriented market around 1978 under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) led by Deng Xiaoping. In the first decade around 1979-1990, the development of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of China is around 9.6 per cent (Chow, 2004). While China's economic growth increased further to 10.4 percent in the second and third decade of 1990-2010 (Lin, 2011). Deng Xiaoping emphasized the importance of academics and social scientists to build a reform of the Chinese economy with policies that do not violate the interests of their major strategies (China's Grand Strategy).

Reform of China's economy has developed China as a strong state country with a sustainable industrial sector. Modernization has made to the four main sectors contributing to the expansion of China's economy, namely agriculture, industry, science and technology, and defense (Chow, 2004). China focuses on the development of these four sectors as it is a source of income for China to achieve balanced economic returns. The economic cycle focuses on four sectors that

have propelled China as the focal point of the trade from other countries to get items from these sectors. These developments are also increasing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in China led to the rapidly expanding country's economic growth rate.

The open-door policy of China promotes modernisation since China began to realize that globalization requires China to liberalize its trade door slightly. This is because previously China adopted a policy of closed doors before the economic reforms were carried out. These conditions cause the movement of China's domestic economy towards a cogent condition. Movement of the economic slowdown led to the sustainability of China to achieve the grand strategy the path of trouble. This resulted in moving the reform of China's economic rise until it reaches the GDP in the world's second after the US in 2012 (Morrison, 2014).

### **China Power Projection Capabilities in Southeast Asia**

The rise of China as an important nation in regional and global peaks has become a significant phenomenon over the years. China's leadership described the first two decades of the 21st century as a strategic opportunity for their country's growth. The period is also considered the most appropriate for China to develop a comprehensive power as a strategy that combines elements of national power such as economic capability, military power and diplomatic relations at both domestic and international levels. This is a big role and responsibility for China as a rising powerhouse. Therefore, for the leadership of China today, the success of developing national power is expected to meet its strategic objective of continuing the CCP, maintaining economic development and growth, maintaining domestic political stability, maintaining national sovereignty and regional integrity as well as ensuring status as a powerful nation. According to Zhang, today, "China is a rising giant, China is a threat, China will experience a collapse of the economy and China and the United States will jointly create a G2 system." This shows that with the rapid growth of the economy and the rise of their power as a whole, the world is now beginning to focus more on China.

### **The World Need to Understand and Receiving China as One of the Power of Power**

Since China through the transformation towards becoming a New China country especially with the opening of their country to foreign countries, China has endured various victories including



achieving a promising Gross National Product (GNP) position. This represents China in the world's second largest economy and is a key driver of global economic growth. Nowadays, China, which is set to be one of the world's largest economies, is responsible for asserting responsibility and playing an important role in the international system, particularly in addressing various regional and global issues. However, in fact the status of China as the world's largest developing world remains and their strategic choice to keep the resurrection peacefully remains unchanged. Hence, the challenges and difficulties China will face, including their role at the international levels, are expected to be determined by their own state of affairs based on several factors such as China's status as the largest developing country; China's position as regional power with global influence; And China's desire to rise safely.

### **China's Character as a Country in Largest Building**

Over the past three decades from 1978 to 2012, China's GNP has gone through a tremendous increase. This situation shows that more than 200 million Chinese have survived the poverty line and their living standards have also improved. However, the Chinese government is aware that the success of economic growth should be shared with their 1.3 billion citizens. In addition to having large populations, China is still surrounded by a number of domestic weaknesses such as the weakening of the country's economy, growth and development imbalances in urban and rural areas, also difficult industrial structures including low productivity levels. To this day, the basic situation remains unchanged and China needs to address the social and economic problems that are considered to be among the hardest in the world. In the meantime, China per capita income is still much lower than in the European region. Every year the Chinese government needs to provide employment to more than 25 million of their citizens. According to US Secretary of State Clinton, it is undeniable that China is a rising country and has hundreds of millions of people who have come out of poverty, but there are still hundreds of millions of people living through difficulties in living and lives with a daily cost of just US \$ 1 or less. The Chinese government does not deny Clinton's statement and considers it a reality and fair facts to share. This is because the unbalanced development is still a reality in China and shows that the country is still in a developing world. Meanwhile, the direction of China towards developed countries is considered far and much to be done before their entire citizens can enjoy a better life. In order to realize the modernization of their country, China is expected to take longer.

## **China Increasing Cooperation and Friends with Countries**

China is committed to broadening and enhancing ties with regional countries through the emphasizing on "good neighbors" policy as a sign of friendship, honesty as well as benefiting together, complementing and working together to build regional communities with common goals. At the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) Summit last year, President Xi introduced the Asian Security Concept to promote joint, comprehensive and lasting joint efforts. In this regard, China's measures have shown their good wishes and high hopes to co-operate with regional countries to achieve a win-win progress. In 2013, China together with national leaders and government leaders from 21 Border States agreed to enhance cooperation through various regional cooperation mechanisms such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Boao Forum for Asia and the Sino-ASEAN Cooperation Framework 2 + 7. For the time being, China has also pursued a safe and stable environment in the Asian region and did not allow any instability to occur, including conflicts that could affect their growth.

### **Malaysia-China Relation**

Economic dependence is a new phenomenon in the world today. Therefore, each country will not be able to continue its country sustainability without having economic relations with other countries. In the context of Malaysia's China relations, this economic issue is also a catalyst for good relations between the two countries. In this case, China's rapid economic development will certainly give Malaysia much benefits if this opportunity is best used by the state. Relying on this fact, this paper seeks to see the relations between the two countries after the Cold War ends by looking at economic factors as the main factor that binds to the harmony of relations between the two countries. In addition, economic factors are also identified as catalyst agents to the process of neutralizing Malaysia-China relations.

### **Malaysia-China Diplomatic Relations**

Malaysia-China diplomatic ties began when the former Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak initiated an official visit to Beijing on May 31, 1974 (McDougall, 1997, p.28). The visit is a preliminary step in Malaysia's foreign policy which seeks to implement a favorable policy with the communist nation in line with the current independent policies

adopted by Malaysia. The relationship made Malaysia the first country in the region to establish relations with China.

In the early stages, given that China was a communist state, the relations between the two countries were still inhibited by some issues such as Malaysia's ideological and suspicious factors on China's actions on the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) which are often linked to China's support. In this regard, China is said to provide material assistance to the movement in the country. This situation concern and forced Malaysia to sign the Kuantan Declaration in February 1980 which agreed that Vietnam would be a buffering country to China's expansion policy to the Southeast Asian region (Ramli Dollah, 2003, p. 84). However, this relationship encountered a new rhythm when Li Peng in November 1988 announced the four principles of China-ASEAN relations, firstly, China would adhere to the Five Principles of Security in inter-nation relations; Second, China opposes any form of "hegemonic" in any form and condition; China's third economic relationship with other countries in economic affairs is based on the principle of equality, profit and security together, and fourth, in international affairs, China practices the principle of freedom, mutual respect, cooperation and mutual support between one another (McDougall, 1997, p. 212). Through the announcement, the countries of the region have begun to look at China's foreign policy seeking good relations with Southeast Asian countries.

