



Analysing a Multi-Dimensional Perspective and Strategy of *Kesban* (Security and Development) Doctrine to Support the Malaysian Defence and Security Policies in Future

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Abstract

The rise of the Communist struggle in Malaysia was divided into two stages beginning in 1948-1960 (First Emergency) and 1969-1989 (Second Emergency). From this period Malaya and Malaysian government form KESBAN (Security and Development) to eradicate Communist influence. Since fall of Soviet Union in 1991 The relevance of the KESBAN doctrine is often debated among policymakers and academics in Malaysia. Hence, this article analyzes the multi-dimensional perspective and strategy of the KESBAN doctrine to support the Malaysian defense and security policies in the future. By using document analysis as a research methodology, this study found that the KESBAN concept and strategy are still relevant and should be adopted in present and future policies related to defense and national security in Malaysia. This study also recommends improving our national policies related to security and development. The current policy and its future policies will become the main reference policies for other supporting policies in ensuring national security.

1. INTRODUCTION

Keselamatan dan Pembangunan or KESBAN is a strategical framework of 'Security and Development Approach' in nation building to counter communist insurgents in the past emergency periods. The strategy can be traced since First Emergency (1948-1960) with the Brigg's Plan to counter the communist insurgency in Malaya. The plan involved a massive programme by moving the squatters into new areas that were guarded through integrated civil-military approach whereby all armed services and security forces operated under civilian control and the maxim of minimum force (Salleh, 2022a). During the Second Emergency (1968-1991), the idea was refined by the late Tun Abdul Razak, Second Prime Minister. Using the KESBAN idea, numerous efforts were made by the government to curb the communist insurgency in peninsular Malaysia, while the Rajang Area Security Command (RASCOC) was established to tackle the danger posed by the North Kalimantan Communist Party (NKCP) in the Sabah and Sarawak region (Ajaya, 2009).

KESBAN strategy aims to improve the state security by developing an Internal Development (IDEV) and Internal Security (IS) strategy to counter internal threat from communist insurgency. After communist insurgency eliminated on December 1989, IS and IDEV of the KESBAN concept has progressively evolved through the implementation of new policy based on threat and national security environment. The concept was still very much alive in the new policy although not directly specifies whereby the concept of security and development dimension was vital in national building toward achieving national goals of to preserve national sovereignty and survivability as well as to ensure territorial integrity.

Since the armed threat of the communist insurgency since 1948 ended with the Hatyai Peace Accord in 1989, there has been no imminent IS threat in Malaysia except the incident of Bukit Jenalik in 2000 and Lahad Datu Incursion in 2013, but those incidents were happened in short period and small scale. However, Malaysia continues to face the possibility of threats which could break out at any time if it is not being curbed promptly.



As stipulated in Figure 1.0, the threat dimension and landscape toward Malaysia has transform drastically since 1990s, in which it has change from the communist insurgency and other traditional threat before the 1990s,

to volatile dynamic and complex new threat particularly the non-traditional threat posed by non-state actor in the 1990s and beyond.

1960s	1970s	1980s
1. Communist Insurgent & Ideology	1. Communist Insurgent & Ideology	1. Communist Insurgent & Ideology
2. National Unity	2. Cold War	2. Cold War
3. Cold War	3. Indo-China Domino Effect	3. Political Extremism
4. Indonesian Confrontation	4. Ideological Extremism (Japanese Red Army Incident)	4. Displaced Persons (Vietnam Boat People)
5. Racial Tension	5. Espionage	5. Misuse of Drugs & Substance
6. Communal Conflict		6. Espionage
7. Espionage		
1990s	2000s	2010s
1. Extremism	1. Extremism	1. National Unity
2. Unipolarity	2. Global Terrorism	2. Global Terrorism
3. Economic / Monetary attack	3. Religious Extremism	3. Religious Extremism
4. Socio-Political Instability	4. Overlapping Territorial Claims	4. Overlapping Territorial Claims
5. Overlapping Territorial Claims	5. Disaster	5. Disaster
6. Disaster	6. Cyber Security	6. Cyber Security
7. Human Security	7. Maritime Security	7. Maritime Airspace & Aeronautical Security
8. Displaced Persons (Unrecognize term "Refugee")	8. Illegal Immigrant / (Unrecognize term "Refugee")	8. Illegal Immigrant / (Unrecognize term "Refugee")
9. Misuse of Drugs & Substance	9. Misuse of Drugs & Substance	9. Misuse of Drugs & Substance
10. Espionage	10. Espionage	10. Espionage
	11. Integrity	11. Integrity

