



PENCEGAHAN JENAYAH DALAM ANGKATAN TENTERA MALAYSIA : SATU CABARAN

JURNAL TENTERA DARAT MALAYSIA

KANDUNGAN (CONTENTS)

Dari Meja Editor	2
Is War Avoidable Lt Kol Abu Muslim bin Ismail	3
Pencegahan Jenayah Dalam Angkatan Tentera: Satu Cabaran Mej Abd Rahman bin Wok	9
Militant Groups Threat Towards National Security Mej (Dr) Ahmad Faisal bin Zuli	21
The Utility of the Principles of War for the Malaysian Army In Malaysia's Current Strategic Circumstances Mej Johnny Lim	32
The Elements of Foreign Policy Mej Saiful Anwar bin Md Ali	45
Artikel Terbaik Edisi 39/02	55
Social Perspective In Afghanistan Conflict Mej Mohd Fadzuri bin Masudoki	56
Natural Gas For Vehicles (NGV): Satu Pelaburan Jangka Panjang Kepada Tentera Darat Mej Mohd Ismail bin Kamarudin	66
The Passing Cloud and How To Stay Motivated Mej Salihudin bin Daud	74
Military Leadership In The Future Mej Zazli bin Wook	81
Teknologi Maklumat Dalam Era Baru Pengurusan Tentera Darat Kapt Che Hasmadi bin Kassim	87



Muka surat 9



Muka surat 21



Muka surat 61

IS WAR AVOIDABLE?

OLEH
LT KOL ABU
MUSLIM BIN
ISMAIL

INTRODUCTION



War is not the only problem of international relations but is a central problem. It has always been part of our human history. It had also occurred from time to time, and in one form or another. It is very difficult to determine whether war is avoidable or not. The answer is cannot be so simplistic. Some might say yes, but others might disagree.

In order to be able to answer whether war is avoidable, we must understand what causes war. Therefore, it is the aim of this paper to analyse the causes of war, and critically discuss whether or not those causes could be overcome in order to derive a conclusion whether war is avoidable.

DEFINITIONS OF WAR

There are numerous definitions for war. Some are socio-political, some are legal, some place quantitative criteria, some have judicial conception etc. The Dictionary of World Politics defines war simply as a "direct, somatic violence between state actors".

Quincy Wright in his classics "A Study of War", tries to combine the legal, sociological, military, and psychological views of war and offer a synthesis. The resulting definition holds that war is a state of law and a form of conflict involving a high degree of legal equality, of hostility, and of violence in the relations of organized human

groups. In short, "war is the legal condition which equally permits two or more hostile groups to carry on a conflict by armed forces."

Clausewitz defined war as "an act of violence intended to compel our opponents to fulfil our will", and elsewhere he emphasized the continuity of violence with other political methods: "War is nothing but a continuation of political intercourse, with an admixture of other means."

CAUSES OF WARS

The causes of war have long been a source of mystery but many ideas have been developed on what causes them. There are many scholars that have contributed their ideas on the causes of wars. The most spoken of the causes of wars are; existence of a common enemy to a nation, existence of an outside threat to a nation, mob mentality or the power of inspiration in the masses and inspiration by some other outside cause. David W. Ziegler proposed that human nature is the primary cause of war. Other reasons mentioned are the international system, nationalism, availability of instrument of violence to leaders, leaders' believe in prospect of victory and that one state chooses to use force over the other. Kenneth Waltz in his "Man, the State and War", in analysing the causes of conflicts and wars looks at the three levels of analysis: Individual, state and international systems.

The most significant and frequently quoted causes of wars, perhaps, is Stephen Van Evera's in his 'Causes of War: Power and the Roots of

Conflicts'. He demonstrates that ideas from the realist paradigm can offer strong explanations for international conflicts. He frames five conditions that increase the risk of interstate war: false optimism about the likely outcome of a war, a first-strike advantage, fluctuation in the relative power of states, circumstances that allow nations to parlay one conquest into another, and circumstances that make conquest easy. According to him, all but one of these conditions - false optimism - rarely occurs today, but policymakers often erroneously believe in their existence. He argues that these misperceptions are responsible for many modern wars. He also assesses the possibility of nuclear war by applying all five hypotheses to its potential onset.

There are also other explanations for war according to various International Relations school of thoughts. Realists explain that war happened due to state aggressions and that conflict are inevitable in an anarchic world. Liberalists explain that war is due to accidents and instability, but are avoidable through effective institutions. Marxist looks at war as a capitalist phenomenon where states must conquer markets that their economies require to avoid recessions and depressions.

PROPOSITION TO WAR IS AVOIDABLE

Democratic Peace Proposition

There are scholars like Owen, Russett, Doyle and Maoz who suggested that war is avoidable. These suggestions are made through the democratic peace proposition. Actually the idea of democratic peace is not new. It was initiated by Immanuel Kant in his published book "Perpetual Peace" in 1795. The primary claim of the proposition is that democratic states do not wage war against each other. The democratic peace also includes a handful of other claims as suggested by other scholars. Firstly, democracies tend to prevail in wars they fight with non-democracies. Secondly, in wars they initiate,

democracies suffer fewer casualties and fight shorter wars than non-democratic states. Thirdly, democratic states locked in disputes with each other choose more peaceful means of resolution than other pairing of states. And finally, democratic great powers do not initiate preventive wars.

There are two strands to the democratic peace causal logics. The first that attributes to the absence of war between democracies is the institutional constraint: the restraining effects of public opinion, or the check and balances embedded in a democratic state's domestic political structure. The second posits that it is the democratic norms and culture: a shared commitment to the peaceful adjudication of political disputes that account for the absence of war between democratic states.

Economic Interdependence

The economic interdependence sometimes is also argued by the democratic peace proponents to have averted wars. The liberalist would argue along the same lines. These arguments are based on the characteristics of democracies that tend to foster economic interdependence in free-market economies that will make them inclined to trade with one another, create transnational ties that encourage accommodation rather than conflict, hence reduces the likelihood of war. States that depend on one another refrain themselves from going to war to avoid a lose-lose situation and prefer to negotiate as proposed by the democratic peace theory.

International Organisations

Some scholars argued that the presence of international organisations also helped to avert wars. Members of the same organisation shared common values and interests and are unlikely to go to war against each other. Besides the common

values and interests, the other members of the same organisations are likely to play their roles as mediators in order to prevent war.

International organisation like the United Nations (UN) has some deterrence factor to small states to go to war, as its members comprises major powers that could easily interfere or stop war from happening. The least that an organisation such as UN can do is to pass a resolution to impose trade sanctions, enough to deter countries to go to war. International organisations and civil societies are also known to have negotiated successfully with political regimes in order to avert wars.

Nuclear Strategy

During the Cold War, there was bipolarity. Nevertheless, despite the tensions, there was no war between the superpowers or their allies. Some scholars attributed the peace to the peacefulness of nuclear strategy; the art of acquiring, deploying, and using force for political purposes.

Although atomic bombs were used in World War II to crush the morale of the Japanese and thus ending the war, similar weapons was never again employed. In the decade after the war, nuclear weapons were used by the US to undertake the defence of Western Europe, Korea and a number of Asian countries against Communist attack by a strategy of 'massive retaliation' to aggression of any kind.

Throughout the Cold War, the 'Deterrence Theory'; a conditional commitment to retaliate or to exact retribution if another party fails to behave in a desired, compliant manner, came into play. According to this theory, the mutually assured destruction (MAD) in the event of a nuclear confrontation between the US and the USSR preserved a delicate balance and prevent wars between the two superpowers.

CRITICISM TO WAR IS AVOIDABLE

Democracies Do Go To War

The theory of democratic peace asserted that democracies don't go to war against each other. However, not all states in the world are democratic. Therefore, there is still a likelihood that democratic states will go to war with other non-democratic states. Furthermore, there are many strands of democratic government. It is almost impossible to democratize all states in the near future. Democratization of states need a long time frame before they could become a consolidated or matured democracy. Some scholars argued that newly democratize states are warlike. Hence, war is unavoidable

Security Dilemma

In an anarchic self-help international system, states are driven to accumulate power in order to maximize their security. By doing so, it entails a chain reaction to the opponents to accumulate power as much, or more. Thus it will drive a spiral of mutual insecurity. In this scenario, neither threats nor concessions work. Threats could only worsen the opponent's insecurity and concessions will worsen state's own security.

By this perspective, war is unavoidable because of the fears states have of each other. Wars could only be made avoidable if states could be reassured so that insecurity did not lead to war. The problem is that, states do not always agree on how much security is needed. There are two paradoxes of security dilemma. Firstly, because of the defensive reaction of the opponent, any attempts to increase power by a state may actually decrease the state's if it provokes the opponent to increase more power. Secondly, even if both states want peace, they may inadvertently aggravate their relations so that they end up in a war they neither wanted. Hence, security dilemma in an anarchic world is a realist belief that war is unavoidable.

Persistent of International Disputes

Although there is a saying that all great events have great causes, this is untrue for conflicts to occurs. Many conflicts in the world occurred because they seemingly unintentionally escalate from a minor dispute. Examples are that of WW I and Kosovo. Some disputes are domestic in nature but can overflow to become an international one.

Statistical evidence portrays that conflicts are likely to occur over territorial disputes, which matter dearly to states and are a frequent cause of war. Presently, there are many conflicts and disagreements between states that involved territories. Almost all interstate wars occur along territorial borders.

Nuclear War Is Inevitable

During the Cold War, direct war, either conventional or nuclear, between the two superpowers or their allies were prevented through deterrence theory. When the Cold War is over, steps were taken to reduce the number of nuclear inventories in the respective countries; US and USSR. Nevertheless, today, the US still depends on some 30,000 nuclear weapons for its security and the USSR still depends on some 20,000 nuclear weapons for its security. There are plans on how to use them. So, everyday, there is a small probability that the nuclear weapons will be used.

Everyday, there are conflicts in the world, especially in Third World countries, that is likely to involve the interests of nuclear possessing countries. Everyday, there is a chance that failures in high technology military equipment that will start an accidental nuclear war. Furthermore, in this new era, everyday there is a likelihood that there is a terrorist group that will hold the world at ransom with some form of nuclear weapons.

Nuclear weapons have been invented. They cannot be disinvented. Even if there is a total disarmament done, the technological know-how will enable states to rebuild nuclear weapons when war is imminent. In the mean time, there are also 'rouge' states that are trying to acquire nuclear technology to construct their own nuclear weapons. Hence, although there is a very small probability of any nuclear war, cumulatively, the probability of some kind of nuclear war to happen in the future is quite high. This justifies that war, nuclear as it may be, is unavoidable.

No Balance of Power

The end of Cold War brought the end of bipolarity. Presently the US is the sole superpower. There are many instances where the US is seen to be acting unilaterally, and there is no single major power that is able to balance the act. Therefore, the US is at its will to conduct war against any states that go against its national interests. In a Union of the State address, President Bush had declared Iraq, Iran and North Korea as the "axis of evil" states. This is in a way, legitimizing the US to take necessary actions, including military, in order to "teach" the said evil states some lessons.

Military Defence Complex

Military defence industry is a major contributor to the GNP of many states. It also provides jobs to thousands of people. Defence industries also played a major role in the domestic political and economic scene of many states. Closing down in the name of peace at the costs of billions of dollars, and at the risks of thousands of jobless citizen is a bold action to be taken. Furthermore, there is a distrust and competition among states to supply sophisticated weapons, or surplus and obsolete military equipments to the poorer states. If one state refrains from selling, it will give an added advantage to another. It is a matter of "if I don't sell, the other states would".

Rising China

Little can be said about China as a rivalry to the US military power now. However, by sometime in the second decade of 21st Century, China may well have a total GNP equal to that of the US. If China keeps growing rapidly after that, China and US could be involved in the kind of deadly rivalry, as was between US and USSR. It would be especially dangerous if China continues to import high-level military technology from Russia, or even forms an alliance with Russia.

Because China is unlikely to democratize soon or rapidly, as the leadership is very reluctant to accept political liberalization, the rivalry between US and China in the future will again see an opposing ideology, a mirror of that of the Cold War. If that does happen, then war either directly or through proxy states, may not be avoidable where national interests collide.

CONCLUSION

It is a difficult question to answer whether war is avoidable because it has been part of our human history. The above proposition and criticism

about the avoidability of war weighs almost equal. The causes of war are many and complex. There are no two wars fought for a single reason but for a multiple of reasons, and it is impossible to eradicate all of the reasons.

Those who agree to the idea of war is avoidable argue that democratic peace theory, economic interdependence, international organisations and nuclear strategy will help to prevent wars from breaking out. On the other hand, those who criticize the proposition argue that democratic theory is a fallacy, security dilemma, persistent of international disputes, nuclear war is inevitable, no balance of power, military defence complex and rising China as the reasons for war to break out.

The international system is anarchic. States find reasons to seek for their own security, which in turn create insecurity for the others. The security dilemma and conflict spiral provide a conducive environment for war to break out. For as long as there is human, nuclear weapons, non-democratic states, supply and demands of military weapons, there is likelihood that there would still be wars. The probability might be small, but wars are nevertheless unavoidable.

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PENCEGAHAN JENAYAH DALAM ANGKATAN TENTERA MALAYSIA : SATU CABARAN

OLEH
MEJ RAHMAN @
ABD RAHMAN BIN
WOK

PENDAHULUAN



Sebagai sebuah organisasi yang lengkap dan tersusun, Angkatan Tentera Malaysia (ATM) di beri kepercayaan yang tinggi dalam peranannya mempertahankan negara dan kedaulatan tanahair. Perdana Menteri Malaysia Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad dalam ucapannya pada Perbarisan Tamat Latihan Rekrut Siri 147 di PUSASDA pada 31 Disember 2001 berkata, "Negara terhutang budi kepada tentera yang telah menjalankan tugas dengan penuh setia dan sanggup berkorban demi memastikan keselamatan dan kebebasan negara dari segala bentuk ancaman sejak dari perang dunia Ke-2. Oleh itu sebagai rakyat kita perlulah bersatu padu bersama anggota tentera mengekalkan keamanan ini agar tidak menjadi hamba kepada penjajah sekali lagi". ATM mempunyai niat yang suci dalam menjunjung sumpahnya. Berbagai usaha dilakukan dalam membentuk anggota ATM agar sentiasa menjaga tatatertib dan mementingkan tugas daripada keperluan peribadi. Walaupun begitu ada segelintir anggota yang terkeluar dari acuan ini dengan melibatkan diri dengan kegiatan yang melanggar batas undang-undang yang di tetapkan. Mereka ini secara sengaja atau tidak telah menjatuhkan imej ATM. Sejak akhir-akhir ini, statistik perlakuan jenayah dan pelanggaran disiplin di kalangan anggota ATM semakin meningkat dan ini membimbangkan. Walaupun manusia dengan sifat "baharunya", iaitu manusia berada di dalam dua kekuatan naluri, menjadi lumrah manusia lebih mirip minatnya terhadap kemewahan dunia dan condong kepada perkara-perkara yang merosak berbanding dengan sifat mulia. Ini bertepatan dengan Firman Allah dalam

Surah Yusuf ayat 53 yang bermaksud "Sesungguhnya nafsu manusia itu sangat menyuruh melakukan kejahatan, kecuali orang-orang yang di beri rahmat oleh Allah (maka terselamatlah mereka dari hasutan nafsu)". Kelemahan tersebut tidak boleh di jadikan sandaran terhadap perlakuan jenayah di kalangan anggota tentera yang terkenal dengan disiplin dan peraturan yang ketat. Oleh itu langkah-langkah bersepadu dan berterusan mestilah dilaksanakan dengan mengambil kira permasalahannya hingga ke akar umbi.

KONSEP PERLAKUAN JENAYAH

Aktiviti jenayah memang sentiasa berada di tengah masyarakat dan kehadirannya amat sukar di bendung. Seiring dengan perkembangan teknologi, jenayah juga berkembang dan kadangkala ia mendahului waktu. Mohd Reduan Aslie yang banyak menulis mengenai jenayah di Malaysia berpendapat: "Jenayah permasalahan masyarakat. Ia berlaku dalam semua lapisan masyarakat dan dalam semua zaman tetapi mungkin berbeza dari satu masyarakat ke satu masyarakat dan dari satu zaman ke satu zaman, begitu juga berbeza dari segi modus operandinya. Manusia hidup di dalam kelompok-kelompok kecil yang kemudiannya menjadi satu masyarakat yang membentuk sebuah organisasi kemanusiaan yang terdapatnya beberapa sifat atau tindak tanduk yang sering tidak sesuai dengan kehendak atau cita rasa ahli masyarakat yang lain. Ini termasuklah perbuatan salah laku setengah-setengah kumpulan masyarakat yang digolongkan sebagai jenayah atau kejahatan".²

¹ Berita Tentera Darat Malaysia, 'Bersatu Kekalkan Kebebasan Dan Keselamatan', Bil 104/02/02 Feb 2002, hlm 13.

² Mohd. Reduan Aslie. "Jenayah Di Malaysia Aliran, Punca, Penyelesaian, AMK Sdn. Bhd, 1990 hlm 1.

Perlakuan jenayah bukan sahaja dilakukan oleh golongan yang berpendidikan rendah namun juga yang berpelajaran tinggi. Ini sesuai dengan pendapat bekas Ketua Polis Negara, Tun Haniff Omar yang mengatakan bahawa: *"Di samping itu, arah aliran kini membuktikan wujudnya segolongan penjenayah profesional, berpendidikan tinggi, berstatus sosial dan berpangkat besar yang tidak segan silu menggunakan kedudukan masing-masing memecahkan amanah".*³

JENAYAH DAN TATATERTIB DI DALAM ATM MASA KINI

Kategori Jenayah Dalam ATM. Jenayah di dalam ATM dikelaskan kepada kategori seperti Jenayah Tubuh Badan, Jenayah Harta Benda, Jenayah Moral/Agama, Dadah dan Jenayah Pelbagai. Pecahan kategori jenayah dan kesalahan-kesalahan yang digunakan sebagai panduan mencegah jenayah di dalam ATM adalah seperti yang di tunjukkan di *Jadual 1* di bawah.⁴

Statistik Jenayah Di Dalam ATM Mengikut Kategori. Berdasarkan kepada statistik jenayah yang di dikeluarkan oleh Cawangan Probos Marsyal ATM, sebanyak 4313 kes yang melibatkan berbagai kesalahan telah dikesan dari tahun 1994 hingga 2001⁵. Sila lihat *jadual 2*.

Rumusan Kes-Kes Jenayah Dalam ATM. Berdasarkan kepada statistik di atas, secara keseluruhannya ancaman jenayah dan pencemaran tatatertib di dalam ATM adalah masih terkawal. Namun demikian, perhatian perlu di berikan terhadap beberapa perubahan trend

Jenayah	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	Jumlah
Jenayah Tubuh Badan	37	40	46	62	62	76	37	91	462
Jenayah Harta Benda	134	133	137	156	176	165	86	145	1174
Jenayah Moral dan Agama	50	34	42	90	97	67	28	60	487
Jenayah Dadah	222	192	214	269	271	237	181	442	1802
Jenayah Pelbagai Kesalahan	82	101	85	6	13	33	25	29	388
Jumlah	558	477	509	494	625	578	302	627	4313

Jadual 2: Statistik Jenayah mengikut Kategori Dari Tahun 1994-2001

Jenayah Tubuh Badan	Jenayah Harta Benda	Jenayah Moral/Agama	Jenayah Dadah	Jenayah Pelbagai Kesalahan
Membunuh Diri/Bunuh	Minyak	Khalwat	Mengedar	Judi
Merogol	Catuan	Kelakuan Sumbang/Luar Tabii	Memiliki	Lain lain kesalahan jenayah
Mencabul Kehormatan	Peluru / Bahan Letupan	Filem/Video/Gambar Lucah	Menyalahgunakan	Mabuk
Pergaduhan/Serangan	Penyelewengan Lain-Lain Harta	Menceroboh Rumah Ibadat		
Mencedera/Mendera	Perkhidmatan/Awam/Harta Persendirian			

Jadual 1: Pecahan Kategori Jenayah Dalam ATM

³ Tun Mohd. Haniff Omar, Ucapan penerimaan Ijazah Kehormat Doktor Undang-Undang, UKM pada 12 Ogos 1989.

⁴ Sumber Cawangan Probos Marshal Mk ATM.

⁵ CPM ATM, Taklimat Kes-kes Jenayah ATM 2001.

jenayah yang berlaku serta kesan terhadap keselamatan ATM iaitu:

- Kelemahan kepimpinan semua peringkat yang tidak menunjukkan contoh yang baik, di mana terdapat segelintir pemimpin sendiri terlibat dalam kegiatan jenayah. Selain daripada itu kes-kes rogol di kalangan ahli keluarga/sumbang muhrum yang telah mula menular di dalam ATM dan ini merupakan fenomena baru masalah sosial di dalam ATM. Begitu juga masalah zina, bersekedudukan dan khalwat.
- Kes-kes pergaduhan, dera dan bunuh diri berkemungkinan mempunyai kaitan rapat dengan masalah komunikasi/perhubungan dan tekanan jiwa. Selain daripada aktiviti sosial berlebihan, masalah mudah meminjam merupakan unsur utama anggota dibebani hutang. Keadaan ini kemungkinan di antara faktor masalah kewangan anggota dan menjadikan mereka tidak efektif, seterusnya terjerumus di dalam kegiatan mencuri, rompakan dan sebagainya.
- Kelemahan kawalan di pasukan telah mewujudkan peluang kes-kes rasuah, penyelewengan/pecah amanah yang dilakukan oleh mereka yang diberi kuasa.
- Mereka yang terlibat rasuah, dadah dan masalah kewangan juga merupakan "soft target" dan tidak dinafikan akan mudah dieksploitasi oleh pihak yang mempunyai kepentingan tertentu atau anti-nasional.

PENCEGAHAN JENAYAH: PERANAN DAN TANGGUNGJAWAB

Semasa proses membentuk sebuah badan penguatkuasa undang-undang moden (Polis) pada

awal tahun 1800an, Sir Robert Peel, Setiausaha Dalam Negeri England pada masa itu mengesahkan bahawa, "*Polis itu masyarakat dan masyarakat itu Polis*". Konsep ini menekankan bahawa betapa pentingnya komitmen rakyat untuk mengurangkan jenayah. Begitu juga halnya dengan masyarakat ketenteraan. Pihak Polis Tentera dan agensi-agensi penguatkuasa lain yang ada dalam ATM tidak berupaya mengekang perlakuan jenayah melainkan mendapat kerjasama dari semua peringkat anggota. Seorang pengkaji kepolisan, Jane Jacobs berpendapat⁶, "*The first thing to understand is that public peace...of cities is not kept primarily by police.... It is kept primarily by the intricate, almost unconscious network of voluntary controls and standards among the people... and enforced by the people*".

Pencegahan jenayah ditakrifkan dengan pelbagai makna dan pengertian. Bekas pengarah FBI, J. Edgar Hoover⁷ pernah mengatakan, "*That crime prevention begins in the chair and not at the electric chair*". Ada juga berpendapat pencegahan jenayah bermakna pembasmian ketidakadilan yang berlaku dalam sosial dan ekonomi. Namun demikian bekas Pengarah Kor Polis Tentera, Kol Ahmad Zubir Bin Hj Ibrahim⁸ berpendapat bahawa pencegahan jenayah adalah "*the anticipation, recognition, and appraisal of crime risk and the initiation of actions to reduce or eliminate the risk*".

Punca-Punca Anggota ATM Melakukan Pelanggaran Disiplin Dan Perlakuan Jenayah.

Berbagai punca dan sebab yang mendorong anggota ATM melakukan atau terlibat dengan jenayah. Sebab tersebut bolehlah di bahagikan kepada dua iaitu faktor dalaman dan faktor luaran.

⁶ Jane Jacobs, "*The Death and Life of Great American Cities*", New York, Vintage Books 1961

⁷ J. Edgar Hoover "*FBI Law And Enforcement Buletin*", Okt 1088.

⁸ Temu duga Dalam Tajuk " Pencegahan Jenayah Dalam ATM" bersama Kol Mohd Bin Sulong TUDM, Pegarah Rancang, Sel Rancang Cawangan Probos Marshal Mk ATM, pada 12 Mar 2002.

Sebab-sebab yang di maksudkan adalah seperti di bawah:

- Pengaruh Sosial.⁹
- Pengaruh Persekitaran Masyarakat (Community Influence).¹⁰
- Pengaruh alkohol dan perjudian.
- Kekurangan pendidikan dan pengetahuan agama.¹¹
- Penyalahgunaan dan penagihan dadah.
- Tapisan yang longgar semasa pemilihan kemasukan.
- Kekurangan motivasi.¹²
- Kekurangan pengawasan.
- Bebanan hutang.¹³
- Kurang matang
- Peluang melakukan jenayah.
- Permasalahan pentadbiran.
- Masalah dan kepingcangan rumahtangga.
- Pengaruh media

Cadangan Pencegahan Jenayah Dalam ATM.

Bagi memantapkan lagi program pencegahan jenayah yang sedia ada, beberapa cadangan di ketengahkan seperti di berikut:

• Meningkatkan Kadar Penyelesaian Jenayah.

- *Melengkapkan peralatan moden kepada Cawangan Siasatan Jenayah ATM.* Ini kerana kebanyakan alat yang ada sudah tidak sesuai dengan trend jenayah masa kini. Selain daripada itu latihan yang

berterusan kepada pegawai penyiasat ATM adalah penting bagi menyediakan pegawai penyiasat dengan pengendalian jenayah semasa khasnya yang melibatkan jenayah berat.

- *Meningkatkan publisiti kes kes dan langkah-langkah pencegahan jenayah kepada semua anggota ATM.*

• Mewujudkan Sistem Maklumat.

- *Mewujudkan Unit Risikan Jenayah di peringkat Cawangan Probos ATM dan Probos perkhidmatan-perkhidmatan lain.*

- *Meningkatkan sistem berkomputer dan rekod di Cawangan Probos ATM.* Ini akan menggalakkan anggota memberikan maklumat dalaman yang penting bagi penyiasatan kes.

- *Mengadakan ganjaran atau lain penghargaan-penghargaan lain kepada pemberi maklumat untuk maklumat yang diterima.*

• Program Pencegahan Jenayah.

Program ini mesti mempunyai pendekatan yang menyeluruh (360 darjah). Segala aspek pencegahan jenayah haruslah di teliti dengan mengambil kira trend jenayah semasa. Antara program yang di perlukan adalah seperti di bawah:

- *Mendapatkan Kerjasama Semua Anggota ATM.* Usaha ini penting dalam menjayakan program pencegahan jenayah agar semua anggota memberikan komitmen yang tinggi dan melahirkan kesedaran di kalangan mereka mengenai keburukan jenayah.

- *Mengenal Pasti Bidang Jenayah Yang Kritikal.* Jenayah yang kritikal harus di ambil perhatian yang serius. Kes-kes

⁹ Kajian Kes Kes Moonlighting Yang Di Laksanakan Oleh MK TD Pada tahun 1999.

¹⁰ Jen Dato Seri Che Md Noor, "Rancangan Untuk Menangani Masalah Kemerosotan Disiplin Dalam TD," PTD 21 Bertarikh 14 Mac 1997.

¹¹ Dr Tajul Arrifin, "Konsep Asas Pendidikan Sepadu," Nurin Enterprise, 1998, hlm 14.

¹² Mej Rokiah Mohamed, Pendekatan Kaunseling Dalam ATM, Kursus Kaunseling Di PULAPOT Pada Tahun 1998.

¹³ Mej Abdullah Bin Hj Mohammed Hashim, "Kesan Moonlighting Dalam TD", 1999.

begini selalunya mendapat liputan yang meluas dan secara langsung memberikan impak terhadap imej ATM. Antara kes kes yang di maksudkan adalah seperti berikut¹⁴:

- Samun bersenjata api.
 - Pecah amanah.
 - Kongsi gelap.
 - Maksiat.
 - Curi senjata/peluru.
 - Mencuri.
 - Ajaran sesat.
 - Dahagi.
- *Peruntukan Khas* . Peruntukan khas hendaklah diberikan dalam usaha pencegahan jenayah. Usaha mengesan jenayah dan pencegahannya memerlukan peruntukan yang besar dari segi kelengkapan alat, mendapatkan maklumat dari pemberi maklumat dan pengintipan. Pembuktian jenayah sukar dan memerlukan kerja penyiasatan yang teliti dan mengambil masa yang lama.¹⁵

• **Mewujudkan Sebuah Sistem Pentadbiran Jenayah.** Jawatankuasa pencegahan jenayah perlu ditubuhkan di peringkat Cawangan Probos Marsyal. Probos Marsyal ATM perlulah mewujudkan satu sistem pentadbiran pencegahan jenayah yang efektif di semua peringkat. Sistem pencegahan jenayah yang di maksudkan adalah:

- *Mewujudkan sebuah Jawatan kuasa pencegahan jenayah di Cawangan Probos Marsyal ATM.* Jawatankuasa ini mestilah merancang, menyelaraskan,

melaksanakan dan mengkaji apakah langkah yang perlu di ambil bagi menangani jenayah di peringkat ATM. Ia juga perlu memberi panduan terhadap jawatankuasa-jawatankuasa lain pencegahan jenayah di peringkat yang lebih bawah bagaimana aktiviti pencegahan jenayah dapat di laksanakan.

- *Mewujudkan Jawatankuasa Pencegahan Jenayah Di Cawangan Probos Di Semua Perkhidmatan.* Jawatankuasa ini menyelaraskan segala aktiviti pencegahan jenayah di peringkat kor/bahagian sebagaimana yang di rancangan oleh Cawangan Probos Marsyal ATM. Selain daripada itu ia bertindak menyalurkan input terhadap menambah baikkan sistem yang ada.

- *Mewujudkan Unit Perisikan Jenayah.* Unit ini akan mendapatkan maklumat perisikan jenayah yang di kutip dari berbagai sumber dan seterusnya di salurkan kepada cawangan penyelidikan untuk di analisis. Unit ini juga akan memberi makluman awal kepada Cawangan Penyiasat untuk tindakan susulan mencegah atau melakukan tangkapan.