To this day, Malaysia-China relations are intertwined in all levels and fields involving economic, political, military and cultural. In politics, for example, a meeting between Foreign Ministers of both countries through ASEAN was held from April 1991 until today. In addition, China has also established embassies in Malaysia as well as opening embassies in Kuching for the purpose of strengthening the relations between the two countries. Meanwhile, Malaysia has established embassies in Shanghai, Canton and Hong Kong (Ramli Dollah, 2004, pp. 54-56, 64). To further strengthen this relationship, several visits by leaders of both countries are held. Withal, several agreements, cooperation and Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) have also been signed in various fields. This shows the earnest commitment of the Malaysian government in relation to China.

In the field of military, both countries also showed close cooperation. For example, both countries agreed to set up military attaché in their respective countries in 1995. In like manner, several warships in both countries have been conducted over the last few years. Chinese naval warships People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) for example have visited Malaysia in 1996, 2001 and 2002. In

September 2002, Chinese Defense Minister Chi Haotian stopped in Malaysia and met with his colleague Najib Tun Razak to discuss several issues regarding these two countries. In return for this visit, Malaysia sent the Malaysian troops to China. In August 2002 for example, KD Sri Inderapura owned by the Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN) arrived in Shanghai for a five-day visit. Not so far, since 1993 Malaysia has partnered with Chinese companies to produce weapons for defense (Baviera, 1999). All of this shows that the political and security relations of both countries are at a favorable level. In this regard, both Malaysia and China leaders recognize the harmony that exists between the two countries. Hu Jiantao in 2002 when addressing Malaysian leaders and businessmen stated that "China opposes the strong lording it over the weak and the big bullying small Big countries should respect the interests of the small and medium sized Asian countries, Treat them as equal and act constructively for Asia's stability and prosperity. "He added," China pledged not to seek hegemony, not to join any military bloc and not to pursue its own sphere of influence. "(Xinhuanet, March 20, 2004) this statement provides a clear signal that relations between the two countries are on the right track. September 2003, the former Deputy Prime Minister, Malaysia, Dato 'Seri Abdullah Badawi arrived in Beijing to explain the bilateral relations of both countries. Both countries agreed to make the 2004 Malaysia-China Friendship Year, in line with the 30-year-old Malaysia-China relations (Yow Cheun Hoe, 2004, pp. 181).

Subsequently from 27 to 31 May 2004, the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato 'Seri Abdullah Badawi led a diplomatic and trade delegation to China in conjunction with the 30th anniversary of China-Malaysia relations. During this visit, Abdullah met with Chinese Prime Minister Wen Liabao and discussed several issues that could enhance bilateral ties with emphasis on economic development, creating a stable environment, preserving the Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) especially in the Straits of Malacca and some other issues (Montaperto, 2004). All the states described have shown that both countries showed great commitment in strengthening the relations between the two countries. It also explains that the relations between the two countries are in harmony.

### **Malaysia-China Economic Relations**

In discussing Malaysia-China bilateral ties, key issues raised is related to cooperation in the field of economy. Therefore, it is not surprising that economic issues are an important agenda of the relations between the two countries since the end of the Cold War. In this regard, both countries need one another, especially in terms of

increasing the economic cooperation of both countries. Malaysia needs to run more profitable policy in Malaysia in the economic relations of both countries. China's economic development is seen as a catalyst or engine of growth in the region. Therefore, countries in the region will be able to profit if they are doing a good economic policy with China. On this subject, various fields can be developed such as trading, investment and so on. In addition, good economic relations can also promote the presence of tourists who will benefit the particular industries in the country.

From China's spectacles, it sees that China's economic development has benefited much of Malaysia. Therefore, it is not surprising that in May 2002, Hu Jiantao during his speech at the Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute (ASLI) stated that "China's economic development is impossible without Asia, and prosperity seized by Asia is impossible without China growth China's economy is not a threat, but is a key factor in boosting economic development in the region "(Xinhuanet, March 20, 2004). His statement confirms that in the field of economics, this collaboration is very important for mutual benefits. Malaysia in this regard needs to see that China's willingness to cooperate in the economy is a great blessing to the country even more so with the opportunities that can be developed in the economics of both countries.

After the end of the Cold War, the economic dimensions of the two countries became more and more intense when Malaysia proposed the establishment of the East Asian Economic Group (EAEG) and China's support. The proposed EAEG (later changed to the East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC)) was presented in 1990 in Kuala Lumpur in conjunction with the visit of China PM, Li Peng to Malaysia. This proposal was a response to APEC seen by Malaysia to be dominated by the United States. China, though it will be No. 2 after Japan (something that China does not want) in the proposal to lead the establishment, but it fully supports EAEC's proposed initiatives. This was reflected in the statement by China's president, Yang Shangkun in 1992 stating that the proposed EAEC establishment is a "positive step towards promoting regional cooperation". The same view on this issue has made the economic linkages of both countries improved dramatically as China managed to maintain its economic growth at an impressive level.

Although this proposal fails to be realized as expected, this economic relationship does not cease. This economic relationship began to show its familiarity when in July 1991, China Foreign Minister Qian Qiehen attended the ASEAN Ministers Meeting (AMM)

and China's acceptance as ASEAN's full dialogue partner in July 1996. Additionally, the ASEAN nation also accepted the proposal of Zhu Rong ji towards the establishment of the Free Trade Area (FTA) between ASEAN China. In addition, this cooperation will be extended further through the formation of ASEAN + 3 (China, Japan and South Korea). The establishment of ASEAN + 3 is seen as an effort to revive the concept of EAEC that Malaysia has put forward by using another name.

Following the agreement to establish the Malaysia-China Business Council was signed in Kuala Lumpur in April 2002 during the visit of Hu Jintao, Chinese President to Malaysia. The Council will then function as the main body which will act to intensify the relations between the two countries in terms of human resource development, communication technology, Small and Medium Industries (IKS), tourism, education and so on. The statement of the former Minister of International Trade and Industry of Malaysia (MITI), Dato 'Seri Rafidah Aziz in May 2002 which calls for the relations between the two countries to be able to be developed through a series of cooperation and other agreements is a clear evidence of a good economic relationship between the two countries (Ramli Dollah, 2003).

