

**A NAVAL DEFENCE POLICY AND STRATEGIES
TO SAFEGUARD MALAYSIA'S MARITIME
SECURITY INTERESTS**

SUGENDERAN A/L NAGALAN

**MASTER OF SCIENCE
(STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS)**

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**A NAVAL DEFENCE POLICY AND STRATEGIES TO SAFEGUARD
MALAYSIA'S MARITIME SECURITY INTERESTS**

SUGENDERAN A/L NAGALAN

Thesis submitted to Centre for Graduate Studies, Universiti Pertahanan Nasional
Malaysia, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science
(Strategic and International Relations)

2023

STUDENT DECLARATION

I declare that the work produced is that of my own except for the quotations, paraphrases, and summaries for which the sources were cited.

Date:.....

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RECEIPT OF ACADEMIC PAPER

This Academic Paper titled "**A Naval Defence Policy and Strategies to Safeguard Malaysia's Maritime Security Interests**", produced by **Sugenderan a/l Nagalan**, Matric No. 3191195, has been accepted as having fulfilled the partial requirement for the Master (Strategic and International Relations).

.....
Dr Tharisini a/p Krishnan

Date:

ABSTRACT

The prospect of a new political era in 2018 has injected new life into Malaysia's defence policy. This transformation began with the publication of Malaysia's first Defence White Paper (DWP) in 2020 for the period until 2030. Among the key drivers, the new defence strategies: Concentric Deterrence, Comprehensive Defence, and Credible Partnership become the essence of Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF). This three-tiered defence strategy was fundamentally dependent upon having a high state of readiness of armed forces to deal with the traditional and non-traditional threats as well as uncertain security environment. Accordingly, the MAF has taken a step in line with the DWP by developing National Military Strategy (NMS) 2.0 as announced by the Chief of Defence Force on 26th September 2022. Thus, the Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN) ought to review its naval defence policy and strategies from the previous decade governed by the Maritime Defence Strategy (MDS) 2009 and National Defence Policy (NDP) 2010 to align them with the current national defence policies and strategies. With this, the dissertation will focus on the "*A Naval Defence Policy and Strategies to Safeguard Malaysia's Maritime Security Interests*" based on DWP, NMS 2.0 and not missing out on RMN's 15to5 Transformation Programme, which was published in 2018. The research was conducted using a qualitative method whereby primary data was obtained through in-depth interviews and governmental documents. Secondary data was obtained via scholarly databases, newspapers, and electronic resources.

RMN's naval defence policy and strategies, as found in the MDS 2009 and was further developed through the RMN's 15to5 Transformation Programme, are crucial elements in ensuring that the RMN can execute its role to strengthening naval defence through applying traditional naval warfare mission and objectives, maritime collaboration and enhancing naval diplomacy. In performing its military functions of undertaking Concentric Deterrence, the activities of the RMN encompass two types of warfare missions and operations, sea control and sea denial. While the constabulary role of the RMN focuses on which is can be seen from two different angles called collaboration in dealing with non-traditional threats and against traditional threats. The diplomacy aspect is primarily executed through efforts such as Confidence Building Measures (CBM).

The study also found that RMN's ability to perform its core functions requires four strategic thrusts, namely the development of fleet capabilities, force capacity development, realignment of naval doctrine as well as integration and support towards the concept of joint maritime operations. Firstly, enhance the development of the fleet's capabilities based on the military role that RMN should perform whether in peacetime or conflict. Secondly, elevating the force capacity in the RMN. Human resources have become one of the most crucial assets in RMN. Thirdly, improve doctrine management and it is also needs to strive to provide a conceptual framework for the military at every level (strategic, operational, and tactical). And finally, improve integration and support towards the concept of joint maritime operations. Such an approach is important because besides having effect increase ability by multiple or multiplier effects, it also allows RMN to use each other's advantages optimally.