- *Mewujudkan Cawangan Penyelidikan Dan Perancangan.* Cawangan ini memberikan tumpuan kepada "trend" dan kaedah jenayah serta membuat analisis terhadap trend tersebut. Ia juga berperanan untuk menilai serta membuat jangkaan terhadap kes-kes jenayah. Unit ini juga harus mampu membuat kesimpulan terhadap kaedah baru dan yang sesuai untuk diguna pakai terhadap kes jenayah yang semakin berkembang.

- *Menubuhkan Rangkaian Dengan Majlis Jenayah Kebangsaan.* Usaha ini

¹⁴ Temu duga Dengan Lt Kol Kamaruddin Bin Mustafa, PS 1 Jabatanarah KPTD pada 10 Mar 2002.

¹⁵ Temu duga Dalam Tajuk " Pencegahan Jenayah Dalam ATM" bersama Lt Kol Kamaruddin bin Mustafa, Pegawai Staf 1 Jabatanarah KPTD , pada 12 Mar 2002.

penting bagi mendapatkan polisi pencegahan jenayah di peringkat kebangsaan agar rancangan dan tindakan yang akan di buat di peringkat ATM dapat diselaraskan.

- *Jawatankuasa Pencegahan Jenayah Di Peringkat Formasi.* Jawatankuasa di peringkat ini berperanan melaksanakan rancangan pencegahan jenayah yang dibuat di peringkat Probos Perkhidmatan masing masing. Selain itu ia berfungsi untuk memberikan input terhadap masalah, batasan, cabaran serta pandangan kepada jawatankuasa pencegahan jenayah yang lebih tinggi. Antara ahli-ahli yang di cadangkan adalah seperti berikut:¹⁶

- Pemerintah Unit.
- Pegawai Staf Anggota.
- Pegawai Staf Logistik.
- Pegawai Polis Tentera.
- Pegawai Undang-Undang.
- Pegawai KAGAT.
- Pegawai Perubatan.
- Pegawai-pegawai lain mengikut keperluan.

Mengurangkan Peluang Berlakunya Jenayah.

Strategi ini bertujuan mengambil langkah yang berkesan bagi memastikan diri dan harta benda selamat daripada menjadi mangsa penjenayah. Sebelum mengambil langkah tersebut maka perlulah dibuat kajian yang mendalam tentang peluang-peluang yang selalunya diambil penjenayah sebelum melakukan jenayah atau apakah faktor yang mendorong penjenayah melakukan jenayah. Kaedah yang paling sesuai untuk mencapai tujuan ini adalah dengan membuat beberapa kajian (survey) dan soal selidik terhadap jenayah dan pencegahannya. Antara yang dicadangkan adalah seperti berikut:

- *Kajian Pencegahan Jenayah.* Kajian ini perlulah di lakukan badan yang mahir dalam penyiasatan seperti Cawangan Penyiasatan Khas atau Polis Tentera. Ini sebagai mengambil langkah mengenalpasti keadaan jenayah di sesuatu instalasi atau kawasan. Kajian ini merupakan satu laporan rasmi mengenai keadaan jenayah semasa, punca dan sebab serta analisis jenayah. Laporan ini juga mengandungi cadangan bagaimana jenayah dapat dikawal dalam sesuatu instalasi atau kawasan. Ia juga memberikan input yang berguna kepada pemerintah dalam merancang serta melaksanakan pencegahan jenayah.¹⁷ Isi kandungan kajian tersebut boleh diselaraskan mengikut keadaan dan keperluan.

- *Borang Kaji Selidik Jenayah.* Borang ini di sediakan kepada anggota-anggota sasaran bagi mengenal pasti tahap kesedaran mengenai jenayah dan kepekaan mereka terhadap langkah-langkah pencegahannya. Ia juga memberi maklum balas secara langsung tentang keberkesanan sistem pencegahan jenayah yang ada.

- *Kajian Keselamatan Fizikal.* Kajian ini lebih menyeluruh dan menyentuh tentang kesediaan pasukan dalam merangka rancangan keselamatan fizikal di pasukan. Kajian ini

¹⁶ Mej Ahmad Fuad Bin Mohd Saahari, "A Study On Crime Prevention Programme In MAF" 1997, hlm 22

¹⁷ Arthur A, Kingbury, "Introduction To Security And Crime Prevention Surveys", Springfield, 1973 hlm 63

mengambil kira semua aspek keselamatan fizikal dan juga ancaman yang ada dan bakal ada terhadap keselamatan fizikal di pasukan. Kelemahan Keselamatan Fizikal di sesuatu instalasi banyak berkait rapat dengan perlakuan jenayah dan ini akan membantu pemerintah mengambil langkah yang lebih sistematik.

- **Meningkatkan Kesedaran Sivik dan Menanamkan Ketinggian Disiplin Di Kalangan Anggota Supaya Tidak Mudah Terlibat Dengan Jenayah.**

Strategi ini bermaksud mengambil langkah yang positif untuk menentukan anggota tidak tercebak dengan kegiatan jenayah. Sasaran utama strategi ini ialah golongan askar laksar muda yang baru menceburi kerjaya tentera. ATM seharusnya mengadakan kempen-kempen atau ceramah mengenai pencegahan jenayah dan bentuk hukuman yang akan mereka tempuhi jika melakukan jenayah. Mereka mestilah diingatkan supaya menjadi mata dan telinga kepada pemerintah atau badan penguatkuasa dalam membanteras jenayah.

- **Menghapuskan Atau Mengurangkan Peluang Penjenayah Dengan Cara Mencegah Penjenayah Itu Sendiri Daripada Melakukan Kegiatan Jenayah.**

Strategi ini akan melibatkan bekas penjenayah/pesalah atau yang berpotensi melakukan jenayah secara langsung sebagai sasaran. Antara langkah yang perlu di ambil ialah dengan membuat pengawasan kepada mereka dan memberikan hukuman yang setimpal jika mereka melakukan jenayah. Selain daripada itu, bimbingan perlu diberikan terhadap anggota yang mempunyai masalah atau telah melakukan jenayah/kesalahan. Sesi kaunseling dengan pakar

perlu diatitkan agar masalah anggota dapat disalurkan dengan berkesan.

- **Berhubung Rapat Dan Bekerjasama Dengan Agensi Penguatkuasaan Yang Lain.**

Strategi ini penting kerana agensi-agensi penguatkuasaan seperti PDRM, Kastam, Imigresen, BPR dan lain lain dapat membantu melaksanakan program pencegahan jenayah. Maklumat-maklumat yang berguna dapat diperolehi dan ini akan membantu menangani masalah jenayah. Pegawai penyiasat dari ATM boleh ditumpangkan atau menghadiri kursus-kursus yang berkaitan di Pusat Latihan Polis atau di agensi-agensi lain bagi memberi pengetahuan atau pengalaman yang diperlukan.

Jawatankuasa Pencegahan Jenayah mestilah menilai perkembangan jenayah yang ada dengan mendapatkan maklumat daripada *Kajian Pencegahan Jenayah* dan *Kajian Keselamatan Fizikal* serta maklumat-maklumat mengenai sebab, jenis jenayah, kawasan berlaku, masa dan *modus operandi* sesuatu jenayah. Kajian Pencegahan Jenayah boleh dijalankan oleh pihak Polis Tentera atau Cawangan Penyiasatan. Program mencegah jenayah mestilah juga merangkumi polisi, perintah dan arahan yang nyata dan dihebahkan kepada semua anggota sebagai satu daripada program pendidikan pencegahan jenayah.

Peranan Individu. Konsep amar makruf dan nahi mungkar perlulah diwujudkan dalam diri individu tentera. Ia bersesuaian dengan hadis nabi S.A.W. yang bermaksud: *"Barang siapa di antara kamu melihat sesuatu kemungkaran, maka hendaklah ia mengubahnya dengan tangan; kalau tidak sanggup, maka hendaklah ia mengubahnya dengan lidahnya; kalau tidak sanggup, maka hendaklah ia mengubahnya dengan hatinya, dan itu adalah selemah-lemah iman."*¹⁸ Maksud dari hadis tadi ialah tentang perlunya wujud sikap

¹⁸ Prof Harun Din "Manusia Dan Islam", Percetakan Watan, Kuala Lumpur, 1992, hlm 311

di dalam diri individu itu mencegah dengan sedaya upayanya sebarang kemungkinan yang dihadapinya atau di tempuhnya.

Pembentukan Iman, Islam Dan Ihsan. Satu-satunya faktor penentu yang paling utama menentukan sikap dan tingkah laku seseorang itu positif atau negatif bergantung kepada penghayatan Iman, Islam dan Ihsannya. Seseorang individu pasti akan memiliki tingkah laku unggul dan positif lagi menguntungkan dirinya dunia dan akhirat serta masyarakat sekelilingnya. Sabda Nabi S.A.W. yang bermaksud "*Tidaklah seorang pezina itu melakukan perzinaan, sedangkan ia tetap beriman semasa melakukan perzinaan tersebut, tidaklah seorang pencuri itu melakukan pencurian, sedangkan ia tetap beriman semasa melakukan pencurian tersebut dan tidaklah seorang peminum arak itu beriman sedangkan ia tetap meminum arak sewaktu ia meminum arak itu*" (Di riwayatkan oleh Bukhari dan Muslim).¹⁹

Faktor-Faktor Rohani. Faktor ini amat penting dalam membina kesempurnaan manusia. Jika ini dapat dikuatkan dengan nilai yang mulia sudah pasti ianya akan menjadi pendinding anggota daripada melakukan kesesatan mahupun penyimpangan. Antara faktor rohani tersebut adalah seperti di bawah:

- **Pembinaan Peribadi.** Pembinaan peribadi menjadi agenda utama bagi melahirkan anggota tentera yang berdisiplin dan bertanggungjawab serta taat kepada perintah. Apa juga kaedah yang digunakan bagi melatih individu tentera bagi kekuatan peribadi mestilah secara tetap dan berterusan. Dalam Islam setiap individu mestilah mematuhi tugas, peraturan kehidupan moral yang tetap dalam segala aspek sosial dalam kehidupan peribadi masing masing.²⁰

- **Sembahyang Membentuk Peribadi Muslim.** Islam dalam penghayatannya menerangkan sembahyang memberi kesan terhadap pembersihan diri dan mengawalinya daripada terjerumus ke dalam lembah kehinaan atau keburukan serta membersihkan diri daripada naluri yang tidak sihat. Firman Allah dalam surah Al An-Kabut ayat ke-54 bermaksud: "*...dan dirikan sembahyang (dengan tetap) sesungguhnya sembahyang itu mencegah dari perbuatan keji dan mungkar*".

- **Pembentukan Akhlak Yang Mulia.** ATM mestilah membentuk anggotanya dengan moral yang tinggi sebagai benteng ketaatan dan kepatuhan. Akhlak yang mulia adalah satu asas yang paling kuat untuk melahirkan anggota yang bersih hati dan amanah dalam melaksanakan tugas serta cinta kepada kebaikan dan benci kepada kejahatan.²¹ Akal juga berperanan besar menghalang manusia daripada mengikut hawa nafsu dan merupakan pokok kepada perasaan menghormati dan menyanjung kesucian undang undang.²²

- **Kekuatan Psikologi.** Manusia lebih kejiwaan daripada fizikal dan segala tindakan mereka lebih dikawal oleh faktor akal berbanding fizikal. Oleh itu langkah yang mesti diambil ATM dalam membentuk anggotanya dengan berkesan ialah dengan mempengaruhi fikiran dan rohani, agar tingkah laku mereka dapat dikawal. Kejayaan mempengaruhi fikiran mereka dapat membentuk seluruh tingkah lakunya.²³

¹⁹ Ensiklopedia Sirah, Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1992, hlm 224

²⁰ Abul A'la Maududi "Bebefit Of Prayer" Ensiklopdia Sirah, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, KL, 1992, hlm.

²¹ Sheikh Mohamed Abu Zahrah "Islam Menyusun Masyarakat" hlm 25

²² Prof Haron Din "Manusia Dan Islam" Percetakan Watan, KL, hlm 149

²³ AF Zahur Rahman "Sunah, Dakwah dan Islam" Jilid 1, Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka, 1992, hlm 848

• **Pembinaan Semangat Yang Tinggi.** Semangat yang tinggi di kalangan anggota tentera amat digalakkan dalam Islam. Firman Allah dalam Surah Al-Anfal ayat ke65 yang bermaksud: *"Wahai Nabi, peransangkanlah orang beriman untuk berperang, jika ada dua puluh orang sabar di antara kamu, nescaya mereka dapat mengalahkan dua ratus musuh, dan jika ada dua seratus orang sabar di antara kamu, mereka dapat mengalahkan seribu orang kafir di sebabkan orang kafir itu kaum yang tidak mengerti"*. Semangat merupakan satu peringkat pemikiran yang teguh, berani dan menyimpan harapan. Ia adalah keyakinan, kecergasan dan kesetiaan, *esprit de corps* dan penentuan²⁴. Field Marshall Sir william Slim merumuskan *"Semangat ialah satu tingkat pemikiran yang mempunyai kuasa yang tidak dapat di pegang, yang akan bergerak dalam diri setiap anggota untuk memberi sumbangan semampu yang boleh tanpa mengira kos kepada diri mereka, yang menjadikan mereka berasa semangat itu lebih besar dari mereka sendiri. Anggota tentera mestilah mencurahkan taat setia kepada organisasi dan tunduk sepenuhnya kepada perintah pemimpin"*. Firman Allah dalam Surah An-Nisa ayat 59 bermaksud: *"Wahai orang yang beriman, taatilah Allah dan taatilah Rasulullah, dan Ulul Amri di antara kamu."*

Mengkaji Sistem Gaji Dan Persaraan Serta Kemudahan-Kemudahan Lain. Kalau soalan di kemukan kepada anak muda kenapa mereka tidak mahu memasuki tentera, jawapnya spontan, mereka akan mengatakan skim gaji dan kemudahan yang ada tidak menarik. Presiden Persatuan Bekas Perajurit Malaysia Senator Datuk Muhammad Ghani mengatakan *"Faktor yang menyebabkan anggota tentera bersara awal adalah kerana syarat perkhidmatan sedia ada kurang menjamin masa depan mereka."*²⁵. Pihak

kerajaan seharusnya mengkaji secepat mungkin apakah kelemahan ini akan memudaratkan keselamatan negara pada jangka panjangnya. Skim kenaikan gaji, elaun yang menarik serta kemudahan-kemudahan yang istimewa harus diperkenalkan.

Kepentingan Kaunseling Dalam ATM. Sering kali permasalahan anggota diselesaikan oleh pemerintahnya sendiri. Ada ketikanya pemerintah yang memberi nasihat memberi nasihat secara tidak profesional disebabkan ketiadaan pembelajaran yang formal. Selalunya pemerintah hanya akan menggunakan budi bicaranya atas pengalamannya memerintah. Di sebabkan kelemahan ini sering kali pemerintah gagal memberikan pandangan berlandaskan kefahaman emosi, tingkah laku dan pemikiran seseorang. Adalah di rasakan perlu anggota yang mempunyai masalah mendapatkan kaunseling dari mereka yang mahir.²⁶

Konsep "Trinity". Sesebuah angkatan bersenjata akan menjadi kuat sekiranya ditunjangi oleh sokongan masyarakat dan kerajaan. Ini kerana ia berkait rapat antara satu dengan yang lain. Carl Von Clausewitz mengatakan *"Satu keadaan yang mesti wujud dalam sesebuah masyarakat yang mahu mengekalkan kestabilan dalam kemampuan pasukan tenteranya mestilah menggunakan konsep "Trinity" iaitu hubungan rakyat, tentera dan kerajaan. Pasukan tentera itu adalah sebahagian daripada rakyat begitu juga kerajaan. Ketiga-tiga "entity" ini mesti dikekalkan daripada sebarang perubahan"*. Konsep Pertahanan Menyeluruh (HANRUH) adalah konsep yang unik dan amat berjaya.

Komitmen Pemerintah/Pemimpin Atasan. Komitmen yang jitu oleh pemimpin untuk mendengar, melayan, memberi nasihat, membina dan membantu menyelesaikan masalah termasuk masalah persendirian dan keluarga yang ditimbulkan oleh anggota haruslah di utamakan.

²⁴ U.S Principales of War.

²⁵ Utusan Malaysia, 8 Mei 2001.

²⁶ Rokiiah Mohamed, *"Pendekatan Kaunseling Dalam ATM"*, Kursus Kaunseling Di PULAPOT pada tahun 1998.

Membina Hubungan Erat Pemimpin, Penyelia Dan Anggota. Hubungan ini akan mengelakkan rasa tidak puas hati/dendam, di samping menyelesaikan permasalahan peringkat awal lagi. Permasalahan anggota dapat dikesan awal lagi sebelum keadaan menjadi lebih parah. Pendekatan secara proaktif boleh diambil dan ini pasti berkesan dalam mengurus sumber manusia yang ada.

Sistem Hubungan Dua Hala. Mengadakan sistem komunikasi "top-down" serta "bottom-up" yang baik pada semua peringkat organisasi bagi menentukan anggota sentiasa dimaklumkan mengenai isu-isu semasa di samping mendapat

maklum balas mengenai sebarang ketidakpuasan hati dan masalah anggota bawahan.

KESIMPULAN

Perlakuan jenayah dan pelanggaran disiplin dalam ATM tidaklah separah mana sehinggakan tiada ruang untuk diperbaiki. Jika di bandingkan dengan angkatan tentera lain dari negara luar, ATM masih jauh lebih baik. Jika tidak, masakan pihak PBB masih menaruh harapan dan kepercayaan dengan memberi keutamaan kepada ATM menyumbang tenaga dalam misi pengaman di peringkat antarabangsa. Dunia semakin



berkembang selari dengan kemajuan teknologi. Gaya hidup dan penerimaan anggota ATM juga berubah mengikut masa dan ini sudah pasti memerlukan pendekatan yang berbeza oleh pemerintah. Penglibatan anggota dalam jenayah sudah semakin kompleks dan *modus operandinya* semakin rumit. Oleh yang demikian ATM melalui badan penguatkuasa yang ada harus bersedia dengan cabaran-cabaran yang baru dan menuntut

perubahan dari segi organisasinya mahupun pendekatan operasinya dalam menangani jenayah. Dengan adanya pendekatan yang bersistematik dan berterusan adalah di percayai masalah jenayah dalam ATM dapat dikawal. Jadikan program pencegahan jenayah sebagai program yang berterusan dan jangan jadikan ia seperti "hangat-hangat tahi ayam".

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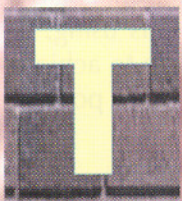


Meja Rahamen @ Abd Rahman bin Wok telah ditauliahkan ke dalam Kor Polis Tentera Diraja pada tahun 1982. Beliau pernah menjawat beberapa jawatan penting di pasukan dan Markas Formasi. Di sepanjang perkhidmatan, beliau telah menghadiri beberapa kursus di dalam dan luar negara, antaranya kursus "Regimental Officer Advance Course" di Australia. Kini beliau sedang mengikuti Kursus Turus di Maktab Turus Angkatan Tentera.

MILITANT GROUP THREATS TOWARDS NATIONAL SECURITY

OLEH
MEJ (Dr) AHMAD
FAIZAL BIN ZULI

INTRODUCTION



The recent events in the United States of America were indeed an eye opener, not just to the country itself but had also held the world in shock, disbelief, amazement and not the least, admiration to certain quarters.

What happened on 11 Sep 2001 to the World Trade Center building and the Pentagon in New York and Washington respectively were without doubt were acts of terrorism although at the time this paper is written no terrorist group have claimed responsibility. As if that was not enough, another terror has struck in the form of a bacteria called anthrax. This suspected acts of 'bio-terrorism' are again blamed on terrorists although proofs are still being sought to link them to any individuals or groups.

On the regional front the reemergence of terrorism as a regional security concern has to be seen in a larger perspective. Terrorist activities are nothing new among the ASEAN countries. Ever since the era of colonialism a few ASEAN countries had faced left-wing terrorist activities particularly from the Communist Party. Communist activities have ceased since the end of the Cold War. For example the New Peoples Army (NPA) in the Philippines no longer holds such ideologies. Terrorism in Southeast Asia that has reemerged of late can be categorized into two forms, that is those based on religion (religious terrorism) and those



generally as the result of political instability.¹ Terrorist activities based on religious conflicts in Southeast Asia can be seen through recent bombings. The 18 bomb explosions in Indonesia during Christmas last year and another four bombings in Manila the New Year's day reflected anti-Christian activities. The bombings also need to be seen in the context of internal political instability. As an example, the bombings in the Philippines by the Abu Sayyaf group can be related to the injustices committed by the predominantly Christian government towards Muslim communities in the Southern Philippines. The

¹ Balakrishnan, K.S., *Regionalisme dan Isu-Isu Keselamatan Asia Tenggara*, Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Melayu (M) Berhad, Pemikir Jul-Sep 2001, p. 34.

bombings on churches in Indonesia meanwhile were closely related to the Islam-Christian conflicts in the Moluccas (Maluku) and possibly the East Timor issues as well.

Political violence, terrorists and militant groups also use other tactics. Among the popular one is hostage taking. A good case for study is the action of the Abu Sayyaf in taking a total of 24 persons as hostages from Sipadan and Pandanan Islands on 23 Apr 2000 and 10 Sep 2000 respectively. Hostage taking had also occurred in the Myanmar Embassy in Bangkok in Oct 1999 and in the Ratchoburi Hospital at the Thai Myanmar border in Jan 2000. Many terrorist and militant activities in Southeast Asia has connections to separatist groups. Separatist activities in Southeast Asia have a long history. These include territories such as the Southern Philippines, Southern Thailand, Sabah, Irian Jaya, Aceh, East Timor and in Myanmar. Separatist activities in Indonesia appear to be more serious and often threaten the nation's political stability. In Thailand, the Philippines, Myanmar and Sabah such activities are still under control. Having said that, Southeast Asian security is still under great threat due to the presence of economic instability and disparity between the central and peripheral areas which has enabled separatist groups to gain support. Factors such as religion, history, unequal development, poverty and political instability will continue to be the main reasons why separatist activities cannot be stopped in Southeast Asia.

Malaysia on the other hand is not spared. The Al-Ma'unah group and very recently the so-called Kumpulan Militan Malaysia (KMM) came into the limelight. Although the scale of the potential threat is apparently smaller as compared to the rest of the region, their emergence cannot be brushed aside as minor or isolated occurrences. As with all other threats they started off as pockets of discontentment, which later discreetly gained support until they have become too large to handle.

The aim of this article is to discuss the threat posed by militant groups in the Malaysian

context taking into consideration the existing scenario in and around the region and its effects on national security.

DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

DEFINING MILITANT, TERRORIST, NATIONALIST AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Militant. According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, the word 'militant' can be defined as using, or willing to use, force or strong pressure to achieve one's aims, especially to achieve social or political change.²

Terrorist. This is defined as the use of violent action in order to achieve political aims or to force a government to act.³ Most definitions on terrorism found at present still maintain the element of violence and political objective as essential elements.

Nationalist. This is defined as a person who wants their country to become independent or a person who has a great love for and pride in their country; a person who has a feeling that their country is better than any other.⁴ In the context of the present discussion nationalists are referred to those groups' intent on taking control of the country by overthrowing the present government through unlawful means, such as taking up arms or other acts deemed inconsistent with the accepted norms.

National Security. According to the former US Secretary of Defense, Harold Brown, national security can be defined as the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with

² Hombay, A.S, Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English – 6th Edition. Oxford University Press, 2000, p 807.

³ Ibid, p. 1342.

⁴ Ibid, p. 847.

the rest of the world on reasonable terms, to protect its nature, institutions and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders.⁵ It became clear then that national security means much more than the ability to preserve and protect the nation's boundaries as perceived by many, but it also encompasses numerous other factors as stated above.

MILITANCY AS A SUBSET OF TERRORISM

It can thus be deduced from the above definitions that terrorism covers a larger area as compared to militancy. While the use of violence is a distinct characteristics of terrorism, it is not a compulsion that militants resort to violence although in its extreme form there is little to differentiate between them. Terrorism has characteristics which distinguish it from other forms of violence. It is indiscriminate in its effects in that nobody is sacrosanct and this helps to create an atmosphere of fear and helplessness. Terrorists frequently claim to 'select' their victims for punishment and revenge; no one is innocent, all are potentially guilty, if only by association with 'class enemies', imperialists' and 'enemies of the revolution'. Terrorists do not recognize any rules of conventions of war for combatants, non-combatants or the treatment of prisoners. They use particularly ruthless weapons and methods to attack civilians, including foreigners who are not remotely involved. Their typical weapons are bombings, assassinations, massacres and bargaining with the lives of hostages.

ORIGINS OF MILITANT GROUPS

CONFLICTS AS A BASIS

Militant groups emerge when there exist two sides who have different objectives so as to

result in conflict. Rebellion against the State by militant groups can take many forms and arise from many causes. Four major categories of conflicts are thought to be responsible:

- Struggles following withdrawal from colonies.
- Separatist or autonomous movements arising from ethnic, religious or linguistic differences.
- Ideological struggles, usually waged by small groups, to subvert a society from within. Also known as revolutionary struggles, that is to change the ideology of a country. Religious militants can also be considered under this category.
- Exiled groups who work to promote revolution at home in authoritarian regimes.⁶

Political violence rarely falls neatly into category. It is more likely to involve several elements. Terrorism as a tactics may be employed in any of these conflicts.

In the Malaysian context, the possibilities of emergence of militant groups are more likely to originate from separatist or autonomous movements and from ideological struggles. Other conflicts may be applicable to other nations in the region.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

Religious Movements. These groups are motivated by religious ideas up to the extent of extremism. An example that can be seen in the country is the Al-Ma'unah group. The struggle is considered holy or 'jihad'. In general these

⁵ Brown, Harold, *Thinking About National Security*, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983, p.4.

⁶ Gutteridge, William, *Contemporary Terrorism*, New York: Facts on File, 1966, p. 3.

religious groups have no intention to set up another state i.e. they are not separatist but merely trying to forcefully change the existing government or in other words to change the nations ideology from liberal democracy to one based on Islam. Often the reason for the opposition is due to the fact that the government in power is thought to have strayed from true religious teachings. 'Jihad' is commonly used by the top leadership to attract and then mobilize the masses to support and legitimize their actions.⁷ Those who do not support the 'Islamic' movement will thus feel or made to feel guilty. There are many reasons why religious militants appear in a peaceful community. A famous Islamic scholar, Dr. Yusuf Al-Qardawi in one of his books gave the view that pressure on missionaries and compartmentalizing Islam is one of the major reasons which encourages extremism. This is especially true when other philosophies and ideologies enjoy freedom and assistance without any restrictions or pressure. Many times religious extremism is in fact a reaction to anti-religious extremism, for example the attempt to cut loose from religious bond, humiliating the religion and any acts considered blasphemous.⁸

The issue of jihad in the country had in fact started back on 23 Mar 1985 after the death of a members of an opposition party in Felda Lubok Merbau, Kedah who succumbed to the assault by supporters of the ruling party. Since he died during political campaigning which was considered as jihad, he was said as a martyr. This was followed by the Memali tragedy in November the same year whereby a religious teacher Ibrahim Mahmud along with 14 of his supporters died after confrontation with the police. True enough, the word 'jihad' is frequently misunderstood. Islamic movements meanwhile are always at the receiving

end, accused of attempting to overthrow the government when in fact jihad also carries the meaning of hard work and the struggle to defend the Islamic faith.⁹ As far as other faiths practiced in the country, no record of such movements has yet to be recorded and will not be mentioned here.

Nationalist Groups. These groups fight to gain control when normal democratic ways like election process seems too distant or slow or will not enable them to achieve the desired results. Not all nationalist groups can be considered as militants. However, there are groups who called themselves nationalists who resort to armed struggle. The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in the Philippines was a good example.

SEPARATIST OR AUTONOMOUS MOVEMENTS

Ethnic Struggles. The struggle, of this group is based on the concept of ethnic superiority. A famous example abroad is the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka. These groups are fighting to separate certain areas to set up a new nation as is present in Southern Philippines, Aceh, East Timor, Irian Jaya and Southern Thailand. Malaysia being a multiracial country comprising three major and numerous other racial groups had experienced unrest in the past. The 13 May 1969 tragedy was an example of how ethnicity play a big role in the maintenance of peace and stability. In Malaysia no separatist groups are yet to be found although Sabah has always been the subject of speculation among analysts.

PLACE OF ORIGIN AS A BASIS

Internal. Factors from within the country are brought about by the feeling of dissatisfaction

⁷ Mingguan Malaysia, Menangani Ancaman Militan di Asia Tenggara, Kuala Lumpur, Utusan Melayu (M) Berhad, 23 Sep 2001.

⁸ Massa, Perang Jihad Sesama Islam, Kuala Lumpur, Utusan Melayu (M) Berhad, 1-7 Sep 2001, p. 12.

⁹ Ibid, p. 13.

on the part of certain parties towards the local authorities on key issues, for example unequal treatments and undue pressures on their activities when others are free to express their beliefs.

External. This was brought into the country by individuals or groups, in particular students influenced by certain ideologies during their studies or stints abroad. The Iranian Revolution in 1979 is a good example that has inspired many movements worldwide.¹⁰ As a result Iran was looked upon as a model Islamic State.

THE LEVEL OF THREAT

THE CURRENT SCENARIO

Emergence Of Militant Groups.

Malaysia is still a very safe and peaceful country despite having different racial composition and religions. With the present political and administrative system, the nation's populations live in happiness and harmony. The sudden emergence of militant groups in the name of culture and religion such as Al-Maunah and recently KMM though, is a 'wake-up call' to all Malaysian on security issues. It should not be taken lightly although the situation seems to be very much under control. They are still in its 'infancy' and not deemed capable to take over the country by force. The nation's security agencies need to act swiftly to prevent these movements from holding ground and influence people with their ideas.