Figure 1.0: General History of Threat to the National Security

Source: Khairil (2022)

According to Khairil (2022) and National Security Council (NSC) (2021), the world threat landscape has transformed significantly in the 2020s. the threat environment faced by the Malaysia include issues on traditional security due to state actor interaction, non-traditional security issues due to non-state actor interaction, in between both of this is the grey area due to non-state actor with state affiliation, complexities.in interrelations as well as the new and potential threat challenges. All these variables shaped Malaysia security outlook and the policy related to it. Thus, this paper will argue that a multi-dimensional perspective and strategy of KESBAN doctrine to support the Malaysian defence and security policies in future.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The systematic assessment and evaluation of documents, including printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) content, is known as document analysis. Document analysis calls for data to be studied and evaluated in order to extract meaning, acquire insight, and create empirical knowledge, similar to other analytical techniques in qualitative research (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; see also Rapley, 2007). Without the help of a researcher, text (words) and images have been recorded in documents. Other silent or trace evidence, such as cultural objects, is not considered for the

purposes of this debate. Documents are referred to be "social facts" by Atkinson and Coffey (1997) because they are created, disseminated, and utilised in socially coordinated ways.

There are many different types of documents that may be utilised for systematic examination as part of a research. Advertisements, meeting agendas, attendance sheets, and minutes, manuals, background papers, books, brochures, diaries, and journals, printed event programmes, letters and memos, maps, charts, newspapers, press releases, programme proposals, application forms, and summaries, scripts for radio and television programmes, institutional or organisation reports, survey results, and various public records are among them. Scrapbooks and picture albums can also provide historical information for study. Libraries, newspaper archives, historical society offices, and organisational or institutional files all have these kinds of records. Finding, choosing, assessing (making meaning of), and synthesising data from documents are all parts of the analytical process. Excerpts, quotes, or complete sections from documents are obtained using document analysis, which is then used to organise the material into primary topics, categories, and case examples.

In this study, document content analysis techniques were used to analyze the multi-dimensional perspective and strategy of KESBAN doctrine. The document content



analysis technique was chosen because it is a systematic approach to analyze data and information in accordance with qualitative research. In addition, the document content analysis was found to be in accordance with the type of data collected in this study, namely survey data and text data. The document content analysis technique was also chosen because it is suitable to be carried out by a single researcher because the process of text interpretation through reading is difficult to master, explain and communicate if done in a group. In addition, the document content analysis method is a technique that is often used for qualitative studies in fields related to security. In addition to that, this study rationally chooses document analysis because policies involving security and development are easily accessible and also complete in terms of explanation to the researcher. among the documents analyzed by the researcher are Malaysia's KESBAN Doctrine, National Security Policy (NSP) 2017, National Defense Policy (NDP) 2010, Security and Public Order Policy (DKKA) 2019, Defense White Paper (DWP) 2020 and NSP 2021-2025, National Development Policy 1991, Vision 2020 and Shared Prosperity Vision (SPV) 2030.

3. KESBAN DOCTRINE

As mentioned above, KESBAN strategy aims to improve the state security by developing an IDEV and IS strategy (Wahab et al., 2016). The IS and IDEV components are responsible for the security forces and the development of the country. These components have their own goals and must be coordinated and executed in a manner. The IS aspect is the province of the armed and uniformed (military and police) whereas the IDEV mainly involves all the civil governmental agencies responsibilities towards the development in the country. Each part has its own individual objectives, but they are, however, should be planned, coordinated and implemented together. KESBAN concepts will involve economic, political, social and psychological that interplay with the police and military operations. The objective of IS is to create an atmosphere of tranquillity and related peace within peace which IDEV can be achieved. It embraces the full range of measures taken by the police and military to free and protect the society from any form of lawlessness and insurgency through the conduct of tactical operations with the intention to eliminate all kinds of threats, traditional and non-traditional threat. The tactical operations conducted by the security forces designed to establish control of the contested areas and will assist the implementation of IS activities by other government agencies. While the objective of IDEV is to remove those conditions which is influencing and

promoting the rise of any threats, through the elimination of discontentment and frustrations in the society from which the threats can thrive. IDEV therefore is geared to make advancement in the economic, social, and political fields to improve the livelihood of the people as a means of gaining their support. It is also emphasizing on the activity that leading towards the attainment of balanced social, political, psychological, and economic development that is crucial for nation building. (MAF, 2017, pp. 1-3 – 1-4; Salleh, 2022b).

