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THE MALAYSIAN GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS IN MANAGING MILITARY AND DEFENCE DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

"A people without walls are a people without choice (Aristotle)"¹

The government's willingness to put aside a vast amount of money for defense and paying attention to the process of modernizing Malaysia's armed forces shows just how determined the government is at caring, ensuring and defending the safety and sovereignty of the nation. It is also a testament to the commitment of our leaders in implementing the responsibility in order to fulfill what is required by the people which assurance of security. The peace and stability which have been consistent since 1957 up to now is a prof that the development aspect of the defense and security system of the nation has never been disregarded by the government. Efforts and developments of Malavsia's military eventhough information regarding data and defense utilities of every nation is available in report published every year in the SIPRI Yearbook and The Military Balace published every year by Oxford University Press as well a report from International institute of Strategic Studies, London, this information has no informal or formal way of getting to the people thus causing the people to question the efforts being taken by the government. There fore the question that is being raised currently is what are the effort which have been taken by the government in the development of military and defense in order to guarantee national safety? The development of Malaysia's military has also risen some concern over the involvement of the nation with the weapons race. In which case the questions would be is Malaysia involved in the weapons race and if so what is the objective for the government to further develop and modernize its military forces?

Keywords: Defence Management, Defence Development, Malaysia

1.0 Introduction

Between the era of 1950's and 1960's, most of the nations in the Southeast Asian (SA) region were born into independence. This has greatly influence the nation in SA to further develop the military as well as its defenses in line with the need for defense and national security in order to ensure economic stability. This development indirectly affects Malaysia as well, as a nation that actively has taken steps towards developing and enhancing its military and national defense.

¹ Cited from Saiful Anwar Md. Ali (2004) Kuasa tentera dan keberkesanannya (The Military Power and Its Effectiveness). *Perajurit*. Mac. page 53

The reality of the situation is that Malaysia has never been a nation that has leaned towards military force, but this does not however mean that Malaysia has been neglecting the military and defense development. As a matter of fact military development has always moved side by side with other aspects of the nation's growth. The process of developing Malaysia's military however, needs a military developing strategy which can have optimum impact or the maximum effect to the security as well as the nation's defense by utilizing minimal cost. Dato Sri Najib Tun Razak who was the Minister of Defense in 2002 once said that:-

"The need for national security is like a house that needs to be fenced. Based on the owner, there are fences made out of wood or barbed wires. The owner that has the ability to go further, would look to strengthen the fence with stones and by placing safety guards. An even more able owner would add other safety features such as an alarm monitoring system.... It is because of that, Malaysia needs to spend in order to complete its defense system while saying that the ability to defend one's self is measured through the economic ability of the nation. If the economy is weak then Malaysia's Armed Forces will not be able to defend the nation. (Dato Sri Najib Tun Razak 2002.)"²

Efforts and developments of Malaysia's military eventhough information regarding data and defense utilities of every nation is available in report published every year in the SIPRI Yearbook and The Military Balace published every year by Oxford University Press as well a report from International institute of Strategic Studies, London, this information has no informal or formal way of getting to the people thus causing the people to question the efforts being taken by the government. There fore the question that is being raised currently is what are the effort which have been taken by the government in the development of military and defense in order to guarantee national safety?The development of Malaysia's military has also risen some concern over the involvement of the nation with the weapons race. In which case the questions would be is Malaysia involved in the weapons race and if so what is the objective for the government to further develop and modernize its military forces?

1.1 Security Threat on Malaysia During the Cold War.

The Southeast Asia (SA) region has emerge as a region that is strategic for efforts of widening the influence of two main world powers through two different ideologies which are "International Communism" and "Free World" after the Second World War (1945)³. The competition between The United States (US) and Soviet Union (SU) has placed the region open to instability as well threats of conflict and war. The First Vietnam war (1945-1954) and the Second Vietnam War (1965-1975) has become over the years a measuring scale to the threat of instability of the nations in SA as well as the region as a whole which evidently includes Malaysia. The threat of this expansion of ideologies as well as the frail relationship among the nations in SA has caused the region to be open to security threats⁴. Malaysia who has achieved independence since 1957 also faces the threat from within and outside of the SA region. The internal threat from the region is influenced by a two way misunderstanding which was multilateral in form. This two misunderstanding is mainly focused on the problems between nations which included territorial and border issues as well as separatist movements.

For example, the crisis between Malaysia and the Philippines is caused from a territorial dispute for the rights over Sabah. Philippines claimed the rights over Sabah which caused tension among the two nations. This problem continued to grew serious when the Philippines government accused the Malaysian government in assisting Islamic Separatist group Moro in East Philippines. Malaysia has also had problems and tension with Thailand which came from Thailand's accusations that related Malaysia's involvement in the Patani Islamic Separatist group in East Thailand which was also associated the state government of Kelantan. Malaysia has also had problems with Singapore regarding racial issue which brought government actions in which Singapore was seen leaving the Malaysian Federation⁵. While President Sukarno's idea to establish the idea of Malay Kingdom (Gagasan Melayu Raya) has placed Malaysia and Singapore under immense pressure and concern over their safety and security as well as national threats from Indonesia. The Malaysia-Indonesia confrontation reached its climax in the strained relationship of both governments in 1965 when Indonesia took military actions against Malaysia. Other than that, during the Post Cold War era, Malaysia also had problems with big power interventions on the SA region.

² Hamdan Hj Abu (2002). Asas Dasar Pertahanan Malaysia abad ke 21, Perseimbangan pertahanan ekonomi dan politik (The Fundamental of Malaysian Defence Policy in 21st: The Equilibrium of Economics Defense and Politics) . *Perajurit*. August 2002. page 5

³ K.S Nathan (2008). Malaysia and International Security: Role,Commitments, issues and Challenges. Pembentangan Kertas Kerja. Engaging Malaysian Modernity 50 Years and Beyond. The 6th International Malaysian Studies Conference.Kuching:Crowne Plaza Riverside Hotel.5-7 August. page 9

⁴ Mohammed Ayoob (1995).Op.cit. page 5

⁵ K.S Nathan (2008).Op.cit. page 2

The growing influence of Communist brought to the emergence of a proxy war by super powers of the world in The First Vietnam War (1945-1954) and also the Second Vietnam War (1965-1975). The involvement of US and SU in the Vietnam war indirectly threatened the safety of other nations in SA including Malaysia. This is because due to the problem of communist threats spreading into other nations in SA including Malaysia who had to face the threat of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP). This threats has caused the nations in SA to generate a plan or strategy for defending in order to ensure and guarantee security. The development of internal and external threats from the region has directly influenced Malaysia to implement its defense strategy. In line with Malaysia adolescent age who have just gotten their independence in 1957, national defense is still weak in which it has influenced Malaysia to take the approach of depending on a larger force in ensuring its own safety. Thus on Octber 12th 1957, a security treaty named the Anglo Malayan Defence Arrangement (AMDA) was established with the cooperation of Britain in order to ensure Malaysia's safety and security can be protected from external threats. This dependency on a bigger power strategy were also implemented by a few other nations in SA such as the involvement of Thailand and Philippines in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)⁶.