Territorial Dispute And Claims. Another aspect that should be taken into consideration seriously is the fact that Malaysia has a very long coastal border with its neighbours. The Asia Pacific region is still bugged with the issue of territorial claims. The Spratly Islands and even Sabah are among them. Although these issues appear to be

under control they frequently create tensions and disruptions in the relation among nations. This aspect can become an indirect threat since the militant groups present in our neighbouring countries may take the opportunity to operate in these areas with the informal consent of their host countries.

Congestion In The Straits of Malacca And The Increase In Pirate Activities.

The Straits of Malacca is the second busiest waterway in the world and is also a strategic and important international route as far as security and economy are concerned. It was estimated that about 500 ships ply through the route every day. Apart from trade activities, the activities of pirates have also increased. Between Jan and Oct 2000, an estimated 42 pirate activities occurred within the Malaysian waters. Meanwhile the South China Sea, which is the most important maritime route in East Asia, recorded 88 and 85 incidence of piracy in 1991 and 1996 respectively. The concern here is the possibility of the use of these waterways by the militants coming from neighbouring countries. Some of the pirates may in fact be armed militant groups testing the security of the territorial waters.

The Issue On Illegal Immigrants. This is a critical issue in a few Southeast Asian countries notably Malaysia and Thailand. In the 80s Malaysia had more than a million illegal immigrants. The number was able to be reduced through registration operations and deportation to their countries of origin. Between Jan and Oct 2000, more than 65,000 illegal immigrants entered Malaysia from Indonesia. The number of illegal immigrants in Sabah was estimated to be a quarter of the total population.¹¹ The immigrants issue is closely related to the security of the countries concerned. This is due to the fact that illegal immigrants are sometimes connected to crimes,

¹⁰ Mingguan Malaysia, Menangani Ancaman Militan di Asia Tenggara, Kuala Lumpur, Utusan Melayu (M) Berhad, 23 Sep 2001.

¹¹ Balakrishnan, K.S., Regionalisme dan Isu-Isu Keselamatan Asia Tenggara, Kuala Lumpur, Utusan Melayu (M) Berhad, Pemikir Jul-Sep 2001, p. 29.

spread of diseases and other socioeconomic problems. This issue seems, at times, affects the bilateral relationship between two neighbouring countries. It is suspected that the entry of such persons into the country may create problems as in the case of the KMM where an Indonesian who was thought to have masterminded the attack on the Atrium Plaza in Jakarta had indeed entered the country earlier and met members of the KMM.

MODES OF OPERATIONS (MODUS OPERANDI) OF MILITANT GROUPS

Militancy can take many forms. It is no longer restricted to using firearms as there are now many ways that can be used prior to the actual phase where firearms are used. These are listed as below.

- **Armed Struggle.** This is the 'traditional' and thus the most well known method, which ultimately explains what the word 'militant' is all about. Almost, if not all well-known terrorist or militant groups took up firearms sooner or later in their struggle. Apart from small arms such as rifles or handguns, these groups also use bombs to cause a larger destruction. The Al-Ma'unah group was a classical example. It started as a self-defense i.e. cultural-based association using 'silat' as its main attraction. The movement grew, and surely, in size. Meanwhile, the group's disciples were injected with anti-government sentiments. It was then that the mastermind of the group decided that the time was ripe for the group to take up arms. What resulted was the arms heist episodes at the 304 Infantry Battalion Territorial Army in Grik and the 2nd Military Post, Kuala Rui with the well known consequence.
- **Popular Support.** In this particular method the militants did not

initially show their true intentions to the masses. What they will try in the beginning was to blend with the target communities until a certain point is reached when mutual trust is gained. Only then will they explain the cause of their struggle and persuade the masses to join in. '**Popular uprising**' would probably be a more suitable term to be used. When this has been achieved, the use of firearms became just an option. Provided that the opposed government meets the demands of the group, bloodshed may be unavoidable.

- **Political.** Through this method the militants identify themselves with certain political parties, particularly those that are already well known. Their struggle may exactly resemble a political party in its early stage. Key members of the militant group may in fact be active members of the political party. These groups thrive on sensitive political issues.
- **Covert Means.** The advancement in technology particularly in the Information and Communications field of (ICT) has not just affected the way normal people do their daily business. This field has also provided another way for terrorists or militant groups to operate. The Internet provides a means of communication between the members of the group, avoiding physical presence which allows the security agencies to detect their movement and activities. Communication can be executed through coded messages which can be very difficult to be traced and decoded. Not too long ago there were reports of invasion of the Pentagon and other US security agencies by hackers. Malaysia's turn came in December 2000 when the nation was jolted by the reveal of the hacking of the Parliament website. Although no sensitive

materials were affected, it just revealed the vulnerability of our security system. At least the country's specialized team in the form of the Malaysian Computer Emergency Response Team (My Cert) provided some comfort. We are grateful in the sense that until the present moment no militants or terrorists network has used this method to create havoc in the country. Yet, the possibility is very much there.

- **Bio-Terrorism.** In the weeks following the 11 September attacks, the attention of the world communities were again focused on another threat, anthrax. Biological threats such as these are not new since they were developed during the Cold War. Other biological threats are the smallpox virus (officially declared wiped out by the World Health Organisation in 1979 is still being kept in secret laboratories in certain countries as a potential biological weapon), and nerve gases such as VX and Sarin (used in the Tokyo subway by Aum Shinrikyo sect), just to name a few. These agents are lethal if possessed by the wrong hands.

EFFECTS ON NATIONAL SECURITY

POLITICAL INSTABILITY

As far as political stability is concerned, any groups deemed militant in nature and professing certain ideas will arouse political interest. This is more so when the ideas or ideologies seem to be in line with an existing political party. Whether there is an actual connection or not does not really matter. Take for example the arrest of KMM members under the Internal Security Act (ISA). Their arrest was linked with an opposition party since a number of those detained were members that party.

Although the apparent threat is still small and appears to be well within the control of the

police, any action taken must be publicized so as to deter future acts. Although the use of ISA seems effective in helping the authorities to deal with these suspected militants, it did not satisfy the public's curiosity.

SOCIAL UNREST

Malaysia is a country comprising many ethnic groups embracing different religions and faiths. The current social stability enjoyed by the nation depends very much on maintaining this delicate equilibrium. Any factors that can disrupt this **status quo** will result in a social crisis. These can be summarized as the following:

- The emergence of militants whose struggles are based on the ethnic superiority may jeopardize the racial harmony in a plural country like Malaysia. Racial tension may result. The country just could not afford another 13 May tragedy.
- Religious militants may cause tension between people of different faiths. This may in turn result in the stereotyping of a particular religion. As an example the recent attacks on the US soil by terrorists suspected to be Islamic terrorist groups has caused backlash towards anything perceived to be Islamic, ranging from people, Islamic symbols such as mosque as well as beards! (Sikh communities were also targeted due to mistaken identity).

EFFECTS ON THE ECONOMY

The effects of militant action on the economy can be seen in the following ways:

- Malaysia as a developing country depends very much on investments from developed countries as well as other developing countries. One of the main

reasons these investors came are due to the political stability of the country. Any factors that can destabilize the country would cause the loss in future investments. Even current investors may decide to close down their business here and move somewhere else where it is more secure.

- Another aspect is the effect on tourism. Attacks on national interests can be very costly as far as the tourism industry is concerned. A good example is the 11 Sep attacks on the US. They have caused industry estimates to be reviewed and prompted calls and actions for reforms to improve security and safety at airports and on aircraft, a move which could be very costly.¹² Such attacks have decreased traveller's confidence. It was estimated that the global aviation industry will potentially lose US\$7 billion (RM26.6 billion) on international scheduled services this year following the 11 Sep incident, according to an International Air Transport Association (IATA) estimate. The Malaysian aviation industry will without doubt bear the same consequence. Secondly, by being labeled as a country that harbours militants the number of tourists into the country will decline due to security concerns. This will result in further loss of revenue to the country.

- We have seen many countries in the past which were listed as states sponsoring terrorism (some of the allegations are not proven) suffer due to the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations and other nations particularly the United States and its allies. This is particularly true for Iraq. The peoples are still suffering due to the embargo after their defeat in the Gulf War. These sanctions apart from being seen as

purely economic, indirectly results in humanitarian crisis such as famine, poor health care provisions and deterioration in basic living condition, among other things.

- The adverse effects of terrorism can be taxing towards the country's economy. As for example the Prime Minister Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad on 25 September 2001 has announced a RM 4.3 billion economic stimulus package to cushion any adverse impact from the US economic slowdown caused by the recent terrorist attacks.

THE COUNTER MEASURES

The inability of the United Nations (UN) to come to a common definition of terrorism has somewhat hampered the progress in the war against terrorism and related activities. In the Malaysian context a number of measures can however be taken to counter the actions of the militant groups. These are discussed briefly:

- **Increasing The Aerial-maritime Surveillance Along The Malaysian Coast.** This is particularly important especially along the coast of Sabah since incidents of abductions by the Abu Sayyaf group occurred last year. Sabah, which has a 1,577 km coastline, is and will always be the main target by militant groups operating from the Islands of the Philippines.

- **Increasing The Capabilities Of The Military Intelligence And The Police Special Branch.** The military intelligence has previously focused on external threats while the Special Branch is looking out for internal threats. There are however certain areas which overlap and both the military and the police must

¹² New Straits Times, No Compromise on Safety, Kuala Lumpur: New Straits Times Press, 12 Oct 2002.

work together to share information. Conventional methods are not appropriate in fighting terrorism and thus a different approach and way of thinking must be developed. As has been said by the former UN General Assembly President, Tan Sri Razali Ismail, Malaysia would have to deal with new demands in an increasingly cynical and at times militant new generation. Intelligence gathering capabilities and intelligence sharing agreements and establishing contacts with those agencies that lack such links.¹³

- **Eliminate The Source Of Funding And Freezing The Assets Of Terrorist Militant Groups.** This can at least be done within the country. A change in legislation may be needed to effect this. This action is currently being employed by the United States on terrorist groups suspected to be linked to Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda group.

- It must be emphasized that one way to counter terrorism in any form is to identify and eliminate the cause or causes which terrorists are fighting for. This step will help in overcoming future terrorism. By just hunting all known terrorists, there will be no guarantee that future terrorists will not emerge. This is the stand made by Malaysian Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Mahathir Mohamad as opposed by the US President, George W. Bush who insisted on using force.

CONCLUSION

From the above discussions, it may be concluded that national security is of utmost importance for any country in the world. In today's

situation, a new form of security threat has emerged, that is terrorism. Conventional warfare will now take the back seat to make way for the war against terrorism.

For many countries including Malaysia, low-intensity conflicts have just begun. These take the form of militancy. As was discussed earlier, there are a number of ways by which these conflicts erupted. To form an effective defense against these threats, factors that encourage their emergence need to be first recognized. In the context of our nation, two basic categories were identified – those fighting on the basis of ideology and another group intending to create a separate state (separatists). The latter's activity is not yet evident. As at the time of writing, two militant groups were already identified, namely the Al-Ma'unah group and the KMM.

Religious movements seem to play a dominant role at present. This however referred only to deviant teachings. The essential factor contributing to the emergence of these movements is dissatisfaction towards the way the present government is managing the country. Then there is the issue of "jihad" that placed the struggle for an Islamic State an obligation to all Muslims.

The effects of militant activities on national security can be huge. In general, the political stability will be affected and social unrest in the form of disruption in religious and racial harmony will likely to be unavoidable. In the economic aspect the potential loss of revenues from foreign and local investors apart from losses from other industries such as tourism and aviation are the likely outcomes. Defence spending will have to be increased to counter the new threats. A few suggested countermeasures are also discussed.

It must be realized that the ability to safeguard and maintain national security is the essence of a nation's existence. The responsibility lies with all the citizens, regardless whether they

¹³ New Straits Times, ASEAN's Concept Must Be Reviewed; Kuala Lumpur: New Straits Times Press, 9 Nov 2001.

are directly involved in the national defence organization or not since the threats do not select their victims.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are thus forwarded:

- The capabilities of the police force and the military especially in the field of intelligence should be enhanced.
- Legislation in the form of Anti-Terrorism Bill need to be tabled apart from the existing Internal Security Act (ISA).
- Finding the root of the problems which encourage the birth of the militant groups and try to rectify the situation.
- Eliminate the supportive elements i.e. funding and/or assets of individual, groups or institutions behind the militants.
- Living conditions need to be improved.
- The government needs to tackle sensitive political issues quickly and in the correct manner.
- Religious authorities are to play more active role in curbing deviant teachings.

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THE UTILITY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF WAR FOR THE MALAYSIAN ARMY MALAYSIA'S CURRENT STRATEGIC CIRCUMSTANCES

OLEH
MEJ JOHNNY LIM

"The role of the Malaysian Armed Forces is a very challenging one. Apart from national defence, it is also involved in the process of nation building"

Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir
Mohammad,
Prime Minister of Malaysia

INTRODUCTION



Over the centuries, military strategists and commanders have sought to decipher the complexities of warfare. They examined and studied the great military leaders, hoping to distil their insights for future success.

These insights became maxims that were further developed and refined during the Napoleonic era² and then transitioned to industrial age warfare. By the mid-nineteenth century, they became known as the Principles of War. For nearly two centuries, these fundamental tenets have guided

military commanders despite massive changes in warfare. Judging by their widespread usage, **Principles of War** are essential in modern military thinking. Every modern army has its own list of the Principles of War³ although not all armies attribute the same importance to these principles.

The Malaysian Army, in view of its Commonwealth origins in 1933⁴, inherited the Principles of War from the British Army. These principles guided the Malaysian Army during WW II, The Malayan Emergency (1948-60). The 'Konfrontasi'⁵ and the Second Malaysian Emergency (1968-89). The Malaysian Army's Principles of War⁶ have never been revised despite years of operational experience and they have guided commanders in all spectrums of conflicts throughout its history.

The defeat of the Communist Terrorists (CTs) and subsequent restoration of peace and security in the country enabled the Malaysian Army to reorganize itself towards a more conventional force. As the Army enters the 21st Century and what has been called the '**Information Age**', it is

¹ Crouch, H. 1997, Government and Society in Malaysia, Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, p 135.

² Johnsen, W & Kievet, J, 1995, The Principles of War in the 21st Century: Strategic Considerations, US Army War College, p1.

³ Lanir, Z. 1993, 'The Principles of War and Military Thinking, Journal of Strategic Studies, March, p 2.

⁴ The Malaysian Army's origins can be traced back to 1933 with the formation of the first Experimental Squad of 25 Malay recruits under British Administration Source: Yusof, N. Honour and Sacrifice, The Malaysian Armed Forces, Warisan Publishers, p 2.

⁵ Indonesia declared 'Konfrontasi' (1963-66) when Malaysia proposed the forming of the federation that also constitute the Borneo states of Sabah and Sarawak.

⁶ Contained in The Malaysian Army Manual of Land Warfare, The Fundamentals of Land Operations (1984) – T 3127, p2-3

prudent to critically examine whether the Principles of War remain valid under the conditions of Information Age warfare. New and developing technologies will alter the future of warfare, providing tremendous increases in knowledge and speed with which information is being delivered. Moreover, despite their long existence, the utility of these principles at the strategic level of warfare has not been the subject of detailed analysis despite being described as the '*essence of military strategy*'⁷ in the Malaysian Army.

The aim of this essay is to examine the utility of the Principles of War at the strategic level within the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF). The focus will be on the utility in peace at the national and military strategic levels. Subsequently in examining the military strategic level, the focus will be on the Army, which forms the nucleus of the MAF. This essay will give a brief overview of the Principles of War and why they were relevant in past operations. It will then highlight the development of the Malaysian Army during the past decade and Malaysia's current strategic outlook. It will further examine the importance of the principles at the strategic level and argue why there are eight principles that are important in Malaysia's current strategic circumstances. It will also explain why the remaining two principles have less utility at the strategic level; but remain vital should the nation be involved in a conflict. In essence the thesis of this paper is that the Principles of War remains valid at the strategic level given Malaysia's current circumstances.

THE MALAYSIAN PRINCIPLES OF WAR – IN RETROSPECT

The ten Malaysian Principles of War are The Selection and Maintenance of the Aim, Concentration of Force, Co-operation, Economy of Effort, Security, Offensive Action, Surprise,

Flexibility, Maintenance of Morale and Administration.⁸ During the Second Malaysian Emergency between 1968-1989, the Selection and the Maintenance of the Aim at all levels, was crucial to the eventual victory. This is because every level of the society played their part with the common aim of defeating the CT struggle. The other principles of Co-operation, Maintenance of Morale, Economy of Effort and Security were also relevant when the government launched a nationwide strategy termed 'KESBAN'⁹ with the aim of achieving national security while also continuing with national development. The approach made to the CT threat was total, as it was a concerted effort undertaken by all government agencies to strengthen and protect the society from subversive elements. It was successful and enhanced the socio-economic well being of the people by bringing them into the mainstream of development and progress. It also provided a secure environment and won the hearts and minds of the people, thus strengthening the legally constituted authority of the government. This was vital since there were some elements of the population, mainly of Chinese origin, who supported the Communist cause.

The principles have also been used extensively by commanders at all levels in the 19 UN operations the MAF have been involved in.¹⁰ The principles were important checklists to commanders when conducting operations under circumstances that were unfamiliar to them. However, as highlighted in the Malaysian Manual of Land Warfare T 3127, "... their practical value will depend very much on the individual's own understanding of war, since a single word conveys only an abstract meaning, different to different people".¹¹

⁸ T 3127, op cit.

⁹ 'KESBAN' is an acronym coined from two words, 'Keselamatan' (Security) and 'Pembangunan' (Development).

¹⁰ Yusof, N. Op Cit, p 178.

¹¹ T 3127 Op Cit, p 2-4.

⁷ Ibid.

The modern history of warfare and Malaysia's own experience shows that the Principles of War must not be regarded as a number of separate or independent elements which, like the ingredients of a cooking recipe will produce an excellent curry if compounded in the right proportion. Their application and implementation will vary with the changing conditions, especially strategically, and the development of technology. As the Army enters the 21st century, it is vital to look at the Principles of War and analyse why they remain relevant to the nation at the strategic level.

MALAYSIA'S DEFENCE POLICY AND STRATEGIC OUTLOOK

Currently, Malaysia's main concern is to strive towards achieving an environment conducive to meet the challenges of Vision 2020.¹² Malaysia's defence policy is a manifestation of its goal for the protection of its national strategic interest and the preservation of national security. The defence policy outlines three fundamentals; national strategic interests, principles of defence and the concept of defence.¹³ It emphasizes the need for the maintenance of a stable and peaceful environment of the immediate areas of its strategic interests.

Malaysia's strategic interests are threefold; concentrating on the immediate vicinity, the region and the world. The regional areas of interest to Malaysia cover South East Asia and the South China Sea. Malaysia views any development effecting the region as invariably affecting her security development. Any infringement of the region's security will have consequential effects on Malaysia's security. Being an independent and sovereign state, Malaysia has realized that the

preservation of its national interest and security is best attained through the pursuit of self-reliance, which is the core of its defence policy.¹⁴

MALAYSIAN PRINCIPLES OF WAR – STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

In Malaysia's current strategic circumstances, it is necessary to examine the national and military strategic interests of the nation and how they affect national security. The interdependence between both of them must constantly be borne in mind. As highlighted by Liddell Hart, "... strategy is too often considered to comprise merely military factors to the overshadowing of the political and economic, with which it is interwoven."¹⁵ Whilst the Principles of War have been thoroughly scrutinized at the tactical and operational levels of the Malaysian Army's history, the study of their applicability at the strategic level has been less exhaustive. As highlighted, the Principles of War were derived predominantly from the study of Napoleonic and Industrial Age Warfare.¹⁶ In Malaysia's case, it was a direct excerpt from the British Army doctrine.¹⁷

War at the strategic level is an intellectual process and the development and implementation of strategy is a creativity. As such, some form of intellectual framework is required to shape the strategist's thought process. The Principles of War provide such a structure. The principles may be used as an aid during the formulation, planning and execution of strategy. They can be used to assess current strategic plans, or as an analytical tool to shape new strategies and plans as they are developed. In this case, there are some principles that will have immense utility in the environment currently experienced by Malaysia.

¹² Vision 2020 is Prime Minister Dr Mahathir's vision of transforming Malaysia into a fully developed nation by the year 2020.

¹³ Ministry of Defence, 1999, *Malaysian Defence-Towards Defence Self-Reliance*, Warisan Publishers, Kuala Lumpur, p 21.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Paret, P (ed). 1986, *Makers of Modern Strategy*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, p 632.

¹⁶ Luttwak, E. 1995, 'Toward Post-Heroic Warfare', *Foreign Affairs Bulletin*, May/June, p 114.

¹⁷ Ministry of Defence (UK), 1998, *Joint Services Doctrine, The Principles of War*, p A-4.

THE SELECTION AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE AIM

Air Marshall S D Evans (RAAF) noted in 1995 that, "... the first principle, the Selection and Maintenance of the Aim has special status. This is the master or cardinal principle. The remaining principles are not considered to be of special importance, one to the other, and it is perfectly logical that this should be so."¹⁸ This principle is paramount of all the Principles of War and particularly so at the strategic level. Strategy tends to be long term in its development, its execution and its effects. Early and accurate selection of an appropriate overarching aim is the critical keystone to creating and executing successful strategy. Strategic activities always involve every element of national power. Each element has different utility depending upon the aim being pursued. Furthermore, practitioners of a particular element of power tend to advocate the aims more suitable for action within their realm. Even within the MAF, different services are likely to identify certain aims as more easily attainable using their particular capabilities. The Navy, for example, will find interruption of an adversary's sea lines of communication a more appropriate mission than defence or seizure of vast expanses of land.

In the conduct of war as a whole, and in every military operation, it is essential to select and define the aims clearly. The whole art and science of war depends on the selection of the right national aim¹⁹ and the correct distribution of available resources and forces to achieve that aim. The Malaysian Army's definition of the Selection and Maintenance of the Aim emphasizes the requirement for political direction down to unit level with operations conducted by both civilians and the military. In the war against the CTs, the aim of defeating the CTs, by depriving it of popular support, having been determined, was

pursued by every level of the society and the government agencies relentlessly. As Malaysia is a multi-racial society, its defence is the collective responsibility of its citizens and their efforts complement the pivotal role played by the MAF. These factors were vital in the counter-revolutionary war against the CTs, particularly when certain elements of the population were CT sympathisers.

Information Age conditions, particularly advances in command and control systems, seemingly offer the ability to accomplish multiple actions simultaneously. This may cause some strategists to conclude that clear focus on a single aim is no longer appropriate or even desirable as some aims may be overtaken by events. In reality though, the ability to control numerous concurrent operations does not detract from the requirement to ensure that each individual action contributes to an overarching aim. Instead, it reinforces the importance of a clear aim. Finally, strategists must subject each potential aim and the ways to achieve it, to rigorously analyse and assess the costs, risks and likelihood of success. Only after completing such analyses can the strategist recommend aims to policymakers, which best further the national interest.

CO-OPERATION

The importance of co-operation will not diminish in the anticipated environment of the 21st century. It will require more attention at the strategic level because of the increased likelihood of multilateral actions. Information Age technologies will facilitate increased interaction between governments and organizations. It will make it more difficult for a coalition to act in unison without straining important relations with nations outside the coalition. The fact that countries and societies will adapt unevenly to the Information Age will further compound the difficulties in establishing and maintaining co-operation. As highlighted by Alvin Toffler, some countries will

¹⁸ Evans, S.D. Air Marshall (Rtd). 1995, *Principles of War*, Blamey Oration, p 27.

¹⁹ Summers, H. Colonel, 1985, 'Principles of War and Low-Intensity Conflict', *Military Review*, March, p 44.

become 'third wave' societies, others as in the case of Malaysia will remain industrialised at the 'second wave' acquiring some information age technologies but remain unable to enter the Information Age in wholesale fashion.²⁰

CO-OPERATION WITHIN MALAYSIAN SOCIETY

Malaysia's defence policy calls for a strategy that is based on deterrence and total defence.²¹ Whilst deterrence calls for the application of the denial strategy, the concept of total defence refers to the total and integrated efforts taken by the government, non-governmental agencies, private sectors and the citizens to defend the country. In Malaysia's case, co-operation involves not only the MAF but also logistical support network of military industrial co-operation in line with the country's development priorities. Self-reliance in this regard should not be limited to the efforts of the Armed Forces but should also involve all relevant agencies of the government and the people.

Malaysia has the successful experience of the 'KESBAN' and in the policy of total defence, this policy fits snugly into the national concept of Comprehensive Security. Comprehensive Security is defined as the ultimate state of the society where the nation is secured politically, economically and militarily. In this regard, total defence can be a catalyst and a vehicle for the nation to achieve vision 2020. As such, co-operation amongst every level of the society will be vital to achieve that aim and the MAF will have to play a pivotal role in this aspect.

REGIONAL CO-OPERATION

Due to its geographical location in South East Asia, Malaysia's strategic interests and

concerns inevitably coincide with those of the other countries in the region. As such, the continued co-operation amongst ASEAN members will assist in the process of confidence building and promoting transparency. Although these relationships may be tested on occasion, it is vital that the members of ASEAN maintain a concerted effort to promote and contribute towards the development of a strong and effective ASEAN for a secure South East Asia. For example, the recent success of the INTERFET operations in East Timor undermined the credibility of ASEAN, given its initial inability to mount an effective response to the unfolding tragedy in East Timor.²² This is where the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)²³ should be the basis for another significant regional co-operation towards the continued peace and stability in the region.

Despite the political and regional stability, the ASEAN region will witness diverse political, economic and socio-culture disputes that will require committed efforts from all members of ASEAN to ensure stability. Overlapping claims and territorial disputes remain as irritants. The Spratly chain of islands is a case in point. All the claimants, except Brunei, have stationed troops on some of these islands. Malaysia is also embroiled in other territorial wrangles with Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei.²⁴ Piracy is another problem as it disputes the smooth flow of commercial shipping and threatens the safety, and livelihood of the local people. Similarly, illegal immigrants pose yet another security concern for the nation. Although the situation is currently manageable, for security, social and economic reasons, their problems must

²⁰ Toffler, A. 1980, *The Third Wave*, Morrow Publishers, New York, p 67.

²¹ Ministry of Defence, *Op Cit*, p 24.

²² Thayer, C. 2000, 'New Fault Lines In ASEAN'. *Asia Pacific Defence Reporter*, Dec, p 28.

²³ The ARF was initiated by ASEAN in 1992 as a security dialogue to be convened immediately after the annual meeting of ASEAN's foreign ministers. Source: Leifer, M 1996, *The Dictionary of the Modern Politics of South East Asia*, Routledge publishers, London, p 51.

²⁴ Indonesia – Sipadan and Ligitan Islands, Singapore – 'Pulau Batu Putih', Brunei – Limbang, source-Boey, D. 1994, *Malaysia's Defence: Long On Borders But Short On Funds*, *International Defence Review*, Feb p 62.

be contained. The MAF is currently involved in assisting the Malaysian Police in curbing the influx of illegal immigrants. However, this alone is not sufficient to address the problem since the influx of immigrants has doubled in numbers over the past decade.²⁵ Since the majority of the illegal are from a neighbouring country, it is pertinent that leaders of both countries continue to address this issue and bring end to this problem.

DEFENCE CO-OPERATION

Malaysia is currently engaged bilaterally with all her ASEAN neighbours at different levels of military co-operation. Continued military exercises and reciprocal visits with Indonesia and Thailand are hallmarks of the close ties that Malaysia enjoys with both countries under the General Border Committee (GBC) Agreements. In the current strategic circumstances, it is important that these be maintained as other issues such as piracy, narcotics, arms smuggling and illegal immigrants have been the main concern along the border areas of both countries. The GBC has also discussed and implemented socio-economic projects in the border region. This augurs well for the economic development of all. Similarly, bilateral defence ties with Brunei and The Philippines, although not as comprehensive as the GBC, provide a window of opportunity for neighbours to cooperate in dealing with the regional security problems.

The Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA)²⁶ was formalized in 1971 with the provision that "... in the event of any form of armed attack externally organized or supported against Malaysia or Singapore, their governments could immediately consult together for the purpose of deciding what measures should be

taken jointly or separately in relation to such attack or threat.²⁷ The FPDA provides the benefits of training and military exercises, and the tangible link that binds the Armed Forces of both Malaysia and Singapore, which are vital confidence-building measures. From Malaysia's strategic perspective, the FPDA also has both political and economic merits that reinforce the economic and political linkages with the other FPDA partners. As highlighted by Air Vice Marshall Clarke in Kuala Lumpur on 25 August²⁸, the recent pledge by all Defence Ministers of FPDA partners to maintain and to further enhance this arrangement reflect the importance of maintaining this defence co-operation.

In essence, the bilateral and multilateral defence co-operation adopted by the MAF has created a web of interlocking security ties in the region. It has also contributed significantly towards the promotion of regional stability. The security spin off has created a healthy climate for local and overseas investors to participate actively in the economic and commercial activities in Malaysia. As strategic action always requires interagency, and usually international co-operation, strategists and military commanders must continue to strive for co-operation.

MAINTENANCE OF MORALE AND ADMINISTRATION

High morale and good administration are probably the most important elements across the spectrum of conflict including military activities in peace. Good morale is primarily a mental state and depends, above all, on trust in the political and military leadership. In this aspect, the maintenance of morale and good administration in a peacetime environment will be vital if the

²⁵ Facts obtained from ACP Mansor's brief on illegal immigrants given to the Course on 25 August at the Australian High Commission during EX JALINAN STRATEGIC.

²⁶ Member countries are Malaysia, Singapore, United Kingdom, New Zealand and Australia.

²⁷ Leifer, M. 1955, 'The Dictionary of the Modern Politics of South-East Asia' Routledge Publishers, London, P 95.