On the other hand, KESBAN is a strategy that aims to develop social, psychological, and economic connections with security forces. It is based on a three-pillar strategy which focuses in balanced development, mobilisation and neutralisation (MAF, 2017, pp. 3 - 4). Balanced Development attempts to achieve national goals through balanced political, social, and economic development. It includes activities to alleviate frustration by providing opportunities to individuals and groups within the society. While for mobilization, it includes all activities to motivate and organize the populace in support of the government through KESBAN programmes as well as activities to protect the populace from insurgent actions and other domestic threat. It is also to mobilise all available civil governmental agencies working together with security forces. Whereas for neutralization, it includes all lawful activities to disrupt, disorganize, and defeat insurgent organization and domestic threat particularly in term of subversion, lawlessness, insurgency in order to uphold the state's political ideology (MAF, 2021, pp. 1-5 – 1-6; Salleh, 2022b).

4. EVOLUTION OF KESBAN DOCTRINE

After communist insurgency eliminated on December 1989, IS and IDEV progressively continue. All IS aspects are maintained and enhanced to face the threat in this new globalization era. As the government main agenda to transform Malaysia from developing country to developed country in the year 2020, the security is the pivotal to achieve the agenda. Through KESBAN approach, Malaysia has undergone various phases of development and improvement (human domain) in term of IS and IDEV through the implementation of New Economic Policy (NEP) then shifting to Vision 2020 and recently the Shared Prosperity Vision (SPV) 2030 which witness Malaysia's adjusting the national approach toward nation building. However, since 1990s, the evolution of the KESBAN concept has witnessed the IS and IDEV dimension both went its own way with its related policies as illustrated in Figure 2.0.

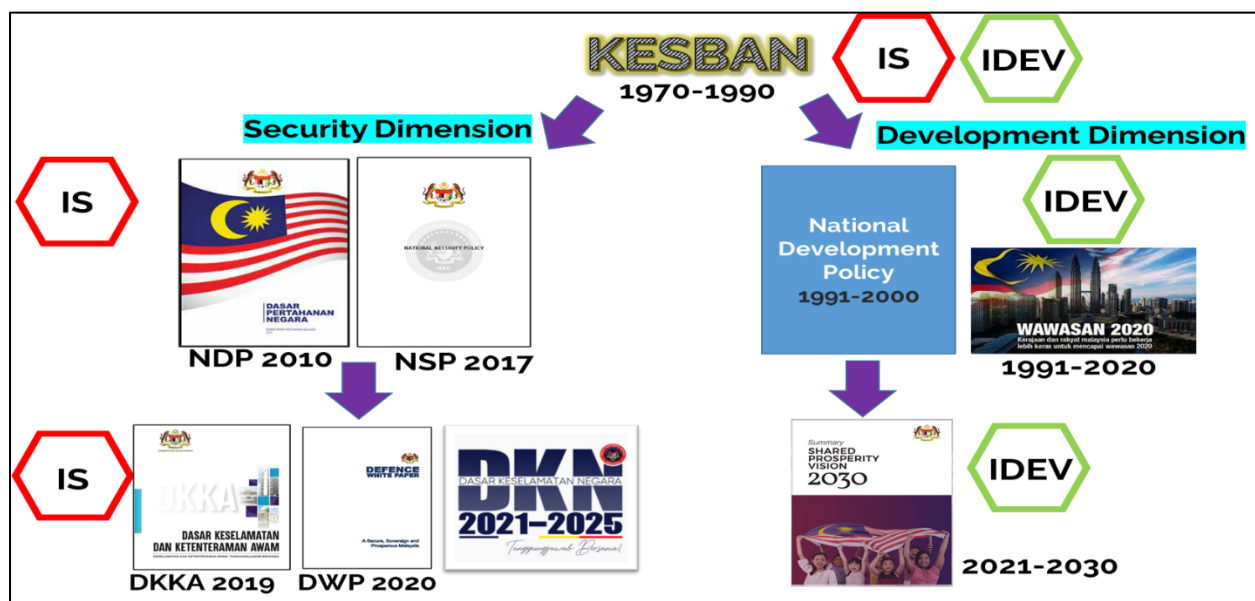


Figure 2.0: Evolution of KESBAN Doctrine in Post 1990s Security and Development Policies