However AMDA failed because Britain decided to limit its involvement in security matters of nations in SA in 1967 when Britain itself began to have security threats as well as problems in the Suez Straits. Despite this, Malaysia remained committed with the strategy of depending on a bigger nation where this commitment saw Malaysia in 1971 it implemented another strategy with the same approach known as the Five Power Defence Arrangement (FDPA) which was established in the same year⁷. IN facing this threat, Malaysia also implemented a strategy in defending its own security through the cooperation between nations in the same region through other establishments such as ASEAN in 1967. Establishing ASEAN although seemed on the surface focused more on economic cooperation in the region, however its main objective is the peace and political stability between nations in SEA. Through ASEAN, treaties and agreements such as Zone of Peace Freedom and Neutrality (ZODFAN, Non Interferences and Constructive Engagements, Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) are only some of the channels which Malaysia has utilized in facing threats towards its safety during the Cold War Era⁸.

1.2 Malaysia's Security Threat After the Cold War.

The fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, has influenced aspects of security threats in the international geopolitical scene. The end of the competition between US and SU also was seen as the main aspect that brought to stability and peace to the international system. This development asl influence the definition of dimension for security which was not only seen as being influenced by traditional issues, but actually issues of security is also related with non traditional issues also known as new security issues such as economy, nature, humanity and such. This development also began to grow to other nations and countries in the SA. Security threat towards the nations in SA specifically Malysia does not come from within the region alone, but also involving a much larger dimension which includes threat coming from outside the region as well as international threat. Security threats towards Malaysia after the Cold War can be divided into three levels (refer to diagram) which are threats from close proximity nations, threats from other Asian regions and international threats.

According Zakaria Haji Ahmad (1987), the threats towards Malaysia that exists from nations close can be identified to come from Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore. Eventhough at this time currently, the relationship with these three nations remains positive and well, it does not however means that there are no threats from these nations. This is in line with the realist perspective which explaines the struggles for power is the nature to a nation and war is something inevitable or unavoidable⁹. This has influenced Malaysia's perception in taking the approach of paaying attention to the development of its defense. According to Hamzah Dollah (2006), threat factors which exists from within the region has influenced the government to further develop its military forces. The development of political instability of other nations in the region has pushed Malaysia to further assess and evaluate the defense system of its own nation and the military that it owns.

⁶ K.S. Nathan (1984). Law and politics in the Vietnam conflict: An appraisal of the Geneva accords (1954) and Paris Agreements (1973). In Muhammad Abu Bakar, Amarjit Kaur dan Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali (Eds). *Historia esei-esei memperingati ulang tahun ke-25 Jabatan Sejarah Universiti Malaya (The historical essays for commemorate the 25th anniversary of the history department University of Malaya)*. Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysia History Society. page 132

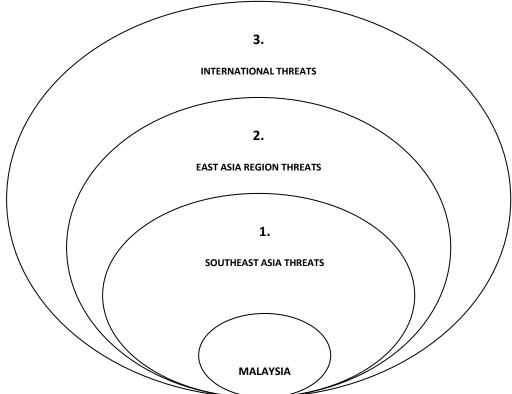
⁷ Abdul Razak Baginda (1992). Five Power Defence Arrangement: Two Decades and Beyond. *Journal of Strategik Studies and International Relations*. Vol.1 (1). February. pages 47-66

⁸ Zakaria Haji Ahmad (1987). Asian-Pacific Security Into The Twenty-First Century: Political, Economy and Social Trends. *Asian Defence Journal*. August. pages 14-22

⁹ Ibid.

This is because it gives a large impact specifically regarding the threats towards national security¹⁰. This matter is also included in National Defence Policy which states:-

"Overall, the Asia Pacific region and its surroundings gives an image of peace which is growing better, eventhough there still exists places where tension still available and is still growing.... the regional territory which is considered important to Malaysia includes SA, including the Andaman Islands and South China Sea. Malaysia views any development in this region (SA) will also affect the safety and its development."¹¹





Eventhough Indonesia does not take any violent approach or threat actions towards Malaysia after the Cold War ended, however, the confrontation history in 1965 is a history which is still taken into consideration in issues of Malaysia security in the future. As a matter of fact, the internal political instability of Indonesia has and can affect Malaysia or become a security threat to Malaysia at any time. The same situation and perspective also applies to Thailand, the political instability in the east province of its nation is a problems that has the ability to bring about national tension between Malaysia and Thailand in which it has long dragged since the end of the Cold War. While the threat from Singapore on the other hand, despite never taking military or violent actions against Malaysia, however other diplomatic issues which has remained unresolved still looms such as water issues, borders, right and such could bring tension between these two nations. Singapore's military development has been rapid since the year 1965 up to the extent that Malaysia considers it one of the best nations in terms of military aspects in the SA region¹².

The threats towards the SA region and Malaysia post Cold War Era has grown bigger due to inclusion of other political instabilities from regions at close proximity to SA such as East Asia and South Asia which is seen as a security threat towards SA. Threats towards SA's security indirectly threatens the safety of nations in the region. China's actions in developing its Navy Defence System since the 1990's as well as demanding the rights over its territories in the South China Sea is an example of threat issues which has the ability to threaten Malaysia's and SA's security. China's demands on the Spratly Islands since 1992 as well as its actions which included using gunboat diplomacy in its demands proves that it is a threat which needs to be handled by 6 nations which includes Malaysia¹³.

¹⁰ Hamzah Dollah, Pembangunan Pertahanan Menyeluruh Malaysia-Satu pendekatan menyeluruh (The Malaysian Total defense Development: A Comprehensive Approach), *Perajurit*, December 2006.pages 48-51

¹¹ Pertahanan Malaysia: Ke Arah Pertahanan Yang Berdikari (Malaysian Defense: Towards Self-Defense). Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Pertahanan. page 15 dan 21

¹² Op.cit.