### **The Impact of Malaysia Foreign Policy towards Relation with China**

National importance factor is the basis of Malaysia in discussing the relations between the two countries in a wider context. In this regard, there are some issues where Malaysia and other countries have some unfinished agenda with China. Economic issues, security issues include issues overlapping claims in the South China Sea, issues of military development, China's issue of transparency in the development of its military, the issue of provocation and Chinese military action over other countries and some other issues are among some examples of how Malaysia and regional countries have a negative perception of China. "In other words," The Andaman China theory "which is often blown away by these countries has its truth based on the issues that occur." The concern about the threat of China is voiced by itself Malaysian military officials who call China as a communist power have a "politically capable of posing a major strategic threat to the region." This is especially so when the development of a Chinese army that is moving from a defensive to an offensive concept (Aeharya, 2002, 200).

## Malaysia-China Cooperation and Malaysian National Interests

The experience of China managing conflicts in the South China Sea especially in Spratly Islands is also the cause of this concern. Past experienced clearly demonstrates that China is capable of doing so. In 1974, for example, Beijing used its military force to seize and deprive the South Vietnamese army of Parcel and invade the island of Robert and drove out the Vietnamese army. In March 1988, the Chinese navy collided with Vietnamese military aid vessels and as a result approximately 72 Vietnamese soldiers died in this clash (Godwin, 1996, p. 89). Furthermore, in 1995, China was also said to provoked provocation activities in the Spratly area by establishing permanent structures resulting in Philippine anger (Ramli Dollah & Ahmad Tajuddin Mohd Said, 2004). This has indirectly violated the ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea in 1992 between China and ASEAN. Not so far, since March 1992, the National People Congress in China passed territorial law over Spratly. It does not directly authorize the PLAN to use force to protect its sovereignty in Spratly (Mohamed Nazri Dashah, 1998, p. 83).

Thus, early post-Cold War, Malaysia was in a state of dilemma dealing with China's demands on areas owned by Malaysia so far in 1992, Malaysian Armed Forces former Chief of Staff, Tan Sri Yaacob Zain stated that "even though we do not have the capability to go to war with China in view of its military strength, we'll try to defend our right as far as we are able to "(Ramli Dollah, 2004a, quoted from Straits Times, March 4, 1992). His statement clearly shows that after the end of the Cold War, the country is still worried about the presence of China in the South China Sea.

Correspondingly, although ASEAN has been working to reduce this pressure through the agreement of the ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea in 1992 and the implementation of the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea in 2002 as well as some other efforts such as joint research, pollution control and China's participation in The South China Sea workshop, however, is all about solving the problems and finding the best solution. The regime is an independent country and was not forced to comply with the agreement. Therefore, these efforts are only able to maintain short-term stalis-quo (Ramli Dollah, 2004). The situation is getting more complicated when China often shows a standard double attitude in maintaining its importance in the archipelago. In May 1992, for example, China gave concessions to Vanguard Bank (Wan 'anBei-Zi) to the United States Crestolle Energy Cooperation Company for the purpose of exploring oil and gas. However, China opposed the Filipino act of concession to

the United States of America in the 1970s, 1980s and 1994 (Ramli Dollah& Ahmad Tajuddin Mohd Said, 2004). This attitude of China if left untouched actually only invokes the conflict in the region.

Due to this ongoing situation, the result was during the visit of Malaysian Foreign Minister, Syed Hamid Albar in May 2000 and current Malaysian Prime Minister, Tun Dr. Mahathir to Beijing in August 2000, a meeting was held with their counterparts in China to discuss this. Both sides agreed that all countries claiming the Spratly Islands should "avoid all involvement and outsider" (East Asian Strategic Review, 2000, p. 213). All of these and some other examples is a clear example of how these countries are saying "China's Threat Theory" which is certainly not a myth or intentionally fabricated by the west. However, all of these issues are being solved by Malaysia through the best solution and mutual zed for mutual benefits. Malaysia's actions do so because Malaysia is aware that Malaysia's national interest exceeds everything. In this regard, Malaysia is aware of the potential of the new giant of the world's economy to be seen as a partner rather than a threat to prevent Malaysia from being isolated from world economic development (Abd Ghani Yunus, 1995, pp. 16-17). So, it is clear that all the assumptions that link China with the threat of either economic or military are being denied harshness for the purpose of the economic interests of the country.

## CONCLUSION

All of these circumstances make it clear that the national interest factor in this economy is very important in determining Malaysia's policy towards China. Therefore, it is not surprising that although there are some issues arising whether in economics or otherwise, Malaysia is not to draw a battle line but still insist that China is an agent and catalyst for the country's economic growth and considers the role of China is very important in the region. However, in spite of this, although economic factors are seen as much contributing to the national interest, it should be noted that Malaysia should also adopt or establish a control mechanism in ensuring that the adverse effects that Malaysia faces in the economy as a result of China's economic development can be reduced for the purpose of the general public interest.



## SYNOPSIS

China is a rising power whose relations with Malaysia are not only to be seen in the context of trade relations but also in the context of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The results of the study found that since China implemented a transformation and open door policy to the outside world in the late 1970s, China achieved a commendable Gross National Product (GNP) which placed it as the world's second-largest economy as well as a major driver of regional and global economic growth. China's retention on the track of peaceful economic recovery is an important transformation step in adapting political economy to suit their interests. China strives to chart history as a powerful power supporter of security, global development, cooperation with other countries, including the win-win situation.

Malaysia-China diplomatic relations have been established since 1974. However, some issues in bilateral relations have shown that China has given a threat to Malaysia especially in drawing a connection between China as a Communist country, China's economic prosperity, China's military strength and Spratly island dispute. In this regard, Malaysia sees China's economic development as an opportunity to develop the Malaysian economy. Thus, this paper finds that although there are some issues that highlight China's threats to the region including Malaysia, economic factors have led to all these issues being neutralized by the Malaysian government to determine the importance of foreign policy to China in good condition in the interests of the country's economy.

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## **AN ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP TUN DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD**

**By LT COL Ir. MOHD SHAHNAZ BIN SANI  
ROYAL ENGINEER REGIMENT**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Guinness World Records has dubbed him as the “Oldest Current Prime Minister”, at the age of 94 years old; Tun Mahathir Mohamad is still going strong! How well do you know our prime minister?

Mahathir bin Mohamad, or Tun Mahathir bin Mohamad originated from Alor Setar, Kedah. Born on December 20, 1925, Tun Mahathir is famously known as a politician that was appointed as the 4<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister of Malaysia. He was in power for 22 years, being elected from 1981 and became the longest Prime Minister that served until 2003. Yet again he became the Prime Minister for the second time in May 2018 as the 7<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister after the 14<sup>th</sup> Malaysia's General Election which has witnessed the winning of the new coalition party known as *Pakatan Harapan* that took over the government from the *Barisan Nasional*.