Source: Develop by researcher

Figure 2.0 highlighted the after the 1990s, KESBAN concept of IS and IDEV has been separated by new security and development policy, this was very much due to evolution and reconsolidate of the role and task of related agencies in each of the security and development dimension after the end of communist insurgency. The IS concept continue to be adapted by the security dimension related policy such as National Security Policy (NSP) 2017, National Defence Policy (NDP) 2010, Security and Public Order Policy (DKKA) 2019,

Defence White Paper (DWP) 2020 and NSP 2021-2025. While IDEV concept has been adapted in the National Development Policy 1991, Vision 2020 and SPV 2030. Nevertheless, both group of policies did specify the IS and IDEV concept in general but more focus on a dimension either IS or IDEV. Therefore, based on the current scenario, the present KESBAN model adopted by Malaysia through its security and development policy are as Figure 2.1.

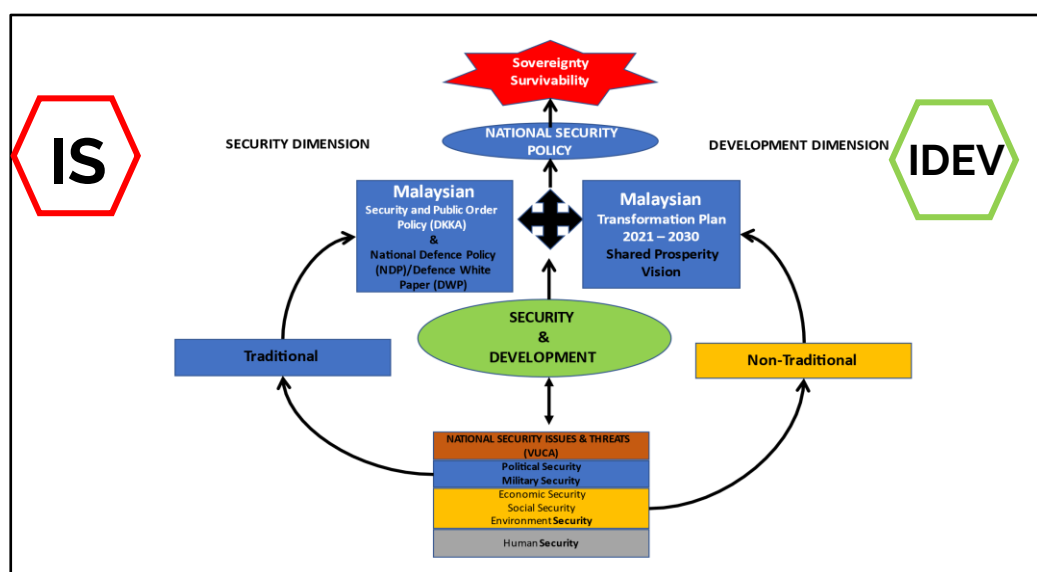


Figure 2.1: Present KESBAN (SECDEV) Elements at National Policies' Level

Source: Salleh (2022c)



Based on Figure 2.1, Salleh (2022c) stipulated the tenet of KESBAN has been adapted at national policies' level and was influenced much with the current multi-dimension threat landscape, security and development variables, issues and challenges extracted based on Buzan (2016) five fundamental elements of national security; military, political, environmental, societal and economic as well as seven dimensions of human security by United Nations Development Program (UNDP); health, economic, political, food, environment, personal and community (Spears & Williams, 2012). On top of this, the NSP should be one that inherit the KESBAN doctrine elements and become the umbrella of every other subsequent policy be it for security or development dimension.