¹³ K.S Balakrishnan (1999). China and The Philippines' Imbroglio. Asian Defence and Diplomacy. Vol.6 (6). June. hlm 48-50

"Except for Brunei, all the sides which have claimed to place its military personnels in some islands in some of the area (Spratley Islands). The steps of demands towards the resources in the island and sea policies based on the island and Exclusive Economic Zones can be cause for concern regarding a big change in the geo-political situation in the South China Sea as well as a change in trade and shipment movement. The incident on Mischief Island in early 1995 projects the concern over the issue (threat)."¹⁴

Other than that, other conflicts in the region of East Asia and South Asia such as the conflicts between China and Taiwan, China and Japan, North and South Korea, China and India, India and Pakistan and such is a scenario that reflects military violence threat which can explode at any moemnt. This means that any conflict which includes military violence that happens, it will also be a threat to the national security of Malaysia as well as SA's security. This matter is further worsened , with the intervention of super power US and Russia that definitly has benefits in the region can also increase the level of security threats¹⁵. Eventhough this issue does not gain the attention of Malaysians seeing the perception towards the traditional threat has been less and less talked about. However Md Zaki Md Zain menetions:-

"The implicataion of the challenges from these scenario (security threat) provides a strong excuse for a moment of consideration because the future of the 21st century will be more challenging with the rapid change and the forms of the challenges thaat now is becoming more and more vague."¹⁶

In facing this threat, Malaysia has outlines three (3) defense strategy in dealing with the issude of security threats after the Cold War which refers to Defense that is Independent, Regional Cooperation and External Aids¹⁷.

2.0 Efforts in Shaping a National Defense Policy.

Malaysia's defense since 1957 depended mostly on the foreign policy which was implemented by Malaysia until it was completely formed during the Tun Mahathir Governance Era in early 1990's. Between the years of 1957-1981, Malaysia's defense policy is very much dependant on the foreign policy it practises. At this moment, Malaysia has faced communist threat from within and outside of the nation. Threats from outside the border is very much influenced by the Cold War factor which has grown to become an aspect that influences foreign and defense policies of Malaysia in order to fight off communism. Other than that, Malaysia also faced a confrontation with Indonesia which was the led by Sukarno between the years of 1963-1965, Malaysia then decided to practise the policy that more prone or leaning towards the West which also saw Malaysia practising a "cold" policy towards China from 1957 to 1974. IN relation to that, Malaysia's foreign policy also provides support to the US movement in helping South Vietnam in order to fight against the rise of communist powers through North Vietnam. As a matter of fact, Malaysia also provide aids and support to the Military operations in Afghanistan between the years of 1980-1989. This anti communist policy has influences defense principles of Malaysia in ordering military operations in dealing with communist threats. Influence on foreign and defense policies of Malaysia can be seen when Malaysia launched a military operation in dealing with MCP's rebellion in Malaysia from 1957-1989.

Malaysia also practises a neutral policy in which it has become the backup to the assets of Malaysian Defense. This policy was introduced by Tun Abdul Razak and was applied since 1970 and further expanded to throughout the nations in urging nations in ASEAN to practise the same policy in order to guarantee the safety of all nations. Between 1967-1981, Malaysia's foreign policy which prioritizes cooperation and building a relationship in the SA region has become the main attribute in ensuring national security and defending from security threats. Other than that, Malaysia's good relations with West powers especially Britain has allowed Malaysia to gain help from Britain through the agreement and the establishment of AMDA in 1957 as well as the Five Power Defence Arrangement in 1971. The effect of this well thought out foreign policy with Britain and other Commonwealth nations has influenced Malaysia to FPDA as one of the national defense assets.

3.0 Malaysia's Defense policy

What is the National Defense Plan? The Nation Defense Plan outlines three main basis, which refers to nationals strategic importance, the principles of defense and the concept of defense. It emphasizes on the need to ensure the surrouding territories which has importance for the nation is kept stabile and peaceful.

¹⁴ Pertahanan Malaysia: Ke Arah Pertahanan Yang Berdikari (Malaysian Defense: Towards Self-Defense). .Op.cit.hlm 16

¹⁵ Baladas Ghoshal (2005). Strategic and Security Environment in East Asia. Asian Defence Yearbook 2005. page 4-8

¹⁶ Md.Zaki Md Zain (2005). Senario Masa Hadapan Persekitaran Pertahanan: Panduan Halatuju Pembangunan Pertahanan Negara (Future Scenario on Defense Environment: Guideline and Direction of National Defense Development). *Pembentangan Kertas Kerja*.

Konferen Kebangsaan Pertahanan Strategik dan Keselamatan Serantau(PERKASA). Putrajaya: Pusat Konvensyen Antarabangsa. 24-26 May. page 3 ¹⁷ Pertahanan Malaysia: Ke Arah Pertahanan Yang Berdikari (*Malaysian Defense: Towards Self-Defense*)..Op.cit.hlm 22

The area's strategic importance can be seen from the three levels of the immediate area, regional and global. Immediate area, including land area, territorial waters, airspace, the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), the Straits of Malacca and the exit route of entrance, and the Strait of Singapore as well as lines of communication that links the sea and the air of Peninsular Malaysia with Sabah and Sarawak. Regional territories which are considered important by Malaysia include SA, including the Andaman Islands and South China Sea. Malaysia views any development in the region will also affect the security as well as its development. This is important because Malaysia shares land or sea borders or both with almost every nation who are members of ASEAN. Any disturbance or interference in this region, whether in the form of internal conflict of the region or even external conflicts of the region, both will affect the national security. With trade relations positively growing with other nations, with new markets to sell its products, foreign investors which are growing and he overtaking of nations towards corporate companies which owns interests all around the world, has caused national interests to grow beyond any immediate territory or regional. Based on this situation, it has therefore become the interest of the nation to ensure world peace remains unscathed. By taking into consideration the factors of strategic national interests as well as the competition in a variety of these interests. Malaysia's defense policy basically revolves around three main principles which are Ability to be Independent, Regional Cooperation and External Help¹⁸.

As a free and sovereign nation, Malaysia realizes that the best action to take in order to ensure the interest and the security of the nation is guaranteed is through effort of developing independent ability (or self-reliance) which is the core of national defense. This principle emphasizes on the independent or the ability to be independent of the armed forces in a national scale. It involves not only the battle ready troops buit also a suporting logistic force which can be induced through military industry which goes in line with the national development program. In relation to this, the ability to be independent is not limited to efforts by the military forces alone but also has to include all government agency which is related as well as the people. However, by taking into consideration the limitations, the nationa ability to be self-reliant is based on two main basic fundamentals. Firstly, to have the ablity to act alone without any external help in matters regarding to internal security, and secondly, to have the ability to act alone in defending the sovereignty of a territory as well as ensuring the interests of the nation as well as its own security is defended from threats from immediate territories whether at a medium level threat or low level threats. Because the nation is situated right in the middle os SA, there is not one strategic interest of the nation which is not related to other nations within the region. Based on this situation, Malaysia's security is a part of the ASEAN nations security. There fore, any threat on ASEAN or ay threats on any ASEAN nations are also viewed as a threat to Malaysia. Thus the best thing to do is to place priority on regional security and cooperation¹⁹.