²⁸ Air Vice Marshall Clarke (RAAF) addressed the course at the Australian High Comm during EX JALINAN STRATEGIC on subject of the Future of FPDA.

MAF is to react in the event of a security threat. The Malaysian Army is having some problems with morale due to bad administration, procurement problems, low pay, quality of decisions and negative actions that have involved its personnel.²⁹

NEGATIVE INCIDENTS INVOLVING ARMY PERSONNEL

Over the past decade, the Malaysian Army's image has been tarnished by a number of incidents, ranging from drug related cases to criminal breach of trust to severe discipline cases. These have affected the morale of the serving members. However, none of these has been more serious than arms theft as exemplified by the arms heist at an Army Camp in Grik, Perak on 2 July 2000.³⁰ In this incident, more than 100 assorted automatic rifles were taken by impersonators from the Al-Ma'unah' Islamic Group.³¹ Although swift action by Army commandos and police managed to recover the weapons on 6 July, it was a costly operation with two hostages and one cult member killed.³²

This incident raised serious doubts in the credibility of the Army and the alertness in security areas since it was not the first incident. There have been three separate incidents in the past decade where firearms have been stolen and used in armed robberies.³³ The morale of the personnel is at its lowest ebb after this incident more so when the Defence Minister was quick to blame the personnel involved in this security

lapse.³⁴ Such actions and the 'finger pointing' in looking for scapegoats will not go down well with the personnel. This is because more alarming issues like the poor security maintenance of these camps due to the lack of funds were never addressed.

SOCIETY AND THE MALAYSIAN ARMY

Another problem that the Army faces stems directly from the current aspects of the Malaysian society. As highlighted by Dzirhan Mahazir, "... the economic development, has led to a society lacking qualities to produce an adequate pool of the population suitable for, and interested in military service".³⁵ Many young people in Malaysia do not consider a military career as a viable option. At the same time, the military is no longer held in high esteem or pride by the population.³⁶ This problem is more crucial, in that the very sort of people the Army is trying to recruit, the highly educated and intelligent, are more interested in the opportunities provided in the civilian sector.

There are a number of reasons for the cool response of the population to a career in the Army. Even in the officer corps, the pay scale is relatively low compared to their civilian counterparts of equal status and qualification. Requests for increases in pay to compete with those offered by the civilian sector are routinely turned down by the government. This is because the military is considered part of the civil service, and any increase would mean that the pay of the rest of the civil service would also have to be increased. This would be costly to the government as the civil sector amounts to a total work force of 880,000.³⁷

Certainly the most enduring issue is the attractiveness of careers in the private and public

²⁹ Mahadzir, D.2000, 'Malaysia's Army : Problems and Prospects', *Asia Pacific Defence Reporter*, April – May, p 15.
³⁰ Emmanuel, T. 2000, 'Robbers Raid Armoury', *The New Straits Times*, 3 July, p1.

³¹ Akmar, S. 2000, 'Al-Ma'unah are Terrorists', *The New Straits Times*, 11 July p 1.

³² Army Ranger, Topah ak Matthew and Police Detective CPL Sagadevan were tortured and killed by their captors. Source: *The New Straits Times*, 'Slain Soldier Matther's body arrives in Sarawak', 8 Jul 2000, p3.

³³ David, A. 2000, 'M-16 robbery gang still at large', *The New Straits Times*, 3 July, p4

³⁴ Singh, S. 2000, 'Guards at military camp breached standard procedures, says Najib', *The New Straits Times*, 5 July, p3.

³⁵ Mahadzir, Op Cit, p 15.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Yusof M. 1999, 'CUEPACS Raise Increment Issue', *The New Straits Times*, 29 Sep, p 3.

sectors. This reduces the talent pool of future capable and dynamic leaders that should be in the Army of the future. This problem was first highlighted by the then Army Chief, General Yaacob Mohd Zain in 1988 when he stated that "... many graduates see the Army as an 'employer of last resort'.³⁸ Former Armed Forces Chief, General Ismail Omar further reinforced this argument in 1994, when he stated that "... the Army is becoming a dumping ground for graduates, unable to seek employment".³⁹

COMMAND AND LEADERSHIP

Malaysia has had six Army Chiefs over the period 1992 – 1999. Whilst these changes were due to retirement, the frequent changes of leadership have resulted in discontinuity and policy changes that very often disorient the serving members of the Army. Good administration is a key function of command and it encompasses all aspects of the physical, moral and spiritual maintenance of a force. With the emphasis on tertiary education for its officers, it would be beneficial if the Defence Minister selected Army Chiefs with sound tertiary background, and ensure that they have longer tenure. It is interesting to note that the Royal Malaysian Police once had a leader, Tan Sri Haniff Omar who served for almost 21 years as the Inspector General of Police.⁴⁰ Although leading the Army for such a long time could have adverse effects, the Army should have leaders that stay long enough for the implementation of policies and directives. If this is to be achieved, the government should consider raising the retiring age for selected senior officers from 55 to 60 years. It has to recognize the sacrifices and expertise of the senior leadership

of the Army and acknowledge the difference between the Army and the Civil Service.

High morale and good administration have been defined as the qualities, which make men endure and show courage in times of danger and fatigue. Even in peacetime, as the Army is being transformed into a modern conventional force, the maintenance of morale of its personnel achieved through good administration will be crucial if it is to achieve this aim. As highlighted by Montgomery, "... the morale of the soldier is the most important single factor in peace and war".⁴¹

CONCENTRATION OF FORCE AND ECONOMY OF EFFORT

After the surrender of the CTs, the Army had the opportunity to concentrate on its modernization and restructuring program towards becoming a conventional force. This saw the reduction of the 114,000 strong Army to its present 85,000.⁴² As the Army enters the 21st century, further downsizing of its personnel to 80,000 is on course under the 8th Malaysia Plan.⁴³ Currently, the Army is facing some problems in obtaining new equipment rtake massive cuts in defence spending.

The successful formation of the Parachute Brigade, which became fully operational in 1998,⁴⁵ forms the core of a rapid deployment force (RDF) which is capable of deploying to trouble spots at short notice. This development is significant, as Malaysia shares common land or sea boundaries with most of the ASEAN nations. Malaysia is the only ASEAN member, which has

³⁸ Sais, S. 1988, 'The Malaysian army-Getting It Right Takes Time', Asian Defence Journal, March, p 17.

³⁹ Dian, Z. 1994, 'The Malaysian Army's Challenge For The Nineties', Asian Defence Journal, April, p 7.

⁴⁰ Haniff Omar served as IGP from 1975 at the age of 35 until 1995.

⁴¹ Serve To Lead, 1986, An anthology, compiled at The Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, p 17.

⁴² Sengupta, K. 1999, 'Malaysia's Force Modernisation Back On Steam', Asian Defence Journal, Jul, p 7.

⁴³ Mahazir, Op Cit, p 15.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ministry of Defence, Op Cit, p 41

made the RDF a central pillar of the Army.⁴⁶ Similarly the successful formation of the Mechanised Brigade was another development to concentrate its forces in line with the defence policy. These expansions were part of the defence spending averaging 2.18 billion US dollars a year between 1991-1999.⁴⁷

Despite the formation and expansion of both brigades, there are still problems faced by the Army to concentrate its assets for future tasks in line with the strategic interests of the nation. As highlighted by the CDF General Zahidi Zainuddin in an interview on 16 September 2000, "... the forces; ambitions are held back by lack of money."⁴⁸ With limited finances, it is pertinent for the Army to look at the systematic procurement of equipment and weapon system and avoid duplication in concert with the principle of 'Economy of Effort'. As an example, its Mechanised Brigade, with different types of armour vehicles, will pose logistical problems and more financial woes to the nation in future. This is because any advancement programs or replacements will need negotiations with different suppliers from different nations. With the planned formation of a combine arms division,⁴⁹ it is important that it considers these aspects in the procurement of equipment, especially the purchase of tanks. It is also important for the Army to look at ways of reducing its strength further as it will have better options with the defence budget to concentrate its effort on the procurement of modern equipment and improve mobility to suit the strategic interests of the nation.

SECURITY AND FLEXIBILITY

At the strategic level, security has an internal dimension that deals with relationships

among strategists, their subordinates and their partners; and an external dimension that deals with opponents or enemies. The internal dimension of security includes the protection of plans and intentions that is known as operational security (OPSEC). The external dimension includes intelligence gathering and analysis, deception and information warfare. Several factors complicate security at the strategic level. For instance, security has joint and multinational dimensions. This necessarily requires that more organizations have access to vital information, but the more information is dispersed, the more difficult it is to protect. This is further complicated by the fact that it is not always clear against whom the information should be secured from. Strategy entails a spectrum of 'actors' ranging from a fully committed ally to an outright enemy.

As many organizations and individuals need access to key information, regulated control of vital information has to be balanced against clear and complete communications. A further obstacle arises because strategic plans and intentions must be part public and part private or secret. In this aspect, there must be flexibility in the manner in which information is disseminated. This is because security entails protection of the classified portion and limiting any vulnerability that may arise from the public dimension. Such protection may be defensive, using classification or deliberate vagueness; or offensive, through deception.

In the 21st century, the intelligence collection and analysis capabilities of strategic actors will increase, as will their ability to protect their own intentions and capabilities. This means that the precise techniques for assuring security will change, but the centrality of the concept will not. One of the biggest challenges for Malaysia's strategic leaders in the 21st century will be cyber security-protecting computers and the links between them. Technology has the potential to facilitate security, but commanders must be careful to avoid over reliance on it as no security system is completely effective.

⁴⁶ Machmud, B. 1993, 'The Malaysian Army In Transition', *Asian Defence Journal*, Mar, p 7.

⁴⁷ Country Information, Malaysia, 2000, Available: <http://www.dfat.gov.au>.

⁴⁸ Rahman, Z. 2000, 'Towards a mobile effective force', *The Star*, 16 Sep, p 38.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

THE OTHER PRINCIPLES – OFFENSIVE ACTION AND SURPRISE

In this discussion, the remaining two principles have been excluded as they play a lesser role at the strategic level. Although the principles are applicable at all levels including military strategy, operational and tactical, there are significant differences in their applicability in the current strategic environment Malaysia is facing. As an example, tactical surprise is not the same as strategic surprise. Every principle is the fact composed of a number of basic considerations in the types of operation the MAF will be involved in. These will depend on the level of knowledge and experience of the commander. These considerations are less fixed than the principle itself. As an example, to implement a principle in defensive operations, all the basic considerations of defence should be adhered to. There are also principles which are essential, and others which are less so. This will depend on the circumstances and the level under discussion. Even if they are valid at all levels, their value will differ and may even contradict one another. For instance, the **"Surprise"** principle may require forces to be split, whilst the **"Offensive Action"** principle calls for just the opposite.

In essence, the remaining two principles are still valuable war-fighting tenets what will be needed should the MAF be involved in a conflict. As the MAF has experienced more than a decade of peace, their utility have been confined to the major peacekeeping operations the MAF has been involved in. This, and the current operations to curb the influx of illegal immigrants are not war-fighting roles and as such their applicability would be more situational. At the strategic level though, these principles remain less important as their utility will only arise should the nation be involved in a direct conflict.

CONCLUSION

The Principles of War have guided the MAF in past conflicts and continue to remain the cornerstone of Malaysian military doctrine. The principles have immense utility in view of Malaysia's multi-racial society. Malaysia's greatest strength is the resilience of its people and their efforts complement the pivotal role played by the MAF. These have proven successful in the past when the nation was at arms against the CTs and will remain important in line with the current MAF concept of total defence. As the MAF has concentrated on its modernization and restructuring program in the past decade, the strategic environment in the region, especially within the ASEAN fraternity, has also changed. In line with this, the principles provide the structure of intellectual framework required to shape the strategist's thought process in the formulation, planning and execution of strategy.

The eight principles discussed in this essay will remain as key consideration at both the national and military strategic levels in the current environment facing Malaysia. Information technology and the strategic circumstances in the 21st century, reinforces the importance of political direction for a clear national aim down to unit level with implementation by both the civil and military. Similarly, the importance of co-operation will not diminish in the 21st century because of the increased likelihood of multilateral actions. Continued co-operation with its regional neighbours to address the problems faced by Malaysia will ensure the stability of the region. Maintenance of Morale will require the Army to address the current problems that affect the morale of its personnel through good administration and leadership from commanders at all levels. The principles have also shown that in line with the Army's modernization program, the Concentration of Force and Economy of Effort must be considered in focusing its limited finances and assets to meet the strategic challenges. Where

they were not adhered to, as in the case of duplication of equipment types, problems will result. The Information Age technology also reinforces the primacy of the principles of Flexibility and Security. Flexibility because of the ease in transferring information rapidly and widely, and the security implications of doing just that.

The essay has shown that the principles embody the fundamental constructs of military thought and have immense utility as guidelines for action at the strategic level. The eight principles discussed have greater significance in this aspect. It is strongly believe they will continue to provide a base upon which national action is based and

be applicable in every element of war whether political, strategic, tactical, civil or service. The principles should be absorbed by Malaysia's national leaders and service commanders at all levels so that they are applied in proper balance to every circumstance of diplomacy and operations. In short, the Malaysian Principles of War remain important in the current strategic circumstances although the utility of the eight principles discussed takes greater precedence than the remaining two in view of their utility. The principles will continue to act as a guide for Malaysia's leaders in helping them navigate through the labyrinth of strategic formulation and execution in the 21st century.

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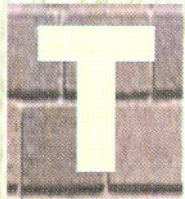


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THE ELEMENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

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INTRODUCTION



There is probably no subject in which it is so important to distinguish between myth and reality as foreign policy. By *policy* it means a continuous process of decisions and their implementation taking place

within the organizational structure of a state. Policies are not simply any decisions; they consist of only those that structure detailed actions and form a framework for decisions taken lower down an organizational hierarchy. They involve an exchange of information both within state agencies and also between those agencies and also a variety of external interest groups, and are directed at ensuring a higher probability of a desired set of outcomes in the future. It is the future direction of policy decisions, their strategic quality, which distinguishes them from routine decisions designed to implement existing policy. By *foreign policy* it means, in the words of Joseph Frankel, 'decisions and actions which involve to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others.' It includes in these relations between the state and external non-governmental organizations (NGOs).¹

According to Lentner, policy is a form of action, which involves (1) selection of objectives, (2) mobilization of means for achieving those objectives, and, (3) implementation, or the actual expenditure of efforts and resources in pursuit of the selected objectives. While specific definition

of foreign depends on the viewpoint of any particular country and refers to all that is outside that country. A distinction needs to be drawn between a country and its environment. Foreign policy refers to that portion of a country's life, which copes with its environment. Insofar as the policy of a country is addressed to problems exclusively within its jurisdiction and does not affect other countries, it can be defined as domestic. Insofar as policies are directed to other countries or have an impact on other countries, they fall within the meaning of foreign.²

Basing on the definition above, it illustrates that foreign policy is the action and reaction which take place between countries whereby internal and external factors play major roles in influencing the decision. Anyhow, many kinds of domestic actions have external effects but are not foreign policy. The applications of foreign policy of state are different between one another and much concentration is based on the state national interest and its survivability. Having said that, the aim of this paper is to compare and contrast the elements of foreign policy and the process of foreign policy making in the First World country (USA) with a Third World country (India). It also will examine whether the changing of environment will have an impact on the elements and the process of foreign policy making.

¹ Calvert, Peter., *The Foreign Policy of New States*, London: Wheatsheaf Books Limited, 1986, p 1.

² Lentner, Howard H., *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1974, pp 4-5.

Elements of Foreign Policy And Foreign Policy-making

According to Millar, it is still usually helpful in understanding a country's foreign policy to be aware of the basic considerations such as geography, population, economic resources, culture, history, etc. Actions in defiance of these are the exception rather than the rule.³ This idea had been supported by Srikant Dutt, when he mentioned that a state's foreign policy is seen as shaped by such factors as geography, economic, demography, history, strategy and leadership.⁴ Meanwhile Macridis described that factors constitute to the foreign policy-making process are as follows:

- **The Governmental Agencies:**
 - **Executive** (e.g. Prime Minister, relevant Ministries, and interministerial or interdepartmental organizations).
 - **Legislative** (including relevant committees).
- **The Non-Governmental Agencies:**
 - Political parties.
 - Interest groups.
 - Media communication.
 - Characteristics of public opinion.⁵

Basing on these descriptions, this paper shall focus on some factors that had been described by the authors concerned. Anyhow things to bear in mind that there are no immutable or absolute factors in foreign policy. This is what makes writing theoretically about foreign policy so difficult. To find the basis for the foreign policy of a country, therefore, it is necessary to ascertain

why relevant decisions were actually made. This means looking at the thinking of the people who make the decisions, their perception on the world and on their own polity, of finding which facts are factors to them, and how they took them into account.

Foreign Policy And Foreign Policy Making In The First World And Third World Geography

One of the most important influences on states' foreign policy behavior is their location on the global terrain. State, unlike people, live in a geographical relationship to one another, which determines many of their capabilities and limitations. People can move but state cannot. Hence many of the variables discussed have a very different meaning depending on the location of the states concerned. Geography is very important in determining any foreign policy and this had been stressed by Mr. Saul Rose when he pointed out that, "it is not until a country has become a political entity as well as a geographical area that one can begin to talk about its foreign policy."⁶ The presence of natural frontiers, for example, may profoundly shape the mental maps that guide policymakers' choice. US has prospered under a fortuitous set of circumstances because vast oceans separate it from Europe and Asia. This, combined with the absence of military-powerful neighbors, permitted the US to develop into an industrial giant and to practice safely isolationist foreign policy without any immediate security threat for more than 150 years. Thus, it is ironic that the very isolated geographic position of the US has been the primary reason why her citizens, until very recent times have virtually ignored the influence of geography on foreign policy. The Russians, whatever the form of government, have been conditioned by the geographical factor that there is an invasion route to Moscow. During the Cold War, any basic arrangement with the Russians, US had to take their Western vulnerabilities into

³ Millar, T.B., *On Writing About Foreign Policy*, see James N. Rosenau, (ed), *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, New York: The Free Press, 1969, pp 59-60.

⁴ Srikant Dutt, *India and the Third World. Altruism or Hegemony?*, London: Zed Books Ltd., 1984, p 2.

⁵ Macridis, Roy C., (ed), *Foreign Policy in World Politics*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1985, pp xiii-xiv.

⁶ Black, Joseph E., Kenneth W. Thompson, (eds), *Foreign Policies in A World of Change*, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1963, p 15.

account, compared to India, which has many states on her border such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, China, and Myanmar. This situation denies her the option of non-involvement in world affairs. Historically India found its domestic political system and foreign policy preferences profoundly affected by its geostrategic position. It is clear that the foreign policy of every nation is to some extent a product of its own history. The approach of a nation and its people to foreign policy problems is conditioned by expectations, values and beliefs. The patterns of values and beliefs, which emerged over a period of time, are largely adjustments to the environment and the limits it imposes. While those who direct the affairs of the nation have some control over history and have some choice between various alternatives, one is still impressed by "how little the course of events is determined by deliberately planned purpose."⁷ Circumstances give each nation its own historical configuration and mark it with its own individuality. Basing on this scenario, India's foreign policy is made basing on its national interests. These national interests may overlap with one another and the conflicts will emerge as illustrated by India-Pakistan and India-China relations regarding their borders. Threat perceptions will be at higher degree and finally security dilemma occurred and this phenomenon will affect the process of foreign policy making. History is replete with many other examples of the influence of geography on states' foreign policy goals. The underlying principle is axiomatic: Leaders' perceptions of available foreign policy options are influenced by the geopolitical circumstances that define their countries' place on the world stage.⁸ Geopolitics is only one aspect of the external environment that may influence states' foreign policies. Whatever the actions and reactions by the neighboring countries, they will give an impact to India's foreign policy making compared with US, which has more privileges and freedom in making

her policy. Furthermore, the neighboring countries such as Canada and Mexico have not given any great threats to US.

Population

Population also is the contributing factor in foreign policy. It constitutes the first resource of a state, and one which many states see as a resource and not as a liability. Attentions have to be given to quantitative and qualitative aspects when evaluating the population of a nation. In mentioning about quantitative, one must consider the total number of people, the age configuration within the population, distribution according to the sex, the rate of population increase or the rate of decrease and the distribution of the population within the nation. Qualitatively, such factors as educational level, skilled versus unskilled, and health factors are frequently taken into consideration. Other qualitative factors which should be given attention even though they are extremely difficult to evaluate are the influence of the value structure of a society and what are the dominant groups which influence the choices that are made, role of ideology, national character and morale.⁹ These are all been considered as intangible factors and most of the time will overcome the tangible factors especially in the third world. As for India, with the most compact population in the world is facing the problem in term of distributing the resources and this includes the education system, energy, economy, food, and others. Therefore a program of compulsory sterilization was introduced during the first period of Indira Gandhi's prime ministership, as the most controversial part of a powerful drive to restrict growth of a population much was which already starving.¹⁰ Hence, the constraint is always there and these considerations have to be borne in making and implementing the foreign policy. However, gross population size is one of the major

⁷Ibid.

⁸ Kegley, Jr., Charles W., Eugene R. Wittkopf, *World Politics, Trend and Transformation*, New York St. Martin's Press, p 64.

⁹ Ibid., p 18.

¹⁰ Calvert, Peter., *The Foreign Policy of New States*, p 100.

marks of a great power but it needs strong economic structure and capabilities of production or sophistication of technology. Compared with the US, which is more flexible in distributing of resources and due to her economic giant, the bargaining power with her own peoples is always there. In US, the quality thinking of the peoples can be implemented according to their will in making its foreign policy compared with India, which is quite constrained even though the quality thinking of the peoples existed due to limited resources.

Economy

The level of economy and industrial development enjoyed by a state affects the foreign policy goals it can pursue. As a general proposition, the more developed a state economically, the more likely it is to play an activist role in the world political economy. Rich nations have interests that extend far beyond their borders and typically command the means necessary to pursue and protect them. Not coincidentally, countries that enjoy industrial capabilities and extensive involvement in international trade also tend to be militarily powerful, in part because military might is a function of economic capabilities. Historically, only the world's most scientifically sophisticated industrial economies have produced nuclear weapons, for example, which many regard as the ultimate expression of military prowess. In this sense nuclear weapons are the result of being powerful, not its cause. The phenomenon mentioned illustrated how US became and finally maintained its superpower status until to date, while India although she had the nuclear weapons, the rivalries still persist especially form her traditional enemies that were Pakistan and China. During the Cold War, India's concentration towards her military power with its economic development gave an impact to the decreasing level of productivity. This affected her foreign policies and had to comply subserviently with the wishes of the Soviet. Anyhow, to India, there are

two parallel ways to peace; one to tackle the roots of conflict (social, economic and political) and the other to attempt to resolve a given conflict without recourse to violence so that there may be a reduction of international tension arising from that conflict, even if the conflict itself may not be resolved.¹¹ As in the social structure, where caste is the key institution, the most important liberal development needed is mobility from group to group; in the economic field, the most important development needed is indeed, development: improving living standards by increased production and equitable distribution. Such economic development will improve the social structure in India. Furthermore economic development in India mostly is concentrating within the region itself whereby US is pursuing its economy throughout the world. Therefore different strategy of foreign policy was employed by both nations in order to pursue their economic interest. Markets, products, communications are among the considerations which both countries are to abide in foreign policy making when dealing with economy.

Natural Resources

As a part of the broad geographic base of a nation, we must also keep in mind the natural resources of the nation; they include land available for food production, and its mineral, metal and water resources. The policy patterns of India can be understood in terms of their food requirements and the fact that they rely heavily on the importation of food, compared with US which have a food surplus and are primarily concerned with access to markets. Modern technology changes in weapons and warfare and the amazing developments in communications systems are based squarely on the utilization of high-energy resources. Thus, access to high-energy sources such as coal fields, and oil reserves

¹¹ Black, Joseph E., Kenneth W. Thompson, (eds), *Foreign Policies in a World of Change*, p 489.

marks of a great power but it needs strong economic structure and capabilities of production or sophistication of technology. Compared with the US, which is more flexible in distributing of resources and due to her economic giant, the bargaining power with her own peoples is always there. In US, the quality thinking of the peoples can be implemented according to their will in making its foreign policy compared with India, which is quite constrained even though the quality thinking of the peoples existed due to limited resources.

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¹¹ Black, Joseph E., Kenneth W. Thompson, (eds), *Foreign Policies in a World of Change*, p 489.

are an obvious requisite for any nation, which expect to compete in the modern industrial world. US has access plenty to these reserves such as in Alaska compared to India, which all resources have to be utilized for their own need due to vast population. In 1970, for example, the Indian Minister of Foreign Trade declared that India needed raw materials on a long term basis from the then ECAFE region and in 1971, she had signed an agreement with Peru specifically designed to obtain strategic 'non-ferrous' minerals. Indian foreign investment was to secure raw materials needed for its basic economy and consumption.¹² Anyhow, mere access to such resources obviously does not guarantee a nation that it will become an industrial state or that it will be able to make use of these resources. Without them however, a nation is quite clearly doomed to continue as a low energy society and this definitely gives an impact to foreign policy making.

Military Capacity

The military capacity of a nation has frequently determined whether or not it would continue to exist as a political entity. Of course this factor, too, must be understood in terms of the wider distribution of world power and the various alliances, which bind nations together. US as the superpower in term of military capabilities had been seen as the important actor in the world and with the NATO alliance, gave a great impact in enhancing her role in managing the order. India has been seen as a regional power also gave a priority in military capabilities. In this sense, they have discovered that military force was quite relevant for achieving their objectives. Deterrent capabilities and their defense system tied entirely to nuclear weapons. It has become increasingly clear that even though the major powers will continue to stockpile nuclear weapons and that even though a major war is deferred, military conflicts will continue, and some of the more traditional tactics and weapons will be used.

Leadership

The quality of government cannot be separated from the quality of leadership existing at a particular time. There is frequently a tendency to talk about states and government as though they were real living entities. But Charles Burton Marshall reminds us:

"The terms *state* and *government* convey ideas of hugeness, majesty, and impersonality. These overtones should not mislead us. The state-and this is true also of its agents, government-remains, in Plato's phrase, man written large. It is only man. It is not superman. It is man written large, not limitless. The individual is multiplied in the frame of the state. The individual's limitations are not transcended. The institutions of political life do not add to the dimensions of the human mind. They have no insights denied to individuals. They produce no wisdom beyond the compass of man's mind. The intelligence operating in the lines of decision and execution is but human intelligence. It has the inherent attributes of contingency, fallibility, and subjectivity. Service to the state does not bring to the minds of the servants any additional endowments for perceiving the future. For all its majesty, the situation of the state is still the human situation".¹³

Since men making the decision, the culture and background of a particular person will influence him in making the decision. Roosevelt for instance who had a military background would have his own views in making war in the Atlantic on his own initiative, and Truman in Korea and Johnson in Vietnam took the position that they needed not congressional authorization for large-scale combat. Nixon even carried on secretly in Laos and Cambodia. Nehru, in making Indian foreign policy defined by him as non-aligned, was based on 'five principles': mutual respect for other nations' territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-

¹² Srikant Dutt, *India and the Third World*, pp 98-99.

¹³ Black, Joseph E., Kenneth W. Thompson, *Foreign Policies in A World of Change*, p 19.

aggression; non-interference in internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence.¹⁴ This was based on Nehru personality as a person who did not like an aggression and looking forward to live in peace and harmony.

The roles that a state plays at a particular time, and the foreign policies that will be followed, are dependent upon the qualities of those who are in the positions to make decisions. Their decisions will frequently be based squarely on information provided by those who are in subordinate positions within the government. For example, the reaction of US move on positioning IRBM in Cuba by the Kremlin had to be determined by leaders, not by some generalized agency. The launching of nuclear test by India also was made by their leaders not New Delhi. Having said this, leaders have to decide the allocation of resources and select the particular goals, which they hope to achieve. In all fields of action the most fateful policy decisions are made by men, not by an abstract state or organizations.

Foreign Policy Making Process

The majority of foreign policy decisions are like Topsy - they just grow. They grow out of past policies, are moulded somewhat in bureaucratic (or other) machine, and are heavily circumscribe by the logics of events. The enthusiast for change or for using scientific methods to determine the most rewarding foreign policies irrespective of past events is often unaware just how much of a country's foreign policy is inherited. It is not of course totally circumscribe and inevitable.¹⁵ Personalities, pressures and chance all have their effect. The logics of events and the legacy of the past will explain most foreign policy actions, and where they do not explain, they may be called in to justify, as Bush used three missions: to deter further Iraqi aggression, to

defend Saudi Arabia, and to "improve the overall defense capabilities of the Saudi peninsula."¹⁶ when being head of coalition during the Gulf War in 1990. Eventually, those defensive missions gave way to an offensive one designed to force Iraq out of Kuwait.

American foreign policy making is correspondingly ambivalent. On the one side, the president has broad discretionary powers that have at times seemed to verge on the autocratic. This independence of action has usually been considered necessary to enable the US to compete in a lawless international universe. The other is the democratic side of foreign policy, which comes to a focus in Congress but which include many institutions, persons, and groups that have some say in the direction of the nation. Behind this machinery of policy-making is that amorphous something called public opinion, which, although it contributes little action and much debate and challenge, is hardly less necessary than executive leaderships. The strength of public opinion is the essence of political system. Altogether, the American system is an immensely complex foreign policy-making machine, the most complex in the world and the despair of all who would fully understand. Some would also call it anarchic and self-defeating, but it has the virtues of effectiveness and rationality, at least as compared with other foreign policy apparatuses.¹⁷

As for India, making foreign policy is essentially the responsibility of the Cabinet as a whole. The Cabinet discusses foreign affairs, usually on the initiative of the Minister for External Affairs who decides what matters should be brought before the Cabinet. Normally, important policy and administrative matters are brought before the Cabinet. The Cabinet acts at the

¹⁴ India: Foreign Policy, see in Britannica 2001.