23 years of leadership surely seems like Tun's magic touch. This paper describes/recounts the life of Malaysian Prime Minister Tun Dr. Mahathir and presents an analysis of Tun's leadership based on the transformational leadership theory model. Mahathir as a leader that represents the majority of races in multiracial Malaysia has introduced many policies, visions, and missions to the Malaysian people and also for the good of the nation.

Tun Mahathir can be regarded as the man behind the rapid development of Malaysia. Ahmad, (2010) mentioned that Mahathir in his leadership era from 1981-2003, is able to control on all aspects of government beliefs, procedures and notions through public campaigns to get all the support from the government leaders as well as the public. His plans were deliberately accepted effectively with the public so to make sure on the implementation will go smoothly. For this reason, he was well known as a Third World leader who is able to

transform Malaysia in his own way through his own effort and motivation in changing Malaysia of becoming into developed nation (Khoo, 1995). Undoubtedly, his leadership has brought Malaysia to where it is today - a developed nation and known in the eyes of the world.

With the skill accuracy of a surgeon, Tun Dr Mahathir traces the historical lines and refines his own role in the development of modern Malaysia based on his leadership. Tun Mahathir's management approach was functioning efficiently as what he expected in leading the organization into the directed path. From here it is acknowledging that leadership is an important factor in changing and manages an organization according to its definition of "alignment, understanding and change" (Sarros & Santora, 2001). Kotter (1999) mentioned that in current 21st century of advancement and competitive environment it is expected that there will be an increase of demand in leadership approach. Therefore, any organization has to accept the shifting environment either internally or externally because an effective leadership as shown by Tun Mahathir is crucial. Tun Mahathir's leadership clearly can be defined as "the ability to persuade others to understand and agree with his requirements and know what and how to do it and in the process of facilitating the people to accomplish the underlying objectives" (Yuki, 2010). These processes require organizational members to have clear direction and accomplish in the organization objectives.

Burns (1978) had introduced transformational leadership concept in his research targeting political leaders subsequently, adapted by many organizations. Transformational leadership styles are precise that leaders are required to use key element that will contributes to the organization's effectiveness.

Tun Mahathir then had introduced The New Economic Policy that will truly transform the people and nation. The policy was focused to encourage Malay to venture in economy with the intention to close the economic gap between ethnics. In 1991 the policy changed into the New Development Policy that gave priority in general economic growth with the intention to eliminate poverty. Undeniably, under Tun Mahathir's leadership, Malaysia has moved forward and prospers economically; this success can be seen through growing industrialised sector which gave the middle-class earner opportunities to fix their source of income, furthermore, increased literacy rates and life expectancies.

A transformational leader has to encourage his followers to perform better than the outline principals in achieving the intended goals through the followers extra effort (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Bass (1985) then expanded Burns's research ideas and developed the theory on transformational leadership and further defined it based on the influenced it gives to the followers. Bass (1985) mentioned that a leader with transformational leadership ability can be seen his achievement through a leader capability to influence the followers and able to categorize new opportunities and assess threats. The followers that are under control by a leader means that the followers have develop trust, respect, faithfulness and admiration for the qualities of the transformational leader who are eager to work harder than anticipated. The characteristics mentioned are true in Tun Mahathir as he is truly a transformational leader where he was able to use the leadership skills effectively besides motivating followers. This component is also an ideal influence, motivating inspiration, an individual's consideration and also stimulating intellectuals.

### **Analysis of Tun Dr Mahathir Leadership**

To become a leader, a person needs a set of behaviours that show he or she is a leader such as trustworthy, coaching and mentoring, inspiring others and many others. A leader will bring its organization as according to the role he plays to achieve the goals of any organization. In addition, many studies have shown culture differences bring certain impact on the effectiveness of leadership that will influence and give motivation to his/her followers. This is because from culture a person will indicate what types of values and belief systems that their follower expected from the leadership processes.

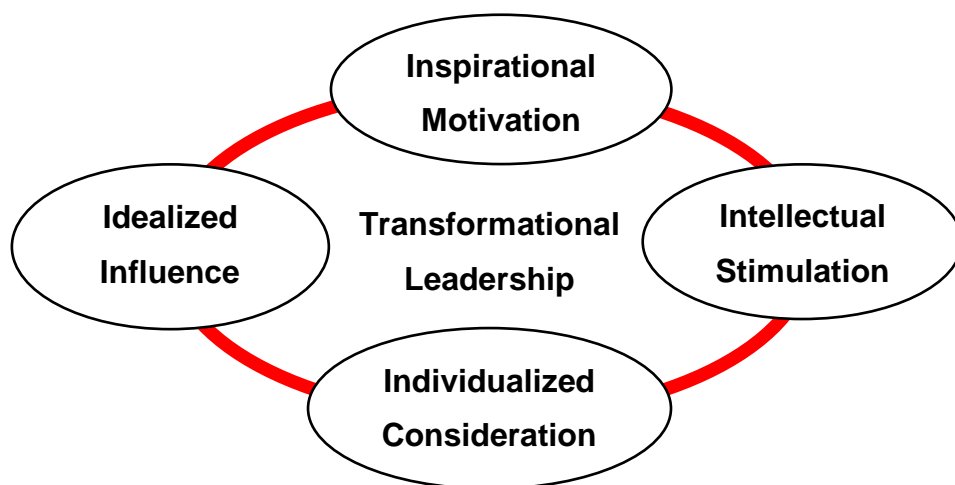
Malaysia leaders for example, have a lot of challenges that they face to overcome and maintain the rapid development changes in Malaysia. The ability to maintain and to continue achievements made by the previous leaders are challenging especially in the context of Malaysia as a nation that is multi-racial. As the 4<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister, Tun Mahathir can be said as a charismatic and equitable leader.

### **Transformational Theory**

Tun Mahathir can be considered as a leader that follows the model of Transformational Leadership Theory Model. Since elected as the 4<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister, he had introduced a lot of new visions in his administration to bring Malaysia to a developed country in order to

compete and stand tall with other nations. Tun Mahathir's Vision 2020 aim is to turn Malaysia into a developed nation and this vision requires Malaysians to fully comprehend what is the Vision and how to achieve it according to strategies outlined. Tun Mahathir is able to transform Malaysia's diversified country from agricultural into industrialised nation. Tun Mahathir is bestowed the title of Father of Modernisation for his success in bringing prosperity to Malaysians.

According to transformational leader model, a leader must be able to stimulate positive potentials to the followers, a potential that their followers believe that their leader able to bring the best of method to prosper the nation. They encourage, authorize and motivate the people to put aside what their beliefs (Oakridge 2015). A Transformational leader normally exercise good communication, in these instances two – way communications is one of the methods that encourages their followers to give feedbacks so that they can react accordingly to what being outlined by the leader (Winchester 2013). **Figure 1** shows the Transformational Leadership Components.