ABSTRAK

Prospek era politik baharu pada 2018 telah memberikan suntikan yang baharu terhadap strategi pertahanan negara. Transformasi ini bermula dengan penerbitan Kertas Putih Pertahanan (KPP) pertama Malaysia pada tahun 2020 yang mengenal pasti beberapa pemacu utama sehingga 2030. Antara pemacu utama adalah strategi pertahanan baharu: Cegah Rintang Berpadu, Pertahanan Komprehensif dan Perkongsian Berwibawa menjadi intipati utama Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM). Strategi pertahanan tiga peringkat ini pada asasnya bergantung pada tahap kesediaan angkatan tentera yang tinggi untuk menangani ancaman tradisional dan bukan tradisional serta persekitaran keselamatan yang tidak menentu. Sehubungan itu, ATM telah mengambil langkah sejajar dengan KPP dengan membangunkan Strategi Ketenteraan Nasional (SKN) 2.0 seperti yang diumumkan oleh Panglima Angkatan Tentera pada 26 September 2022. Lanjutan itu, Tentera Laut Diraja Malaysia (TLDM) wajar mengkaji semula dasar dan strategi pertahanan lautnya yang sebelum ini dibimbing oleh Strategi Pertahanan Maritim (SPM) 2009 dan Dasar Pertahanan Negara (DPN) 2010 untuk menyelaraskannya dengan dasar dan strategi pertahanan negara semasa. Dengan ini, disertasi akan memfokuskan kepada "*A Naval Defence Policy and Strategies to Safeguard Malaysia's Maritime Security Interests*" berdasarkan KPP, SKN 2.0 dan tidak ketinggalan Program Transformasi 15to5 TLDM, yang diterbitkan pada 2018. Kajian ini dilaksanakan dengan kaedah kualitatif di mana data primer diperolehi melalui temu bual dan dokumen kerajaan. Data sekunder diperolehi melalui pangkalan data ilmiah, akhbar, dan sumber elektronik.

Dasar dan strategi pertahanan laut TLDM, seperti yang terdapat dalam SPM 2009 dan yang dikembangkan lagi dalam Program Transformasi 15to5 TLDM, adalah elemen penting dalam memastikan TLDM dapat melaksanakan peranannya untuk mengukuhkan pertahanan laut melalui penerapan misi dan objektif peperangan tentera laut, kolaborasi maritim dan meningkatkan diplomasi tentera laut. Dalam melaksanakan fungsi ketenteraannya iaitu melaksanakan Cegah Rintang Bersepadu, aktiviti TLDM merangkumi dua jenis misi dan operasi peperangan, kawalan laut dan penafian laut. Manakala peranan konstabula TLDM dapat dilihat dari dua sudut berbeza yang dinamakan kerjasama dalam menangani ancaman bukan tradisional dan menentang ancaman tradisional. Aspek diplomasi dilaksanakan terutamanya melalui usaha seperti *Confidence Building Measures* (CBM).

Kajian itu juga mendapati keupayaan TLDM melaksanakan fungsi terasnya memerlukan empat teras strategik iaitu pembangunan keupayaan armada, pembangunan kapasiti daya sumber manusia, penjajaran semula doktrin tentera laut dan integrasi serta sokongan kepada konsep kebersamaan operasi maritim. Pertama, mempertingkatkan pembangunan keupayaan armada TLDM berdasarkan peranan ketenteraan sama ada dalam masa aman atau konflik. Kedua, meningkatkan kapasiti sumber manusia telah menjadi salah satu aset terpenting dalam TLDM. Ketiga, menambah baik pengurusan doktrin dan ia juga perlu berusaha untuk menyediakan rangka kerja konseptual untuk tentera di setiap peringkat (strategik, operasi, dan taktikal). Dan akhirnya, meningkatkan integrasi dan sokongan terhadap konsep operasi maritim bersama. Pendekatan sebegini penting kerana selain mempunyai keupayaan meningkatkan kesan dengan kesan berganda atau berganda, ia juga membolehkan TLDM menggunakan kelebihan masing-masing secara optimum.

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Finally, now it's time for me to contribute to the Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN) and my beloved country of Malaysia.