¹⁵ Millar, T.B., On Writing About Foreign Policy, see International Politics and Foreign Policy, p 61.

¹⁶ Kegley, Jr., Charles W., Eugene R. Wittkopf, World Politics, Trend and Transformation, p 49.

¹⁷ Wesson, Robert G., Foreign Policy for A New Age, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977, p 158.

highest level of co-ordination because all-important ministries are represented in the Cabinet.¹⁸ While for US foreign policy making, like any other country's, is an accumulation of day-to-day actions, one thing leading to another, one action combining with another to produce unanticipated results. US foreign policy is an organizational scheme, the government departments, the sectors of public opinion, the media, the functional and regional interest groups, and embracing the law and practice of their contributions to foreign policy, and how they interact with each other.¹⁹ Such an approach would certainly deepen the understanding of the haphazard accumulation of US policy. Foreign policy is generally conceded to be a presidential prerogatives and, to that extent, the State Department is more amendable to him than other department. Presidents have preferred to rely on handpicked advisers (usually including the Secretary of State personally) with the White House staff coming most recently into prominence. These provide a relatively fast-moving, top layer of policy-making, but cannot give close direction to the accumulation of policy in the departments.²⁰ This has been portrayed in Bush Jr. administration presently when he chose Collin Powell as his Secretary of State and during Kennedy era when his brother Edward as his adviser.

In sum the process of foreign policy making has to go through various processes basing on the situation and its environment. Decision-making is a process involving a number of elements and is a complex procedure. It is, of course, difficult to delineate any fixed pattern of the actual process, because much depends on such variable factors as individual personalities and the nature of the situation whose combined effect cannot be precisely gauged. But in any proper assessment of the factors shaping foreign policy,

none of these numerous elements can be ignored. In short, no matter how the process gone through, eventually the leader will make the decision.

Changes In Foreign Policy

With the end of Cold War, the structure of international system changed and due to this, the new environment existed and gave its effect to foreign policy making. Not all security risks now are military in nature. Transnational phenomenon such as terrorism, narcotics trafficking, environmental degradation, rapid population growth and refugee flows also have security implications for both present and in long term for state's policy. In addition, emerging classes of transnational environmental issues are increasingly affecting international stability and consequently will present new challenges in making the foreign policy. The globalization and the advance of information, communications and technology have really shortened the time and distance between states, which Fukuyama called the borderless world. The power of economy as the instrument of foreign policy plays a vital role in dealing with others. Communist country such as China, once engaged with economy, had shifted its policy to be more liberalized and these consequences will give an impact to her ideology. It is eccentric thinking when mentioning the changes in ideology during the Cold War era, but due to the globalization, ICT and economic leverage, everything is possible to happen.

In short, the tremendous changes had been made in state's foreign policy in adjusting with the present environment. US, for example had pursued with her strategy of engagement and enlargement and putting the efforts to enhance their security by maintaining a strong defense capabilities and promoting cooperative security measures, open foreign markets and spur global economic growth, and to promote democracy abroad.²¹ China for instance puts a trend towards

¹⁸ A. Appadorai, *The Foreign Policy of India*, see *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, p 491.

¹⁹ Northedge, F.S., (ed), *The Foreign Policies of the Powers*, London: Faber and Faber, 1974, p 44.

²⁰ Ibid, p 45.

²¹ A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement, The White House, July 1994.

economic liberalization and refers to as 'economic reform' or 'socialism with Chinese characteristics,' suggest that the PRC will also move further in its political and social evolution.²² Development of economy with the enhancing of ICT due to the globalization will play a prime role in determining the factors that constitute the elements of foreign policy and its process of foreign policy making. The elements, which have been mentioned earlier, will transform into a new phenomenon for instance nuclear capability will be transformed into Theatre Missile Defense and National Missile Defense. Anyhow, none, however, can transform foreign policy making into a neat, orderly system. Policy-making is a turbulent political process, one that involves complex problems, a chronic lack of information, and a multiplicity of conflicting actors. As President Kennedy summarized it, there will always be the "dark and tangled stretches in the process - mysterious even to those who may be most intimately involved."²³

CONCLUSION

It cannot be denied that the trends and transformations currently unfolding in world politics are the product of countless decisions taken daily in diverse national settings throughout the world. Some decisions are more consequential than

others, and some actors making them are more important than others. In the past, the respective quests for the states in relative security often assumed the form of establishing, through the use of force or diplomacy or the mixture of both, geostrategic and military superiority over neighbors, which in turn catalyzed vicious cycles of insecurity, tension and conflict. This is because the security could not be absolute and state could not seek absolute security, for absolute security for one is absolute insecurity for others. But at present, unilateral quests for security had been replaced by formation of a region-wide order.

The important of brilliant leaders in determining the foreign policy of a state is vital. Leaders today sometimes make foreign policy decisions for domestic political purposes, as, for example, when bold or aggressive acts abroad are intended to influence election outcomes or to divert public attention from economic woes. The intrusion of domestic politics into foreign policy making is a disadvantage that undermines their ability to deal decisively with foreign policy crises or to bargain effectively with less democratic adversaries and allies. In conclusion, it is felt that not a single element of foreign policy could be ignored in the process of foreign policy making. The decreasing importance of the elements had been replaced by others due to the new environmental occurrences. But the decreased elements will rise again in future in different scenario; therefore all the factors that constitute the elements of foreign policy are to be given equal consideration.

²² Quester, George H., *The United States and Asia after the Cold War*, Southeast Asian Affairs, 1994.

²³ Kegley, Jr., Charles W., and Eugene R. Wittkopf, *World Politics, Trend and Transformation*, p 71.17

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SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES IN AFGANISTAN CONFLICT

OLEH
MEJ MOHD.
FADZURI BIN
MASUDOKI

Let Everyone of you be
prepared to fight them, whole
energy, strength and forceful
horses. To frightened Enemy of
Allah and yours. As to the
others that you do not know.
But Allah knew them.
(Surah Al Anfal. Versus 60)

INTRODUCTION



Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) have participated in various United Nations (UN) missions since 1960. And at present time the latest issue is on Afghanistan. The performance of Malaysian troops and observers was tremendous. The UN, through the Secretary General has also recognized our contribution as one of the best among the world peacekeepers. How has this record been achieved? Well prepared personnel can bring success. Our officers and soldiers are convinced that they are well aware about what they should know and how to adapt to the environment. Wherever they are tasked, they adopt the knowledge and practice and bring along the Malaysian culture with

happiness. The latest mission that MAF personnel are taking part in is in UNSMA, Afghanistan commencing in 2002.

BACKGROUND TO AFGHAN CONFLICT

Due to its strategic location between Central Asia, China, Turkmenistan, Pakistan and Iran, Afghanistan has historically been referred as the 'Crossroads of Asia'. This land was the battleground of the great game of late 19th Century and early 20th Century. The last and the decisive battle of the cold war sparked off by the Saur Revolution (commencing on 7 Saur or April 1978), was fought on its soil. The political history of the last half of the 20th Century is not complete without this proxy war that buried the old World Order shaped after world war II.

Soviet intervention led to the popular uprising and like the Iranian revolution of the same year, every segment of Afghan society rose *en masse* when the Soviet backed regime in Kabul tried to change the social *status quo*. As in Iran, the political leadership of the Afghan uprising was initiated by the Religious establishment. The uprising was in fact inspired, motivated and sustained by the threat, and the communist accession to power posed to the existing social order. On the other hand, religion was the requisite but less than all encompassing bondage, which helped to unify the society whenever the ethnic cleavages worked divisively. It provided a common cause at intra-ethnic levels.



The Soviet withdrawal did not bring the expected dividends of peace for a host of reasons. The ten years of Soviet occupation, the mass migration of population, the enhanced roles of resurgent Islam as represented by the *Islamist* elements of the Afghan society as against the traditional *ulama*, the modernity to which the Afghan diaspora was exposed in the neighbouring country and abroad. The more than friendly interests of the regional powers, led to the grave destabilisation of the Afghan polity. Taliban were the natural outcome when the social order failed to acitivate the traditional conflict resolution mechanism.

This article may be beneficial to our officers and soldiers in understanding the fundamentals of Afghanistan sociological aspect. This may also assist them in their preparation prior to be employed to the most barren, complicated and challenging country (full of rocks and barren mountains). It will touch upon the salient features of Afghan social system and very briefly their influence on the conflict. In addition to that is the relation of ethnicity, tribalism and religion in the Afghan power equation and its effects.

American judgment on the linkage of Osama bin Laden to the heinous acts of terrorism at international level and recently the 11 September incident in New York and Washington DC had brought Afghanistan into sharp focus. This argument will lead to the influence of political sociology on the Afghan struggle against the Soviet Union and other invaders. Besides, it helps to interpret the current situation and identify future prospects for the conflict resolution in Afghanistan.

AFGHAN SOCIAL SYSTEM

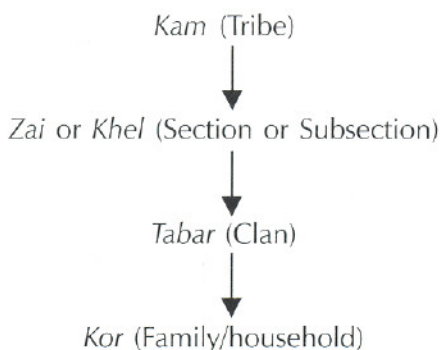
Social Organisation

Afghanistan is a traditional tribal society. All norms, values and traditions are subservient to a comprehensive system of values called *Pukhtunwali* or *Pushtunwali* or so called 'honour code' practiced primarily by the dominant *Pushtun* tribes. However the other ethno-linguistic groups follow similar notions of social conduct through *Riwaj* or the customary law. Acceptable social code is characterised by chivalry, revenge,

protection of honour, maintenance of individual and collective honour, social equality among paternal kin, local autonomy and independence of clans, sub-tribes and tribes.

Afghan social culture is based upon a segmentary tribal system with no centralized authority. Kingship provides a basic regulating mechanism for society. Each person is related to the other through blood ties, either real or fictive, as determined by the position of his/her putative ancestor in the genealogical pyramid. Though different from tribe to tribe, the genealogical tree for each tribe has an eponymous ancestor at the top. Tribes in similar fashion converge into a single ancestry as popularly known to the putative predecessor of all Afghan anthropologically. Afghan society is an acephalous (leaderless) and egalitarian society often described as ordered *anarchy*. Internal order in the society is maintained through the system of values embodied in the various manifestations of the code.

The basic unit of society is *family*, then extended patrilineal - wherein descent is through paternal lineage, with married daughters expected to transfer allegiance to husbands' family; patrilocal - where married sons lived within father's household though not always; patriarchal with the eldest male exercising authority over the extended family and endogamous with preference to marry within the family, especially in case of female members. Basic structure of the family organization is shown below:



Salients of *Pukhtunwali*

The fundamental concept of the society is that all those related through a common male ancestor should stand together against outsiders. An individual is under obligation to defend his/her homeland, social values and other material possessions. Whenever an average Afghan came into conflict with foreign forces, he acted according to the demands of the code because *Pukhtunwali* is the reference for him to define himself and his culture to the outsiders, and it is by adherence to *Pukhtunwali* that he makes his claim to a place of dignity among his peers. So, what then is this powerful code? Very briefly about the salients of *Pukhtunwali*:

- **Toorah.** Literally, it means sword, symbolizing bravery and manhood. In the harsh social conditions of Afghanistan, pride bordering on insolence earns social esteem. During their conflict with the British, Russia and recently against the US, *Toorah* and its phenomenal recognition has worked to generate the required inspiration and motivation for action and greatly helped to sustain the conflict.
- **Wafa.** It means loyalty. Afghans are expected to be loyal to word and cause. *Wafa* extracts individual and group fidelity the word and deed, prevents fragmentation within a group believing in the same cause, and precludes collapse of the social order. Individual's loyalty and deep love to his land, village, country renders these unfringeable and sacrosanct. During the Afghan conflicts, fidelity to the spoken word was instrumental in forging and maintaining inter and intra-tribal alliances to raise the *lashkars* or tribal armies. Fidelity to the cause had reinforced the necessary motivation to fight the common enemy.

- **Nang.** Literally mean 'honour', it encompasses personnel or self respect, sanctity of the land and chastity of the women. Any violation of *Nang* is to be avenged and is generally the cause of self-perpetuating blood feuds. Peoples capable but unwilling to protect *Nang* are placed in low social esteem, whereas those unable to do so are given the collective security of the clan, sub-tribe and/or tribe for the common good of the society. So a *Pukhtuns* shoulders dual responsibility of protecting his honour and respecting other individual honour. Other ethnic groups also subscribe to similar notions of honour. Afghans tend to defend *Nang* through a subset of time-tested and grudgingly guarded mechanism as further explained below:

Badal or taking revenge irrespective of time, space and cost involved. Revenge is to avoid invoking shame by competitors of one's status in the society and underlines end over the means. When the invading forces violated a village, they attacked the collective honour, triggering *Badal* wherein it was necessary for the Afghans to retaliate so as to avoid low social esteem within respective sub-tribe or tribe.

Peghor – or taunt. For any act unbecoming of the code, shame can be invoked, which is a reminder upon lapse from honour or deviation from *Pukhtunwali*. *Peghor* serves as a powerful social apparatus for conformity. It's absolutely vital for an Afghan to avoid *Peghor* to live honourably in his tribal world. If a clan or a tribe fails to respond to a call for

action to take *Badal* to restore a situation of *Nang*, a collective *Peghor* is invoked, rendering its position socially untenable for generations. The sustenance of *Jihad* was primarily inspired by a collective desire to avoid *Peghor*. The same mechanism will play itself in the present conflict.

Namus is the assertive manifestation of *Nang* and is invoked when chastity of the womenfolk, sanctity of *Watan*-homeland – and honour and reputation of the family are endangered. It triggers individual or collective armed action. During the British and Soviet Wars, when foreign forces encroached upon the individual or collective self respect of the clan, village or a tribe, it was not possible for any segment of the population abstain from active participation in *Jihad*, because *Nang* and *Namus* were violated and had to be defended and avenged through *Badal* in order to avoid *Peghor*.

Institutions of Pukhtunwali

How the code operates? Let's have a look at some of the important social institutions;

Hujrah-Jumaat. *Hujrah* – the village guesthouse is the focal point for the conduct of civil affairs. Mosque - *Jumaat* provides a forum for religious discussions, funeral arrangements and disputes settlements etc. These institutions are significant in the sense that they encompass a whole pattern of living revolving around these two places. During their fight against foreign forces throughout Afghan history, these places

were like command posts providing necessary forum for guidance. An all times access of *Mullah* to the mosque was one reason for the religious of *Jihad* by the clergy.

Mashar-Kashar; *Mashar* - the elderly (notable) and *Kashar* - the young. Like in most primordial societies, the codes establishes the hierarchy of the older generation in the *Pukhtun* heartland. *Spin-Girey* or 'white bearded' is a common endorsement of respect accorded to the elderly. In the Afghan social system, wisdom of the elderly is recognized. Their judgement trusted and their position and role unchallenged. On all serious tribal matters, *Kashars* are supposed to obey their decision. Once the social hierarchy opposes the invader, the younger generation is under obligation to comply.

Jirgah. It is an assembly of selected patriarchs representing each lineage and may include religious leaders to arbitrate in individual, inter or intratribal matters. An equivalent of *Jirgah* in the non-*Pukhtun* tribes especially the *Hazaras*, is *Majlis*. Both are important institutions in a society where state authority has always been resented. Without formal laws these institutions help to prevent the anarchy. Decisions of the *Jirgah* are mandatory and binding. Historically, the consensus-based decisions taken in this rural parliament have driven Afghan tribes in opposition to any foreign power.

Dareh. Surprise attack conducted at night. Afghans have employed it successfully against one another and against the invading armies as a technique of guerrilla warfare. Recognition of bravery encourages Afghans to actively participate in *Dareh* as it enhances social standing. Availability

of expertise in raid and ambush has facilitated the tactical organization of the *Jihad*. *Dareh* was extensively used by the Afghans throughout their wars.

RELIGION, ETHNICITY AND TRIBALISM

Religion and Its Influence

Afghanistan has had a long standing tradition as defender of Islam enhanced by Afghanistan's freedom and unity in the 17th Century. Islam also was seen as a unifying factor by the Afghan rulers to legitimize their rule in a multi-ethnic state. However, during the second half of the 19th Century, the Afghan Islamic educational institutions suffered relative isolation and decline when the founder of the modern Afghan state, Amir Abdur Rahman (reigned 1881–1901) declared himself the sole interpreter of Islam and co-opted all religious scholar or *ulama* into the state apparatus. Their land endowments or *Awqaf* were taken over by the state, as was the entire system of religious education. There was a modest rebellion against his policies but the state authority remained largely unchallenged. However, the *ulama* always opposed greater political interaction with the non-Muslim World. In society at large, while Islam forms an integral component of the Afghan collective self – definition, it has never been all encompassing for the *Pukhtuns* as they attach primary significance to the *Pukhtunwali*. *Shariah* as a basis of law is not viewed as essential to *Pukhtun* life. It is taken as a code of conduct and faith, standing outside the *Pukhtun* tribal context. Its sole role is perhaps relegated to the regulation on an inter-ethnic basis. A *Pukhtu* proverb sums it up very well; '*Pukhtuns* believe half Quran and half *Pukhtunwali*'

Moreover, *Pukhtun* tribal entity implicitly contains within it the very character of Islam. Islam and *Pukhtunwali* complement each other. This gives the *Pukhtun* mind natural Islamic inclination not necessarily religious. The two codes co-exist

with ease and *Pukhtun* do not have to refer necessarily to the Islamic. Code for seeking approval of their adherence to the tribal code. However, in case of a conflict between the two, it's the tribal code that reigns supreme. Among *Pukhtuns*, local secular power is not subordinated to the local Islamic leadership, making it difficult for a central religious leadership to impose itself for long on the *Pukhtun* tribal structure. This would explain the local *Pukhtun* revolt against the Taliban during present crisis.

Religion becomes apparent only in a crises, when the collective interests of all the ethnic groups are threatened. Whenever the enemy could be identified as non-Muslims, or even as bad Muslims, *Pukhtun* could be convinced to suspend their mutual hostilities and unite to fight for their faith. Sense of separateness from the rest of Muslim World is temporarily diminished and leadership is voluntarily passed on to the religious leaders. This is what gives religious context to a largely social uprising during the soviet occupation. To the Red Army, Afghans were unanimous in opposition, but after the Soviet pullout in 1989, they reverted to their internecine squabbling. This attitude is proverbial; I against my brother, I and my brother against our *Tarbur* - paternal cousin, me, my brother and my cousin against the whole world.

Within this framework, Islamists were opposing the increasing communist influence within the country as early as 1960s. They naturally assumed a lead role in the Afghan conflict once the Soviets march in, since it was socially acceptable. They were the only organized opposition to the communists of PDPA and they had a 'clear claim to a decade or more of anti communist activism-which vindicated them in their struggle and help ascend to the leadership of the anticommunist cause.

Moreover the very character of the enemy also contributes to the nature of resistance as Islamic or otherwise. The Red Army as a symbol

of an ideology espousing international atheism, constituted a critical threat to Afghanistan. This perceived threat was not to the religion alone but to the entire Afghan way of life. For example, when the communist regime abolished the veil for women, it was seen as an attack on the man dominance on a society rather than a religious issue. The greatest resentment came from the abrogation of the un-Islamic practice of bride price and enforcing a minimum age for marriage. These was interpreted as infringement on family rights. The change of traditional tricolour flag to a Soviet style red flag was interpreted as an attack on the institution of *Mashars* and national symbolism. The mere Soviet presence undermined the free spirit of the Afghan people. In the present conflict, any escalation to the ground war with US will have the same rallying character for the Afghans with the Americans replacing the *Shoravi* - Soviets.

Ethnicity

Afghan ethnicity is attributable to a complex of distinctive characteristics like a common language, religion, culture, history and *Pukhtunwali*. For the majority *Pukhtuns*, since Islam and the Code influence major areas of individual conduct, therefore both are regarded as the main determinants of *Pukhtuns* ethnicity. It was through this strong ethnic affinity that *Pukhtuns* fought major battles against communism and bore the brunt of the fighting. Being predominantly rural, they form the bulk of the refugees displaced consequently to Pakistan and elsewhere.

Pukhtuns preponderance in the Soviet Jihad was not without reason. They enjoyed numerical domination, represented the martial element within Afghanistan, they had militarily and politically dominated Afghanistan for hundreds of years and they were most directly affected by the war, owing to their locations around the periphery of the Country - particularly in the combat zones of east and south. And, *Pukhtuns* had lost power to the invaders. In the present

situation, if the United Front (Northern Alliance) tries to persist in dominating the post Taliban Afghan political scene, *Pukhtun* unrest be understandable since now their claim to power seems much amplified.

As far as other ethnic groups are concerned, first, not all the ethnic groups took part in the resistance to the same degree. Uzbeks for example, acquiesced initially in 1978/1979. This was partly due to the influence and success of the Soviet Uzbeks, relative urbanization and de-tribalisation of Afghan Uzbeks, fascination with modernity, which the *Tarakai* coup offered at first and the resentment against the *Pukhtun-Persian* domination. They felt left out in the power equation of the *Pukhtun-run* and Persian culture dominated Afghan society.

Second, Tajik activism against the Soviets under Ahmed Shah Masood, later his alliances with the other *non-Pukhtuns* elements were motivated by a desire to re-assert Tajik ethnicity. A sense of competition with and against the *Pukhtuns*, an aspiration to change the political status quo of *Pukhtun* domination. It remains causative of his opposition to the Taliban as well.

Third, support of the political and religious parties was also based upon ethnic loyalties. For instance the Farsi speaking ethnic groups rallied around Presidents Rabbani Jamiyyat-e-Islami (The Islamic Association). All other six major parties are *Pukhtun* in character and membership. Under such strong ethnic orientation, it is no surprise that *Mujahideen* after the Soviet pullout, and Northern Alliance and Taliban more recently remained involved in a bloody internecine conflict. It was also no surprise when the Taliban supreme leader, Mullah Mohammed Omar tried to garner support using ethnicity of the main component of his appeal to the *Pukhtuns* to fight US attack on Afghan soil. And it is no surprise that ethnicity has resurfaced with such vengeance after the Taliban pullout from important cities.

Tribalism

Tribalism is important in the anarchic structure of Afghan polity, as *Pukhtunwali* is anathema to central authority outside the bound of clan, subtribe, and tribe. A powerful central authority has always invoked fear among those elements that have traditionally benefited from the relaxed hold of Kabul. At best, Afghanistan before 1979 can be termed as the 'oligarchy of the tribes' where the authority of the King dependant upon the goodwill of tribes and not otherwise. When the *khalq* faction of the PDPA acceded the power after 7 Saur coup, in their quest to change the tribal nature of the Afghan society, they initiated sweeping changes in the land tenure and social relations. These reforms were a crude application of the Marxist class theory in a society to which these did not suit. For example the land redistribution directly affected the *Pukhtuns*, being the dominant owning group. As in rural Afghanistan, land owning class also controlled economic relations; it was difficult to separate the landlords or *khans* from the peasantry (proletariat) than the Marxist analysis had predicted. They fail to mobilise and capitalize on the class conflict, as it did not exist in the classical sense. Segmentary units like household, lineage, clan, tribe, village and ethnic group are very important in defining social relations, therefore any variation in property, status, power and influence threatened to upset the social relations at all levels of society.

Tribal reaction of all these infringements on local autonomy and age-old social relations included isolated and unrelated attacks on the symbols of Government. It was easier to the conflict to conflagrate in the tribal hinterland as the countryside ruled by tribal traditions experience minimal to no state control, which was mainly employed through a combination of tactful measures like financial subsidies, privileged treatment of tribe and employment opportunities to favourites etc.

Like always, when the invaders violated the *Pukhtun Yaghistan* or the 'land of rebels' tribal collusion was inevitable. The perception of a common enemy provided a valid cause and tribal affinity fostered the organization and sustenance of the resistance. Jihad was organized along regional, ethnic, and tribal fault lines, which became apparent in the post pullout scenario. It was common to find one entire *kam* in alliance with one regional party with its opponent aligning with a different one.

Tribal values and institutions maximized the military potential of Afghan society throughout the *Jihad*. As a pattern, the tribes would call for the *Jirgah* to decide the course of action. *Mashars* would deliberate and denounce communist style reforms being against the *Pukhtuns lar* or way of life. They would normally augment their case by calling the Government policies anti-Islamic, a tactic aimed to mobilise the *non-Pukhtun* segments of the rural population, pass the leadership to the *ulama* and declare *Jihad*.

Tribalism has continued to influence Afghanistan throughout its conflicts. The communists likewise tried to win over the Afghan tribes. After the Soviets, tribalism re-emerged with a vengeance when even the Islamic political parties tended to weaken their Islamic rhetorics, having failed to bring much trumpeted Islamic peace to Afghanistan. Taliban reliance to the *Pukhtun* tribes and the recent attempts at forming a Southern Alliance of anti-Taliban tribes are manifestation of the same phenomenon.

The Taliban Phenomenon

The Taliban believe in traditionalist, often obscurantist fundamentalism that blends the conservative thinking of the *ulama* with the narrow view of the *Pukhtun* villages. They are mainly Sunni *Pukhtuns* with some Tajik, Uzbek and even ex-communist soldiers in their ranks. Their political arm comprises a consultative *Shura* of 30

to 40 members under Mullah Muhammad Omar. In late 1994, when they started they phenomenal sweep to reassert some semblance of authority on war-torn Afghanistan, they were perceived as peoples saviours; because they took the moral high ground against the then corrupt *Mujahideen*, they were accepted as there is no inherent conflict between Islam and the Afghan social system and as always in a crisis, the leadership of the religious elements was once again voluntarily accepted.

Traditionally, Talib or a religious student has always enjoyed a greater accommodation and a sense of romanticism in the *Pukhtun* folklore. He has been seen as a vibrant, youthful, and romantic figure, who is a *Musafir* (traveller) in search of knowledge and deserves sympathy and support. Politically, and most importantly the movement has been a purposeful employer to the scores of youth and ex-*Mujahideen* who due to their otherwise poor economic state, could slide into low self-esteem in a competitive Afghan society. Spiritually *madrasahs*, the reservoirs of the Taliban recruitment, have provided the much needed education, albeit with a narrow focus to the Afghan youth diaspora. Their influence will remain persuasive unless viable ethnic, economic, political, and administrative alternatives to the movement are promoted.

As for their brand of Islam gaining currency in Afghanistan, for the first time in its history the existence of religious government. They have known no other for comparison. This has been the model of Islamic state in the eyes of most rural *Pukhtuns*, as eulogized by the village mullah and put to practice by their kith and kin in the Taliban rank and file. It was a perceived model with which most of them has grown up as it protected their male dominance, ensured social status quo and reasserted their natural right to rule once again. There are two significant aspect of the movement. First the rank and file are not subscribing to an equal degree of religious militancy with a hardcore upper cadre directing a vast majority of moderately aligned Talibs who are basically job seekers.

Second, historically, movements based on religion fervour are moderated by factors outside their control.

The question of Northern Alliance being willing to fight an Islamic militia validates the basic argument of this write up that the conflict in Afghanistan has remained ethnic at its core, wherein various ethnic group aimed at grabbing power for extracting mainly political and economic gains. The pre-Taliban *Mujahideen* era is a stark reminder to this effect.

CONCLUSION

Afghanistan is in effect, in the throes of a social revolution initiated by the communists, sustain by years of *Jihad* and continued by the Taliban. This largely tribal society remains under the strong and time-tested influence of *Pukhtunwali*. It was the strength of the Afghan social system that the Red Army was challenged and defeated. Religious was mainly a force multiplier and a unifying force that provided smaller ethnic groups with a cause for *Jihad*, complemented *Pukhtunwali*, provided leadership in a traditionally accepted manner and, helped in getting support from the mainly Arab Islamic world. The intriguing interplay of ethnicity, religion and tribalism would have far reaching ramifications for the future of Afghanistan. Any future political settlement has to be through the traditional forum of *Loya Jirgah*, be broad based acceptable to the

Pukhtuns and other ethnic groups and include the moderate elements of the Taliban movement to be successful. The present government led by President Hamid Karzai under USA sponsorship are vulnerable. They have to accept many challenges by their own peoples who want to live in comfort and Islamic base rather than modern style which is against Islamic rule.

Afghanistan has changed forever. The last battle of the cold war was won by the men, women and children of a poor nation under extremely arduous conditions. The dry hills and barren valleys of Afghan terrain were the Vietnam of USSR and the black hole of the Soviet economy. It was in the killing fields of the Afghan countryside that the Soviet Union collapsed, gasped for the last time, frustrated, humiliated and utterly defeated. It was the endless sacrifice of the Afghan people that the free world was saved from the shadows of an evil empire. The antagonists to Afghanistan have to remember the lessons of history. For the Americans and her allied forces who have deployed their troops in Afghanistan, they are in real fact facing a lot of resistant while carrying out their duty. Countless numbers of their people were suffering, but it was not made public. Do we really know how much success has been achieved by the Americans to stabilize Afghanistan. The answer is still not clear. But many times we heard about the Afghans were killed by the American bombing. All of these may rekindle the spirit of *Pukhtunwali* and integrate their tribes to free their country from Western domination.