**Figure 1: Transformational Leadership Components**

Nevertheless, leadership theories have identical philosophical foundations that require the leader's capability to encourage people. Followers are inspired through the visions promoted by the leader successfully. In time, it is optimist through the example showed by Tun Mahathir who has influence the people of Malaysia to polish their traits and eliminate weaknesses to follow Tun Mahathir as the Transformational Leader. All of the characteristics of a transformational leader fit Tun's personality.

## **Idealized Influences**

Idealized influence can be said as how transformational leaders implement their way so that it will make their followers to admire their leader as role models (Bass & Riggio, 2006). In addition, transformational leaders that use idealized influences surely will gain self-confidence. They indoctrinate quality in order to motivate the supporters to work proficiently with their own will to achieve organizational mission, vision and objectives. Leadership characteristics in idealized influences are willing to take risks, require followers to set ethics that are higher standards which will then making them appear to be valued, reliable and respected (Bass & Riggio, 2006; Williams, 2013). The followers soon identified their leader and start to follow their paths (Bass & Avolio, 1994; Bass & Riggio, 2006). After sworn into office for a year, Tun Mahathir Mohamad as the 7<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister is nominated and recognized as one of the most influential man in the world. In early January this year, Tun Mahathir was selected as the Muslim Man of the Year by The Muslim 500, and being ranked as the world's 500 most influential Muslims. In April, Mahathir was ranked among the 100 most influential individuals in the world for the year 2019 by international news magazine *Time*. To top it, international portal, *Fortune.com*, ranked Mahathir 47th in its *World's 50 Greatest Leaders* list. The three publications described Mahathir, 93, as an extraordinary man for leading the coalition of (formerly) opposition parties, Pakatan Harapan, to win the 14th general election in May last year and for being re-elected as Malaysia's Prime Minister.

## **Inspirational Motivation**

Inspirational motivation shows how important is the leader to stimulate his supporters by looking into the future as positive and with assurance to reach the outlined goals. Which means that inspirational motivation leader should know how to suggest any form of move that from the supporters' point of view it is indeed attractive and also inspire (Hellriegel & Slocum, 2009). Normally, this type of leader will challenge his followers to accept and have high beliefs so that they will have strong sense of interest in utilizing effort to perform their duties with intention to complete the goals. For example, Tun Mahathir's 'Vision 2020', a vision that Malaysia will become a develop nation by the year 2020 (Gill, Levine & Pitt, 1998). "Mahathir's success in transforming Malaysia from a third world country into a developing country also attracted the West Asian countries to emulate his political leadership. In fact, East Asian countries have also made him an exemplary model in their economic and political

empowerment,” Mahathir is also regarded as a Muslim nationalist who changed Malaysia as an example of a moderate Muslim country for other Muslim world and would always be remembered as a Malaysian leader who had channeled various assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina to rebuild itself after the Balkan country was involved in a war in the 1990s. Mahathir’s success in bringing together both the third world and the developing countries through the Langkawi International Dialogue (LID) consultative council and in becoming the driving force behind the cooperation between those third worlds and the Islamic countries through the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) has made him a highly respected and exceptional leader in the international political arena.

### **Individualized Consideration**

Individualized consideration is another component in transformational leadership. Which means the leader understanding and relationship on personal requirements such as how the leaders feel towards his supporter and the desire to fulfil the supporters needs (Bass & Riggio, 2006; Bass & Avolio, 1994). Transformational leaders that acquire this type of quality will be able to handle the organization basically will make themselves as a good role-model for their followers will perceive them as a mentor. Through individualized consideration surely raise a social connection within their followers and furthermore making them as thoughtful and concern leaders. Yuki (2010) mentioned that leaders with this attitude commonly support and inspire followers in helping them cultivate their professional progression besides increasing their self-assured level in to complete their given responsibilities. Generally, Tun Mahathir is well admired for his charismatic leadership especially when looking at his leadership style on how he communicates. He has this ability to convey and uses powerful rhetorical devices in most of his speeches and this is strengthened because he is also a good speaker. Most of the topics in his discourse contain influential and convincing idea to support his core goal, to help unite the people. Tun Mahathir’s communication skills that is embedded within him which enables him to command and control the administration but also to interact with other leaders from any sorts of organizations or societies which will reflect his power and portray his leadership style.

### **Intellectual Stimulation**

Last but not least, is the element of intellectual stimulation where leader performs to inspire individuals to become innovative and a problem solver. Intellectual stimulation means that the level of



leaders as according to their supporters' minds should be a leader that is creative and innovative in formulated new strategies or perspective according to time (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Therefore, intellectual stimulation requires a good problem-solving skill that is useful for the organization and surely the leader with this ability must be wiser in problem solving. Tun Mahathir can also be regarded as a leader that is able to foresee what is going to happen and anticipated in finding way to resolve. In the ASEAN Summit in Singapore recently Tun Mahathir clearly stated in his statement on Malaysia foreign policy in handling of foreign policy behavior, focus and priorities, all of his statements were referring to an action to protect the country's interests based on the current security ecosystems.

Tun Mahathir understand very well the effects and consequences of external pressure on the international and regional areas of Malaysia, other Southeast Asian countries, and those neighbors in the East Asian region because of his experienced as the longest Prime Minister in office. He always seems to understand what are the pressures that the ASEAN countries need to handle due to international pressure especially in handling the United States-China trade war that very much are affecting East Asian and Southeast Asian security dynamics; Tun Mahathir warned US that such action "will not do anything good to the world". The US current trade practices are seen as imbalanced which is unfair for other states that the US must stop its "neo-colonialist tactic" or overpowering other countries by using economic sanctions. Malaysia and most of the ASEAN states are currently facing uncertainties because of the growing US-China militarization in the South China Sea; Tun Mahathir even informed the US that "the seas around the ASEAN region should be free of big warships.

### **Lessons on Tun Mahathir Leadership**

During the course of his tenure as the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Mahathir had manoeuvred few untraditional moves to drive Malaysia forward to become a modernize nation. There were a lot of quick infrastructure developments and at the same time Malaysia's foreign policy was intended mainly to be the winner in the move to be a developing country by increasing diplomatic affairs, social and economic connection that aimed to protect other countries from being unlawfully treated in the international arena. Tun Mahathir is brave enough to use example and learn from other successful countries such as Japan and Korea. As a transformational leader Tun Mahathir came out with the idea of learning the working ethic and positive attitude policy towards job from Eastern country. The result

clearly indicated how the leaders achieve transformation success from the transformational components of idealized influence and intellectual stimulation as shown by Tun Mahathir. His ability to influence other through idealized influence took place when intellectual stimulation took effect. Leaders that acquire intellectual stimulation aspect of transformational leadership normally are intelligent in managing problem that they are facing (Sarros & Santora, 2001).