In the context of regional cooperation, Malaysia also provides support towards establishing a bilateral defense cooperative relation with the nations within ASEAN. A network of bilateral defense cooperation relationships with ASEAN nations will immensely help in the process of confidence-building and encourage sincerity. In line with this approach, Malaysia will encourage and continue to provide towards developing an ASEAN Union that is strong and effective in ensuring a peaceful SA. Malaysia views the establishment of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) as a crucial development towards the legacy of peace and regional stability. ASEAN's initiative has successfully brought members to share views regarding problems of security that involves mutual interests. the Dialogue process which was initiated has been proven as a mechanism that is important in building confidence. ARF activities will be able to generate a far steadier and closer relationship as well as a better understanding among the members of ARF.

In order to complete the regional cooperation efforts, Malaysia also realizes the need for external help from nationa outside of the region. These aids include moral and physical support, training facilities, division of technology and utilities support. Towards this effort, Malaysia has taken a few steps in order generate and increase the relationship of defense with nationa outside of the region. Eventhough the nation is responsible towards Zon of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, this does not mean the nation should set aside the need to request for help in the form of resources from outside of the region when needed. This is especially true when the level of threat exceeds the ability of the local forces. Malaysia sees the Five Nation Defense that includes Singapore, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Malaysia as a channel in order to gain external help. NRDA is the only defense treaty that is formal and includes Malaysia as well as nations outside of the region. In the early stages of the FDPA establishment, the nation realized that the policy of self reliance needed a certain amount of time to achieve.

¹⁸ Dasar Pertahanan Negara (National Defense Policy). Perajurit.Julai 2004. page 55-58

¹⁹ Ibid

Thus the NRDA has become the channel in which Malaysia has looked towards developing military and defense capabilities with the help of allies national which has had a cooperative defense relations with Malaysia The pattern of discussion and its mechanism of the NRDA has opened space for nations to gain external help and also national security is assured. Malaysia is very committed with the stands of the NRDA remains relevant. However, based on the strategic scenario of the current status quo as well as the increase in ability of the Malaysia Armed Forces (MAF), the role of the NRDA has been re-organized in order to portray current needs. Malaysia's stern commitment towards United Nation treaty needs the nations to hold on to the stand of defense which is more defensive in nature. In relations to that, the defense policy has been used to create a defense strategy based on the principles of prevention and overall defense. This policy also outlines the need to avoid conflict from happening within ones territory, whether through preventing it from happening, or through facing the enemy outside of the territory as farther away as possible²⁰.

The concept of prevention barriers is to avoid future enemies from practising policies that foes against the process of peacefully solving a conflict. This needs a strategy implementation as well as efforts to develop an army that has better capabilities in order to stop any action that is violent or ferocious in nature. The concept of defense is holistic and related to actions which are total and unified carried out not only by the government but also non government agencies, the private sector as well as the people in defending the nation. Maintaining the strength and sovereignity of Malaysia requires commitment from all levels of people and does not necessarily depend on the armed forces. Although the job of ensuring the nation is well defended is the reponsibility of the security team, it is however the responsibility of the nation as a whole to ensure that these security teams are able to continuously dfend the nation. Although realizing how important regional cooperation and external help are, Malaysia is confident that their self relying policy should always remain the main core of the national defense. In relation to this, Malaysia will continue to strive towards enhancing and further developing MAF's abilities as well as encouraging awareness of defense and patriotism among the common people²¹.

3.1 Self Reliance Strategy

According to Muthiah Alagapa (1990) from "Malaysia: From the Commonwealth Umbrella to Self Reliance" explains that since 1980's, Malaysia defense has changed to a Self Reliance Defense Strategy. This change is much influenced by a few factors such as the realization that there is a weakness in the strategy of overrelying on external help. Britains withdrawal from the AMDA Treaty in 1967 as well s the late response from Britain after an application for weapons were given post 13th May 1969 has casted doubt amon Malaysia's leaders as to whether Britain were really interested in honoring the treaty as well as in ensuring the security of Malaysia. Thus Malaysia decided to take different approach which was to further develop its military on its own even though having to start small. This strategy however did not overlook the need to rely on external help from a defense aspect²². Md Zaki Md Zain (2005) in his paper "Future Environmental Defense: National Defense Guide Comprehensive Development direction" mentions that the change of dimensions of threat after the Cold War on Malaysia has caused Malaysia to develop its military forces towards a better defense force. He also mentions that the defense national strategy could be derived totally from the West because it needed to be appropriated with the surrounding threats being faced by Malaysia²³.

3.2 Regional Cooperation Strategy

According to Mohd Noor Yazid (2000) in Asia Pacific International Politics ; explains that the chess game as well sa competition between super powers at an international level has influenced SA to move together with the current demands in order to ensure the safety of a nation. This is because during the 1950's and 1960's most of the nations in SA were nations which just obtained independence from colonial forces. Because the ages of SA nations were still young, these nations also had to face internal political turmoil, ethnic problem, problems with unity as well as the security defense system which was weak. This problem had created an awareness and further drove SA nations to consider a cooperative coalition which could be an alternative towards generating a peaceful region. This is because problems such as border conflicts, sovereignty, territorial disputes, dispute over island ownership, as well as other regional problems can be overcome through the establishment of a regional organization.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Ibid

 ²² Muthiah Alagapa (1990). Malaysia: From The Commonwealth Umbrella to Self Reliance. In K.W Chin (ed). *Defence Spending in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: ISEAS
 ²³ Md.Zaki Md Zain (2005). Senario Masa Hadapan Persekitaran Pertahanan: Panduan Halatuju Pembangunan Pertahanan Negara

²³ Md.Zaki Md Zain (2005). Senario Masa Hadapan Persekitaran Pertahanan: Panduan Halatuju Pembangunan Pertahanan Negara (Future Scenario on Defense Environment: Guideline and Direction of National Defense Development). Paper Presentation. Konferen Kebangsaan Pertahanan Strategik dan Keselamatan Serantau (PERKASA) (National Cenference on Strategic Defence and Regional Security). Putrajaya:Pusat Konvensyen Antarabangsa.24-26 Mei

These situation were able to push the regional nations to make the coopertaive establishment as the main solution to solving problems the right way. This tendency within SA nations to cooperate in terms of deense is also influenced by threat factors from outside of the region. These threats involved a process of competition among the super powers at international and terrotorial level. This competition for power directly influences the security of the nations at district level²⁴. K.S. Nathan (2008) in Malaysia and International Security: Role, Commitment, issues and Challegnes, explains that Malaysia is well aware of the threats that is becoming increasingly challenging after the Cold War. Through the approach of further increasing involvment of nations in international agendas which is used as the main element in strengthening national security. ASEAN needs to be Malaysia's foreign policy main agenda in an ffort to face growing threats in the future.