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"NUTURAL GAS FOR VEHICLES (NGV):" SATU PELABURAN JANGKA PANJANG KEPADA TENTERA DARAT

OLEH
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ISMAIL BIN
KAMARUDIN

PENDAHULUAN

Perkataan petroleum berasal dari perkataan Greek tua yang bermaksud batu ('petra')¹ dan perkataan Latin 'oleum' yang bermaksud minyak². Pada dasarnya petroleum mempunyai kaitan yang sangat rapat dengan minyak mentah dan gas asli. Minyak dan gas asli dikenali sebagai 'hydrocarbons' kerana ia terdiri daripada dua bahan kimia iaitu hidrogen dan karbon. Minyak mentah adalah hidrokarbon cecair manakala gas asli dalam bentuk gas. Dalam kerja-kerja cari gali, gas asli sering dijumpai bersama-sama dengan minyak. Gas asli yang dijumpai bersama-sama minyak mentah dikenali sebagai 'associated gas'. Manakala bagi gas asli yang dijumpai tanpa minyak lebih dikenali sebagai 'non-associated gas'. Pada asalnya gas asli terbentuk daripada beberapa elemen seperti 'ethane', 'propane' dan sebahagian kecil 'hydrocarbons'. Di dalam keadaan semula jadi gas asli berada dalam tekanan dan suhu yang tinggi di perut bumi. Apabila ia berada di permukaan bumi ia menjadi komponen yang lebih berat dan bertukar menjadi cecair yang juga lebih dikenali sebagai gas petroleum cecair ('Liquid Petroleum Gas' – LPG). Artikel ini akan membentangkan kebaikan serta faedah-faedah penggunaan gas asli bagi kegunaan kenderaan-kenderaan Tentera Darat (TD).

APA ITU 'NATURAL GAS FOR VEHICLES'

NGV atau 'Natural Gas For Vehicles' ialah gas cecair kegunaan kenderaan yang disimpan di dalam tabung (silinder) di dalam but kenderaan. Ia telah dimampatkan dalam bentuk gas dengan kadar mampatan 3,000 PSIG. Gas ini, iaitu $C_n H_{2n+2}$ terdiri daripada gas 'methane' (CH_4). Program asal projek NGV ini telah diilhamkan di Kerteh, Terengganu antara tahun 1986 – 1988. Program ini seterusnya telah dilancarkan di Miri Sarawak dan Lembah Klang pada tahun 1992 hingga 1994. Syarikat petroleum yang telah memperkenalkan program ini ialah PETRONAS dan dilaksanakan dengan konsep 'mother/daughter station'.

Pada awal pengenalan program ini (1993) terdapat enam buah stesen NGV di Lembah Klang yang menggunakan konsep 'mother/daughter' dan sebuah stesen di Miri yang berteraskan konsep terbuka. Sehingga kini terdapat kira-kira 4,000 buah kenderaan di seluruh negara yang menggunakan gas asli sebagai bahan bakar³. Bermula dengan tujuh buah stesen, Syarikat Petronas Dagang Malaysia telah bercadang untuk membina 160 buah stesen NGV di bawah konsep 'mother/daughter' di seluruh negara menjelang tahun 2005. Pada tahun 1995 sahaja hampir 1,100 buah kenderaan yang menggunakan petrol telah memilih untuk melaksanakan pengoperasian secara dwifungsi iaitu gas asli dan petrol ke atas kenderaan mereka⁴.

¹ Kathryn Kavangh, Oxford Advance Learner's, ms 865

² Risalah, PERMATA, Bangi, 1993, ms 1

³ Risalah Latihan, PERMATA, Bangi, 1993, ms 6

⁴ Akhbar Utusan Malaysia, (26 Jan 2002), ms 8

'NATURAL GAS FOR VEHICLES' DAN KESELAMATANNYA

Persoalannya sekarang, apakah gas asli selamat digunakan pada kenderaan-kenderaan tentera khasnya kereta-kereta turus milik TD. Pada amnya tabung atau silinder yang digunakan untuk menyimpan gas, tahan lasak. Ia dibina dari bahan besi yang berkualiti tinggi. Ia juga dilengkapi dengan injap keselamatan dan 'burst disc' yang berfungsi menahan gas daripada keluar apabila terbakar. Silinder ini juga pernah diuji dengan tembakan dari senjata raifal M 16. Hasilnya, silinder tidak meletup malah tidak terbakar; hanya satu lubang peluru terbentuk pada badan silinder. Selain daripada itu gas yang dimampatkan lebih ringan daripada udara. Ini berbeza dengan Gas Petroleum (Cecair LPG) yang digunakan untuk memasak yang bersifat lebih berat daripada udara. Dengan sifatnya yang lebih ringan dari udara, gas ini lebih mudah tersebar di udara. Maka dengan itu peratusan untuk terbakar di udara adalah 5 – 15 % sahaja. Faktor kimia ini jelas menunjukkan gas asli yang ditempatkan di dalam silinder amat sukar untuk terbakar. Satu lagi tahap keselamatan yang ada pada gas ini ialah ia mempunyai tahap penyalaan yang amat tinggi iaitu pada suhu 630 F. Ini jelas menunjukkan gas asli yang digunakan pada kenderaan amat sukar terbakar dan ia selamat digunakan pada mana-mana kenderaan.

Selain daripada memiliki tahap kebolehbakaran yang amat kecil, gas asli juga tidak mudah terbakar jika bercampur dengan udara dibandingkan dengan bahan api yang lain. Perbandingan antara gas asli dan bahan-bahan api lain adalah seperti Jadual 1:

Perkara	Jenis Bahan Api			Catatan
	NGV	Petrol	Diesel	
Limitasi Kebolehbakaran (isipadu % dalam udara)	5-15	1.4-7.6	0.6-5.5	
'Auto Ignition Temperature' (F)	842	572	446	
'Minimum Ignition Energy' di dalam udara (10-6 BTU)	0.27	0.23	0.23	
'Peak Flame Temperature' (F)	3,423	3,591	3,729	

Jadual 1: Perbandingan Gas Asli Dengan Bahan-Bahan Api Lain

Sumber: Properties of Alternative Fuel - General Transit Administration, 1994

NGV telah direka untuk keselamatan semasa pemanduan biasa dan juga untuk menghadapi sebarang kemungkinan semasa kemalangan berlaku. Silinder yang berisi gas asli yang dipasang pada sesebuah kenderaan tertakluk kepada ujian dan pemeriksaan yang harus mematuhi 'Federal Motor Standard 303 dan 304⁵'. Silinder yang dipasang pada kenderaan juga lebih tebal dan kuat daripada tangki petrol/diesel yang ada pada sesebuah kenderaan.

Bagaimana keadaan kenderaan yang menggunakan gas asli apabila berlaku kemalangan? Semua silinder yang digunakan untuk memampatkan gas asli pada sesebuah kenderaan dijamin dapat mengelakkan daripada sebarang kebocoran atau kebakaran jika berlaku kemalangan. Ini terbukti, pada satu kemalangan ngeri pada tahun 1998 di Amerika Syarikat. Sebuah kereta yang menggunakan gas asli (NGV) dan petrol (dwi-fungsi sistem bahan api) telah dilanggar oleh sebuah kenderaan yang dipandu dengan kelajuan

⁵ Technology Committee Bulletin, (28 Sep 1999) ms 3

100 batu sejam. Kenderaan tersebut telah terbakar hasil daripada petrol yang tertumpah. Tetapi silinder gas yang berisi 50 liter gas asli yang berada pada kenderaan tersebut tidak terbakar dan masih tersimpan dengan elok⁶.

Ini jelas menunjukkan penggunaan gas asli pada sesebuah kenderaan akan mendatangkan banyak kebaikan berbanding menggunakan petrol. Penggunaan gas asli boleh menyelamatkan:

- * Nyawa pemandu dan penumpang.
- * Mengurangkan kos pembaikan kenderaan.
- * Mengurangkan kos kerosakan harta benda kerajaan dan individu.

FAEDAH DAN KEUNTUNGAN MEMILIH GAS ASLI BAGI KEGUNAAN KENDERAAN

Apakah keuntungan memilih NGV? Penggunaan gas asli telah diakui dapat memberi pulangan dan keuntungan jangka panjang. Penggunaan gas asli juga sering diperkatakan dewasa ini sebagai salah satu langkah positif bagi menyelamatkan lapisan ozon dunia yang sekarang ini semakin menipis. Selain daripada itu antara keuntungan yang boleh diperolehi apabila memilih gas asli sebagai bahan bakar adalah seperti berikut:

- **Penjimatan Bahan Api.** Pada lima tahun ke belakang, jika kita lihat harga bahan api khasnya petrol telah dinaikkan sebanyak tiga kali oleh kerajaan. Faktor kenaikan ini bukan sahaja disebabkan kerana kos pengendalian dan pengurusan bahan api tersebut bahkan yang paling

ketara ialah kemampuan stok simpanan minyak negara. Harga petrol yang dulunya 100 sen seliter kini sudah berharga 130 sen seliter. Peningkatan kos ini memang nampak kecil, tetapi jika dihitung dari segi jangka panjang, ia akan memberikan impak yang amat serius kepada pengguna kenderaan. Jika dilihat kepada pengurusan pasukan Flit Kenderaan KEMANTAN yang memiliki sebanyak 156 buah kenderaan turus, (penyata berakhir pada bulan Disember 2001) jumlah minyak petrol yang digunakan sepanjang tahun 2001 ialah sebanyak 876,061 liter iaitu melibatkan kos petrol berjumlah RM 918,812.77 (RM 1.0488 seliter)⁷. Sekiranya gas asli digunakan sebagai bahan api pada semua kenderaan, kos yang digunakan hanyalah RM 490,594.16 (RM 0.56 se liter). Ini bermakna sebanyak 53.4 % kadar penggunaan Petrol Minyak dan Pelincir (PMP) dapat diijimatkan.

Jadual 2 di bawah menjelaskan perbandingan kos dengan lebih terperinci.

Dari analisis yang dibuat, banyak faktor yang boleh menentukan pengurangan kos bahan api yang digunakan oleh kenderaan. Antaranya ialah jenis bahan api, saiz kenderaan (ringan, sederhana atau berat), jumlah perjalanan, cuaca, lalu lintas dan lain-lain. Namun demikian, dalam apa juga keadaannya, penggunaan gas asli adalah didapati lebih menguntungkan. Ini kerana harga gas asli lebih murah daripada bahan api biasa. Meskipun Malaysia adalah antara negara pengeluar minyak di dunia, aset utama ini sudah pasti akan berkurangan tahun demi tahun. Namun demikian lapisan pertama yang sering ditemui semasa kerja-kerja cari gali

⁶ BC Gas Press Release, (3 Jun 1998) ms 4

⁷ Laporan Anugerah Kualiti Tentera Darat 2001, 93 Bn KPD, Kembar Y - 1

Bil	Jenis Bahan Api	Kos				Catatan
		Harga Pasaran		Harga Kontrak		
		Seliter	Jumlah	Seliter	Jumlah	
1.	Petrol	RM 1.30	RM 1,138,879.30	RM 1,0488	RM 918,812.77	Pengiraan melibatkan 156 buah kereta turus dan perjalanan 876,061 km/tahun
2.	Gas Asli	RM 0.56	RM 490,594.16	-	-	
		RM 0.57	RM 648,285.20			

Jadual 2: Perbandingan Penggunaan Gas Asli dan Petrol Pada Kenderaan.

Sumber: Penyata Penggunaan PMP Fleet Kenderaan KEMENTAH.

minyak iaitu gas asli masih belum digunakan secara meluas di negara ini.

Jadual 3 dan Rajah 1 adalah hasil kajian cari gali yang telah dijalankan di perairan Malaysia membuktikan gas asli di Malaysia mampu bertahan 39 tahun⁸ lagi.

Jenis Bahan Api	Jumlah Simpanan	Jangka Tempoh
Minyak	3.1 Bilion BBLS	13 Tahun*
Gas Asli	10.2 Billion BOE (59.1 TCF)	39 Tahun**

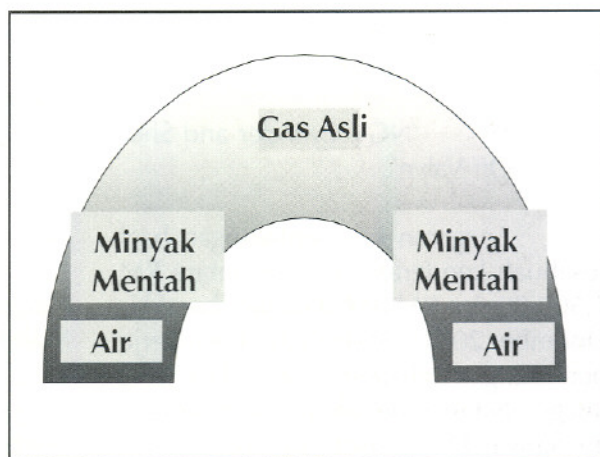
Jadual 3 : Kadar Stor Simpanan Minyak Dan Gas Negara

Sumber : Risalah Latihan Petronas Gas Sdn. Bhd, Kerteh.

* Kadar Pengeluaran semasa 630,000 bbls/hari.

** Bergantung kepada permohonan.

⁸ Risalah Latihan PERMATA,1993, ms 4



Rajah 1 : Kedudukan gas asli berbentuk 'doughnut' yang banyak terdapat di perairan Malaysia.

Sumber : Risalah Latihan Petronas Gas Sdn. Bhd, Kerteh.

* **Kos Pemasangan.** Persoalannya sekarang implikasi kos yang diperlukan bagi kerja-kerja pemasangan komponen-komponen NGV bagi kenderaan-kenderaan milik tentera. Semua kenderaan yang memilih untuk menggunakan gas asli secara dwifungsi

iaitu petrol dan gas asli perlu 'memasang komponen-komponen di bawah⁹.

* 'Filling Connector and Master Shut-Off Valve'.

* 'Selector Switch and Fuel Indicator'.

* 'Regulator'.

* 'NGV Solenoid and Pressure Gauge'.

* 'Petrol Solenoid Valve'.

* 'Dual Curve Timing Modifier'.

* 'Mixer'.

* 'NGV Cylinder and Shut Off Valve'.

Anggaran kos pemasangan bagi sesebuah kenderaan adalah antara RM 1,500.00 dan RM 2,000.00 (kos berakhir Disember 2001). Sudah pasti kerja-kerja pemasangan ini memerlukan kos yang tinggi. Namun demikian, pemasangan ini hanya dibuat sekali sahaja dan kos senggaraan juga amat rendah. Memang benar jika dipandang pada jangka pendek, ia tidak menguntungkan. Namun demikian, jika dilihat dengan lebih jauh, penggunaan ini bukan sahaja menguntungkan, malah memberi pulangan yang lumayan. Jadual 4, jelas menunjukkan sesebuah kenderaan yang menggunakan gas asli mendapat pulangan semula kos pemasangan peralatan selepas 17 bulan penggunaannya.

Penjimatan Bagi Kenderaan 1500 cc Yang Menggunakan 'Natural Gas For Vehicle'

Butir-butir Penggunaan Bahan Api	Persendirian	Syarikat	Teksi
Jarak Perjalanan	20,000	40,000	80,000
Kegunaan Petrol (km/Liter)	10	10	10
Petrol 'Consumption' (Liter/Tahun)	2,000	4,000	8,000
Harga Petrol (RM/Liter)	1.30	1.30	1.30
Penggunaan Petrol Tahunan (RM/Tahun)	2,600	5,200	10,400
Harga NGV (Sen/ Liter)	0.56	0.56	0.56
Penggunaan NGV Tahunan (RM/Tahun)	1,120	2,240	4,480
Penjimatan Tahunan (RM/ Tahun)	1,480	2,960	5,920
Harga Pemasangan (Harga Maksimum)	2,000	2,000	2,000
Tempoh Pulangan Semula Selepas Pemasangan	17 Bulan	-	-

Jadual 4 : Pengiraan Tempoh Pulangan Selepas Pemasangan Peralatan NGV

Sumber : Risalah Latihan PERMATA 1993 (Diubahsuai dengan keperluan TD).

* **Keuntungan Kepada Alam Sekitar.** Kita sering didedahkan di dada akhbar mahu pun di media-media elektronik tentang bahaya gas karbon monoksida. Kes-kes kematian kerana terhidu gas beracun juga sering menggemparkan negara. Gas yang lebih

⁹ Ibid, ms 5

dikenali sebagai pembunuh senyap ini bukan sahaja merosakkan saluran pernafasan malah ia juga merosakkan jantung dan otak. Asap gas karbon monoksida yang keluar dari kenderaan merupakan sebahagian penyumbang kepada penipisan lapisan ozon dunia. Paling memeranjatkan para saintis dunia, terdapat sebuah tasik terbentuk di kutub selatan kesan daripada penipisan lapisan ozon dunia. Tiada usaha lain yang dapat dilakukan bagi membendung dan menyelamatkan lapisan ozon dunia, melainkan mengambil jalan keluar iaitu

beralih kepada bahan bakar yang lebih mesra alam. Kita dapat lihat usaha-usaha tersebut sedang giat dijalankan oleh kerajaan dengan m e n g g a l a k k a n penggunaan bahan api tanpa plumbum di negara ini. Tetapi sejauh manakah kandungan gas karbon monoksida dapat dikurangkan? Faktor-faktor seperti

penambahan bilangan dan usia kenderaan juga merupakan faktor penyumbang kepada peningkatan pencemaran setiap hari di Malaysia. Gas asli yang digunakan pada sesebuah kenderaan telah dikenal pasti dapat mengurangkan pencemaran berbanding bahan api petrol atau diesel di tahap 95%. Ini jelas ditegaskan oleh Menteri Sains, Teknologi dan Alam Sekitar, Datuk Seri Low Hieng Ding semasa berucap kepada pemberita pada 26 Jan 2001¹⁰ di mana kerajaan Malaysia sendiri sedang berusaha untuk menggalakkan pemilik-pemilik kenderaan untuk

menggunakan gas asli pada kenderaan mereka. Ciri-ciri gas ini yang bersih, tanpa plumbum membolehkan pembakaran dibuat dengan sempurna. Kajian jelas membuktikan NGV adalah 95% mengurangkan pencemaran berbanding mana-mana bahan api di dunia. Jadual 5 di bawah jelas menunjukkan bahawa bahan kimia yang telah terhasil dari pembakaran petrol pada sesebuah kenderaan adalah penyumbang utama kepada pencemaran udara di Malaysia.

Bil	Jenis Bahan Kimia	Peratus Kandungan	Catatan
1.	'Hydro Carbon'	50%	Penyumbang Kabus Coklat dan Plumbum di dalam pencemaran udara.
2.	'Nitrogen Oxide' (NOx)	50%	
3.	Karbon Monoksida	85%	

Rajah 5 : Jenis Bahan Kimia Hasil Dari Pembakaran Bahan Api Pada Sesebuah Kenderaan.

Sumber : Technology Committee Bulletin

Satu lagi punca pencemaran selain daripada hasil pembakaran bahan api di dalam enjin kenderaan ialah pengeluwapan. Bahan api seperti petrol yang terdedah mengeluarkan gas hidrokarbon. Gas ini amat mudah terbakar semasa kerja-kerja pengisian minyak dari lori tangki ke stesen PMP, pengisian ke dalam tangki kenderaan dan juga penggunaan drum minyak. Gas asli adalah sifar kepada penyebaran gas hidrokarbon. Bau yang dapat dihidu semasa kerja-kerja mengisi minyak hanyalah bahan yang di campur untuk tujuan keselamatan.

Penyelenggaraan kenderaan perlu dilakukan pada setiap bulan ataupun apabila jarak perjalanan melebihi jangka masa penyelenggaraan. Penggunaan bahan api seperti

¹⁰ Akhbar Utusan Malaysia, (26 Jan 2002), ms 8

petrol dan diesel membakar dengan kuasa pembakaran yang kuat untuk mengerakkan kenderaan. Setiap pembakaran meninggalkan karbon pada permukaan ombok (piston) dan komponen-komponen lain kenderaan. Bahan ini lama kelamaan akan mengurangkan prestasi sesebuah kenderaan. Penggunaan gas asli jelas menunjukkan tiada sebarang pembentukan karbon semasa pembakaran berlaku. Ini terbukti kerana unsur-unsur di dalam gas asli tidak berasaskan karbon. Semasa enjin sesebuah kenderaan digerakkan, ia memerlukan satu mampatan kuasa yang tinggi. Pembakaran sempurna yang terhasil dari penggunaan NGV akan mengurangkan kesan kepada ombok, dinding silinder dan juga injap. Ini membuktikan menggunakan gas asli akan dapat memanjangkan jangka hayat sesebuah kenderaan di samping mengurangkan kos penyelenggaraan, penggantian alat ganti dan juga menjaga kebersihan enjin.

RUMUSAN

Kemampuan gas asli sebagai bahan bakar yang lebih mesra alam sememangnya tidak dapat disangkal. Desas-desus yang mengatakan bahan api ini berbahaya dan tidak selamat tidak lagi boleh diterima. Sudah pasti bahan api ini pengganti kepada petrol atau diesel dan bakal digunakan secara total untuk seluruh kenderaan di negara ini pada satu hari kelak. Seharusnya sebagai warga Malaysia yang prihatin kepada kebersihan udara sejagat, kita harus menyumbang untuk tujuan tersebut. Peningkatan harga petrol dan diesel juga perlu dikaji dengan mendalam untuk merealisasikan penggunaan bahan api ini dengan segera. Tambahan pula lebuh raya yang dibina menuntut kepada pengguna membayar tol. Kos penyelenggaraan, rawatan, alat ganti dan tayar kenderaan juga perlu diambil kira. Jika semua kos ini dihitungkan, sudah pasti ia memerlukan kos yang amat tinggi. Tiada cara lain lagi untuk menuju kepada penjimatan melainkan bertukar kepada gas asli yang lebih selamat, murah dan menguntungkan.

Bagi TD yang banyak memegang kereta-kereta turus, sudah pasti tepat pada masanya untuk beralih arah kepada penggunaan gas asli sebagai bahan bakar utama. Sistem pengoperasian bahan api secara dwifungsi yang dipasang pada sesebuah kenderaan lebih menguntungkan pemandu. Ini kerana pemandu boleh membuat pilihan sama ada menggunakan petrol atau gas asli sebelum menjalankan tugas. Penggunaan ini juga akan memudahkan perancangan pergerakan kenderaan. Ini kerana pemandu hanya perlu menukar suis di dalam kenderaan mereka jika salah satu bahan api telah kehabisan. Ini juga akan menjimatkan masa dan mengurangkan pembaziran tenaga manusia.

Sudah pasti penggunaan gas asli kepada kenderaan-kenderaan milik Tentera Darat khasnya kereta-kereta turus amat bertepatan. Meskipun ia bakal menelan kos, tetapi pelaburan yang dibuat adalah pelaburan jangka panjang. Di samping itu juga, TD boleh menjadi contoh kepada badan-badan kerajaan dan swasta yang lain sebagai sebuah organisasi yang lebih mesra alam khasnya untuk menghalang penipisan lapisan ozon dunia. Kos mengubahsuai pada kenderaan dan menempatkan pam gas asli di stesen-stesen PMP boleh dikurangkan jika ianya melibatkan kenderaan yang banyak. Ini kerana kos RM 1,500.00 – RM 2,000.00 adalah tinggi bagi sesebuah kereta persendirian. Kos gas asli juga boleh diturunkan dengan mengikat kontrak melalui Petronas atau mana-mana syarikat pembekal.

PENUTUP

Gas asli adalah aset negara yang amat tinggi nilainya. Mengapa ia perlu digunakan oleh orang lain sedangkan kita, rakyat Malaysia gagal memanfaatkan keistimewaannya. Kita perlu ingat bahawa simpanan minyak negara akan berkurangan. Sudah pasti kerajaan akan mengimport minyak dari negara-negara pengeluar yang lain jika bekalan negara akan berkurangan dan tidak mampu menampung permintaan. Ini

sudah pasti kos petrol dan diesel akan melambung dan bakal membebankan pengguna. Namun demikian, kawasan gas asli banyak ditemui di perairan Malaysia, khasnya di luar pantai Terengganu. Aset ini masih bertahan untuk tempoh yang masih lama dengan menjanjikan kos yang rendah.

Ciri-ciri yang lebih selamat, mesra alam dan dapat mengurangkan kos penyelenggaraan

adalah alternatif kepada TD untuk memilih NGV sebagai bahan bakar utama. Kos bahan api ini yang murah juga salah satu peluang kepada TD untuk menjadi contoh kepada organisasi lain di Malaysia dan dapat membantu negara untuk melaksanakan langkah berjimat cermat. Semua ini jelas menampakkan pelaburan untuk memilih gas asli atau NGV kepada kenderaan khasnya kenderaan milik TD adalah satu langkah pelaburan yang menguntungkan.

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Mejj Mohamad Ismail bin Kamarudin telah dilahirkan di Sungkai, Perak pada 22 Jun 1967. Beliau telah ditauliahkan ke dalam Kor Perkhidmatan Diraja pada 15 Ogos 1987 dari Maktab Tentera Diraja, Kuala Lumpur. Di sepanjang perkhidmatan, beliau pernah bertugas di bawah panji-panji PBB di Bosnia Herzegovina. Beliau kini bertugas di 932 Kompeni Angkut Kor Perkhidmatan Diraja sebagai Pegawai Pemerintah.

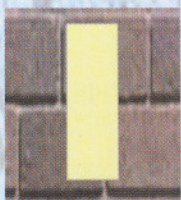
THE PASSING CLOUD AND HOW TO STAY MOTIVATED

OLEH
MEJ SALIHUDIN
BIN DAUD

"Happiness doesn't depend on outward conditions. It depends on inner conditions. It isn't what you have or who you are or where you are or what you are doing that makes you happy or unhappy. It is what you think about it".

Dale Carnegie

INTRODUCTION



In recent years there were lot a of changes have been made in the army's doctrine and procedures aimed at making the army a better organization. The introduction of new doctrines and procedures directly or indirectly had produced some effects toward' the development of the army officers. While some were becoming more motivated and enthusiastic, some were depressed and became demotivated. For the motivated officers, they have a clear path in all aspect of promotion and courses and seem to be enjoying all the perks and every good offer made by the army. Looking at the situation, there are officers opted to leave the organization to try their luck somewhere else. However there are many officers decided to stay though they realized that there was no light at the end of the tunnel. In spite of the rough and tough goings awaiting them, these officers remain in the army because they do not have any alternatives. These officers

realized that to leave the army and to start working in a new field is not an easy task. Without appropriate academic qualifications and coupled with age factors, the chances for them to excel outside the army are very slim. The grass outside the compound is not as green as it seems. Thus they decided to work in the army until the last day of their career.

Although to remain in the army and to bear all the consequences was their own decision, yet some of the army officers, who have been long in the army with their ages catching up, felt that they have become the victim of changes of the system introduced in the army. Being human, these officers consciously or unconsciously slowly develop their dissatisfaction towards the system. As a result of that feeling, some of them became idle passengers in the organization.

Therefore, upon establishing this scenario, this articles will endeavor to suggest a few steps to be taken by these officers in order to stay motivated in the army.

THE FACT OF LIFE

Firstly we must understand that we are not clairvoyant who can tell the future. Fortunately or otherwise we are not given that special gift by God. However, we still have the ability to anticipate, to plan and to foresee what we can and want to do with our life today and in future. However, there are times our plan might not work as we wished, or our anticipation may be deemed incorrect or what we foresee actually not real. We then blame everybody for our failures and some of us even blame God for not granting our wishes. If our plan works out as we wanted, or our anticipation proven right and our foresight does help us to achieve our objective, then we obviously happy and believe that the world is ours. Then there will be no grumbles or grievances. Being human, we are not perfect yet there are ways and means to reach perceived perfection. Therefore, an ability to plan and to determine a course of action for our own good is very much valuable than being a fortune teller because we are free to anticipate, to plan and to figure out the best approach of making our life to be more cheerful and meaningful.

Secondly we must accept the fact of life that if we failed in our plan, if our plan did not turn out as we hoped, it is fated. We are destined to stumble and to fall. Charles Darwin once said, what will go wrong, probably will. It does not matter how hard we try, every which way but at the end we still loose. At one extreme to believe Darwin's theory in total would deprive us from being creative and innovative. At another extreme we might get frustrated easily if we believe that nothing will spoil our plan and nothing at all shall stop us from getting what we desired. We should realize that, life is not that simple and it is indeed not easy to fulfill every aspect of our needs, wants and desires. The facts of life will remain as they are, challenged or unchallenged. Thus, we are left with no choices but to accept these facts of life.

As army officers we have a lot of expectations in our career as well as in our life.

We want to excel in everything we do. We want to have the best part in the organization, to enjoy all the perks that we could get from the army. We have the aspiration of holding higher appointments and controlling important posts. We are inspired by the success of our predecessors, who were promoted timely and were given the opportunities to attend all the prestigious courses locally and abroad. However, our hopes shattered once we reached the rank of Major for instance. We are not in the list of officers considered for higher promotion and are not given the opportunity to do our tertiary education and not even being given a chance to work in any higher formation in the army. Obviously all of a sudden we feel that we are being deprived from our rights and entitlement. We feel that we are no longer wanted in the organization and we have the feeling that our contributions to the organization were wasted and not recognized. The fact of life remains. We are still what we were before though we grieved and fought hard in the quest of putting ourselves into the circle of the best.

COPING WITH THE UNEXPECTED

In one hand it may sound a little bit pessimistic presumably when we discuss the failures and the things that we do not expect to happen to us. On the other hand, we are not sincere with ourselves if we avoid the reality of this spinning life and we probably are lack of courage if we decide not to think of the discrepancies. They are embodied in our everyday life. We can not avoid them although time and again we might be trying to console ourselves that we are not going to fail. We may, to the extent of cheating ourselves, have false hopes that we will have what we desire regardless of any circumstances. As matured persons, we should not lie to ourselves. If we care to analyze or to explore systematically, we will find out that in the quest of satisfying ourselves we are bound to fail and to suffer. Thus, there is no certainty in our future. There is no guarantee that everything we wished would appear as expected. Life could

be monstrous and hazardous if we fail to understand its cycles and evolution. Though life is full of obstacles and uncertainties, yet we still can be a very motivated person, enjoying all the happiness to the end. The key to this is trying to live life to its fullest, absorbing all the difficulties and enjoying all the good times in our life. To have happiness we have to allow ourselves to take sorrows as they come and most importantly not to let emotions control our mind. Failures and sadness are the darkness of our life while happiness is the light of it. Believe it or not, the light has no value if there is no darkness.