To be a good leader as Tun Mahathir requires training for a period of time and through much good and not so good experience. Tun Mahathir is a living example of a leader who had led the organization to learn and implement leadership styles in accordance with highly effective transformation. Leaders must accept changes and ready to acclimatize to the new environment. The leader should use this different strategy when it comes to for a decision in different circumstances. Learning from Tun Mahathir on how to become a leader may help them to better understand on the concept of leadership behaviours, adapting to and capable of using patterns and skills according to different kind of situation that requires decision making as shown through Tun Mahathir examples in his rapid decision making.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Tun Mahathir is identified as a leader that has applied not only one style of leadership but also had applied the autocratic and democratic leadership style according to situation. He had also shown how he was able to control and managed many issues accordingly as proven by the success of his achievement.

Tun Mahathir has definitely exemplify that to become a leader one should have a desire to be a leader then only he/she will succeed to become a true leader. Knowledge is essential to become a leader as without knowledge leader will lead his follower into confusion. From the knowledge acquired by a leader, it will then impart to the follower; a vision that has clear direction. Therefore, a good leader must always show good characteristics and a strong leadership skill. Tun Mahathir, knowledgeable and political power that could not be disregarded for long; he resumed to Parliament in 2018, and become the Prime Minister of Malaysia for the second time. What an amazing character. Tun Dr Mahathir indeed has established a reputation as a Malay nationalist and become one of the prominent ASEAN leaders in twentieth century.

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## **CYBER THREATS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA REGION**

**By LT COL SHARIZAT BIN AHMAD NAWAWI**  
**ROYAL SIGNAL REGIMENT**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

In general, globalization has sparked a revolution that led to a change in the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) field. Application and usage of ICT changes according to user requirement as well with the development of 5G technologies and the Industrial Revolution 4.0. Peoples use ICT infrastructure on a daily basis for business, social or going on with their ordinary life. Internet of thing (IOT) in cyber domain has become a meeting place, with peoples use cyberspace to communicate and carry out their daily tasks. However, each person has their own definitions of cyber and cyberspace. Speedy growth of internet technology opened the door for individuals to exploit the internet. Internet users all over the world have succumbed to cyber incidents. Thus, there are still questions and issues with regards to cyber. It is essential to have a full understanding of different views in discussing cyber and the way forward in dealing with it. Cyber security is one of the issues discussed in the internet community nowadays. In South East Asia perspective, analysis has been made to look at the degree of regional effort to overcome cyber incidents that involve worldwide cooperation and compensate for national measures. The effort by the regional and international organization in trying to embrace a complete and wide-ranging of techniques in cyber security has been moderate and divided. This has caused a threat to cyber security in the region and declining the best work of the ICT sectors.

Merriam-Webster defined cyber is a relation or something involving computer or computer networks. International Telecommunication Union (ITU) defined cyber security as the accumulation of devices, security ideas, arrangements, security protections, rules, hazard administration approaches, activities, preparing, best practices, certification, and innovations that can be utilized to ensure the digital environment and association for the benefit of the organization and the user. The common aim of this security approach is to maintain the genuine information with regards to the confidentiality, integrity, and the availability. The most important

aspect of cyber security is to ensure the survivability of the networks against cyber-attacks that try to interrupt, suspend or destroy computer systems, and cyber exploits that attempt to obtain data secretly from the network system. These attacks can take various distinctive structures, and new instruments for digital interruption are always being created.

### **Information and Communications Technology in ASEAN**

Some of the state members of The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have made the region a hastily developing area in ICT. However, this achievement has triggered the ASEAN members exposed to cyber threats. FireEye, a network security company found that a hacking group called Advanced Persistent Threat (APT) had access to critical informational infrastructure in some of the countries. Most of the ASEAN countries have a different view from each other in term of cyber security policies and capabilities. They are also most probably not effective in handling cyberattacks due to the lack of comprehensive approaches to the threats. Hence, they are incapable of fighting against cyberattacks. The differences are most probably because of the politically disconnected nature of ASEAN, which has spent the greater part of its about 50-year history working fundamentally as a combined economic institution and regional dialogue. South East Asia is a noteworthy region as far as universal cyber security issues are concerned. Its centrality in the more broad area of the Asia-Pacific and, as a neutrality implies, indicate that ASEAN has a vital part to play in worldwide cyber security support, especially with regard to relations between the United States and China.

The number of people with accessibility to ICT is expected to rise although many still do not have access to it. The population growth rate in ASEAN is estimated to be higher as compared to other Asia countries, which in turn should increase the probability of an increase in demand for ICT. The year 2015 denoted the foundation of the ASEAN Community, including the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) and ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). ICT has assumed a basic part in supporting regional integration and network endeavours. Territorial focuses for ASEAN are laid down for "exponential increase" in the implementation of ICT. Thus, some of the states' plans to build up the network and human capital that required in accomplishing these targets, in particular, the critical infrastructure's protection.

## **Cyber Threats**

Threats from cyber-related domain are making progressively real dangers for national and global security. The United States intelligence considers the cyber-attack as number one in their list, in front of terrorism, transnational organized crime, and the proliferation of Weapon of Mass Destructions (WMDs). Some people consider that cyber threats are only an idea, while some have contended that cyber-attacks are an intense matter and viewed as a risk to national security. However, many people are not aware of the consequence of cyber attacks. Some successful incidents concerning cyber-attacks have happened before. Attack on the structure of system files at George Mason University was evaluated to be effective and penetrated more than 100 separate networks. The emergent of an underground group for cybercrime implies that no specialized abilities needed to carry out cybercrime. The business of creating and selling malicious code has emerged to be an industry with more sophisticated, targeted software specific for a certain networks or systems.

## **Cyber Security Vulnerabilities**

ASEAN's political strength and their obligation to open market trades have made the region a financial powerhouse. But, this quality comes with greater cause, making ASEAN region exposed against cyber security threats. With the billions of dollars spent on ASEAN economy, it is becoming more obvious that the region will be a beneficial target to hackers and other cyber criminals. Because of that, ASEAN member countries lost over \$240 million to cyber security violation in 2014. In Malaysia, it was reported that 30 people fell into cybercrime traps daily with a total loss of nearly RM900 million between 2007 until 2012. Cybercrime activities also affected Indonesia and Singapore. Indonesia losses about RM2.7 billion annually, while the latter had the highest per capita losses at RM1, 158 million to cybercrime activities. Developing countries like Vietnam and Cambodia face a lot of problems with software piracy. Software piracy is a standard origin of malware attack, an issue that costs generally \$10.8 million in costs on a yearly basis. In more developed countries, scammers through email and hacking are more severe security issues since these scammers in particularly in Thailand, Philippines, and Indonesia, have all focused on overseas financial institution and targeted personnel.