APPROVAL

The Examination Committee has met on **18 October 2023** to conduct the final examination of **Sugenderan a/l Nagalan** on his Master dissertation entitled **A Naval Defence Policy and Strategies to Safeguard Malaysia's Maritime Security Interests**.

The committee recommends that the student be awarded the Master (Strategic and International Relations) .

Members of the Examination Committee were as follows.

Prof. Madya Dr. Adam Leong Kok Wey

Centre for Defence International and Security Studies (CDiSS)

Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia

(Chairman)

Mej Jen Dato' Dr. A. Endry Nixon (Bersara)

Faculty of Defence Studies and Management

Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia

(Internal Examiner)

Associate Professor Dr. Roy Anthony Rogers

Internationalisation, Research, Value Creation & Enterprise Asia-Europe Institute

(AEI)

Universiti Malaya

(External Examiner)

APPROVAL

This thesis was submitted to the Senate of *Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia* and has been accepted as fulfilment of the requirements for the **Master of Science (Strategic and International Relations)**. The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows.

Dr. Tharishini Krishnan

Faculty of Defence Studies and Management
Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia
(Main Supervisor)

Cdr Dr. Haliza bin Mohd Zahari RMN

Faculty of Defence Studies and Management
Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia
(Co-Supervisor)

UNIVERSITI PERTAHANAN NASIONAL MALAYSIA

DECLARATION OF THESIS

Student's full name : SUGENDERAN A/L NAGALAN

Date of Birth : 3 OCTOBER 1977

Title : **A Naval Defence Policy and Strategies to Safeguard Malaysia's Maritime Security Interests**

Academic Session : 2019 / 2020

I hereby declare that the work in this thesis is my own except for quotations and summaries which have been duly acknowledged.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAW	Anti-Air Warfare
ADF	Australian Defence Force
ADMM	ASEAN Defence Minister Meeting
AG	Attorney General
AOR	Area of Responsibility
ASG	Abu Sayaff Group
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASuW	Anti-Surface Warfare
ASW	Anti-Submarine Warfare
AUV	Autonomous Underwater Vehicle
BIFF	Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters
BPA	<i>Beting Patinggi Ali</i>
BRJ	<i>Beting Raja Jarom</i>
BRI	Belt Road Initiatives
C4ISR	Command, Control, Communication, Computer, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance
CBRNe	Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Explosives
CBM	Confidence Building Measures
CCG	Chinese Coast Guard
CDF	Council for Security in the Asia Pacific
CIMIC	Civil-Military Cooperation
CSCAP	Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific
DWP	Defence White Paper

EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EIA	Energy Information Agency
ESSCOM	Eastern Sabah Security Command
ESSZONE	Eastern Sabah Safety Zones
EW	Electronic Warfare
FAC (M)	Fast Attack Craft (Missile)
FIC	Fast Interceptor Craft
FON	Freedom of Navigation
FONOPs	Freedom of Navigation Operations
FPDA	Five Power Defence Arrangement
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSP	<i>Gugusan Semarang Peninjau</i>
HADR	Humanitarian and Assistance Disaster Relief
HANRUH	<i>Pertahanan Menyeluruh</i>
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IDFR	<i>Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations</i>
INTAN	<i>Institut Tadbiran Awam Negara</i>
IR	International Relations
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
ISIS	Institute of Strategic and International Studies
ISR	Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance
ISTAR	Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition and Reconnaissance
IUU	Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated
JFHQ	Joint Force Headquarters
LCS	Littoral Combat Ship