Because life is so dynamic, it is full of ups and downs and very demanding. We have to remember that only the fittest will survive. There is no place for cowardice in this world that is full of myth and reality. The fact implies to all army officers who were being left behind from all kinds of promotions either academically or militarily. Officers who are wearing the uniforms with the same rank for many years and have been in the organization for more than twenty years should not feel frustrated or demoralized. Do not be taken aback by the fact that you are not being promoted or not even being considered for any promotion for the rest of your career. Do not feel disheartened if your name does not appear anywhere for any prestigious and glamorous courses. You must take this unexpected situation as it comes sportingly and positively. You should not be jealous when witnessing the younger officers who were still new in the service got promoted earlier than you. Apparently at your seniority, you should understand that people are promoted based on either calculation or compassion. There is no point of trying to argue the inefficiency of the system, nor is it useful to be vocal and manifest your dissatisfaction through any form of actions. Because life is full of the unexpected, accept as it comes and try to cope with it openly. Problems of any kind and difficulties of any sort are part of our life that cannot be avoided. Since problems personified in our life routines and we have to live with them all the time, we then have to use

our credible judgments and discretion to overcome them.

HOW TO STAY MOTIVATED

The stagnancy in the promotion of army officers for example was well understood by the top leadership and the ministry as well. Actions have been taken to overcome this problem. One of it is that the army is now contemplating a study to see how best it could create more openings and more opportunities for promotion for all officers of various ranks. If for any reason at all, the army suddenly fails to eliminate this problem, we must not be worried because the army would then look for other avenues. Perhaps officers who stand no chances at all to be promoted are rewarded accordingly before they leave. Therefore, while waiting to be getting whatever rewards necessary, or before reaching the retirement age the officers must continue serving the army with all dedications and commitments. The officers, who have the thinking of putting the blame on the organization for whatever reasons and problems confronted by them, should give a second thought on it. It is of paramount importance to check their weaknesses beforehand.

Life can be very interesting and enjoyable if we can get what we want. Or when we can ensure our plan to materializing the way we want it. If our aspiration is no longer an imagination, then life is full of blossoms and it will keep on blooming and thriving. Life smells good then. However, life is not like that. There is no such an utopian environment exists in this world. There are a lot of good and reliable organizations but just. The army is an example. We are created to make mistakes, to forgive and to endure tortures and pains, to accept all probabilities. Because of that we have to find ways to make our life more meaningful and try to live within it. As a man of wisdom we accept our destiny and we look for ways to make it better. We must stay motivated

throughout out career regardless of any shortcomings.

Understand The Motivation Theories

Having a good understanding of the motivation theories will help officers to study his strong and weak points and eventually making himself better in term of corresponding, communicating and carrying out given tasks. By being articulated in this field an officer definitely will not easily point out his finger and put the blame on the organization for any discrepancies or shortcomings. Learning motivation theories will help officers to really understand the goals and objectives of his career, his family and most importantly of his existence on this planet.

Now let us relate our being with one of the most popular theory of motivation. According to Abraham Maslow in his *hierarchy needs theory*, human needs are classified into five levels. Firstly, the *physiological need*. Man firstly must fulfill his basic needs of having oxygen to breathe, water to drink, food to eat, house for shelter, sleep and rests, transports and many more. Certainly each and every one of us does not have any problem to fulfill this level. In fact as an officer we managed to have more than what are needed. Secondly, *security needs*. The second level of Maslow's needs theory focuses on the need to have an affirmation of not losing jobs, free from threats, and free from economic crises. In other word the first level of needs must be secured. Unless and until we break the rules and regulations stipulated in the organizations that had to be adhered to, we officers should not be having any problem on this second level of needs. There is no worry of ensuring all that we have worked for is safe. Thirdly, the *social needs*. It is about the acceptance by society. One's life has no meaning if one's presence is not being accepted by the society. Individuals want to be loved and cared by everyone in the community. The question of acceptability is very subjective. It all depends on individual's or group's perception.

As far as the army officers are concerned, they passed this level of needs though the level of acceptance varies from time to time depending on the environment where they work or where they live. Fourthly, *recognition needs*. This level of needs discusses on the aspect of appraisal, appreciation, and recognition. It also tells us that human being wants to be felt important and respected. This level of needs also deals with reputation, status, prestige, position and power. Individuals will feel secured, accepted and recognized if are successful in getting all those mentioned. This will lead to a very satisfied condition of living. Finally, *self-esteem*. This is the highest level of needs which require a lot of effort and definitely lot of lucks. In every human there is a desire to have more than what he has. If given a way man will push to the limit of his needs regardless of any eventualities. However, not many achieved this highest virtue. Army officers may want to study the last two levels of needs mentioned above. Relate to your perceptions and expectations and try to figure out your goals and objectives.

May be we want to refer to the X and Y theories introduced by McClelland or Z theory introduced by W. Ouichi. According to X theory, man basically has negative attitude towards the organizational requirements. Persons categorized in this group are basically selfish, irresponsible or try to avoid responsibilities bestowed upon them. Instead they are more interested in getting economic rewards, thus security of job is his main concern. While Y theory suggests man is inclined to support organizational objectives; responsible and creative. In Z theory man is found to be loyal, good workers, responsible and always puts the organizational needs above his own. There are many more theories that can be learned and practiced by officers in order to motivate themselves. If it is not for the organization per se, these theories may help us in understanding our personalities at least. May be the motivation theories would help us to be more proficient in carrying out our duties.

Have The Right Frame of Mind

To stay motivated all the times requires a lot of efforts. One has to have a strong mind and body to enable one to stay alert and enthusiastic. On most cases the mind controls the body. Hence it is very important to ensure that our mind is always healthy and active if we want our body to be spiritually and physically strong. The answer to it is we must have the right frame of mind. A corrupted mind will definitely drag along the body into the trouble; laziness, desperation and frustration, demoralization, and making us not motivated and inactive. A wrong frame of mind is very dangerous because it will slowly spoil our capabilities to rationalize and destroys our will to live. A right frame of mind or a right mindset will guide us to think positive, creative and innovative. A man with a clear mindset will avoid being prejudice and to think bad about others. Officers should have the right frame of mind in order to be motivated. If we think we are good there are more people who are better than us. For example, if an officer is promoted earlier than us, we should not be jealous or feel bad. Instead we congratulate him and accept the reality that he is better in all aspects as compared to us. It does not matter whether he is five years our junior or two months our senior. There is something that he possesses that we do not, something special that qualifies him for the next promotion or some values that we do not understand but may benefit the organization. The right frame of mind also will determine our way of doing things in particular the works assigned to us. Sincerity and honesty are the best policies should be adopted and to be used anywhere and at any time. Do not be put off by apparent events that take place not to your liking. Do not feel demoralized if criticized. Healthy mind is a mind that is clear from any mischievous thought, not even the slightest. A right mind frame will ensure that we are not the slave to chance. Thus we will work for our betterment.

Maintain Good Relations

Another aspect of keeping ourselves motivated is by maintaining good relations with our bosses, superiors, subordinates, and peers. As a matter of fact, to maintain good relation with everyone around us is not difficult. Different person portrays different characters and approaches. What we have to do is firstly study each and everyone's characters and then approach them accordingly. Most importantly good relations between us and others will create a better working environment and thus will keep us happy and enthusiastic. Normally in a situation where an officer is demoralized or depressed there is a tendency that he will act negatively towards his superiors, subordinates or peers. This occurs because he does not have the right perspective of what he wants in his life. His mind is already corrupted, thus incapacitates his actions. Professional army officers always understand the fact, directly or indirectly that their superiors have an influence over the development of their careers. Learning to work well with superiors will benefit not only us but the organization as a whole. To ensure that we have a happy environment at the working place it is just important for us to be aware of, and to respect the rights of others. This includes our peers and subordinates. Being assertive, confident and practicing mutual respects will help officers to be motivated.

Maintain Discipline And Loyalty

Soldiering is nothing but discipline and loyalty. Without discipline and loyalty the army will collapse. So it is your responsibility to maintain discipline and loyalty. Do not have a bad attitude of trying to differ from what you have been taught. Most officers have the right attitude throughout their career until the last day of our service. Without loyalty and discipline then we cannot claim ourselves as army officers. It may look very

minor, but it carries a lot of bearing in our everyday life. We can only be motivated enough if we maintain our loyalty. We do not question the authority without rationalizing it beforehand. We will adopt a positive approach and ready to comply with orders without any fuss over the disagreement. At our seniority we should show good examples to the younger ones. Definitely we will have a peaceful mind once our discipline and loyalty are not being questioned. A well disciplined and loyal officer never felt isolated. Instead he will keep on motivating himself and carry on soldiering to the utmost of his ability.

CONCLUSION

Life is full of problems, obstacles and difficulties. Life without challenges is as good as a living dead. We will have to confront different problems everyday. As army officers who are not yet promoted or those who are not even taken into consideration for any promotion, or those who have been deprived of opportunities to further their studies locally or abroad, and those who have to work in place of not of their choosing, just take it easy. Do not let all these problems bother us and our life. Just be ourselves and try to live our life to its fullest. No one can stop us from doing that. As aging army officers who have survived in the army for twenty years or more, we should be more focus in our life. The advice is, be grateful with what we are, what we have and with what we are doing now. Ask ourselves what we have contributed towards the organization and check what the organization has given us. By doing this, we shall be happy and become grateful. Fill up our time with all the things that we are happy doing them. Do not worry about anything that is beyond our reach. We must set our goal and objective that are attainable and measurable. We should be more creative and innovative in both aspects of thinking and doing things.

Do not think that our career is already coming to an end. Think and participate as if we are going to be in the army forever. It may sound unrealistic but give it a try and we would see that we become more energetic and enthusiastic. Voice out our disagreement on any issue in any discussions professionally and do not forget to express our ideas and be ready to justify them. Never think negatively towards any problem that occurs and keep on recurring. They will teach us how to endure our life physically and mentally. Live within our means. Make up our mind of what we want to do or to achieve in our service, for our family and the most importantly what we want to achieve in life. Be rational. Just remember that nothing is impossible in this world is not true. We can not make the impossible become possible. It is a day-dream that will turn out to be a nightmare if we are not careful. There are many more that we can do and be comfortable with. Living life to its fullest means that we really enjoy life the way we want it and accept the destiny. Life is everything but eternal. If we are destined not to be a General then just accept it and be happy with what we are. Do not worry about others and do not try to imitate their styles or their ways of life because we are not born monozygotic. We must believe that everything happens to us is God's will. There must be some good points or advantages to us. If we can accept this belief, everything will be alright. No fuss, no grievances and no frustration. It is our obligation to perform well regardless of our unfulfilled desires. We must work till the end because we are paid to do it. If we believe in God, we have to perform better because everything we do will be questioned in our next life.

Finally do not let problems bother our life. Our mind must be very clear and just regard problems as passing clouds that would be gone sooner or later. We have to harness all our capabilities, the strong points of ourselves to motivate and prosper in our own way.



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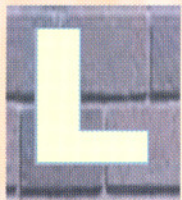
MILITARY LEADERSHIP IN THE FUTURE

OLEH
MEJ ZAZLI BIN
WOOK

*"Leadership is
the will to
dominate, together
with the character
which inspires
confidence"*

*Field Marshall Viscount
Montgomery
15 November, 1945*

INTRODUCTION



Leadership is a very important and fundamental core subject to any organisation, especially the military where effective leadership is the essence (or a force multiplier) of success in war or during crises. It is essential to have an effective leadership quality among commanders to meet the challenges of the present day situation and the foreseeable future. This is necessary as in the future, there would be an increased reliance on advanced weapon technology and the need to make full use of human potentials.

Historians have noted that true leaders emerge during war or in a crisis in order to achieve victory or success. Therefore, it is common to study famous military commanders of the past in order to seek guidance for the future. However, as we are moving from the 20th to the 21st centuries, we are not certain how long such guidance remains to be relevant in order to meet the future needs of military leadership. As the world advances in terms of development and technology, should the art of leadership also move forward in order to suit to the changing situation? To meet the challenges of the future, should we be looking for officers and soldiers with different qualities than at present? The last but not the least, does the increased complexity and advanced technologies which dominated in decision making process is more important than an effective leadership?. These are some of the questions that need to be addressed in the study of military leadership in the future.

Therefore, the aim of this articles is to discuss the challenges of the contemporary leadership in the future and towards the demands of the 21st century with the hope that it will provide benefits to the military leadership at different levels of command so that the military will continue to stay as the leading edge of leadership knowledge, training and development.

DEFINITIONS OF LEADERSHIP

Before developing ideas about leadership challenges towards the 21st century, it is perhaps

pertinent as this point to establish precisely what is meant by "leadership". In fact, it has been argued by many writers and researchers that leadership has significant differences in the definitions. This is particularly true as concluded by an eminent researcher, Stogdill¹ who stated that, "There are almost as many different definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept".

Some prominent definitions from more recent writers are as follows:

- "Leadership is no more than exercising such an influence upon other that they tend to act in concert towards achieving a goal which they might not have achieved so readily had they been left to their own devices."²
- "Leadership is a process of giving purpose (meaningful direction) to collective effort, and causing willing effort to be expended to achieve that purpose."³
- "Leadership is a process of social influence whereby a leader who steers members of a group towards a goal."⁴

In the military context, four examples of the definition of military leadership are shown below:

- "Leadership is the function of communicating by any means with subordinates for the purpose of completing a task, achieving or maintaining a standard of conduct, or gaining acceptance of a

state affairs"⁵ (Britannia Royal Naval College, Dartmouth 1993).

- "Leadership is the process of influencing others to accomplish the mission by providing purpose, direction and motivation"⁶ (US Army, 1990).
- "Leadership is the art of consistently influencing and directing men in task in such ways as to obtain their willing obedience, confidence, respect and loyal co-operation in the manner desired by the leader."⁷ (Australian Army, 1973).
- "Leadership is defined as the projection of personality and character to get soldiers to do what is required of them"⁸ (British Military, 1996).

Although there are significant differences in these definitions, nevertheless, there is also a degree of commonality. The commonality of the above definition is that it leads to the commander who plans, provides the drive and motivation of the men in order to attain the desired objective. This is true as the leader who makes the men rely for success and charge forward although the individual's instinct will tell him not to do so.

INCREASED COMPLEXITY OF ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY

Today, most leaders cannot ignore the dynamism of information technologies in assisting them for effective decisions. Due to its dynamism, the decision-making process has to be fast and

¹ R.M. Stogdill, *Handbook of Leadership: A Survey of the Literature*. Free Press, New York, 1974.

² N.F. Dixon, *On the psychology of Military Incompetence*, Futura, London, 1979, pp214.

³ E. Jaques & S.D. Clement, *Executive Leadership: A Practical Guide to Managing Complexity*, Blackwell, Oxford, pp4,1994.

⁴ A Bryman, *Charisma and Leadership in Organization*, Sage, London, pp4,1992.

⁵ Britannia Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, *Staff guide-Leadership, Techniques Part 1 (Introduction)*, 1993.

⁶ US Army Publication, FM 22-100 *Military Leadership*, 1990.

⁷ Australian Army Publication, *Leadership: Theory and Practice*, 1973.

⁸ British Army Publication 71451, *Design for Military Operations – The British Military Doctrine*, 1989.

accurate and it must be done by the staff at all levels of the organisations who are knowledgeable and smart to handle the advanced technology to their advantage. Therefore, it has been argued that today's sophisticated technologies have put the present organisation to a severe test as technology has taken power away from the leader and distributed it amongst the team members in the organisation. This is particular true as Peter Drucker argued that in "knowledge organisations" all the staff are knowledgeable workers and every one of them is skilful and specialised in their respective functions. Hence, it has been argued that it is more appropriate and suitable for "smart" workers be involved in the decision making process rather than confined to the few top level managers or leaders.

This situation was proven in the Gulf War which was very much a "high-tech" war. The soldiers were very well trained and efficient in handling the extremely sophisticated weapons system employed when the *Desert Storm* (offensive phase) was launched against the Iraqi forces. It was reported that the forces sent by the allies to the Gulf War were the best educated and technically competent soldiers who are highly skilful in handling the various types of sophisticated weapon systems such as precision-guided missiles, night vision goggles, laser bombs, etc.

CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS OF POPULATION

Today's officer entrants at military academy have attained higher academic qualifications as compared to their predecessors. As for the soldiers, there has also been a corresponding increase in the educational standards whom the young officers will have to lead. It has been argued that the knowledge which the officer once held over their subordinates is inadequate to handle the future soldiers as such it

has becoming a demand to the leadership. This is true as commanding intelligent subordinates is an easier task compared with commanding the less talented individuals as they have initiatives and can think for themselves so more complex tasks can be delegated to them. However, conversely their intelligence can make them more difficult to be motivated and they are more susceptible to boredom and dissatisfactions. They are capable of questioning more than accomplishing the task. The net effect is that although they are of better quality young soldiers who are capable of the increased performance compared to their predecessors, they will provide more challenges to the officers' leadership.

In the same context, military organisations too require soldiers who use their brains and can think well and have initiatives when dealing with a diversity of situations. It could be argued that soldiers and officers in any future military environment will present more challenges as compared to their predecessors. This is necessary as in future, soldiers with a better developed understanding of the situation will need leaders who are truly professional; otherwise they will not put their hearts into the task. As argued earlier that new "smart" organisation requires smart workers and large numbers of unskilled workers are being replaced by smaller numbers of highly trained workers and intelligent machines. Similarly, this process applies in the military where smart weapons require smart soldiers. In the last Gulf War the forces sent by the allies to the war zone were highly educated and technically competent. It was reported that over 98% of the US troops sent to the Gulf War were high school graduates and it had taken almost ten years to train and develop the officers and soldiers to operate advanced weapon systems and prepare them for this type of new warfare.⁹

⁹ Alvin and Heidi Toffler, *War and Anti-War; Survival at the Dawn of the 21st Century*, Warner Books, England 1994, pp95.

ATTRIBUTES OF GOOD LEADERSHIP QUALITIES

To meet this type of the challenges in a future war with smart weapon systems and the higher level of education of officer and soldiers, is the study on the contemporary military leadership on the attributes of an effective leadership style in redundant? However, it has been argued among the contemporary military leaders that the heroic style on the attributes of good leadership cannot be ignored despite the extensive technological advancement in weapon systems and the growth of education.¹⁰ The heroic style of leadership is still favoured in the military training establishment where the good qualities of the leader such as courage, initiative, integrity, knowledge and willpower are some of the main qualities which appear regularly and discussed extensively among the military circles.

Therefore, the study on the development of good leadership qualities of great commanders is still relevant and is not seen to be redundant and will continue to be taught and developed in the training and development of leadership. For the leaders to be successful in battle, they must possess essential leadership of which through experience they will skillfully lead the men who will follow willingly to strive for victory¹¹. The qualities include loyalty, desire for success, emotional and physical stamina, empathy, decisiveness, anticipation, timing, competitiveness, self-confidence, accountability, responsibility, credibility, tenacity, dependability and stewardship.

In fact, according to Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery, "many qualities go to make a leader but two are vital, the ability to make the right decisions and the courage to act on the

decisions¹²". He further said that a commander must know what he wants, and there is a need for him to ensure that his objective is very clearly defined and he has the will to attain it by whatever means. It is the commander's responsibility to ensure that his subordinates know what he wants and he must give guidance and a clear lead towards achieving it. But not only that, a commander must also have the "drive" in order to get things done; and he must have the character and ability to inspire confidence in his subordinates and the moral courage and determination to stand firm when the situation hangs in a balance.

One other quality of military leadership which is not often written and is seldom realised by many is the "warrior spirit"¹³. It is essential to raise the will and determination of individuals especially among the subordinates. In fact, this quality was also emphasised by Montgomery when he was in command of the British 8th Army during the North African campaign to defeat Rommel at the battle of Alamein. In that he singled out the "spirit of a warrior" as the greatest single factor in winning the battle. As a military leader, this quality dominated over the soldiers as an army is not merely a strength provided by the spirit of the warrior to instil morale and the mutual confidence between the leaders and the subordinates. As a military commander, the essence of a warrior should form part of the commanders' emotional make-up.

LOOKING AHEAD

To achieve success in future's complex and technologically advanced army, a combination of leadership qualities and effective management skills is necessary. The leadership training and development is a natural part of the professional military which is broadly categorised into two

¹⁰ Maj Gen J.F. Deverell OBE, *Leadership in the Future Army*, The Officer Magazine, Vol 7, Issue two, March/April 1997, pp49.

¹¹ Wess Roberts, *Leadership Secrets of Attila the Hun*, Warner Books, New York, 1987, pp 16.

¹² Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, *A History of Warfare*, Collins, London, 1968.

¹³ Gen Dato' Che Md Noor Bin Mat Arshad, *Leadership, Challenges and Expectations*, Unit Commanders' Management Course, Port Dickson, Malaysia, 12 May 1993, pp5.

different styles. The first category could be on the basis of direct contact with small numbers of groups which is normally in a combat unit. It is usually focused in the early years of a military career with emphasis on concepts and style of good qualities of leadership. This category of leadership can be referred to the **Adair's functional or 'action-centered leadership'** learning whereby an effective leader is to ensure that the three competing needs of the individual, team and task are handled well in order to achieve the objectives. This category of leadership can be classified as heroic style of leadership which draws upon the personal qualities of military leaders which have a direct impact on subordinates and superiors. As this century developed more sophisticated economic and political structures, the nature of warfare changed and became increasingly violent. Any scenario of the future war will be similar and could even be more violent, for example it could involve the use of nuclear weapons. In this type of situation, the heroic style of leadership is adopted by the commanders who fight the direct-fire battle with the enemy in order to gain positions and to capture the ground. These are usually commanders at the lower level of command as they have direct command, will still be and will continue to be the domain of military training and the development of leadership in the present and the future.

At higher command level, the leader must project the required organisational goals by applying power strategies and management skills especially in the defence economics. As the nature of the functions are specialised it needs more delegation to subordinates who are skilful and able to control the sophisticated machines. Therefore, in order to make right decision the leader must have the knowledge and the ability to effectively allocate the limited resources among the competing needs. Thus, at higher command level, leadership and management practices are very close and they are 'inexorably intertwined'.

In fact, in the study of defence economics using the tools of modern economics is necessary for the future numerous and complex issues. The changing regional security environment especially in the conflicting claims of the small islands and

atolls in the South China Sea among the littoral states has led the countries in the region to increase the defence expenditure in modernising their forces with the procurement of modern and advanced weapon systems. With the increase in the defence expenditure; it is essential to apply more modern economic techniques both microeconomics and macroeconomics methods of analysis in the procurement¹⁴. Therefore, it is pertinent for the officers to further enhance the management knowledge and skills in order to keep abreast with the changes or at least more professional in addressing these issues.

Therefore, the future leaders must have skills and the knowledge as the subordinates are equally knowledgeable since they have the specialised skills in handling the advanced machines and equipment. The leader must then know what and how to delegate to the subordinates for decision-making as they also have the ability and the expertise. Therefore, for the leader to gain respect and confidence from the subordinates, he must not only have good leadership qualities but must be well equipped with the management skills too.

As information technology grows rapidly it signals the end of industrial-age warfare and the beginning of the warfare on the information age¹⁵. It is the time where the complicated decisions are modeled for simplicity, and directly affect how leaders decide, plan and execute a task. In this context, smart weapons built on the advance technology, have been invented which can detect sound, heat, radar emission and other electronic signals through powerful IT that enables them to pick up a specific target and destroy it with precision. These newest weapons place high stress, not only on the training to enhance the soldiers' abilities and skills, but also on the training

¹⁴ Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley, *The Economics of Defence*, Cambridge University Press, Great Britain, 1995, pp113.

¹⁵ Alvin and Heidi Toffler, *War and Anti-War*, Warner Books, USA, 1994, pp67.

and development of leadership among the officers. Thus, it is time to ponder on what kind of leadership training and development and what type of officers and soldiers will be needed in the future?

CONCLUSION

With regards to the leadership challenges in the future, there is little doubt that today's leadership environment presents greater challenges than before. There are several reasons for this, including the increase in the educational standards of the soldiers and officers entering the service, the differences in values towards the profession which make them more difficult to motivate, (and will require more demanding attention to their leadership training and development), and the advances in technology which have led to the manufacture of smart weapon-systems. In addition the power of information by advanced IT requires that the officers be suitably equipped to cope with more challenging leadership environment. This is necessary where specialization and management skills are needed by the officers at the higher level of command in order to be able to carry out the task successfully and to gain the respect and confidence from the subordinates under them.

Certainly, the elements of the current military approach to leadership training and development on the qualities of an effective

leadership are still applicable now and even in the future. In fact, the basic qualities of an effective leadership will continue to be adopted and studied by the future generations as leadership is dynamic and may improve with the changing environments. However, as a new generation of individuals enter the service with different values and perceptions towards the organisation and as they climb the ladder of responsibilities and rank, there is a need to inculcate at the initial stage some of the values of good and effective leadership qualities and skills so the the organisation will reap the benefits.

With all these challenges facing the military in the future, the attributes of military leadership assumes flexibility in the face of changes in order to meet the opportunities and challenges of the future. As the leader moves up the ladder to higher level of command, apart from the development of leadership, it is also important for the leader to be trained in management skills especially in man-management and the management of defence economics. Thus, the traits of good leadership at lower level of command and the management skills at the higher and strategic level are necessary for the officers in the leadership training and development to prepare them in meeting the challenges ahead. Therefore, the military has to pave the way for a 'new leadership' to develop, especially with the requirement to be successful in future modern warfare with smart weapon systems using advanced technologies.



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TEKNOLOGI MAKLUMAT DALAM ERA BARU PENGURUSAN TENTERA DARAT

OLEH
KAPT CHE HASMADI
BIN KASIM

"We live in an age that is driven by information. Technological breakthrough ... are changing the face of war and how we prepare for war"

William Perry, US Secretary of Defence

PENDAHULUAN



Maklumat atau informasi adalah suatu elemen yang penting bagi sesebuah organisasi. Dengan adanya maklumat yang tepat, lengkap dan terkini membolehkan sesebuah organisasi itu membuat keputusan dengan cepat dan tepat. Informasi yang cepat dan tepat memerlukan alat penghantar yang berteknologi tinggi. Dengan gabungan komputer, telekomunikasi dan teknologi maklumat membolehkan organisasi pada hari ini dapat memberi perkhidmatan dan membuat produk yang terbaik kepada pengguna atau pelanggan. Teknologi maklumat yang canggih merupakan satu daya saingan bagi sesebuah organisasi.

Negara kita tidak ketinggalan dalam mengikuti perkembangan teknologi maklumat

sejajar dengan perkembangan teknologi maklumat di seluruh dunia. Bagi merealisasikan hasrat ini, kerajaan Malaysia telah menubuhkan Koridor Raya Multimedia (MSC) di kawasan seluas 15 km x 50 km meliputi kawasan "Kuala Lumpur City Centre (KLCC)" ke "Kuala Lumpur International Airport (KLIA)" dan Putrajaya. Pelancaran MSC yang dilaksanakan oleh YAB Dato' Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamad pada awal tahun 1997 itu telah mengubah senario dalam urusan pentadbiran kerajaan, urusan perdagangan dan perkhidmatan di negara ini yang menggunakan pelbagai aplikasi teknologi maklumat.

Sebagai sebuah organisasi kerajaan, Tentera Darat (TD) tidak ketinggalan berusaha meningkatkan penggunaan teknologi maklumat supaya setanding dengan negara-negara lain. Selaras dengan peranannya iaitu mempertahankan kedaulatan negara dan menghalang pencerobohan dari luar dan dalam negara, TD sentiasa meningkatkan usaha dalam memodenkan peralatan-peralatan penting termasuk peralatan komunikasi. Teknologi maklumat tidak lagi dianggap sebagai alat bantu tetapi merupakan keperluan asas dalam pengurusan TD dalam abad ke-21.

Pada alaf yang akan datang, teknologi maklumat akan menjadi sebahagian daripada faktor penentu dalam sesuatu peperangan. Maklumat merupakan aset yang paling berharga dalam mengatur sesuatu strategi. Ia bukan sahaja digunakan di medan pertempuran bahkan digunakan dalam seluruh urusan manusia sama ada dalam bidang pengurusan, perniagaan,

perkhidmatan, perubahan, kebudayaan, perindustrian dan apa jua bidang lain yang wujud di muka bumi ini. Sun Tzu di dalam bukunya *"The Art of War"* Talib juga menjelaskan betapa pentingnya maklumat untuk memenangi sesuatu peperangan itu.

Pada masa kini, komputer telah memberikan dimensi baru dalam pengendalian sumber maklumat. Komputer telah membuka jalan dalam menilai, mengguna, memproses, menghantar dan memindahkan sesuatu maklumat yang banyak dengan kelajuan yang sangat tinggi. Pengalaman dari *'Operasi Desert Storm'* menunjukkan bahawa kelebihan dari segi teknologi dan maklumat yang lengkap, sesuatu strategi itu dapat disusun dengan mantap dan berupaya memenangi sesuatu peperangan. Dalam operasi inilah perkakasan komputer, perisian, sistem komunikasi yang terkini dan teknologi satelit digunakan bagi memperolehi maklumat untuk dimanfaatkan sama ada dalam sesuatu operasi ofensif atau defensif.

FAKTOR-FAKTOR YANG PERLU DALAM PENGGUNAAN TEKNOLOGI MAKLUMAT

Kaedah Perintah dan Kawalan. Dalam tentera, perintah dan kawalan merupakan komponen yang amat berpengaruh terhadap maklumat. Pemerintah perlu tahu siapa dan apa yang diperintahnya. Dengan adanya sistem teknologi maklumat yang mantap, pemerintah berupaya mengetahui apa aset yang ada secara terperinci, kedudukan dan keadaan aset-asetnya itu. Ini memudahkan pemerintah membuat sesuatu rancangan dan mengatur strategi. Kelebihan ini bukan hanya akan dirasai oleh pemerintah atasan tetapi pemerintah di peringkat bawahan. Rancangan dan keputusan yang telah dibuat itu boleh disampaikan dengan mudah kepada pemerintah bawahan.