4.1 National Security Policy (NSP)

NSP (Dasar Keselamatan Negara - DKN) had been legislated in 2017 under the National Security Act 2016. NSP 2017 is a comprehensive national security policy implemented in response to the various changes in the security environment with the aim to protect and defence the national's core value in pursuing the continued existence of stability, peace, security and sovereignty of

Malaysia. This policy is the main thrust of IS of KESBAN and explicitly linked to the five Barry Buzan national security pillars. The updated version NSP 2021-2025 was introduced in 2021 and highlighted Nine National Security Pillars as well as the concept of Comprehensive Security (COMSEC) as in Figure 2.2, which are required to be maintained, preserved, and strengthened in order to guarantee Malaysia survival as an independent, peaceful and sovereign nation.

NSP 2021-2025 also identified 66 issues, challenges and threat face by this country and formulated 40 strategies for the government to mitigate it. NSP serves as a vital guide and reference for the various ministries and agencies of the government to ensure the nation's security is maintained (NSC, 2021). The NSP 2021-2015 served as the principal policy and overarching policy that governs policy direction on national security whereby it allows other policies to align / re-align in accordance to the national strategic direction as well as complementing other existing security policies: SPV 2030 (Ministry of Economic Affairs), DWP (MINDEF) / DKKA (Ministry of Home Affairs) (Khairil, 2022).

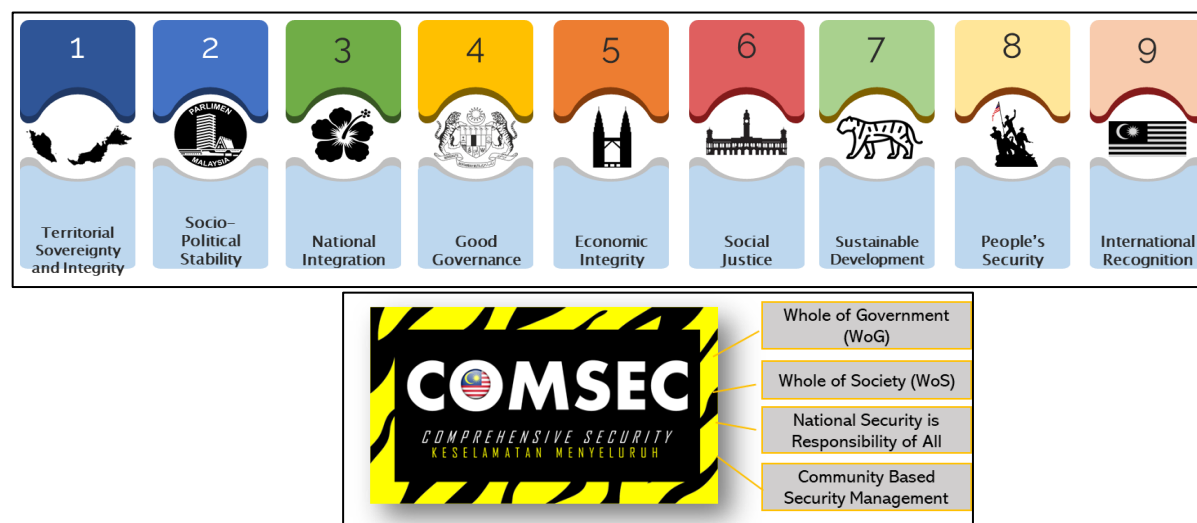


Figure 2.2: Nine National Security Pillars and COMSEC Concept in NSP 2021-2015

Source: NSC (2021)

4.2 National Defence Policy (NDP) 2010

The NDP 2010 is a framework that aims to maintain the country's strategic interests and protect its national security (MINDEF, 2010). It is important that the environment is maintained in a stable and secure manner. The strategic importance of an area can be seen from its

three levels: immediate area, regional and global. This area comprises of various territories and waters, including the Straits of Malacca and the airspace and territorial waters around it. Defence is carried out according to the six principles as in Figure 2.3.