LMS	Littoral Mission Ship
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
LOSC	Law of the Sea Convention
MA	Malaysian Army
MAF	Malaysian Armed Forces
MASA	Malaysia Shipowners' Association
MCMV	Mine Counter Measures Vessel
MDA	Maritime Domain Awareness
MDCP	Malaysian Defence Cooperation Programme
MDS	Maritime Defence Strategy
MDV	Mine Disposal Vehicle
MIMA	Maritime Institute of Malaysia
MINDEF	Ministry of Defence
MISC	Malaysia International Shipping Corporation
MMEA	Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency
MMZ	Malaysia's Maritime Zone
MOH	Maritime Operation Helicopter
MOOTW	Military Operations Other Than War
MOU	Memorandum of Understandings
MPA	Maritime Patrol Aircraft
MRSS	Multirole Support Ship
MSO	Maritime Security Operations
MSP	Malacca Straits Patrol
MTW	Malaysia's Territorial Waters
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NCO	Network Centric Operations
NDP	National Defence Policy
NDS	National Defence Strategy
NDUM	National Defence University of Malaysia
NGO	Non-Governmental Agency
NGPV	New Generation Patrol Vessel
NKRI	<i>Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia</i>
NMS	National Military Strategy
NSC	National Security Council
NSP	National Security Policy
NTF	National Task Force
OLOS	Ocean and Law of Sea
OSTEX	Operational Sea Training Exercise
OTHT	Over the Horizon Target
PAC CONOPS	Partnership and Collaboration as Concepts for Future Operations
PC	Patrol Craft
PLA	People of Liberation Army
PLA-N	People of Liberation Army-Navy
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
RMP	Royal Malaysian Police
RMAF	Royal Malaysian Air Force
RMN	Royal Malaysian Navy
RSF	Royal Sulu Force
RSM	Rajah Solaimon Movement
RQ	Research Question

SAR	Search and Rescue
SATCOM	Satellite Communications
SCS	South China Sea
SFB	Special Forces Boat
SLOC	Sea Lines of Communication
SoM	Straits of Malacca
SPC-A	Sea Power Centre – Australia
SPM	<i>Strategi Pertahanan Maritim</i>
SQEP	Suitability, Qualification and Experience with Potential
SREB	Silk Road Economic Belt
TCA	Trilateral Cooperative Arrangement
TMP	Trilateral Maritime Patrol
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UN CLCS	United Nations to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf
UNCLOS	United Nation Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNGA	United Nation of General Assembly
UPNM	<i>Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia</i>
US	United States
USINDOPACOM	United State Indo-Pacific Command
USN	United State Navy
VBSS	Visit, Board, Search and Seize
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WoG	Whole-of-Government
WoS	Whole-of-Society

LIST OF APPENDICES

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Appendix B	Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form for Informants
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: NAVIGATING THE CHANGING WAVES AND CURRENTS OF NAVAL DEFENCE POLICY AND STRATEGIES

1.1 Research Background

In 1989, Malaysia signed the Hat-Yai Peace Accords that ended the second communist insurgency, and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991 marked the end of the Cold War. For 30 years, Malaysia has experienced relative peace. However, that doesn't mean that Malaysia is continuously free of any national security threats. Today's geopolitical and geostrategic developments around Malaysia seem to force the nation to have a course of action plans to maintain or promote national security. Tensions and conflicts may still erupt over existing or new disputes. Unresolved territorial and boundary disputes may not be the only issues that could trigger tension between neighbouring nations nowadays. Still, other new forms of conflict issues, such as the competition for resources and access to or ownership of vital resources such as water, energy, and marine resources, will likely emerge. Any one of these issues, if not managed and deterred well, could escalate and lead to severe conflicts in the future. Therefore, an updated and well-crafted national defence policy and strategies is a priority for any country. For a maritime nation like Malaysia, a naval

defence policy and strategies is fundamental components in the overall framework of the government's national security policies and national defence strategies. It is common among many countries worldwide to issue national strategic defence documents that identify the strategic concerns they are worried about and any plans and proposals on using resources to combat those concerns.

Notably, Malaysia is well ahead in strategic thinking, and the government has always been sensitive to the importance of formulating a comprehensive national defence policy that considers both the civil aspects of national security and the different military services within the Malaysia Armed Forces (MAF). Indeed, Malaysia's defence policy, with a defensive posture as its core concept of defence is capable of protecting the nation's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Malaysia considers this posture crucial to hinder any act of hostility. In analysing the development of Malaysia's defence policies and military strategies, the evolution of defence policies could be divided into roughly three different eras (2006, 2010, and 2020), as displayed below.