3.3 External Aids Strategy

According to K.S Nathan (1984) security threat in SA has influenced a few nations such as Thailand and the Philippines to join and hold cooperation in aspects of politics and defense with Western Super Powers known as the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) on 6th September 1954 in Manilla. The treaty which is also known as the Manilla Pact is centred in Bangkok. The SEATO organization was joined by Phillipines, Thailand, Pakistan, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, USA and France that looks to ensure regional peace and security from communist threats. The involvement of a few SA nation in SEATO was encouraged by communist threats as well as the threat coming from China as well as ensuring the safety of their respective nations. In the Summit of the Non Allied Movement conference (NAM) in Belgrade 1961, Thailand and Phillipines explained that their participation in SEATO is primarily to protect the safety of their nations while at the same tmie generating good relations with super powers²⁵.

Chamil Wariya (1989) explains that following the threat of communist growth, weaknesses in defense and security systems, it has influenced The Malay Land to find other alternatives in order to ensure its safety. It also influenced Malaysia to participate in an agreement with Britain through the Anglo-Malaya Defense Agreement (AMDA) in 1957. In relation to that, the agreement states that both nations will discuss and help each other in case the sovereignity of the nation is under threat. However, this agreement didn ot state that Britain, Australia and New Zealand needed to obliged if Malaysia was under attack, as a matter of fact the cooperation was based on an understanding between the nation and only focused on the aspect of security. Eventhough AMDA did not last long, the cooperation between Malaysia and Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Singapore remaind needed in order to guarantee security. Thus it brought to the forming an understanding or and agreement through defense cooperations known as the Five Power Defense Arrangement (FPDA) in 1971. Through this agreement, it would act as an element that would convince the participating nations of their safety 26 .

The history of good relations between colonial nations and the previously colonized nations had influence Malaysia to continue relying on defense help and security cooperation from Britain²⁷. K.S Balakrishnan (2202) shares his opinion in US-Malaysia Eye to Eye on Regioal Security, where he explains that the relationship between US and Malaysia that has stood since the Cold War era needs to be made as an opportunity for Malaysia in strengthening national security. Even after the Cold War there was an up-anddown moment in the relationship of both the nations due to interventions by the US in internal national matters. However, the stability and strength of the US in international system needs to be taken advantage of by Malaysia especially in the aspect of security by fixing the cracks within the relationship. This shows that the US is one of the major powers that can be made as a choice for Malaysia to further strengthen it defense strategy 28 .

4.0 Military Need and Effectiveness

Military force is an aspects that plays a vital role in determining the security, stability, peace and the excellence of a particular nation²⁹. Generally, military needs of a nation is very much related to two main aspects referring to aspects of security threats and helping in the implementation of a nation's foreign policy.

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Developments and Issues since 1945). Kuala Lumpur: AMK Interaksi Sdn Bhd.hlm 197
<sup>27</sup> K.W Chin (1983). The defence of Malaysia and Singapore: The transformation of a security system 1957-1971. Cambridge:
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²⁴ Mohd Noor Yazid (2000) Politik Antarabangsa Asia Pasifik (Asia Pacific International Politics). Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributors.hlm 29-34

²⁵ K.S Nathan (1984). Op.cit.hlm132

²⁶ Chamil Wariya (1989). Pergolakan Antarabangsa: Perkembangan dan Isu Utama Sejak 1945 (International Turmoil: Major

²⁸ K.S Balakrishnan (2002). US-Malaysia: Eye to Eye on Regional Security. Asian Defence and Diplomacy. Vol.9 (10). October. hlm 31-35

²⁹ Saiful Anwar Md.Ali (2004).Op.cit.hlm 53

This is because from a real politcs perspective, the relationship between nations in the international system is basic anarchy where it visualizes a situation of the system to erratically under no ones control whether a body or organization especially towards more aggressive nations. This situation has caused any particular nation to need military force to ensure that a nation can guarantee its safety, to continue its standard of living and to help the nation to further strengthen its relations or policy which is taken in regards to international relationship. The military of a nation also functions as to create a defense system, as a deterrence, Compellence and as a show of fore³⁰. By having military aspects which are strong, it directly will help a nation to remain safe from any attack or threat. According to Robert J. Art (1980), the effectiveness of a national military force depends on three main aspects which are actual, potential and putative military power³¹. The effectiveness of a nation in achieving its target is often referred to the question of how prepared is the nation in terms of facing security threats of war? It is very much related with the realist ideals which is Si Vis Bellum (if you want peace, prepare for war). Preparing to face a threat is something that is subjective or abstract which difficult to measure.

It is very much related to a nation's ability to prepare to tidy up its military and defense forces in which a few aspects are viewed including defense equipments, weaponry and Revolution Military Affairs (RMA) which moves in line with the circle of technology and era³². Having said that, this phenomenon also has side effects where it creates a feeling of insecurity as well as creating a weapons race towards other nations. This means that a nation needs to take in account and assess the component in a military force in terms of size of military force, contingency team and the ability to plan movement, industrial ability o supply lost or broken resources, the number and the quality of weapon system, logistic system, quality, the appropriate doctrine and strategy, the quality of political leadership, army and leader at all level, the peoples morale and army and quality of union strength³³. These effects however cannot be made as an excuse for a nation to ignore the need for military development, instead of a nation needs to look at military development as an aspect that is much needed in order to create a military strength that is credible and effective.