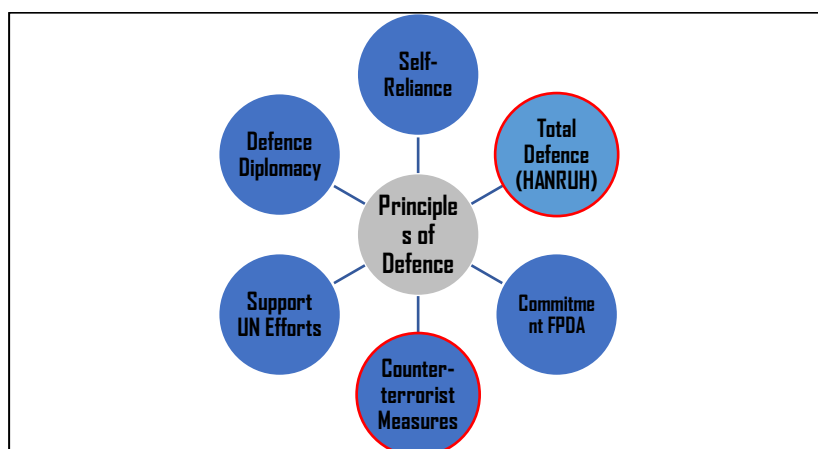


Figure 2.3: Six Principles of Defence

Source: National Defence Policy (2010, p.29)

4.3 Defence White Paper (DWP) 2020

The DWP is a strategical plan that sets out the government's long-term goals and intentions for the defence of the country. It carries out these goals through various components such as the budget, regulations, and the military. DWP's annual report sets out the government's plans and objectives for the defence industry and its various components. It also outlines the various elements of the defence strategy and capability

plans. This commitment shows the government's confidence in the safety and security of the nation. It allows its citizens to feel secure knowing that their government is working towards their goals. The DWP is a national policy document that sets out the broad strategic framework for defence planning, it is also a public document that outlines the nation's defence strategy (DWP, 2021). The outline of DWP 2020 as in Figure 2.4.

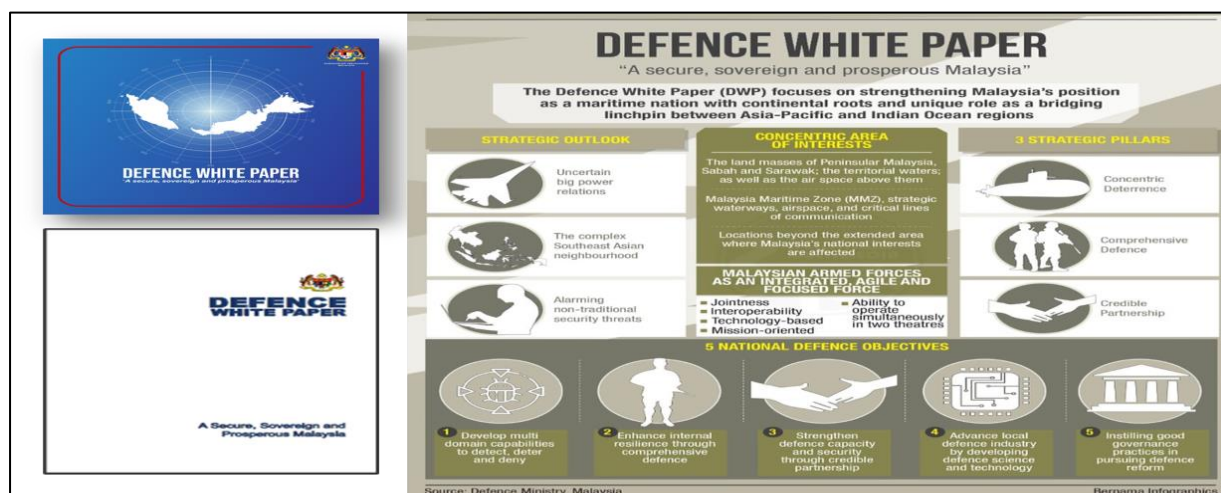


Figure 2.4: Outline of DWP 2020

Source: <https://www.facebook.com/bernamaofficial/posts/infographics-defence-white-paper/10157958109995555/> (2022)

4.4 Security and Public Order Policy (DKKA) 2019

Dasar Keselamatan dan Ketenteraman Awam (DKKA) is a comprehensive policy in maintaining public safety and order, guaranteeing the well-being of the people and the survival of Malaysia as a peaceful, prosperous,

sovereign, and independent country (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2019). Its highted six main core in security and public order aspect that need to be preserved in ensuring national security particularly from internal threat. The outline of DKKA 2019 as in Figure 2.5.