Kaedah Peperangan Perisikan. Data perisikan merupakan faktor yang paling penting

dalam strategi pengumpulan maklumat. Dengan adanya sistem yang terkini dalam teknologi maklumat, maka sistem perisikan akan menjadi lebih seimbang dan efektif. Pada zaman yang serba canggih ini, maklumat perisikan bukan lagi dikutip dari sumber-sumber yang terdiri daripada manusia tetapi melalui peralatan perisikan yang canggih. Amerika Syarikat misalnya membelanjakan berbilion dollar untuk menghantar satelit periskannya ke angkasa untuk menjalankan misi mengumpul dan memperolehi maklumat. Dengan menggabungkan prasarana yang berada di angkasa dan di bumi, teknologi ini mampu mengambil imej atau gambar sesuatu objek atau sasaran di mana jua pada bila-bila masa. Maklumat yang diperolehi ini akan disimpan dan diproses dalam bank data sebelum sesuatu analisis dan rumusan dibuat.

Kaedah Elektronik. Elektronik merupakan elemen teknologi tinggi yang digunakan untuk membantu teknologi maklumat. Peperangan elektronik merupakan satu kaedah peperangan untuk menguasai **"electromagnetic spectrum"**. Peperangan ini memerlukan satu integrasi yang jitu di antara teknologi-teknologi tinggi yang digabungkan untuk memperolehi satu kelebihan dari sudut **"electromagnetic field"** dalam satu peperangan yang banyak menggunakan frekuensi serta aliran **"radio magnetic."** Contoh yang paling ketara ialah semasa Peperangan Teluk apabila Tentera Amerika melancarkan Operasi Desert Shield. Operasi ini telah menggabungkan teknologi maklumat dengan kaedah elektronik untuk membentuk satu konsep yang dipanggil **"Electronic Umbrella."** Konsep ini memberikan kelebihan kepada tentera Amerika kerana berjaya melumpuhkan sistem perhubungan dan maklumat tentera Iraq. Kelebihan ini digunakan oleh tentera Amerika untuk menyerang sasaran strategik Iraq. Tentera Iraq yang mengalami gangguan **"electromagnetic"** ini gagal berhubung serta mengalami gangguan dalam sistem pengesanan dan persenjataannya yang mengakibatkan kekalahan.

Peperangan Psikologi. Ia merupakan kaedah peperangan yang bertujuan untuk

mempengaruhi minda dan persepsi manusia. Kaedah psikologi lebih tertumpu kepada pengolahan maklumat dan keberkesanan maklumat itu disebarkan kepada golongan sasaran. Dengan adanya kecanggihan teknologi akan membuka ruang yang lebih luas untuk kaedah ini disebarkan secara efektif. Dalam operasi di Haiti, tentera Amerika mereka telah menggabungkan penggunaan teknologi maklumat dengan teknologi komunikasi kepada lebih daripada dua puluh kumpulan etnik. Mereka telah menapis dan mengkhususkan maklumat-maklumat yang sesuai untuk disebarkan kepada kumpulan-kumpulan yang difikirkan sesuai. Dengan cara ini, propaganda-propaganda dapat disalurkan dengan meluas dan berkesan untuk mencapai matlamat yang diinginkan.

Kaedah Maklumat Ekonomi. Kaedah ini menggunakan dan mengambil tindakan yang pantas dari sudut ekonomi yang digunakan untuk memburukkan suasana sesebuah negara dalam sesuatu konflik. Sekiranya Amerika berkonflik dengan Jepun, negara Jepun boleh melumpuhkan ekonomi Amerika dengan mengarahkan semua syarikatnya untuk menarik kembali pelaburan mereka di Amerika. Kecanggihan teknologi maklumat dan dibantu dengan keberkesanan sistem komunikasi, berupaya memberikan kelebihan kepada Jepun untuk mengeluarkan semua pelaburannya sebelum sempat Amerika Syarikat mengambil tindakan untuk membekukan aset-aset Jepun yang terdapat di negara tersebut. Kepantasan dan ketepatan merupakan kelebihan yang ada pada teknologi ini untuk memudahkan satu tindakan yang drastik dan pantas dibuat.

Kaedah "Cyberwarfare." Ia merupakan satu dimensi baru dalam kaedah sistem pertahanan yang menitikberatkan teknologi maklumat. Kaedah ini merupakan satu rangkaian prasarana yang canggih di mana gabungan teknologi maklumat ini menggunakan rangkaian telekomunikasi global yang berkuasa tinggi iaitu 5 hingga 10 gigabit. Rangkaian ini adalah untuk

kemudahan penyaluran maklumat ke serata dunia dengan lebih pantas.

Kaedah Penggodam (Hacker).

Penggodam merupakan satu konsep di mana sesuatu sistem maklumat itu dapat dikesan dan diperolehi dengan cara tersendiri. Ini merupakan satu ancaman kepada keseluruhan sistem khususnya yang melibatkan keselamatan negara. Kita sering terbaca di akhbar bagaimana sistem maklumat di bank dapat dibuka dan dimanfaatkan oleh sesuatu golongan. Begitu juga sistem maklumat pertahanan dan keselamatan Amerika Syarikat juga telah berjaya dicero bohi. Pencerobohan ini sering dilakukan oleh golongan yang pakar dari segi pengkomputeran dan ia merupakan ancaman yang memerlukan langkah-langkah keselamatan ditingkatkan dalam penggunaan teknologi maklumat.

SISTEM TEKNOLOGI MAKLUMAT TERKINI

Jika kita memperkatakan teknologi maklumat yang terkini digunakan untuk tujuan pertahanan, kita tidak boleh menafikan bahawa Tentera Amerika Syarikat mempunyai kelebihan jika dibandingkan dengan negara-negara lain di dunia. Satu sistem yang telah terbukti berjaya dilaksanakan oleh tentera Amerika Syarikat dalam kaedah keberkesanan teknologi maklumat ialah semasa Peperangan Teluk iaitu dengan penggunaan sistem C41 atau sistem yang mengintegrasikan "**command, control, communication, computers and intelligence**" atau kawalan, perhubungan, komputer dan perisikan. Suatu ketumbukan ketenteraan yang mempunyai satu sistem C41 yang lengkap dan efisien akan mempunyai daya tahan yang padu, berupaya bertindak dengan pantas, berupaya merancang sesuatu aturgerak ketenteraan dengan lebih tepat dan efisien dan menggunakan persenjataannya dengan optimum dan tepat. Pengalaman tentera Amerika Syarikat dalam menggabungkan "**intelligence sensors,**

precision navigation data" dan perhubungan telah berupaya memberikan maklumat yang terperinci dan pantas tentang keadaan medan pertempuran. Maklumat yang pantas dan tepat dalam sesuatu pertempuran memberikan kelebihan kepada perancang peperangan dalam merangka suatu strategi yang bersepadu.

Sistem ini telah mengintegrasikan keupayaan sistem perhubungan satelit dan sistem perhubungan komersial yang lain dan berupaya memproses lebih daripada 100 juta bait maklumat dalam sesaat. Keupayaan ini membolehkan maklumat-maklumat yang telah diproses dikongsi oleh semua pemerintah tentera yang berada di barisan hadapan untuk bertindak dan merancang dengan lebih pantas dan tepat.

Dengan wujudnya teknologi yang hebat ini, kita boleh menggambarkan bahawa suasana peperangan yang akan datang jauh berbeza dengan suasana peperangan yang terdahulu. Dahulu kita boleh menetapkan di manakah garisan batas hadapan dan garisan kedalaman sesuatu medan pertempuran itu, tetapi suasana ini tidak akan dapat kita perolehi pada medan pertempuran yang akan datang. Garisan batas hadapan dan kedalaman tidak akan menjadi jelas disebabkan keupayaan teknologi menjadikannya tidak wujud. Pihak yang mempunyai kelebihan teknologi berupaya menyerang ke garisan batas kedalaman dengan menggunakan aset yang ada dengan mudah tanpa mendapat halangan daripada barisan hadapan yang telah bersedia. Kemajuan teknologi ini telah dimanfaatkan oleh tentera Amerika Syarikat dan terbukti memberikan kemenangan. Kejayaan ini seharusnya menjadi pendorong kepada negara-negara lain untuk memberikan tumpuan kepada teknologi maklumat sebagai salah satu faktor yang memberikan kelebihan dalam merangka strategi. Kehadiran teknologi ini bukan bermakna kita harus mengurangkan tumpuan ke atas aset-aset lain dalam sistem pertahanan, tetapi adalah pelengkap kepada keperluan dalam

mengintegrasikan sistem teknologi yang sedia ada supaya menjadi lebih efektif dan efisien.

APLIKASI PERKAKASAN TEKNOLOGI MAKLUMAT MASA AKAN DATANG

Pada masa sekarang aplikasi teknologi maklumat digunakan secara meluas oleh kebanyakan angkatan tentera dari pelbagai negara. Kebanyakan negara tersebut menggunakan rangkaian kawasan (area network) yang merupakan salah satu ciri-ciri biasa dalam tentera. Disebabkan kedudukan unit-unit tentera yang terletak jauh antara satu sama lain, maka sistem ini sememangnya memberikan kelebihan dalam memperolehi maklumat. Walau bagaimanapun rangkaian global lebih berupaya memberikan maklumat yang jauh lebih banyak seperti internet. Rangkaian ini memberikan capaian atau "**access**" kepada spektrum yang luas dalam memberikan maklumat terkini.

Peralatan tentera yang mempunyai nilai strategik seperti kapal terbang pengebom, pengintip dan pemusnah kereta kebal, meriam jarak sederhana jauh dan jauh, kapal laut, kapal selam dan penangkis peluru berpandu perlu dilengkapi dengan rangkaian teknologi maklumat untuk memudahkan maklumat disampaikan kepada pengendali peralatan ini. Selain daripada itu, peralatan yang dilengkapi dengan sistem GPS berupaya memberikan ketepatan dalam memusnahkan sasaran musuh. Sehubungan dengan itu sistem teknologi maklumat ini adalah sebahagian daripada penambahan kekuatan 'force multiplier' sekiranya ia dapat digunakan dengan efisien dan efektif. Terdapat berbagai sistem teknologi maklumat yang boleh membantu dan mengukuhkan pembangunan pertahanan. Teknologi-teknologi ini memungkinkan suatu sistem pertahanan itu untuk menjadi lebih dinamik dan efektif:

- **Sistem Komputer Mudah Suai.** Sistem ini yang juga dikenali sebagai "adaptive computing system" adalah satu sistem yang mampu membina kebolehan "**unprecedented**" untuk memperoleh maklumat yang bersifat strategik dalam membantu perancangan pertahanan.

- **Sistem 'Friend or Foe' (FOF).** Sistem ini mampu memberikan dan menunjukkan tanda pengenalan kepada pasukan sahabat. Sistem ini sangat berguna untuk pesawat udara yang bergerak pantas dalam membuat serangan. Dengan adanya sistem yang boleh menunjuk tanda pengenalan, maka pemandu pesawat dapat membezakan yang mana kawan dan yang mana lawan dalam misi memusnahkan sasaran yang menggunakan pesawat laju.

- **Sistem Informasi Jalur Lebar (Broadband Information System).** Ini merupakan satu atur cara yang menggunakan teknologi optik gentian yang mempunyai rangkaian yang banyak dalam sesuatu sistem pertahanan. Ia berupaya membantu memberikan satu aplikasi olah perang dalam bentuk tiga dimensi dengan gabungan semua aset yang hendak dilibatkan dalam latihan tersebut. Sistem ini juga mampu melaksanakan pentarajahan semula (**reconfiguration**) untuk suatu rangkaian penghalan dengan pantas sekira terdapat suatu kegagalan. Ia berupaya menjadi faktor alternatif dalam situasi yang genting.

- **Latihan Bantuan Komputer.** Sistem rangkaian komputer memberikan capaian dalam latihan pada bila-bila masa dan di mana saja dengan penjimatan masa dan kos yang banyak. Ia berupaya membantu dalam latihan individu tanpa perlu memikirkan sumber yang perlu ada

untuk membantu dalam sesuatu latihan. Latihan ini dapat membantu dalam sesuatu pusat latihan dalam memberikan rangkaian maklumat yang luas.

- **Sistem Pemerintahan dan Kawalan Bersepadu.** Dalam teknologi maklumat yang terkini, sistem pemprosesan data telah menjadi sebahagian daripada faktor penting pada semua peringkat aplikasi. Sistem ini mampu mengintegrasikan perintah, kawalan, sistem maklumat dan petunjuk sasaran melalui pemusatan senjata. Seharusnya sistem yang kita miliki berkonsepkan 'functionality'; fleksibel dalam sistem, pemiawaian, kos operasi yang rendah dan teknologi terkini.

SISTEM PERTAHANAN AKAN DATANG

Memperkatakan sistem pertahanan akan datang secara langsung akan memberikan satu gambaran tentang keadaan pertempuran yang mungkin berlaku pada masa akan datang. Pengalaman masa lalu telah jelas menunjukkan teknologi maklumat yang digandingkan dengan teknologi yang lain berupaya memberikan kelebihan dalam sesuatu sistem pertahanan. Penggunaan komputer secara meluas merupakan pemangkin bagi fungsi-fungsi pengstoran, memproses dan menganalisis maklumat yang diterima serta mengagihkan kepada pemerintah yang khusus untuk diambil tindakan. Kita akan dapati suasana pos perintah pada masa akan datang akan mempunyai perkakasan komputer: lengkap dengan perhubungan melalui sistem gelombang mikro dengan bantuan kemudahan satelit yang bertaburan di angkasa lepas. Ini merupakan fenomena biasa dan mungkin keanggotaan tentera yang berada di barisan hadapan berkurangan daripada yang sedia ada sekarang.

Sebahagian peranan dan tugas manusia telah boleh diambil oleh teknologi ini, maka tidak mustahil sekiranya keanggotaan tentera di barisan hadapan akan menjadi kurang. Ia bukan sahaja dapat mengurangkan kematian atau kecederaan pada anggota bahkan teknologi ini mampu memberikan hasil yang lebih cemerlang daripada apa yang boleh dicapai sekiranya dibuat secara "manual" oleh manusia. Selain daripada itu perkakasan yang tahan lasak dan lebih fleksibel merupakan ciri-ciri sesuai yang dapat membantu apabila berada di barisan hadapan. Ciri-ciri yang menggabungkan sumber kuasa alternatif serta dengan sistem pendingin hawa merupakan satu kemestian untuk teknologi ini berfungsi apabila dibawa ke hadapan.

Perhubungan yang canggih juga membolehkan pemerintah tentera berada jauh dari berisan hadapan tetapi masih mampu untuk mengawal dan memberikan perintah dan arahan dalam sesuatu pertempuran. Selain daripada itu pemerintah dan perancang strategik juga mampu untuk melihat dan mendengar suasana peperangan dengan lebih jelas dan tepat. Maklumat ini sudah pasti dapat membantu perancang strategik ini untuk membuat perancangan dengan lebih mantap lagi. Satu gambaran bagaimana saluran maklumat diterima oleh pemerintah di pos perintah adalah seperti berikut:

- Data dan maklumat diterima serta gambaran aktiviti musuh boleh dilihat melalui sistem perhubungan yang dirakamkan. Maklumat tersebut dianalisis menggunakan pangkalan data bantuan komputer dan akan memberikan beberapa plan tindakan yang boleh dipilih untuk dilaksanakan.
- Membuat perbincangan dengan staf-staf yang lain untuk mendapatkan satu perancangan yang bersepadu sebelum memaklumkan kepada pemerintah atasan.

- Semua perhubungan dilakukan menggunakan teknologi dan maklumat boleh diterima dan dibuat dengan pantas melalui data-data yang diterima. Adalah jauh berbeza dengan yang dipraktikkan sekarang yang memerlukan banyak pergerakan dan perhubungan melalui radio yang memungkinkan dapat dikesan oleh pihak musuh atau gangguan elektronik.

- Sistem teknologi yang semakin canggih ini akan memberikan gambaran yang jauh berbeza untuk seorang anggota tentera yang akan membuat tugas meninjau dan mengesan aktiviti musuh. Kita boleh menggambarkan akan keadaan seorang anggota tentera yang membuat tugas tersebut dan dilengkapi dengan peralatan tambahan selain dari persenjataan dan peralatan asas yang lain.

KONSEP UMUM

Teknologi Maklumat jelas memberikan satu kelebihan yang ketara kepada penggunaanya. Perlu diingat bahawa teknologi ini berfungsi untuk membantu sesuatu keputusan itu dibuat. Ini jelas menunjukkan bahawa teknologi ini tidak akan menjadi efektif sekiranya pengendalinya tidak efisien dan tahu menggunakan secara optimum. Richard Mason telah memberikan gambaran bahawa terdapat dua kaedah asas dalam mengendalikan teknologi ini. Kaedah yang pertama ialah untuk menilai dan menganalisis segala data yang diterima dan yang kedua ialah untuk menganalisis atau menilai permasalahan serta mengurus masalah-masalah tersebut dengan maklumat yang sedia ada. Beliau lebih cenderung kepada kaedah kedua kerana menjelaskan teknologi ini lebih sesuai jika digandingkan dengan kaedah membuat keputusan.

Kita telah didedahkan tentang wawasan pengkomputeran TD yang menjelaskan wawasan

yang perlu dicapai iaitu ia menitikberatkan "Penggunaan secara optimum aspek perkakasan, perisian, telekomunikasi dan lain-lain teknologi pemprosesan maklumat dalam sistem maklumat berpangkalan data untuk meningkatkan keupayaan Tentera Darat dalam segala aspek operasi, latihan, pentadbiran, pengurusan, perisikan serta logistik secara efektif, bersepadu dan seragam". Di sini jelas bahawa TD kita telah meletakkan bahawa telekomunikasi, teknologi pemprosesan dan sistem pangkalan data adalah satu perkara pokok yang perlu diberikan keutamaan. Di dalam sesuatu sistem teknologi maklumat, komputer sahaja tidak akan memberikan banyak kelebihan. Sistem komputer perlu digabungkan bersama-sama dengan sistem telekomunikasi dan sistem pemprosesan data untuk lebih efektif khususnya dalam sesuatu sistem yang berkonsepkan keselamatan.

Dalam teknologi ini kita tidak boleh untuk membincangkan keperluan teknologi yang perlu bagi TD. Teknologi ini perlu diseragamkan dari peringkat teratas untuk disalurkan ke peringkat bawahan. Ini adalah untuk membolehkan pengawalan dan keseragaman dalam pemerintahan.

KESEDARAN TERHADAP TEKNOLOGI MAKLUMAT

Sekiranya hendak dibandingkan dengan teknologi yang digunakan oleh tentera Amerika, sememangnya kita masih jauh ketinggalan. Walau bagaimanapun kita harus bersikap positif dalam menerima teknologi ini dan satu kesedaran hendaklah diwujudkan. Semua peringkat anggota perlu sedar bahawa suasana medan tempur pada alaf akan datang akan menekankan penggunaan teknologi maklumat sebagai salah satu faktor penentu untuk memenangi sesuatu pertempuran.

Kesedaran merupakan pencetus ke arah penerimaan sesuatu pembaharuan. Tanpa kesedaran oleh semua peringkat anggota, maka

wujudlah golongan yang enggan menerima perubahan. Perkara ini sering berlaku dalam semua organisasi yang gagal memberikan kesedaran kepada semua anggota terlebih dahulu sebelum pelaksanaan sesuatu pembaharuan. Kesedaran yang timbul akan seterusnya menjadikan warga organisasi tersebut melaksanakan perancangan yang teliti dan sistematik untuk mewujudkan satu sistem yang mantap. Kesedaran juga mendorong organisasi membuat persiapan ke atas perkara tersebut dan ini termasuklah dari segi latihan, pemilihan anggota, peruntukan dan aplikasi sistem tersebut.

Aplikasi sistem teknologi maklumat yang optimum akan memberikan suasana baru kepada sesebuah organisasi. Komputer, rangkaian digital perkhidmatan bersepadu dan penggunaan pangkalan data telah memberikan ruang untuk organisasi merombak dan mengurangkan keanggotaannya. Pengurangan keanggotaan ini boleh memberikan ruang dalam perbelanjaan di mana lebih sumber dari pengurangan tersebut boleh digunakan untuk menampung pembelian teknologi yang lebih canggih dan terkini. Pengurangan keanggotaan ini bukan pada dasarnya melibatkan kepada keseluruhan organisasi, tetapi ia lebih kepada elemen-elemen penyampaian dan pemprosesan maklumat.

HALA TUJU TEKNOLOGI MAKLUMAT KITA

Buat masa sekarang, terdapat berbagai teknologi maklumat yang mempunyai perisian yang berlainan dengan fungsi yang berbeza-beza. Syarikat-syarikat dari Amerika Syarikat, Jerman, Perancis dan Britain sering memperkenalkan teknologi mereka yang terbaru. Sebagai sebuah negara yang mengutamakan keperluan penggunaan teknologi, kita mestilah bersikap pro-aktif dalam menangani suasana ini. Terdapat banyak persoalan yang perlu dijawab sebelum kita membincangkan untuk mempunyai sistem yang lebih canggih. Persoalan yang perlu ditanya kepada diri kita adalah seperti berikut:

- Apakah kita perlu memiliki semua teknologi tersebut?
- Adakah ia memberikan kelebihan dalam sistem pertahanan kita?
- Adakah pegawai dan anggota kita telah dilatih untuk mengendalikan teknologi canggih itu?
- Adakah prasarana untuk teknologi ini telah disediakan secukupnya untuk menampung kecanggihan teknologi ini?

Perkembangan teknologi maklumat yang telah dirancang oleh PUSTEKMA masih tidak mengikut sepertimana perancangannya. Ini terbukti kerana terdapat prasarana yang masih belum dilaksanakan walaupun tempoh yang ditetapkan telah berlalu. Apa yang jelas, teknologi ini yang diperkenalkan sejak tahun 1995 masih tidak difahami oleh sebahagian besar pegawai dan anggota-anggota. Selain daripada itu, perubahan yang berlaku dalam struktur TD turut memberi kesan kepada perkembangan teknologi ini.

TD tidak seharusnya menunggu begitu lama untuk melaksana dan melengkapi sistem teknologi maklumat ini. Teknologi tidak akan menunggu sesebuah organisasi itu bergerak untuk memperolehnya. Ia akan terus bergerak dengan pantas jika kita buat perbandingan dengan teknologi-teknologi lain. Sekiranya kita sering memberikan alasan dan bersifat negatif dalam perkara ini maka kita bukan sahaja akan kerugian dalam mengejar kemajuan bahkan kita akan ketinggalan dalam mewujudkan satu sistem pertahanan yang berkesan dan mantap.

KESIMPULAN

Buat masa sekarang apa yang harus dilaksanakan ialah untuk memperbaiki dan mengemaskini sistem teknologi maklumat yang sedia ada. Usaha ini haruslah bersepadu dari

pihak yang tertinggi hinggalah kepada peringkat paling rendah. Kita telah dilengkapi dengan prasarana yang hampir lengkap untuk mewujudkan satu rangkaian sistem teknologi maklumat yang bersepadu dan efektif. Usaha perlu digembeng untuk mewujudkan satu rangkaian yang lengkap dan efektif. Ini termasuklah mencari sumber kewangan untuk melengkapi sistem yang sedia ada untuk mencapai matlamat yang dirancang dalam pelan induk.

Apa yang menjadi penghalang sekarang ialah dari sudut luaran yang memungkinkan usaha ini menghadapi sedikit kesukaran. Kegawatan ekonomi negara memberikan satu tekanan dalam mendapatkan sumber melengkapi teknologi ini. Tetapi ini bukan bermakna kita seharusnya menunggu sehinggalah sumber yang dipohon diterima. Sekaranglah masanya yang sesuai untuk kita melihat kelemahan-kelemahan yang telah berlaku untuk diperbaiki. Apa yang jelas ialah perancangan yang telah dibuat perlulah mempunyai kesinambungan dalam pelaksanaannya dan ini termasuklah dari segi kesedaran pentingnya teknologi maklumat. Latihan kepada semua peringkat anggota, kefahaman berkenaan sistem yang sedia ada serta pengwujudan pusat teknologi maklumat menjadi satu pusat yang boleh mengurus dan menyelia perkembangan sistem yang ada.

Data merupakan sumber maklumat dalam sistem ini. Pengurusan data yang teratur akan memudahkan sistem ini berfungsi. Data yang diterima ini merupakan sebahagian daripada proses mengintegrasikan maklumat untuk digunakan oleh pemerintah. Kesukaran untuk mengintegrasikan maklumat sering menimbulkan masalah dalam perancangan dan membuat keputusan. Kesukaran ini dapat diperbaiki sekiranya pendedahan yang cukup diberikan kepada pengguna supaya mereka perlu faham sepenuhnya akan proses dan cara sistem ini berfungsi. Sistem pengurusan dan pengawasan operasi oleh markas dan pasukan-pasukan juga

perlu diperbaiki. Data-data yang disimpan mestilah boleh diintegrasikan untuk dimanfaatkan bersama. Apa yang berlaku sekarang ialah data bagi setiap aktiviti disimpan secara berasingan dan diurus oleh anggota yang berlainan. Oleh itu data dan maklumat operasi tidak selaras dan konsisten antara markas dan pasukan-pasukan.

CADANGAN

Secara amnya TD telah membangunkan sistem teknologi maklumatnya melalui PUSTEKMA dengan peruntukan yang tinggi. Dalam merealisasikan projek ini ia telah dijalankan secara berperingkat, yang mana pada ketika ini TD sedang dalam peringkat pemasangan perkakasan dan perisian di peringkat Divisyen dan unit-unit naungannya. Untuk merealisasikan penggunaan teknologi maklumat dalam pengurusan TD, faktor berikut perlu diambil kira:

- **Anggota Terlatih.** Pada masa ini bilangan anggota yang terlatih dalam pengurusan teknologi maklumat melalui pengkomputeran amat terhad bilangannya, justeru TD perlu mempunyai keanggotaan pegawai dan LLP yang terlatih untuk membolehkan teknologi maklumat berfungsi dengan efektif dan efisien. Ini adalah kerana teknologi maklumat merupakan satu bidang teknikal yang memerlukan kepakaran khusus dalam merancang, mengendali, menyelenggara dan melaksanakan segala aktiviti pengkomputeran. Latihan-latihan formal dan tidak formal perlu diberikan kepada pengendali sistem teknologi maklumat ini dan latihan boleh dijalankan secara berkelompok yang dikendalikan oleh markas formasi dan unit-unit berkenaan.
- **Perkakasan Perisian Komputer.** Teknologi maklumat memerlukan perkakasan yang mencukupi dan perisian

yang sesuai. Ini untuk memastikan segala sistem yang telah dibangunkan serta perhubungan telekomunikasi digunakan dengan berkesan. Kekurangan perkakasan ini boleh menjejaskan aspek pengoperasian dan pengurusan teknologi maklumat seperti yang dirancang. Perisian komputer bagi pengumpulan maklumat haruslah dikordinasikan di setiap peringkat agar ia mampu beroperasi dengan berkesan, dan penyelarasan dapat dibuat dengan mudah. Perancangan yang konsisten dari pihak atasan amat diperlukan bagi menjayakan program ini.

- **Peruntukan Kewangan.**

Penggunaan teknologi maklumat memerlukan kos perbelanjaan yang tinggi bagi menampung keperluan kursus/latihan anggota dan pembelian perkakasan, perisian serta peralatan "stationary/accessories" komputer. Walau bagaimanapun perbelanjaan yang tinggi ini merupakan satu pelaburan. Dalam jangka masa panjang ia akan meningkatkan tahap pengurusan sumber TD di samping dapat mengelakkan pembaziran aset yang bernilai tinggi, menjimatkan masa dan tenaga manusia, menghadkan pergerakan dan seterusnya dapat meningkatkan daya saing TD dengan agensi-agensi lain khasnya agensi pertahanan dari negara lain.

- **Penglibatan Langsung Pihak Pengurusan Atasan Tentera Darat.**

Penglibatan dan sokongan pihak pengurusan tertinggi TD amatlah diperlukan dalam menentukan kejayaan pengkomputerannya. Pihak pengurusan dapat memberikan keutamaan dalam mengaplikasikan teknologi maklumat dalam konteks pertahanan negara supaya teknologi ini dapat disepadukan dalam tugas operasi, pentadbiran, latihan dan logistik TD. Pihak pengurusan perlu

bersedia menghadapi perubahan dalam pengurusan pengumpulan maklumat menggunakan sistem pengkomputeran ini. Pendedahan yang sewajarnya perlu diberikan kepada pengurusan tertinggi supaya ia seiring dengan pelaksanaan sistem ini.

- **Penubuhan Sel Teknologi Maklumat Peringkat Divisyen dan Briged.** Satu pusat khas perlu ditubuhkan di peringkat Divisyen dan Briged yang

berkekuatan satu pegawai dan tiga anggota di setiap markas dan bertanggungjawab khusus dengan memasukkan data, mengemaskini data, menyelenggara perkakasan dan perisian sistem teknologi maklumat. Dengan adanya sel ini juga, ia dapat menumpukan tugas yang diberikan dengan lebih kemas dan teratur di samping dapat mengawal kemasukan data, menapis tahap keutamaan kerahsiaan dan keutamaan penghantaran maklumat dengan lebih efektif dan efisien.

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Kapt Che Hasmadi bin Kasim (3006537) telah ditauliahkan dalam Kor Rejimen Askar Melayu Diraja pada 27 Nov 99. Beliau pernah menjawat beberapa jawatan penting di dalam pasukan. Beliau berkelulusan Ijazah Sarjana Muda Pengurusan (ATMA). Beliau kini bertugas di pasukan 22 RAMD.