5.0 Malaysia's Military and Defense Development

N.S Shah (2006) explains that the military development of a nation that is being applied by Malaysia is to move to further develop its military whether from a physical point of view and non-physical that is related with two main aspects which is the need and security threat. The Government and The Ministry of Defense (MINDEF) see Malaysia as a nation that cannot afford to be left behind in military development when other nations within the region are rapidly improving their own military forces. However this process does not mean that Malaysia is involved in the arms race, on the contrary, Malaysia's military development is still at a low lever due to the restricted amount of financial funds available. However in facing this lack of financial support problem, Malaysia has also created a variety of defense doctrines such as total defense as a step to overcome the problem of insufficient strength³⁴.

| Year | 2004 | 2005 | | 2006 | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| Malaysia's Defense Expenditure | 2.25 bilion (USD) | 2.47 | bilion | 3.08 | bilion |
| | | (USD) | | (USD) | |

Malaysia's Military Force based on Data and Chosen Military Equipments

Malaysia's Military Expenditures 2004 – 2006

Source : International Institute for Strategic Studies, The Military Balance 2006, Routledge, 2006.pages 281-283

| Total Military Number | Data | |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| Population | 23,953,136 personel | |
| Permanent Military total | 110,000 orang (Ground 80,000, Air 15,000 and Naval 15,000) | |
| Reserve Team Total | 51,600 (Ground 50,000,Air 600 and Naval 1,000) | |
| Partial Military Total | 244,700 personel | |

³⁰ Ibid.hlm 54

³¹ Rober J.Art (1980). Article to What ends military power. *International Security*. Vol 4 (4). Spring. hlm 4-5

³² Op.cit.hlm 57

³³ For further explanation please see. Ibid. page 53

³⁴ N.S.Shah (2006). Angkatan Tentera Malaysia, Pandangan ringkas (Malaysian Armforces: The Brief View). *Perajurit*. November. pages 8-11

| Ground Military | Data and Equipment |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Total of Military Personnel | 80,000 personnel |
| Tanks (MBT): | MBT PT-91 (48 in process ³⁵) |
| Light Weight Tank | 26 Scorpion 90 tanks |
| AIFV ³⁶ | NO data available |
| APC ³⁷ | 1020 APC (T) 347Adnan, Stormer, Condor, Panhard dan Commando |
| Artillery | 414 (Pull Missiles 105mm dan 155mm) |
| Mutiple Missiles | 18 ASTROS II |
| Warhead Missiles | SAM and MANPAD ³⁸ 48 model Anza, SA-18 dan Starburst |
| Radar | Not Available |
| Naval Forces | Data and equipment |
| Military Total | 15,000 Military Personnel |
| Kapal Selam | 2 Scorpene (in 2009) |
| Battle Ships | 10 (Frigat 4 and 6 Korvet) equipped with Surface to air Missile (SAM) Sea Wolf dan |
| | Aspide, Surface to Surface Missile(SSM) MM-40 Exocet and an Otomat missile |
| | 76mm |
| Patrol Boat | 17 boat equipped with SSM MM 38 Exocet and missiles 57mm |
| Airforce | Data and Equipment |
| Military Total | 15,000 personnel |
| Battle Planes | 64 planes consisting of :-F-5 (F-5E Tiger II and F-5F Tiger II), MiG 29N Fulcrum 16 |
| | (15 ships),F/A-18 D Hornet (8 ships) ³⁹ ,Hawk MK108,SU-30MKM (18 ships) |
| Missiles | Air to Surface Missile (ASM) AGM 65-Shrike and Harpoon, Air to Air Missile |
| | (AAM)AIM Sparrow and Sidewinder |
| Battle Choppers | N/A |
| Helicopter | 22 Nuri, Black Hawk dan Alouette |
| UAV Airplane | 3 Eagle 150 |

Sources : The Military Balance 2006, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Routlege 2006

During the 1990's and 2000's, Malaysia began to take steps in modernizing the armed forces in order to face any possible threat from national enemies. The Minister of Defense, Dato Sri Najib Tun Razak had once emphasized that efforts to modernize Malaysia's military weapons will focus on mobility, fire power, increasing the number of battle ships and planes and acquiring the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS)⁴⁰. According to S Jayasankaran (2002) Malaysia's military development is a product of Malaysia's reaction to also strengthen and develop its military forces after Singapore began rapidly developing its military forces⁴¹. Malaysia also took steps of purchasing weapons that were bi-functional in nature and were able to be offensive and defensive at the same time. The purchase of FA-18 Hornets, MIG-29N Fulcrum, Hawk MK108, SU30MKM⁴², Battle Tanks, PT-91M⁴³, Scorpene (Submarine)⁴⁴, the Astros II⁴⁵ and G5 MKIII⁴⁶ short range missile launchers, the Styer Sniper Gun and others are just some of the equipments involved in the development of Malaysia's military in order to face any security threats.

³⁵ Kelengkapan tentera darat 2005-2006 (Army Equipment 2005-2006). Perajurit. March 2005. page11

³⁶ Armour Intantry Fighting Vehicle is a type of light infantry combat vehicle. Please see Muhammad Fuad Mat Noor (2003). MIFV dipertingkatkan prestasinya (MIFV Enhanced Performance). *Tempur*. July. pages 33-36

³⁷ APC is a vehicle owned by Singapore Armed Forces (Logistic) to a target location and its also equipped with weapon. Refer to Light Thank in *Perajurit*. December 2001.page 36

³⁸ To view the ability of Man Portabale Air Defense System (MANPADS), please refer to Sham Huzaimi Nasarudin (2003). Air Sheild Infantry: Observes MANPADS Systems owned by Army). *Tempur*. pages 25-29

³⁹ F/A-18D Hornet fighter aircraft was ordered in 1993 and held in May 1997. These aircraft has been placed at Butterwort Air Base. To see more informations about the capabalities and features of F/A-18D please refer to Saadullah Johan (2005). Model F/A-18D Hornet TUDM. *Perajurit.* February. pages 42-45

⁴⁰ Interviewed ADJ with Datuk Sri Najib Tun Razak in *Asian Defence Journal*. October 2003. pages 16-23

⁴¹ S. Jayasankaran (2002). Malaysia call for arms. *Far Eastern Economic Review*. 16 Mei 2002. page 20

⁴² To see SU-30MKM criteria meet the condition specified RMAF please refer to Nasibah Harun (2006). RMAF 48 years of riding the universe in the era of MRCA. *Perajurit.* June. pages 3-6

⁴³ To see the advantage of MBT Poland PT-91M, please refer to MMC Defence dan PT 91M program status. Tempur. Julai 2003.pages 39-40

⁴⁴ Please refer, Bicara minda Laksamana Datuk Ilyas bin Haji Din (Talk to mind Admiral Datuk Ilyas bin Haji Din). *Perajurit.* June 2006. pages 33-34

⁴⁵ ASTROS II is the rocket launcher was bought by Malaysia from Britain. Its distance of shot can be acheived up to 90 kilometers. More information, please see ASTRO II. *Perajurit*. January 2001. pages 8-9.