Figure 2.5: Outline of DKKA 2019

Source: BERNAMA Facebook Page (2022)

4.5 Shared Prosperity Vision (SPV) 2030

The SPV 2030 is a set of goals that aim to make Malaysia a more prosperous and inclusive country. It is focused on attaining sustainable economic growth and improving the living conditions of all Malaysians. It is based on three main principles; (1) development for all, (2) addressing wealth and income disparities, and (3) a united prosperous and dignified nation, as well as seven

strategic thrusts to accomplish the desired objectives. The SPV 2030 is a commitment to make Malaysia a country that continues to develop sustainably along with fair, equitable and inclusive economic distribution at all levels of income groups, ethnicities, regions, and supply chains (Ministry of Economic Affairs, 2019). The outline of SPV 2030 as in Figure 2.6.



Figure 2.6: Outline of SPV 2030

Source: <https://bernama.com/es/infographics/index.php?v=4458> (2022)



4.6 Malaysia Transformation Plan 2021-2030

Comprises a medium-term plan of 12th Malaysia Plan (2021-2025) and the 13th Malaysia Plan (2026-2030) in which the government annual budget for both plans

would be aligned with the objective set to be achieved in SPV 2030 (EPU, 2021). The outline of 12th Malaysia Plan as in Figure 2.7.

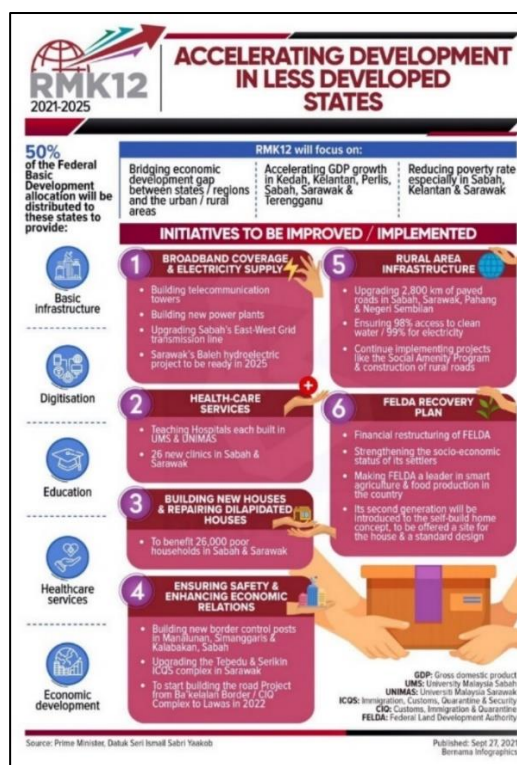


Figure 2.7: Outline of 12th Malaysia Plan 2021-2025

Source: https://www.facebook.com/bernamaofficial/posts/10159836437515555?_rdr (2022)

5. KESBAN DOCTRINE IN SUPPORT FUTURE DEFENCE AND SECURITY POLICIES

Based on analysis on the Nine Security Pillar of the NSP 2021-2025, it is discovered that the nine fundamental pillars required to maintain, preserve, and strengthen in

order to guarantee national security has adopted the KESBAN concept of IS and IDEV as stipulated in Figure 4.0. therefore, the multi-dimension of security and development aspect has been catered for inside the NSP 2021-2025 to address all the 66 issue, challenges and threat faced by Malaysia in the security and development context.

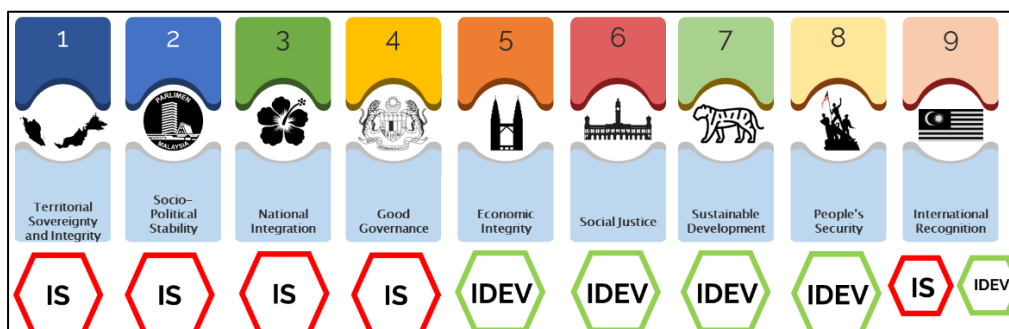


Figure 4.0: KESBAN Concept in the 9 National Security Pillars

Source: Develop by researcher



Furthermore, it is discovered that most of the 40 strategies of the NSP 2021-2025 to mitigate all the foresee and perceived threat and challenges are accordance with the KESBAN strategy of balance

development, mobilisation and neutralisation as transpired in the Figure 4.1 (colour coding according to each of the three strategies).