ASEAN's critical infrastructure is the objective of years of hacking operation by APT. It is believed that APT is a highly trained hackers composed to get data about the ASEAN region geopolitical posture. ASEAN member countries were apparently not aware of such operation until the operation was revealed later. A company called Mandiant has released a report titled "*Exposing One of China's Cyber Espionage Units*" which describes in detail the modus operandi of China's cyber unit with regards to APT. APT programmers made more than 200 variants of malware intended to take information linked to regional political, economic, and military issues. Therefore, unlike other cybercriminals who look to exploit the financial gain, APT programmers are more concerned on getting primary data for political interest.

The cyber security capabilities amongst ASEAN member countries are divided, creating an open door for cyber-attack or cybercrime. Singapore and Malaysia are the two countries that have strong national cyber security agencies, while other ASEAN countries are not properly equipped with their own Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT). It has come into agreement in ASEAN-Japan and ASEAN-China Network Security summits, and its ICT Master plans outline a guide to facilitate computer emergency responses, while ASEAN Conventions start to develop a legal procedure on security issues.

## Challenges

There is a possibility that greater, bigger and faster connectivity can cause transnational crime and over the border cyber threats. Albeit the difficulties in getting the statistics, the report made by UN Office on Drugs and Crime titled "*Comprehensive Study on Cybercrime*" stated that cybercrime is a developing test and assumed that the "expanding pervasiveness of worldwide availability displays a genuine danger that rates of cybercrime will increment." The lack of authority and coordination of legal procedures in all ASEAN countries and organizations believed to be among the main causes of the weakness. This may be due to the spirit of "ASEAN Way" which became the basis of agreement by the alliance. The "ASEAN Way" is a concept in which a decision must be made through the consensus of all the member states. "ASEAN Way" is the best example to show regional countries' commitment on the cooperation. But, this has led to the ASEAN countries have not been able to produce a quick response and effective way to rapidly changing geopolitical environment. To mitigate the issues, ASEAN has introduced a few initiatives such as e-ASEAN Declaration on Transnational Crime, and



the 2003 Conference on Telecommunications and Information Technology. However, slow legal process in considering the requirement of a well-built, integrated cyber security and ICT development, confined the details and implementation of these initiative.

It is a sensitive issue when discussing about the sovereignty of a country. A few ASEAN countries are taking more careful steps with regards to giving up some of their power to a certain organization that handles the cyber issue. For instance, the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC) was established to supervise the execution of the 1997 Declaration on Transnational Crime. In any case, the AMMTC needs consistence method that can confine individual member states from revising their national law and policy in order to effectively define transnational crime. AMMTC requires coordination that is essential in handling transnational and cybercrime. ASEANAPOL and ASEAN drug officers, both are taking different instruction from AMMTC that are lackof communication with each other. It is even harder to communicate and work together with the national police and other security agencies. The 2004 ASEAN Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty in Criminal Matters excluded exporting a criminal to other countries for any crimes committed. Surely, the problems between AMMTC and Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty indicate that there are still issues over sovereignty between ASEAN countries that are not an easy task to be performed by consensus-based organization. Difficulties in implying a successful cyber security practice and policy is solely depending on the ASEAN decision making process. Each country must work together for the mutual benefit. Cooperation requires policy changes that are sometimes involving the constitution and sovereignty of a country. In ASEAN, each country has their own set of law and order, and policy strategies which maybe differ from other countries.

The asymmetry environment exists due to the dependence of certain ASEAN countries on the implementation of laws and regulations but lack of the necessary compliance mechanisms. The expansion of cybercrime is a risk to a worldwide financial centre like Singapore. For this situation, Singapore's administration might be amazingly opened to the establishment of more grounded wrong doing laws and expanding police ability to react to digital assaults. In the mean time, other country like Myanmar confronts an alternate kind of cyber security danger and distinctive legislative mentalities toward alliance strategy. Cybercrime is certainly an issue in Myanmar, however for a country battling with other basic infrastructure and the development of ICT services; it is anything but difficult to envision

how upgrading police capacity and passing cybercrime laws are of a lesser priority than they are in Singapore.

### **Recommendation**

Based on the challenges faced by ASEAN in dealing with cyber threats, ASEAN needs to implement preventive measures and produce a comprehensive action plan. First and foremost, all ASEAN members have to agree with one clear objective about the direction of cyber security in the ASEAN. ASEAN member states should acknowledge the need for cyber security framework to enhance collaboration and cooperation in the dealing with cyber threats. As ASEAN moves through consensus of all the member states; it is important for all member states to understand the impact of cyber threats to the ASEAN countries, especially in the fields of economy and security of critical infrastructure. ASEAN must identify, develop and come out with the best practice of guidelines and policies in cyber security and network security in ASEAN. The guidelines and policies must include other infrastructures such as virtual private network (VPN) and cloud computing. AIM 2020 can be the best platform to drive the need for cyber security policy framework, but it is lack of coordination in one single administration party. Meaning that, ASEAN should have a central department that looks after, coordinate, manage and administrate all cyber security matters and issues at ASEAN level. At the moment, ASEAN structural organisation only has an information technology systems division without having much effort to focus on cyber security. There should be a cyber security department under the ASEAN Secretariat that coordinates cyber security to provide more efficient coordination of ASEAN cyber security issues with an effective implementation of ASEAN cyber security policies and guidelines.

ASEAN should create a cyber-legal framework that could be adopted by all ASEAN members to address transnational cybercrime. ASEAN Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty in Criminal Matters is the legal treaty that should encompass on exporting a criminal from one ASEAN country to another country for any crimes committed, especially a cybercrime act. ASEAN should have a cybercrime and cyber security laws in accordance with ASEAN member states' national interest and national conditions. The legal framework must also refer to other relevant instruments with the recommendations and guidelines to prevent, mitigate, detect, and reduce cybercrime. With the borderless world of ICT and the Internet, it is very difficult for ASEAN member states to produce and implement such legal framework, but with the spirit of ASEAN, member states should

acknowledge the fact that it is necessary for ASEAN to have a comprehensive and agreeable legal solution in cybercrime. The legal action should be coordinated and managed by ASENAPOL as the leading ASEAN Secretariat in communicating and coordinating mechanism in law enforcement and crime control.