⁴⁶ G5 155m Artillery Guns were bought by Malaysia from South Africa on 23 of November 2001. These could reach the target in the range 30-50 kilometers. For more information about the G5 capability, please see Malaysia Armed Forces will possess G5 and ASTROS II. *Perajurit.* January 2001. pages 6-7

The concept of total defense was first introduced since May 1986 which was known as Overall defense or HANRUH which is a doctrine that outlines the use of all assets as well as national resources in order to increase the national capability in order to face any form of domestic or international threat. Among the most obvious characters of the total defense concept is the activation of reserved security and defense teams in every associated organization⁴⁷. According to Mohd Zackry Mokhtar (2006):-

"HANRUH is a Total Defense concept created by Malaysia which was introduced by the national Security Committee in May 1986 in order to plan out a defense strategy which was concrete and holistic. HANRUH emphasizes on the use of human resources which was efficient, economical strength, unified actions from all government agencies s well as good international and regional relationship as a strategy to ensure the strength and sovereignity of the nation remains intact."⁴⁸

The concept of Total defense which is practised by Malaysia is a concept that moulds together the material elements and non material including patriotism and nationalism of the people in defendeing their nation. Thus with the total defense concept that is holistic and involves all branches of security and defense service, be it government based or the people (Voluntary Defense Teams) as a strategic asset of Malaysia's defense. As a matter of fact with the introduction and the application of the HANRUH concept⁴⁹ which not only involves military but also general defense forces, it allows for the defense of the nation to be directly strengthened as well as acting as a deterrent towards Malaysia in order to avoid enemy threats.

The purpose for Malaysia's military development after the Cold War shows a transition of attention from the government where the main focus was to acquire strategic weapons and establish the RMA which also includes varifying the defense doctrines. Malaysia's military development is also Malaysia's strategy in order to generate a deterrence for enemies. Other than that, Malaysia's military development is also one of the government's goals in ensuring the defense equipments and system is in the best condition and is able to face enemy threats. It is not created in order to be a threat to other nations, on the contrary it is a form of national need in modernizing and upgrading strength and ability of the national military force⁵⁰. Zulkahiril Zainuddin (2004) explains that the modernization of MAF began to be given attention by the government based on the financial budget which is significantly larger since the implementation of 8th Malaysian Plan and the 9th Malaysian Plan. External factors which includes external threats has influenced Malaysia to give particular attention to the development of MAF branches which includes ground, nacal and air forces. It is a process of strengthening the defense and military systems in order to allow Malaysia to face threats which are growing increasingly challenging specifically the use of sophisticated technology by enemies. Malaysia also made changes in the MAF giving emphasize on Network Centric Warfare (NCW) to the MAF. It also targets to increase MAF's ability in line with the regional armed forces growth⁵¹.

6.0 Purpose of Deterrent

What is a deterrent? Deterremce is defined as a form of social and political relationship specifially in order to allow one particular party to influence the actions of another party. Its purpose is to ensure the enemy or opponnent obliges to the will of the party that applying deterrence. Charles W. Kegley Jr and Eugene R Wittkopf (1989) mentions that deterrence is a believe placed on the strategic ability in order to avoid oneself to be attacked by an enemy⁵² and it is also an action to convince the opponent to not take any form actions which is not liked such as avoiding war⁵³. In order to better clearify this, refer to the diagram below:-

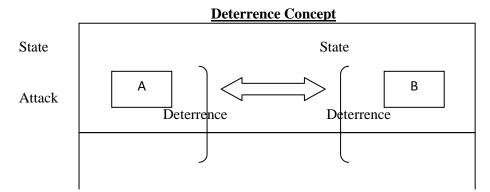
⁴⁷ Total Defense Concept is a doctrine that has been practiced since 1901. It is more as a modern national defense doctrine which was first applied in Sweden by gazette the Total Defense Act. To get more information on history and applications of Malaysian Total Defense Concept, please see Mohd Zackry Mokhtar (2006) in Total Defense: Usaha kolektif memperkasakan pertahanan negara (Collective effort in empowering national defense). *Perajurit*. June. pages 38-43

⁴⁸ Ibid. page 43

⁴⁹ *Joint Warfare* is a defensive concept that has been adopted by the Malaysia Armed Forces which will involve a combination of all branches of military services like army, navy and airforce in an operation and service. Therefore, this combination directly will gather all available Malaysian military strenght in one roof of cooperation and also to strengthening the Malaysian deterrance system. ⁵⁰ Panglima Tentera Darat: Tentera Darat telah bersedia (Cheif of Army: The Army has prepared). *Tempur*. July 2003. pages 2-5

 ⁵¹Zulkhairil Zainuddin (2004). ATM: Pertahankan kedaulatan bumi bertuah (Defense the sovereignty of state). *Perajurit*. December 2004.

⁵² Charles W. Kegley dan Eugene R. Wittkopf (1989). *World politics: Trends and transformation*. New York: St Martin.page 377



Sources: Mohamad Faisol Keling, Mohd Dino Khairi Sharriffuddin and Laila Suriya Ahmad Apandi (2006). Theory and Concept of International Relationship and Strategic Studies. Sintok: UUM Publishing. pp72

The application of the deterrence concept in international relationship is to ensure that Party B does not take any actions or policy that can threaten the position of Party A. Thus Party A will threaten with actions that are really harsh on Party B. If Party B continues the efforts therefore Party B will have to shoulder the overbearing costs. In retrospect, the purpose Party A's threat is to heed warning and stop something or action being taken by Party B. This shows that deterrence can be used as a tool of diplomacy or known better as diplomatic bargaining in relations and actions of a nation in the international system. Threats used by a nation towards its enemies is a psycological tactic without the use of any physical oppression which can result in destruction if a nation decides to take action against a nation that is applying deterrence. The implementation of the deterrence system directly gives an opportunity to the enemy to reevaluate and think about the effects of a policy or action before actually taking it. Generally a nation does not take action that is counter productive to the nation. Based on Charles W. Kegley Jr and Eugune R. Wittkopf (1989), deterrence is a form of trust towards the strategic ability to avoid one's self from being attacked by the enemy. In other words, deterrence is a form of tryout in order to convince a nation (enemy) as to not act or launch war.

In clarifying the objectives of Malaysia's military development, it is not a preparation on the side of Malaysia to act aggressively towards any nation. On the contrary, Malaysia tries to create a peaceful and stable with the nations within the region with the deterrence system. With the deterrence system available, it will surely influence both nations to consider the decisions and deter both nations from taking any form of violent approach amongst each other. Here, statement which was mad by some of the highest ranking leaders in Malaysia explains the stand to counter attack if being threatened is a form of deterrence. The deterrence system is not only limited to the development of one particular branch of the armed service alone. For example, the purchasing of two Scorpene submarines by Malaysia in 2002, even though it cannot compete with the strength of Singapore's underwater armada which is equipped with 4 submarines, it does not however mean that Malaysia's deterrence system has failed. This is because Malaysia's defense concept is not only tied to naval forces alone, as a matter of fact; it is further strengthened by other approaches like HANRUH.