Uphold Federal Constitution	Strengthening the System and National Institution	Building Economic Resilience	Improve People Well-Being
Preserve Territory Sovereignty	Guaranteeing Human Rights Based on the Federal Constitution	Bridging the Socioeconomic Gap	Improves Citizen Endurance
Strengthening Territory Integrity	Strengthen National Unity	Strategic Ownership Control and National Interest	Post Pandemic Total Recovery
Empowering Defence Capability and Security Readiness	Unity via Education	Managing Natural Resources with Efficiency and Effectiveness	Enhance Diplomacy Capabilities
Mastering Critical Field of Technology	Empowering the Patriotism Spirit	Strengthening Food Security	Strengthening Regional Cooperation
Strengthen Human Resource	Control and Prevention of Ideology Contrary to Malaysian Norms	Strengthen Cyber Security and Resilience	Enhance Malaysia Brand and Image
Empowering Defence Industry	Cultivating the Spirit of Identity (jatidiri)	Strengthening Media Management And Prevention of False Information	Cultivation of Strategic Thought
Strengthening the Intelligence Network	Cultivating Integrity Value	Strengthen Digital Environment Cultural	Empowerment of Community and Spirit of Volunteering
Strengthen Irregular Migration Management	Fight Against Corruption	Implement Sustainable Development	Stimulate Security Mindset
Strengthening Security Forces Capabilities	Cross-Sector and Hierarchy Integration	Management of Energy Resources and Water Supply	Inculcate Comprehensive Security Culture

Legend: KESBAN Strategy	Balanced Dev	Mobilisation	Neutralisation
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Figure 4.1: Interlink of KESBAN Strategy with 40 Strategies of NSP 2021-2025

Source: Develop by researcher

From the Figure 4.1 and 4.2 analysis clearly justified that the present NSP 2021-2025 has embedded the KESBAN doctrine and adopted to address the contemporary and multi-dimension volatile, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity (VUCA) threat environment. This pretext justified the relevancy of the KESBAN doctrine to be applied in supporting future defence and security policy. In fact, the finding discovers that the KESBAN doctrine was not only can support the future security and defence policy, but it is also actually embedded the doctrine inside and act as fundamental or basis framework for future policy development. Thus, NSP is the policy that inherit and will continue the legacy of KESBAN doctrine in future policy. The adaptation of KESBAN principles and tenets proved that the doctrine is relevant in the past, present, and future to mitigate any traditional and non-traditional threat from internal or external. Therefore, NSP must be placed at the highest hierarchy of the government policy and served as principal, point of reference and overarching policy for other supporting policy to incorporate with. From a security viewpoint, the incorporation of KESBAN doctrine in all the government policy will enable the country to upgrade and strengthen the existing security system. While for the development aspect, it will guarantee of stability and strengthen the economy in the long run

6. CONCLUSION

KESBAN concept and strategy are still relevant to be adopted in present and future policy related to defence and national security. Fundamental of KESBAN concept

and strategy have been adopted in post-communist's emergency era policies but not as a whole IS and IDEV concept, while KESBAN strategy of balanced development, mobilisation and neutralisation were modified and integrated in newer policy to suit the national security environment except for NSP 2012-2025. The NSP 2021-2015 is the only current policy that possessed the fundamental of KESBAN doctrine. Thus, the current and future revised NSP as the principal policy must adopt and address the policy and regulation on both security dimension and development dimension based on KESBAN doctrine as the guideline for the formulation of other supporting policy to facilitate national security and development agenda.

7. RECOMMENDATION

Among the recommendations in improving our national policies related to security and development are firstly, the current NSP 2021-2025 and its future policy much became the main reference policy for other supporting policy in ensuring national security. Secondly, the government need to update outdated policy pertaining to national security particularly National Defence Policy 2010 which can be considered obsolete and not in line with the new NSP 2021-2025. Besides that, government need to put the effort to standardise policy period time frame for easier planning and execution (for example 10 years). Lastly, related stakeholders must inculcate policy literacy in the government agency and the people as the first step toward securing national objective in the aspect of security and development.



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