In the battle against cyber threats, what is important to ASEAN member states is to acknowledge and identify the common cyber threats by all the states, especially in the national critical infrastructure. A research should be conducted and produces a report to identify the threats and vulnerabilities that might affect the national interest especially in economy and defence. The threats can be either natural threats, human threats or technical incident threats. These threats are so vital to be identified so that it can be prevented, mitigated and managed at the strategic level. Despite the fact that asymmetry is an issue for ASEAN, it additionally opens up the doors for information sharing opportunities amongst the members. ASEAN member states should develop cyber security initiatives and ICT policy that open up to a series of workshops, seminars, and conferences for the ICT professionals in the region. This is the best platform for learning and information sharing among ASEAN countries towards enhancing cyber security in ASEAN and encouraging private-public collaboration to share best cyber security approach. Singapore serves as a model for its member states to follow, and ASEAN capacity building exercise is the main open door for these professionals to thrive.

Next, ASEAN cyber security policy can be achieved through security cooperation as agreed in the Singapore Declaration. The declaration emphasises the steps in the establishment of the ASEAN Information Infrastructure for the purpose of interoperability, interconnectivity, security and integrity. In accordance with the agreement between the Ministers of Telecommunications and ICT, it has come to an agreement that it may become necessary for all the ASEAN member countries to develop and operate an ASEAN Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT). It is important for each country to establish their own CERT's team role as the first layer of defence to the computer network and system. The statement made by the member of the ARF ASEAN clearly demonstrates that all parties agreed in dealing with this problem. It is also an indication that ASEAN is now looking seriously into this matter.

As cyber threats in ASEAN countries could affect regional economy, it is important for ASEAN to unite and together in finding the best solution to this issue. Comprehensive security measures

must be conducted to enhance the potential for economic growth and to boost data protection, ensuring security and building the trust in e-commerce and e-governance in Southeast Asia. In ensuring ASEAN to have a strong trust in each other, ASEAN needs to have a Confidence Building Measures (CBM) among ASEAN member states. CBM is the best approach in strengthening the trust in ASEAN cyber security as well as to eliminate the causes of feeling fear, mistrust, misunderstanding and misconduct of cyber security. One way to increase the capacity of ASEANCERT in dealing with cyber threats is by organising joint exercises. In continuing the cooperation in the battle against cyber crime, each member states is obligated to conduct a bilateral or multilateral exercises designed for upgrading confidence among various ASEANCERT. These joint exercises can be used as a platform to identify potential threats and vulnerabilities present in ASEAN cyber environment. The exercise can assess how ASEANCERT handle and report cyber incidents as well as solving more technical forensic issue in cyber. The scenario of the exercise can cover a wide range of cyber threat spectrum; from a simple web defacement threat to a more complicated APT threat in critical information infrastructure.

Last but not least, ASEAN should come out with one cyber theme to promote awareness and unity among ASEAN member states in cyber security. The purpose of the theme is for ASEAN to work harmoniously to achieve a common goal. By having a theme, or an acceptable slogan or tagline, it will enhance morale of the experts in handling cyber issues in ASEAN. This is also a good opportunity to create an awareness campaign for ASEAN member states to realize the importance of collaborations in combating cyber security.

## CONCLUSION

There is still much work to be done by the ASEAN countries in facing cyber threats. High commitment and support of all members is needed to realize the initiatives that have been discussed. No countries can work in silo in solving every cyber-attack without imposing greater effect. Everyone needs to come out with the best approach to address cyber threats effectively, which is to create coordination, cooperation and communication across the board among all relevant agencies. All parties facing the same cyber threats and cooperation is a very important in order to protect the countries critical asset. A significant difference in the provision of infrastructure and ICT facilities among ASEAN countries is also a cause and an obstacle to ICT development in the ASEAN region. ASEAN countries should unite and help each other in the development of ICT in order

to reduce cyber threats and the vulnerabilities that may endanger the national interest.

In addition, the differences in the definition of cyber threats among ASEAN countries also shows that ASEAN countries still do not agreed on a comprehensive deal with cyber threats. Each country is putting their national interest as the first priority in discussing cyberspace in their respective countries. Given that cyberspace does not have borders, sovereignty issues often become hot issue which is often debated by the ASEAN countries. Each members has to make a commitment in developing ICT infrastructure in accordance with the vision of the AIM 2020. Policies supported by the working group are established to help enhancing the ICT development in the region.

Facilities that are available in every country should be integrated and coordinated with information sharing on cyber threats. Knowledge sharing between countries in the region can be major deterrent in dealing with cyber threats. Cyber-attacks can happen anywhere and at any time. History has also shown that the effects of cyber-attacks can have a major impact on the country. The possibility of a coordinated cyber-attack that will happen is very high. Readiness and continued awareness by ASEAN member states are important in the face of challenges that will come in the future.

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## **PEMENANG ARTIKEL TERBAIK SOROTAN DARAT EDISI 74/2019 DAN 75/2019**

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### **Pemenang Artikel Terbaik Sorotan Darat Edisi June Siri 74/2019**



#### **Artikel Terbaik**

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Brig Gen Dato' Md Rahim bin Hj Mohamad, RIC



#### **Artikel Kedua Terbaik**

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

Maj Khairil Azwan bin Abdul Rahim, RMR



#### **Artikel Ketiga Terbaik**

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

Capt Mohd Nazri bin Saad, RMR

### **Pemenang Artikel Terbaik Sorotan Darat Edisi Disember Siri 75/2019**



#### **Artikel Terbaik**

#### **AN ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP TUN DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD**

Lt Col Ir Mohd Shahnaz bin Sani, RER



#### **Artikel Kedua Terbaik**

#### **CYBER THREATS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA REGION**

Lt Col Sharizat bin Ahmad Nawawi, RSR



#### **Artikel Ketiga Terbaik**

#### **HUMAN SECURITY IN A UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS**

Lt Col G Gobalakrishna S. Govindasamy, RAC



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- ❖ Flyod, K. (2009). *Interpersonal Communication: The Whole Story*. New York: McGraw-Hill
- ❖ Mohd Radzi & Jusang Bolong. (2015). Komunikasi Pemimpin. *Jurnal Komunikasi Malaysia* , 45 (3), 89 -102
- ❖ Risyu Zu. (12 Feb 2014). Etos Kepahlawanan Tentera Darat. *Utusan Malaysia* , ms 9
- ❖ Rozman Malakan, (2011). Pembentukan jati diri insan. [http:// www.open subscribe. com/ worldlibrary /teks /7.html](http://www.open.subscribe.com/worldlibrary/teks/7.html). Capaian pada 30 Mei 2016

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- ❖ Setiap artikel mestilah dimajukan bersama sekeping gambar penulis bersaiz passport.
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**PERINGATAN: SEMUA ARTIKEL ADALAH HASIL PEMIKIRAN DAN IDEA YANG TULEN.**



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