The purpose of developing Malaysia's military forces in recent time such as the diversion of attention of the government in order to gain strategic weaponry as well as establishing the RMA including various applications of different defense doctrines does not mean it is a response to Singapore's military development. In fact the purpose of Malaysia's military development is to create a deterrent system towards the enemy. Malaysia's military development is also to allow the government to ensure that all defense equipments and systems are in the best condition to face threats to the nation. It is not used for the purpose of threatening other nations; in fact it has grown to become a form of necessity for the nation in modernizing and upgrading strength and Malaysia's military ability.

7.0 Is Malaysia involved in the Arms race?

The reality of it is that, Malaysia's military development which has been going at rapid speeds since the early 1990's is considered normal development. From a Malaysian military perspective, it is a process of modernization and upgrading by the government in developing a security and defense system. The purchase of a few strategic equipments which has been seen to be moving faster especially through the purchase of the KD Warship Jebat and Kasturi in 1992 was the turning point in the modenization of naval forces as well as the Armed Forces as a whole. The purchase of the most modern warship in SA (at that moment) was seen as a necessity in order ensure the sovereignity of the nations remain intact as well as safeguarding the maritime shores of the nation. The modernization and development of the national neval forces is edefinitly needed for Malaysia, because Malaysia is a nation that is a maritime state in nature.

The additional ownership and purchasing of 4 more Frigat battle ships (2006) and 2 Scorpene Submarines that operated in 2009 which was carried out by Malaysia is not a reaction towards the ownership and the development of neighbouring nations specifically Singapore who now owns 4 submarines and battle ships which are equipped with missiles (1 Destroyer battleship known as the Formidable, 6 Corvet Warships known as Victory, 6 missiles gunboats known as Sea Wolf, and 6 Battleships known as Fearless). On the contrary the strategic defense equipments and the purchasing of these equipments is seen as a necessity for a nation in order to ensure the level of strength and the naval defense ability of Malaysia is able to face any form threat from outside of the nation and region. The purchasing of 2 more submarines that was an underwater strategis defense equipment is part of a process to strengthen maritime defense by utilizing a strategic underwater weapon system. According to Azmi Hasan (2007), the purchase of the submarines was no competitive in nature especially against Singapore, on the contrary it is actually a process of solidifying defense by utilizing underwater weapons. The governments focus on the ownership of strateic weapons, does not mean that Malaysia is involved in the activity of arms race, in fact it was done based on the need for modernization of armed forces in line with the changes in technology and threats.

According to Colin S. Gray (1983) among the characteristic of being in an arms race is that it involves two or more parties that is antagonistic by nature. The involved parties will compete among each other in the form of quantity (military force and weapon) or quality (military, weapons, organization, doctrines, placements) .This arms race phenomenon needs to have constant advancements in term os quality and quantity. The assumption that Malaysia is involved in an arms race is incorrect. This is because the process of military development by Malaysia is based on a plan and organization that has been formed through a certain amount of time and is also based on the national financial ability. The purchase of 26 MIG 29's from Russia, 8 FA18 Hornet's from US and 18 Sukhoi's which are battle planes from Russia is not seen as a phenomenon of an arms race with any nation. This is because if a comparison is made with the weaponry and military strentgh of Singapore (The RSAF) who now owns assests and equipments that are offensive by nature such as 75 Sky Hawk Bombers, 35 F-5 Tiger Bombers, 8 Jet Detectors RF-5E, 7 F16A Fighter Jets, 8 F16C/D Fighter Jets, 20 Gun Helicopters As-550, 4 air carriers KC 130B (up to 2006) is way more advanced than Malaysia.

What is obvioue is the financial budget provided for Malaysia's defense evern since the nation gained independence in 1957 has never exceeded 5% compared to singapore that provided funds not more than 5% from the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This means that Malaysia never had any intention of competing with the financial and military strength of any nation including Singapore. Based on Amitav Acharya (2001) eventhough there is an increase in terms of the financial budget for defense among the nations in SA post Cold War era, however it is only an increase in number. Military development of a nation is almost always misinterpreted by another nation as being a threat. It is very much influenced by a psychological effect from the military development of the previous nation. The purchase of conventional and strategix equipments by Malaysia such as ASTROS II, Battle Tanks MBT, Warship, Missiles, Exocet missiles, submarines, GAPU, tactical fighter planes MIG 29, Fa-18 and Sukhoi's was not purchased in an abnormal quantity. Thus it proves that Malaysia is not involved in the Arms Race but has only done those things as efforts of deterring war.

8.0 Conclusion

The development and modernization of Malaysia's military forces is seen as a normal process as well as a necessity to a nations growth in fulfilling the need for security specifically in order to ensure safety and sovereignty of a nation. Weapons and military equipments purched were high technology which is also a need of a nation to remain line in line with the demands of technological advancements in day to day. Eventhough in trems of weapons purchasing and acquisitions such as geting the AWACS system, FA-18 Hornet, MIG-29N Fulcrum, Hawk MK108, SU-30MKM, battle tanks PT-91M, Scorpene submarines, missile launchers close range ASTROS II, G5 MK III, Exocet missiles, air attacks repellent (GAPU), a mobile gun Styer and is comparable with modern weapons possession weapons developed countries, but in terms of quantity it is far from assuming arms race phenomenon. The fact remains that the purchase and ownership of modern and strategic weapons is still under the confinements of the ability of the nation. Malaysia will emphasize the element of deterrence even though the military development and equipment at a small scale. This means that every acquisition of military equipment will base on the effects of deterrence in protecting against enemy threats. Thus, the purpose in creating a deterrent becomes the objective in the process of defensive development and national security. In order to adapt between necessity and affordability with limited financial resources, Malaysia does not need to focus on the number or quantity of the equipments which requires a large sum of money, in contrary it is sufficient in owning the equipments that is strategic in nature and is effective as a deterrent even though they are in small numbers.

This approach does not mean that Malaysia has ignored the safety and security, in facts Malaysia believes that safety and sovereignty does not only depend military strength. As a nation that emphasis more and prioritizes aspects of development and peace as well as regional prosperity, regional development aspects has been more important in the implementation Malaysia's foreign policies and does not have a tendency of leaning towards conflicts and war. Safety and sovereignty can also be nurtured and be protected by ensuring regional development in all aspect specifically in economics and unity among SA nations is increased. The solidity of credibility of ASEAN and its principles as well as the existence of treaties agreements cooperation's (TAC), Malaysia believes that peace and stability can be maintained. With the attitudes of SA nations that holds on to ASEAN principles that demands that the nations respects each other nations independence, sovereignty, regional similarities and respect the identity of all races, every independent nation is free to lead the nation without foreign intervention and this has ensured the peace and prosperity of the region remains unscathed. In facts, Malaysia is confident with its Confidence Building Methods (CBM) ASEAN, and it will help to strengthen friendship among nation in SA.

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